

A HISTORY OF CONTACT AND CHANGE IN THE GOROKA VALLEY,  
CENTRAL HIGHLANDS OF NEW GUINEA,  
1934 - 1949.

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Thesis for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy [in total fulfillment  
of PhD Requirements], School of Social Sciences, Deakin University.

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Frontispiece: Contact and change, Goroka Valley, 1941.

(Allan Robertson photo)

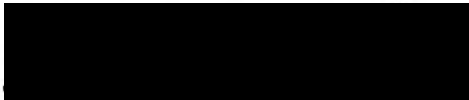
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I certify that the thesis entitled A History of Contact and.....  
Change in the Goroka Valley, Central Highlands of New Guinea,  
1934 - 1949  
and submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.....  
is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and  
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Date

7/5/86

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NOTE: Sources of photographs acknowledged in text. Where no source given, photos are by the author. Copies of all photographs listed are in my possession. Many are also displayed in my collection in the Leahy Wing of the J K McCarthy Museum, Goroka.

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OF NEW GUINEA, 1934-1949

SYNOPSIS

The thesis traces the interaction of the Goroka Valley people with European and coastal New Guinean intruders during the pacification stage of contact and change. In this 15 year period the people moved from a traditional subsistence culture to the threshold of a modern, European-influenced technological society. The contact experiences of the inhabitants of the Valley and the outsiders who influenced them are examined, using both oral and documentary sources.

A central theme of this study is the attempts by Europeans and their coastal New Guinean collaborators to achieve the pacification of a people for whom warfare has been described as "the dominant orientation". The newcomers saw pacification as being inextricably linked with social, economic and religious transformation, and consequently it was pursued by patrol officers, missionaries and soldiers alike.

Following an introductory chapter outlining the pre-contact and early-contact history of the Goroka Valley people, there is a discussion of the causes of tribal fighting in Highlands communities and two case studies of violent events which, although occurring beyond the Goroka Valley, had important consequences for those who lived within its bounds. The focus then shifts to the first permanent settlement of the agents of change - initially these were coastal New Guinean evangelists and policemen - and their impact on the local people. A period of consolidation is then described, as both government and missions established a permanent European presence in the Valley. This period was characterised by vigorous pacification coupled with the introduction of innovations in health and education, agriculture, technology, law and religion.

The gradual transformation of Goroka Valley society as a result of the people's interaction with the newcomers was abruptly accelerated in 1943, when many hundreds of Allied soldiers occupied the Valley in anticipation of a threatened Japanese invasion. Village life was disrupted as men were conscripted as carriers and labourers and whole communities were obliged to grow food to assist the Allied war effort. Those living close to military airfields and camps were subject to Japanese aerial attacks and the entire population was exposed to an epidemic of bacillary dysentery introduced by the combatants. However the War also brought some positive effects, including paradoxically, the almost total cessation of tribal fighting, the construction of an all-weather airstrip at Goroka which ensured its future as a town and administrative and commercial centre, and the compulsory growing of vegetables, coffee, etc, which laid the foundations for a cash economy and material prosperity.

The final chapter examines the aftermath of military occupation, the return of civil administration and the implementation of social and economic policies which brought the Goroka Valley people into the rapid-development phase of contact. By 1949 Gorokans were ready to channel their aggressive energies into commercial competitiveness and adopt a cash-crop economy, to accept the European rule of law, to take advantage of Western innovations in medicine, education, transport and communications, to seek employment opportunities at home and in other parts of the country and to modify their primal world view with European religious and secular values. A Stone Age people was in process of being transformed into a modern society.

## INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

'From Stone Age to Space Age in One Generation' could be an apt title for the history of contact and change in the Goroka Valley of the eastern central Highlands of New Guinea. In 1969 the Americans put two men on the Moon, an event hailed as the greatest achievement in the history of humankind. On the day that the astronauts set foot on the Moon's surface I was driving a little Mini-Moke along the Old Bena Road, a rutted and dusty thoroughfare, which was originally constructed as a jeep track by village people under military supervision, to forestall a threatened Japanese invasion. It now gives access to most of the Bena Bena region of the Goroka Valley and links three Community (Primary) schools at Sikiel, Magitu and Kapokamarigi. It was my task to visit students doing teaching practice in these schools. At each place, class work was suspended as teachers and pupils crowded round the radio listening to the enthralling drama of the first great conquest of space. By the time I reached Magitu, astronaut Armstrong had made his "one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind" and staff and children in the school were as excited as if they had walked those paces with him. They seemed unaware that they and their parents had made perhaps an even greater leap, through time, if not space, achieving the transition from a traditional to a modern society in less than 40 years.

The events of that day marked for me the stirrings of a desire to document this transition, to record as far as possible the life histories of people who had undergone such profound change and to examine the contact experience from both the New Guinean and European perspectives. I was fortunate to be able to spend nine good years in Goroka, lecturing in the Social Science Department of Goroka Teachers' College from 1969 to 1977, and from time to time there were opportunities to meet and talk with people who had participated in the local processes of contact and change. It was these and subsequent interviews which gave impetus and direction to this thesis.

'A History of Contact and Change in the Goroka Valley, 1934 - 1949' traces the interaction of the Goroka Valley people with European and coastal New Guinean intruders during what I have termed the pacification stage of their history. The first contact period, from 1930 to 1933, I have documented in my MA thesis.<sup>(1)</sup> During the pacification stage, the people moved from a traditional subsistence based culture to the threshold of a modern, European influenced technological society.

As already mentioned, the oral sources provided an important impetus to this study, giving the New Guinean participants a voice which would have had to remain silent, if only documentary sources had been used. The Europeans I interviewed were also able to comment with hindsight on events in which they were involved and on documents which they or their colleagues had written forty or more years ago. In the bibliography, I list the names of 94 New Guinean and European informants. Without their generous cooperation this history could not have been written.

The question does arise, however, of the extent to which an historian can rely on oral testimony, having regard to the fallibility of people's memories, personal bias, deliberate deception and so on. I am indebted to Dr Rod Lacey for offering a continuing dialogue on this question, and for making available his paper,<sup>(2)</sup> in which he explores the problems facing

1 Peter M Munster. 1979. 'Makarai - A History of Early Contact in the Goroka Valley, New Guinea Central Highlands, 1930 - 1933'. Port Moresby, UPNG.

2 Roderic Lacey. 1980. "'..... no other voice can tell'. Life histories in Melanesia". Paper presented to Conference on Oral History in the Pacific: Shadow or Substance? LaTrobe University, 3-4 October, 1980.



an oral historian in Papua New Guinea. One has to be aware of how memory can be shaped by the processes of storage, coding and retrieval; by "smothering and structuring" as a result of repetition; by emotion, producing selective editing; and by "multiple interplay between memory and age, with the added dimensions of perceptions and beliefs about life cycles and crises and the impact of traditions of gerontocracy and the recent challenges to it."

Any historian who sits at the feet of a Highlands elder quickly becomes aware that the 'life story' being told is more than a prosaic chronicle of events - one is often being treated to a tale of epic proportions delivered in the style of grand oratory. Rod Lacey calls this 'testimony as performance'. Providing one is conscious of the method being employed by the speaker, it is not difficult to extract the historical data from the rhetorical and oratorical embellishments. The story gains credence as history when it can be checked against the oral testimony of others and documentary evidence provided by European patrol reports, diaries, correspondence, etc. But even when obliged to stand on its own it is a valuable source, given that one makes allowance for eloquence and exaggeration.

Lacey also draws attention to the kind of life history where the teller places himself centre stage as hero; "the prime mover, a crucial force in shaping events." In Chapter 2 of this thesis Ihanimo tends to portray himself in this way, but that being recognised, I don't believe his story suffers for it. Lacey's final warning concerns the inherent dangers of the 'conversational narrative' type of interview, where the interviewer creates a dynamic interaction between him or herself and the interviewee.

In dealing with subjects such as the desperate Finintegu affray, Schmidt's gold-prospecting trek to the Sepik, the people's reactions to patrol officers and missionaries, their wartime and immediate post war experiences, I tried to take cognisance of these guidelines for the interpretation of oral testimony. Although I may still have stumbled into one or another of the pitfalls which Rod Lacey describes, I believe that the thesis was immensely enriched by the inclusion of the oral material. Derived only from the documentary sources, the account of the Finintegu battle would have been very inadequate and one sided, and the appalling experiences of Schmidt's Goroka Valley carriers could not have been described at all. Further, it would not have been possible to write about pacification, innovation and transformation without balancing the European initiative with the New Guinean response.

It has been my tendency to quote rather more than less of an informant's testimony, and to reproduce statements verbatim rather than attempting to paraphrase or precis them. It seemed to me that because of the unique nature of the material, because in most cases the informants were old men and women whose stories had not previously been recorded, and who because of their age were unlikely to live long enough to have them set down by others (this has proved to be so in a number of cases), what they said deserved to be transcribed as fully as possible. There was also the desire to capture not only the detail of their experience but also the resonance and rhythm of their speech. Obviously where the talk had to be 'turned' by an interpreter, some of this poetry of expression is lost, but as all the English translations have been made by Papua New Guineans, echoes of

the original delivery can still be heard. I want to record my appreciation of that skilful band of 'tanim toks', most of them students and school leavers, who by retaining strong links with the Goroka Valley communities which nurtured them, help bridge the gap between the village and the outside world.

Those Goroka Valley young people who interpreted for me included Ben Melekenimo, Argo Aeno, Siru Akiro, Himony Lapiso, Ian Mopafi, Paul Ine, Linton Seka, Amos Enifa, Elizabeth Lulu, Carlson Akunai, Elisabet Susuge, Maria Baliki, Debbie Koveso, Mrs Hihyo Jasinaha, Mrs Kana Iyzaho, Harry Uneune, Tony Fova and our 'adopted' Papuan-Gorokan 'son', Kingsley Anakapu. Kafe (Finintegu) language interpreters were Kasse Aaron and Benny Aveke. Students who made amends for my Pidgin deficiencies were Michael Dagam Ware, Alois Gamalu, Berom Kanamb, Philip Launa, Jack Munda, Kopon Mogomane and Laurence Abady. My first interview with Gelepet-amelauho of Seigu was translated by Dr Ellis Deibler of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Ellis corrected my spelling of Goroka (Gahuku) names and was always a most helpful and erudite linguistic advisor.

There are others to whom acknowledgement of their assistance and support is due. My supervisor, Dr David Wetherell, gave unfailing encouragement and dedicated professional advice, drawing generously on his experience as a Papua New Guinea history specialist. His colleagues in Deakin University's School of Social Sciences, including Professor Francis West, Dr Jim Polhemus and Ms Sue Leach were also most supportive. In Goroka, my friend and expert consultant on matters pertaining to the Highlands, Rick Giddings, was always ready to offer stimulating ideas, suggestions and information, and he and his wife, Lynn, generously provided accommodation on more than one occasion, as did Garry Higgins, Neil Curnow, Matenga Kingi and Pam Wood of Goroka Teachers' College. I have already mentioned the 94 informants, but several deserve special mention for being particularly patient and helpful, providing not only extended interviews but letters, personal documentary material, photographs and valuable comments on draft chapters. Jim Taylor, John Black, Danny Leahy and the late Messrs Mick and Jim Leahy, Bepi Moha, Pastor Akiro Orosovano, the Rev Willi Bergmann, the Rev Peter Hopton, the late Mrs Frieda Helbig, Mick Mannix and his Bena Force colleagues, Tommy Aitchison, Allan Robertson, Dick Kyngdon and Ian Downs did some or all of these things.

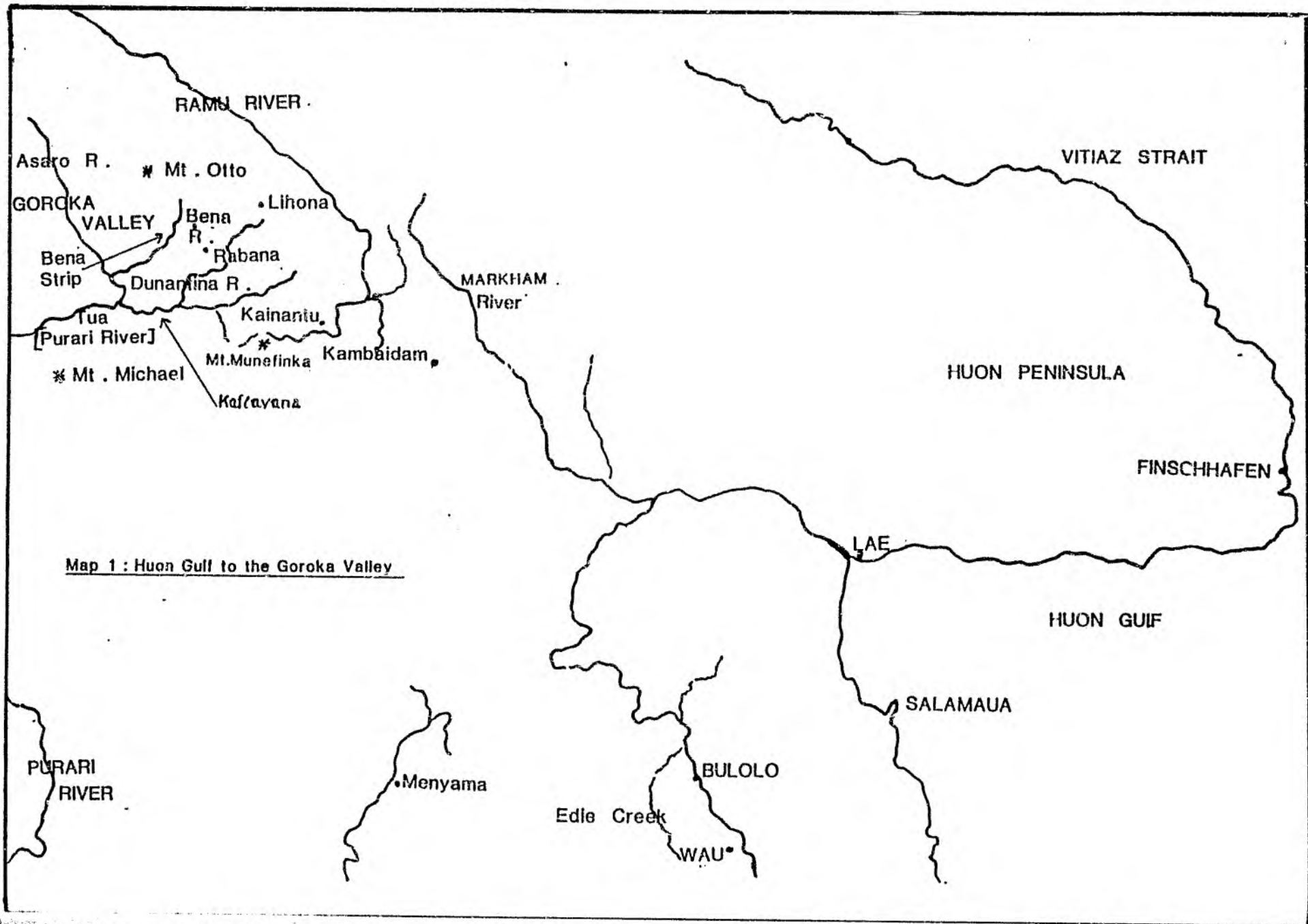
My greatest debt of gratitude is to my wife Judy, without whose constant support, promptings and encouragement, the thesis would probably not have been completed. Fortunate indeed is the student whose spouse is as enthusiastic about the project as he is, and who is able to offer not only emotional support but also very practical assistance. Armed with Thesis and Assignment Writing(3) (for the conventions of thesis presentation) and a 'Wordstar' handbook, she selflessly gave up her annual holidays to put my manuscript on hard disc, wrestling with the idiosyncracies of the computer equipment available.

3 J Anderson, B Durston and M Poole. 1970. Thesis and Assignment Writing. Sydney: John Wiley and Sons.

My teenage children Julia, Paul and Tam were especially patient with me and cheerfully accepted a reduction in living standards which survival on a Commonwealth Post Graduate Research Award for 3½ years necessitated. (This is not to underplay my appreciation of the scholarship cheque, which came with unfailing regularity from the Department of Education and Youth Affairs. Deakin University was also generous with travel assistance for my field work in Papua New Guinea.) Since the termination of the Commonwealth Award, Judy has maintained our family well-being as the bread winner, and for that too I am profoundly grateful. My aunt, Kathleen Munster, has also been very generous in her support of the family.

In conclusion, our transfer from Goroka in the Central Highlands of New Guinea to Maryborough in the Central Highlands of Victoria was not such a culture shock as we might have anticipated and Maryborough has proved a good place in which to spend 5 years writing a thesis. The environment provided by friendly people in beautiful rural surroundings has contributed not a little to 'A History of Contact and Change in the Goroka Valley of Papua New Guinea'.

Peter M Munster  
Maryborough, Victoria  
March 1986



Map 1 : Huon Gulf to the Goroka Valley

## CHAPTER 1

### PRELUDE : A SPLENDID PROSPECT

"As the weather was favourable, we had from these mountains a splendid prospect. We could see far into the inland." (Willi Bergmann, on first looking into the Goroka Valley, Sunday 8 September 1929.)

"We didn't know if they were from the sky or where they had come from. We hadn't seen anything like their skins before. We decided later ... they were probably men from the sky." (Gelepet-amelaho of Seigu, on first seeing the goroha've (Europeans) on Thursday 6 November, 1930.)

"Here come the spirits! Be prepared to welcome them." (Cry of Gelepet-amelaho and his Seigu clansmen as they passed Leahy and Dwyer across their boundary line to the Oka'zuha people, 7 November 1930.)

Recent studies have revealed that there were people living in the Goroka Valley at least 11,000 years ago. These early settlers were hunters and gatherers who possessed ground stone axes and sheltered in caves and rock overhangs. A Goroka Valley site which revealed considerable information on the development of human settlement during the past 11,000 years is the rock shelter at Kafiavana, situated 12 miles (19 km) south-east of Goroka on the east bank of the Fayantina River. The Australian archaeologist, J Peter White, excavated at Kafiavana in 1964-65, and from the evidence of stone implements, the bones of animals and traces of plant pollen he was able to show how the

inhabitants moved from hunting and gathering to agriculture and pig domestication.(1) The earliest date for human habitation at Kafiavana which White obtained from radiocarbon dating of food bone remains is approximately 11,000 years before the present time.(2) Pigs were present at Kafiavana from about 6,500 years ago, but White was unable to say if they were kept as domestic animals at this stage. From about 2000 BP (before present time) the people's diet changed, with pig being eaten more often, which may be an indication of its domestication. Also more marine shells were being traded up from the coast.

Pre-historic trade in the Highlands, and the various trading networks between highlanders and lowlanders, and within the Highlands itself, have been documented by Australian geographer Ian Hughes.(3) The Goroka Valley people were involved in these networks, exchanging such items as salt, pigments, pottery, stone tools, materials for bows and arrows, tapa cloth, bird of paradise plumes, pigs and sea shells. Hughes identified stone quarries in the ranges fringing the western edge of the Goroka Valley from which good stone axes were produced. These, plus the

1 J Peter White. 1972. O1 Tumbuna : Archaeological Excavations in the Eastern Central Highlands, Papua New Guinea. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, Terra Australis series No 2.

2 ibid, p 91.

3 Ian Hughes. 1977. New Guinea Stone Age Trade. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, Terra Australis series No 3.

Red Bird of Paradise, domestic pigs and salt were the items most commonly exported from the region. Imports included shells, lowland birds and animals and a few pots. My own enquiries added to this list nipa palm (for bows) and tapa cloth (mainly for apparel).(4) According to Hughes, the main source of pigments, used in body decoration, was the Chimbu area. The Goroka Valley people had access to red ochre, a popular colour, from sites on the Mai River, on the west side of the range which divides their valley from Chimbu. They developed trading routes in this direction and also over the Bismarck Range to the north, making fairly regular contact with communities living on the Ramu Fall and in the middle Ramu Valley below. Most of the marine shell, kumu kumu (egg cowrie, *Ovula ovum* L - not a true cowrie according to Hughes) and giri giri (money or ring cowrie, *Cypraea moneta* L), came from the Madang coast via this route. The larger kina shell (gold lip pearl oyster, *Pinctada maxima*) so popular in the western parts of the Highlands, rarely penetrated the Goroka Valley, as it came via the much longer trade route from the Torres Strait and Western Papua. In the Kafiavana excavation White found three giri giri shells, each with holes which indicated they may have been sewn onto fabric or strung together. They were found at a level which indicated they could have been in use 9000 years ago. Pottery was an innovation which appeared much closer to our own time, having arrived "within the last 1000 years." The most recent pre-historic change occurred "less than

4 From interviews conducted with Goroka clan leaders at various times during the period 1972 - 1984.

400 years ago" with the arrival of the sweet potato,(5) which enabled people to occupy areas at higher altitudes and could have contributed to some population movements within the Goroka Valley and its surrounding mountain ranges.

At the time of first European contact in 1930 the Goroka Valley people were skilled subsistence farmers using sophisticated stone implements. Hughes describes their stone axes as "versatile multiple-purpose tools".(6) It is not possible to say if the people are direct descendants of the first hunter-gatherers who settled in the valley 11,000 years ago. The legend of Nokondi, the one-legged man who stole food from gardens (a legend which in its various forms is well-known throughout the Eastern Highlands, and is today depicted on the flag of the Eastern Highlands Province),(7) may suggest that present-day Gorokans are descended from a later group of migrants, who forced the earlier inhabitants off their productive valley-floor garden lands. Survivors like Nokondi may have escaped into the higher ranges, from whence they made raids on the gardens of the new settlers.

Evidence of linguistic connections between the Goroka Valley people, other highlanders east of Goroka and the people of the

5 White, op cit, p 148. 6 Hughes, op cit, p 174.

7 I first heard this legend from Soso Subi, an Asarozuha 'big man' and Goroka councillor. Soso believed that Nokondi also stole pigs, and lived in a cave on the Asaro Range, overlooking the south-west corner of the Goroka Valley. This would have provided a useful sanctuary for refugees. (Interview with Soso Subi, 2.8.73.)

