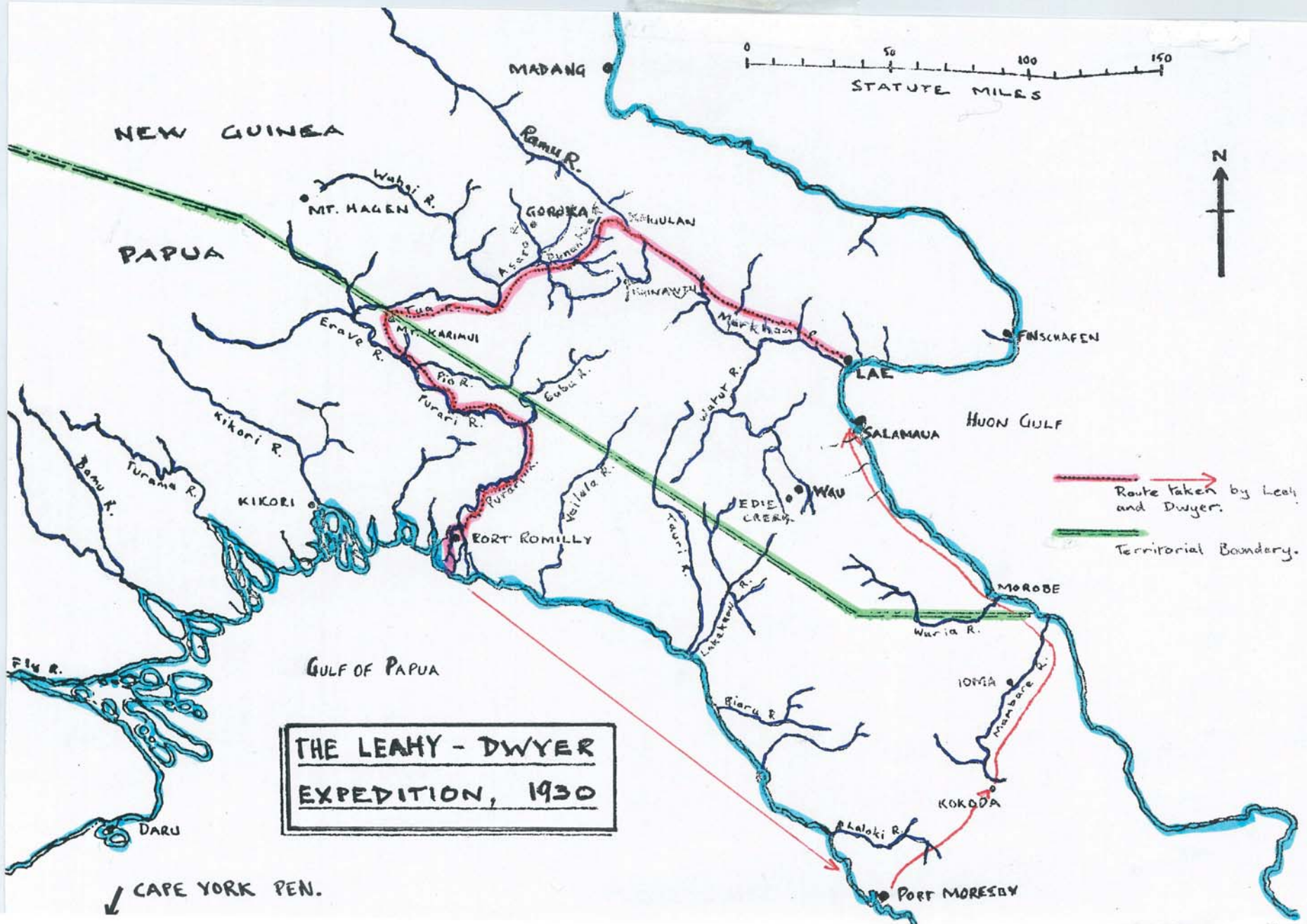


AN 'EPIC' JOURNEY

The 1930 Expedition of Michael Leahy
and Michael Dwyer across New Guinea
via the Purari River

A Sub-thesis prepared by I. J. Willis
in part completion of requirements for
the M.A. Preliminary Course, University of
Papua and New Guinea, Port Moresby, 1969



**THE LEAHY - DWYER
EXPEDITION, 1930**

P R E F A C E

It took Europeans almost three quarters of a century to explore eastern New Guinea and the task was not concluded until the decade preceding the Second World War. During that decade a series of patrols broke through into the valley systems of the central highlands, an area unknown to the outside world, and made first contacts with the substantial populations living there.

This essay is concerned with only one of the patrols that shared in this final phase of New Guinea's exploration. The experiences of both the patrol's members and the peoples it moved amongst were not particularly exceptional; they were duplicated by other patrols in various parts of the highlands. Nevertheless the patrol is important for it typifies much of what was a necessary stage in New Guinea's history : the uncertainties of the first contacts of alien cultures. And of course although this was very recent, it is a stage of the country's history that has now gone forever.

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I would like to express my gratitude to those who made it possible for this essay to be written. In particular Mr. and Mrs. Mick Leahy of Zenag, New Guinea, and Mr. and Mrs. Mick Dwyer

of Kallangur, Brisbane, must be thanked for their hospitality on numerous occasions. Without the co-operation of Mr. Leahy and Mr. Dwyer, who made personal diaries and notebooks and collections of photographs available and spent hours discussing their travels with the writer, this essay would not have been possible.

Professor Ken Inglis and Mr. Hank Nelson of the Department of History, University of Papua and New Guinea, Dr. Roy Wagner of the Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, Illinois, and Mr. Pieter Derogeling of the Local Government Training College, Vunadadir, Rabaul, all gave helpful critical advice. Mr. Charles McKinnon of Mt. Gravatt, Brisbane, Mr. Jim Sinclair of Goroka, Mr. Ivan Champion of Yeronga, Queensland, Mr. Claude Champion of Dee Why, Sydney, Bishop J. Kuder of the Lutheran Mission, Lae, and Rev. W. Bergmann, formerly of Kundiawa, all gave valuable advice based on their long experience in Papua and New Guinea. Mr. Rick Giddings of Kainantu, Mr. Kimi Amozapme of Henganofi, Mr. Kumora Vira of Lufa and Dr. Roy Wagner gave much appreciated assistance during field work. Miss Judy Waterer and Mr. Colin Freeman of the University of Papua and New Guinea's library and Mr. Kevin Green of the Government Archives, Port Moresby helped in locating documents.

I also wish to thank Dr. W.E. Duncanson and Mr. P.B. Botsman respectively the Director and the head of the English Department

of the Papua and New Guinea Institute of Technology, Lae, for making it possible for me to carry out my field and research work. Finally I owe Mrs. Kath Thomson a great debt for the many patient hours she spent in typing the essay.

Ian Willis,

Lae, 1969.



Leahy, Dwyer,
and Party,
May, 1930

C O N T E N T S

| | |
|---|-----|
| CHAPTER ONE | |
| Opening Up The Country | 1 |
| CHAPTER TWO | |
| Background To The Journey | 27 |
| CHAPTER THREE | |
| The Journey, I : 25th May To 11th June, 1930 | 48 |
| CHAPTER FOUR | |
| The Journey, II : 11th June To 10th July, 1930 | 70 |
| CHAPTER FIVE | |
| *The Road To Nowhere* : Its Impact On Papua And New Guinea | 107 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 137 |
| APPENDICES | 142 |

M A P S

- MAP 1
The Leahy-Dwyer
Expedition, 1930 between pages 29 and 30
- MAP 2
The Leahy-Dwyer
Expedition, Second
Stage between pages 49 and 50
- MAP 3
The Leahy-Dwyer
Expedition, Third
Stage between pages 71 and 72
- MAP 4
Language Groups
Met By The Leahy-
Dwyer Expedition between pages 109 and 110

A P P E N D I C E S

- APPENDIX 1
Members of the Leahy-Dwyer
Expedition, 1930 143
- APPENDIX 2
Villages contacted by the
Leahy-Dwyer Expedition, 1930 144

CHAPTER ONE.

OPENING UP THE COUNTRY

CHAPTER ONE

O P E N I N G U P T H E C O U N T R Y

I. INTRODUCTION

Exploration in the territories of Papua and New Guinea was accomplished progressively and cumulatively. While there were certainly a number of spectacular and outstanding exploratory journeys in each territory, all expeditions learnt and benefited from the experiences and discoveries of those that preceded them. Karius' and Champion's crossing of the island from the Fly River to the Sepik in 1926 - 1927, Leahy's and Dwyer's crossing via the Purari and its tributaries in 1930, the journeys of the Leahy brothers and Taylor through the Wahgi valley in 1933, and Hides' and O'Malley's journey from the Strickland to the Purari River in 1935 all stand out above lesser journeys, but all depended on the spadework of previous, less-publicised patrols.

This essay is concerned with one expedition alone : Leahy's and Dwyer's crossing of New Guinea in 1930. (see map 1.) This expedition as much as any other owed something to preceding journeys, and must be considered in relation to expeditions preceding it. The aim of this chapter then will

be to indicate how Papuan and New Guinean exploration was progressive - with each expedition adding to the pool of knowledge about the island. A background having thus been established, succeeding chapters will attempt to place Leahy's and Dwyer's journey in its correct perspective in Papuan and New Guinean inland exploration.

II. THE LAST UNEXPLORED REGION OF THE EARTH

In June of 1926 the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations met for the ninth time in Geneva with Captain Carrodus present as the representative of the Australian Administration of New Guinea. During the discussion that took place over Australia's recently acquired Mandated Territory of New Guinea, the British member of the Commission, Sir Frederick Lugard,

noted that the total area of New Guinea under regular or partial control was in the neighbourhood of 16,000 square miles . . . and . . . asked what was the total area of the Mandated Territory, what proportion was under administrative control and what efforts were being made to bring the remainder under control. (1)

Captain Carrodus was able to point out that "the total area was 91,810 square miles of which the mainland of New Guinea comprised about 70,000 square miles and the islands 21,000 square miles."⁽¹⁾ After considering this fact Sir Frederick

(1) League of Nations Permanent Mandates Commission, Minutes of the Ninth Session Held at Geneva from 8th June, 1926, to 28th June, 1926, (Geneva : 1926), p. 18.

"noted that according to these figures only about one sixth of the area was under administration."⁽¹⁾ In explanation of this truth Captain Carrodus could only volunteer the information "that a map was in the course of preparation . . . showing the areas under complete control, partial control and those under influence only."⁽¹⁾

Apart from the Commission's hope, as it concluded its ninth session, that Australia would "make every effort to bring under its effective administration and control a greater portion of the Mandated Territory,"⁽²⁾ the matter of Australia extending her control in New Guinea did not arouse the interest of the League of Nations for another six and a half years. Then in November of 1932 the Spanish representative on the Permanent Mandates Commission, M. Leopoldo Palacios, referred to Australia's latest annual report to the League on her administration in New Guinea and in particular referred "to the map at the end of the report showing areas under government control, government influence, partial government influence and those penetrated by patrols."⁽³⁾ M. Palacios "thought it would be useful if the Commission could receive details of the progress made in opening up the territory year by year."⁽³⁾

(1) League of Nations P.M.C., IX, 1926, op. cit., p. 18.

(2) op. cit., p. 221.

(3) League of Nations P.M.C., XXII, December, 1932, p. 57.

At this same session of the Commission the Netherlands representative, M. Van Rees, was also "struck by the large uncoloured tracts on the mainland" section of the map, and asked "were these parts of the territory still unknown and unexplored?"⁽³⁾ When Australia's representative, Sir Donald Cameron, replied that "as yet they had not been brought under influence," M. Van Rees "thought it was rather surprising that nearly two thirds of the Mandated Territory had not yet been penetrated after twelve years' administration."⁽³⁾ In the face of this criticism of his country's efforts at administering New Guinea, Sir Donald "reminded the Commission of the . . . many topographical difficulties encountered in penetrating this particularly dangerous country."⁽³⁾

The Commission sympathised with Australia's difficulties, but was insistent in its hope that Australia would step up its rate of penetration :

The Commission, while realising the difficulties of the Mandatory Power encountered in the work of opening up the country, notes that it has not yet been possible to explore a considerable part of the territory under mandate. It realises the great difficulties due to the nature of the country and the hostility of its inhabitants but hopes that the Mandatory Power will not relax its efforts to bring the whole territory under government control. (4)

The concern of the Permanent Mandates Commission over the vast

(3) League of Nations P.M.C. XXII, 1932, op. cit., p. 57.

(4) op. cit., p. 368.

areas of New Guinea which were unknown and unexplored, underlined a problem that was very real in the late 1920's and early 1930's : Australia had sought and won a League of Nations mandate to control a vast territory, but having won it either did not have the resources or the will to administer it as the League would wish. The area was immense and Australia was apparently unequal to the task of bringing it under control.

The total area, according to Australia's Annual Report on the territory, was 93,000 square miles including the islands, but the "area under control" amounted to only 26,891, while the area "under influence" measured only 8,563 square miles, the area "under partial influence" was 3,319 square miles, and the area "which had been penetrated by patrols" was 4,369 square miles.⁽⁵⁾ Thus while the territory's total area was 93,000 square miles, the area that was actually known -- even accepting the validity of the figures in the Annual Report -- amounted to about 43,000 square miles, leaving a huge block of 50,000 square miles, or

(5) Commonwealth of Australia, Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea from 1st July, 1930, to 30th June, 1931, (Canberra : 1932), p. 94. (Hereafter referred to as Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report.) This four-fold classification of "controlled" land was used by the Administration in its Annual Reports. Since no indication was given of the effectiveness or extent or the "control", one must suspect that such classifications were merely euphemisms for land that was known about but not actively administered.

considerably more than half of the territory, unknown and unexplored. Most of this block was located in the interior of the mainland of New Guinea, and on maps of the time --- for example, the maps included in the territory's Annual Reports --- it was left blank. All that was known of New Guinea at the time were the coastal fringes. Beyond these all was mystery.

This mysterious unknown territory received little attention from the outside world. Official publications and the press of the day virtually ignored it, and almost the only time that people became aware of its existence was on the infrequent occasions when a government patrol was overdue after being in the interior, or when government patrol officers or occasional explorers or prospectors ventured too far inland into the uncontrolled areas and were attacked or even killed there. Little was known about the area and it was popularly assumed to be a vast and forbidding tract of jungle and mountain where the only inhabitants were small, sparse groups of primitive, ferocious headhunters. Nor was much written about it, except to remark that it was unknown. One contemporary writer, for example, was able to comment with a hint of pride "that Central New Guinea is probably one of the last unexplored regions of the earth."⁽⁶⁾ Yet despite the absence of knowledge on the subject and despite the Australian government's apparent lack of interest in correcting this deficiency, a considerable amount

(6) R. W. Robson (ed.), Pacific Islands Yearbook (Sydney : Pacific Publications, 1939), p. 320.

of work had already been done towards opening up the island of New Guinea.

By the early 1930's when the Permanent Mandates Commission was becoming more insistent that Australia should step up its rate of penetration in New Guinea, a considerable amount was already known about the island, and furthermore the unexplored area of the island was progressively shrinking. For some fifty years a succession of patrols and expeditions in both Papua and New Guinea had done much to reveal what lay inside this "last unexplored region of the earth." This essay is concerned with the patrol that finally broke through into New Guinea's unknown interior and revealed to the outside world exactly what lay there. To set this patrol into its correct perspective it will first be necessary to examine briefly the history of this progressive opening up.

Excellent detailed accounts have been given elsewhere of the exploration of Papua and New Guinea, and so it is not proposed to give here a detailed, but rather synoptic account of the history of the island's exploration. For the following synopsis I am heavily indebted to three authors : Gavin Souter and Frank Clune, who have both written on the subject in considerable detail, and Roger Joyce, whose booklet, though limited, is concise.⁽⁷⁾

(7) Gavin Souter, New Guinea : The Last Unknown (Sydney : Angus and Robertson, 1963); Frank Clune, Prowling Through Papua (Sydney : Angus and Robertson, 1942); Roger Joyce, New Guinea (Melbourne : Oxford University Press, 1960).

Between the two world wars knowledge of New Guinea's unexplored interior was both superficial and slight, and this fact was reflected in its desultory, spasmodic coverage in the official publications and press of the day. The public, however, was gradually becoming better informed, since the boundaries of the "mysterious country" were steadily shrinking. At first the shrinkage had not been spectacular -- its rate must be measured in decades -- but it had been both steady and progressive if not strictly planned. Over the half-century or more of European settlement in the two territories now under Australian control, the unexplored area of the island had been consistently reduced. As Souter has pointed out :

The raising of the British and German flags in Eastern New Guinea resulted in more or less systematic exploration from the late 1880's onwards." (8)

In the period of European occupation there had been a colourful variety of exploratory expeditions. Many had been official patrols made by government officers, but just as many had been what Sir William MacGregor, the first lieutenant-governor of British New Guinea, had rather contemptuously termed "unofficial explorations."⁽⁹⁾ Traders, missionaries, naturalists, prospectors, adventurers and pure romantics had all played a part in reducing the area marked "unexplored" on

(8) Souter, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

(9) Clune, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

all maps.

The delineation of this area was the result of a program of exploration that had proceeded separately in East New Guinea's two separately governed territories. While in each territory the program was not always pursued consistently but had proceeded somewhat spasmodically, there were important differences in the way in which each territory had conceived of its exploratory program. For this reason it will be necessary to review the program of each territory separately.

III. EXPLORATION IN PAPUA TILL 1930.

In British New Guinea, which became Papua under Australian rule, official exploration by government officers accounted for the larger part of the reduction in area of unexplored territory from MacGregor's time onward. Entering New Guinea in 1888 MacGregor found it "as wild an island frontier as it had been in 1884"⁽¹⁰⁾ when Britain had first claimed her portion of the island. MacGregor saw exploration as a necessary part of the administration of his colony. Not only was it an obligatory task : it should be an exclusively governmental task. As Hartley Grattan observes, MacGregor wished to "put an end to private exploring expeditions . . . which were so often ill-found and unwisely led."⁽¹¹⁾

(10) C. Hartley Grattan, The Southwest Pacific Since 1900 (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1963), p. 366.

(11) *op. cit.*, p. 367.

MacGregor was "seeking to make exploration a government prerogative and, by making pacification an integral part of the activity, he was providing the precedent for the patrols that became a feature of successor administrations." (11)

Murray, the next Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, gave continuity to MacGregor's policy of exploration. In 1923 he remarked, somewhat prematurely, that "there is really very little left to explore now in Papua," (12) and he seemed particularly proud that it was his own officers who had been largely responsible for filling in the spaces on the map. Mildly rebuking his Australian fellow-countrymen for paying so little heed to what was being accomplished, Murray said,

I would ask that he [that is, the typical Australian] should not withhold his praise because the men who have done the work in Papua are his countrymen and because they have been content to do the work without bragging afterwards." (12)

The task of reducing the great unexplored interior of the island was tackled more or less consistently and progressively in Papua. By World War I Government patrols had already built up a network of routes across the narrow "tail" that forms the eastern end of the island, and this region was known in broad outline, at least even if a few

(11) Grattan, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

(12) J.H.P. Murray, Recent Exploration In Papua (Sydney : Turner and Henderson Ltd., 1923), p. 95.

minor pockets of unexplored territory still remained there. In 1914, then, the unexplored region of Papua was contained in the "body" of the island : that massive block west of Huon Gulf to the north and the Lakekamu River to the south, and north of the Gulf of Papua.

The limits of unexplored territory had been steadily retreating northwards from the great delta region of the Gulf of Papua and inland as a number of patrols, both official and unofficial, had pushed up the southward flowing streams. The northward drive had been forced along two main avenues : in a northward and northwesterly direction from the Fly River and its tributary, the Strickland, and in a northeasterly direction from the Purari and the Kikori rivers. All such penetration into the "body" of the island, however, eventually halted somewhere near the border between Papua and New Guinea. No man could find a path into what one writer has called "the great-toothed nearly perpendicular peaks"⁽¹³⁾ of the Central Ranges that were massed along a border which nature had made far more formidable than any mere line on a map could ever be.

But after World War I a number of patrols began probing for a passage-way through this barrier. Several patrols examined the upper Fly tributaries. Patrol Officers Leo Austen

(13) Clune, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

and Leonard Logan, for example travelled up the Alice River in 1922. Again in 1924 Austen reached the limestone barriers of the Fly headwaters with W. H. Thompson.⁽¹⁴⁾ Official patrols also extended knowledge of the country behind the Purari and Kikori headwaters. Assistant Resident Magistrate Leo Flint and Patrol Officer H. M. Saunders in 1922 broke into the Samberigi Valley and reached the Erave, the westernmost of the Purari's major tributaries rising among the great valleys of the border area between the two territories.⁽¹⁵⁾ This patrol was significant for the fact that it "made first mention of grasslands and population to the north."⁽¹⁶⁾ A decade later the grasslands and population would become the focus of interest in Papuan and New Guinean exploration.

In 1929 two other Patrol Officers, B.W. Faithorn and Claude Champion, also reached the Erave and noticed grasslands and population northwards. Faithorn and Champion had crossed to the Erave from the Turama headwaters and had followed it downstream, thus proving that it was one of the main Purari tributaries. This patrol, according to Murray, "was a fine

(14) Souter,^{op. cit.} p. 159.

(15) Souter, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

(16) Ivan F. Champion, Letter to the writer, dated 26th March 1969.

piece of work and reflected credit upon all concerned." (17)
 This patrol could have achieved even more significant discoveries for Champion wanted to press on to the north and investigate the populated grasslands they saw; but Faithorn "was not of the stuff that explorers are made" and "would not diverge to the north," mainly because of his wish not to exceed his duties. (18)

The most outstanding achievement in the exploration of Papua in the decade following World War I was the journey "from the Fly to the Sepik" of Charles Karius and Ivan Champion in 1927 - 1928. The purpose of their expedition

was to trace the Fly to its source, cross to the head of the Sepik and follow that river to the outlet, thus crossing the island of New Guinea in its widest part (19)

Karius and Champion required two trips to make their crossing. The first journey, from May to July of 1926, failed because of the incredibly difficult nature of the broken limestone country of the upper Fly headwaters and because the party was forced back by lack of food. The second attempt, between September, 1927, and January, 1928, proved successful even though the difficulties were enormous. There were

(17) J.H.P. Murray, Annual Report for 1928-29, Territory of Papua (Commonwealth of Australia, 1930), p. 8.

(18) Ivan F. Champion, letter to the writer, loc. cit.

(19) Ivan F. Champion, Across New Guinea From The Fly To The Sepik (Melbourne : Lansdowne, 2nd ed., 1966), p. 7.

limestone rocks with razor-like edges to clamber over; chasms twenty to thirty feet deep to cross by rotten tree trunks . . . a false step would have meant impalement on needle-pointed pinnacles of limestone.(20)

This journey as Souter notes was a "climax" to exploration in Papua.(21) Not only had the island been crossed "at its widest point," but friendly contacts had been made with a new tribal group, the "min" people, who numbered some 20,000 altogether(22) and occupied an extensive series of steep-walled valleys between the Fly and the Sepik. Further, "the 'Murray Method' of peaceful penetration . . . which was the real justification of his [Murray's] world-wide reputation,"(23) had been carried out in an exemplary manner : not a single shot had been fired in defence of the party on either of its two journeys. But although this journey was a climax, it was not the end. The great block of unexplored territory had been traversed; the next task was its dis^section. This was to be accomplished during the next decade.

(20) Ivan F. Champion, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

(21) Souter, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

(22) Ivan F. Champion's estimate, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

(23) Francis West, Hubert Murray (Melbourne : Oxford University press, 1962), p. 23.

IV. EXPLORATION IN NEW GUINEA TILL 1930.

While expeditions in British New Guinea and Papua had been working northwards in the direction of the Central Ranges and gnawing at the barriers on their fringes, a similar movement had been taking place in a southerly direction from across the border in Kaiser-Wilhelmsland, as the Germans termed their mainland possession, or the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, as the Australians dubbed it after wresting it from the Germans under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1921. In Papua inland penetration had been made by way of the Fly, Strickland, Kikori and Purari Rivers, the main streams pouring southward from the gorges of the Central Ranges to fan out across broad deltas to the Gulf of Papua. In New Guinea too the inland drive was to move along river highways : southward from the Sepik and its many tributaries and southwest from the rift valley of the Ramu-Markham Rivers. But here any similarity of approach ended.