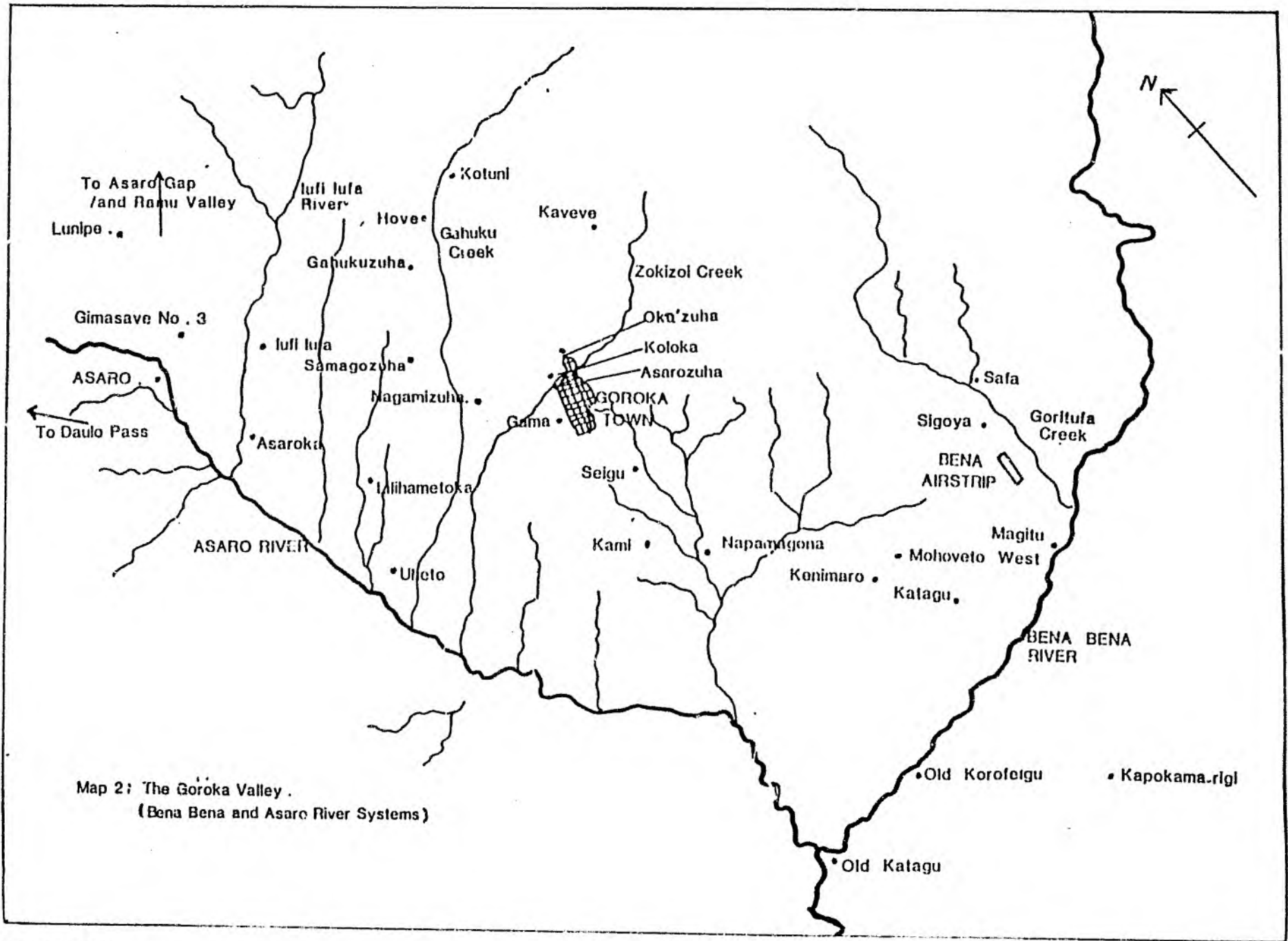


Huon Peninsula in the Morobe Province, has been demonstrated. More specifically, the linguist Arthur Capell established a definite link between the Goroka Valley languages, which he labels the Bena Bena Group, with the Kotte (Kâte) language of the eastern Huon Peninsula. "They (the Bena Bena languages) fall definitely into line with the Kâte group in the Huon Peninsula, not in the vocabulary but in type of morphology. Nearly every grammatical form in Kâte can be paralleled in these languages ..."(8) Capell's findings were supported by Stephen Wurm,(9) and as far as I know have not since been disputed. Their research has led others (10) to speculate that the Goroka Valley people migrated to their present home from the Morobe Province, possibly from as far away as Finschhafen, or the mountain country behind this coastal area, where Kotte is spoken. The linguistic evidence is supported to some extent by botanical evidence of plant migration, indicating that newcomers entered the Highlands from the east, bringing certain plants with them. It is suggested that this migration occurred from 1000 to 5000 years

8 A Capell. 1950. Distribution of Languages in the Central Highlands, New Guinea. Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Company Ltd, p 119. (Reprinted from Oceania, December 1948, Vol XIX, No 2; March 1949, Vol XIX, No 3; June 1949, Vol XIX, No 4.)

9 S Wurm. The Linguistic Situation in the Highlands Districts of Papua and New Guinea, p 23. (Reprinted from Australian Territories, Vol 1, No 1, 1960. Canberra.)

10 See D Howlett. 1962. A Decade of Change in the Goroka Valley, New Guinea : Land Use and Development in the 1950s. Canberra: ANU. In this PhD dissertation, Diana Howlett summarises the evidence for migration from the Morobe Province (pp 30 - 34). However, she cautions that all the evidence must be regarded as inconclusive.



Map 2: The Goroka Valley  
 (Bena Bena and Asaro River Systems)

ago (1000 years from the plant evidence, 5000 years according to the linguists).(11) However such conclusions do have to be treated with caution. As far as I am aware no more recent research from that quoted has been able to throw any further light on this question of origins. I conclude with the observation that in my own interviews with Goroka Valley people I found a fairly widespread assumption that their ancestors came from the east. Thus when Europeans first appeared in the valley with their lines of coastal helpers, there was no surprise that they emerged from this direction. If they or their carriers were ancestors returning from the dead, then they could be expected to come from the place of the rising sun, which was the home of the ancestors.

The Goroka Valley is situated in the eastern part of the central highlands of New Guinea, being one of a series of inter-montane valleys, and is approximately 450 square miles (720 sq km) in area. It is formed by two main river systems, the Asaro and the Bena (or Bena Bena), both of which rise in the Bismarck Ranges to the north, and flow in a south-westerly direction to join with other rivers which enter the valley from its south-eastern corner. Together these rivers combine to form the Tua, which in turn becomes the Purari. Prior to World War 2 this part of the Highlands was known as the Upper Purari, and embraced the area drained by the Karmamontina, Fayantina, Dunantina, Bena and Asaro

11 ibid, p 34.

rivers. The term "Goroka Valley" was used by Diana Howlett (12) to describe the Asaro-Bena Bena area, which is in itself a distinct geographical entity, being surrounded on all sides by mountain ranges. It lies within longitudes 145'10" E and 145'40"E and latitudes 5'50"S and 6'15"S, and is situated at approximately 5,000 feet (1,600 m) above sea level. The floor of the valley is dissected by swift-running streams which empty into the Asaro and Bena rivers. The dissected alluvial terraces are generally covered with fertile soils which form the basis for productive agricultural activity.

Howlett estimated that at the time of European contact the Goroka Valley supported a population of "perhaps 35,000". In 1960 Wurm was still using a figure of 34,752, derived from contemporary census figures, which was made up of 11,390 Gahuku speakers, 11,597 Asaro speakers and 11,765 Bena Bena speakers.(13) These figures, obtained during government census patrols in the 1950s, would have been accurate. Given the occurrence of several introduced epidemics (influenza - pneumonia and dysentery) during the period 1930 - 1960, one might still postulate a small population increase over these three decades (due to cessation of tribal fighting, improvement of infant and child health and diet, etc), which suggests that Diana Howlett's estimate of population in 1930 may be somewhat exaggerated.

As indicated by Wurm, the Goroka Valley people can be divided

12 ibid, p 1.

13 Wurm, op cit, p 36.

into three distinct but closely-related language-speaking groups; Asaro, Gahuku and Bena Bena. These languages together form a sub-family within the Gende - Siane - Gahuku - Kamano - Fore language family which in turn is part of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. Howlett designates Wurm's Asaro, Gahuku and Bena Bena language groups as the Upper Asaro, Central Valley and Bena Bena peoples, and comments that in addition to their distinctive dialects, they exhibit slight differences in ritual, economic practice, dress and personal adornment. However, she stresses that "there is a basic identity common to all the Goroka Valley people which distinguishes them from the Kainantu to the east and the Chimbu to the west."(14)

While explaining language variations in the Goroka Valley it is opportune to insert a note on place and clan names. It is a matter of surprise to the outside observer that many Central Valley (Gahuku) place and clan names bear a Bena and not a Gahuku form. Thus the clans and their territories which surround the town of Goroka are commonly known by such names as Faniufa, Asariufa, Okiufa, Komiufa and Kefamo. "Ufa" or "yufa" is the Bena name for 'root', but can be translated into English as 'clan'. But in Gahuku the word is 'zuha'. There is no 'f' sound in the Gahuku language. So what we have is Bena Bena pronunciations and spellings for Goroka names. The correct Gahuku form for these mentioned above are Ha'na'zuha, Asaro'zuha,

14 Howlett, op cit, p 36.

Oka'zuha, Koma'zuha and Gehamo. The explanation for this curious transposition is that in the early years of contact, when the government patrol post was situated at Hapatoka, in the heart of the Bena language area, patrol officers used Bena-speaking interpreters to assist in census and map-making activities. When these interpreters heard a name like Ha'na'zuha, they pronounced it as Faniufa. In the course of time this became the accepted form. The interesting thing is that the Goroka people seem to have adopted these changes of name, and a member of Ha'na'zuha will answer to Faniufa as readily as to the correct form. The local community school is known as Faniufa, and carries this word on its notice board for all to see. In this study I have attempted as far as possible to use the Gahuku form when referring to Central Valley clans and places.

Howlett estimated in 1960 that the Goroka Valley people were fragmented into some 35 or 40 tribes, each numbering approximately 1000 members. I refer to these groups as clans, but it should be noted that anthropologists adopt various names to describe these basic political units. Lewis Langness wrote in 1971 that what he called a tribe, Berndt called a district, Newman a phratry, Read a sub-tribe, Watson a local group and Glasse a clan-parish!(15) The clans were patrilineally organised, descent, inheritance and succession being through the

15 L Langness, "Bena Bena Political Organization" in R M Berndt and P Lawrence. 1971. Politics in New Guinea. University of Western Australian Press, p 299.

males.(16) There was no class system, and no hereditary leadership. Clan leaders, usually referred to as 'big men' attained their status through a combination of fighting prowess, wealth and personal leadership qualities. Kenneth Read described the Goroka Valley people as being "extremely warlike", (17) and as shall be seen in succeeding chapters, the principal task of Europeans during the two decades from 1930 to 1950 was pacification, the amelioration of these aggressive and violent traits.

The history of European-New Guinean contact in the Goroka Valley can be divided into three distinct but overlapping phases, which I describe as the pacification, the rapid development and the independence stages of contact. The pacification phase began in 1930 with the arrival of the first Europeans, although the process did not gain momentum until after 1933. By 1949 it was virtually complete, and the people were entering into the rapid development phase, with the introduction of Australian money currency, the purchase of land on which Goroka town would develop and the granting of the first trading licences and coffee plantation leases to Europeans. The Highland Labour Scheme by

16 K Read. 1954. Cultures of the Central Highlands of New Guinea. (Reprinted from Southwest Journal of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Vol 10, No 1, Spring 1954.)

17 ibid., p 22. The traits of aggression and violence are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

means of which several thousand young Goroka men went to coastal areas to work on plantations, was about to be implemented. This period, extending from 1949 to the early 1970s, saw the consolidation of existing and introduction of new European institutions, businesses and facilities. These included coffee plantations, small factories, animal husbandry, increased vegetable production, mechanisation of transport and to a lesser extent labour, access to the coast by road as well as air, local government and the beginnings of national self-government, primary, secondary, technical and tertiary education, large scale recruitment for coastal plantation work, urbanisation and tourism. Mission activity increased significantly, with a multiplication of Christian sects, and the first Goroka Valley converts were publicly baptised. Aspects of this 'rapid development' phase have been described by Howlett (18) and Finney (19).

The third period, which began in 1972 with national self-government, leading to full nationhood in 1975, is the independence phase of contact, a contact stage because the Goroka Valley people are, I believe, still influenced by outsiders. This phase continues in 1985. It features a three-tiered system of government, on a Westminster-Australian model, public service administration by nationals, many of whom are Gorokans, and a

18 Howlett, op cit.

19 Ben Finney. 1973. Big Men and Business - Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth in the New Guinea Highlands. Canberra: ANU Press.



general testing and reappraisal of all of the social and economic institutions introduced by Europeans. The Goroka Valley people, having been exposed to foreign (and in the main Australian) influences during the past 50 years, are now creating a new society which may well be an amalgam of Gorokan-Melanesian and Australian-European elements. This is a possible trend for future historians to identify and reflect upon.

This study of the history of contact and change in the Goroka Valley is concerned only with the first, pacification phase. My decision to concentrate on this period has been influenced largely by the fact that it has not been examined in detail by anyone else. Read, Langness, Howlett, Finney, Hughes and others, when writing about the Goroka Valley, give tantalisingly brief glimpses of this pacification era, but their interests are directed to other aspects and periods of the Goroka Valley story. I am therefore able to present this work as a unique piece of research, while acknowledging that others, notably Robin Radford (20) and Jenny Hughes (21), have done, or are currently doing, similar studies concerning the Kainantu and Chimbu peoples.

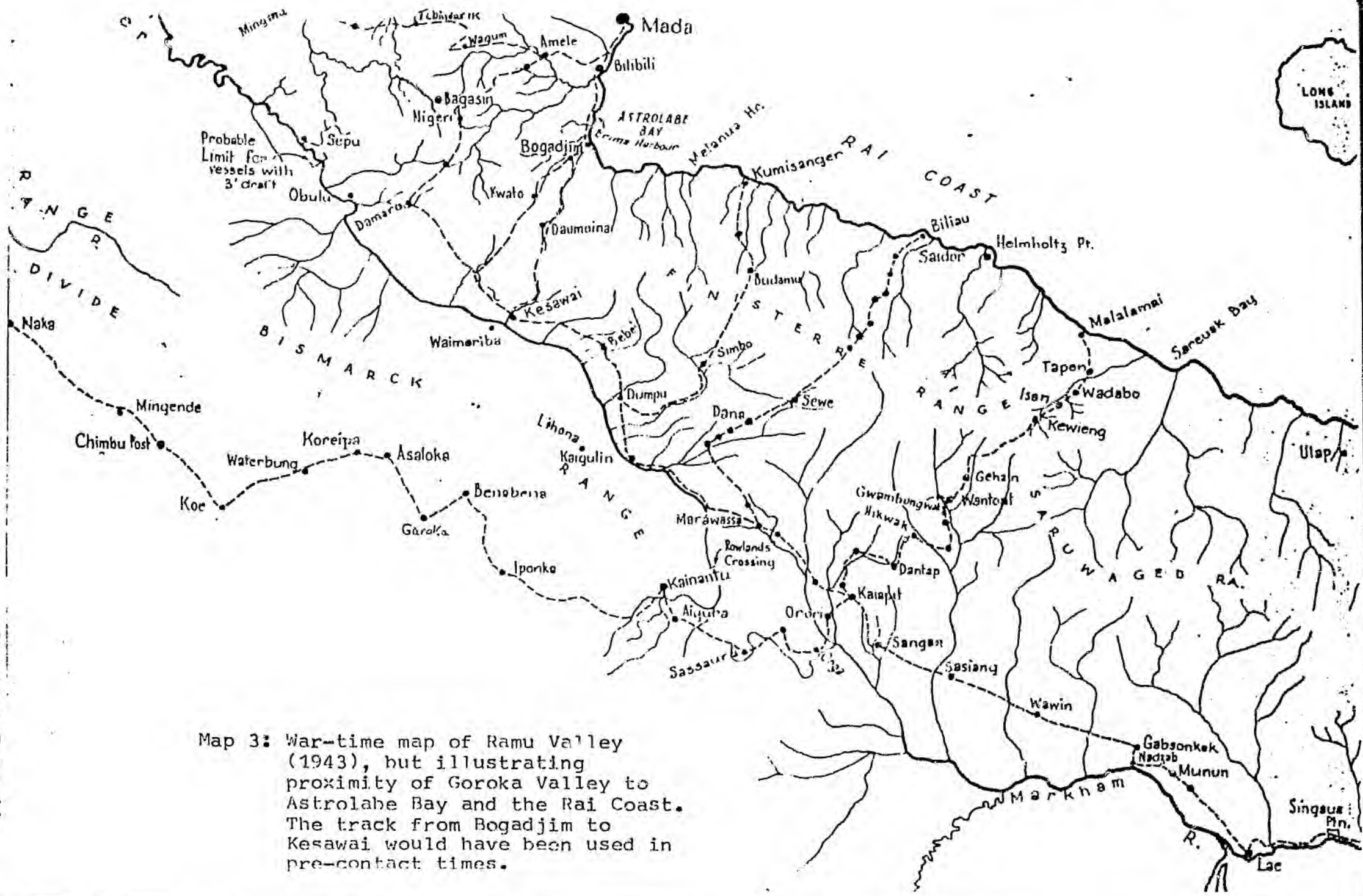
Although writing this history essentially from a European

20 Robin Radford. 1979. Highlanders and Foreigners in the Upper Ramu : The Kainantu Area, 1919 - 1942. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Papua New Guinea.

21 Jenny Hughes, currently working on a history of contact in the Chimbu Valley. PhD student, La Trobe University, Victoria.

perspective, at least insofar as it is shaped by chronological events recorded by gold prospectors, patrol officers, missionaries, soldiers and businessmen/planters, I have attempted wherever possible to balance the account with interpretations, descriptions and assessments by Papua New Guineans. This means that in part it is an oral history, based on what was told to me by a large number of village men and women, pastors, policemen, interpreters, councillors, traditional 'big men' and government appointed luluais, medical workers and students. Many of the older people who contributed to this story are now dead, and I am happy that in a small way their memory will be preserved in these pages. Because of the unique nature of the material I have tended to quote what they said to me in their own words - albeit in English translations, made by interpreters who shared their mother tongue. Where this was not possible Pidgin was used as a means of "turning the talk".

The European sources were both documentary and oral. Where patrol reports, diaries, mission and military records, government documents and newspaper items exist, I used them. They formed a basis for the chronological structure of the thesis. But I was also fortunate to be able to interview many informants who had been patrol officers, missionaries, gold prospectors, medical assistants, soldiers, businessmen and plantation owners, who were able to give a personal, retrospective view on the material contained in the documents which they had helped to write, thus increasing the oral content of the study, and throwing light on



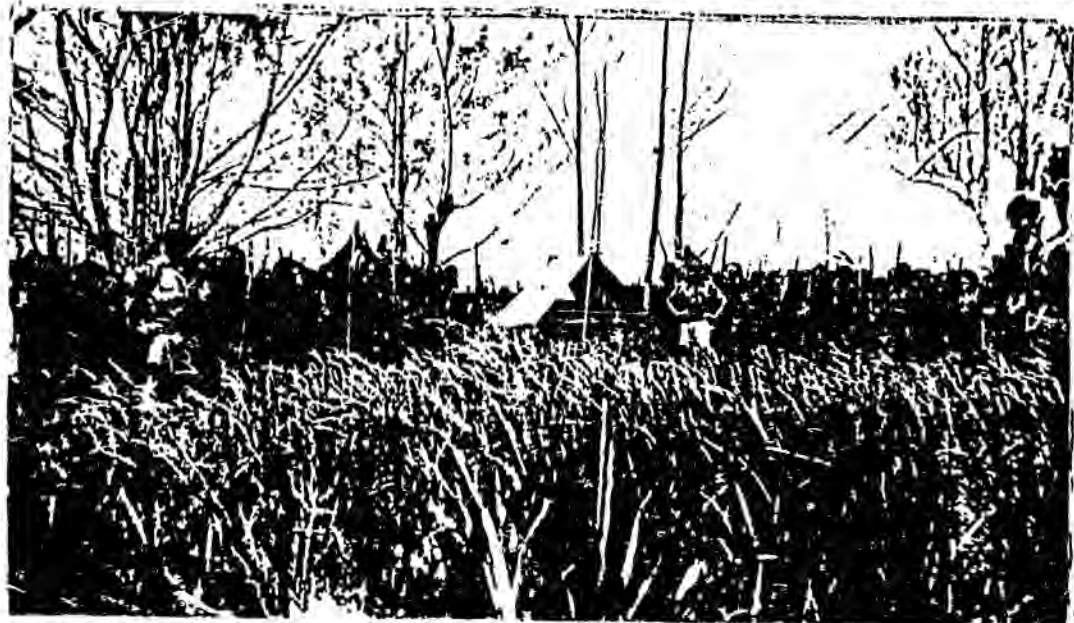
Map 3: War-time map of Ramu Valley (1943), but illustrating proximity of Goroka Valley to Astrolabe Bay and the Rai Coast. The track from Bogadjim to Kesawai would have been used in pre-contact times.

matters which the documents themselves do not always explain.

As already mentioned the pacification period extended from 1930 to 1949 - the latter date is a useful cut-off point because of certain events which occurred at about this time which opened the way for the Goroka Valley people to enter the rapid development phase. However the first four years of the pacification era from 1930 to 1933, I have already written about in my MA thesis Makarai - History of Early Contact in the Goroka Valley, New Guinea Central Highlands, 1930 - 1933 (UPNG 1979). It might also be said that this early period was mostly about contact, and minimally about change, because at this stage the Goroka Valley people's lives had not altered in any radical sense. Pacification of the warring clans had not been attempted by Europeans in a systematic way, and apart from a few short periods of quite intense contact, traditional village life had continued without outside influence for much of the time.

However, for a proper appreciation of events which followed, a brief summary of the early contact period is necessary. At the time of first contact in 1930 the Goroka Valley people had some understanding of the outside world through their fighting and economic ties with other Highlanders and their trading links with the people on the Ramu Fall and in the middle Ramu Valley. But they had only the vaguest knowledge of Europeans.

This knowledge came about indirectly through the presence on the Rai Coast in 1871-72, 1876-77 and 1883, of a Russian scientist,



To face Page 15.

First contact between Europeans (Leahy and Dwyer) and Gorokans, 7 November, 1930.  
(Photos supplied by H. Dwyer)

Nicolai Mikloucho-Maclay. In the course of time one of Maclay's steel blades (a knife or a small axe) was traded across the ranges from Astrolabe Bay to the middle Ramu. In about 1900 a Goroka trading party made contact with the people of Wesan, on the Ramu, and purchased the steel blade, which they were told had come from a strange being called Makarai (Maclay). Consequently when the first Europeans appeared suddenly in their midst in November 1930 and began to trade in tomahawks and knives, the Goroka people immediately recognised them as Makarai, the creator or creators of these extraordinary artifacts. As the steel blades glittered in the sunlight, the people believed that Makarai had at last come amongst them. Nobody could be sure if Makarai and his pale companion, whom they called goroha've, or redskins, were ancestors or spirits from the sky, but the nineteen dark-skinned men bearing cargo on their backs were obviously dead relatives who had returned to visit them. The two goroha've were Australian gold prospectors Michael (Mick) James Leahy and Michael (Mick) Ignatius Dwyer. The 19 carriers were men from the Waria River area of southern Morobe.(22)

Close on the heels of the gold prospectors came missionaries of

22 For details of this and the previous expedition of Leahy and Dwyer (during their first epic journey across New Guinea and Papua by way of the Purari River system, in mid 1930, they briefly visited the Bena-speaking Korofeigu clan in the southeast corner of the valley, but bypassed the Gahuku and Asaro-speaking peoples), see my MA thesis, Makarai - A History of Early Contact in the Goroka Valley, New Guinea Central Highlands, 1930 - 1933. 1979. University of Papua New Guinea.

the German Neuendettelsau Lutheran Mission. The Lutherans were the first Europeans into the Highlands, having penetrated the Upper Dunantina River area by way of Lihona, on the Ramu Fall, as early as 1926. The missionaries brought with them Kotte-speaking evangelist helpers from the Finschhafen area, having already ascertained, long before Capell and Wurm, that Kotte was grammatically related to Kafe, the language spoken by the Dunantina people.

Two of the German Lutherans, Georg Pilhofer and Willi Bergmann, actually got as far as Rabana, a village on the ridge which divides the Dunantina Valley from the Goroka Valley, in September 1929.<sup>(23)</sup> The missionaries were deeply moved by the prospect which lay before them - a broad, heavily populated valley ringed by mountains, with more ridges and valleys and human settlements filling the far horizon. The missionary challenge was irresistible, and in August 1930 Bergmann returned with another colleague from Finschhafen, Willi Flierl, and actually visited briefly the eastern extremity of the Goroka Valley, covering some of the ground which Leahy and Dwyer had been over during their

23 See Makarai, pp 33 - 36, for a discussion of the early Lutheran penetration of the region and Mick Leahy's disputation of Willi Bergmann's claim to have been at Rabana in September 1929. Because of the Leahy family's strong objection to the idea that Bergmann and Pilhofer were the first Europeans to set eyes on the Goroka Valley, I took the opportunity to visit Willi Bergmann again at his home at Mt Dapilly, Queensland in June, 1982, and persuaded him to show me the diaries which record the journeys about which so much controversy has arisen. I was able to satisfy myself that they were genuine records, and that Willi Bergmann's claims are authentic.

first prospecting trip in June. The following year Bergmann established the first mission station in the Highlands at Kambaidam, which is situated on the eastern edge of the plateau, more than 50 miles (80 km) from Goroka, but it provided the Lutherans with a foothold from which they could make further advances into the hinterland.

In mid-1932 the government followed the Lutheran example and established the first patrol post in the Highlands, at Kainantu or as it was designated, "Upper Ramu" because of its position on one of the Highland tributaries of the Ramu River. The establishment of the post was prompted more by the presence of a number of European gold prospectors in the area, than by any systematic policy of native pacification and control at this stage. The administration of the Mandate was always hampered by lack of finance and staff, a situation worsened by the effects of the Great Depression. Gold was the one export capable of keeping the Territory solvent - hence the Administration's reluctant support for gold prospecting, and its rather belated effort to establish a protective presence in the Highlands. The officer who arrived in August 1932 to occupy the post and patrol the district was James Lindsay Taylor, whose name was to become a legend in Highlands exploration, pacification and control during the next 16 years. Taylor was to New Guinea what Ivan Champion was to Papua - a great 'outside man' who combined his thirst for exploration with a deep understanding of Papua New Guineans and an active, analytical mind to formulate policy and execute



practical solutions to problems of administration. Jim Taylor was to make his mark on the Goroka Valley and as shall be shown in the following chapters, he played no small part in the pacification of the people and the positive aspects of their experience of contact and change.

Taylor set foot in the Goroka Valley on Christmas Day 1932, having flown in the first aeroplane to land on the Bena Bena strip, hastily constructed by the Leahy brothers, Mick and Dan. The Leahys had succeeded in interesting the New Guinea Goldfields Company at Bulolo in the gold mining potential of the Goroka Valley, and they had been commissioned to make test drills and commence sluicing operations along its creeks and river flats. Consequently the Goroka Valley people experienced a short period in early 1933 of quite intense contact with Europeans and their coastal New Guinea labourers, and were exposed to European wealth and technology on a scale far greater than anything demonstrated during the earlier prospecting and missionary visits. They also suffered for the first time the lethal effects of European rifles and bullets, to which their own bows and arrows and stone clubs proved to be no match.

The New Guinea Goldfields Company offered the Leahys £10,000 for every gold dredge installed in the valley, so the incentive to find gold was substantial. It was fortunate for the Goroka people that the drilling proved negative, and the traditional rhythms of their lives were allowed to continue for a little longer. The Highland people have been remarkably adaptable to

change, but they seem to have coped best in areas like the Goroka Valley where contact has been intermittent and the pace of change has not been forced. By contrast the Kainantu people, who underwent almost continuous contact with gold prospectors, missionaries and patrol officers from 1930 onwards, experienced serious problems in adjusting to the new European demands of pacification and control.(24)

Because no payable gold was found in the Goroka Valley the feverish activity of gold prospecting during the early part of 1933 died down when the miners moved further west to Mount Hagen. Although there was some coming and going of prospectors, missionaries and patrol officers throughout the year, they were rather too occupied with their own concerns to interfere in village life.

So the Goroka Valley people were left for a time to ponder the meaning of aeroplanes and mining equipment, tinned meat and rifles, and to try to come to terms with the notion that the goroha've were not spirits or ancestors returning from the dead, but human beings like themselves; though mortals who, unlike themselves, bore the marks of a superior wealth and power.

24 Jim Taylor described the Kainantu people to me (29.11.73) as "a great battling people", and he told a conference of mission and government representatives in 1947 that "the Kainantu sub-district was a great problem to us ... For many years the people there were very difficult to control and we appeared to be making no progress whatever."

## CHAPTER 2

### "THE CONTAINMENT OF VIOLENCE"

Cries and whispers from without,  
reflections and re-assessments  
within (1934-1935).

"In the state of nature (men were) in that condition which is called warre." Thomas Hobbes in the Leviathan (1651)

The pacification of the Goroka Valley occurred over a period of nearly twenty years, until the point was reached where the Administration could claim that the people had forsaken internecine warfare for a more peaceful existence. Throughout the 1930s attempts to achieve pacification could more properly be described as measures for the containment of violence. Immediately externally imposed pressure was removed the hostile clans reverted to traditional warfare, demonstrating that peace was not yet a concept to be embraced as a normal mode of life.

This is illustrated by Mick Leahy in the diary account of his return to the Goroka Valley in February 1934. The people had been subjected to an intense contact experience during the early part of 1933, as parties of prospectors, missionaries and government patrols moved through the Valley and the New Guinea Goldfields Company set up its test drilling camps along the major

rivers and their tributaries.(1) But with the cessation of gold prospecting activities and the withdrawal of Europeans and their coastal New Guinean assistants in the latter part of 1933, the people returned to their customary life which had been only briefly, albeit dramatically, interrupted. Certainly their future existence was going to be different, but outwardly nothing had changed in 1934. The profound psychological adjustments which the impact of the coming of Europeans demanded, had not yet worked any marked changes in behaviour, except that they were more careful in their dealings with white men, whose power they were learning to respect.

Mick Leahy, his younger brother Dan and their New Guinean labourers arrived at the Bena Bena airstrip on 21 February 1934, where they remained for six days before proceeding on to Mount Hagen to do more gold prospecting. During these six days they received reports of widespread tribal fighting. Mick Leahy noted: "The death rate in this area alone from fighting is appalling and every day we are getting particulars of more deaths of people we knew when we were here before."(2)

From the village of Mahometophe (Mohoweto) West came the story of a man who had died a natural death, which was a circumstance the

1 P M Munster. 1979. Makarai : A History of Early Contact in the Goroka Valley, New Guinea Central Highlands, 1930 - 1933. MA Thesis, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, chrs 5 and 6.

2 M J Leahy. Diaries, 1930 - 1934, National Library of Australia, Manuscript Section, MS 384. Entry for 22 February 1934.



Three local lads who accompanied the Leahys on their prospecting trips, at the Bena Bena airstrip in February 1934. Isagua, whose frown expresses his feelings on hearing of the death of his father, is on the left. On the right is Jokuri (see pp.45-46) a lad who spoke both the Pena and Kafe languages. The centre boy is probably Heqiquee Heqiquee-far, a Bena Bena and Goroka language speaker.

(H.J. Leahy photo)

villagers "could not quite understand .... death by an arrow being the usual way out". A Bena iad called Isagoei (Isagua) had gone with Europeans to Wau in 1933 to live with Jim Leahy and learn about the white man's world, and was now returning home with Mick and Dan. On arrival he received the news that in his absence his father had been killed in a tribal fight "his body being then cut to pieces and thrown to the four points of the compass". As a postscript to his diary entry recording this and other outrages, Mick Leahy wrote: "I wish we had a free hand here to do some murdering of the murdering bastards."

To meet violence with violence was a method of keeping the peace adopted by the promoters of pacification during the next ten years, although it would be referred to officially as law enforcement or the maintenance of control. There would be many occasions when patrol officers, entrusted with the task of pacification of intransigent warriors, would have privately agreed with Mick Leahy's sentiment. However, official government policy was for peaceful penetration of uncontrolled areas, and in the annual reports of the Administration to the League of Nations it was stressed that the key to pacification was regular contact with tribal groups by resident patrol officers.(3) The example

3 See S W Reed. 1943. The Making of Modern New Guinea. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, pp 167-169. Commenting on the Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance (1925), Reed states: 'This scheme for the strict control of the first phase of the contact process is one of the few real innovations of the Australian regime.' For details of the Ordinance see Jinks, Biskup & Nelson. 1973. Readings in New Guinea History. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, pp 263-4.

of officers attached to the Morobe District, working in the Highlands between Kainantu and Mount Hagen, is cited in the 1935 Report (p 23): "The officers .... worked unceasingly to extend the influence of the government and to bring villages already visited under firmer control." "Tact" and "patience" are key words used to describe the methods employed by these officers, but where patrols were attacked by warriors, the Reports make it clear that the attackers were shot.

The reference to Isagua underlines another method of pacification adopted by the agents of change. This was the practice of taking young lads (usually twelve or thirteen year olds who, it was believed, were more teachable than older youths) away from the village environment to a European centre, either a town like Wau or a patrol post like Kainantu, where they would be instructed in Pidgin English and familiarised with European laws, customs and technology. Later they would return to the village to be interpreters of the new order, interpreters both in a literal and metaphorical sense. However, before looking in detail at the various methods of pacification in the historical context of Goroka Valley contact and change, it is important to focus attention on the people and the possible causes of their tribal warfare.

The anthropologist Kenneth Read wrote of the Gahuku-Gama people of the Goroka area: "Warfare is the dominant orientation of Gahuku-Gama culture. Whenever men are gathered together, while they wait through the hours of midday and early afternoon for

food to cook in the ovens, when they rest along the roads, the conversation inevitably turns to former battles."(4) Read found that each group of allied clans had traditional enemies who were linked in similar alliances. Warfare between the hostile groups was "conceived of as something which continues indefinitely, something which is never lost. One fought one's enemies primarily because they were one's enemies and, as such, it was laudable to burn their villages, destroy their gardens, scatter them from their territory, and to kill as many of them as possible. The death of a member of one's group in battle always required avenging, and the concept of revenge, improving on the Biblical 'eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth' required, ideally, an enemy slain for each limb and various other parts of the body of one's dead kinsman or ally."(5) Read believed that the cultures of neighbouring groups to the Gahuku-Gama were "similar in all major aspects".(6) This, presumably, would have included the reasons for warfare, although it was demonstrated by another anthropologist Lewis Langness (7) that in the case of at least one other Goroka Valley group, the Bena language speaking people of Korofeigu, warfare could not be understood simply in terms of an inherent need to fight traditional enemies.

4 K E Read, "The Gahuku-Gama of the Central Highlands", South Pacific, Vol 5, No 8, October 1951, p 157.

5 ibid            6 ibid, p 154, footnote 2.

7 L L Langness, "Bena Bena Political Organization" in R M Berndt and P Lawrence (eds). 1971. Politics in New Guinea. 1971. Perth: University of Western Australia Press.



Langness found that although the Korofeigu people named other groups who were either allies or enemies, when pressed further it was revealed that there was by no means a firm demarcation between friend and foe: "From the point of view of Korofeigu district, someone appears to have fought virtually everyone reachable in approximately a day's walk."(8) An important cause of fighting was the need for personal revenge for a real or imagined injury, and warfare occurred as a redress of individual, rather than group grievances. Individuals recruited helpers, either friends from within their own group, or allies from quite disparate groups with whom they happened to be on friendly terms at the time. Langness concluded: "Thus to describe warfare as an activity between districts is to overlook the overwhelming significance of individualism and alliance."(9)

Individualism seems to have been replaced by corporate action only when the survival of the group was threatened by a superior force. In such circumstances the smaller group did not wait until their more powerful neighbour was ready to subjugate them, but acted decisively at the moment they judged their enemy to be vulnerable. The objective was to defeat and scatter the foe and destroy their houses and gardens so that those they did not kill would be unable to return for a long time.

Theories of the causes of tribal fighting in the Highlands fall

8 ibid, p 305.

9 ibid, p 313.

into three main categories. There is the functionalist analysis of warfare which emphasises what might be described as ecological arguments. Competition over scarce resources, especially land, is said to be the underlying cause of war in the New Guinea Highlands.

Second are the processual theories, based on local patterns of conflict resolution in the Highland cultures. Because the processes of law or arbitration do not extend beyond the clan or at best alliance boundaries, there is no non-violent means by which grievances can be settled.

Third are structural explanations based on Highland socialisation practices and principles. These structures of socialisation are said to develop an aggressive and vindictive personality in the individual while at the same time contributing to the cohesiveness and vitality of the whole clan group. There is often a link between the processual and structural theories, the lack of the judicial means of conflict management contributing to the build up of violent and aggressive personality traits. In fact, it is possible to apply all three theories of the causes of Highland warfare to the one group of people, although in the case of the Goroka Valley tribes the second and third explanations may be more appropriate than the first.

Before looking at the Goroka Valley situation, it is useful to note the findings of anthropologists who worked in another area of the Highlands. Susan Pflanz-Cook and Edwin Cook, reporting on

Manga pacification in the Jimi Valley of the Western Highlands as recently as 1976, were unhappy with the functionalist analysis as an explanation of warfare there.(10) Without the dense population and consequent pressure on land and other resources which obtain in some Highland areas, it could not be said that ecology was a major factor causing the Manga people to fight one another. However there was the exception of the pig festival which came at the end of a seven or ten year ritual cycle. The slaughter of pigs created competition for a scarce resource, resulting in tribal warfare after the festival.

The Cooks found the work of Klaus-Friedrich Koch more helpful towards an understanding of Manga fighting.(11) Koch rejects the functionalist theory and offers an explanation of tribal warfare in terms of both processual and structural theories. The absence of social processes for managing and resolving conflicts can be correlated with an aspect of social structure which he calls "violent self help", where an individual acts violently against an opponent whom he believes has caused him injury. This aggressive action is the product of a society structured into small independent political groups, from which fighting forces of kinsmen coalesce, trained from childhood in the arts of offensive

10 Susan Pflanz-Cook and Edwin Cook, "Manga Pacification", in M Rodman and M Cooper (eds). 1979. The Pacification of Melanesia. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, ASAO Monograph No 7.

11 ibid, pp 182 - 184.

and self-defensive warfare, and reared in an atmosphere of hostility and vindictiveness. The absence of processes designed to ameliorate these structural traits allows tribal fighting to flourish.

Manga pre-contact society lacked process of mediation. Although 'big men' could exercise some influence towards the non-violent resolution of conflict within their sub-clan or even clan, they had no control over inter-clan disputes. Koch's description of "violent self help" and the structures which produced this character trait were applicable to the Manga situation. The infrequent pig festivals created an ecological condition for warfare to a limited extent. Thus the Cooks concluded that all three theories of warfare could be applied "but to different circumstances and events". This provides a useful approach to the Goroka Valley situation also.

Langness's description of Bena warfare where a smaller group attacks a larger one, on the grounds that the expanding power of the bigger group poses a threat to their own existence, fits into the functionalist explanation of tribal fighting. A fear of the loss of resources (land, manpower, access to water, etc) provokes aggression. But such a situation occurs only infrequently, for it takes time for a clan to build up its numbers to an extent where it is a threat to the security of its neighbours. The constant state of hostility between groups, which characterised Goroka Valley society in pre and early contact times, has to be

explained in other ways.

Langness and Read agree that there was an absence of non-violent conflict resolution between opposing groups. As with the Manga, Gahuku-Gama and Bena Bena big men exerted some influence within their clans and even, in some cases, within tribes and alliances of tribes. Although Read does not give a detailed description of the measures pursued to reconcile differences between individuals within friendly groups, he mentions "generally accepted rules" for the control of internal fights and disputes. There was a firmly held conviction that quarrels should be terminated amicably once satisfaction was achieved.(12) The leaders were the old men "who are versed in customary lore and who have at their command the essential knowledge upon which the welfare and smooth functioning of society depends."(13) That the old men's writ did not run to the arbitration of disputes with traditional enemies is emphasised by the fact that such warfare was expected as a matter of course and "there was no idea that it should be concluded. Indeed (it) is conceived as something which continues indefinitely, something which is never lost."(14) This suggests that Gahuku-Gama warfare is best explained in terms of the structural theories of the causes of tribal war, that fighting was a part of the structure of this society.

12 Read, op cit, p 157.

13 ibid, p 159.

14 ibid, p 157

Langness interpreted Korofeigu warfare more as a processual phenomenon. He generalised that in New Guinea "it is typically the district (15) or some similar unit which is considered the jural community. This is usually because of the claim that such a group is the largest unit which acknowledges authority in the sense that the members of this group agree that disputes should be resolved by adjudication rather than warfare."(16) Fighting which occurred within Bena Bena groups involved sticks, fists and no killing, which made judicial settlement attainable. But warfare which, the Korofeigu people claimed, only took place with outsiders, meant killing and the use of bows and arrows, spears, the employment of sneak attacks, tricks and treachery.

According to Langness the Bena Bena big men were active fight leaders at the time they achieved 'big man' status, whereas Read found that the Gahuku-Gama leaders were old men who were acclaimed as great fighters of times past, but were looked to now as the guardians of traditional wisdom, the wise men who gave

15 Langness's term for what other anthropologists have called the sub-tribe, the clan-parish, the phratry and the local group. See Langness, op cit, p 299. Read's term for Langness's district was sub-tribe. See K E Read, "Nama Cult of the Central Highlands, New Guinea", in Oceania, Vol 23, 1952. In The High Valley, published in 1965, Read appears to abandon sub-tribe in favour of the term tribe, and refers to twelve Gahuku-Gama tribes, each of which contained a number of named, patrilineal clans, the members of whom lived in one or more villages. See K E Read. 1965. The High Valley. London: George Allen and Unwin, pp xv - xvi. For the terminology used in this thesis, see Chapter 1.

16 Langness, op cit, p 303.

sound advice and preserved the well-being of the clan. They would appear to have been better equipped to perform a mediating role in internal clan disputes than their younger, fight-oriented counterparts in Bena society. This may explain the big difference between Read's conclusions about the nature of Gahuku-Gama warfare and Langness's description of the Bena Bena situation. The lines drawn between allies and enemies were rigid among the Gahuku-Gama tribes, but far more flexible among the Bena Bena people. Langness states that "alliances were brittle and impermanent. Allies of one day could be enemies the next".(17) The Gahuku-Gama big men, as custodians of tradition, saw to it that traditional friendships and enmities were preserved. The Bena Bena leaders were men of the moment, caught up in the daily ebb and flow of their group's fortunes, prepared to embrace new allies and abandon old ones if an immediate advantage was to be gained, even at the expense of the traditional links.

This did not mean that there was any more or less warfare among the Gahuku-Gama people than among the Benas. [Indeed Gahuku-Gama and Bena Bena tribes fought each other with as much enthusiasm as they fought their own 'wantoks'.(18)] But the main causes of the

17 ibid, p 310.

18 Wantoks - 'one talks', in the sense of a group of people who speak the same language. The Gahuku-Gama tribes were 'wantoks'. They all spoke the Gahuku, or as it is now called, Goroka language. The Bena Bena people spoke a different language, which

warfare of the two language groups can be seen to be different. In Gahuku-Gama the emphasis would seem to be on structural causes, whereas among the Bena Bena the processual cause, namely the absence of the means of settling disputes by non-violent means, may have been more important. This is not to overlook the fact that both causes are valid to some degree in each group, and at least in the Bena Bena case, functional causes can also be seen to have operated occasionally. Read does not appear to offer a functional interpretation of Gahuku-Gama warfare, but this does not rule out the possibility of disputes over scarce resources. Traditional enemies often lived side by side, giving grounds for conflict between them over land, population pressures, the need or desire for more pigs, and so on. Warfare between Gahuku-Gama and Bena Bena seems to have mostly involved those groups living on either side of the language boundary, so perhaps here too ecological factors provide the explanation for their hostility. Otherwise one must postulate some sort of dovetailing of structural and processual reasons. Did the Gahuku-Gama tribes have traditional enemies on the Bena Bena side of the language boundary, in the same way as they had fixed enemies within their own language group? And did the Bena tribes receive real or imagined injuries from Gahuku-Gama individuals and groups which could only be redressed by fighting? My own

is known as the Bena ples tok. In Neo-Melanesian (Pidgin), a language is commonly referred to as 'ples tok', the talk of a particular place.



enquiries on these matters suggest that the Gahuku-Gama people did have traditional friends and enemies among the Bena Bena, and that at least the Bena groups who lived close to the Gahuku-Gama frontier held grievances against their neighbours on the other side, particularly relating to sorcery. All of the foregoing brings the discussion back to the Cooks' conclusion that all three theories of warfare can be applied "but to different circumstances and events."

Successful pacification in the Goroka Valley would have to take account of these causes of tribal warfare, and provide effective measures to counteract them. Unfortunately the policy makers and men in the field in the 1930s, be they Administration or Mission, did not have the full benefit of the research of anthropologists to guide them. There was a Government anthropologist, E W P Chinnery, but by the time the Highlands came within the Administration's orbit he was combining his duties as anthropologist with the demanding task of running the Department of District Services and Native Affairs. Chinnery was at best a peripatetic anthropologist, spending no more than a few days observing Highland peoples during the course of his tours of inspection as Director. The superficial nature of his ethnographic research in the Highlands is exposed in a paper published in August, 1934.<sup>(19)</sup> It comprises a string of

19 E W P Chinnery, "Mountain Tribes of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea from Mt Chapman to Mount Hagen", Man, Vol 24, August 1934, pp 113 - 121.

observations on the external features of Highland cultures, gardening, houses, weapons, cane-swallowing and the like, but none of the probing into underlying causes which characterises the work of the professional anthropologist.

The nearest a 'real' anthropologist got to the Goroka Valley was Finintegu, in the Kamamontina Valley, some thirty miles (48 km) east of Goroka, where Reo Fortune made a brief study of primitive warfare in 1935.(20) Fortune offered an explanation for tribal fighting which possibly set a popular trend in opinion about the subject, or perhaps he was simply confirming a belief already established by anthropologists working in other areas. His observations at Finintegu led him to conclude that warfare normally broke out "a few days after the natural death of an adult male in a village".(21) Such a death called for revenge on the sorcerers who had been paid to perform evil magic and their clients who desired the man's death. Selected victims from one or both groups were ambushed and killed, and full-scale warfare between the contending parties quickly followed.

20 I do not count the visit to the Goroka Valley in 1933 of the self-styled "ethnographer" Hugo Bernatzik. The quality of Bernatzik's anthropological research can be readily assessed by reading pp 95 - 113 of his entertaining travel book Sudsee, which while purporting to be a work of profound ethnographical significance, is little more than a droll account of the exotic and the bizarre in the South Seas. Hugo A Bernatzik. 1935. Sudsee - Travels in the South Seas. London: Constable.