While the official rather than "unofficial exploration" had been the norm in Papua before World War II, it was to be the latter which was the general rule in the New Guinea territory. In Papua exploration had been part of a deliberate government policy, even though not necessarily carried out according to a strict or systematic program. Exploration in Papua was regarded as a necessary adjunct of an officer's administrative duties. As Ivan Champion -- an administrator-explorer himself -- has pointed out, exploration in Papua

was done "principally by officers of the Papua Service in the ordinary course of their duties."⁽²⁴⁾ New Guinea exploration, on the other hand, was typified not by the kiap but rather by the scientist, the missionary and later the prospector, usually independently but perhaps in association with a government officer. While the government patrol officer had led the way in Papua, in New Guinea he usually followed.⁽²⁵⁾

The Fly River had given D^r Albertis and MacGregor and their successors a 600-and-more mile highway to the very walls of the central mountains; the Sepik from the earliest days of German colonisation was to fulfil the same service

(24) Champion, op. cit., p. 5.

(25) It is appropriate here to note that Leahy is insistent that it was he alone who initiated the many exploratory journeys he undertook into the New Guinea highlands, and that it was the officers of the administration of the Mandated Territory who accompanied him rather than he accompanying them. He makes the point in his article "The Central Highlands Of New Guinea", which appeared in the Geographical Journal (London, 1936), vol. 87 (November, 1936) : "We left the base camp at Bina Bina with my brother Dan, Mr. K. Spinks (who was a surveyor from the New Guinea Goldfields Company), and sixty carriers accompanied by Assistant District Officer Mr. J.L. Taylor and a line of native carriers and police boys, the Administration acting on information supplied by me, having decided to send a patrol party in with us, also to look over a new valley we had discovered." (p.247). It is significant to note that the "new valley" --- the Wahgi --- had been discovered on an exploratory flight on March 8th, 1933 in which the Administration had no part. (See Leahy, Geographical Journal, pp. 246-247; cf. Souter, p. 181). (continued next page).

to New Guinean explorers. Using this "widest and easiest path into the interior,"⁽²⁶⁾ various explorers of the Neu Guinea Kompagnie, the first administrator of the German territory, were able to probe inland.

After a number of expeditions shortly after the Kompagnie had assumed administrative control of the territory, German interest in exploration subsided, however, as first the Kompagnie and then the Imperial Government that replaced it consolidated their administration along the coasts rather than thrusting into the interior, as the British were doing in their territory.⁽²⁷⁾

In 1899 the colony had become a Protectorate of the Imperial Government and the administration gradually stabilised and gained in confidence. Interest in the inland areas was renewed and with only several years of German rule still remaining there was a final flurry of inland exploration. A series of German expeditions moved inland via the Sepik in the last five years before World War I, and one of the

(25) (cont.) Leahy makes the point more explicitly in a letter to Dr. H.C. Brookfield, dated 22nd March, 1962, : "Just to keep the record straight - we NEVER, repeat NEVER accompanied anybody, Administration or otherwise into the Highlands. We Discovered it. We reported the discovery and were it not for Jim Taylor's interest and persistence, the Administration would not have accompanied OUR party (financed by New Guinea Goldfields Ltd. at Wau) into the highlands."

(26) Souter, op. cit., p. 73.

(27) Ibid., p. 76.

explorers, Dr. Richard Thurnwald in 1913 reached a point about 620 miles from the mouth. During Thurnwald's expedition a probe was also made into the Central Ranges along the April River, a tributary that tumbles northward out of the mountain barrier to join the meandering lagoon land of the middle Sepik. (28)

The Markham-Ramu rift valley also gave the Germans access to the inland mountains and a number of German expeditions had defined the land on either side of the valley before World War I. One of the first explorers in this region was Hugo Zoeller, a journalist. In 1898 from a high point in the Finisterres Zoeller had looked south across the kunai grass expanses of the Ramu Valley to the upthrusting walls of the Bismarck Ranges, whose highest peaks he named Mt. Otto, after the German Chancellor and Mt. Maria, Mt. Herbert and Mt. Wilhelm after his children. (29)

Another notable expedition in the Markham-Ramu region had been that of William Dammkohler, who walked up the Markham valley in 1907 and crossed over the flat kunai grass plains forming the imperceptible divide between the Markham and the Ramu and determined the nature of the divide. (30) The most

(28) Souter, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

(29) *ibid.*, p. 76.

(30) *ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

significant German contribution to exploration south of the Markham-Ramu rift valley was made by missionaries, however.

Missionaries of the Neuendettelsau Lutheran Mission from Simbang near Finschafen were extremely active in this phase of New Guinea exploration. They had already contributed to knowledge of the Huon Peninsula and the Markham Valley⁽³¹⁾ when two of their number, Dr. Georg Pilhofer and Reverend Leonhardt Flierl, ascended the Waria in 1913 and crossed the Biaru and Korpera Rivers, both tributaries of the Lakekamu, which flows into the Gulf of Papua. They then moved into the Bulolo-Watut valley and thence down to the Markham.⁽³²⁾ The gold from this region was to provide the stimulus for much of the exploration of the New Guinea highlands.⁽³³⁾

(31) Dr. G. Pilhofer claims that "the whole of the Finschafen peninsula was explored by members of the Lutheran mission, the northern areas up to the hinterland of the mission station Beliau and the areas on the southern slope of the Finisterre range up to the headwaters of the Gusap which flow into the Ramu." (From a letter to Gavin Souter, dated 19th. November, 1962).

(32) Souter, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

(33) New Guinea Goldfields Ltd. -- one of the biggest of the Wau-Bulolo gold companies -- for example, financed the Leahy brothers on their journeys into the highland valleys in 1932 and 1933. As well as this the company made available the air transport on which the expeditions relied and supplied the surveyors who accompanied and mapped the expeditions. (See M.J. Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 239 and pp. 245-247).

War came to New Guinea in 1914, the year after Pilhofer and Flierl's Waria-Bulolo journey and all exploration was to cease, except for the journeys of Captain Hermann Detzner, the German surveyor who led a fugitive existence with a small band of native troops as he outwitted and eluded the Australians who had invaded his territory. In a book written after the war Detzner claimed to have explored the Saruwageds and the upper Watut and even to have reached the highland valleys near Mt. Hagen. The routes of his journeys are rather indefinite, however, and his claims are suspect to say the least.⁽³⁴⁾

- (34) Individual writers differ in their acceptance of Detzner: from Olaf Ruhen, whose book Mountains In The Clouds (Adelaide : Rigby Ltd., 1963) champions Detzner, to Gavin Souter, who admires Detzner's quixotic courage while emphasising the vagueness and inconsistency of his claims. A Lutheran missionary who knew Detzner claimed that " . . . in vain glory he attempted to give himself the appearance of a military genius and of a scientific explorer. His effort proved a very poor one even though his book itself a success. . . . The whole book is so much fiction and cannot be taken as a reliable record of anything." (From a letter to Frank Clune written by Rev. F. Otto Thiele and dated 17th. May, 1943). The most recent and definitive assessment of Detzner has been made by P. Biskup in an article, "Hermann Detzner : New Guinea's First Coast Watcher," in The Journal Of The Papua And New Guinea Society, vol. 2, No. 1, 1968, pp. 4-21. Biskup, while admitting that many of Detzner's claims were fraudulent, claims that "his determination alone will secure him a place, however minor, in the history of New Guinea . . . and . . . in the history of German colonialism." Biskup also includes a public announcement made by Detzner in 1932 stating that "my book 'Vier Jahre Unter Kannibalen' contains a number of misrepresentations regarding my journeys in New Guinea. . . . Thus in 1914 during my attempt to cross Kaiser Wilhelmsland from east to west, I did not reach Mt. Joseph. The described breakthrough attempts did not take place." (p. 21) The publication in English of this announcement apparently concludes the controversy over Detzner's alleged discoveries.

With peace restored -- temporarily at least -- and Australia now in control of the former German colony, the German Lutheran missionaries continued with their exploratory activities. This time they were on the threshold of great discoveries for they began moving into the towering Bismarck Ranges behind whose 10,000 - foot peaks lay the populous and unknown highland valleys. In 1926 Leonhardt Flierl crossed the Bismarck Ranges and claimed to have reached the vicinity of the Bena Bena valley, although it is uncertain whether he actually entered the valley or merely viewed it from afar. Then in September, 1929 Dr. G. Pilhofer and Rev. W. Bergmann also crossed the Bismarcks and got as far as the region Flierl claimed to have reached. (35)

- (35) In his monumental history of the Neuendettelsau Mission - Die Geschichte der Neuendettelsauer Mission In Neu Guinea (Neuendettelsau : Freimund-Verlag, 1963) -- Pilhofer claims for Flierl the honour of being the first white man into the Central Highlands of New Guinea. Pilhofer says (II, 223-224) : "with an evangelist from the coast Flierl occupied the station Ganmari three days from Kaiapit. Flierl used this outpost for founding the Lihona Evangelist Station on one of the foothills. This step, which he took in 1926 had far reaching consequences. From Lihona Flierl achieved a crossing of the main range to the south where numerous densely populated plains lay. To him, then, the credit is due for first entering the inland plateaus of New Guinea. . . ." In a footnote on page 224 Pilhofer adds "In 1929 Pilhofer and W. Bergmann continued exploration in this newly discovered district." That the Lutheran missionaries were the first Europeans into this area was confirmed for the present writer on 13th. December, 1968. He interviewed a number of elderly men in the Dunantina Valley and all said that two missionaries were the first whitemen they had seen and that the missionaries were closely followed by two other men with guns and dogs.

Bergmann has written an account of his trip with Pilhofer.⁽³⁶⁾ The two missionaries crossed the Bismarck Range on 6th September, 1929, and entered the heavily populated Dunantina Valley to the south. From here they turned to the east and moved east up the Kamamentina Valley and continued over a divide and into the Ramu headwaters near present-day Kainantu then back to the Markham.

The missionaries' two-week patrol went unpublicised and unrecognised save among the other Lutherans of the Neuendettelsau Mission who were doubtless overjoyed to learn that Pilhofer and Bergman had been "accompanied everywhere" on their journey "by more than a hundred heavily armed warriors," and that they had been "greeted in a friendly manner everywhere."⁽³⁷⁾ There was an obvious cause for delight:

At once the immensity of the assignment stood before us, the open doors, thousands and more than thousands were ready for us to evangelise. A vast work and program lay before us. (38)

But greater discoveries were to be made, and although the missionaries were to be in the forefront in taking up the challenge of the new country, it was not to be missionaries who would make the succeeding discoveries in New Guinea's highlands.

(36) W. Bergmann, 25 Jahre Missionsarbeit im Hochland von Neu

(37) Ibid., p. 30. / Guinea, unpublished MS, no date.

(38) Ibid., p. 62.

Pilhofer and Bergmann had been beaten into the Kainantu plateau region by a gold prospector, Ned Rowlands. As they were returning to the Markham through the present-day Kainantu locality they had passed his tent.⁽³⁹⁾ Rowlands had been prospecting the area during 1929 with ~~the~~ *Cecil J. Levien prospector & founder Guinea Gold N. L.* ~~an~~ *engineer of Placer Development Ltd.* Rowlands had discovered the Kainantu plateau region during his prospecting trips.⁽⁴⁰⁾ He left no records of where he travelled or what he found, but nevertheless deserves the credit for having been the first white man to enter New Guinea's highlands from the eastern end. Furthermore his journeys into the region were important for another reason : the gold he was reported to have found prompted Leahy and Dwyer to undertake their trip.

By the end of the 1920's the unknown country of the island's interior was ready to be opened up. That it had not been penetrated earlier seems surprising today. The nature of the country explains why it had not. The experience of C.E. Lane-Poole, a forester, who was engaged by the Commonwealth Government of Australia to make a survey of the forest resources in each of Australia's New Guinean territories in 1923,

(39) Bergmann, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

(40) A.M. Healy, "A History of the Development of the Bulolo Region, New Guinea," New Guinea Research Bulletin, no. 15, (Canberra : A.N.U. Press, 1967), footnote p. 41.

indicates the type of difficulty that tended to impede the rate of exploration.

Lane-Poole spent several months in the upper Ramu Valley and his survey took him close to the top of Mt. Otto on April 8th, 1923. Lane-Poole reported

. . . we suffered desperately from the cold and wet - the temperature was 42 degrees
 . . . it was a very uncomfortable climb.
 . . . As luck would have it the climb was rendered rather abortive through the downpour of rain and closely enveloping mist. These weather conditions made any surveying observations impossible and so for the last lap I left the utterly done carriers with the theodolite and went up with Angep [a guide] . . . (41)

Lane-Poole claimed to have reached the summit of the mountain. It is unlikely that he did : he gave the height of the summit as 9,000 feet, whereas it is actually well over 11,000 feet. Probably he climbed a minor peak to the side and was prevented from seeing the main peak by the "Scotch Mists" that dogged his sojourn in the region. Had the day been fine he would undoubtedly have been the first white man to have viewed the broad grassed valleys of today's Eastern Highlands. However,

(41) C.E. Lane-Pool, The Forest Resources of the Territories of Papua and New Guinea (Melbourne : Government Printer of Victoria, for the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1925), pp. 197-198.

instead of moving southward into the grasslands he could easily have reached, Lane-Poole returned to his base near the Ramu River. The great highland valleys that he could easily have seen had to wait for nearly a decade before white men would enter them.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND TO THE JOURNEY

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I. AN "EPIC JOURNEY"

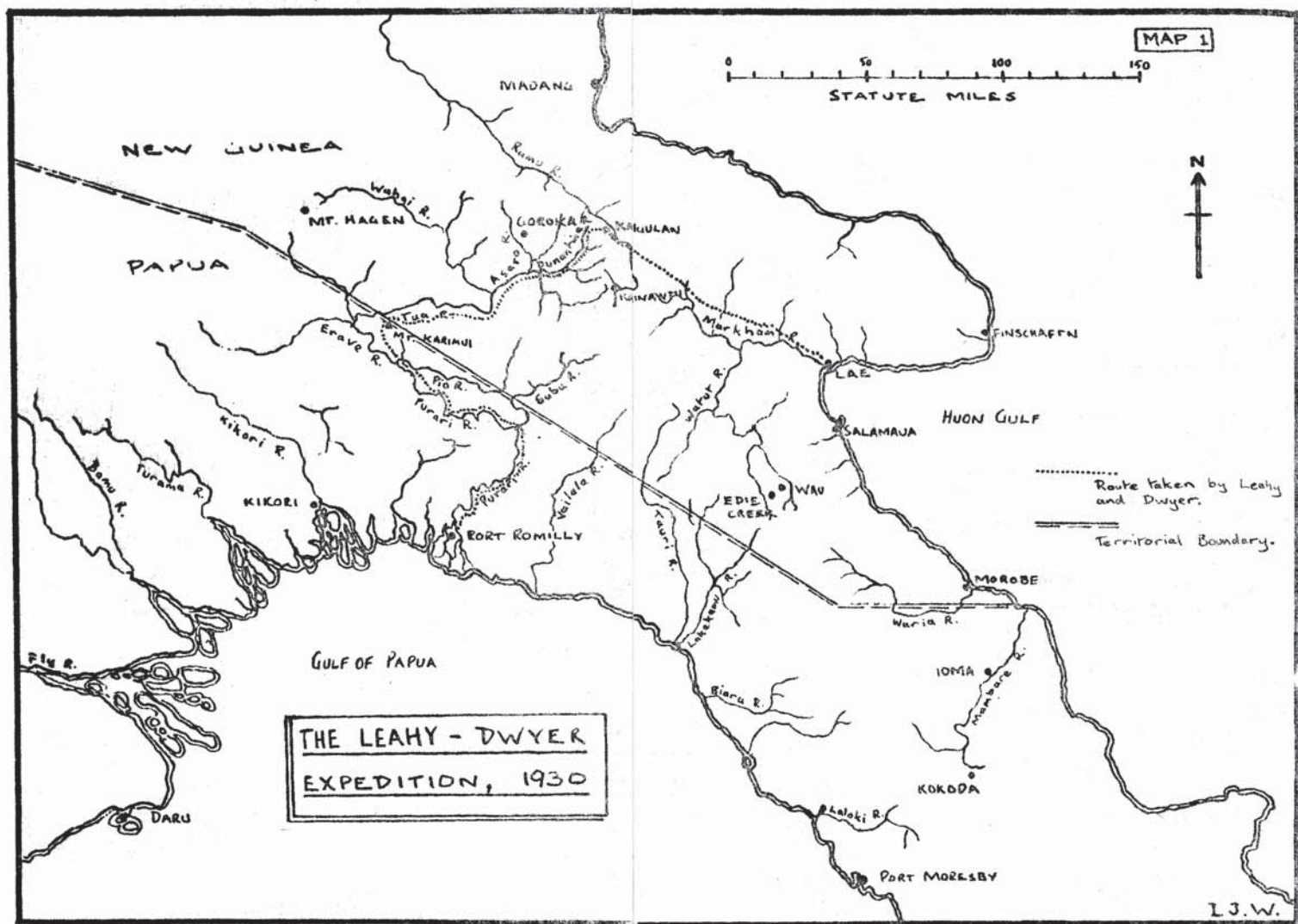
In spite of the exploratory work that had been done in Papua and New Guinea up to 1930 no-one had yet discovered what actually existed in the interior country. In the early 1930's one writer was able to look back on the previous decade and announce with obvious excitement :

In the hitherto unexplored centre of the great island of New Guinea, where it was assumed that there was simply a continuation of the precipitous mountains and miasmatic jungles of the coastal districts, a large plateau of great fertility has been found. It is a wide expanse of rolling uplands, enjoying a temperate climate, and densely populated by a race, or races of skilled agriculturalists, whose existence was hitherto only vaguely suspected. (1)

This writer was speaking from the vantage point of 1933 when the general lie of the interior was becoming known. At the end of the 1920's, however, few people suspected that beyond the mountain barriers there was anything but "precipitous mountains" and "miasmatic jungles".

By the end of the new decade, the new country would be completely explored and many of the "new people" would be brought under government control. The journey that was to

(1) "Discoveries In New Guinea," Pacific Island Monthly (Sydney, 21st December, 1933), p. 11.



be the key to this opening of new territory was undertaken between April and July of 1930. The journey of Michael James Leahy and Michael Ignatius Dwyer across New Guinea via the Markham, Ramu and Purari Rivers (see Map 1) was unplanned and unforeseen. They were searching for nothing else but good prospecting streams and chanced to stumble on to a trail that led them across the island. It was all appropriately and typically New Guinean; it was the type of exploration Sir William MacGregor would have called "unofficial". Yet in spite of its mundane motives and inauspicious origin their journey did enable the outside world to see what lay beyond the mountains. During the seven weeks they spent following down the streams of the interior to the Papuan coast, Leahy and Dwyer found the first signs of the "wide expanses of rolling uplands" which were "densely populated" by "skilled agriculturalists". Once it was known that this was the nature of the new country, further journeys to investigate such startling phenomena became inevitable. (2)

- (2) In an interview with the writer at Zenag on 29th September, 1968, Leahy said that he believed his 1930 journey with Dwyer had made possible his subsequent journeys into the Central Highlands. "Of course the Purari trip was the most important," he said. "All the other trips really only followed it. Once the trip had been made, we knew where we had to go next."

Numerous commentators have discussed Leahy's and Dwyer's efforts and it is generally granted that their journey was something of an "epic" undertaking.⁽³⁾ The Papuan Courier believed "this trip of Messrs. Leahy and Dwyer is really a most remarkable performance."⁽⁴⁾ Nor was Sir Hubert Murray damning with faint praise when he said "Messrs. Leahy and Dwyer made a really extraordinary journey from the Mandated Territory to Papua. . . . The journey was a good piece of bushmanship."⁽⁵⁾ But its importance lay not in its "good bushmanship" but in what it revealed about the island's interior. Their journey was the introduction to a new phase in the exploration of the island.

II. WRITTEN ACCOUNTS OF THE JOURNEY

In the four decades that have elapsed since the journey numerous accounts have been written about it. All rely on Leahy's and Dwyer's own stories of their expedition. Leahy in particular has written in detail about the trip and it is

- (3) For a good example of this type of comment, see R.F. Salisbury From Stone To Steel : Economic Consequences Of A Technological Change In New Guinea (Melbourne : Melbourne University Press, 1962). Salisbury notes (p.1) that "in 1933 the first parties set out for the systematic exploration of the New Guinea Highlands, an area thought to consist of uninhabitable mountain peaks until its eastern fringes were first crossed in the epic journey of the two prospectors, Leahy and Dwyer, in 1930."
- (4) Issue for Friday, 22nd August, 1930.
- (5) Murray, Annual Report, Papua, 1930-1931, p. 13-14.

from his writings that commentators have drawn most of their information. Throughout his journeys Leahy kept a brief notebook record of where he was travelling and what he was doing, as well as maps that he drew progressively, and notes of compass bearings. In addition he maintained detailed diaries. All accounts of Leahy's various journeys must rely heavily on his notebooks and diaries as there is little other independent documentation.⁽⁶⁾ Dwyer, too, kept diaries throughout the journeys he made with Leahy. His diaries contain a record of the approximate number of miles travelled each day by the party. In addition Dwyer drew a progressive series of maps which he later synthesised into a map covering the whole journey. This map he called "The Road To Nowhere."

The first written account of the journey consisted of two affidavits, one by each man, which they were obliged to swear on emerging at Port Romilly in the Purari Delta.⁽⁷⁾ Dwyer's statement was brief -- about 500 words in length -- and only stated the purpose of his journey with an explanation of how the party had come to Papua by accident. Leahy's statement on the

- (6) The original diaries are now in the possession of the National Library, Canberra. Mr. Leahy keeps a typescript copy of the diaries in his own possession. The notebook is still held by Mr. Leahy. The comments and quotations used in this account are taken from the typescript copy of the diary and from the original notebook. Mr. Dwyer still possesses his own diaries and maps. This account will also refer to these.
- (7) The affidavits made by Leahy and Dwyer were sworn at Port Romilly before Leo Austen, Assistant Resident Magistrate of the Delta Division, on 18th July, 1930. Affidavits were necessary as Leahy and Dwyer by crossing into the Territory of Papua without permission were somewhat in the position of illegal immigrants and were obliged to state their reasons for having entered Papuan Territory.

other hand was considerably longer --- about two thousand words --- and was extremely detailed. It was, in effect, a running commentary on the whole journey, listing most of the villages and explaining the features of the country they passed through. Leo Austen, the Assistant Resident Magistrate of the Delta Division, before whom the affidavits were sworn, thought the statements "rather long winded" although he thought "His Excellency might find them interesting as they contain valuable information for future patrol work."⁽⁸⁾ Murray did find the two statements interesting : in his next annual report he spent more than 500 words in speculation over what they had revealed. The Annual Report of the Mandated Territory dismissed the journey in a single sentence.⁽⁹⁾ Its summary dismissal demonstrates an official lack of interest in exploration that drew sharp criticism from the Permanent Mandates Commission.

The first published account of the journey was a report in the two local territory newspapers shortly after Leahy and Dwyer had reached the comparative civilization of Port Romilly. Upon their arrival in Port Moresby on their way back to Edie Creek from Port Romilly Leahy and Dwyer were interviewed by The Papuan Courier, which then published an account of their journey.⁽¹⁰⁾ This account was reprinted a month later in

(8) Letter to the Government Secretary, dated 28th July, 1930.

(9) See Territory of Papua, Annual Report (1930-31), pp. 13-14; also Commonwealth of Australia, Report To The Council Of The League Of Nations On The Administration Of The Territory Of New Guinea From 1st July, 1930, to 30th June, 1931 (Canberra : Government Printer, 1932, p. 90; hereinafter referred to as Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report (1930-31)).

(10) Papuan Courier (Friday, August 22nd, 1930), p. 7.

the Rabaul Times.⁽¹¹⁾ Murray's Annual Report for 1930-31 also gave a brief resume of the expedition.