21 R F Fortune, "The Rules of Relationship Behaviour in One Variety of Primitive Warfare", Man, Vol 47, August 1947, p 108. Fortune was inclined to see sorcery as a basis for various aspects of Melanesian life, as his Sorcerers of Dobu (1932) testifies.

The solution to the problem of tribal fighting would therefore seem to have been a matter of providing a means of conflict resolution and of altering the people's belief structure, so that they gained a proper understanding of the causes of death and overcame their fear of the black arts of the sorcerer. The Missions could thus be expected to become partners in pacification with the Administration. As long as they were seen to be cooperating with Government in the task of pacification, their presence in the Highlands was welcomed. Only when missionary zeal or interdenominational rivalry created uproar in village communities were religious activities severely restricted. The Missions' role will be examined in detail in a later chapter.

That the Administration saw pacification as a major task in the Highlands is revealed in its annual reports to the League of Nations. In addition to the words "tact" and "patience", "penetration", "pacification" and "consolidation" are key words used to describe government policy in the Highlands,(22) and it is clear from a reading of the reports that pacification took pre-eminence in a patrol officer's thinking and actions.

As early as 1924 there was a pacification manifesto enunciated by Chinnery, newly appointed as Government Anthropologist, which

22 Annual Report on the Territory of New Guinea to the League of Nations, 1933 - 1934, paragraph 43.

set the course for Administration policy in the Highlands ten years later: "In the Territory of New Guinea live numerous groups of people who differ widely in type, language and culture. Many of them are constantly at war with one another and some have never heard of a white man. Common among them are destructive practices such as homicide, suicide, abortion and infanticide, and it is inevitable that they must perish unless some strong controlling influence enters and regulates their lives, teaching them to abandon what is destructive and to adopt whatever is necessary for progress. This is the task that faces the Administration - the extension of Government influence among the most backward of these people."(23) By 1934 patrol officers were beginning to come to grips with this policy and were finding it no easy task.

In the 1933 - 1934 Report Patrol Officer Allart Nurton, stationed at Kainantu (Upper Ramu Post) claimed that in his area: "Tribal warfare as a pastime has ceased." But a more sober assessment in the 1934 - 1935 Report admits that "the groups surrounding the post will require intensive administration over a number of years before any permanent result can be expected .... Regular contact is required to keep tribal fighting in check."(24) Far from seeing an end to warfare there was an acknowledgment by

23 Annual Report, 1923 - 1924. Report by Government Anthropologist.

24 Annual Report, 1934 - 1935, paragraph 36, p 23.

government that keeping the fighting in check was the most that could be hoped for. This supports the contention that the containment of violence is a more apt description of the situation in the 1930s than any claim that pacification had been achieved. The aim was pacification but the reality was at best the containment of violence.

Thus in the 1934 - 1935 Report there is an admission that fighting broke out at Finintegu as soon as the patrol officer stationed there was withdrawn for more urgent duty in the Chimbu, early in 1935. (It was into that turbulent situation that Reo Fortune came to make his study of primitive warfare.) Frequent patrolling between Kainantu and Bena in the 1935 - 1936 period produced an improvement, but away from the patrol posts inter-tribal relations were frequently unsettled "by internal disturbances mostly connected with sorcery, women and pigs." (25) In the Finintegu and Bena Bena areas relations between the tribes would require careful watching and attention. There was a sense of deja vu about the reports which followed in succeeding years. For instance, in 1936 - 1937: "Everyone lives in constant fear of sorcery and progress is likely to be disturbed at any time by violent quarrels over pigs and women . . . . Internecine warfare has always been their most constant activity and, even with the closest cooperation between Missions and Administration, it is

25 Annual Report, 1935 - 1936, p 26.

not likely that the groups will come under complete control without occasionally backsliding."(26) The Reports of 1937 - 1938 and 1938 - 1939 claim "worthwhile advance in pacification in the Bena Bena area", but modify the picture somewhat in the latter Report with the revelation that "there has been no tribal fighting in the Gafuku (Asaro) valley for several months, and although this happy state may not be permanent, it is an indication of the progress being made in these primitive areas."(27)

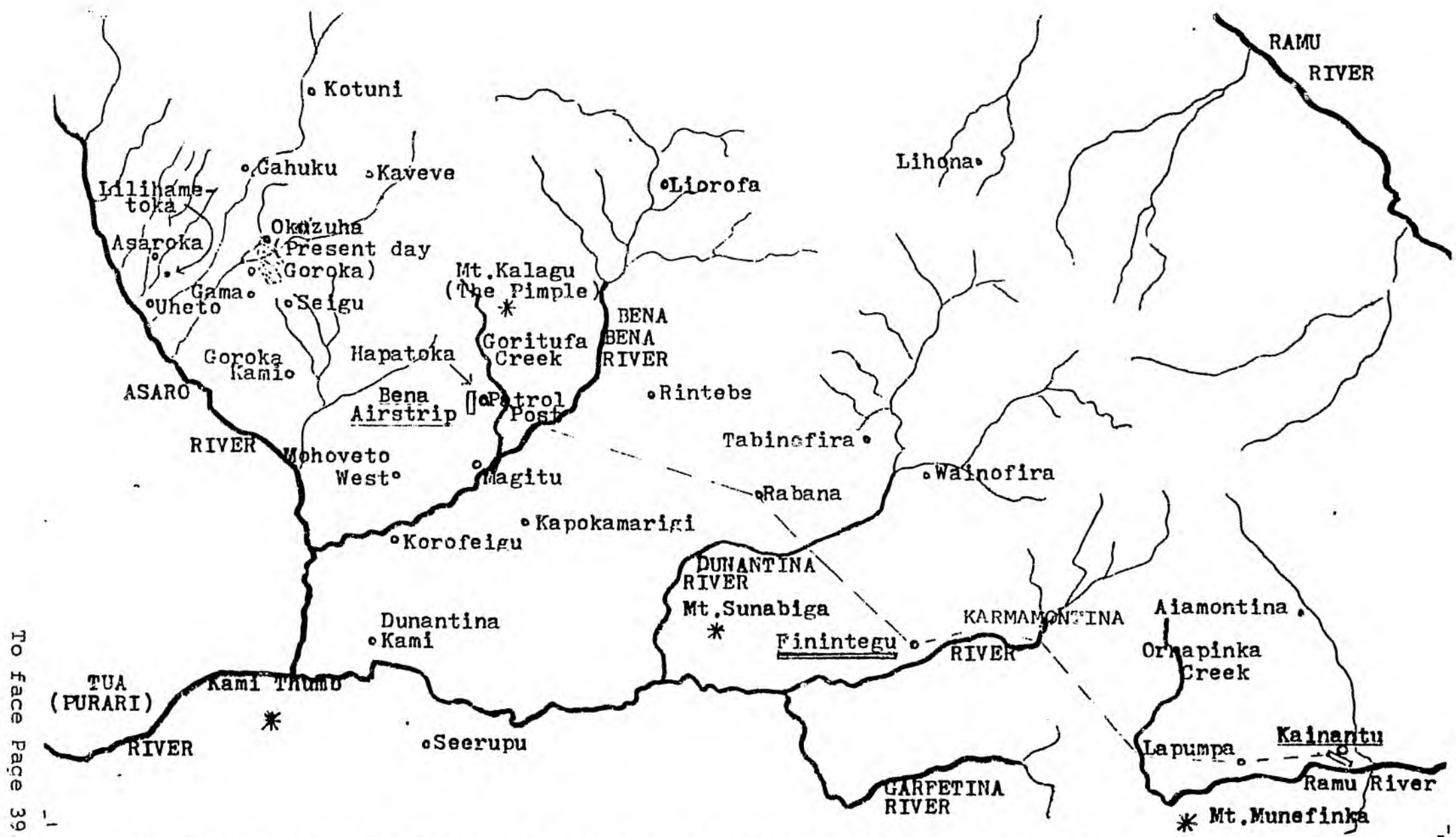
There were two events in 1934 which had a direct bearing on the pacification process in the Goroka Valley. Although occurring in widely separated parts of the Highlands, they were witnessed by or involved young men of Goroka, who through their role as interpreters of the outside world brought home the lessons of European contact to their own people. The events also provide illustrations of the Administration's methods of pacification.

#### THAT DESPERATE FININTEGU AFFRAY

In the annual report of 1933 - 1934 there is reference to a violent encounter between New Guineans and Europeans, which even in the restrained language of an Administration report to the

26 Annual Report, 1936 - 1937, paragraph 39, p 29.

27 Annual Report, 1938 - 1939, paragraph 43, p 24.



Map 4: Position of Finintegu in relation to Kainantu and the Bena airstrip.

To face page 39.

League of Nations, admits to there having occurred "one of the most desperate affrays recorded in the history of New Guinea".(28) In response to the killing of a "Mr McGrath, gold seeker" by the people of Finintegu, an uncontrolled village on the Karmamontina River, a day and a half's march from Kainantu, in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea, a government patrol had gone in to arrest the culprits, and in doing so had shot dead nineteen warriors in return for minor injuries by arrow wounds sustained by four of the government party.

The Report went on to describe how "an advanced post" was immediately established near the villages concerned, followed very soon by peace and a new security to life and property, which had won for the Government "expressions of gratitude and appreciation from the people in the vicinity of the post".

It might be said that every story needs to have a happy ending, and the compilers of this Report to the League of Nations were required to present it in such a way that even the shooting of nineteen misguided village warriors would seem like an act of gracious benevolence. But things are not always what they seem, even in official government reports.

Bernard Lawrence McGrath had taken up gold prospecting in New

28 Annual Report, 1933 - 1934, p 28.



Guinea after a colourful maritime career which included a year as a crew member of Mawson's S Y Aurora on the expedition's First Antarctic Voyage and First Sub-Antarctic Cruise, 1911 - 1912,(29) service in the Royal Navy Reserve during World War I and trading in copra in the Solomons and New Guinea with a chartered ship, the Robert Hind, in the 1920s. The failure of the copra market during the Great Depression brought him to the mainland of New Guinea to try his luck as a gold prospector, first at Edie Creek, and then into the Highlands to test the alluvial flats along the Karmamontina River. For this purpose he organised a Melbourne mining syndicate, Purari Alluvials, which in early 1934 was negotiating with another group, New Guinea Alluvials, to form a partnership to prospect the Karmamontina and Dunantina river valleys. New Guinea Alluvials' representative was Bob Dugan, a cautious man who put his own safety above any risk taking in the search for gold. McGrath, on the other hand, had survived too many adventures at sea to have any particular fear of the volatile people who surrounded his camp at Finintegu. Each prospecting party was required by government regulation to employ at least ten armed native labourers, which was considered the minimum number needed to ensure the safety of the group. McGrath

29 In a eulogy by Nettie Palmer published in the Melbourne Argus on 5 May 1934, he was described as "one of Mawson's cubs" and it was erroneously stated that he remained with Mawson in the Antarctic from 1911 to 1914. Records held by the Mawson Institute for Antarctic Research, Adelaide University, reveal that he was employed as a crew member on the S Y Aurora from 18 November 1911 to 12 November 1912.

and Dugan had eleven men, but contrary to regulations they had split forces, Dugan taking eight of the men with him to the Dunantina, leaving McGrath with only three. By early February 1934 McGrath had decided there was no gold worth commercial exploitation on the Karmamontina and he began to pack up his gear to move across the mountain range to join Dugan on the Dunantina. The Finintegu people, who up to this time had been on the best of terms with McGrath and his men, grew alarmed when they realised that the source of so much wealth was about to leave them. McGrath had paid them for services rendered - labour, food, materials for his camp and mining operations - with shells and steel implements, and now suddenly all this desirable 'cargo' was to be removed.

On 15 February McGrath employed local men to carry his gear over the range to the Dunantina, and during the trek across some of the carriers absconded with their boxes into the bush. Meanwhile the camp at Finintegu, put under the care of a big man called Ifibezui, was raided by local villagers, and more of McGrath's cargo was stolen. When McGrath returned to camp later in the day, angry and frustrated at the loss of his trade goods and equipment, he immediately went after Ifibezui, whom he held responsible for the Finintegu theft, and tied him up with the aim of holding him hostage until his property was returned. But Ifibezui bit through the ropes and escaped into the night. He wasted no time in stirring up resentment in the surrounding villages.



Iero relating the dramatic events of 'the desperate Finintegu affray' to an interested audience, 26 March, 1974.



Keriso Pasave (left) and Manukiso Torome (see pp.51-52) were about 10 years old at the time of the Affray. They claim that more than 50 of their people died as a result of the killing of one European.

Early on Friday 16 February the Finintegu warriors and their allies carried out a pre-dawn raid on their enemies at Faganofi, a village about 5 km downstream from Finintegu. The fight had nothing to do with McGrath, although it contributed indirectly to his death several hours later. At sunrise he went into Finintegu to remonstrate with the villagers over the loss of his property and the escape of Ifibezui. He found only old people, women and children in the houses, the men of fighting age being absent at Faganofi. In disgust McGrath fired his gun over the heads of the people, and some of the young women set off immediately to Faganofi to alert the warriors to the changed behaviour of the white man. They arrived in time to see their kinsmen put the Faganofis to flight, ruin their gardens and burn their houses. The warriors thus returned to Finintegu in a mood of jubilation and self-confidence. As the leading men, including the Finintegu fight leader Arinarifa and his close relatives Iero and Yamoke'o ran past McGrath's camp which was situated on the hill slope just above their path, he appeared to offer them a kumu kumu shell. According to Iero [who recalled the event when an old man in March 1974,(30)], they sprang up the slope for a closer look.

30 Interview of Iero by author, Finintegu, 26 March 1974. The warriors who attacked Faganofi belonged to the Finintegu, Fagami, Ikanofi, Zu'hawo, Girigemabi and Numiafove clans. Iero belonged to Numiafove, but claimed that Arinarifa, the Finintegu fight leader, was his brother. brother, in New Guinea parlance, has a rather loose connotation, and could in fact refer to cousin or other relative. Iero spoke to me in his native Kafe language, which was translated into Pidgin by a younger man, which probably accounts for the imprecision of term 'brother'.

Arinarifa was in the lead, with an arrow in place in his bowstring, as the women's report had made them apprehensive about the prospector's intentions. But as they approached, McGrath lifted his gun to take aim at Arinarifa and shot him in the temple. Arinarifa fell, blood streaming from his head, but not before he had released the arrow which hit McGrath.

Mad with anger at the European's treachery, Iero and Yamoke'o fired their arrows at him, so he now had three arrows sticking from his body, but he managed to make a desperate retreat up the spur behind his camp, the Finintegus in pursuit. At the top of the small hill an arrow entered his heart and he collapsed and died. His three labourers, pausing for one last exchange of fire with the Finintegu warriors, continued on up the slope of the range and made good their escape to the Dunantina, where they joined Dugan later in the day.(31)

31 For references to the circumstances leading to the killing of McGrath, see the following:

M J Leahy. Diaries, 1930 - 34. Entries for 16-19 February 1934.

M J Leahy & Maurice Crain. 1937. The Land That Time Forgot - Adventures and Discoveries in New Guinea. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, pp 203 - 207.

J R Black, "An inquiry into the causes leading to the murder of Bernard McGrath by natives of the Karmonontina (sic) Valley, PURARI, 26 June 1934", National Archives, Port Moresby. U 642.

Edward Taylor, "Report, Salamaua, 17 March 1934", Australian Archives, Canberra. File L8/41/1. Attacks By Natives (General) Part 2. This report published (in an edited version which omits

The Finintegu claim that McGrath had shot Arinarifa in cold blood, an act which is still believed by many Eastern Highlanders today, became a matter of deep concern to the Administration. Morobe District Officer Ted Taylor, a wise and humane man, wrote in his official report: "McGrath's action in shooting the native after tempting him with the shell is most extraordinary and savoured of treachery." This suspicion continued to haunt Ted Taylor for some weeks, until the opportunity came to find out from McGrath's labourers what had really happened at Finintegu. A former prospecting partner of McGrath's, Jack O'Neill, agreed to Taylor's request to sign on the labourers, in the hope that having won their confidence, he would obtain from them the true story of the kumu kumu shell. Taylor's expectations of O'Neill were justified, for in the course of time he was able to open up the subject in a calm and unthreatening manner, and in O'Neill's own words: "The boys told me that one of them, behind Mac, had held up the offering unknown to him, and Mac had shot the advancing native thinking his advance was an aggressive

the section quoted below) in the Rabaul Times, Friday 13 April 1934.

Jack O'Neill (edited James Sinclair). 1979. Up From South - A Prospector in New Guinea, 1931 - 1937. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, pp 100 - 103.

A more detailed account, drawing on all the above documentary sources, plus oral records obtained from old men of Finintegu who witnessed the events of February 1934, is given in my unpublished paper (1982), "That Desperate Finintegu Affray", a copy of which is in the New Guinea Collection, Library of the University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.

one .... Then it was on with a vengeance. Very soon after that Mac and the boys made their break for the Dunantina. Mac was probably the main target and that allowed the boys to get clear. Surum, the boy who gave me this account said, 'Me fella run all same dog'".(32)

By a quite extraordinary coincidence Mick and Dan Leahy and their line of labourers arrived at Finintegu just thirty minutes or so after the killing of McGrath, creating great alarm if not deep fears in the hearts of the Finintegu people. As mentioned earlier the Leahys were returning to Mount Hagen to follow up the gold prospects they had seen during the initial patrol into the Wahgi with Jim Taylor and Bob Spinks in 1933. Mick Leahy's diary account is useful in setting events in chronological order, as well as revealing his candid personal attitudes to the killing of McGrath and the acts of revenge which followed. From the diary it can be established that the Leahy party broke camp at 6.30 am on the morning of Friday 16 February, having overnighted at the top of the Karmamontina Valley, a day's walk from Kainantu. They made their way down the valley towards Finintegu, coming into sight of McGrath's camp at about 8 am. They had with them Isagua and another young Bena lad called Jokuri (Joe Curry they nicknamed him) who had also been experiencing life in the white man's world at Wau.

32 O'Neill, op cit, pp 102 - 103.

Jokuri, although adopted by the Bena Bena people, was an orphan from the Dunantina, and spoke his native language, Kafe, as fluently as did the people of Finintegu. So as they approached McGrath's camp that morning he clearly understood the shouts of the warriors who lined the ridge tops above them. "Masta Mick", he called anxiously, "The Kanakas have killed the masta!" McGrath's body was still warm, his shirt wet with sweat, and Mick Leahy estimated he had been dead no longer than half an hour. Immediately Danny Leahy "and five good boys" set off to retrace their steps to Kainantu, to report the murder and summon help from Cadet Patrol Officer Tom Aitchison, who was temporarily in charge of the post in the absence of Patrol Officer Allart Nurton.

Mick Leahy spent the rest of the day in the company of brother Dan's new Mauser rifle with telescopic sights "sniping at the murderers, and bagged a couple". In The Land That Time Forgot, the book of his adventures and discoveries in New Guinea published in 1937, he stated that he and his men were surrounded by groups of warriors who were slowly closing in on them, and that he shot off a feather from the head-dress of one attacker, causing them to retreat. The diary omits the feathers, being more explicit about the result of Mick's shooting with telescopic sights.(33)

33 Considerable editing of the diaries was undertaken by Maurice Crain for the presentation of various violent incidents in The Land That Time Forgot. This was necessary because Mick Leahy had



At 9 am on Saturday 17th, a Guinea Airways Junkers piloted by Les Ross "came over and swooped low over the villages of Ekanofe and Finintegu. We could see the terrified inhabitants scurrying for the hills". Mick Leahy wrote later.<sup>(34)</sup> Ross dropped a note saying that Dan Leahy and Tom Aitchison were on the way with a party of armed police. Then at 3.30 pm another prospector, Ted Ubank (a gentleman who never washed, according to one contemporary) came in from the Upper Ramu with his team of labourers, "to have a go at Mac's murderers", Mick added ominously in his diary.

Bob Dugan was next to arrive, accompanied by veteran prospector Lance Peaçon, and both men had teams of armed labourers. Just after dusk a weary but walk-hardened Danny Leahy and the exhausted young kiap Tommy Aitchison stumbled into camp with ten police constables and a sergeant, plus carriers and

incurred the wrath of The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society when he lectured before the Royal Geographical Society in London in November 1935. The Secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, a man called Harris, had links with the League of Nations, and pressure was brought to bear on the Rabaul Administration through the Mandates Committee to conduct an enquiry into the 'Shooting of Natives by Leahy Expeditions' in December 1936. Leahy was cleared of charges of shooting Highlanders, except in self defence (see Report Enquiry by J L Taylor - Shooting of Natives by Leahy Expeditions, December 1936, Australian Archives, Canberra, File L8/41/1, Attacks By Natives - General), but the uproar in England taught him to be more guarded in his account of events involving conflict with native people.

34 Leahy and Grain, op cit, p 205.



**CAPTAIN McGRATH**



Burial of Bernard McGrath 'right where he fell', on Sunday 18 February, 1934. In photo above, left to right, are Dan Leahy, Tommy Aitchison, Lance Peardon, Ted Ubank, Bob Dugan, Mick Leahy and a line of policemen. ( This and photo below by Mick Leahy. Portrait of McGrath from Melbourne Argus, 23 February, 1934.)



labourers.(35) A likely army of single-minded European officers and their New Guinean troops had assembled to avenge the murder of Bernard McGrath, gold seeker. The stage was now almost set for that desperate Finintegu affray.

On Sunday morning 18 February, McGrath was buried in a grave dug "right where he fell", (36) the police forming a guard of honour and firing a volley from their .303 rifles as a mark of respect over the open grave. Prior to this sad little ceremony, while Dugan "looked after the last sewing up and preparing for burial of McGrath", (37) Mick, Dan, Lance Peadon, Ted Ubank and Tom Aitchison "went up and gave Ikanofe an idea of what a crime it is to shoot a white man". (38) In The Land That Time Forgot, Leahy claims that this was in response to an attack from a line of bowmen, hiding in ambush in the high grass near the village. But in the diary the implication is that the prospectors and patrol officers took the initiative, and attacked the villagers. A more detailed account of what happened is given by Cadet Patrol Officer Tommy Aitchison in his official report to the District Officer, Salamaua, dated 24 February 1934.

35 T G Aitchison, "Report on action taken in connection with the murder of Bernard L McGrath by natives on the Karmontina (sic) River and the disappearance of R Dugan, Upper Ramu, 24 February 1934", Australian Archives, Canberra, A518 L 8/41/1 Part 2, Attacks By Natives - General, 1927 - 1940.