The first attempt to report the journey in length and in detail was made by Leahy himself in 1935, at a time when he was concerned to consolidate his reputation as the first explorer of the New Guinean Highlands.⁽¹²⁾

(11) Rabaul Times (Rabaul : Friday, 19th September, 1930), p.9.

(12) In August of 1935 Leahy engaged in a remarkable and acrimonious public debate with the Papuan explorer, Jack Hides, over their respective discoveries in what are now the Southern Highlands District of Papua. In an interview with a Melbourne newspaper, The Star, Leahy disputed Hides' claims to have discovered new land along the Papuan-New Guinea border, saying that the geographical and ethnological discoveries announced by Hides after his recently completed and already famous Strickland-Purari patrol of 1935, had already been made by Leahy himself. The debate then continued in the Australian press for the next four months with various interested parties also joining in. An excellent account of the controversy is given by J. Sinclair in his biography of Hides, The Outside Man (Melbourne : Lansdowne, 1968). Sinclair points out that the controversy was most regrettable as it rubbed some of the lustre from the achievements of each explorer and since later exploration showed that each man had made original discoveries. It eventuated that Hides' maps had been inaccurate, and this had led him into misjudging the exact location of his discoveries, placing them too far north into territory already traversed by Leahy and his brother Dan.

Another cause of the dispute was probably the manner in which Hides was lionised by the Australian press while Leahy, whose discoveries were equally impressive and in the end more valuable, was virtually ignored by the press of the day. The Pacific Islands Monthly pointed to this underlying cause when it commented : "Unfortunately the noteworthy feats of Messrs. Leahy have been almost ignored by the erratic Australian press while those of Mr. Hides have received 100% publicity. Life is like that." (From the issue for Friday, 22nd August, 1935.) One of the purposes of Leahy's trip to London in 1935 was to stake his claim with the Royal Geographical Society as the first explorer of the New Guinean Highlands. In reporting Leahy's interview with The Star, most Australian newspapers mentioned that "Mr. Leahy is going to London next week to place his records before the Royal Geographical Society." (Brisbane Telegraph for 17th August, 1935. This comment typified those in other Australian newspapers at the time.) The purpose of placing his records before the society was to forestall any claims by Hides.

He delivered a paper at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on 21st November, 1935, and his paper was published over nine and a half pages in the Society's journal.⁽¹³⁾ This account relied heavily on the diary and in fact consisted largely of quotations -- with necessary expansions -- from the relevant sections of the diary. In association with an American author, Maurice Crain, Leahy wrote a complete book about his travels, The Land That Time Forgot, the first hundred pages of which are largely concerned with his journey with Dwyer.⁽¹⁴⁾ A further account that Leahy has written is an article, "Discoveries in New Guinea", which occupied ten pages of the Explorers' Journal for June, 1962.⁽¹⁵⁾

A number of independent writers have also written at length about Leahy and his journey with Dwyer. Many writers have mentioned Leahy and Dwyer in passing while writing about New Guinea exploration in general,⁽¹⁶⁾ while others have given more detailed accounts. The first to do so was Frank Clune in his two books,

- (13) M.J. Leahy, "The Central Highlands Of New Guinea," Geographical Journal (Royal Geographical Society : London), Vol. 87, 1936 pp. 229-262.
- (14) M. J. Leahy, and M. Crain, The Land That Time Forgot (London : Hurst and Blackett, 1937).
- (15) M.J. Leahy, "Discoveries In New Guinea," The Explorers' Journal (The Explorers' Club : New York), Vol. XL, No. 2, June, 1962, pp. 31-40.
- (16) For example see C. Hartley Grattan, op. cit.

Prowling Through Papua and Somewhere In New Guinea,⁽¹⁷⁾ Colin Simpson in Plumes and Arrows : Inside New Guinea⁽¹⁸⁾ and Gavin Souter's New Guinea : The Last Unknown⁽¹⁹⁾ also consider the Leahy-Dwyer journey in detail. These accounts as well as Leahy's own depend on the diaries and the notebooks and on Leahy's own memory. The diary, however, does have certain deficiencies which must be recognised when the journey is being considered.

III. PROBLEMS IN RECONSTRUCTING THE JOURNEY

If considered purely as an itinerary, the diary gives a satisfactory account of where the party went and what it experienced, although it is not sufficiently complete to give all the precise details a serious reader would wish to know. To follow the party's route it is necessary to read the diary in association with The Land That Time Forgot and the articles in the Geographical Journal and the Explorers' Journal. On retelling his story Leahy either includes or omits or expands on events, names and places as his memory and interest at the time dictate.

(17) Frank Clune, Prowling Through Papua, op. cit., pp. 183-185; Somewhere In New Guinea (Sydney : Angus and Robertson, 1951) pp. 304-312.

(18) Colin Simpson, Plumes and Arrows : Inside New Guinea (Sydney : Angus and Robertson, 1962), pp. 119-120.

(19) Souter, op. cit., pp. 177-178.

A further difficulty is that of spelling. Leahy's spelling of place names varies from one account to the next. Thus the village of Kafetegu on the lower Dunantina River is given as "Gebetule" in the affidavit, as "Gavitulae" in the diary and "Gavitula" in The Land That Time Forgot. Merisawana on the lower Asaro is spelt "Owasarona" (affidavit) is written as "Ourasona" (diary), "Orissiwans" (The Land That Time Forgot) and "Aurasona" (Geographical Journal). "Kayebi" (affidavit) becomes "Kiyabbie" (diary) and "Kaiabi" (Geographical Journal). As a result cross reference is called for.

There is a further problem with spelling : current official spelling is often at variance with Leahy's various spellings. To ensure uniformity this ~~essay~~ will use the spelling used by the Edition 1-AMS maps of the United States Army Map Service, Corps of Engineers (1 : 250,000 scale, compiled 1962 and 1963 and revised in 1965 and 1966 by the Royal Australian Army Survey Corps). Where no official name is given, this essay will use the spelling given by Leahy's Diary.

A further difficulty is that many of the places visited by Leahy and Dwyer no longer exist, or were recorded in such a form that they are no longer recognisable. Some of the places have disappeared from the map either because the village population has dispersed or because the village has changed its location and perhaps its name. Karuna village on the Dunantina River is a good example of what might happen to a village. When Leahy and Dwyer visited the village on 29th May, 1930 it was an apparently powerful village where "nearly all the

men wore a gauntlet on the left wrist, apparently to protect them from the bowstring."⁽²⁰⁾ After Leahy and Dwyer completed their trip across the island via the Purari River, they returned to the Dunantina in October and November of the same year and on the second trip they found that Karuna had been burnt to the ground and its people dispersed in the intervening five months.

There is also the possibility that Leahy, who had to communicate with local populations with sign language, misinterpreted the place names he was given, or perhaps recorded their names incorrectly. There are a number of cases where the village name given by Leahy appears to bear no relationship to present villages, or where no such names are known today. The village Tunawona, where the party slept on 17th June, 1930 is typical. This village was somewhere close to the western bank of the Sena River and near its junction with the Tua, that is, somewhere near the present Sub-District headquarters of Karimui. However, this village no longer exists and the word is unknown to the present occupants of the area, the Meyo clan of the Daribi language group, who claim that Leahy and Dwyer did in fact sleep in their village. A different problem is posed by "Para" village, where the party slept on 18th June, 1930. The word Para does not refer to one village but rather to a phratry, or collection of allied clans, of the Daribi language speakers on the northwestern slopes of Mt. Karimui. The Para

(20) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 51.

clans are scattered over a wide area of the mountain's flank and each hamlet can justifiably be called "Para".⁽²¹⁾

Thus it is nearly impossible today to reconstruct the exact route taken by Leahy and Dwyer and only a generalised route can be plotted.

Yet a further problem is that the diary itself gives an incomplete account of much of what happened during the journey. Considered only as an itinerary the diary is satisfactory but considered as a contemporary eye-witness account of the meeting of two alien cultures, or as a record of human endurance, it is illuminating in parts, though at times disappointing, and once again it is necessary to refer to the other accounts for the journey. For example, the diary reports "Good reception at Kiyabbie", while the affidavit says : "At Kayebi we were received by the town band using about a dozen bamboo flutes." The Land That Time Forgot is more explicit: "We were greeted by a wailing sing song . . . song of welcome, a distinctly pleasant and melodious chorus."

(21) Between 6th and 9th December, 1968, the writer and Dr. Roy Wagner, an anthropologist who has lived among the Daribi-speaking clans, interviewed a number of informants from the Daribi clans. None of those interviewed knew of a number of names given by Leahy to places he passed through in the Karimui region, although they knew the location of all the places he had visited in their area. According to Dr. Wagner there has been a "mushrooming and perishing" of clans in this area in the last forty years and clans have formed and dispersed quickly, and the names of their hamlets with them.

This report continues : "instead of trying to lead us around the village and away from it, they led us straight to the largest house and made signs where each of us were to sleep. It was the only time on the whole trip that such hospitality was offered."⁽²²⁾ The diary account in this case, as in many others, is incomplete if it is not read in association with the other two accounts.

Given the conditions under which the diary was written -- the writer the leader of a small party in unknown, heavily populated and potentially hostile country, the party traversing extremely difficult terrain and not knowing in what direction they were heading, with food supply and health a constant anxiety -- it is unjust to accuse Leahy of limited observation and authorship. That he kept an accurate diary at a time when he was an itinerant gold prospector is remarkable. Nevertheless, if the diary account of the meeting of alien cultures had been more detailed, it would have been a priceless record of a unique type of situation that is now forever beyond recall.⁽²³⁾

(22) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 80

(23) The editor of Time-Life Books, Maitland A. Edey, who has examined Mr. Leahy's written material, expresses a similar regret : " . . . readers will want to know about these extraordinary stone-age people -- particularly from a man who had a chance to see them when they were in the stone age, before any other whites had come into contact with them at all. What was this society like? We never find out. Mick is more interested in the names of rivers and mountains, in where he went next, and in whether he found gold or not. His descriptions are straightforward but unsatisfying. He doesn't succeed in conveying a larger picture of the country, or the problems encountered in exploring it." (from a letter dated 12th April, 1967, to Captain Elliot Roberts, editor of Explorers' Journal.)

Such regret may only be expressed about the diary, however, and not about Leahy himself. Leahy is a very observant and perceptive man with an amazing memory for minute detail. Even though it is forty years since his journey, his recollections of where he went and what he saw and experienced are still extremely precise. While there may be omissions in his diary, this in no way reflects on Leahy's powers of observation or his perception.⁽²⁴⁾ The omissions of the diary are balanced by the other accounts of the journey that Leahy has written. But ~~But~~ in spite of objections the fact remains that the journey was, in the words of ~~the~~ Papuan Courier, "a most remarkable performance". Although it was made unintentionally it covered vast areas of new country, discovered thousands of new people, and led ultimately to the unlocking of New Guinea's fertile and populous intermontane valleys.

IV. STAGES OF THE JOURNEY

In retrospect Leahy's and Dwyer's expedition naturally divides itself into three stages. Such a division is purely for the sake of convenience, making for a logical consideration of the journey, its difficulties, discoveries and accomplishments.

The first stage of the journey covers the seven weeks of planning, preparation and ferrying of stores and equipment that elapsed between the meeting of miners and prospectors at Edie Creek on 6th April, 1930, that determined that such an expedition

should be made, and the day, 25th May, when the party finally launched itself into the new country from Lehona. In all of this time the party was in well-known country and among known people and villages and was within easy reach of the coastal townships of Lae and Salamaua.

The second stage occupies two and a half weeks --- from 25th May to 11th June --- and involved the movement of the party downstream among the unknown villages and tributaries of the Dunantina and Asaro rivers to the junction of the Asaro and the Wahgi, where both streams become the Tua. Throughout this second stage the party moved easily through the open, heavily populated kunai grass valleys and ranges and were certain, though mistaken, about where the rivers would lead them. And even though the land and the people were new to them, they were confident of their own ability to find, without trouble or scathe, the gold-bearing stream they had set out for.

The third and final stage of the expedition covers the four weeks from the time the party left the Asaro-Wahgi junction on 11th June to their final emergence on 10th July at Port Romilly amidst the maze of branch streams that form the Puarari Delta on the Gulf of Papua. During this stage the party were entirely lost and ignorant of where the trail would take them next and were, moreover, uncertain of what the final outcome of the expedition would be. In this concluding

four-week stage the party moved through steep, heavily timbered ranges where progress and direction were difficult to maintain. The trail at times took them days and days away from the river they were trying to follow. They were frequently out of contact with the native villages, which became smaller and sparser as the party moved downstream, and during this stage health and food supply became a problem that threatened the safety of the whole party.

V. THE JOURNEY : FIRST STAGE

Leahy's and Dwyer's journey was undertaken purely as a gold prospecting venture. There was no deliberate intention to explore new country or to find out what lay behind the mountain barriers of the Bismarck Ranges. Leahy, who had come to New Guinea in 1926 to seek his fortune during the Edie Creek gold rush, spent the four years up to 1930 on the Bulolo-Wau-Edie Creek goldfields.⁽²⁵⁾

He had become convinced that it was "unlikely that Edie Creek was the only goldfield in the unexplored country"⁽²⁶⁾ and that further goldfields existed in the unexplored interior of New Guinea behind the Bismarck Ranges. He had come to believe that the pattern of broad, gold-rich valleys set amidst

(25) Souter, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

(26) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 31.

steep ridges and lofty surrounding mountain ranges -- the topographical patterns typified by the Waria and Wau valleys -- would be repeated elsewhere in the unknown areas, and he believed that if they were, they would offer similar gold prospecting opportunities.⁽²⁷⁾

But Edie Creek at the time was "petering out for the small miner" and only the "Big Six" -- the six original prospector to peg claims on the creek -- were making much money, mainly because they had the best areas of the creek pegged.⁽²⁸⁾ So when reports filtered back to the Edie Creek goldfields in early 1930 that Ned Rowlands had penetrated unknown country and had been finding payable gold along the Ornapinka River, one of the headwater tributaries of the Ramu on the far side of the Bismarck Ranges in the vicinity of present day Kainantu, Leahy became determined to investigate.⁽²⁷⁾ To Leahy the reported success of Rowlands indicated that "another Edie Creek" probably existed.⁽²⁶⁾ Leahy points out that the most likely place for a prospector to look for gold is along a slow-flowing meandering stream close to ore-bearing ranges : the scouring action of a swiftly flowing stream would prevent the accumulation of large pockets of alluvial gold.⁽²⁷⁾ The gold that Rowlands was rumoured to have found suggested to Leahy that the area was not all "precipitous mountain" or "miasmatic jungle".

(26) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 31

(27) Leahy, interview with the writer, 29th September, 1968.

(38) Dwyer, interview, 9th January, 1969.

In response to the reports of Rowlands' finds a group of twenty-five miners and prospectors on the Edie Creek field held a meeting on Sunday afternoon April 6th, 1930, and decided that one of their number should investigate the country Rowlands was working in. Leahy was chosen because of his previous prospecting experience in the bush, and his willingness to undertake such a trip. Few of the prospectors were anxious to make the trip themselves. As Dwyer has pointed out, "the Edie Creek miners were prospectors rather than bushmen and were happy for someone else to find the gold for them."⁽²⁸⁾ The meeting subscribed £302 to finance the trip.⁽²⁹⁾

Leahy, who had recently been working with his brother Jim as a road-making contractor, had known Dwyer, a surveyor's chain-man, for some time. Leahy chose Dwyer to be his companion on the proposed trip and the pair were ideally suited to the task : both were young, fit and strong and both were experienced prospectors as well as having had considerable experience in the bush and in handling lines of native workboys.⁽³⁰⁾

The eventual success of their expedition owed much to the personal qualities of each man and to their ability to work together. Dwyer, according to Leahy, was a "terrific bloke",

(28) Dwyer, interview with the writer, 7th January, 1969.

(29) M.J. Leahy, personal diary entry for 6th April, 1930.
(The diary will hereafter be referred to as Diary.)

(30) Souter, op. cit., p. 177.

who was "thoroughly reliable", possible because he was a non-drinker and a non-smoker : "it's no good having a companion who is always fretting about his next drink and smoke," Leahy has said.⁽³¹⁾ Leahy, in Dwyer's assessment, was "a leader through and through" who had the ability to "attract people to himself and command their respect."⁽³²⁾ According to Dwyer, Leahy "never had to go and ask a cargo-boy to work for him -- they always came of their own accord."⁽³²⁾

Dwyer points out that they worked well together -- "we made a terrific team" -- and even though "it was a very rough trip, we were confident in ourselves and in each other and knew we could rely on each other. We agreed very well and never argued."⁽³²⁾

The day after the Edie Creek meeting, Monday, 7th April, 1930, Leahy flew to Salamaua, the coastal port and supply centre of the Morobe goldfields, immediately the subscriptions had been collected. He spent the next week making preparations for the trip, engaging labourers and packing his supplies and equipment. The party left for Lae on April 4th, 1930, their plan being to travel up the Markham-Ramu rift valley to Kaigulan on the upper Ramu and there build an airstrip so that Guinea Airways, which had agreed to donate its services, could

(31) Leahy, interview, 15th December, 1968.

(32) Dwyer, interview, 8th January, 1969.

bring in their supplies.⁽³³⁾ Kaigulan was reached on April 21st, two weeks after leaving Edie Creek, and the landing strip was cleared by April 24th.⁽³⁴⁾

After waiting for a week for the Guinea Airways plane, which had not yet arrived with the stores, Leahy, who found it "very monotonous waiting for stores"⁽³⁵⁾ and "was looking forward to getting away,"⁽³⁶⁾ decided to travel back down the Markham Valley "to Sangau, to see what's doing re plane bringing cargo."⁽³⁷⁾ On arriving at Marawassa he received a letter "dated 25th April from Guinea Airways stating no intention of doing all our carting,"⁽³⁸⁾ and because of this irritating setback, Leahy had to arrange for carriers to bring the stores up the 100-mile long track over the hot, monotonously flat, kunai grass plains of the Markham-Ramu valley. He continued back down the valley to Sangau, about sixty-five miles up the valley from Lae, to wait for his carriers and stores, and here he briefly met Rowlands, whose discoveries of gold had prompted the journey.⁽³⁹⁾ The stores duly arrived and the party arrived back at Kaigulan on May 18th to pack their stores for the trip.

(33) Leahy, Diary, entry for 7th April, 1930.

(34) Ibid., 24th April, 1930.

(35) Ibid., 26th April, 1930.

(36) Ibid., 28th April, 1930.

(37) Ibid., 2nd May, 1930.

(38) Ibid., 3rd May, 1930.

(39) Ibid., 7th May, 1930.

By May 20th, 1930 six weeks after the partners had left Edie Creek for Salamaua, Dwyer was able to set out with an advance party for Lehona, the village on the northern slopes of the Bismarck Ranges where Leonhardt Flierl had established an outpost of the Neuendettelsau Lutheran Mission in 1926. Leahy himself followed four days later. Both Dwyer and Leahy had trouble in finding carriers, who all "objected to mountain climbing."⁽⁴⁰⁾ Lehona was well above the Ramu Valley and about 3000 feet above sealevel. Eventually the problem of carriers was solved -- "had a ton of trouble getting carriers," Leahy reported on May 24th, "but after threatening to shoot up the pigs I had sufficient to start"⁽⁴¹⁾ -- and the reluctant men of Kaigulan carried the cargo up the ridges of the Bismarcks to Lehona.

(40) Leahy, Diary, entry for 21st May, 1930.

(41) Ibid., 24th May, 1930.

CHAPTER THREE

THE JOURNEY, I : 25 TH MAY
TO 11 TH JUNE, 1930

CHAPTER THREE

THE JOURNEY, I : 25TH MAY TO 11TH JUNE

I. THE DUNANTINA TO THE ASARO

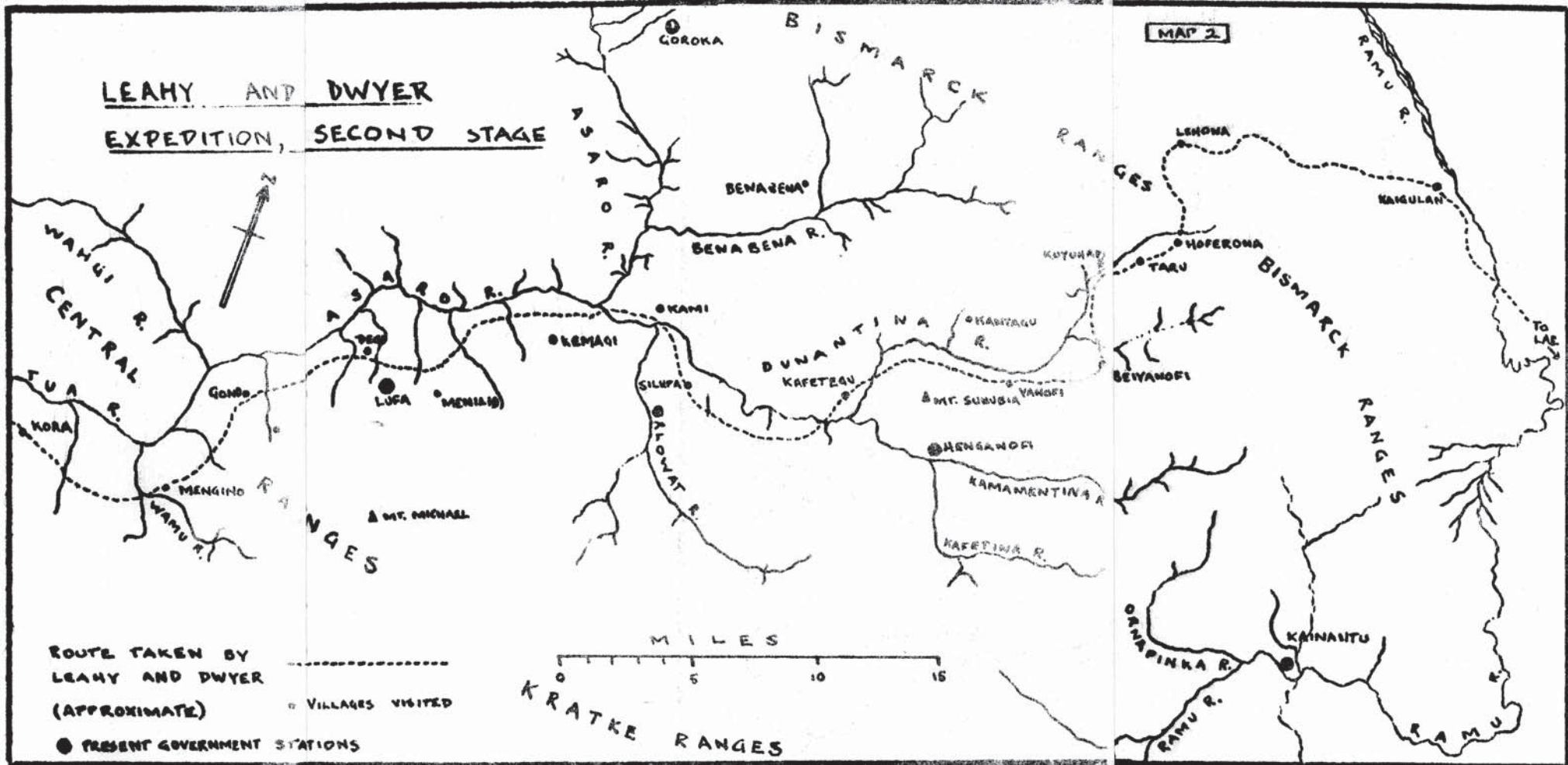
Leahy chose Lehona to start his expedition from because of the reports he had heard of the Lutheran exploratory ventures pushing inland from the village and finding a stream on the southern side of the range.⁽¹⁾ From Lehona the party intended crossing the Bismarck Range, then "looking into the head of the Ramu River and approximately west from there."⁽²⁾ Leahy and Dwyer expected that all the streams they would meet south of the Bismarcks would flow from the northwest to the southeast -- as Ned Rowlands' Ornapinka River and many of the other upper Ramu headwaters do -- before swinging north at a point about ten miles east of present-day Kainantu, from where they plunge down through the Bismarcks to the great Ramu-Markham rift valley. (see map 2)

Leahy and Dwyer did not realise that they had started about ten miles too far to the west to find the Ramu tributaries on the southern side of the Bismarck Ranges. The streams they were to meet would flow south without swinging to the east and the north and would continue south right across the island to

(1) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 43

(2) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 230.

LEAHY AND DWYER
EXPEDITION, SECOND STAGE



to the Gulf of Papua. Leahy and Dwyer intended first to find the stream the Lutheran explorers had reached on the southern side of the Bismarcks, and then "prospect all the branches running into it as far down as Rowlands' claim on the Ramu, hoping in this way to get into the creek which must be bringing down the gold."⁽³⁾

At Lehona the party had difficulty in securing a guide to take them into the unknown land on the other side of the ranges. "All the natives appeared terrified of the mountains and the people beyond," Leahy reported.⁽⁴⁾ The Lehonans "pantomimed sudden death for us all from arrows and clubs."⁽⁵⁾ The Lutheran evangelist, or native catechist, at Lehona strenuously tried to dissuade the party from going on, and the people of the village from guiding them. His advice was :

Mountain ee bigfeller more. Nogot road.
Kanaka long hap, man bilong fight true.
Allee can killum you feller now kaikai.⁽⁶⁾

With no guides to lead the way the party "tried to follow the overgrown track, but communication over the range had evidently ceased many months before"⁽⁷⁾ Eventually, a guide presented himself : "After wandering about for an hour or so and not making much headway, an old native dashed

(3) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 43

(4) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 32.

(5) Ibid., p. 32

(6) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 42.

(7) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 32.

forward and indicated that he would show us the track."⁽⁸⁾

Leahy surmised "he was probably a member of some of the earlier parties heading over the range on a feuding raid."⁽⁹⁾

Their guide led the party to a clearing at the top of the range where they

looked into a vast area of steep, timber-topped, grass covered ranges and high mountain peaks. Fenced, straight-row gardens and smoke curling up from barricaded villages gave promise of food and direction⁽¹⁰⁾

The open landscape before and below them surprised them. They had assumed that the country would be both heavily timbered and uninhabited : " I was amazed to see open country here," Leahy recorded, "but thought it might be the result of a forest fire."⁽¹¹⁾

The party had no trouble in finding its way down into this country of grassed ranges, gardens and barricaded villages: "A lot of different pads," Leahy's diary remarks, "Could not decide which was the right one."⁽¹²⁾ They decided on following down a creek whose source they had found, and pitched their first camp in the "new country" on 26th May, 1930, on its banks, "about twelve miles South South-west of Lehona."⁽¹³⁾

(8) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 32.

(9) Ibid., p. 32.

(10) Ibid., p. 32.

(11) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 46.

(12) Leahy, Diary, 26th May, 1930.

(13) Ibid., 26th May, 1935.

The creek they had found was the Dunantina River, and where they camped the river was only "six feet wide and two feet deep."⁽¹⁴⁾ They soon realised that they were in a heavily populated area. That night Leahy recorded in his diary : "I saw on the mountainside above us the twinkling of fires."⁽¹⁵⁾ The next morning, they made their acquaintance with the "new people". "Our campfires had attracted attention," Leahy reported, "and a heavily armed party came along to investigate."⁽¹⁶⁾ The contact was very satisfactory for each party. The natives for their part "proved to be very friendly Brought native foods. All very excited and did a lot of crying over us and the boys," while the white men "showed the kanakas beads, tomahawks" and "bought a small pig for a tomahawk."⁽¹⁷⁾ So successful was this first meeting that the party camped that night in one of the nearby villages, Hoferona.

The new people had turned out to be less terrifying than their reputation. Evidently the people of Lehona had maligned them. This was to be an experience that the party would go through again and again. Each population group was suspicious and afraid of its near neighbours : "each village thought the next mob wanted to do them over," Leahy has remarked.⁽¹⁸⁾

(14) M.J. Leahy, Affidavit sworn Port Romilly 18th July, 1930. (hereafter referred to as Affidavit.)

(15) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 47

(16) Leahy, Diary, 27th May, 1930.

(17) Ibid., 27th May, 1930.

(18) Interview with the writer, Zenag, 29th September, 1968.

Rather than harbouring any desire to kill and eat the new-comers, the new people were puzzled and perplexed. The strange new-comers were completely outside their experience : everything about the party amazed them -- skin colour, clothing, equipment, firearms. After his first day among them Leahy observed : "When I took off my hat, those nearest me backed away in terror One old chap knelt down and rubbed his hands over my bare legs, possibly to find out if they were painted."⁽¹⁹⁾ The second day in the "new country" was spent at Karuna, about one and a half hours' walk from Hoferona, and here the party caused similar alarm when they were "visited from kanakas from all around."⁽²⁰⁾ Leahy "showed them how the muskets worked. All pretty windy for a start."⁽²¹⁾ In his book Leahy has noted how "the kanakas simply fell over backwards, others grovelled on their bellies at the sound of the guns."⁽²²⁾ Worse still was to come when some sugar cane fibre became ^{caught} in Dwyer's false teeth : "when he removed his teeth, kanakas scattered in all directions, more terrified than they had been by the gun."⁽²³⁾

Meeting the two white men from over the ranges was a traumatic experience for the Dunantina River Natives.

(19) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 48.

(20) Leahy, Diary, 28th May, 1930.

(21) Ibid., 20th May, 1930.

(22) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 53.

(23) Ibid., p. 55.

But it was almost as staggering an experience for Leahy and Dwyer themselves. They could still not reconcile the existence of such a large area of open country and such a large population with the popular ideas of uninhabited "precipitous mountain" and "māsmic jungle" beyond the Bismarcks. After two days in the area Leahy could say

I still held to my theory of a forest fire which had cleared the slopes of timber, but wondered how an open, populated area of such extent could exist so close to the villages on the northern slopes of the Bismarcks without being known(24)

The appearance of the new people also surprised the party almost as much as their clothes had amazed the natives :

. . . most of them had bands of cowrie or tambu shell sewn on bark around their foreheads and rude necklaces made of larger shells . . . , bright coloured leaves in their hair. . . . Many had their noses pierced with bits of bone or shell ornaments inserted in the holes. A few wore beads . . . of seeds or berries around their necks and sometimes their arms. Females of all ages wore their hair done up in net bags. As for clothing, it was hardly worth mentioning. The men and the younger persons of both sexes had narrow girdles of bark string with two narrow tassels of longer string for front and back covering Nearly all the men wore a gauntlet on the left wrist, apparently to protect them from the bowstring. (25)

Leahy also noted that "all appear to indulge in the practice of covering their hair in pig grease, which sure pongs after a bit of maturing."⁽²⁶⁾ The meeting had caused surprises on

(24) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 53.

(25) Ibid., p. 49-51.

(26) Leahy, Diary, May, 1930.

both sides.

What amazed Leahy and Dwyer most of all, however, was the sophistication of the agriculture practised by the new people.

Leahy has recorded his surprise :

I went up and had a look at the Kanaka gardens. I had never seen anything like them elsewhere in the island and was amazed at their neatness. Beans, sweet potatoes and sugar cane were growing in long, straight rows. . . . Straight drainage ditches ran beside the rows and each garden was fenced from wandering pigs by a hedge of tall cane called elephant grass neatly laced together. The only tools in evidence were crude stone working axes and sharpened sticks. The thing that most impressed me was that these primitive gardeners had taken the trouble to plant straight rows. The coastal natives care nothing for such niceties. (27)

A further matter that surprised the party in its first few days in the new country was the existence of a number of light skinned natives. At first Leahy thought these may be the descendents of Chinese coolies who had fled from service on plantations near Madang.⁽²⁸⁾ The first of the "redskins" Leahy believed was a "dinkum half Kanak Kong,"⁽²⁹⁾ but later realised that they were a natural type :

Some of the Kanakas very light skinned, one pikinini being almost white, but a very black coon claimed paternity and laughed at the idea of a Boom Boom meeting his Mary before him.⁽³⁰⁾

The party had struck the Dunantina on their first day out from Lehona on Monday, 26th May, 1930. They spent the next week and a half prospecting down this stream and its

(27) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, pp. 49-50.

(28) Ibid., p. 56.

(29) Leahy, Diary, 29th May, 1930.

(30) Ibid., 31st May, 1930.

tributaries. They were sure they had found Rowlands' stream, even though the prospecting was not yet good. Diary entries indicate the level of their success : "could only get three small fly shits per dish."⁽³¹⁾ But they were confident that they would find Rowlands and his claim by following the Dunantine : "followed main stream on west side to Camp 7," Leahy recorded on 3rd June, "No sign of any lode, Rowlands' branch is not far away, so may see him in a day or so."⁽³²⁾

Even though the results of all this prospecting were not encouraging, the impression they were making on the people of the Dunantina villages certainly was. Everywhere the party went they were greeted enthusiastically : "hundreds of natives around, all friendly, but very boisterous," Leahy recorded at Karuna.⁽³³⁾ Sometimes the reception they would receive was rather too familiar and enthusiastic for comfort :

No trouble so far [observed Leahy on 1st June] in fact they are too affectionate and pong woefully. They also insist on spitting on their hands and rubbing our legs which is probably to show affection. (34)

They were followed from village to village by large crowds of natives who had come to marvel at the newcomers :

Kanakas still regard us as curiosities and have had about two hundred following us along road all day So far all have been very friendly to us, (35)

(31) Leahy, Diary, 1st June, 1930.

(32) Ibid., 3rd June, 1930.

(33) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 231

(34) Leahy, Diary, 1st June, 1930.

(35) Leahy, Diary, 30th May, 1930.

Leahy noted as the party moved from Karuna to Beiyanofi. None of the villages through which they were passing seemed hostile. Rather, each group was anxious for the party to sojourn in its own particular village, and each village seemed genuinely sorry to see the party leave again. On leaving Beiyanofi, Leahy remarked on "the big send-off by the entire population."⁽³⁶⁾ Then between Beiyanofi and Kafetegu the party was displeased when the natives

misled us miles out of our road in their endeavours to take us to their coppers places and trying to get us to camp in order to get a bit of trade. (37)

Even if the friendship had ulterior motives, it made the passage from place to place easy for the party.

The party experienced no hostility itself, but a state of permanent hostility obviously existed between various population groups. "All are afraid of their neighbours," Leahy observed on May 30th, "and are never without bows and a handful of arrows."⁽³⁸⁾ At Karuna the villagers had tried to discourage them from moving on. Their reasons were the same as those of the Lehona evangelist's :

our escort did everything in their power to persuade us to turn back indicating great fear of the people up ahead. Several of them went through the motion of shooting arrows, and one warrior put on a very good pantomime of being hit by an arrow, pulling it out of his chest and dying of the wound. (39)

(36) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 231.

(37) Leahy, Diary, 4th June, 1930.

(38) Ibid., 30th May, 1930.

(39) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 59

Each village was fortified against outsiders : "villages are all barricaded with cane-grass, bamboo etc. and planted around for protection."⁽⁴⁰⁾ Inter-group hostility was also evident from the way in which they were directed from place to place :

As we marched down the valley the large population kept on without a break. Our escort varied from several score to several hundred, new natives joining us as others turned back. None would accompany us more than a mile or two beyond their own villages. Almost invariably those from whom we bought food would warn us against the people over the next hill. (41)

In view of the large population they were meeting, the party was surprised that they had met no displays of hostility. Although they had not been attacked, they constantly suspected that they might be, especially since they were moving through barricaded villages occupied by constantly armed, apparently warlike people. The further the party travelled downstream the more apprehensive it became, wondering how long their good fortune would last. As they saw it, their main protection so far had been the startling effect they had had on the local population. They feared that once their novelty wore off and the natives realised that the party consisted of ordinary and mortal, albeit

(40) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 232.

(41) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 63.

inexplicably accoutred men, they would be attacked by groups coveting the highly desirable equipment they were carrying :

Day after day we kept on the move down the river, always anxious because of the number of Kanakas, feeling that our only hope of safety lay in getting out of their way before the astonishment wore off and before the natives realised the value of . . . the treasures we carried. (42)

Near the village of Kafetegu the party noticed Mt. Sunubia,⁽⁴³⁾ the spire-shaped outcrop of rock near the junction of the Dunantina with the Kamamentina River that the Lutheran missionaries had reached about a year previously. It was near Kafetegu that the party began to realise what the true nature of the New Guinea highlands was to be. The country they had been travelling through in their passage down the Dunantina had consisted of steep, kunai covered ridges with the river confined to a gorge-like course. From Kafetegu

the country gradually opened out into wide, grass-covered valleys populated by thousands of stone-age natives living in barricaded villages with compact areas of gardens nearby. (44)

From Kafetegu the party "climbed up to the top of the highest kunai ridge," on 4th June, 1930, from where they "could see a very big, apparently level valley west from where we were."⁽⁴⁵⁾ They did not know it at the time, but this was the Goroka-Asaro valley, one of the chief valley systems of the

(42) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 35 and also The Land That Time Forgot, p. 63.

(43) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, . . . 34.

(44) Ibid., p. 34.

(45) Leahy, Diary, 4th June, 1930.

New Guinea highlands. But they realised, that this new valley, which "lay to the northwest stretching about twenty miles,"⁽⁴⁶⁾ must have been an important focus of an apparently vast inland population. The valley was an impressive sight :

Cut in a patchwork of native gardens --- clearly a much larger centre of population than any we had seen further north. Dwyer took one look at it and whistled !

'There must be thousands of people along this river, people the rest of the world knows nothing about. See the smoke over there on that ridge. That must be a village, and look! I can make out three more along that ridge to the left.' (47)

In the next two days Leahy and Dwyer realised that the conventional belief in an uninhabited and mountainous interior territory was entirely false. With the Dunantina valley becoming more populous as it approached its junction with the Asaro, the stream draining the new valley from the northwest, they could appreciate the deficiencies of current geographical knowledge. "During the next few days' march we marvelled more than ever at the extent of the cultivated area and the evidence on every hand of a large population," remarked Leahy.⁽⁴⁸⁾ As they approached the Asaro valley, its most obvious feature was its concentration of population :

a large population in the valley, which runs back ten to fifteen miles (49) northwest.

(46) Affidavit.

(47) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 59.

(48) Ibid. p. 61.

(49) Leahy estimates of the length of the valley vary from ten to fifteen miles (Diary) to twenty miles (Affidavit) and twenty to thirty miles (Geographical Journal). The actual length is about twenty five miles.

There must be thousands of natives existing in the fertile flats cultivating by means of pointed sticks and stone axes. (50)

II. THE ASARO TO THE WAHGI JUNCTION

Leahy and Dwyer would have examined the new valley, the Asaro, which they reached on June 5th, 1930, but "decided to press on southwards in the hope of our river eventually turning eastward and joining the Ramu as shown on the territorial map."⁽⁵¹⁾ This unexpected "large flat grass-covered valley we could see to the west, and which we now know as the Goroka valley, tempted us," Leahy has since pointed out, "but as our supplies were for a limited trip only, we stuck to the main river, expecting it to turn south and east, and on to Rowlands' gold find."⁽⁵²⁾

That their river had not yet brought them into Rowlands' territory had now begun to cause them some concern. They were expecting the river to turn east and then north to the Ramu-Markham rift valley. But their river showed no signs of bending to their will. Leahy noted on 6th June, that

the main stream is running in a deep gorge in about south west direction. We have been expecting it to swing around and go through the hills to the Ramu every day, but she is a much larger river and runs further back into the ranges than expected. (53)

(50) Leahy, Diary, 5th June, 1930

(51) Affidavit.

(52) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 34.

(53) Leahy, Diary, 6th June, 1930.

For the first time they began admitting doubts about where the river might take them:

knowing that we must be well into the blank spot on the map by now, we faced the disquieting possibility that if our river should turn out not to be the Ramu, we would have little basis for guessing what river it might turn out to be or where it might come out to the coast. Gold prospects in the creeks got worse instead of better. (54)

The further south they followed their river, the less likely it seemed that it would become the Ramu. To the south of them lay the massive wall of the Central Range with the summit of Mt. Michael⁽⁵⁵⁾ standing out clearly above the surrounding peaks. Leahy and Dwyer guessed that when their river reached this mountainous impediment "it must swing definitely either to the east or the west and turn back to the coast."⁽⁵⁶⁾ It seemed inconceivable that the river could do anything else. There were apparently only two possibilities :

if it swung to the east it would be the Ramu and we could hope to reach Rowlands' claim within a few days' travel; if it swung to the west it would probably be a tributary of the Sepik and we might be weeks in getting to the coast. (57)

But by 8th June, 1930 with their river "full of boulders and about two chains wide and pretty deep," Leahy admitted

(54) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 64.

(55) Leahy claims that the mountain was named after Dwyer and him in commemoration of their joint venture; see The Land That Time Forgot, p. 64.

(56) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 64.

(57) Ibid., p. 58.

we have just about decided that we are not on the Ramu, but we are going to keep on going -- it must come out somewhere. (58)

They were now two weeks out of Lehona so it was obvious that they were not following a tributary of the Ramu. Instead of turning east or west at the mountain mass around Mt. Michael, the river plunged right into the heart of the mountain wall through a gigantic gorge, along whose top the party carefully picked their way. "It was no comfort to hear the river roaring a quarter of a mile down below and to realise that one misstep would send a man hurtling into it," Leahy observed.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The river had become "much too large to be the Ramu," and was running through

a tremendous gorge which must have been from two to two and a half thousand deep in places . . . at some points the sheer drop to the water looked to be at least eight hundred feet. (60)

The trail became less easy as the country was "mostly kunai ridges"⁽⁶¹⁾ above the gorge and the trail led them up and down the steep ridges and through a number of villages, some of them well away from the main stream. The country was still heavily populated. At night, especially, they realised this : " . . . village fires at night could be seen as far away as the eye could reach, across the grass valleys and ranges."⁽⁶²⁾ And during the day they had their ever-present and curious escort of local natives.

(58) Leahy, Diary, 8th June, 1930.

(59) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 66

(60) Ibid., p. 61.

(61) Affidavit.

(62) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

In this ridge and gorge country the party continued to cause amazement. Leahy noted with disain on 8th June, that

the kanakas this morning collected my golumes every time I spat and carefully wrapped it up. The dogs could not have a crap but they promptly pounced on it and wrapped it up too. (63)

After a while such attention irritated Dwyer, who "scared them all off by taking out his false teeth." (64) And then on the following day, when they had difficulty in persuading the "usual big escort of kanakas" (65) to assist them in carrying their stores, Leahy was able to capitalise on this amazement by tying a strip of red cloth around the head of each of his own carriers. The idea was an instant success and the reluctant villagers were soon clamouring for the privilege of carrying cargo in return for a strip of red cloth : "they appear to think this is something special," Leahy noted. (66) Leahy's brainwave thus provided them with a means of cheap trade they were able to exploit time and time again in the next weeks until their roll of red lap-lap ran out.

The natives they met continued to surprise Leahy and Dwyer, too. As they continued downstream they kept meeting people who puzzled them. There was a group of cave-dwellers -- possibly the refugees from some tribal fight (67) -- whom they

(63) Leahy, Diary, 8th June, 1930.

(64) Ibid., 8th June, 1930.

(65) Ibid., 9th June, 1930.

(66) Ibid., 9th June, 1930.

(67) In an interview with the writer, 29th September, 1968, Leahy said that this was what he thought the cave-dwellers probably were.

saw living on the opposite side of the river in caves in the cliff about two hundred feet above the water.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The personal adornments of the natives were unlike anything they had seen. At Nupara, Kiosa and Gono villages, approaching the junction of the Asaro and the Wahgi rivers, Leahy seemed surprised to observe that

the natives wear a section of dried snake in the earlobe, the top joint of a human finger round the neck, two pig's tusks sticking out of the septum of the nose, feathers out of the top of the nose, green beetles in the beard, . . . pig grease rubbed well into the body and the hair. (69)

But what was to be one of Leahy's and Dwyer's biggest surprises for the whole journey came on 10th and 11th June, near the village of Gono, when they noticed a "big river coming in from the northwest . . . will have a look at it tomorrow, it's a hell of a climb down."⁽⁷⁰⁾ When they got down to the river the next day, they could see that it was no mere tributary:

we were amazed to see another large river coming in from the west through another steep gorge, a river so large that it was clearly the main stream and our river only a tributary. This confused our idea of geography still further, as the map indicated no such river in this territory. The kanakas with us called the new river the 'Marki'. (71)

(68) Affidavit.

(69) Ibid.,

(70) Leahy, Diary, 10th June, 1930.

(71) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p.72

That this new river was of major importance in unrevelling the unknown geography of New Guinea's interior was obvious. Its very size indicated that it must drain a vast area, comparable at least to that drained by the Dunantina and the Asaro.

On 11th June, 1930, however, Leahy and Dwyer did not know that

the 'Marki', which we now know was a distortion of the word 'Wahgi', is the main drainage from as far west as Mt. Hagen and it runs through the most thickly populated part of the New Guinea Highlands. (72)

Nevertheless in the next few days as they saw "bloated bodies of natives floating aimlessly by in the current" and "the innumerable skulls and bones littering the sands," they concluded that

there must be an even larger valley or valleys carrying a huge native population and drained by the 'Marki' which we saw coming in from the west. (73)

The discovery of such a large river, and the indication the river-borne bodies and stranded bones gave of a large population further inland, apparently exploded the myth of uninhabited "precipitous mountains" and "miasmatic jungles" in the centre of New Guinea.

By the time Leahy and Dwyer had reached the Wahgi river on 11th June, 1930, they had given up all hope of reaching Rowlands on the Ornapinka, and though they "might have a trip of two hundred or three hundred miles further if they

(72) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

(73) Ibid., p. 36.

were on a tributary of the Sepik,"⁽⁷⁴⁾ the party determined to push on wherever the river led them, knowing that it must eventually bring them to the sea. They had struck no trouble and met no hostility, but to turn back appeared impossible :

We knew that the reason we had escaped any unpleasant incidents . . . was the initial astonishment of the natives in seeing whites for the first time We had no delusions about their reactions once they recovered from the first shock, and realised the value of the shell and other treasures we carried, plus the fact that as far as they could see we were defenceless, guns and rifles meaning nothing whatever to them. (75) To retrace our steps was out of the question This would mean almost certain death, which is just incidental to the looting of our gear, should any trouble start. We decided to continue on down the river We consoled ourselves with the thought that the water must run downhill and that it must sometime, somewhere, run into the sea. (76)

The party had a further reason for not going back : food supply. They had now been away from their base camp at Kaigulan in the Ramu valley for over two weeks and since this was the planned length of their trip their food stocks were limited. They had been supplementing their own food stocks with native foodstuffs they had been exchanging for the "tambu" shell

(74) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 71

(75) Leahy in private conversation often emphasises his belief in this matter. He says that it was his experience wherever he had to travel through new country that no trouble ever occurred on initial contact with native groups. If trouble did come, it usually came on the third meeting. Leahy informed the writer (interview 26th May, 1968) that "on the first meeting they (the natives) were terrified; by the second meeting they were ready to size you up and eye off your cargo; but on the third meeting, watch out. They reckoned they were ready to take you on then." Cf. The Land That Time Forgot, pp. 125-126.

(76) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 35.

beads, knives and tomahawks they carried with them: with their stocks of "trade" running out, their buying of food would be limited. Up till this time they had been able "to bestow gifts in profusion in return for native foods,"⁽⁷⁷⁾ so that

to go back through those thousands of natives commandeering food from their gardens without being able to pay for it, would be to ask for a fight and we weren't equipped for a fight A return trip through the native population to the north would be a fight all the way. (78)

E. W. P. Chinnery, the Director of District Services and Native Affairs for the Mandated Territory, later remarked that

this trip by Leahy and Dwyer across the island is one of the most remarkable journeys in the history of New Guinean exploration, and it speaks well for the experience, tact, and patience of the prospectors that they were able to traverse such a large area of unknown country without conflict with the natives.⁽⁷⁹⁾

By 10th June, 1930, as they stood above the junction of the Asaro and the Wahgi, Leahy and Dwyer and their party were almost half way across the island -- they were roughly eighty miles in from the north coast and a hundred miles from the south coast -- but they were lost and confused. Leahy's book expresses their predicament :

(77) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 35

(78) Ibid., p. 73.