36 Leahy, Diary, 18 February, 1934.

37 ibid

38 ibid

Aitchison stated that the five Europeans already mentioned set out with "40 armed, indentured labourers .... (and) 11 police".(39) They climbed the east and west ridges of a narrow ravine, moving towards the village of Ikanofe where the people had taken refuge after the Junkers plane had 'buzzed' the villages on the previous day. Aitchison's declared intention was to arrest "the attacking villagers", although given the circumstances of their flight, they were not likely to submit passively to arrest. The pursuing party split into three groups with the idea of encircling the fugitives, and as Aitchison and his men made their way up the steep-sided creek bed, they heard continuous rifle shots from the prospectors who were higher up the other ridge. All three groups came under heavy arrow fire, the like of which Aitchison had not seen before, and he remarks more than once in his Report how unexpected the fighting was. He admits to having shot dead two warriors, and of being in almost constant danger from snipers hiding in the scrub and long grass. The next day he "heard through friendly natives that seventeen natives had been shot in the fracas".(40)

So even before McGrath could be decently buried, the score of New Guinean dead was twenty, if Arinarifa and the two that Mick Leahy claimed to have "bagged" two days before are counted; not an insignificant pay-back score, twenty black lives for one white,

39 Aitchison, op cit, p 3.

40 ibid, p 5.

with the major reckoning still to come.

Aitchison's decision to authorise this action before the arrival of his District Officer, Ted Taylor, can be seen with hindsight to have been unwise, but his eagerness to go after the murderers was not criticised by his superiors. Just before he left camp that morning Holden's DH50 aeroplane had flown low over the valley and dropped a message from Ted Taylor saying that he and Cadet Patrol Officer John Black would be arriving shortly.(41) In discussing the incident with Tommy Aitchison in July 1984, he told me that he considered it important to apprehend McGrath's killers at once before they could stir up other groups. He believes this was a proper procedure and that Ted Taylor supported the decision he made. Mick Leahy wrote in his diary that after the big shoot-up in the kunai, he went and: "Burnt out all the houses at Finantugu (sic)". He was a man who knew how to maintain his rage! Wisely, perhaps, Aitchison did not report this action.

As a footnote to the description of the events of this bloody Sunday, Aitchison reported with some surprise that the men housed in McGrath's labour quarters were fired on at 10.30 pm, "the first attack on a camp at night by any natives in these parts". It was also the first time that seventeen men had been killed by

41 ibid, p 4.

European rifle fire in the one engagement in those parts. By now the Finintegus must have been both desperate and angry, as well as very frightened.(42)

Aitchison and Leahy both comment on the spirited resistance put up by the Finintegus. In the diary Mick Leahy pays them the compliment that "they put up a fair fight, two of our boys being slightly wounded by arrows". Mick Leahy's labourers had a reputation for not often getting wounded by arrows! Considering that they were surrounded by three parties of heavily armed Europeans, police and labourers, the Finintegus had little choice but to fight back, although it might be asked why they didn't surrender.

Finintegu informants suggest several reasons for this. They claim that when the warriors first became aware of the approach of the Leahys on the Friday morning a peace offering, comprising a pig and some tanget leaves, were hastily laid across the path. They reasoned: "If these police people come and see this and they are willing to accept it, that means there will be friendship and no troubles. But if they ignore what is being offered to them, it means they are still going for us, to cause more trouble." Men were set to watch the path and observe the

42 It is worth noting that Ubank, Peadon and the Leahys departed from Finintegu a few hours before Taylor and Black arrived, so arresting the culprits could no longer have been the uttermost thought in their minds. They were probably well satisfied to have given New Guineans "an idea of what a crime it is to shoot a white man".

Europeans' reaction. To their dismay: "They simply got these things and threw them away. And we then knew that they were not friendly and that they were going to chase us and there would be a big trouble."(43)

Disappointment over the rejection of a friendly gesture and anger over McGrath's shooting of Arinarifa were combined with a third element, fear; fear of white men who could arrive on the Finintegu scene within half an hour of the killing of McGrath and the next day send a large aeroplane hurtling down from the sky to terrorise the people in their villages. But there was a fourth element which, flying in the face of their emotions of disappointment, anger and fear, spurred on the warriors to a ferocious resistance of the European attack. This was over-confidence in their fighting prowess or as one informant described it, 'big-headedness'. "They were big-headed men. Today we are small in comparison with the men of those times. They were very confident people. They were not afraid. Even though the bullets flew amongst them they took no notice. They put faith in their wooden shields, even though a bullet passed through the shield one man was carrying and killed him. They were great warriors in those days."(44)

43 Manukiso Torome, Finintegu 'big man', interviewed at site of McGrath's grave on hill above Finintegu, 28 February 1981. He was a nephew of Arinarifa.

44 Keriso Pasave, a younger cousin of Arinarifa, interviewed at Finintegu, 11 August 1982. Like Manukiso, he was a child at the time of the Finintegu affray. He estimates he was about ten years old.

Monday 19 February was declared a rest day by the Aitchison-Leahy party, and they used it to try to ascertain why McGrath had been killed and who had actually done the killing. This should surely have been completed before they went out to arrest or shoot anyone. Aitchison can be excused as he was only a young, inexperienced, cadet patrol officer, and he had to contend with the aggressive impulses of five very angry and determined prospectors. As he set off into the hills he could not have anticipated either his companions' need to be avenged of McGrath's death, nor of the Finintegus' fanatical resistance in the face of a superior force. When Brother Eugene Frank of the Divine Word Mission was killed in the Chimbu not long after, it is significant that the Leahys, ever eager to demonstrate the white man's strength, were expressly forbidden by government officers to become involved.(45)

45 Mick Leahy, personal communication, 15 September 1976. (See also The Land That Time Forgot, p 273.) Mick Leahy stated to me that if he had been allowed to go and search for Brother Eugene, the missionary's life may have been saved. Eight days elapsed before the government patrol found him lying wounded in a village house, and Mick was certain that he and Dan would have effected a rescue in a far shorter time. However there were also Chimbu lives to be considered.

Mick Leahy is a controversial figure in that many of his early encounters with Highlanders resulted in violence. When he judged his life to be in danger he did not hesitate to shoot his attackers, and he made no secret of it in public lectures he gave in Australia, Britain and the United States. The complaint of his critics, particularly the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society mentioned in Note 33, was that the Leahys had gone beyond the bounds of legitimate defensive action in their dealings with primitive tribesmen. Mick Leahy made a statement to ADO Jim Taylor, during the enquiry into the "shooting of natives by Leahy Expeditions", that he thought about thirty New



By the time Ted Taylor, John Black and a new detachment of police arrived at Finintegu on Tuesday 20th, the Leahys, Peadon and Ubank had departed. Taylor was briefed by Aitchison, after which Taylor, Black and Dugan, with seventeen police and Dugan's and McGrath's labourers, commenced operations against the Finintegus. But unlike the previous party, Ted Taylor spent a day (21 February) making further enquiries, to be absolutely sure that it was the Finintegus and Ikanofe people who had attacked McGrath, before moving against them. Although Taylor makes no comment

Guineans had been killed in skirmishes between April 1931 and October 1934. He added: "During this period I passed through several hundred thousands of people not yet under government influence and control. In most cases relationships with them were of the happiest. We traded with them fairly and justly."

One violent encounter which was a subject of the enquiry occurred at Korofeigu in the Goroka Valley in December 1932, when four New Guineans were shot by the Leahys. Jim Taylor was satisfied that the prospectors had been attacked without justification, and had responded in self-defence. I was able to confirm this from the Korofeigu people in 1976. They held no grudge against the Leahys, who in their view had done nothing to invite the attack, unless being in possession of desirable trade goods such as shells and steel implements constituted a provocation. The Korofeigus admitted that they had planned to kill the white men to obtain their cargo.

Given that the gold prospectors were encouraged by the Administration to search for gold in the Uncontrolled Areas, and that conflict between intruders and inhabitants was virtually inevitable because of the warlike nature of the Highland people, it is unfair to judge men like Mick Leahy too harshly. From the prospector's viewpoint they were engaged in lawful business and had a right to protect their lives when ambushed or otherwise attacked by hostile villagers. Mick Leahy was a strong-willed, tough individual and his sense of outrage on discovering the murder of a fellow prospector disqualified him as an impartial actor in the Finintegu drama. But there was a very warm, humane side to his nature, his relations with New Guineans were on a far better man-to-man basis than were those of most of his European contemporaries, and his epic gold prospecting journeys mark him as a major figure in the early contact history of the Highlands.

about those who had shot first and asked questions afterwards, he is very careful to record the procedures which he himself adopted.

Taylor obtained much useful information from Finintegu's enemies, the Faganofis, who were no doubt capitalising on the opportunity to pay back the Finintegus for the damage they had inflicted on them in the recent fight. The Faganofis were able to point out the exact location of the Finintegus' hiding place. Taylor describes it thus:

"The fugitives had concentrated in a deep valley flanked on either side by mountainous country, rising about 3000 feet, from which grass-clad spurs, running steeply to the foot of the valley, ended in deep gorges and clumps of wild cane, amongst which were concealed the hastily erected shelters and traps, affording the natives every facility for taking cover and allowing them full observations of all approaches without being seen."(46)

The new retreat was in a valley some two or three kilometers south west of the Ikanofe ravine, where the first confrontation had taken place.

Black took one group of police, Taylor and Dugan the other, and they attempted to close in on the Finintegus from two sides. But arrests proved impossible, because as each party moved within

46 Edward Taylor, Report, op cit.

firing range, they were greeted by a hail of arrows. Two constables got down into the gorge, which Taylor described as a "veritable death trap" and had to shoot their way out. Regrouping, Taylor and his men got into some scrub which gave them reasonable cover, and every time a head appeared they shot at it. The battle, for such it had now become, went on intermittently for five hours - rarely before, or since, had Europeans and New Guineans engaged in so bitter and so protracted a struggle. As Taylor and Dugan continued to attack from one side, Black and his men gradually forced the Finintegus to retreat on the other, setting fire to the grass and scrub.(47) By now the Finintegus were all crowded together in what Taylor described as "a cane covered terrace lying between precipitous spurs", and were as good as surrounded.

John Black recalls that prior to his firing the bush, arrows were coming quickly one after the other, and he was impressed by the cool manner in which the policeman next to him just knocked them aside with the butt of his rifle, swatting one down to his left side, the next to his right, and so on. Consequently Black passed through the battle unscathed, but Ted Taylor got an arrow through his leg, and two or three police received minor wounds.

But what of the Finintegus? What casualties did they sustain?

47 John Black, interviewed at his home at Joslin, South Australia, 4 August 1981.

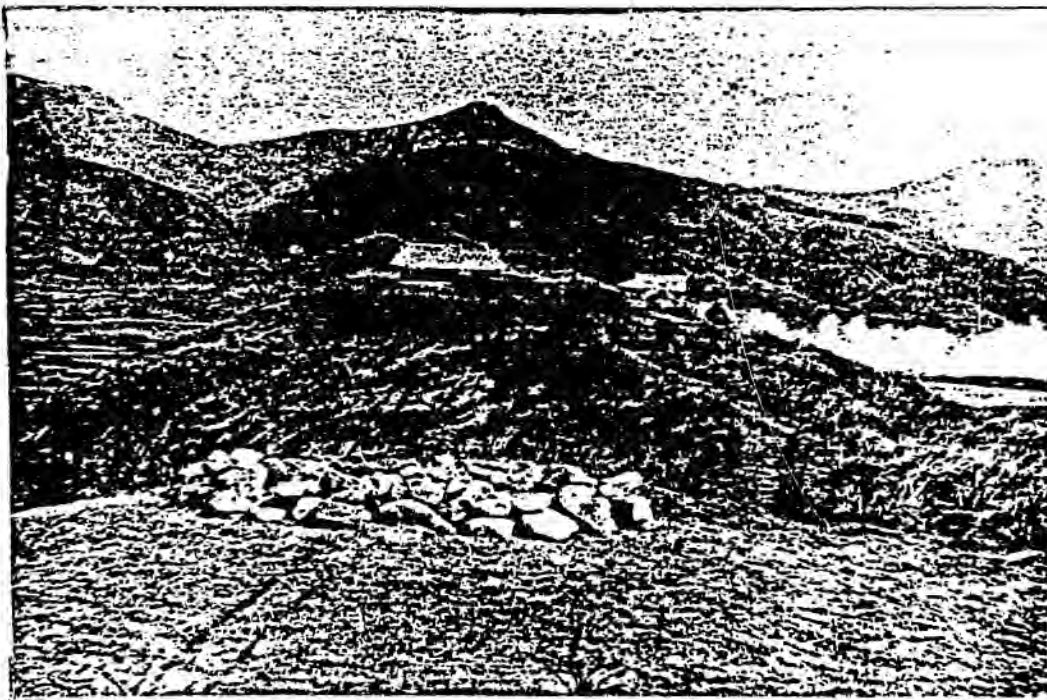
In his Report Ted Taylor estimated that nineteen were shot dead and seventeen were injured, although he conceded that the number could have been greater. The Finintegu people claim a much higher death toll. In the words of one of the Finintegu big men, Manukiso Torome: "There was a whole lot of blood just flowing like a river. The patrol officers and police shot dead fifty two of us, I would say, and others were wounded in their legs and arms. Just by looking at that flow of blood I could tell that the whole village had been damaged, men, women and children."(48) That the casualties included women and children is an element of 'the desperate Finintegu affray' that does not appear in Ted Taylor's Report. He and John Black did not go in and count the bodies after the Finintegus surrendered. John Black recalls that in the late afternoon two old men emerged from the thicket, waving target branches as a sign of peace, and they were then followed by others who produced pigs which were killed in front of the Europeans, the targets being smeared with the blood and passed to the white men. Taylor wrote that once he was certain "that they were subdued, the natives were then allowed to rejoin their families, on condition that all reported at my camp the following day". This is an acknowledgement that women and children were close by, although Ted Taylor was unaware that they had been involved in the conflict and had been among the casualties. A figure of only nineteen deaths was recorded

48 Manukiso Torome, interview, op cit.



District Officer Ted Taylor. John Black states: "Photo taken on 19 February, 1934. en route to Finintegu. We camped that night on a kunai hill near the Ramu-Purari Divide. Next day arrived at Finintegu to meet McGrath's associate Bob Dugan and Tom Aitchison of Kainantu Police Post. Edward Taylor was the senior D.O. in the Service and most experienced as a bushman in uncontrolled area work.

(John Black photo)



McGrath's grave and the Finintegu Base Camp established by John Black (see pp.61-67)

(John Black photo)

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because that was the number given to them by the survivors.(49)

Manukiso says that surrender was finally imperative when it appeared that the whole village would be wiped out. He concluded sadly: "For one life, almost a whole village was destroyed. We decided to make an end at that point."

Ted Taylor's motive for pursuing the engagement so vigorously requires some comment. For an interesting explanation of his action, I am indebted to Robin Radford, whose thesis on Kainantu contact history deals with the killing of ADO Ian Mack at Aiamontina in 1933.(50) Ted Taylor had been involved in the follow-up to that incident. He was unhappy that his junior officers had not been able to conclude a peace with the Aiamontinas, who had been scattered after Mack's death and were a disturbed and dislocated group. Taylor had gone to a lot of trouble to find them and bring them back to their village and establish good relations with them. In Robin Radford's view Ted

49 I spent two days with John Black in August 1981, and have over six hours of recorded interview on tape. From a relistening to the tapes it is clear we went over the Finintegu story very thoroughly. John was recalling an event which had occurred 47 1/2 years earlier, but his remembered account stands up very well against Ted Taylor's report written a month after the affray. I have no reason to believe that he or Ted Taylor suppressed information about the casualties - both were honourable men - and it simply did not occur to them at the time that women and children were in the hide-out with the warriors.

50 Robin Radford. 1979. "Highlanders and Foreigners in the Upper Ramu: The Kainantu Area 1919 - 1942", MA Thesis, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.

Taylor was a brave man. She believes that in moving into the Finintegu situation quickly and boldly he aimed to bring matters to an early conclusion, in order to "cut out a lot of the problems that ensue when you let things fester and people are dislocated and forced to live in a refugee situation."<sup>51</sup> In fairness to Tommy Aitchison, it can be said that he was prompted by similar considerations. What of course Taylor did not bargain for was the extraordinarily stiff resistance put up by the Finintegu people, a resistance which was undoubtedly strengthened by their encounter with Aitchison and the gold prospectors two days earlier.

What does the desperate Finintegu affray reveal about pacification methods? In the first place it provides a tragic example of what could go wrong when the agents of pacification allowed their emotions to outrun the constraints of duty, when the desire to obtain revenge took precedence over the need to uphold the law with justice and fair dealing. There was also the element of the unexpected. None of the Europeans involved had experienced a situation where their New Guinean adversaries had stood their ground and fought back with such determination. In

<sup>51</sup> Robin Radford, in discussions with John Black and myself, 4 August 1981.

Ted Taylor's experience in dealing with hostile New Guineans was initially gained in the follow-up to the Nakanai murders in New Britain in 1926. See J K McCarthy. 1963. Patrol Into Yesterday, Melbourne, p 25. Of Taylor, McCarthy wrote: "Quiet and unassuming, he was one of the finest native administrators New Guinea has produced."

Aitchison's case it was unfortunate that so much responsibility was thrust onto so young and inexperienced an officer. And as far as Ted Taylor was concerned, he was handed a situation which had deteriorated to such an extent that only continued violence could bring a quick end to it. With such fearful loss of life the Finintegu people had certainly been taught a terrible lesson. It was a limited one, nevertheless, insofar as all they had really learnt from the encounter was that it was unacceptable to kill a white man. That lesson was well learnt, not only by the Finintegu people, but by others, certainly as far west as Bena Bena, in the Goroka Valley. Jokuri and Isagua's presence at Finintegu with the Leahys ensured that news of the Finintegu massacre was widely published among the Bena communities.(52)

But as far as tribal fighting in the Karmamontina area was concerned, the situation was if anything worse than before. The desperate Finintegu affray did nothing to lessen the hatred of the Finintegus for the Faganofis, who had clearly betrayed their mountain hideaway to the Europeans. Thus as soon as the officer in charge of the post established at Finintegu was removed to the Chimbu, early in 1935, "some of the more troublesome tribes began

52 This was brought home to me in May 1974, during an interview with a Bena Bena leader and former politician, Sabumei Kofikai. We had been discussing the relations between villagers and gold prospectors in the Goroka Valley when Sab<sup>u</sup>mei said unexpectedly: "There was a European at Finintegu who tricked the people with some kind of shell money. He used this treacherous action to entice a man and then shot him." (Interview, 7 May 1974.)



fighting".(53) Obviously, the processual and structural causes of tribal fighting mentioned earlier were still in operation. While John Black remained at Finintegu he offered a means of conflict resolution and in suppressing people's vindictiveness and aggression (by engaging rival clans in cooperative enterprises) he temporarily averted the need to fight.

The establishment of the Finintegu post by John Black immediately after the affray, illustrates these methods of pacification. Seriously short of staff and money, the Rabaul Administration was unable to establish systematic control, area by area, in the Highlands. The best that could be done was to respond piecemeal to each situation that arose. Consequently the presence of gold miners and missionaries in the Kainantu area in 1932 led to the establishment of the Upper Ramu post, and Bena Bena followed in January 1933, with the prospecting activities of the Leahy brothers and the New Guinea Goldfields Company. The Chimbu Post at Kundiawa was set up at the beginning of 1935 in response to the killing of the Catholic missionaries Father Morschhauser and Brother Eugene Frank, and the temporary patrol post at Mount Hagen resulted from the successful Taylor-Leahy expedition into the Wahgi some 18 months earlier.

Strategically the Finintegu Post was placed too close to Kainantu to give any semblance to the even distribution of government

53 Annual Report, 1934 - 1935, paragraph 37, p 23.



John Black at Finintegu Base Camp, 1934. (John Black photo)

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control in the Highlands. Because of the acute shortage of staff, it was necessary to withhold Administration presence from the Goroka Valley so that an officer could be stationed at Finintegu. John Black believes that had events in the Karmamontina not forced the Government's hand, there would have been a patrol officer at Bena Bena in 1934. In his comment on John Black's report from Finintegu on 7 December 1934, the Morobe District Officer, echoing Black's thoughts, wrote to Chinnery: "It was a great pity this post (Bena Bena) was abandoned. No good can result from entering an area and leaving it before consolidating our influence there and when done, the work of recovery is usually more difficult than the initial penetration."(54)

However Black made the best of a bad situation by encouraging some Goroka Valley lads to join teenage boys from the Karmamontina area in an unofficial 'school' at Finintegu. In his first report from Finintegu he stated that twenty three boys from different villages were living at the base camp, where they were employed on "light duties" and received daily instruction in pidgin English from Constable Kwasan, who had been a Lutheran teacher before joining the police force. It was John Black's aim to "have one youth from each village eventually receiving

54 District Officer, Salamaua, to Director of District Services and Native Affairs, Rabaul, 5 January 1935, commenting on John Black's Patrol Report B.16/34 - 35, Finintegu, 7 December 1934. National Archives, Port Moresby.

instruction". He noted that the boys were already proving useful on patrols by passing on information they had gained while with the government. In the same report he mentions that two Bena Bena lads, Samara and Gigopasa, joined the group on 16 March, having been brought from Kainantu by Tommy Aitchison.(55)

A Bena Bena man with memories of the Finintegu base camp 'school' is Mahabi Ihoyane, of Mohoweto West village (Mick Leahy's Mahometofe West). He claims to have arrived at Finintegu from Kainantu with Ted Taylor and John Black at the time of the affray: "Many young fellows were taken from Bena to Kainantu so that we could go round with the kiaps and learn what is this and that. Some had been 'kalabused' for fighting and others were just small fellows like myself."(56) He recalls that in the affray many Finintegu people were killed - "so many that we could not count them" - and that afterwards he helped plant flowers around McGrath's grave and later assisted the police in guarding it, because "the people were trying to take the body out of the grave."(57) He remembers that in addition to having pidgin

55 John Black, "Patrol report on activities in the PURARI area - progress report - by J R Black, Cadet, Finintegu Base Camp, 3 April 1934", Australian Archives, CRS. AS 13/26, Item 48, Canberra.

56 Mahabi Ihoyane, interviewed at Mohoweto West, 16 July 1982.

57 This is confirmed by a retired policeman, Constable First Class No 675 Kambukama, who wrote in an article in Kumul, December 1968, p 15, that in the late 1930s: "There were six policemen who took turns at guarding the grave for it was feared that the people would disinter the European's body and either

lessons, he did gardening work, keeping the place tidy and growing tomatoes. For this he was paid in salt, matches and shells.

It is fortunate for the historian that three of John Black's reports from Finintegu have survived, providing as they do, graphic illustrations of the methods of pacification adopted by the Mandated Territory in uncontrolled areas. One of the major difficulties encountered in reconstructing events in the 1930s is the dearth of patrol reports relating to the Goroka Valley. It is presumed that many were lost during World War 2. Of those that survived, John Black's rate as models of comprehensive, intelligent reporting. 'Comprehensive' is in fact the word chosen by Ted Taylor to describe the report of 7 December 1934, but it could equally be applied to the two earlier ones of 3 April and 26 June.(58) For present purposes the reports are

burn it or otherwise destroy it, because this man had killed one of their leaders and they were very upset about this."

58 These reports are:-

3 April 1934: "Patrol report on activities in the PURARI area - progress report - by J R Black, Cadet", Australian Archives, Canberra, CRS AS 13/26, Item 48.

26 June 1934: "An enquiry into the causes of the murder of Bernard McGrath by natives of the Karmonontina Valley, PURARI - by J R Black, Cadet", National Archives, Port Moresby, reference number inked in on report, U642.