(79) E. W.P. Chinnery, Geographical Journal, vol. 84, no. 5, Nov., 1934, p. 406.

We were 'bushed' for fair. Neither of us had a clear idea of how the island ran. We knew it was something like 1500 miles long and four hundred miles wide. Dwyer had sketched a rough map of the country we had come over, but admitted that he could only guess at our position, as we had been travelling many days over zig-zag native trails and he could not estimate with any accuracy how many miles we had travelled." (80)

But perhaps the party's boss-boy, Ewunga, expressed their general feeling more aptly though more pessimistically : "Bimeby bone belong me stink long bush," was his "gloomy prediction". (81) And so the party pushed on downstream with only one hope : by following the Tua, as their river had become, they would eventually reach the sea.

(80) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 73.

(81) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 73; cf. Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

CHAPTER FOUR

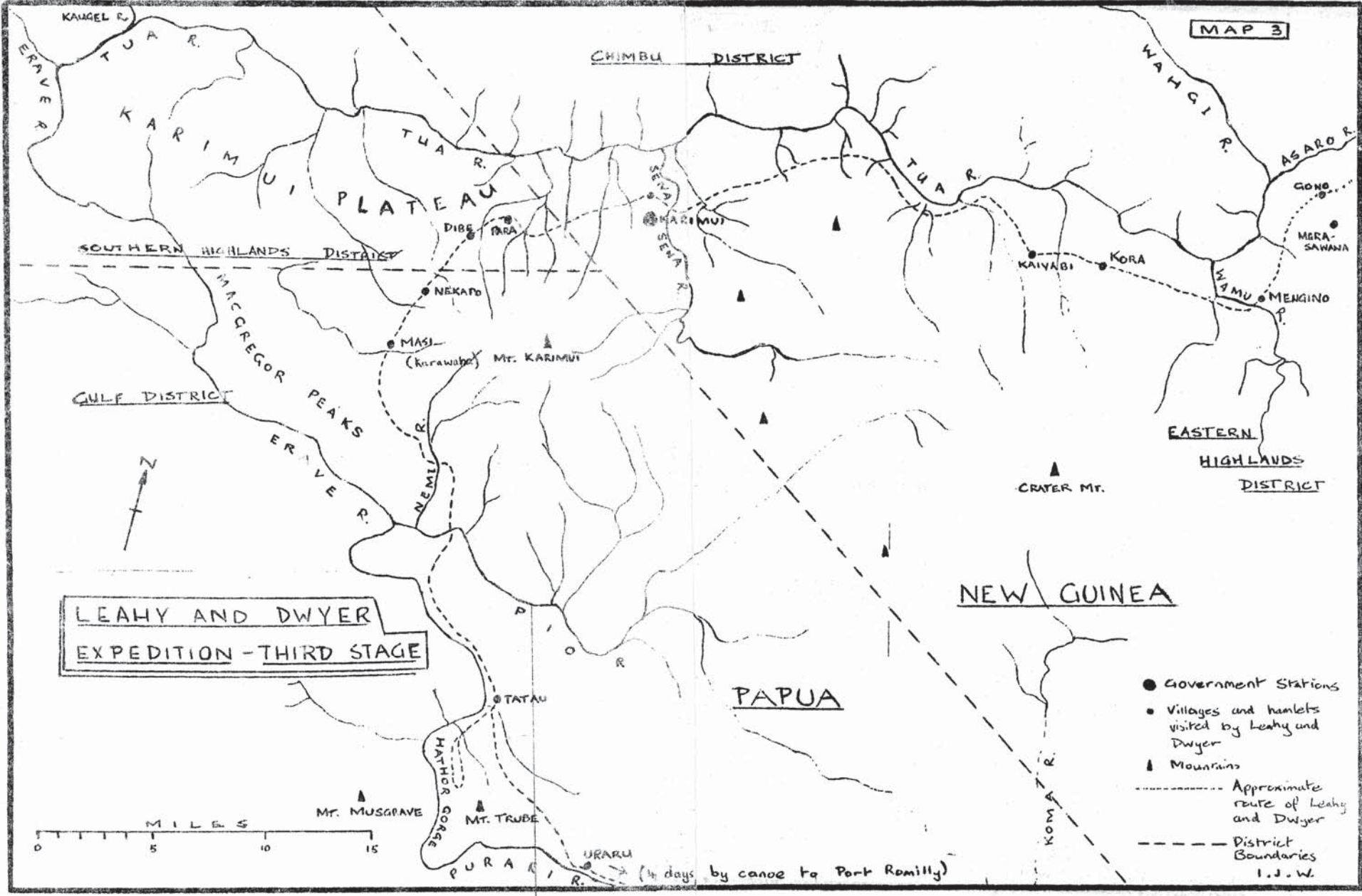
THE JOURNEY, I I : 11 TH JUNE

TO 10 TH JULY, 1930

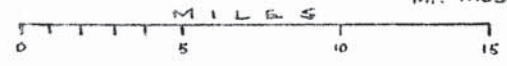
CHAPTER FOUR

THE JOURNEY, II : 11TH JUNE TO
10TH JULY, 1930I. STAGE THREE : THREE PHASES

The third stage of Leahy's and Dwyer's expedition -- the "bush country" stage, from 11th June till their emergence at Port Romilly on 10th July, -- in retrospect may also be subdivided into three convenient phases. (See map 3) The first phase occupies the period of the party's journey down the Tua River from Wahgi-Asaro junction on 11th June, 1930, till 17th June, 1930, when they reached the village of Tunawona near the Tua River, after which they cut inland. The second phase takes up the time from 18th June, 1930, when the party left Tunawona, till 6th July, when they were able to take to the river in canoes. During the course of this stage they first had to negotiate the heavily timbered and deeply incised flanks of Mt. Karimui, then cross the flooded Pio River -- a tributary of the main stream that enters some thirty miles from the junction of the Tua and Erave Rivers -- and finally they had to deal with Hathor Gorge. During this difficult and frustrating phase the party had to leave the main stream, and spend two and a half weeks cutting overland through forests before rejoining the main stream again at a place where it would be safe for them to use canoes. The third and final phase occupies the



**LEAHY AND DWYER
EXPEDITION - THIRD STAGE**



- Government Stations
- Villages and hamlets visited by Leahy and Dwyer
- ▲ Mountains
- Approximate route of Leahy and Dwyer
- - - - District Boundaries I. J. W.

URARU (4 days by canoe to Port Romilly)

brief period from 6th July till 10th July, 1930 when the party reached Port Romilly near the mouths of the Purari. This final phase was accomplished entirely by canoe and was the easiest of the whole journey, the remaining 120 miles being covered in four days.

II. PHASE ONE

On 10th June, 1930, the day they had first seen the Wahgi, Leahy and Dwyer had camped at Gono village above the eastern bank of the Asaro and opposite its junction with the Wahgi. The prospects from Gono were not encouraging, since the open grasslands now gave way to heavy timber and the river gorge became more pronounced and its direction harder to follow. On leaving Gono Leahy noted :

Have now left the kunai ridge country and into the timbered ranges. The river is about 1500 to 2000 feet below us in a gorge as deep as any I have seen so far in New Guinea. She has now turned west and for about twenty, thirty miles the country is all mountain. Was very disappointed. (1)

Though disappointed the party still hoped that their river would swing around and lead them back to the coast :

Our river still flowed southwest straight into the mountains, but . . . we could make out a fold in the distant hills and . . . decided that was the probable point at which it would turn back. (2)

(1) Leahy, Diary, 11th June, 1930.

(2) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 72

But their disappointment was to be unrelieved for the river did not turn :

To our great dismay the river did not turn there but kept right on to the southward cutting through what appeared to be the principal mountain barrier We looked down that awful gorge at the high timbered mountains that hemmed us in, facing at last the prospect that that our river probably flowed right on across New Guinea. (3)

Moving into the mountains progress became more arduous. Leaving Gono they travelled to Owasarona "straight down an almost impassable trail into a ravine so deep that it was already twilight at the bottom,"⁽⁴⁾ then on the next day, 12th June, the party had to cross the Wamu River on their way to Kubisawana village. The Wamu was "spanned by a vine suspension bridge about a hundred feet long and about the most rickety bridge I ever saw; took us two hours to cross over."⁽⁵⁾ That day "the going was of the steepest. At one point we had to climb a tree and boost the packs onto the ledge above in order to get over a bluff that blocked our way."⁽⁶⁾

(3) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 72. Here Leahy and Crane in retrospect are possibly trying to paint the party's predicament as dramatically as possible. It was not until three days before they emerged at Port Romilly that they realised they were actually in Papua. As late as 7th July, Leahy was still in doubt as to where the river would lead them. His diary entry for 7th July -- "there may be a possibility we are in Papua although I hardly think it is likely" -- is typical of his entries up to that date.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 72

(5) Leahy, Diary, 12th June, 1930

(6) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 72

The route was a maze-like course through forests and over ridges and often away from the Tua, as their river was now known. Reflecting on the difficulties of this stage of the journey, Leahy has said :

From the junction of the Marki (Wahgi) the grass ranges gave way to heavily timbered ranges, the population thinned out considerably and the river racing through its narrow gorge in parts became impossible to follow. We always left it with some misgivings as we depended upon it to ultimately bring us out to the sea Our detours around the precipitous gorges always brought us back to within sight of it again. (7)

The party's relationships with the villages they passed underwent a change as well. Villagers now seemed suspicious of the party, being "rather skeptical of us and glad to see us out of their particular village."⁽⁸⁾ There was still inter-village hostility and little communication between population groups so that securing guides became a problem. Leahy and Dwyer were now entirely dependent on their guides, without whose help progress would hardly have been possible. Their guides were reluctant, but the party was never without them :

There was always an adventurous soul who would take us to within shouting distance of the next village. After exchanging what appeared to be the local greeting or peace words, we were handed over and our guide would quietly disappear into the bush. (9)

There was only one "bush country" village --- Kaiabi

(7) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, pp 35-36.

(8) Ibid., p. 35.

(9) Ibid., p. 35.

-- that gave Leahy and Dwyer the same enthusiastic welcome they had received in the grassed hills of the Dunantina and Asaro valleys. At Kaiabi on 14th June, they were "received by the town band using about a dozen bamboo flutes"⁽¹⁰⁾ accompanied by "a wailing singsong . . . a song of welcome, a distinctly pleasant and melodious chorus."⁽¹¹⁾ The people of Kaiabi were more hospitable too :

instead of trying to lead us around the village or away from it, they led us straight to the largest house and made signs where each of us was to sleep. It was the only time on the trip that such hospitality was offered. (12)

The usual pattern of Leahy's and Dwyer's dealing with the "bush country" villages was typified by the experience at Kubisawana on 12th June, 1930. Near Kubisawana the guides

Insisted on taking us off the path that evidently led to their village. As a result we had to cut our way through the bush for some distance, but finally got back on to the trail. I did not interpret this as unfriendliness, but merely as an illustration of the fact that the bush country natives instinctively take advantage of the opportunity for concealment. (13)

This was to be an experience that would be repeated time and time again in succeeding days in the "bush country".

Food supply now began to cause the party some concern. Their own supplies were running low and the villages they were passing through were more timid and less anxious to trade their

(10) Affidavit.

(11) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 80.

(12) Ibid., p. 80.

(13) Ibid., p. 79.

food than the villages of the grass country had been. Leahy and Dwyer became almost entirely dependent on what they could buy from the villages they passed. The "bush country", however, did not have the same sophisticated agriculture that had surprised and impressed Leahy and Dwyer in the Dunantina and Asaro valleys. The villagers were more reluctant to part with their produce and coercion became necessary to assure continued trade. At Korovana on 13th June, for example, Leahy noted :

Nigs are friendly but endeavoured to close down the kai, so I fired a couple of shots to show them what the muskets could do and they brought in some more Will endeavour to make longer stages in order to conserve our kai. (14)

Fortunately food supply became less of a problem after 15th June when the first sago was sighted.⁽¹⁵⁾ Furthermore, "having dropped down to about 2000 feet above sea level into the sago country" they could also hunt the native game found at such levels and "the large blue pigeons and numerous smaller pigeons augmented the scanty food supply."⁽¹⁶⁾

By 17th June, 1930, a week after meeting the Wahgi, Leahy and Dwyer believed that the most difficult part of their journey might be over. The country seemed to have levelled out and at times they imagined they could see the sea in the distance.⁽¹⁷⁾ At Tunawona Leahy was able to note, on 17th June, that "the mountains appear to be about finished. We must be a

(14) Leahy, Diary, 13th June, 1930.

(15) Ibid., 15th June, 1930.

(16) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

(17) Ibid., p. 36.

long way up some river, probably the Sepik."⁽¹⁸⁾ With the country levelling out it seemed as if the party might soon be able to take to rafts and thus shorten their journey,⁽¹⁹⁾ even though they knew

from acquaintance with other New Guinea streams . . . that there might be a number of waterfalls and rapids in the more than half a mile of fall remaining before it reached the sea. (20)

But Leahy and Dwyer, were still more than a hundred and fifty river miles from the sea and had the worst part of their journey before them. What they had thought was the sea was merely "a blue sky in the distance"⁽²¹⁾ and the levelling of the country around their river was not the commencement of the river's final approach to the sea, but was due to the plateau-like nature of the country here. Before long the Tua would be joined by the Kaugel river from the north and the Erave river from the west and the combined streams would swing around to the southeast and would plunge down through the waterfalls and rapids of Hathor Gorge where there were "2000 foot high walls between which the whole of the waters of the Purari thunder."⁽²²⁾ This "fearsome place" with its eight foot waves and its rapids and whirlpools⁽²³⁾ would have made any attempt at rafting suicidal.

(18) Leahy, Diary, 17th June, 1930.

(19) Leahy, Diary, 17th June, 1930.

(20) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, pp. 82-83

(21) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

(22) Murray, Recent Exploration In Papua, p. 29

(23) Murray, Annual Report (1928-1929), p. 8.

The party was anxious to use rafts because a host of minor problems was afflicting them. "My boots are just about gone and there are millions of leeches eating the boys, the dogs and ourselves,"⁽²⁴⁾ Leahy reported on 17th June. Then the weather had turned wet and it continued raining for days : "weather wet and looks as though it is going to keep wet, Leahy noted.⁽²⁵⁾ "Appears to be the rainy season in here, very miserable camping, the boys having difficulty in finding a dry place to camp," he commented again a day later.⁽²⁶⁾ Their own health was beginning to suffer as well : "Mick is pretty crook so we camped at 11 a.m.;⁽²⁷⁾ "have been crook all during the night and did not feel too clever this morning;"⁽²⁸⁾ "got a good number of kanakas to come with us and carry the cargo . . . I'd like to save the boys' strength."⁽²⁹⁾ Comments such as these are daily entries in the diary during this stage.

The appearance of steel tools and the use of tobacco in the villages they passed near seemed to suggest they may be nearing the coast. Throughout much of the valley country further upstream steel tools and tobacco had been unknown. Near Kemagi,

(24) Leahy, Diary, 17th June, 1930.

(25) Ibid., 17th June, 1930.

(26) Ibid., 18th June, 1930.

(27) Ibid., 13th June, 1930.

(28) Ibid., 19th June, 1930.

(29) Ibid., 19th June, 1930.

above the Asaro, on 6th June, Leahy had been piqued to discover that "they all use stone axes and are too stupid to sell a pig for a tomahawk, asking instead for tambu."⁽³⁰⁾ Then on 8th June, Leahy had again noted "stone axes still the rage."⁽³¹⁾ "Smoking and betel nut chewing appear to be unknown here,"⁽³²⁾ was also a frequent diary entry at the time. Below the Wahgi junction, however, steel tools and tobacco began to appear. At Korovana on 12th June, they had seen "one very much worn steel tomahawk here which came from the East,"⁽³³⁾ then at Kaiabi the next day they had seen "a handle of a knife"⁽³⁴⁾ and

a very worn steel tomahawk, the first article from the outside world we had seen in weeks . . . it had been so worn down in the process trading from the coast from village to village that less than an inch of blade remained. Another thing that impressed us was that we saw two kanakas smoking. ⁽³⁵⁾

In the first week downstream from the Wahgi-Asaro junction another sight they met each time their trail led them back to the main stream was the appearance of corpses in the river.

"On the occasions when our track ran right alongside the comparatively slow-running reaches of the main river, now called the Tua," Leahy has said, "we saw the bloated bodies of natives

(30) Leahy, Diary, 6th June, 1930.

(31) Ibid., 8th June, 1930.

(32) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 232.

(33) Leahy, Diary, 13th June, 1930.

(34) Ibid., 14th June, 1930.

(35) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 80

floating aimlessly by in the current."⁽³⁶⁾ It seemed remarkable to them that there were so many bodies in the river. "A corpse of a kanaka floated past,"⁽³⁷⁾ Leahy noted on 15th June, then the next day when "a second body floated past," Leahy felt confident that "there is either a big war or the river is the mat-mat for the mob up top."⁽³⁸⁾ The following day again more bodies were seen : "Have seen the remains of some coons cast up on the shores, also a raft made of deways tied together . . ."⁽³⁹⁾ In succeeding days the party noticed "in some bends of the river . . . giant goanas were picking the bones of numerous bodies thrown up on the beaches."⁽⁴⁰⁾ It was easy to draw conclusions about this phenomenon :

when a body floated past . . . the guides merely shrugged their shoulders and appeared unconcerned as if such sights were common A little later on the kanakas pointed out the remains of two more bodies cast up on the beach One of the skulls had a long, narrow gash in the side, which looked as if it had been made by an axe We concluded that there must be a war up that big muddy stream we had seen coming in from the west. There was sufficient evidence to indicate a big population up that way. (41)

(36) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

(37) Leahy, Diary, 15th June, 1930.

(38) Ibid., 16th June, 1930.

(39) Leahy, Diary, 15th June, 1930.

(40) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

(41) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, pp. 81-82.

III. PHASE TWO

Leahy and Dwyer camped at Tunawona village near the Tua River on 17th June, 1930. From here their path was to bear inland in a generally southeasterly direction away from the Tua, which they would not see again. The Tua, which continued on its southwesterly course across the border into Papua, would become a much greater stream within the next twenty-five miles. The Tua is joined first by the Kaugel, whose tributaries flow out of the Kubor range and drain a vast area south of the present town of Mt. Hagen, and then within another five miles by the Erave, whose tributaries flow south out of the slopes of Mt. Ialibu and also drain a vast area. The main stream then swings around to the southeast and maintains a general southeasterly direction for more than a hundred miles before it finally swings south to the coast. The main stream for fifty miles downstream from the Tua-Erave junction is today known as the Erave, even though that river is not the main tributary. (42)

- (42) The frequent and seemingly illogical changes in the names of the main stream probably arise from the native practice of naming streams. A local population or language group living along a tributary and being primarily concerned with their own stream rather than with any other that it joins will sometimes give the name of their tributary to the main stream after the two have joined. For example, the Pavaia language speakers, living along the Pio River, which joins the larger Erave-Purari main stream, call not only their own stream the Pio but the main stream as well. As a result the sketch maps in Leahy's diary show the main stream as being the Pio after its junction with that tributary. Leahy himself continued to call the main stream the Tua.

All of the written accounts of Leahy's and Dwyer's journey assume that they followed the general course of the main stream for the whole of the journey, even though they were out of sight of the stream for days at a time. In addition, the 1936 Geographical Journal map of their journey, which accompanies Leahy's article, "The Central Highlands of New Guinea", shows Leahy and Dwyer as having followed the Tua downstream to its junction with the Erave and thence downstream along the Erave-Purari to the coast. (43)

However, this was not the route they followed. At this stage of their journey they made an important detour overland instead of following down the main stream. From the villages

- (43) The map mistakenly calls the Erave the "Iaro". The Iaro, in fact, is merely one of the Erave tributaries flowing out of the Mt. Ialibu region. There are a number of other serious inaccuracies in the Geographical Journal map. For example the map shows the Tua as joining the Erave ("Iaro") at a position approximately $6^{\circ} 41'$ South and $144^{\circ} 47'$ East, whereas the correct location is a $6^{\circ} 48'$ South and $144^{\circ} 25'$ East; the correct position is thus thirty miles northwest of where the map places it. Another error concerns the Pio ("Piu") River. The Geographical Journal map shows the Pio joining the Tua above the Tua-Erave junction at a position approximately $6^{\circ} 42'$ South and $144^{\circ} 47'$ East, whereas it joins the Erave twenty-five miles southwest of the Tua-Erave junction at a position $6^{\circ} 43'$ ^{South} and $144^{\circ} 43'$ East. The correct position is thus five miles east of where the map puts it. A further error is that the map shows the Nemi ("Nami") River joining the Tua as a separate tributary, whereas it is merely a tributary of the Pio. These inaccuracies are probably due to the fact that after Leahy and Dwyer left the Tua River at Tunawona they were unsure of where they actually went.

the party visited at this stage and from Leahy's descriptions of the country-side, it is clear that after the party left Tunawona it took a short cut overland through the villages of the Daribi (Mikaru) speaking clans clustered around the western and south-western flanks of Mt. Karimui. In addition when the present writer spent a week in this area in 1968 he met many elderly villagers who remembered Leahy and Dwyer having passed through their villages. If the party had stayed near the main stream it would have had an extra forty miles to travel, first across the swampy, densely forested and uninhabited Karimui Plateau, then through the broken and jagged limestone MacGregor Peaks.

The period after leaving Tunawona was one of the most difficult of the whole journey. Their food stocks all but ran out and they were reduced to subsisting on sago; the weather was continually wet; the track at times became almost impossible to follow and direction was hard to maintain because for much of the time there was little contact with local population groups. Above all a feeling of depression settled over the party. Leahy recalls this period as :

one of the most thoroughly miserable and anxious periods I have ever spent in my life. It rained fully half the time and the track for the most part wound over the ridges If it had not been for the little pocket compass we should have lost all sense of direction I felt sure we were headed right away from the river. We changed guides frequently and never saw the villages from which the new ones came. The only food we could buy was sago Dwyer and I were out of flour and only had a little tea, sugar and eleven cans of meat left, which we determined to save for an emergency, so I forced myself to eat the stuff. The mosquitoes began to give us a good deal of annoyance, especially at night. (44)

Progress was difficult because the party at this stage was moving round the western and southern slopes of Mt. Karimui and frequently had to descend into the deeply incised and precipitous valleys that are scored into all sides of the mountain. The greatest worry at this stage was the direction of the trail, which completely confused them. They believed that the Tua was flowing southwest, whereas the trail and their guides consistently took them southeast. Not realising that the

(44) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, pp. 85-86.

main stream would swing around to the southeast and that their trail was a short cut across its bend, Leahy and Dwyer were disoriented. Leahy had said :

Dwyer and I began to feel that we were hopelessly tangled up in the jungle and were not likely to get back to the river again. The natives seemed bent on leading us right away from the river, which they called the Tua, exasperatingly leading us off to the left and away from the river. (45)

After leaving Tunawona on 18th June, the party travelled over "level, heavily timbered country" (46) to Para village, where they camped overnight. Here Leahy's diary remarks "haven't seen the river today but the kanakas say she is not far away." (47) On 19th June, they moved on to Karuwabu or Masi where they camped again. In this village Leahy wrote "I think we will get back to the Tua tomorrow. If we had a map we would have an idea of where we are, but I think it is the Sepik." (48) From Karuwabu they "travelled southeast . . . but could not reconcile the direction with the course of the river [they] were looking forward to seeing." (49) Now they had to strike into the ranges again :

(45) Leahy, The Land That Time Forgot, p. 85

(46) Leahy, Diary, 18th June, 1930.

(47) Ibid., 18th June, 1930.

(48) Ibid., 19th June, 1930.

(49) Ibid., 20th June, 1930.

Got a surprise at about 2 p.m. We came to the edge of our range and can see nothing but mountains in the direction we are going; it sure does not look as though we are going to find that river. The Kanakas by gesticulation insist that our stream the Tua runs south to southeast and that we will strike it again in the morning after being joined by another named the Piu from the northeast. (50)

The party camped in Piu village on 20th June, and next day they crossed the Nemi River and continued "due east over a low limestone range"⁽⁵¹⁾ then south and reached the Pio River "running a bit west of northwest."⁽⁵²⁾ They pitched camp that afternoon, 21st June, on the banks of the Pio. From here they were only some five miles from the Erave, but a flood on the Piu was going to delay for a whole week their reunion with the main stream.

They found that the Pio was "a large, fast-running river which could not be forded. . . . A few hundred yards below it cascaded over rocky outcrops through a gorge."⁽⁵³⁾ The party pitched camp on its banks on 21st June to wait for its floods to recede sufficiently for them to cross. However, the rain "was very heavy all night and at nine o'clock at night a boy had a look at the river and said there was a big flood coming down. Had to get out in the rain and make a new camp on higher ground."⁽⁵⁴⁾

(50) Leahy, Diary, 20th June, 1930.

(51) Ibid., 21st June, 1930.

(52) Ibid., 21st June, 1930.

(53) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

(54) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 234.

The next morning, 22nd June, Leahy and Dwyer tried to cross the flooded Pio using a raft :

Got the Kanakas to fasten some sticks together, pigsty fashion, covered this with one of the tent flys --- it made a good flat-bottomed punt --- about 5 feet wide and 7 feet long and will endeavour to pull it backwards and forwards loaded with cargo and boys by means of lawyer cane ropes held by the boys at either side. (55)

The punt, however, was a failure :

After several attempts by the boys swimming with a line and trying to cross with the punt we could not get a line over to ferry across, the current being too strong, and everytime it bore the boys downstream when they endeavoured to take it across. With^{out} a line aboard it is too risky as the river runs over a series of rapids about 300 or 400 yards below here, which would smash it up. (56)

Nor were their next attempts to ford the river successful, for on 23rd June, Leahy's diary notes :

Heavy rain fell. River again came down in a solid wall and swept into where some of our boys were camped The river a raging torrent. Does not appear to be any chance of crossing today. Very disheartening to be held up by this strip of water. Boys built a small outrigger canoe . . . but too small to support more than one boy. (57)

A bigger canoe was needed and it took two days to build. "Got all the boys with the exception of two who have gone shooting, on to the canoe," Leahy wrote on 25th June, "and making a track to drag it down. It is a fair size, about 15 feet long and

(55) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 234.

(56) Ibid., p. 234.

(57) Leahy, Diary, 23rd June, 1930.

2 feet through."⁽⁵⁸⁾ This canoe was a success, even though the first three boys who tried to go across "were swept downstream like a cork and landed in a backwash."⁽⁵⁹⁾ Eventually several of the boys crossed over and that night some of them slept on the opposite bank. The next day, 26th June, they "got all the gear and boys over by 10 a.m.,"⁽⁶⁰⁾ and abandoned their canoe with some regret :

pulled the canoe up high and dry and tied it securely -- two days' work to make for half a day's work, and then had to dump it. Some Kanakas will get a good canoe. (61)

On 27th June, the day after they had crossed the Pio, they saw the main stream for the first time in nine days -- "the Tua our long lost friend comes in close to, running northeast . . . but swings to after being joined by the Piu"⁽⁶²⁾ -- and they reached it the following day, June, 28th. The "long lost friend" had grown considerably since they had last seen it, ten days previously, and they now hoped that at last they would be able to use rafts :

came down to the river, which is now some river, about five chains wide, heaven only knows how deep and travelling at a fair bat. I am sure it would be quite safe for a raft. Saw a canoe, an outrigger. (63)

(58) Leahy, Diary, 25th June, 1930.

(59) Ibid., 25th June, 1930.

(60) Ibid., 26th June, 1930.

(61) Ibid., 26th June, 1930.

(62) Ibid., 27th June, 1930.

(63) Ibid., 28th June, 1930.

Following the stream along the banks was difficult. Their guides had abandoned them more than a week before on June 21st, when they had reached the Pio so they were finding great difficulty in discovering what native trails there were. Often the path was indicated only by "the bent over branches of small shrubs which exposed the contrasty underside of the leaves."⁽⁶⁴⁾ Frequently they had to hack out their own track as they went, because they had "reached canoe country where the natives, travelling mostly in dug out canoes, had no system of tracks parallel with the river but only at right angles to it."⁽⁶⁵⁾ It was "hard work cutting road along the river," Leahy observed on 29th June, when the party "did about five miles all day. It's rough going."⁽⁶⁶⁾ They had another five days of "rough going" before they would be able to take to the river in canoes. They did not know it, but they still had to negotiate Hathor Gorge.

Before reaching the gorge Leahy and Dwyer had decided to build some rafts, since the river seemed safe enough --- several times they had seen natives in canoes --- and because progress

(64) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 37 .

(65) Ibid., p. 39.

(66) Leahy, Diary, 30th June, 1930.

along the bank was so difficult. But before doing so they thought they had better "investigate a rumble coming lower down the river."⁽⁶⁷⁾ The "rumble" came from Hathor Gorge, that "fearsome" place which had discouraged a number of explorers before them. They reached the gorge on 30th June, and found that the river ran

through a deep limestone gorge and over a series of rapids that would certainly have smashed up any raft we could have made . . . steep limestone cliffs on either side about 1000 feet above us. (68)

Leahy recalls that the river

was here restricted to less than half its usual width between sheer walls of limestone, and dropped some fifty to one hundred feet in towering waves of white water through an "S" shaped gorge. (69)

The party spent a whole day in the gorge, vainly trying to find a way through and in the end being forced to return to their previous camp on the upstream side of the gorge. Leahy's diary records their effort :

. . . struck a pretty crook gorge. River drops into a rapid and straight up and down. Had to turn back and climb over the top . . . but struck a sheer place so had to go back to the river well down in the gorge. Thought we could see a way out but found another sheer drop. After more strenuous climbing back and forth chopping our way through the scrub we landed back where we started at 3 p.m. Boys had no kai With no Kanakas it is impossible to find tracks which means making our own, so very slow going. (70)

(67) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 236.

(68) Ibid., p. 236.

(69) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 38

(70) Leahy, Diary, 30th June, 1930.

It was perilous going. At one stage they had to thread their way over a recent landslide and while crossing it were caught by a small avalanche that killed one of their dogs when "a big boulder rolled on him."⁽⁷¹⁾

Back at their camp they were able to attract the attention of some of the local natives : "Abood⁽⁷²⁾ to ten kanakas on opposite bank. One old lad came over . . . and promised to return in the morning."⁽⁷³⁾ The "old lad" kept his word, for next day, 2nd July, a group of natives crossed the river to show them a "track over the range bypassing the gorge."⁽⁷⁴⁾ The new guides appeared fearful of the party and "under the impression we were going to fasten their hands and take them with us."⁽⁷⁵⁾ Leahy realised that the guides' main reason for escorting the party was probably their concern about "getting us out of their area and saving their sago,"⁽⁷⁶⁾ which the party had been cutting for several days in order to conserve its own nearly exhausted food stocks. The guides took

(71) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 236.

(72) "Abu" is a word for "father" in the Pawaian language, spoken in the vicinity of Mt. Karimui. Leahy and Dwyer first heard the word used near "Para" village on the northwestern slopes of Mt. Karimui and mistakenly thought it was a greeting as they moved among these language groups. (Dr. Roy Wagner, interview, 8th December, 1968.)

(73) Leahy, Diary, 1st July, 1930.

(74) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 39.

(75) Leahy, Diary, 2nd July, 1930.

(76) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 39.

the party back along the track they had already come down and then over a range and then "pointed out the river after it had come out of the gorge . . . and slipped away into the bush,"⁽⁷⁷⁾ leaving the party to find its own way to the downstream side of the gorge. The path lay "almost straight up the face of a cliff and in one part ~~they~~ had to climb up a tree, then on to the path again," before they "found a track down to the river, which was still running in a gorge, but still possible to get along it."⁽⁷⁸⁾

Having successfully avoided Hathor Gorge the party was relieved to find that the "mountains gave away to low hills and level stretches of country heavily timbered."⁽⁷⁹⁾ The river once again offered the chance of rafting : "River is now Good Oh and is a very wide stream about 300 yards wide and going at a fair bat."⁽⁸⁰⁾ Leahy observed on 3rd July. The party now "followed the river down where possible, but mostly cutting our track through thick scrub, mostly lawyer vine."⁽⁸¹⁾ Fortunately their long cherished wish of being able to travel by river was now possible. They "struck some kanakas who were persuaded to come over in their canoes Eventually purchased a canoe from them for a large knife."⁽⁸²⁾ On 5th July, Dwyer, who had

(77) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 236.

(78) Ibid., p. 236.

(79) Leahy, Diary, 3rd July, 1930.

(80) Ibid., 3rd July, 1930.

(81) Ibid., 4th July, 1930.

(82) Ibid., 4th July, 1930.

developed "a nasty looking boil" on the leg, "travelled down with most of the cargo and three boys in the canoe," while Leahy and the rest of of the boys cut their way "along the bank through lawyer vines."⁽⁸³⁾ That night they camped at a small village where they "bought three fair sized canoes . . . for a few large and small knives."⁽⁸⁴⁾

With canoe travel now possible the strain of the previous weeks was relaxed and Leahy was at last able to observe, with evident relief, "if we knew where we were we would be enjoying ourselves."⁽⁸⁵⁾ The frustrating 'bush' country phase was now over, and next day, 6th July, the party "embarked in [a] fleet of four canoes" and "swung out into the stream a la destroyer and . . . went like hell."⁽⁸⁶⁾

The 'bush' country phase had been the longest and most arduous of the whole expedition. Leahy later said of it :

We were almost like our boots, our clothes and boys -- worn out and badly in need of a rest from the blood sucking leeches, lawyer vines, stinging trees and weary from restless nights in improvised shelters with rain pouring in through all the cracks. (87)

But it had not been without its surprises. Like the earlier stage of the journey, along the Dunantina and Asaro valleys, it had introduced Leahy and Dwyer to a culture that was completely alien to them. The 'bush' country natives between the Tua and

(83) Leahy, Diary, 5th July, 1930.

(84) Ibid., 5th July, 1930.

(85) Ibid., 5th July, 1930.

(86) Ibid., 6th July, 1930.

(87) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

Hathor Gorge all appeared to be tree dwellers. At Tunawona, Para, Karuwabu and Piu villages the houses had been built on trees that had been lopped off level about ten feet from the ground. Then on 29th June, during their march from the Pio River to Hathor Gorge, they found :

a large double story native house about 30 feet wide and 90 feet long, built onto tall, straight trees which had their tops lopped off 40 feet from the ground. The approach to the top floor was a long ladder of springing saplings with cross pieces notched and lawyer caned on about every foot or so. An ideal defensive position against attack! The top story was divided into stalls and a passage four to five feet wide ran through the whole length of the house to a sheer drop at the other end. (88)

The inhabitants also contrasted with anything the party had met. Whereas the villages of the Dunantina and the Asaro had boisterously welcomed and pursued the party everywhere it went, those they met after leaving Tunawona seemed anxious to avoid them. When guides appeared they generally accompanied the party reluctantly and were anxious to be rid of their charges, and when the party did meet the villagers it was usually only the men whom they saw, the women remaining concealed in the bush.

Frequently the 'bush' country people would vanish into the jungle when they saw Leahy and Dwyer. A typical experience came on 29th June, between the Pio and Hathor Gorge when they "saw five kanakas in a canoe on the opposite side." Leahy (83) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 36.

noted that "immediately we sang out to them they sprang ashore and off," and observed "they sure are windy of us."⁽⁸⁹⁾

One such contact came as much a surprise to Leahy and Dwyer as it did to the natives, when they camped in the "large double story" native tree house they found on 29th June. No sooner had they settled down to their evening meal, Leahy reported, than

four kanakas bounded in through the doorway . . .
 . . . I was thunderstruck and . . . got
 my revolver. However they were more startled
 than we were and . . . ran right through the
 house and slid down a pole a la fire brigade,
 they threw away their bows and arrows and
 dived into the scrub. (90)

This experience, according to Leahy, "was the biggest thrill of the whole trip."⁽⁹¹⁾

IV. PHRASE THREE

The final phase of the last stage of the journey was to be brief : a mere four and a half days of easy canoe travel that contrasted strongly with what the party had been experiencing in the previous month and a half. "Drifting along at five miles per hour is the best way I have yet struck of travelling,"⁽⁹²⁾ Leahy wrote on 6th July, 1930, the day the whole party took to canoes for the first time. The

(89) Leahy, Diary, 29th June, 1930.

(90) Ibid., 29th June, 1930.

(91) Ibid., 29th June, 1930.

(92) Ibid., 6th July, 1930.

relaxation of canoeing seemed a reward for the previous weeks of tension and toil : "it was wonderful to rest and drift down with the current and to observe the animal and bird life in the trees on both sides of the river," Leahy recalls.⁽⁹³⁾ After their first day on the river, Leahy was able to write : "have done about thirty miles which would have taken us at least a week of hard work cutting our way."⁽⁹⁴⁾ This was by far the most they had travelled on any one day of the journey. The next day, July 7th, Leahy was again able to record : "have done about twenty five miles south."⁽⁹⁵⁾

Canoe travel had its worries, though. The party was uncertain whether the communities along the river bank would be peaceful. They felt they had to travel "downstream as fast as the paddlers and the current could take us, keeping well out in the middle of the river in case a few arrows were shot at us."⁽⁹⁶⁾ They need not have feared : the riverbank groups were as timid and quiet as the 'bush' country people. They also expected that the river might plunge into another unexpected Hather Gorge. Leahy has said that

on bends where the river current increased we had visions of more gorges, but apart from vicious whirlpools which could suck down a swimmer, we found no more drops in the river. (97)

Even though there were no further drops, the river was extremely turbulent and the canoes were in constant danger of being

(93) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 39.

(94) Leahy, Diary, 6th July, 1930.

(95) Ibid., 7th July, 1930.

(96) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 39.

(97) Ibid., p. 39.

overturned. Dwyer recalls this period of travel as a "nightmare journey" and has said,

It still terrifies me to think of it :
the way the water boiled around us
carrying logs that whizzed by, with us
putting all our trust in a few flimsy and
unstable canoes that had been dug out to
a thickness of half an inch. (98)

Such fears passed as the party realised that it was at
last approaching the sea :

The pigeons, flying fox camps and crocodiles,
which slid into the river off almost every
sandbank, told us that we were on a coastal
flat somewhere around sea level. (99)

Leahy has since written.

Other signs had also appeared indicating that they were
approaching the sea. "Here and there were pieces of glass
and empty meat tins, which meant we were not too far from the
coast," Leahy has recalled. (100) They had seen their first
empty meat tin in the "double story" house above Hathor Gorge
on 29th June, but now these evidences of approaching civilization
became more common. On 7th July, the day after taking to the
canoes, they "saw some kanakas with calico laplaps and leather
belts on." (101) These natives "could not talk Pidgin," Leahy
commented, "though one said 'yes' a few times; don't know
whether he knew the meaning or not." (102) Further downstream
(98) Dwyer, interview, 7th January, 1969.

(99) Leahy, Explorers' Journal, p. 39.

(100) Ibid., pp 39-40.

(101) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 237.

(102) Ibid., p. 237.

on the same day they met another native in a laplap. This man "came over and had a bit to say, addressing Mick and I as 'Tabada', which sounds Motuan," Leahy noted.⁽¹⁰³⁾

The word 'Tabada' made Leahy and Dwyer realise for the first time that they might be in Papua, but they were inclined to dismiss the possibility : "there may be a possibility we are in Papua," Leahy wrote after hearing 'Tabada' for the first time, but then added "although I hardly think it is likely."⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Leahy and Dwyer still imagined that they may be somewhere along the Sepik, although each time they met another group of natives it became more apparent that they were not. On 8th July, they again heard Motuan, or what one of their boys said was Motuan -- "unfortunately he can't speak the lingo, so we could get no information about where we are" Leahy wrote⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ -- and they had to concede that perhaps "it may be Papua."⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ That same evening "three canoes full of kanakas came over. Nearly all have laplaps and some could count up to ten, but spoke what we think is Motuan, the language of Papua."⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Leahy's final diary entry for 8th July, was the note "sure looks like Papua." ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

That the party had crossed the island into Papua was finally

(103) Leahy, Diary, 7th July, 1930.

(104) Ibid., 7th July, 1930.

(105) Ibid., 8th July, 1930.

(106) Ibid., 8th July, 1930.

(107) Leahy, Geographical Journal, p. 237.

(108) Leahy, Diary, 8th July, 1930.

confirmed on 9th July, when they met a native "who spoke a few words of Pidgin and told [them they] were sure in Papua and that a magistrate could be found at Tormille."⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The native "promised to come along in the morning and show us the way, which is down a side stream."⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Next morning "he came about 7 a.m. with about ten natives in two canoes."⁽¹¹¹⁾

Both Leahy and Dwyer claim until this stage they had believed all along that they were in New Guinea and probably on the Sepik, and they point to the fact that they had no maps and only a small compass to guide them. Nevertheless it seems odd that after a three month patrol into unknown country they should not have realised they were no longer in their own territory. One explorer who met both Leahy and Dwyer -- Ivan Champion -- doubts their claim :

. . . Leahy and Dwyer spent the night with me at Ioma on their return to Edie Creek from Port Moresby and I was most interested in the account of their journey There is no doubt that Leahy was one of the most energetic men I have ever met and he was a splendid organiser. But what was incredulous was when he told me that they did not know that they were on the Purari waters until they came out at Port Romilly. He said he thought he was on Sepik waters. I don't believe this. This was an excuse for going into Papua. If he did believe this then he was a pretty poor geographer. (112)

(109) Leahy, Diary, 8th July, 1930.

(110) Ibid., 9th July, 1930.

(111) Ibid., 10th July, 1930.

(112) Ivan F. Champion, letter to the writer, 26th March, 1969.

Leahy and Dwyer certainly had good reason to excuse themselves for there were a number of government regulations they had broken by entering Papua. They had not paid duty on the meagre goods they had 'imported', they had brought indentured labourers across the border, both they and their carriers had firearms that were unregistered in Papua (in any case their boys were not permitted to bear firearms in Papua), and finally, they had entered Papua without permission.

By the time they heard the word "Tormille" their journey was nearly over, for as Leahy recorded on 10th July, "about 12 noon we came in sight of a group of buildings, also smoke stacks and several stacks of timber and it turned out to be Port Romilly sawmill managed by Mr. C. McKenna."⁽¹¹³⁾ 'Tormille', they realised, was a mispronunciation of 'sawmill'. As Leahy and Dwyer discussed their journey with the sawmill's manager, both they and McKinnon realised the significance of what they had achieved. Leahy's book describes their reactions :

'What is the name of this river we have come down?' was one of the first questions I asked. 'The Purari,' answered McKinnon. 'You must have struck it a little south of the Papuan border. It's supposed to rise somewhere in the neighbourhood.'

'We've followed it down from where it was not an inch deep, not fifty miles from the north coast,' I told him. 'And there is still a larger branch, a much bigger river than the one we followed coming in from the west somewhere near the middle of the island.'

(113) Leahy, Diary, 10th July, 1930. The manager's name was McKinnon, Leahy's Diary refers to him as McKenna, but the later written accounts give the correct spelling.

'Then the map is all cock-eyed and you've found a new river.' When we examined the map we found it failed to show any of the large streams we had found north of the Papuan border . . . I realised we had walked right across the blank spot marked 'Unexplored Territory'. (114)

A broad band of the "blank spot" could now be filled in. Leahy's detailed diary notes and sketches were important here so were the sketch-map that Dwyer had been keeping. Dwyer had kept a record of the distances and the directions the party had covered and his surveyor's skills had stood by him, for, as Leahy noted, when

Mick plotted up his distances and directions . . . the lower part of the river tallied with what is known of it and the distances over the map is only three miles out, which is a pretty good effort for an amateur. (115)

Charles McKinnon, the manager of the Port Romilly sawmill, was naturally surprised to see the party emerging from a hinterland that few Europeans ever visited. Their accomplishment rather staggered him. He has said :

When I asked Leahy and Dwyer where they were from and they said Edie Creek, it took my breath away. It was hard to visualise. In my fifteen years or so on the Purari Delta I'd seen many patrols come and go but no-one knew what was upstream. (116)

McKinnon welcomed the party warmly and, as Leahy recorded, "made

(114) Leahy, Diary, 10th July, 1930.

(115) Ibid., 11th July, 1930.

(116) Charles McKinnon, interview with the writer, Brisbane, 8th January, 1969.

us very welcome and gave us an invitation to stay as long as we wished." (117) He also told them that the government boat, the Papuan Chief, had just left for Port Moresby and that they would have to wait for several weeks before the next Port Moresby boat. In the end it was a month before the Papuan Chief returned to Kikori, about sixty miles away, and they did not leave Kikori for Port Moresby until 9th August, 1930. In the meantime the party stayed at Port Romilly, except for a brief visit to Kikori, enjoying McKinnon's hospitality and doing odd jobs around the sawmill in return.

The journey was virtually over once the party reached Port Romilly, but it was not yet over from an official point of view. They still had to meet Leo Austen, the Assistant Resident Magistrate of Papua's Delta Division, who was stationed at Kikori, to explain their unauthorised presence on Papuan soil. Leahy and Dwyer set out to meet Austen on 12th July feeling apprehensive of the reception he would give them. Leahy's diary underlines their concern :

Am a bit anxious to see how this R.M. is going to view things, but surely he cannot do anything too drastic if he takes in consideration the circumstances under which we entered his territory. (118)

They need not have feared anything, for they ran into Austen next day as he was making his way out on a short patrol. He
(117) Leahy, Diary, 10th July, 1930.

(118) Ibid., 12th July, 1930.

appeared interested in what they had done rather than piqued that they were illegal immigrants. Leahy wrote :

Charlie (McKimon) introduced us and explained our presence in the district and the R.M. was very decent about it. Had a short chat re the river etc. and he decided to do a short patrol and come back to the sawmill when he came back and get full particulars from us re our guns and any dutiable goods we may have with us. (119)

Austen later wrote to the Government Secretary that Dwyer's

sketch map is interesting because it places another tributary of the Purari north of which is shown on Mr. Faithorn's map of the Erewa. It will be seen that the Tu corresponds very closely to where one would expect Mr. Faithorn's river to be flowing from. (120)

He also noted, somewhat uncharitably, that Leahy's statement was "rather long-winded" but thought that "His Excellency might find it interesting as it contains valuable information for future patrol work." (121)

In Kikori on 13th July, Leahy and Dwyer met Claude Champion, the patrol officer whose patrol down the Erave and Purari with Faithorn the year before had been in Sir Hubert Murray's words, "a fine piece of work." Champion was "very interested" in what they had done, since much of the ground Leahy and Dwyer had covered had been covered by Faithorn and him. Back at Port Romilly on 15th July they again met Austen, who despite his (119) Leahy, Diary, 12th July, 1930.

(120) Leo Austen, Letter to Govt. Secretary, dated 29th August, 193

(121) Ibid.

later comments to the Government Secretary, also appeared "very interested in the source of the Purani and asked us to give him what information we could." Leahy added here, "We will be very pleased to do this since they are giving us such a fair spin."⁽¹²²⁾ The information they gave Austen was contained in the affidavits they signed on 16th July.

The statement each man made in his affidavit was revealing. Leahy's in particular was a full and detailed summary of the main events of the journey and the geography of the inland. Each statement was also an apology for the actions of its author. It was as if they expected some stern reprisals for having entered Papuan territory. Dwyer wrote :

We had not the slightest intention of coming into Papua prospecting and it was not in our plans to come down any Papuan river. We lost none of our boys on the way and there has been no sickness among us . . . We fired no shots at any natives . . . I have a .22 and a .32 rifle and revolver and so has Mr. Leahy. We have permits in the Mandated Territory for these arms. We shot no prohibited birds while in Papuan Territory . . . I hereby swear that neither my partner, Mr. Leahy, nor myself had the slightest intention of entering into Papuan territory and until it was too late to turn back, were under the impression that we would eventually find ourselves on a tributary of the Sepik. (123)

Leahy and Dwyer reached Port Moresby on 15th August, 1930, and remained there a week before setting out again on 21st August on another walk across the island back to Salamaua, from where the expedition had first set out. They walked back rather than

(122) Leahy, Diary, 5th July, 1930.