7 December 1934: "Progress and Patrol Report of activities in the Purari area - by J R Black, Acting Patrol Officer", National Archives, Port Moresby, B.16/34 - 35. Presumably John Black submitted other reports during 1934, but I have been unable to locate them.

invaluable for revealing the type of contact which occurred between the Goroka Valley people and Europeans in 1934.

Although the Finintegu affray exacerbated inter-tribal hostility, John Black wasted no time in making clear the government position on tribal fighting. On 4 March he brought together the people of Finintegu and Faganofi for a friendly lecture on the evils of inter-village stealing and tribal fighting (the previous day Finintegu complained that men of Fagonofi had stolen one of their pigs). The contending parties were persuaded to ceremoniously plant croton 'targets' close to the base camp "as a sign of future peace".(59) To sweeten the erst-while sour relations, sugar-cane was broken, exchanged and eaten. But on 6 and 7 March the message was repeated in sterner tones. Black first visited Faganofi where the inhabitants were assembled and warned about stealing, and the next day he assembled the entire populations of Finintegu and Fagarminofi, who "were warned on no account to attempt any tribal fighting as it would mean sudden severe and instant reprisal."

Black quickly established himself as arbitrator in inter-tribal disputes, thus providing a means of conflict resolution which had not been available in pre-contact times. When Finintegu reported the theft of the pig on 3 March, he instructed the Faganofis "to

59 John Black, Patrol Report, 3 April 1934.

return it forthwith", and when by 6 March this had not happened, he proceeded to Faganofi with a party of police to demonstrate that justice was supported by the strong arm of the law. The pig was returned without further delay.

In its pacification programme the Administration also saw virtue in offering purposeful manual labour as a substitute for fighting. This policy was in harmony with the functional substitute theory of pacification adopted in other Pacific territories such as in Murray's Papua and in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate.(60) Within a day of receiving his instructions from Ted Taylor, Black had the Finintegu men out collecting timber for construction of the Base Camp. The next day he organised thirty Faganofi women to collect kunai while their men folk began constructing the houses. Then as a master stroke he had both Finintegu and Faganofi people working together

60 Methods of pacification in Papua are treated in detail by A M Healey. 1962. "Native Administration and Local Government in Papua, 1880 - 1960", PhD dissertation, ANU, Canberra. Healey notes how the system of local administration promoted by Sir Hubert Murray in Papua in the 1930s was derived from Sir William MacGregor's regulations for pacification and control developed in the period 1888 - 1898. (p 121)

Ian Hogbin touches on the subject briefly with regard to the Solomons. Pacification was at a more advanced stage there in the 1930s than it was in the New Guinea Highlands, and it is difficult to draw parallels. However Hogbin refers to road maintenance on the island of Malaita, where the people were required to give fifteen hours of labour per month. See H I Hogbin. 1939. Experiments in Civilization - The Effects of European Culture on a Native Community of the Solomon Islands. London: Routledge, p 146. (Reprinted 1969.)

at the camp site, competing in the collection of building materials and assisting in construction of the police quarters. Ten days later he was organising village labour to clear and construct an airstrip, distributing a few beads to each worker as payment for a day's labour.

In his summary of "the native position", Black described how the Base Camp provided the locus for a "gradually widening circle" of Administration influence. He saw the permanent post as crucial to the establishment of law and order, for although patrols through the villages contributed to pacification, "the most efficient patrolling exerts by its very nature only a transient influence on normal tribal life". On the other hand: "The presence of the base camp with its buildings and personnel of police is a tangible reminder to primitive minds of the permanency and force of the Administration." Another important function of the Base Camp was to provide "a safe and secure common meeting ground for many erstwhile hostile peoples".

All these measures towards the containment of violence - stern warnings, arbitration backed up by force, involvement of the people in community projects, influence of the Base Camp, informal education of youths, regular patrols - can be seen to have been effective so long as the patrol officer and his police remained in the area. John Black's report of 7 December 1934, which covers the preceding three months, demonstrates his



continuing success.(61) People of Avanihofi, Abarbi and Ikanofi were bringing their 'tribal' differences to the station at Finintegu for settlement, instead of resorting to violence as a means of conflict resolution. The Dunantina warriors were putting away their bows and arrows when the patrol officer visited their area, although Black was realist enough to recognise that "no doubt they are carried as soon as the patrol departs". The school at Finintegu averaged from thirty to sixty pupils, who were drawn from villages extending from the Garfetina Valley, east of Finintegu, to the headwaters of the Mairifutigar (Mai) River, west of Goroka. A medical patrol of the Purari area, from 30 October to 9 November, had considerable impact on the villages visited. NAB injections (62) for yaws or framboesia, administered by the Senior Medical Assistant, G K Whittaker, produced almost instant cures and as John Black reported: "The miraculous results following NAB injections was soon known everywhere .... The effect of this patrol has considerably strengthened the position of the Government in the Purari."(63)

61 The 26 June Report gives a detailed account of Black's enquiries regarding the killing of McGrath, but no information about other activities at or around the base camp. It can be assumed that reports covering the period April - August 1934 were written by John Black from Finintegu, but have been lost.

62 Novarsenobillin and Salvarsan. One 'shot' of NAB could heal up the framboesia ulcers within three days.

63 The term 'Purari' seems to refer in this Patrol Report to the Kompri, Karmamontina and Dunantina valleys, but not the Goroka Valley, which was also part of the Upper Purari system.

John Black's 7 December report also provides an interesting description of the Goro'a Valley situation in 1934. It is not clear how many patrols he was able to make during the year - perhaps only the two described in this report, conducted in September and November, possibly an earlier one in mid-year. The September patrol had the primary objective of meeting ADO Jim Taylor in Chimbu on his way back from Mount Hagen, in order to provide him with new carriers and supply him with trade goods to pay off those who had carried for him on the Hagen-Chimbu sector. Some of the men John Black took with him were specially chosen from the Kompri area, where there had been disturbances two months earlier. This practice of widening the horizons of warriors who knew little of the world outside their own small valley, was just another string to the Administration's pacification bow. More carriers were collected along the way, including men from the villages of For and Mohoweto in the Bena area. On the way to Bena Bena village Black visited a gold prospector E M Peacock, whom he believed was having a settling influence on the local people. He was disappointed to learn that Peacock was about to abandon his claim and move camp to the Dunantina. Two months later he was able to observe that tribal fighting broke out only when Peacock left the area. This may have been due to causes quite unrelated to the prospector's withdrawal, but Black put a lot of store on the effective presence of Europeans among fight-prone tribes. A youth called Sovei of Bena Bena village, who had been a pupil at Finintegu, and spoke pidgin as a result, reported the area to be free of

tribal fighting, and also of serious inter-village disputes. This period of calm coincided with Peacock's residence among them.

When Black returned to the Goroka Valley in mid November, he arrived in the midst of a full scale attack on Mohoweto by hill people from the Rabana area.<sup>(64)</sup> As his warning to the attackers went unheeded, his police party intervened and one man was shot dead while attempting to fire an arrow at a constable. On his return to Finintegu he persuaded about ten Bena men from Sigoiya village to accompany the patrol, so they could observe the work of the Government at first hand at the Base Camp. With them went two lads required as witnesses "in connection with the Schmidt and Schultze cases", which were about to be heard in the Salamaua Court. The two witnesses are named in Black's report as "Siyomei of Karmibi and Ifkifa of Markia". They and other young men from the Goroka Valley had gone with Ludwig Schmidt and his party on a disastrous prospecting trek from the highlands to the Sepik River. The story of "the survivors from the Sepik" provides the second episode in the 1934 experience of European contact by the Goroka Valley people, and the Administration's continuing efforts towards the containment of violence.

64 It is not clear if this was Mohoweto East, situated near the Bena River, or Mohoweto West, which is closer to the Goroka side of the valley. The East settlement would be more likely to receive an attack from Rabana.

## SURVIVORS FROM THE SEPIK

Ludwig Schmit, born in Vienna about 1891, son of a Bavarian father and Austrian mother, began prospecting in the Highlands in 1931. He had a wife in Madang and teenage son, Ludy (or Wiggy as he was called affectionately by Schmidt's Madang labourers). After prospecting around Kainantu father and son joined the Leahys at Bena Bena on 18 December 1932. Schmidt senior broke most of the rules in his dealings with Highlanders, taking sides in tribal disputes, stealing food from village gardens, mistreating his carriers and shooting villagers indiscriminately before ascertaining their intentions towards him. Many of his exploits are documented by Mary Mennis in her published interviews with two of Schmidt's Madang labourers, who accompanied the Austrian in most, if not all, of his prospecting journeys.(65)

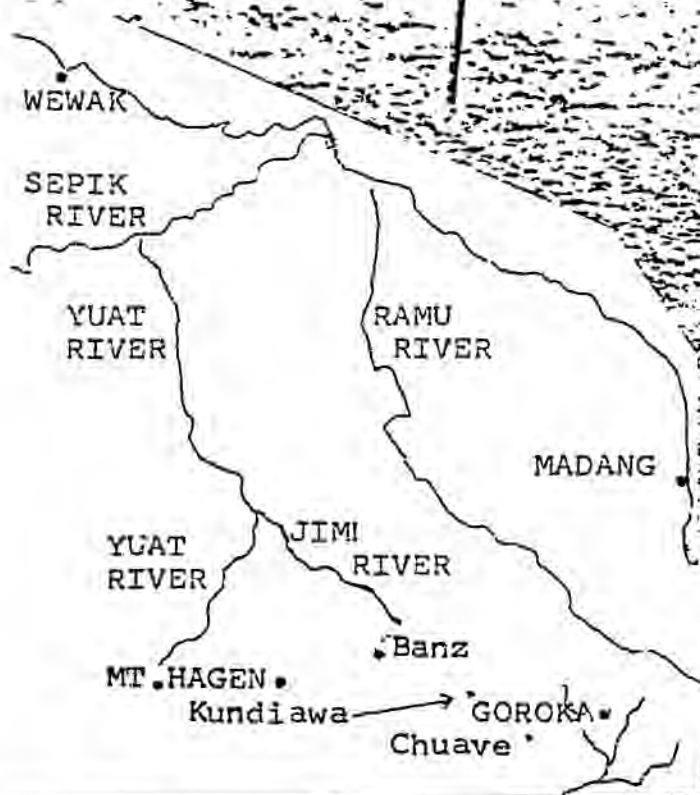
During his time at Bena Bena in December 1932 and January 1933 he got himself involved in a fight between Korofeigu and Katagu, siding with Katagu and shooting at least two of the Korofeigu warriors or their allies. Korofeigu drew a distinction between

65 Mary Mennis, "Accounts of Life with Schmidt, gold prospector, during 3 years (1931 - 1934) in the New Guinea Highlands, as told by Majar and Bulus, two of his labourers", and "Biographical notes on Ludwig Schmit", Oral History, Vol 7, No 5, 1971, Port Moresby.

Mick Leahy, who a short time previously had shot four Korofeigu men in self-defence, and Ludwig Schmidt, who made an (unwarranted) intrusion into their tribal affairs, causing a traditional enemy to triumph over them. They named Schmidt "Ai'yufa", the Bena name for the black and white striped possum (*Dactylonax palpator*), whose quick daring movements, round shaped head and ringed staring eyes, bore a close resemblance to the prospector. (66) Mary Mennis describes Schmidt as a powerfully built man with a round bald head and a thick black beard. Danny Leahy recalled him at Bena Bena in 1932 as having "wild flaring eyes". After creating much trouble and finding no gold in the Goroka Valley, he flew to Wau on 13 January 1933, leaving Mick and Dan Leahy and the New Guinea Goldfields team to placate as best they could the angry villagers with whom he had come into conflict.

Later, in about mid 1933, Schmidt followed the Leahys into the Mount Hagen area. After several months of unsuccessful prospecting and more violence involving the local people, he planned a bold but foolhardy expedition through unknown country down the Jimi River to the Sepik. It is believed that he returned first to the Goroka Valley to recruit carriers. Majar, one of his Madang labourers, claims that they rested at Bena Bena

66 P M Munster, op cit, pp 192 - 194.



Ihanimo Auwo after telling his story of the Schmidt gold prospecting expedition to the Sepik in 1934. Photographed at Ha'na-zuha, June 1976. To face Page 73.

for two months,(67) which would have been some time between September and December, 1933. Mick Leahy does not mention Schmidt's presence when he returned to Bena Bena to wind up the New Guinea Goldfield's prospecting activities in October 1933, and they should have been well on their way to Mount Hagen in December.(68) However it is certain that he recruited carriers from Bena and Goroka villages for his Sepik expedition, taking young men from the Gahuku speaking villages of Ha'na'zuha (Faniufa), Kami and Gama and Bena speaking lads from Makia, Karmibi,(69) and Korofeigu.(70)

One of Schmidt's recruits was a young man of Ha'na'zuha, Ihanimo (or Hamimo) Auwo, who later became the 'big man' and government appointed luluai of his people, and who as recently as 1976 was able to give a coherent and vivid narrative of his experiences as one of "the survivors from the Sepik". He could name thirteen Goroka and three Bena men who went with Schmidt, but believed there were others. Mick Leahy lists thirty in his 1934 diary, eleven survivors and nineteen who were killed during the journey.

67 Mennis,op cit,p 30.      68 P M Munster,op cit,p 234.

69 Although John Black identified this as a Bena village, it sounds more like the Gahuku village of Kami. Kamibi could be Kami-ve, the people of Kami.

70 Mick Leahy lists two Korofeigu men who went with Schmidt (1934 Diary). It is perhaps significant that, with the exception of Korofeigu, all the villages mentioned - Ha'nazuha, Kami, Gama and Makia - are in close proximity to each other and to the site of Schmidt's suspected camp-site, if he did in fact spend two months in the locality. (Seigu and Ha'na'zuha informants recall that a man named Ludi lived near them briefly.)

Their places of origin were Korofeigu, Makia, Gama, Kami and six other names which may refer to clans within tribes or hamlets within villages. One of the survivors on the list, Inakfo, is noted as having been "rescued by JLT" (James Lindsay Taylor) and is probably Ihanimo (Inakfo = Ihanimo?). His village is not recorded by Mick Leahy, who probably did not have any direct dealings with him.

Ihanimo's reason for joining Schmidt's party was clear cut: "he did not pick me to go with him but he had earlier given a man from Seigu a red laplap and I wanted one too, so I just went along with them. He gave me a laplap to wear, so I took off my traditional dress and cut my hair. He didn't tell us where he was going, but we just followed. He also made no promise of payment, as far as I know." (71) Perhaps one attraction was the presence of young Chimbu "wives" (the original 'passenger meris'?), who joined them at Koreipa, Watabung and Kundiawa. Ihanimo stated that "they went all the way with us, but on our way back we lost them. Maybe they were killed or maybe some men from there married them". Schmidt's recruitment methods were certainly unorthodox, and were contrary to Government regulations as no patrol officer gave him permission to 'recruit' the Goroka Valley carriers or the young ladies from Chimbu. He seems to have avoided all contact with government officials on leaving Goroka, obviously with good reason.

71 Ihanimo Auwo, interviewed at Ha'na'zuha, 14 June 1976.



The journey went well from the carriers' point of view as long as there was enough food to be had from village gardens. But as they proceeded down the Jimi to a point where Ihanimo was able to look out over the vast Sepik basin, which he believed to be the sea, the food position became critical. Majar told Mary Mennis that Schmidt paid off the cargo boys here and told them to return home.(72) But Ihanimo's version is that because they were starving they all ran away from Schmidt, in the forelorn hope of being able to return home along the route by which they had come. Ihanimo realised the hopelessness of their situation, but went along to be with his 'wantoks'. He had accompanied Schmidt to the lookout point, and had glimpsed through binoculars "many canoes going up and down the water". They had then built a rope and cane suspension bridge over the Jimi:

"It was very late when we finished the bridge and there wasn't any kaukau, only wild breadfruit and sago .... When I came up to the camp from the river there were hardly any carriers about. I found only Jopamelaho, a Makia man, and he said, 'They've all gone back.' I replied, 'Waa, you'd better go and bring them. Do you think you'll be able to return from here? It's a long way and the spears will cut you up .... I have seen the sea, it's very close now and we can cross the bridge and we'll come to the sea where there are lots of houses with shining roofs.'"(73)

Ihanimo went with Jopamelaho to find the missing carriers, who

72 Mary Mennis, op cit, p 73.

73 Ihanimo Auwo, interviewed at Ha'na'zuha, 22 April 1976.

had camped in a bush hide-out not far from Schmidt's tents. He came up to two men, Ika-ikai and Heleke and said: "You fellows are sitting here like two pigs. You think its a short distance to go back, ha? You must have eaten stale pig." But they were determined to return home the way they had come and reluctantly Ihanimo went with them. It is not clear how long it took him and his surviving companions to fight their way back to Mount Hagen, but it was mid March 1934 when Mick Leahy found some of them, battle-scarred, maimed and emaciated after their terrible trek. He commented in his diary on 20 March: "It's a frightful thing for anyone to take kanaks who absolutely trust a white man over 100 miles from their homes .... and then hunt them back without any defence or food even, to get home the best way they can." In due course they were repatriated to the Goroka Valley.

Ihanimo's narrative dwells on the constant danger from hostile warriors whose territory they had to pass through, fights and skirmishes, refuges in rocks and caves and the desperate daily search for food. They ate dogs which made them ill": "One of the village dogs came my way and I fired an arrow at it just as it was about to bark .... I called out and told Sinako to kill it. He was such a good cook that he got harse-bean leaves and bush yams and prepared an excellent meal. I asked him if he still had the heart, but he said he had eaten it. 'You might get a swollen stomach', I told him".(74) Later Ihanimo suggested they sing an

74 ibid

ancient song over the cooking food to frighten the bad spirits away. Some of the men went to a creek to fetch more water. While a man called Nimuzae was climbing down the bark an assailant struck him on the back of the neck and he fell dead in the water. His body was still twitching as his companions ran to him and they found two sticks in his nostrils. They believed that the attack on Nimuzae was somehow linked with sorcery and the effects of eating the dog's brain as his share of the meal. Ihanimo sat in a cave with Sinako and said, "What we are experiencing here is never seen at our home. What can we do with our wantok's dead body and how are we going to get out of here? We must peel our eyes wide open." Someone suggested they cut off one of Nimuzae's arms so it could be returned to his relatives.

All around them the hills echoed the shouts of their enemies. They seemed to cover every ridge top. The frightened carriers slashed their arms and legs and smeared the blood all over their bodies. They then cut black palm for bows, collected materials for bowstrings which they packed in their bilums and prepared sharp arrows which they carried in hollow bamboo quivers. Thus they made ready for the attack which Ihanimo knew must come: "It was about dawn as we had been walking through the bush all night. We came to the top of a small hill and saw many warriors, who were shouting at us. We hurried down the slope and began to climb the next hill but the warriors ran between us and we were separated by the howling mob. My age mate Ika-ikae was killed along with others. I ran for my life as if in a sort of dream

and found myself holding onto the root of a tree and then scrambled up onto a big rock by grasping a bush vine, and there I rested. Then I got up and escaped into the thick bush."

Now separated from his companions Ihanimo continued his journey alone. He found his way by following the axe marks they had made on trees during the outward journey: I followed these marks until I came to the top of a hill from where I looked down and saw a grassy valley, which was Hagen. I saw clumps of soft feathery bamboo and hard strong bamboo in that valley. So I ran down through the bush to some huts, and the people were friendly and gave me lots to eat and were very kind to me." He went on for a day or two treating the people with great caution, but he was allowed to pass and at last came in sight of the newly-established European settlement: "I climbed a tree to look across the valley and there I saw Mr Taylor's house. It was raining as I walked down towards this camp and Mr Taylor was there. When I arrived I looked really strange. I had not eaten proper food for so long and my eyes were really shrunk in. Jim Taylor looked at me and he was very sorry for me. He took me into his house and gave me a laplap and shirt and told his cook boys to prepare food for me. I was many days coming to Mount Hagen - I can't say how long I was on the way and I must have looked very strange to these people as I stood in front of them."

The other survivors had managed to struggle into Mount Hagen before Ihanimo, and were being cared for by local people when

found by the Leahys, who arrived after their eventful overland journey via Finintegu on about 18 March. Jim Taylor joined them at least a month later, for in the interval Mick and Dan Leahy had undertaken prospecting trips first south around Mt Ialibu and then west towards Wabag. Jim Taylor was officially on leave, but the lure of gold drew him back to the Wahgi to accompany the Leahys on yet another prospecting expedition, 'his idea of the perfect vacation'.(75) While waiting at Hagen for supplies, he conducted an official enquiry into the misfortunes of Schmidt's carriers. Mick Leahy recorded in The Land That Time Forgot: "From the Menembi people he learned of another survivor and brought him to the base camp, to be returned to his home."(76) This was in all probability Ihanimo, although the details of his discovery by Taylor are obviously at variance with his own story. In due course Jim Taylor gathered together the survivors who were recovering from their ordeal in Mount Hagen,(77) and escorted

75 Leahy and Crain, op cit, p 259

76 ibid

77 Mick Leahy's list of Goroka Valley carriers bears some resemblance to the names mentioned by Ihanimo, but it is difficult to identify John Black's Siyomei of Karmibi and Ifkifa of Markia. Mick Leahy's list is as follows:

Survivors: Korikori (Korofeigu), Gil-ef-vo-vay (Gama), Go-fat-nar (Ara-saru), Sinaco (Jo-ge-juka: Okazuha?), Ar-beo (Arfe-ve-logar), Foo-trey (Lore-toga), Fana (Gama), Fik-e-far (?), Sumarim (Sogi-paka), Yo-par-ha-foo (Markia), Inakfo (rescued by JLT).

Those killed: Kin-he-yare, Fargar, Sin-ayah, Sef-oo-haf-oo, See-o-key-far (Korofeigu), E-koo (F-foo-toga), Fil-echo (Kum-ar-agee : Kapokamarigi?), Oo-raro, Te-te-yer, Garfukupar, Rar-rar-kop-oo (Kami), Oomar-key-ve (Garfuku : Gahuku ?), Le-te-nar-oo-we

them on the long walk back to Goroka. (This was the patrol that John Black went to meet in September.) When Ihanimo arrived like one back from the dead he found his village ruined and deserted: "The Ha'na'zuha people had been chased away by their enemies, scattered to different places. Some of them were staying with their Bena allies at Sigoiya. So Jim Taylor took me up to Sigoiya and left me there with my people .... Most of the men who went with us were killed." The Gama people have a song of lament for their lost kinsmen, which they still sing today:

There Hasuhasu (white man)! There Hasuhasu!  
Can I take my colourful tanget from Levekule  
Back again, back again?  
There Makarai (European)! There Makarai!  
Can I take my colourful Sizozawone (plant)  
Back again, back again?(78)

Jim Taylor allowed Ihanimo three days with his relatives, during

(Makia), Arsek-koo-ra (Mar-fara-goo), Herek, Numi-ar-fo, Korepina, Pena, Doro-kupu.

Ihanimo's list is:

Eka-ikae (Ha'na'zuha), Ulakoko (Kami : Leahy's Rar-rar-kop-oo?), Asekole (Kami : Leahy's Arsek-koo-ra?), Mulovo (Kami), Jopamelaho (Makia : Leahy's Yo-par-hafoo?), Sinaok (Gama : Leahy's Sinaco), Heleke (Leahy's Herek?), Zumale (Leahy's Sumarin?), Vanopa (Leahy's Fana?), Golekole (Leahy's Korikori), Izopave, Ipa, Aga'ae, Anamukeha, Ume'e, Nimuzae.