(123) Affidavit.

taking a boat because they were short of money.⁽¹²⁴⁾ On their way, which lay through Kokoda and Ioma, they met four other men who had significantly contributed to the unlocking of the island's unknown interior. At Kokoda they met Charles Karius, the Assistant Resident Magistrate, whose own crossing of the island had made him famous. "Had afternoon tea with Mr. and Mrs. Karius," Leahy's diary remarks on 27th August, and had a chat re his trip over New Guinea, which must have been a very difficult one."⁽¹²⁵⁾ Several days later they met Ivan Champion, Karius' companion, at Ioma and spent the night with him. Then at Zaka, near Morobe, they "met Flierl Snr. and Jnr."⁽¹²⁶⁾ on 6th September. It was Flierl Snr. who had first established the Neuendettelsau Lutheran missionaries at Simbang near Finchafen in 1886, and whose nephew, Leonhardt Flierl, had crossed from the Waria to the Bulolo and Watut rivers with Georg Pilhofer in 1913. And finally when the

(124) Interview, 16th November, 1968, with Leahy at Zenag. The party had collected £302 from the Edie Creek miners. The Papuan Courier (22nd August, 1930, p. 7) reported that "the whole trip from Kaigurin, on the Ramu, to Port Romilly was done at a cost of £50, not including of course, anything for wages." Leahy and Dwyer's long wait at Port Romilly and their week in Port Moresby accounted for any money that remained at the journey's end.

(125) Leahy, Diary, 27th August, 1930.

(126) Ibid., 6th September, 1930.

party reached Salamaua on the following day, 7th September, 1930, eleven days after leaving Port Moresby and exactly five months to the day since they had flown down to Salamaua from Wau to commence their journey, they again met Ned Rowlands, whose own penetration into the Kainantu region and his gold discoveries along the Ornapinka River that had prompted Leahy and Dwyer's journey.

The expedition was now over. All that remained to be done was for the two prospectors to give a negative report of the results of their prospecting to the other miners who had backed them. The outcome of the journey was not negative, however, for the rapid completion of Papuan and New Guinean exploration was now assured.

CHAPTER FIVE

'THE ROAD TO NOWHERE' : ITS
IMPACT ON PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

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The Leahy-Dwyer expedition made a much heavier impact on the 'undiscovered' people of New Guinea's interior mountains than it did on Leahy's and Dwyer's own community, the Europeans of coastal Papua and New Guinea. This chapter will endeavour to demonstrate the effect of the expedition on the inland ethnic groups it contacted, and beyond that, on the territories' European community.⁽¹⁾

The expedition's first contact with a population group that had never before witnessed European civilization was with various villages of Kamano language speakers in the Dunantina valley. The Kamano are a group of some 31,000 people generally living south of the Bismarck Range and the Dunantina valley in the west and the present-day Kainantu to the east. Leaving the Kamano Leahy and Dwyer moved into the territory of the Yagaria, about 14,000 people occupying land east of Lufa on the

- (1) To determine the reaction of the various indigenous groups the writer visited numerous villages of the Kamano, Yagaria and Mikaru language speakers in December, 1968, and interviewed a number of middle-aged and elderly men who remembered the arrival of Leahy and Dwyer and who met the two whitemen. Because of the remoteness of their location the writer was regrettably unable to contact members of the Gimi speaking groups of the Tua River or Pavaia speaking groups of the Pio and Upper Purari rivers. This had unfortunately prevented a truly representative cross-section of the inland groups whose meeting with Leahy and Dwyer represented their first contact with Europeans.

southern side of the Asaro-Tua River. They next met a tiny pocket of Pavaia to the east of Mt. Karimui, then closer to the mountain moved into the territory of the Mikaru (otherwise known as Daribi), about 4,000 people living to the west and south of Mr. Karimui. Finally they moved among the main body of the Pavaia, about 2,000 people scattered over a wide area of land north of the Purari and east of the Nemi River.⁽²⁾ (See Map 4)

Their meeting with Leahy and Dwyer was not the initial contact with Europeans for some villages of these language groups, particularly in the case of villages nearer the coasts. Generally, however, the meeting with Leahy and Dwyer was the first contact with European civilization for the inland language groups.⁽³⁾

Leahy and Dwyer contacted only those clans and villages immediately on their route, but once they had met several population units within a language group the news of their arrival usually spread rapidly throughout the other clans and villages of the group.⁽⁴⁾

- (2) The figures quoted here are taken from a map by S.A. Wurm, Languages : Eastern, Western and Southern Highlands, Territory of Papua and New Guinea which was based on his field work between May, 1958, and January, 1959.
- (3) Some of the Kamano villages of the upper Dunantina had, for example, previously met the Neuendettelsau Lutheran missionaries, while other groups on the Ornapinka River, west of Kainantu, would have met Ned Rowlands.
- (4) The diaries of both Leahy and Dwyer give frequent evidence that the arrival of the two whitemen was anticipated in many of the places they visited, even when the neighbouring groups were at war. The villagers interviewed by the writer claimed that they had heard about the presence of whitemen several days before they actually appeared.

LANGUAGE GROUPS

MET BY LEAHY AND

DWYER EXPEDITION, 1930

LANGUAGE GROUPS

Met by Leahy and Dwyer

Others



KAMARU



BENABENA



YAGARIA



ASARO



GINU



YABIYUFA



MUKARU



SIANG



FAYIA



CHUANG



DOM

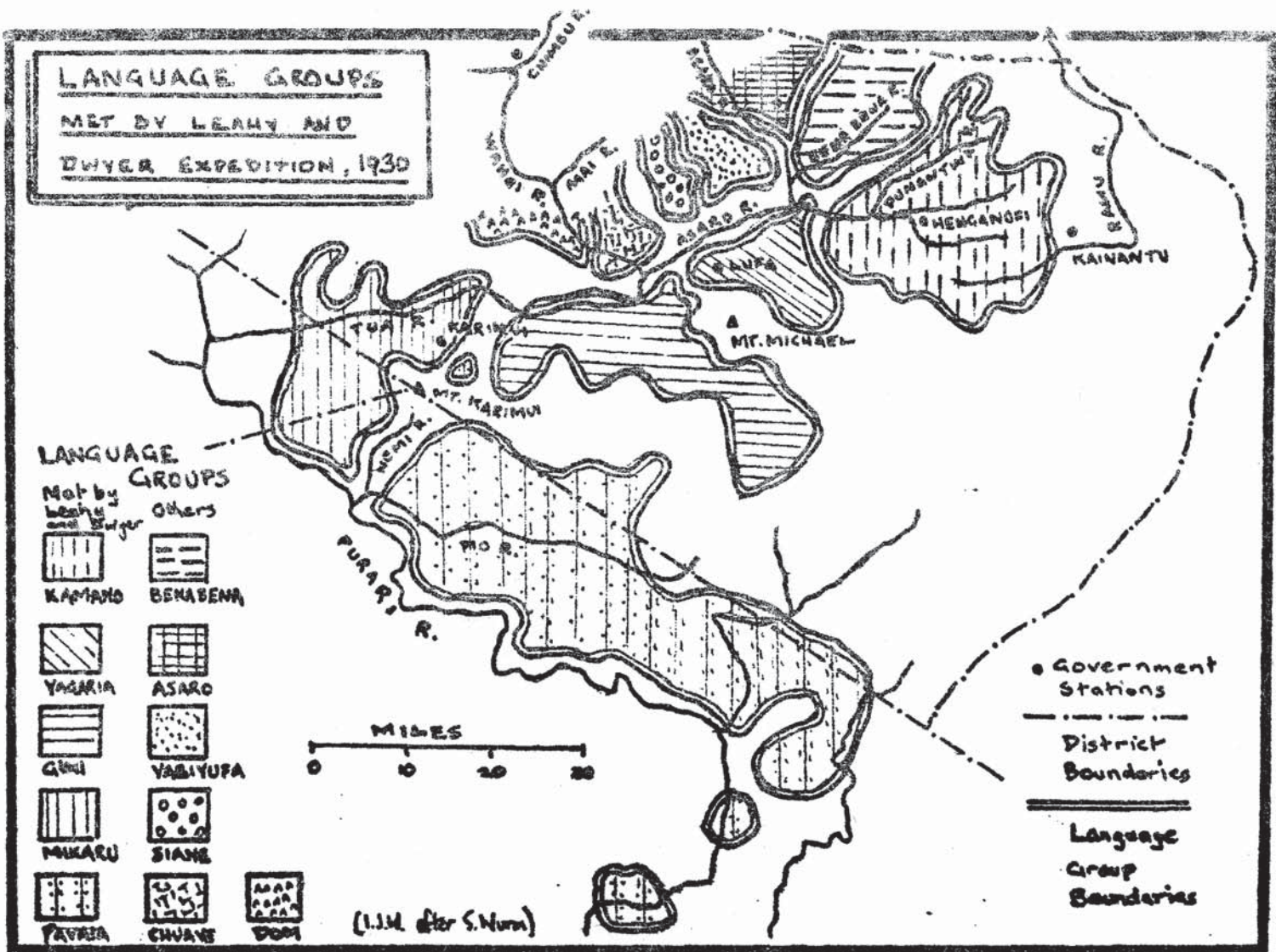


(I.M. after S. Nurn)

• Government Stations

--- District Boundaries

Language Group Boundaries



What impression did the two prospectors make on these groups? Whittaker has listed common types of Melanesian reaction to initial culture contact with Europeans :

The Rev. Gill, on Katau River in 1872, described how his arm was rubbed by one of the Torotoram people to see if the white would come off. "They call us 'Malakai', i.e., 'ghosts' or 'spirits'," he said Chalmers described a ritual by the natives of Bald Head which he interpreted as his presentation to the gods. Natives of the Madang area told James McAuley that their people had thought the Russian scientist, Mikluho-Maclay, to be a manifestation of their deity. John Hunter's party at Duke of York was greeted first by stones and spears, and then by a procession of natives singing songs and carrying green boughs. (5)

The interpretation by local groups of the fact of Leahy's and Dwyer's arrival varied greatly, in the same manner noted by Whittaker. Each group tended to react according to its own particular beliefs, and although the whiteman possibly did not realise it, the traditional assumptions of each group became manifest in its reaction to the white men .

In discussing the field of Melanesian culture contact with European civilization, Whittaker has pointed to the possibility of either or both indigenes and Europeans misunderstanding or misinterpreting the motives and the actions of the other. Misinterpretation, Whittaker believes, arose

- (5) J.L. Whittaker, "New Guinea : The Ethnohistory of First Culture Contacts," The History of Melanesia : Papers delivered at the Second Waigani Seminar, 30 May to 5 June 1968. (Australia : the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, and the University of Papua and New Guinea, 1969), p. 632.

because one or both parties to the contact could not understand "the values and assumptions that coloured the experiences and directed the behaviour" of the other.⁽⁶⁾ She has shown that such misunderstanding often led the Europeans at initial contact to place a 'black and white' interpretation on the behaviour of the local group :

the tensions of these Europeans making first contact with a strange race allowed them to think of the meeting only in terms of "friendly" or "hostile". It is probable that neither of these terms had any application to the scene. Even where the performance of a rite was recognised, the purpose was not guessed. (7)

This was certainly true of Leahy and Dwyer. Constantly concerned that their food supply might cut out or that they may meet massive hostility, they tended to view local groups in terms of "friendly", "hostile", "pig-sellers" or "cargo carriers", without understanding why. Where a group was hostile they believed it coveted their trade goods, where a group was not anxious to sell pigs or carry cargo they thought it was simply cussed or lazy, and where a group refused to accept steel as trade they thought it was stupid and dull. However, as Whittaker shows, the judgement of the European was not necessarily correct : the New Guinean for example could be "as selective in his purchase as the European" and he may not have been "after the object of practical use or superior quality as much as the

(6) Whittaker, op. cit., p. 626.

(7) Ibid., p. 633.

object he fancied was used by the white man to create the things of use and quality."⁽⁸⁾ It is possible, then, that the local groups met by Leahy and Dwyer were not simply "hostile" or "lazy" or "stupid".

It was similarly true that the interpretation placed on Leahy's and Dwyer's arrival by local groups was simplistic. Speaking of initial culture contact in New Guinea generally, Whittaker has said,

The Europeans were seen as spirits who could make good or evil sorcery. If their power were for good, then a ritual could be performed to bring them under control so that they could be made to give up or at least to share their powers. If their power were for evil they might be driven away, or, failing this, brought under control and rendered harmless. (9)

Leahy and Dwyer too were generally seen as spirits and few individuals realised that they were men. Their motives in having come into the area were not suspected, and it was generally assumed that either they had come to do harm or to distribute their goods.

A study of the reactions of three of the language groups contacted by Leahy and Dwyer best illustrates the assumptions

(8) Whittaker, op. cit., p. 636.

(9) Ibid., p. 633.

underlying the inland groups' first contacts with whitemen :

I. THE KAMANO (10)

Lehona village, from where both the Neuendettelsau Lutherans and Leahy and Dwyer started out, is a Kamano village though on the northern fall of the Bismarck Range, and had maintained sporadic contact with other Kamano villages over the range in the Dunantina valley. The Kamano probably knew that they would one day meet whitemen. Berndt has pointed out that they knew about whitemen well before they met them and that their anticipated arrival raised Kamano expectations :

the local people were subject to waves of rumours about them; they were viewed as the spirits of the dead, and propitiatory and protective rites were performed on their account In all these the emphasis was on possessing introduced goods as well as indigenous forms of wealth, and on using them to obtain presitge. (11)

Leonhardt Flierl and Pilhofer and Bergmann all entered Kamano

(10) I am indebted to a number of informants from Kamano villages who remember having seen Leahy and Dwyer for much of the information contained in this section : Vonine of Taru village, who was about twelve to fifteen years old when he met Leahy and Dwyer; Tirimanki of Ufaganofi village who was also about twelve to fifteen; Obagere of Kuyahapa village, who was a young man only recently married; Gumugumupa of Baramante, Nipanepa and Mololugai of Beiyanofi and Tigole of Homoza, who were all young men who were "old enough but had not yet married" when Leahy and Dwyer passed through their area; and Sæfa of Baramante, who was married with several children when whitemen first came into his area. I am also indebted to Anirokya of Taru, who was not born when Leahy and Dwyer arrived but is very articulate and has many anecdotes of Leahy' and Dwyer's arrival in Taru which he learnt from his late father, Fletatime, who met Leahy and Dwyer.

(11) R.M. Berndt, "The Kamano, Usurufa, Jate and Fore of the Eastern Highlands," P. Lawrence and M.J. Meggitt (eds.), Gods, Ghosts and Men In Melanesia : Some Religions of Australian New Guinea and the New Hebrides (Melbourne : Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 99.

territory before Leahy and Dwyer, but the two prospectors would have been the first Europeans to have been seen by many of the Kamano villages. They spent about ten days in Kamano territory and were constantly surrounded by large groups of villagers. They would have been seen by a broad cross-section of the language group and their impact would as a result have been widespread.

The Kamano of the Dunantina valley remember their first contacts with whitemen clearly. The first they remember were probably Pilhofer and Bergmann, whom they refer to "tupela man bilong mission" who came over the Bismark Range from Lehona, then went down the Dunantina and crossed over the divide near Mt. Sunubia into the Kamamentina valley, which they followed up towards Kainantu. The Kamano clearly remember Leahy and Dwyer because of the large dogs they had. Everywhere Leahy and Dwyer travelled their dogs impressed the local people greatly and it is often by their dogs that they are recalled. It is this that differentiates them from the "Tupela man bilong mission", who did not have dogs. In referring to the first Europeans into the area the local villagers recall "tupela masta i no got dog" and "tupela masta i got bigpela dog tumas".

When the first parties of Europeans entered their area, the Kamano were divided as to who the whitemen were. There were many theories and ideas : "planti tingting i stap ---

no got wankain tingting." (12) Many seemed to think that Leahy and Dwyer were some kind of spirits -- "tambarans" or "maselais" (13) -- and many thought that they had come from the sky. (14) Some thought that they might have been ancestors returned from the dead, (15) The belief that they were spirits was compatible with Kamano cosmology. Berndt has said that among the Kamano there is a widespread belief in a creation myth involving a woman Jumugishantu, and a man Morufonu. The myth suggests that

a large tree grew out of nothingness, its thick spreading roots forming the ground At the base of that tree sat Jumugishantu and her husband, Morufonu . . . holding the world steady. The tree rests on the shoulders of Morufonu; when his body pains with its weight he moves slightly, causing earth tremors. (16)

According to another myth Jumugishantu and Morufonu created "heaven" as well while they were travelling north :

. . . as they moved northward, Jumugishantu and Morufonu grew older and finally died In doing so they founded the land of the dead, which for the Kamano . . . lay beyond the Markham Existing alongside the notion of a specific land of the dead . . . is the suggestion that for an undefined period after death a ghost may communicate with living kin through a dream. (17)

- (12) Anirokya, interview with the writer on 13th December, 1968. This Pidgin expression means "there were many ideas --- not just a single theory."
- (13) Anirokya, interview, 13th December, 1968.
- (14) Vonine, interview, 13th December, 1968.
- (15) Obagere, interview, 13th December, 1968.
- (16) Berndt, op. cit., p. 80.
- (17) Ibid., p. 68.

It would have required little imagination for the Kamano to believe that Leahy and Dwyer, who had come from the direction of 'the land of the dead' near the Markham, were spirits.

Some people realised after Leahy and Dwyer had moved on that they were ordinary mortal men without having any idea of who or what type of men they might be. After the party had moved on hordes of people would gather to examine their campsites closely for clues to the party's identity. Food scraps, papers and empty tins were all examined for the light they might shed on the problem.⁽¹⁸⁾ The most convincing clue was the faeces, which were hardly of spiritual substance -- "pekpek biling ol i wankain long mipela"⁽¹⁹⁾ -- and indicated that the "ozafa", or whitemen were human.

The Kamano always displayed intense interest in the Europeans and their equipment. The party attracted wide attention and the people trooped in from nearby villages and hamlets to see the whitemen. Without having seen them they could not visualise what such strange creatures might be like and were curious and anxious to find out. Their motives in coming to see the whitemen amounted first to simple curiosity, but they were quick to recognise the value of the Europeans' trade goods, particularly the steel, and were eager to trade their vegetables and pigs to obtain them. They were anxious to assist the party

(18) Gumugumupa, interview, 13th December, 1968.

(19) Pidgin; the meaning is "their excreta was just the same as ours." Tirimanki, interview, 13th December, 1968.

by carrying its baggage, fetching firewood and water and doing other tasks in return for the prized trade goods.⁽²⁰⁾ The most desired item of trade was always steel -- in the form of knives or tomahawks -- and although shell may have been prized elsewhere it did not attract the Kamano language speakers once they realised the value of steel for cutting wood. Shell, they knew, could always be obtained via the traditional trade routes from the Markham and Ramu valleys and over the Bismarck Range.⁽²¹⁾

The interest of the Kamano speakers was tempered with strong element of fear -- of the whitemen themselves, and also of their dogs and their guns. The first reaction was commonly the conviction that a person would die if he laid eyes on the whitemen. This belief led to a practice which Leahy's diary often comments upon during the party's journey down the Dunantina : the local people rubbing Leahy's and Dwyer's skin, a habit which the two whitemen interpreted as an attempt by the locals to rub the "white paint" from their skin to see what colour lay beneath. In this matter Leahy and Dwyer were mistaken; and their mistake is a rather obvious instance of what Whittaker would term a European's misinterpretation of a Melanesian's motives. In actual fact the Kamano rubbed the

(20) Tirimanki, interview, 13th December, 1968.

(21) Tirimanki, interview, 13th December, 1968.

the whitemen with a small piece of fern or tanket leaf which was then cooked with a piece of pork or with soup and eaten to protect the person eating it. Once this had been done the people felt safe.⁽²²⁾ Berndt has also noted this Kamano custom -- "herbs, wild ginger and other plants are used for protection against malignant spirits"⁽²³⁾ -- and regards it as "action directed towards the control of human affairs including dealings with spirits and ghosts by non-empirical means."⁽²⁴⁾

When the Kamano saw the two whitemen demonstrate their weapons by shooting at stones, vegetables, pieces of wood and trees, the people were quick to realise the destructive power of the weapons and literally quaked in terror as each report sounded : "mipela guria tumas" they now recall.⁽²⁵⁾ In Taru village, for example, Leahy shot twice at a tree high up on the opposite bank of the river, breaking it off several feet above the ground. The tree later grew again and still bears the scar of the shot; it reminds the people of the fear they felt at the time of the shooting. One of the men of the village had entertained plans for attacking Leahy and Dwyer for the prizes they bore, but the shooting of the tree showed the

(22) Vonine, Gumugumupa, interviews, 13th December, 1968.

(23) Berndt, op. cit. p. 88

(24) Ibid., p. 88

(25) Pidgin - "we shook dreadfully." Nipanepa, interview, 13th December, 1968.

other villagers that if a fight was started, the local people would suffer the same fate as the tree. This thought caused them to prevent the planned attack.

The party's dogs also gained the respect of the Kamano. They were much larger than the village dogs, and the people had seen Leahy and Dwyer putting their dogs through tricks that the village dogs could not perform -- fetching large sticks that had been thrown into the river, jumping high to catch scraps of food that were thrown to them -- which showed the Kamano what a formidable team the dogs and their masters formed. Dogs that were so obedient to their masters would protect them to the last if the locals were to attack them.⁽²⁶⁾ Some people even thought that the dogs might carry them off and eat the villagers if given the opportunity.⁽²⁷⁾

Not all the Kamano were in complete awe of the newcomers. Some among them realised that Leahy and Dwyer were mortal men. Komunto Zava-o of Beiyanofi was one of these. Komunto, who died several years after Leahy's and Dwyer's arrival, was a "lapun", or old man when the two Europeans visited his village. According to local legend he was a "pikinini bilong maselai", or a child of the spirits, who was not born by natural means but was found as a baby by his people in a grove of casuarina trees near a bend in the Dunantina River several miles below

(26) Gumugumupa, interview, 13th December, 1968.

(27) Anirokya, interview, 13th December, 1968.

Beiyanofi. Komunto never married -- his name means 'man without a wife' -- and he was a "pit pit man", or weak and skinny fellow, but he lived to become a local legend. He was a seer and his people attributed supernatural powers to him. These were never used for evil ends : he did not "savvy magic". Komunto evidently had powers of prognostication, for he was able to advise the relatives of any villager who was ill whether the relative would live or die, and although he was not a fighter himself the village men would never enter into a fight with another village unless Komunto had advised that the outcome would be favourable.

Komunto's advice to the people of his village when they consulted him about the mysterious whitemen who had appeared amongst them was that the village had nothing to fear from the newcomers : they were ordinary men and not "tambarans". Komunto said that they were merely the first of a succession of whitemen who would come to the area and that they would be followed by many more. He also advised the people that in the future the whitemen would bring with them many gigantic flying foxes. Several years later when the village was terrified as it watched an aeroplane fly over for the first time, Komunto was able to reassure his people again by saying that they had nothing to fear as his earlier prophecy about the flying foxes was merely being fulfilled. (28)

(28) These anecdotes from Gumugumupa, Nipanepa, Molulogai, Tigole and Soefa, interviews, 13th December, 1968.

One other man, at least, of the Kamano was not perturbed by the arrival of Leahy and Dwyer : Nuguruhente of Taru, who died in 1963 and was a young man when he met Leahy and Dwyer. Nuguruhente is remembered as something of a trouble-maker. He had come to Taru after fleeing from several other villages where he had lived until he had fought or killed someone there. His reputation was that of a quarrelsome provoker of argument and discord and a seducer of women. Nuguruhente believed that Leahy and Dwyer were not extraordinary and he tried to persuade the people of Taru to attack and kill them and steal their knives and tomahawks. He also wanted to kill and eat Leahy's and Dwyer's dogs. The Taru villagers, however, had seen one of the whitemen shoot at and snap off the tree which still stands near the village and which still bears the scar of the shooting and they feared the outcome of any fight with the whitemen. The people of Taru refused to listen and forced him into restraint.

Nuguruhente had to be satisfied with a less ostentatious assault. He went down to Leahy's and Dwyer's camp one morning and saw a tomahawk lying on the ground near where one of the carriers had been cutting wood. He sat on the tomahawk and edged his way backwards, nudging the tool along underneath him. When he was far enough away from the camp, he hid the tool behind his back and ran off with it. (It is still in the village.) The village people were angry with him, afraid that the theft would be discovered and the whole village punished. Nuguruhente then

escaped to Ranofi village higher up the side of the valley.⁽²⁹⁾ Nuguruhente's conduct had caused consternation in his village, but it was not incompatible with Kamano beliefs. The Kamano believed that even supernatural beings could be attacked. Berndt has commented that to the Kamano "ghosts and . . . giants, ogres and apparitions of several kinds appear to be almost as vulnerable as man himself."⁽³⁰⁾

II. THE YAGARIA⁽³¹⁾

Leahy and Dwyer were the first European the Yagaria saw and the impression made by the two whitemen was a strong one. The Yagaria believed Leahy and Dwyer were the spirits of ancestors returning from the dead. They reasoned that because of the great number of people who had already died, the 'land of the dead' must have been getting crowded. The spirits of the dead must have decided to return to earth to re-occupy their former houses. This possibility annoyed some people, who feared that their houses and land might be taken from them by the two "spirits".⁽³²⁾

(29) Anirokya, interview, 13th December, 1968.

(30) Berndt, op cit., p. 30.

(31) I am indebted to two Yagaria speaking men for their recollections of the reactions of their people to Leahy and Dwyer : Nambanamba of Kemerake village, who was a youth of about fifteen years and had just been initiated when he saw Leahy and Dwyer pass through his village, which is below the present government station of Lufa, and Kabu of Degi village, who was also about fifteen when Leahy and Dwyer arrived.

(32) Nambanamba, interview, 17th December, 1968.

The Yagaria applied logical reasoning to the situation presented by the arrival of the whitemen. Everything about the whitemen fitted neatly into a pattern that supported their belief that Leahy and Dwyer were spirits returning from the dead. Leahy's and Dwyer's skin colour formed a strong contrast with that of the local people, as did their clothing, equipment, weapons and dogs. The Yagarie interpreted these differences as the differences that must necessarily exist between the living and the dead. There were two aspects of the whitemen's behaviour that confirmed this belief. In the first place the whitemen were friendly; they shook hands with many people and seemed to laugh and smile a lot as though they were pleased to meet everyone. The Yagaria reasoned that total strangers would not be friendly; this pointed to the fact that the two whitemen must have already known the local people. They were therefore ancestors. When Dwyer was seen to remove his false teeth the conviction was clinched : teeth may drop from a dead man's skull -- but not from the mouth of someone alive. Leahy and Dwyer had to be ancestors : returning from the dead.⁽³³⁾

Once the Yagaria had made this assumption, a further assumption followed : that they had come not to claim land but to distribute gifts among the people. The Yagaria greatly admired the equipment Leahy and Dwyer carried, particularly the axes and knives . . . they traded so generously for foodstuffs.

(33) Nambanamba, interview, 17th December, 1968.

They believed the possessions of the whitemen were gifts that the ancestral spirits had made and intended to have distributed among the people. And like the Kamano they expressed their interest and curiosity by following the party in hordes and dwelling upon every move that it made. Every facet of the party's conduct fascinated and pleased the local people.⁽³⁴⁾ So pleased was one man, Klufi of Degi village, with a knife he had received that he announced to his people that he was going to leave them to follow and accompany the whitemen wherever they went and thus continue to earn gifts from them. His fellow villagers of Degi believed that he was rather too presumptuous and appreciated the humour of the situation when Dwyer rid himself of Klufi by taking out his false teeth and frightening away the would-be disciple.⁽³⁵⁾

Leahy and Dwyer's guns and dogs impressed the Yagaria just as they had the Kamano. They saw Leahy and Dwyer shoot at pigs, birds and trees. They did not know how the guns killed, but saw that if they were used on humans the results would be the same.⁽³⁶⁾ The report of the guns terrified them and they assumed that Leahy and Dwyer, being powerful spirits, would have powerful dogs. In fact the very size of the dogs led to one of them being killed and eaten. After Leahy and Dwyer left the area, one of their dogs returned. Wagabi of Kumori

(34) Nambanamba, interview, 17th December, 1968.

(35) Kabu and Nambanamba, interviews, 17th December, 1968.

(36) Nambanamba, interview, 17th December, 1968.

caught the dog, killed it, and shared its meat among his fellow villagers. The whitemen's dog, so much larger than the local breeds, provided an unexpected feast that is still remembered.⁽³⁷⁾

The Yagaria deny that they coveted the whitemen's possessions or would have killed for them. They claim they believed Leahy and Dwyer were beloved ancestors and even though they knew the two whitemen would soon depart taking with them their wonderful and much-admired goods, they believed Leahy and Dwyer and other ancestral spirits would later return bringing further gifts. They therefore had no reason to kill the newcomers. The Yagaria speakers also point out that they had only affection for the two whitemen -- "mipela hamemas tumas long ol" -- and were anxious to help the newcomers by carrying their packs for them in return for gifts.⁽³⁸⁾ Both Leahy and Dwyer would probably disagree with this interpretation as they both reported difficulty in buying food in the area : "kanakas are OK, but lazy hounds, had a hell of a job to get kai".⁽³⁹⁾ And on one occasion in this area they were confronted by a large, apparently warlike party of men who

(37) Nambanamba, interview, 17th December, 1968.

(38) Nambanamba, interview 17th December, 1968.

(39) Leahy, Diary, 8th June, 1930.

made a lot of fuss . . . They tried their hardest to stop us and did nearly everything but shoot. The old men made speeches and cried and at times things looked pretty bad < but in the end nothing happened and they became really good friends."(40)

Whittaker would interpret this as a further instance of mutual misinterpretation.

Whatever their attitude at the time, the belief that Leahy and Dwyer were ancestral spirits was strong among the Yagaria and this belief persisted for some years after they had passed through the area. It was only when a white woman entered their area that the Yagaria realised that Leahy and Dwyer had been mere men and not gift-bearing ancestors.⁽⁴¹⁾

III. THE MIKARU (42)

It was among the relatively small and isolated groups of Mikaru, or Daribi, clustered around Mt. Karimui that Leahy's and Dwyer's expedition apparently made its heaviest impact. To the Mikaru Leahy's and Dwyer's arrival seemed a cataclysmic event. It shocked them greatly for they interpreted it as the approach of the apocalypse.

(40) Dwyer, Diary, 9th June, 1930.

(41) Nambanamba, interview, 17th December, 1968.

(42) I am indebted to a number of informants from the Mikaru, clans of the Mt. Karimui area for the information contained in this section : Ebinugiai of the Karawabu clan, who met Leahy and Dwyer as a young boy of ten to twelve years of age, and Nisigiboro, Panugia and Siaro of Masi village, who were all recently married young men when Leahy and Dwyer passed through their area. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Roy Wagner of Northwestern University, who has worked among the Mikaru speakers at intervals since 1963, for explaining to me many of the customs of the Daribi people and for assisting me in interviewing the local people.

The Mikaru, like the Kamano, remember Leahy and Dwyer as the "two men who came with a big dog".⁽⁴³⁾ They first heard of Leahy and Dwyer from the Pavaia of the Mt. Karimui area -- a small, isolated pocket of people who live on the northeast flank of Mt. Karimui.⁽⁴⁴⁾ A rumour had spread before the whitemen's party that they had large fierce dogs big enough to carry off children. The Mikaru thought the two newcomers might be Souw, a mythical giant with white skin who is the main figure in their creation story, for large dogs bring their owners status among the Mikaru.⁽⁴⁵⁾ A rumour had spread ahead of Leahy and Dwyer that their dogs were about three feet tall, or twice the size of local dogs.

Myths of the Mikaru maintain that Souw, an immortal who could renew his own body and his life by changing skins like a snake, had once been greatly shamed when caught in the act of copulation with his daughter by a party of Mikaru. People were afraid that one day he would return to earth and punish the Mikaru for having shamed him.⁽⁴⁶⁾ When they heard that two large, white-

(43) Roy Wagner, The Curse of Souw : Principles of Daribi Clan Definition and Alliance in New Guinea (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1967), p.2. Wagner uses the word "Daribi" to note the Mikaru speakers as well as the language. Daribi is the word the people refer to themselves by. "Mikaru" is their word for Mt. Karimui. By the time Leahy and Dwyer reached the Mt. Karimui area, two of their four dogs had already run away.

(44) Ibid., p.2.

(45) Roy Wagner, interview with the writer, 4th December, 1968.

skinned men with large dogs were to come amongst them, they had every reason to believe that the end of their world was nigh and dreadful vengeance was about to be wrought upon them.⁽⁴⁷⁾ And so great consternation spread among them as Leahy and Dwyer approached.

When the two whitemen actually arrived, the worst fears of the Mikaru were realised. Leahy and Dwyer were large men (Leahy is about five feet eight inches tall and solidly built, while Dwyer, though slimmer, is about six feet tall; they therefore contrasted strongly with the short-statured and slight Mikaru), they had huge dogs and their skins were white. Furthermore, they were wearing clothes that could be removed in the same way that a snake could remove its skin. In fact everything about Leahy and Dwyer neatly fitted the legends about Souw. Many Mikaru fled into the bush in terror, with only the bravest of the men returning to meet the whitemen.⁽⁴⁸⁾

After Leahy and Dwyer had departed great consternation continued spreading. People flocked in to inspect their campsites and to discuss their appearance in the area. It was noted that Leahy and Dwyer had travelled on towards the Gulf of Papua -- the horizon -- and it was agreed that they had gone there for the express purpose of carrying out the promised vengeance of Souw.

(46) Wagner, interview, 4th December, 1968.

(47) Ebinugiai, interview, 5th December, 1968.

(48) Ebinugiai, interview, 5th December, 1968.

It was agreed that as Souw had made the earth so he had the power to destroy it. The Mikaru agreed the two whitemen would do this by going to the horizon and then chopping out the trees supporting the sky, so that the sky would fall and crush all men.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The fact that the sky would be chopped down seemed to be confirmed by the two whitemen's possession of steel axes and knives. The party had demonstrated the strength and power of their tools by chopping saplings through with a single blow, which greatly impressed the Mikaru, who religiously collected and saved as relics the wood shavings and chips from such demonstrations and whose own primitive stone tools were entirely incapable of achieving such results.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Leahy's and Dwyer's guns were marvelled at too. Ebinugiai, who was at Para when Leahy and Dwyer travelled through, saw one of the party shoot a bird in a tree. As the bird dropped to the ground the branch it had been perching on dropped too, demonstrating further the power of the whitemen to all.

A strong element of submission to the newcomers underlay Mikaru dealings with the whitemen. Leahy and Dwyer were anxious to trade their goods for pigs. However, the Mikaru were not conscious of any obligation for the whitemen to trade. They were only too willing to offer their pigs and vegetables as appeasement, and although the whitemen gave knives and axes in return, the

(49) Ebinugiai, interview, 5th December, 1968.

(50) Ebinugiai, interview, 5th December, 1968.

Mikaru did not expect this and were surprised to receive payment.⁽⁵¹⁾
They would have obeyed any wish of the whitemen.

Leahy and Dwyer also aroused considerable curiosity among the Mikaru. People from all over the Mikaru areas walked in to the villages where Leahy and Dwyer had camped to ask about the party and to see where it had been. Nisigiboro of Masi has said, "No-one had seen white skin before and we wanted to know all about it."⁽⁵²⁾ Nisigiboro was one of the party of Mikaru men who guided the whitemen to the Nemi River and then to the Pio River, where they were "dumped on the riverbank". The guides who "dumped" the party on the Pio banks -- the boundary between the Mikaru and the next language group, the Pavaia -- did not retreat to their villages. Curiosity overcame their fear and they hid in the jungle for a week spying on the efforts of the whitemen's party to cross the Pio. The Mikaru, who are canoe builders themselves, were greatly interested to witness the construction of the canoe that finally ferried Leahy's and Dwyer's party across the Pio.⁽⁵³⁾

Despite their curiosity in the whitemen, the dominant feeling among the Mikaru remained one of terror-stricken expectancy. They were convinced that a great calamity

(51) Ebinugiai, interview, 5th December, 1968.

(52) Nisigiboro, interview, 8th December, 1968.

(53) Nisigiboro, interview, 8th December, 1968.

would come upon them as a result of the whitemen's visit. That doom was about to descend seemed confirmed when they heard a rumour that Leahy and Dwyer had been drowned crossing the flooded Pio River. They thought the vengeance of Souw would now be doubly severe and it was only the elapse of time that eased their fears.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Forty years later it is difficult to gauge the panic and terror that must have gripped the Mikaru as they saw Europeans for the first time. But it is hardly surprising that Leahy and Dwyer, the first whitemen they had seen, were not followed by the same enthusiastic hordes that had pursued their party as it had travelled among the Kamano and Yagaria.

IV. REACTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The immediate effect of Leahy's and Dwyer's journey on the European community in Papua and New Guinea was slight. It was not until several years later -- and only after Leahy's more publicised journeys with his brother Dan -- that the journey became recognised by the public as something of an "epic". The journey received little publicity at the time : the only attention it attracted was the 900-word account in the Papuan Courier of 22nd August, 1930, shortly after the party had reached Port Moresby on its way back to Edie Creek. This report
(54) Ebinugiai, interview, 5th December, 1968.

was reprinted in the Rabaul Times a month later. The journey received no publicity at all in the Australian press, and the only official recognition was the 500-word commentary by Sir Hubert Murray in his Annual Report for Papua for the year 1930-1931. In the Mandated Territory of New Guinea a brief announcement was made in the Annual Report for 1930-1931 without going so far to name Leahy or Dwyer or to indicate what they had discovered :

two prospectors made an extensive tour in the vicinity of the upper Ramu River. They crossed from the Ramu River into the Territory of Papua and reached the Gulf of Papua via the Purari River. (55)

There were good reasons why the journey received scant attention. In the first place Leahy and Dwyer were on a prospecting trip and were anxious not to publicise their movements too much. What they had seen of the Dunantina and the glimpses they had had of the Asaro and Bena Bena valleys had convinced them that the region warranted further investigation and as Dwyer has said,

We didn't want to tell people about what we had found because the news would have spread and we would have had everyone in New Guinea following us and jumping a claim on the gold we might have discovered. (56)

Secondly, Leahy and Dwyer were "non-official" explorers and came from New Guinean territory rather than Papuan. They were private citizens going about private business without the official support enjoyed by government-sponsored patrols. (55) Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1930-31, p. 90. (56) Dwyer, interview with the writer, 7th January, 1969.

In looking at official and newspaper reports of the time one cannot help but be struck by the strong contrast between the wide publicity and interest aroused by the exploratory expeditions of the patrol officers of the Papuan government service -- particularly those of Ivan Champion and Jack Hides -- and the almost total lack of recognition of the work of explorers in New Guinea. In the 1920s and the early 1930s Papua, under the benign governorship of Sir Herbert Murray regularly received much more publicity in the Australian press than the recently acquired New Guinean territory. Australians seemed to feel that in Murray and in Papua they had a governor and a colony to be proud of, while they were less certain of what was entailed in New Guinea. Since all exploration in Papua at the time was "official" and carried out with Murray's express approval, it is hardly surprising that exploration in Papua attracted greater attention from the Australian press. This, of course, is supposition; yet it is an interesting speculation that if Leahy and Dwyer had been officers of the Papuan service rather than two unknown prospectors from New Guinea they would have attracted much more notice than they did.

It was only after Leahy's and Dwyer's journey into the Bena Bena and Asaro Valleys in late 1930, and more especially after Leahy's journeys into the Chimbu and Wahgi valleys with his brother Dan and Jim Taylor in 1933 that people in Papua and New Guinea and Australia became aware that the inland

of the island consisted of a series of densely populated grassed valleys. In 1930, however, little recognition was made of Leahy's and Dwyer's accomplishments.

V. EVALUATION

Dwyer named his map of the journey with Leahy "The Road To Nowhere". At the time this title may have been appropriate, but ironic in view of the later development of the highlands. By 1934 all of the New Guinea highlands as far as Mt. Hagen and beyond would be known, in broad outline at least, and the way would be prepared for the rapid post-war development of the highlands.

Leahy's and Dwyer's journey was an important initial stage in the opening of the highlands; but it was only one stage. Leahy and Dwyer were not the first to discover that in many places the interior of the island consists of populated grassed valleys. A year before their expedition Faithorn and Champion in Papua and Rowlands and the Neuendettelsau Lutheran missionaries in New Guinea had realised this. And it was inevitable that the opening would have taken place within several years : with both missionaries and prospectors already working further and further inland, the final opening of the unknown interior could not have been delayed much longer. Leahy and Dwyer merely hastened the process.

Where the Leahy-Dwyer expedition made its important

contribution to New Guinea exploration was by revealing much more about the interior of the island than any previous expedition. Their discoveries caused a considerable revision of geographical knowledge of the island. Their journey demonstrated that a huge block of the central highlands of New Guinea was drained by rivers flowing south into Papua rather than north to the New Guinea coast. More importantly, the great number and variety of population groups they met gave some indication of the extent of the highlands population. Leahy and Dwyer found population groups spread right across the island, in places thought to be uninhabited. After their journey it was not hard to surmise that elsewhere in the highlands the country must be similarly populated.

Once Leahy's and Dwyer's journey had made its revelations other journeys followed with a rush and within several years the entire country was known in broad outline at least. Leahy and Dwyer's second journey together, into the Bena Bena and upper Asaro valleys in late 1930; Leahy's journey through the Chimbu and Wahgi valleys with his brother Dan, Jim Taylor and Ken Spinks, the surveyor from the New Guinea Goldfields Company in 1933; the Leahy brothers' journeys into the Nebilya valley and to Mt Giluwe in 1933 and in 1934, and into the Wabag area in 1934; Taylor and Black's journey in 1938-1939 from Mt. Hagen to Telefomin : all these quickly followed Leahy's and Dwyer's discoveries of 1930.

The Leahy-Dwyer expedition has become important for a further reason. It has been said of Hermann Detzner that even though he was a fraud "his determination alone will secure him a place, however minor, in the history of New Guinea."⁽⁵⁷⁾ Leahy and Dwyer, too, will be remembered as men of great determination. Though their later exploits have overshadowed the 1930 expedition, the initiative, resourcefulness and courage they displayed in crossing the island has earned them a permanent place in the history of the island's exploration.

Today's Papua and New Guinea is part of a different world and age from that of 1930, and in the face of its constantly changing scene it is perhaps easy to forget that much of the transformation began because of the efforts of resourceful and courageous individuals like Leahy and Dwyer. The two prospectors and fifteen carriers who became lost behind the Bismarck Ranges forty years ago were a necessary part of the process of transformation. Papua and New Guinea needed energetic and resourceful men; we found them in men of Leahy's and Dwyer's class.

(57) Biskup, op. cit., p. 19.

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A P P E N D I C E S

A P P E N D I X 1

MEMBERS OF THE LEAHY-DWYER PARTY

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Home Area</u> | <u>Present Whereabouts</u> | <u>Character*</u> |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| M. J. Leahy | | | |
| M. J. Dwyer | | | |
| Ewunga | Garaina, Upper Waria River | Roka Estate, Goroka | Party's boss-boy, 'great all-round 'er' |
| Tari | Aitape, West Sepik District | Not known | |
| Sepo | Ranges above Dumpu, Madang District | Not known | 'Tractable and amiable' |
| Tauta | Upper Waria river | Simangusa Village | 'Good in camp or on track, a good shot' |
| Pulici | Head of Bubu River, Waria River area | Died Mt. Hagen, 1938 | 'Reliable in strife, a good shot' |
| Yamunga | Ranges above Gusap, Morobe District | Home area (?) | 'A good plugger' |
| Sakia | Upper Waria River area | Garaina | 'Reliable in strife, a good shot' |
| Gevarby | " " | Simangus Village (?) | 'Timid, but a good boy' |
| Guna | " " | Not known | 'Windy : ran away from us when under attack by Kukukukus in 1931. Came back when cornered' |
| Gesupo | " " | Mt. Hagen | 'A good boy, a good shot' |
| Joe | Nodup, Rabaul | Home area (?) | 'Intelligent, but very windy, a good canoe man' |
| Tarpi | Madang | Not known | 'Windy, tractable' |
| Menekai | " | " | " " |
| Suru | Busama, Morobe District | " | 'Unreliable, good canoe boy' |
| Nauma | Geredo Village, Upper Waria area | Home area (?) | Dwyer's personal boy, 'a good boy' |

* Leahy's assessment

A P P E N D I X 2PLACES VISITED BY THE LEAHY-DWYER EXPEDITION, 1930
(In Chronological Order of Visitation)

| <u>Official Name*</u> | <u>Name(s) given by Leahy**</u> | <u>Date visited</u> |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------|
| Kaigulan | Kaiguren, Gaiturien | 20/5/30 |
| Lehona | Lihona, Lehuma | 25/5/30 |
| Hoferona | Hoferona, Hofrona | 27/5/30 |
| - | Karuna | 29/5/30 |
| Taru | Taruda | 30/5/30 |
| - | Numa | " |
| - | Karanafi | " |
| - | Werina | " |
| - | Nuyafobi | " |
| Beiyanofi | Badanafera, Baanefere | " |
| Hagana | Haruna | 1/6/30 |
| - | Krofenu | " |
| - | Proia | " |
| Yanofi | Yanof, Yanopi | " |
| Kantagu | Kentuk, Kantik | " |
| - | Nuumjagabi | " |
| - | Gantoro | 2/6/30 |
| - | Gefrebia | " |
| - | Fobegria | " |
| Kafetegu | Gavitula, Gavitulae, Gebetule, Gebentule | 3/6/30 |
| - | Tebena | " |
| - | Gemenhebia | " |
| - | Nuuntebia | " |

(continued next page. . . .)

* The official name here refers to that used by the Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Where there is no Administration name, the spelling of the Royal Australian Army Survey Corps maps is taken as official. Where it has not been possible to determine an official name a blank has been left.

** Leahy's spelling varies from one account to another.

(Appendix 2, Places Visited by the Leahy-Dwyer Expedition, 1930,
continued)

| <u>Official Name</u> | <u>Name(s) Given by Leahy</u> | <u>Date Visited</u> |
|----------------------|--|---------------------|
| Kemagi | Yumakwe, Yamarquay | 6/6/30 |
| Kami | Kami | " |
| - | Hibiyufa | " |
| Menili● | Menila | 7/6/30 |
| Lufa | Luf | " |
| - | Koriva | " |
| - | Mi | " |
| - | Nupara | 9/6/30 |
| - | Kiosa | " |
| Gono | Kono, Knoo, Konou | " |
| Wahgi River | Maki, Marki River | 10/6/30 |
| Merasawana | Ourasona, Aurasona, Owasorona, Orissawana | 11/6/30 |
| - | Kubisawana | " |
| Kora | Koravana | 13/6/30 |
| Kaiabi | Kiyabbie, Kayebi, Kiabi | 14/6/30 |
| - | Sevena, Savannah | 15/6/30 |
| - | Sevida, Seveda | 16/6/30 |
| - | Tunawona, Tunawana, Toonawana | 17/6/30 |
| Para | Para | 18/6/30 |
| Dibe*** | - | " |
| Nekapo*** | - | " |
| Harani | Orani | 19/6/30 |
| Masi (Karawabu clan) | Karubwarny | 20/6/30 |
| - | Piu | " |
| Nemi River | Nami, Namie River | " |
| Pio River | Piu River | 21/6/30 |
| Tatau*** | - | 29/6/30 |
| Uraru*** | - | 5/7/30 |

*** Leahy mentions having been into villages in the places where these villages now stand, although he does not name them. Informants from the district claim that the expedition did visit these villages.