(Of these Izopave, Golekole and Zumale were, according to Ihanimo, from Korofeigu. He claimed that all the others were Goroka men, although Makia is a Bena village, bordering on Goroka territory. They would have understood the Goroka language.)

78 For details of this song, see P M Munster, op cit, p 237, footnote 1.

which time he gave them a brief account of his adventures: "They were terribly sorry about what had happened to one of my age mates, Ika-ikae, and my wife and his wife put on Job's tears necklaces to show their grief. I did not give the people too many details of the bad things which happened to me, but none of us followed any more white men after that." A reunion of only three days after so long and terrible a separation seems harsh, but Jim Taylor was anxious to take Ihanimo on the plane with him to Salamaua on 5 October, so he could be on hand as a witness when Schmidt was brought to trial. Records of the Salamaua court case cannot be located, either in the Papua New Guinea or Australian Archives. Not even the 'Rabaul Times' reported it, although Schmidt's final trial and sentence to death in Rabaul in 1936 fill the newspaper columns. An unlikely source of information - but one must be thankful for the smallest crumbs - is Frank Clune's breezy travel book, Somewhere In New Guinea. Clune relates how Patrol Officer E C McDonald arrested Schmidt in the Sepik "and took him to Salamaua, where he was sentenced to six months jail in Rabaul for manslaughter, in the Mount Hagen massacre".(79) This refers to one of the tribal fights that Schmidt got himself involved in while in the Mount Hagen area where, according to Clune, thirteen villagers had been killed, most of them by Schmidt. However, the "lenity of the sentence was due to the fact that the incident had occurred in

79 Frank Clune. 1951. Somewhere In New Guinea. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p 255.

uncontrolled territory".(80) Schmidt was finally brought to the gallows when, after the Salamaua court hearing, ADO Bill Kyle found conclusive evidence of murders he committed in the Upper Sepik. Clune thus sets the context of the Salamaua trial, and his reference to the Hagen massacre explains why Ihanimo and the two men John Black collected in November, were required as witnesses.(81)

The story of the Salamaua trial is best related by Ihanimo himself:(82)

"Sure enough Jim Taylor came looking for me after three days and he called my name.'Ihanimo!' I replied, 'Yes, sir', and I ran up to him. One of my brothers cried and Jim Taylor took a bush knife, shells and an axe and gave them to my brother, saying, 'I'm taking this boy with me.' We took a plane from Hapatoka (Bena Bena landing ground) and flew to Kainantu. We spent the night there and the next day we flew down to Salamaua.

80 ibid

81 In his December 1934 Report John Black refers to the "Schmidt and Schultze cases". It is possible that Helmuth Schultze prospected with Schmidt in the Highlands for a short period, and then they separated (see Mary Mennis, op cit, pp 76 77). Later, in the Sepik, Schmidt met up again with Schultze and two other prospectors, King and Groos. This, however, was after Ihanimo and the other carriers had deserted Schmidt. Wiggy (Ludwig Schmidt jr.) was with his father on the Bena to Sepik journey. He would have been about seventeen. Ihanimo, while acknowledging his presence, does not associate him with his father in the ill-treatment of the carriers.

82 This account is a useful addition to the information given to Mary Mennis by Schmidt's Madang labourers, Majar and Bulus. See Mennis, op cit, pp 13 - 14, 35 - 39, 49 - 50, 60 - 62.



When we arrived at Salamaua Jim Taylor advised me to tell the court straight what had happened to me on the way with Schmidt. So I promised him I would say everything that I had seen. The day of the court came and I had my breakfast and then we went up to the court which was a short distance from Jim Taylor's house. We were standing there and they called my name, 'Ihanimo!' and I said, 'Yes' and went up and stood in front. They told me to sit in one of the chairs so I sat down. The European who took us on this journey to the Sepik, Masta Ludi, was put in another chair in front. He had got to Wewak and he must have come back to Salamaua by ship. Anyway, there he was sitting in front of me in the court, and they wanted me to speak about him.

So I stood up and said, 'Listen to me carefully, my masters. We people from Goroka are used to having plenty of food, but when we were on the journey Masta Ludi did not give us enough to eat. We had to eat breadfruit and the flower from the tulip tree, and it was because of our hunger that I and the other men decided to run away.' Pointing to Masta Ludi I said, 'He knows me very well. We made a bridge over the river, and he and I went together up the mountain and looked away down to the sea. This was when the other men ran away, and then I followed them when I got a chance, watching out for the axe marks we had made on the way down.'

The court judge asked Masta Ludi if I was telling the truth and he nodded his head. He then told the court that after climbing the mountain we came down to tell the other men we were close to the Sepik, but they were all gone. So the judge asked me, 'Why did you leave your masta?' and I replied, 'There was one other local man left from Bena and he pleaded with me to go back with all these other men. He cried and cried and I was very worried and decided to come back with him.' The judge was happy with what I said. I repeated that Masta Ludi never bought food from the local people for us. We just had to collect what we could. The judge praised me for giving all this information. I told the court I could not tell them any more than this, because I was not as good a man as them.

So they sent Masta Ludi to prison. The judge told him he had broken the law by going beyond the mark which the kiap had set.(83) He should have come

back when he reached this mark, but he took these Goroka and Bena men further out where they should not have gone. And worse than that he did not look after the men he took with him. After the court finished I returned with Jim Taylor to Goroka."(84)

While in Salamaua Ihanimo was able to look at the sea at close hand, although nothing would induce him to bathe in it. "They took me up a little hill, and we climbed up steps to look at the sea.(85) They held me by the arms and I just looked down at the sea and I was really frightened. I sat on those steps and I wouldn't go any further. Where the sea goes onto the beach I

endorsed the permit for a particular area, such as 'Upper Ramu' or 'Purari'. Schmidt's would have been endorsed for Purari, and the country he traversed along the Sepik tributaries would certainly have been out of bounds to him.

84 Ihanimo Auwo, interviewed at Ha'na'zuha, Goroka, 22 April 1976 and 14 June 1976. Ihanimo's story was translated from Gahuku into English by Gahuku-speaker Ben Melekenemo. The interviews were taped, with Ben interpreting my questions and Ihanimo's answers. Later he worked through the recordings making a full English translation. Ihanimo spoke and understood Pidgin, but was more comfortable narrating his story in Gahuku. It can be assumed he addressed the court in Pidgin. He had been in the company of Europeans and Pidgin-speaking coastal New Guineans for long enough to have gained fluency in the language. In 1981 I met Ihanimo again, but in the five years since the last interview age had taken its toll and he was very confused and unable to answer any further questions. I would like to have known how long Schmidt was camped in Goroka recruiting labourers and how long Ihanimo waited in Salamaua for the trial. If he went there with Jim Taylor on 5 October, he must have been in Salamaua for nearly two months before the court hearing began. John Black's two witnesses went there on about 24 November.

85 At the end of the Salamaua isthmus there was a small hill with steps up to a lookout, just as Ihanimo describes it. The hill was known as Parsee Head.

thought it was white flowers of kunai after a fire - masses of white covering the wet sand. Later I was able to walk along the beach, but I kept an eye on that water because I was still frightened of it. They told me that shells come from the sea and I was even able to pick some up on the beach. They also paid me with bags of shells from the sea, which the white men kept in their houses. When I told the Goroka people about my experiences at Salamaua they just wouldn't believe me, especially about the sea and all the houses and big buildings which made up the town. I also saw lots of cars, bikes and ships. I had no idea how the cars and bikes moved - I thought the tyres must be carrying them along. I used to notice people looking at me. I could not understand what they were saying; perhaps they were discussing me. Jim Taylor gave me a new laplap and even shorts and a shirt to wear." Ihanimo believed he was the first Goroka man to fly in an aeroplane to the coast. This may be true, although as has already been noted, at least two Bena youths made the trip before him. Ihanimo's experiences did provide the Goroka people with an insight into the white man's system of justice. There was deep resentment against Ludwig Schmidt who took away their young men to a wild, inhospitable country where some of them died, others sustained cruel injuries and none of the survivors or the relatives of the dead received adequate compensation. Ihanimo recalled that after Schmidt's execution a patrol officer came to tell his people that the Government had killed Schmidt as a punishment, and the people were pleased to hear this news. But the lack of compensation was still a matter

of complaint among Goroka villagers in the 1970s, more than forty years later. However, in taking care of the survivors and letting Ihanimo and the other witnesses see justice being done in Salamaua, the Administration went some way towards making amends. There was much debate among Europeans about Schmidt's sanity and the severity of the final sentence, but from the Administration's position it was imperative that the harshest penalty of the law be imposed. Schmidt could be seen as a scape-goat for all the European violence committed in the Highlands, but for the Goroka Valley people his crimes were specific and a life was required for the lives he had caused to be lost or damaged. If pacification was to be achieved in the Goroka Valley, the government could not afford to 'lose face' over the Schmidt incident and "the survivors from the Sepik" had to be witnesses to European justice properly administered, not reminders of its failure.

However the lessons learnt from the Sepik affair were similar to those gained from the Finintegu affray, insofar as they applied to relations between Highlanders and Europeans, not between Highlanders and Highlanders. The people now understood that if they acted badly towards Europeans or if Europeans acted badly towards them the Administration would intervene. But there was no automatic transfer of this concept to their own inter-tribal relations. When Ihanimo returned to Goroka from the Sepik to find his own Ha'na'zuha people driven off their land by their enemies - a formidable array of foes from Mohoweto No 2 in the

east to Gama and Asarozu'ha in the west - there was no thought of appealing to Jim Taylor or John Black to obtain redress. John Black recognised that it was necessary for the patrol officer to establish a permanent presence among a people before there was any chance of disputes between hostile tribes being resolved by arbitration.

In summary then, the position in the Goroka Valley with regard to tribal warfare at the end of 1934 was little changed externally from the situation at the beginning of the year. Old tribal enmities continued to fester, violence was still seen as the only means of resolving inter-tribal disputes. But although people's outward behaviour remained unchanged, there were internal, psychological adjustments taking place with every new involvement with Europeans. Attacks on white men, which characterised the 1932 - 1933 contact period, did not occur in 1934. Young men from various parts of the Goroka Valley had travelled to Mount Hagen and the Sepik, to Finintegu, Kainantu, Wau and Salamaua, returning home with vivid stories of European wealth, enterprise, law and power, and in many cases with material rewards which were the envy of their fellows. Gradually there was built up a core of young men who were able to describe and interpret the white man's world and act in a minor capacity as entrepreneurs of the new gospel of pacification.

Although the Administration's prescription for effective pacification was limited to irregular patrolling and the

education of selected youth, the shortcomings of government by remote control were recognised. By the end of 1934 the District Officer at Salamaua had accepted the need for the re-opening of the Bena Bena Base Camp,(86) which implied the permanent residence there of a patrol officer and a contingent of police.

Seen against the three causes of tribal warfare discussed earlier in this chapter - functionalist, processual and structural - the measures adopted by the Administration provide the first steps in the long road towards pacification. John Black noted in his December 1934 report that the north-western end of the Goroka Valley was "densely populated" and should be visited "once every six months at least". He does not make a direct link between population and warfare, but the implication is there. To qualify as a functionalist argument more specific information about pressure on resources would need to be given, and even if such a situation was recognised as contributing to tribal warfare, John Black had no remedy to offer at that stage.

The processual argument, regarding lack of a jural means of conflict resolution, was more clearly understood. Black refers

86 District Officer's comment on John Black's 7 December 1934 Patrol Report B16/34 - 35, from District of Morobe Headquarters, Salamaua, 5 January 1935, to Director of District Services and Native Affairs, Rabaul. The DO reported: "Now that the Finintegu area is sufficiently advanced the intention is to re-open the Bena-Bena post, and when Mr Taylor takes over the Ramu Sub-division this month, he will do so with instructions along these lines."

to his adjudication of inter-village disputes in the Finintegu area, and presumably would have extended his role as arbitrator into the Goroka Valley, had time and circumstance permitted . The involvement of Ihanimo and the other Sepik survivors in the court proceedings against Schmidt can also be seen in terms of developing the concept of non-violent conflict resolution.

The education of youths by means of the Base Camp 'school' and travel to other districts by these lads and older village people was a calculated effort to attack the structural basis of tribal warfare. By reinforcing the people's understanding of European culture and technology, it might be hoped that traditional insularity, aggression and fear of neighbours would be broken down. The role of the Christian Missions, to be discussed in the next chapter, was another powerful agent in the re-ordering of people's attitudes. Lutheran evangelists had begun to move into the Goroka Valley in 1934, and although their impact was not yet sufficient "to get very much actual influence among such a large population",<sup>(87)</sup> useful contacts were being made. And when the peaceful means of the containment of violence failed, there was always the final resort of meeting violence with violence. Although the Goroka Valley people had not had a large experience of the power of the .303 rifle, there were sufficient cries and whispers from without to tell them that inside the white man's smoothly polished quiver was a very sharp arrow indeed.

87 John Black, patrol report, 7 December 1934.

### CHAPTER 3

#### 'KIAP, MY RIFLE IS ABOVE'

Missionary Advance Into The Goroka Valley, 1935 - 1936

"Buko told us: 'I'm not bringing in wars or fights to you .... I'm bringing in a better way - the good news.'" (Mrs Tata Urakume)

Father William Ross, the American Divine Word missionary who pioneered the Roman Catholic faith in the Mount Hagen region of the Western Highlands of New Guinea, is reported to have once escorted a Sacred Heart missionary from the coast on a tour of his parish. As they passed through a group of particularly fierce-looking highland warriors, the Sacred Heart priest flourished a crucifix in front of them, explaining to Father Ross that in his district he always found the image of Christ effective in subduing restless and unfriendly natives. 'You do, eh?' said the tough little American. 'Over here we show 'em this', pulling a .38 revolver from its holster and brandishing it for all to see.(1)

Not all missionary advance in the Highlands was undertaken in this manner, however. When, in 1935, Pastor Buko Usemo, the Lutheran evangelist from Finschhafen, sat down 'among wild

1 Quoted by Colin Simpson in Plumes and Arrows. 1962. Sydney, p 162.



ones'(2) in the village of Naminamiroka, above the present town of Goroka, he came armed only with a bag of cowrie shells.(3) One day he heard the sound of rifle shots and hurrying down to the level ground now occupied by Goroka Teachers' College, he intervened in a developing skirmish between the local people and an angry and agitated kiap. Noone was more surprised than the kiap to find a pidgin-speaking, coastal New Guinean living peacefully and securely among these wild, only recently-contacted Highlanders. "But where is your rifle?" he demanded of Buko. "Kiap, my rifle is above", replied the evangelist, pointing heavenwards. A touching story of simple, christian faith it might be said. And undoubtedly Buko's splendid courage and self-confidence did much to allay the uneasiness and suspicion with which newcomers were generally regarded by xenophobic Highland communities. But to understand the early success of Buko and indeed of the Lutheran missionaries generally in the Eastern Highlands, it is necessary to reflect on the newly-arrived evangelist's bag of cowrie shells.

It is now apparent to students of Melanesian religion that adherents to animist or primal beliefs and practices see a very close connection, indeed an indissoluble link, between the

2 Title of Leonhard Flierl's Unter Wilden, Neuendettelsau, 1932, which an old German missionary translated for me as 'Among Wild Vuns'.

3 From interviews with Pastor Buko Usemo at Goroka, July-August, 1974. Tapes and notes of interviews in my possession.

spiritual dimension and material wealth and well-being.(4) Pastor Buko, so richly endowed with his bag of kumukumu and girigiri cowrie shells, was received both as millionaire and powerful religious figure. To the Goroka people, the source of Buko's fabulous wealth was obviously religious - Buko had a relationship with the creator and ancestor spirits far more powerful and effective than anything known to the Goroka 'big' men and sorcerers. He was also the recognised agent of the 'goroha've' or red men, who were themselves on first contact believed to be the spirits of dead ancestors or perhaps the creator spirits themselves. Two 'goroha've' had brought Buko and his bag of shells to the Goroka people, and had left him there with the promise that they would return with more wealth in due course. The people reasoned that by welcoming the stranger into their midst the secret of the ultimate source of this wealth would be revealed.(5)

The two Europeans who accompanied Buko Usemo to Goroka in January 1935 were the German Neuendettelsau Lutheran missionaries Johannes Flierl (Jr.) and Georg Hofmann. This was by no means

4 Hermann Janssen, "Mid-Course Correction", Catalyst, Vol 1, No 1, March 1971, pp 9 - 11; Alfred Koschade. New Branches on the Vine. 1967. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, pp 114 - 138; Peter Lawrence and Mervyn Meggitt (Eds). 1965. Gods, Ghosts & Men in Melanesia. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, pp 12-25; Peter Lawrence. 1964. Road Belong Cargo. Manchester: The University Press. See further comment on this subject, Ch 6.

5 From interviews with Goroka people, including members of the Masilakaizuha clan, who received Buko into their community in January 1935. Information from these interviews is used throughout the chapter. Tapes and notes in author's possession.

the first Lutheran contact with the Goroka Valley, for as early as 1930, not long after the gold prospectors Leahy and Dwyer made the first contacts, missionaries Willi Bergmann and Willi Flierl [brother of Johannes Flierl (Jr)] reached the Bena River. In December 1932, Bergmann returned to the Bena area with American missionaries J Mager and E Hanne mann, and in August 1933, Bergmann and his coastal assistants toured all the "helper station" east of Rabana, and then travelled further west into the Goroka Valley to establish a station at Sigoiya, not far from the Bena airstrip. Very little documentation of this Lutheran advance into the Goroka Valley is available.(6) In his Vierzig Jahre in NeuGuinea memoir Bergmann deals with this journey in one paragraph, simply reporting that he was able to plan ("anlegen") a new station at Sigoiya.(7) According to Hans Flierl (Johannes Flierl Jr), the evangelist in charge at Sigoiya was Sigajong,(8) but Buko claims that he also was there in 1934, during which time he learnt the Bena language. Prior to his move to Sigoiya, Buko was stationed at Rabana. Bergmann noted that in October 1933,

6 Details of these journeys obtained from the Rev Willi Bergmann, of Mutdapilly, Queensland, in personal interviews at Mutdapilly and at Goroka, PNG, and from his unpublished memoir, Vierzig Jahre in NeuGuinea (Forty Years in New Guinea) a copy of which is held by Lutheran Archives, Ampo, via Lae, PNG.

7 'Anlegen' is better translated in this context as 'establish' or 'lay out', meaning that the station was begun at this time, rather than being planned for a future occasion. See Bergmann Vierzig Jahre, Vol III, p 232.

8 Johannes ('Hans') Flierl, personal communication, 28 July 1973.

Buko's wife was sick there [complaining of "pains in the region of her ribs"(9)] and it is therefore logical that he would be part of an advance to an adjacent unevangelised language group. His wife recovered from her illness, but she remained at Rabana while Buko did his pioneering work in the Bena and Goroka areas.

Buko says little about his time at Sigoiya, as it represents only a brief interlude in his preparation for the major part of his life's work in Goroka. He had come to the Highlands from Finschhafen with Willi Bergmann in late 1930 on completing three years at the Lutheran 'Middle School' at Wareo. After assisting in the establishment of the first Highlands mission station at Kambaidam in 1931, he worked at Raipinka, near Kainantu, in 1932, assisting Administration officers build the first airstrip at Lapumpa. In 1933 he was put in charge at Wainofira and Kevanifura, two small helper stations in the Henganofi area, among people similar to those at Finintegu, and here he improved his understanding of the Kafe language. It is not clear whether he supervised these places from Rabana, or lived for a time at each station. However by the time he went to Sigoiya in April 1934, he had gained almost four years missionary experience among recently contacted Highland peoples and had mastered at least one major Eastern Highlands language, Kafe. He claims to have learnt the Bena language within a few months of his arrival at Sigoiya,

9 Bergmann, op cit, p 205.

and to have picked up enough of the Goroka language (Gahuku-Gama) to be able to converse with the people there after residing for only three weeks with them. The key to Buko's linguistic success is that structurally the Eastern Highlands languages are similar not only to each other but to his own native language Kâte (pronounced "Kotte") and to master each new language it was simply a matter of learning a new vocabulary, the grammar already being understood.(10)

The ten months spent by Buko at Sigoiya could nevertheless have been only a settling-in period, for he makes no claim to any spectacular or even notable evangelistic progress. John Black, reporting on the mission situation in December 1934, noted that although the evangelists had established very friendly relations with the people around all the helper stations, "they have not been long enough in the area to get very much actual influence among a large population."(11) At that time, according to Black, there were Upper Purari Lutheran mission stations to which evangelists were posted, at "Tebenofera, Wai-anofera, Lehona,

10 Willi Bergmann, interview at Mutdapilly, 23 February 1976. See also A Capell, "Distribution of Languages in the Central Highlands, New Guinea", Oceania, December 1948, Vol XIX, No 2: "The Benabena languages ... fall definitely into line with the Kâte Group in the Huon Peninsula, not in the vocabulary but in type of morphology. Nearly every grammatical form in Kâte can be paralleled in these languages - and additions made." (pp 119-120)

11 John Black, "Progress and Patrol Report of activities in the Purari area", (B.16/34-35), Finintegu, 7 December 1934.

Rabana, Sigoiya (and) Runkanyetyabenga."(12)

Although the four sources of information on Sigoiya quoted above allow only a sketchy account of the establishment of this mission station in 1934, its presence was important as an introduction to the intensive missionary activity which followed in 1935 and 1936. For the first time outsiders were residing in the Valley on a permanent basis. Until April 1934 all contact with newcomers had been temporary, with a succession of gold miners, patrol officers, missionaries and their respective coastal New Guinean labourers, carriers, police and evangelists passing through the Valley, but now representatives of the outside world had come to live permanently among the people.

#### THE NEUENDETTELSAU LUTHERAN MISSION IN NEW GUINEA

Although a detailed analysis of missionary activity at Sigoiya cannot be attempted, because of the lack of documentation, it is possible to examine the effects of Buko's presence in Goroka, from the time he went there in January 1935, using the oral reminiscences of the evangelist and the people he lived with, and the later Asaroka station reports written by missionary Georg Hofmann. However, before focussing attention on the Goroka experience, it is necessary to look generally at the Neuendettelsau Lutheran Mission in New Guinea, its mission strategy and the personalities and thinking behind this strategy.

12 ibid As Black does not mention Kevanifura, it can be assumed that it was worked from Wainoferera (Black's Wai-anoferera).

Hans Flierl was born at Sattelberg, New Guinea in 1895, a son of Johannes Flierl Snr, the founder of the Neuendettelsau Mission in New Guinea. Hofmann was the son of a carpenter and was born at Ekershoff, Germany in 1909.(13) The Neuendettelsau Seminary in Bavaria, founded by the outstanding preacher, writer and lecturer Johann Lohe (1808 - 72), grew out of Lohe's interest in the German Lutheran renewal movement of the 1840s. He began training pastors to work among the thousands of Lutheran emigrants who were settling in North America, Australia and Brazil. From this outreach to Germans living overseas, the Neuendettelsau Foreign Missionary Society became interested in the conversion of the heathen, and in due course New Guinea became its largest field of activity. Lohe's Neuendettelsau Seminary trained the missionaries for their work among non Christians, just as it had prepared pastors for their mission to overseas German Lutherans.

Lohe imbued his students with a distinctive character, which Harrison has summarised as "confessional, pietistic and

13 Brian Harrison, in his MA thesis, "Christ and Culture in Northeast New Guinea - Social and Educational Policies and Attitudes of Lutheran Missionaries in New Guinea: 1886 - 1942" (University of Papua New Guinea, 1975), provides a useful background to the pre-World War 2 Neuendettelsau missionaries. 75% were Bavarians, most came from a lower middle class background, and although a full University education was not required, the Neuendettelsau Seminary maintained a high academic standard. The missionaries were politically right wing by British, American and Australian standards and "'order', 'discipline' and 'authority' (Zucht, Ordnung and so on) were values dear to their hearts, and are mentioned frequently in their writings." (p 27)

liturgical."(14) This mixture of characteristics sets the Neuendettelsau Mission apart from other Protestant mission groups in Papua New Guinea. For example, the London Missionary Society, although it was at least in its 19th century phase distinctly pietistic, was neither confessional nor liturgical. The Methodists were confessional, to some extent, and if anything more pietistic than the LMS missionaries, but again not in any real sense liturgical. The Anglicans, insofar as they can be classified as a Protestant mission, were confessional (stressing the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds) and liturgical, but not notably pietistic. The combination of these three traits in the one mission body may account for the Lutherans' strong evangelistic motivation, matched only by the Roman Catholics, and may be measured in terms of rapid territorial expansion. However, the growth of these two missions should also be seen as a result of strong financial support from their parent churches in Europe and North America, the kind of support which did not flow as freely to missions with Australian or British connections.(15)

14 Harrison, op cit, p 20.

15 See statistics on mission staff in the Annual Reports to the Council of the League of Nations. For example, in the 1934 - 1935 Report the Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost (Divine Word), Central New Guinea, had 26 ordained clergy, 59 European lay workers and 158 native workers. These staff members were employed in the Madang, Sepik and Highland areas. There were 30 Divine Word priests working in 'Eastern New Guinea', and 63 Sacred Heart priests in the New Guinea Islands. The Lutheran Mission, Finschhafen (Neuendettelsau) statistics were, ordained clergy 48, lay workers 33 and native workers 746. They were active in the Morobe and eastern Highlands areas. The Lutheran Mission, Madang, had 14 ordained clergy, 13 lay workers and 228



The Neuendettelsau Lutherans were also different from other Protestant missionaries in the type of preparation they received for their work in New Guinea. In addition to the usual theological training common to all ordained clergy, they were required to study a fairly intensive course of anthropology at Neuendettelsau taught by retired missionaries such as Christian Keysser, after his return from New Guinea in 1920; and a year's linguistic studies at Hamburg University, where three New Guinea languages, Kotte, Yabem and Graged, were offered by linguists who had been in New Guinea during the German colonial period. Consequently, a newly-appointed Lutheran missionary came to New Guinea somewhat better prepared in his understanding of New Guinea culture and language than recruits to other missions.(16)

native workers. By contrast, the Australian and New Zealand Methodists, working in the New Guinea Islands, could only muster between them 12 ordained clergy, 14 lay workers and 512 native workers. The Melanesian Mission (Anglican) had 2 ordained clergy, 3 lay workers and 6 native workers; the Seventh Day Adventist figures were 3, 10 and 61. To make the point more succinctly, the Lutherans and Catholics in New Guinea had between them 207 ordained clergy (including 23 Marists and 3 Liebenzell (Lutheran) clergy not mentioned above) while the Methodists, Anglicans and SDAs had a combined total of only 17. (From Table on p 95.)

16 See Mary Mennis's description of Father William Ross's preparation for missionary service in New Guinea in her biography of Father Ross, Hagen Saga, 1982. Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, chapters 1 and 2. He "tried to find out all he could about New Guinea before he left America" (p 13) but there were no courses in linguistics or anthropology for him to attend. The LMS missionary Bert Brown did somewhat better than Father Ross before he went to Papua in the late 1930s. By dint of his own efforts, and against the 'better' advice of his mission board, he attended lectures in anthropology given by Malinowski at London University. (Personal communication from the Rev Dr Bert Brown, formerly of Moru, Gulf Province.) But

## THE KEYSER METHOD

Christian Keysser, who played such an important part in the Neuendettelsau Seminary preparation of missionaries for New Guinea after 1920, is a key figure in the development of the Mission's policy of evangelisation and church growth in the period between the two World Wars. The strategy so much bears the hallmark of Keysser's thinking that it is known as 'the Keysser Method'. Although arising to some extent out of his Lutheran background, it was very much fashioned by his encounter with New Guinea culture, which he experienced first hand as a missionary at Sattelberg during the years 1899 to 1920. Searching for a cause of the painfully slow growth in numbers of baptised converts, he concluded that the Neuendettelsau Mission had been too preoccupied with the task of creating New Guinean Lutherans rather than New Guinean Christians - in other words, the missionaries were trying to produce converts identical with themselves, versed in every point of Lutheran doctrine, and drilled in every aspect of Lutheran practice, with no reference at all to New Guinean cultural beliefs and structures, and how these might be transformed into a distinctly New Guinean Christianity.(17) Brian Harrison describes this shift in Keysser's thinking as a movement away from Luther's doctrine of the 'Two Kingdoms', that is, Christ's kingdom made up of true

Bert Brown's experience was very unusual. Alan Healey, op cit, comments on p 156: "It is well-known that until the 1930s the LMS had a thorough contempt for native custom."

17 Harrison, op cit, pp 152 - 153.

believers and the kingdom of this world composed of all unbelievers, towards Calvin's idea of "Christ the Transformer of Culture", which believes in the possibility of a society "permeated and renewed by the principles of the Christian gospel".(18) Harrison argues that while still applying Luther's doctrine of the 'Two Kingdoms' in their attitudes toward other Europeans in New Guinea, the missionaries appear to have embraced a more Calvinistic approach to New Guinean society, believing that it could be preserved and purified until it became a christianised indigenous community. To quote Harrison: "The traditional New Guinean village society and its Volkstum was to be preserved as much as possible, whilst being transformed and renewed inwardly by the power of the Christian gospel.(19)

Keysser's ideas were taken up enthusiastically by Karl Steck, the mission inspector from Neuendettelsau who, while making a very thorough inspection of the New Guinea mission in 1914, was able to compare Keysser's successful work at Sattelberg, with the slower progress being made by the missionaries in other circuits. Steck's conclusions "fell like a bombshell" among the missionaries gathered for their annual conference early in 1915, and there was initially strong resistance, particularly from

18 ibid, pp 223 - 224. It should be noted that Harrison also sees St Augustine and to some extent John Wesley as being part of this 'Transforming' school.

19 ibid, p 151. 'Volkstum' is best translated into English as 'of the people'.

older men like the mission's founder, Senior Flierl. But gradually the critics were won over (although Flierl never really overcame his resentment of Keysser, expressed in the late 1920s by his opposition to the appointment of new missionaries trained by Keysser at Neuendettelsau.(20) Inspector Steck's voice was a powerful one both in New Guinea and Germany, ensuring the eventual acceptance of the 'Keysser Method' by the Neuendettelsau Mission.

In 1929, Keysser published a book outlining his methods of evangelisation and the building up of congregations, under the title "Eine Papuagemeinde".(21) His principles are summarised by Harrison as follows:

"The gospel should be indigenised, not its recipients 'westernised'. It should be presented concretely, not abstractly, in the form of simple Bible stories which could be easily grasped by the people, and be presented in slow and easy stages, beginning with the creation story in Genesis. But, most important here, the creation story should be closely related to Papuan religion, which is itself "so deeply bound up with the realm of nature".(22)

20 See Harrison, op cit, p 154 and James Boutilier et al (Eds).<sup>1775</sup> Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania.<sup>P.42</sup> Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

21 Christian Keysser. 1929. Eine Papuagemeinde. Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag. Revised 1950. English translation with commentary by Alfred Allin and John Kuder. 1980. A People Reborn. Pasadena: William Carey Library.

22 Georg Filhofer, quoted by Harrison, op cit, p 156.

Missionaries should maintain a strong respect for New Guinea culture, particularly its social structure based on the integrity and cohesiveness of the local community. The German concept of 'Volk' was very important in Keysser's attitude to New Guineans. He shared with most Germans of his era the notion that each 'Volk' or people "has its own innate or God-given characteristics and destiny (the 'Volkstum')"(23) which in the case of New Guineans was manifest in their sense of community. Far be it for the missionary to attempt to destroy the essence of New Guinean culture, which was a gift to the people of New Guinea from God himself. Consequently conversion to Christianity was to be brought about on a communal, rather than an individual basis. Baptisms must wait until the whole tribe, or village community, was ready. This did not mean that every adult member of a village must accept baptism at the same time, but that everyone would consent to the baptism of those individuals who asked for it. While communities remained divided, while there was opposition to members becoming Christians, no baptisms would be held, and no congregations would be formed. By observing this rule the Lutheran missionaries believed that they were preserving New Guinea culture, not destroying it.

The charge could be made that the Lutherans were not sincere in their claim to respect indigenous culture, as evidenced by their

23 Harrison, op cit, p 36.

negative attitude to polygamy and to traditional dancing. Keysser would have replied that such customs were incompatible with true religion, and were not essential parts of the culture, but rather an overlay acquired by centuries of heathenism, which prevented the flowering of New Guinea society into its God-given destiny (my words, not Keyssers). The strand of pietism in the Neuendettelsau ethos may have influenced the attitude to dancing, although it was not so much that the missionaries were anti-pleasure (they enjoyed in moderation the comforts derived from alcohol and tobacco, for example) as their abhorrence of sexual excess and violence, which they believed were the inevitable products of traditional dancing.

As Harrison points out, the Lutheran separation of the innate, God-given characteristics of New Guinea culture from the "inadequate and inessential" customs, was anathema to Malinowski and the structural anthropologists who saw every part of the culture "contributing vitally to the effective functioning of the whole".(24) This fundamental disagreement between anthropologists and missionaries has never been resolved, and is a debate which has become largely irrelevant today, anyway, in the post-independent nation state of Papua New Guinea. Both Malinowski's dream of the preservation of the whole of traditional society, and the Lutherans' attempt to "revive the

24 ibid, p 236.

authority of the clan, widening it, broadening it, purifying it, until it becomes the authority of the congregation", (25) have been swept away by the 'Westernizing' influences of commerce, technology and secular government, which missionary and anthropologist alike resisted so strongly.

To return to Keysser and his 'Method', Christianity, rather than uprooting and destroying New Guinea culture was "to fulfil and perfect what was fundamental, distinctive, and irreplaceable in the indigencous character, and the traditional social mores which expressed it." (26) Hence the importance of the village Christian congregation. Because it had become an integral part of the community, having been accepted by village consensus decision, it gave expression to that community's essential character. For Keysser this meant that the congregation should have autonomy in running its own affairs and be responsible for further evangelism. Thus evangelists such as Buko Usemo, although a worker belonging to the whole Mission, was very much the personal representative of an individual congregation. The local community also supported its own teacher. It should be noted in passing that teachers and evangelists were not ordained clergy in the sense that they could administer the sacrament. (27)

25 Paul Fliehler, quoted by Harrison, op cit, p 237.

26 idem

27 C W Forman, "Missions in Papua New Guinea", in Torben Christensen and William Hutchison, Eds. 1982. Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era. <sup>Struik, Denmark</sup> Aros, p 27.

Congregations were expected to deal with local matters of faith and discipline with the district missionary keeping in the background except when called upon to intervene. Harrison points out that this Lutheran emphasis on the responsibility of the local congregation for its own life and outreach differed markedly from the practice of other Protestant missions such as the LMS and the Methodists, who used pastors from other Pacific (largely Polynesian) islands to oversee local congregations. Using statistics from Frerichs (28) he demonstrates the phenomenal growth of baptised Lutherans from a few hundred in 1914 to around 60,000 in 1940, implying that Missions which did not follow the 'Keysser Method' grew much more slowly.

Education with a strong religious emphasis had always been part of the Neuendettelsau charter in New Guinea, whether in the rather isolated station schools run by district missionaries, or in the centralised teacher-education institutions which began training teachers for village schools and 'helpers' or evangelists for religious work among local congregations. With the general acceptance of the 'Keysser Method' after World War 1 the training institutions took on a new and more urgent role, for with each new congregation accepting responsibility for its school and its evangelistic outreach, young men, urged on by their village elders, began to come for training in increasing numbers. As many of these students were to become the vanguard

28 A C Frerichs. 1957. Anutu Conquers in New Guinea. Columbus, Ohio: Wartburg Press, pp 51, 65.



of the Lutheran advance into inland New Guinea, it was essential that they should be trained as practitioners of the 'Keysser Method'. It will be seen later how Buko's evangelistic strategy in the Goroka area fitted this overall 'Method'.

Because of historical as well as geographical circumstances, the Neuendettelsau Mission had adopted two New Guinea languages as its lingua francas for church growth. The Austronesian language Yabem (or Jabim), spoken by coastal people living on the shores of Huon Gulf, and the Papuan language Kotte, spoken by inland mountain people around Sattelberg, were chosen partly because they belonged to people who had been among those earliest contacted by the first missionaries, and partly because they represented the two distinct language families of New Guinea. It was reasoned that by adopting both languages the Mission would be equipped to work in any part of New Guinea, using Yabem-speaking helpers in Austronesian areas and Kotte-speaking helpers in Papuan areas (Papuan in the language sense, not in the geographical one). Underlying this was the assumption that the evangelists could easily learn the languages of their own language family, and the people of the language family could easily learn the related lingua franca, Yabem or Kotte, whichever was the case. As already stated this was true for Buko Usemo and perhaps to a lesser extent true for the Goroka people, some of whom learnt (and still speak) Kotte. However it should be noted that today many Goroka people also speak English fluently, and a vastly greater number speak Pidgin, so any superior claims for

Kotte as a language to be learnt easily are difficult to sustain.

Quite early in the Lutheran penetration of the Eastern Highlands, possibly when Leonhard Flierl made his initial probe into the Dunantina from Lihona in 1926, it was realised that linguistically this was a Papuan area, and that Kotte-speaking evangelists would adapt best to working with these people. As far as is known Buko and all his evangelist colleagues were Kotte-speakers, and it is thus useful to look briefly at their training in the Kotte institutions, rather than give any attention here to the Yabem seminaries.

The principal Kotte training programme was established by Georg Pilhofer in 1910, and after some early changes in location it was placed permanently at Heldsbach, where Pilhofer continued to be in charge until 1930. Pilhofer was both a scholar and an outdoors man. To broaden his understanding of the New Guinea peoples and cultures he successfully undertook some extremely dangerous, pioneering missionary trips into the wild country between the Waria and the Markham in 1913, and into the hardly-contacted Highlands in 1929 and 1933. On the latter trip he visited the Goroka Valley and the rugged country west towards Mt Eimbari and south to Mt Michael. Harrison states that by 1930, 217 students had graduated from Heldsbach under Pilhofer's tutelage, the majority probably becoming teachers, rather than evangelists, because "evangelists did not need a particularly high level of education, as Christian character and maturity were considered of greater importance. Many of them, in fact, were

barely literate."(29)

This brings attention to the next rung down on the Kotte educational ladder, the Wareo 'middle school' situated several miles north of Sattelberg, where Buko Usemo was trained. The 'middle school' idea resulted from the need to provide training for enthusiastic young men who failed the seminary entrance exam, but whose keenness and dedication marked them as potentially valuable church workers. The middle school course gave the students the opportunity to raise their educational level so that they could enter the teacher training institution, or graduate directly as evangelists. Buko and a group of fellow students took the latter path when Pilhofer and Willi Bergmann visited the Wareo school after their 1929 inland journey, appealing for helpers to accompany Bergmann back into the Highlands to establish the first permanent mission station there.

Harrison gives a useful table of the subjects taught in the middle schools in 1934, by which time students were following a four year course. (Buko spent three years at Wareo from about 1928 to 1930. He recalled in 1974 that most of his colleagues stayed on for the fourth year but he was allowed to leave early because he was needed urgently by Bergmann.) The more strictly theological training was postponed until the fifth and sixth

29 Harrison, op cit., p 174.

years at teacher training Seminary, the middle school confining itself to teaching Bible History and one year of church history. However the secular subjects, listed as Calligraphy, Orthography, Composition, Reading, Arithmetic, Local History, Geography, Nature Study, Hygiene, Drawing, Gymnastics and Games, Music and Singing, were all given a strong emphasis. Native Language and Pidgin were also taught. (Senior Flierl, who was strongly opposed to Pidgin - "a corrupt language, quite unsuitable for the teaching and preaching of God's holy word"(30) - had retired from the field in 1930, so presumably Pidgin was accepted more readily, at least by the educational missionaries.) Harrison quotes some illuminating examples of Pilhofer's attitude to education, ideas which would probably have been shared by his colleague Leonhard Wagner at Wareo. Explaining that he did not label subjects religious or secular, but taught everything 'in the light of the gospel and ... in relation to it', because within Papuan life there was no separation of religious and secular, he underlined Keysser's principle that the cultural forms should be respected. He also taught with regard to the needs of his students, considering the church work in which they would be engaged:

"As far as the specific educational aim is concerned, I was mainly trying to train responsible character in the students. I did not teach any subject matter of which I knew that it would be

30 Johannes Flierl, Snr. 1932. Christ in New Guinea. Tanunda, South Australia: Auricht's Printing Office, p 122.

above them, and which could not be digested by them. In the course of the years I have rather shortened the subject matter than extended it. Rather less, and that digested properly has always been my principle.

I did not want to overburden the pupils. We don't work for excellent examination results, but try to train reliable characters. Our helpers don't need to become European know-alls with brown skins .... The teachers should not go out and feel way above the other people, but should take their place in community and congregational life."(31)

If that was true for the teachers trained at Heldsbach, it was even more true of evangelists who attended the middle schools, and were intended for rugged pioneering work in new areas, where qualities of personality and character, rather than academic excellence, were the criteria for success. Consequently one should not read too much into the 1934 middle school curriculum outlined above, and any claim for an academic emphasis should be tempered by a consideration of Pilhofer's determination not to produce 'European know-alls with brown skins'.

With the establishment of a missionary presence in the Highlands, and the setting up of mission stations first at Kambaidam in 1931, and then further west at Onerunka, near Kainantu, in 1933, the question of education provided by the mission had to be faced. As at this stage there were no baptised congregations able to establish and support village schools, it was necessary

31 Georg Pilhofer, 1935, quoted by Harrison, op cit, p 183.

to establish a station school under the direct supervision of the European missionary. One critic of Lutheran practice in the Highlands, Robin Smith,(32) argues that by taking boys out of villages to attend the station school, the missionaries were going against the 'Keysser Method'. He claims that these boys were converted to Christianity, irrespective of the wishes of the village or clan, and implies that baptism followed conversion. Although it is true that some of these boys accepted Christianity as a result of their mission school experience, there is no evidence that any of them were baptised out of the home village context. In the Goroka Valley no baptisms of anyone took place until after World War 2. Boys who attended the school at Onerunka in the 1930s had to wait until 1950 before they could be baptised along with other members of their clan. Smith is unnecessarily critical of the Neuendettelsau missionaries on two counts. First, he does not consider the difficulties placed on the Mission by the Government restrictions of 1935 - 1936. The Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance was strengthened at this time, first to prohibit the movement of evangelists into new areas and then to demand their total withdrawal to the headstation from the villages they already occupied. These restrictions struck at the very heart of the Keysser Method, because without the presence in local communities of full-time mission workers, evangelism could

32 R M Smith, "Christ, Keysser and Culture - Lutheran Evangelistic Policy and Practice in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea", Canberra Anthropology, Vol 2, No 1, 1979.

only be undertaken spasmodically, when the missionary was able to make a pastoral visit. This delayed the formation of local congregations and the setting up of village schools indefinitely, and the missionaries were forced to enhance the role and function of the station school as one of the few remaining means of evangelism. However the central school was seen as a stop-gap measure, and the objective was always to prepare the students for their return to their local community, with as much knowledge of Bible stories and training in Christian character and leadership as could be usefully passed on to their fellow villagers. They became as far as was possible, given the limited scope of their schooling, substitute evangelists. Thus the station school was part of the Keysser system, not an institution in contradiction to it.

The second area in which Smith is critical of the Lutherans is in their crude attacks on traditional religion, an iconoclasm which was inconsistent with the Keysser Method. It is true that in the early 1950s, when large numbers of Goroka Valley people were baptised by the Lutherans, there was a very heavy-handed attempt by the missionary in charge to destroy the local "nama" or bamboo flute cult. Smith documents this action by the missionary, Ralph Goldhardt, and cites reports by patrol officers and by Goldhardt himself of the local hostility which was thereby engendered.(33)

33 ibid, pp 85 - 86.

But in demonstrating how this and similar activities of the post-War Lutheran missionaries contradicted the Keysser policy of respect for traditional culture, he overlooks the fact that his examples are drawn from the 1950s and not the 1930s, and that in the case of Goldhardt, at least, it was not a Neuendettelsau missionary, but an inexperienced young missionary from the United States, who ignored the Keysser Method. Goldhardt was a convert to Christianity from the Jewish faith, and pursued his evangelistic calling with more zeal than wisdom. Lacking the anthropological and linguistic training of the German missionaries who operated in the Eastern Highlands during the inter-wars period, and coming from a background which failed to appreciate the sensitivity towards New Guinean culture stressed by Keysser, or the gradualist approach which was an essential part of Keysser's method of evangelism, Goldhardt and his American colleagues pointed the Lutheran Mission in a different direction than that followed by their Neuendettelsau predecessors. Brash American opportunism replaced cautious German pragmatism in the Goroka Valley in the postwar era. No Neuendettelsau missionaries returned to New Guinea from Germany until 1951,(34) and those interned in Australia arrived back in the late 1940s to find Americans in charge of most stations.

Admittedly it is not possible to know for certain how the 'Keysser' missionary Georg Hofmann would have acted had he been

34 Frerichs, op cit, p 88.



allowed to continue his work at Asaroka after the War, faced with the pressing demands for baptism made by hundreds of converts so long denied the anticipated benefits of church membership. Some sort of showdown with primal religion would have been inevitable, but under the Keysser Method this would have been undertaken by the local converts themselves, in a decision reached by consensus, not imposed on the village or clan by an over-zealous missionary.

#### INTRODUCTION OF THE KEYSSEER METHOD TO THE GOROKA VALLEY

The introduction of Christianity to the Goroka Valley in the 1930s provides a definitive example of the application of the Keysser Method in a Highlands setting. As already mentioned, Government restrictions on mission activities from 1936 necessitated an adaptation to changed circumstances, but the basic thrust of the policy continued. An account of the early stage of implementation, before the forced withdrawal of the evangelists required a different approach, forms the concluding section of this chapter.

The small missionary party consisting of Hans Flierl, Georg Hofmann and several evangelists, whom Flierl later characteristically described as 'co-workers' rather than 'helpers', entered the Goroka Valley early in January 1935.(35)

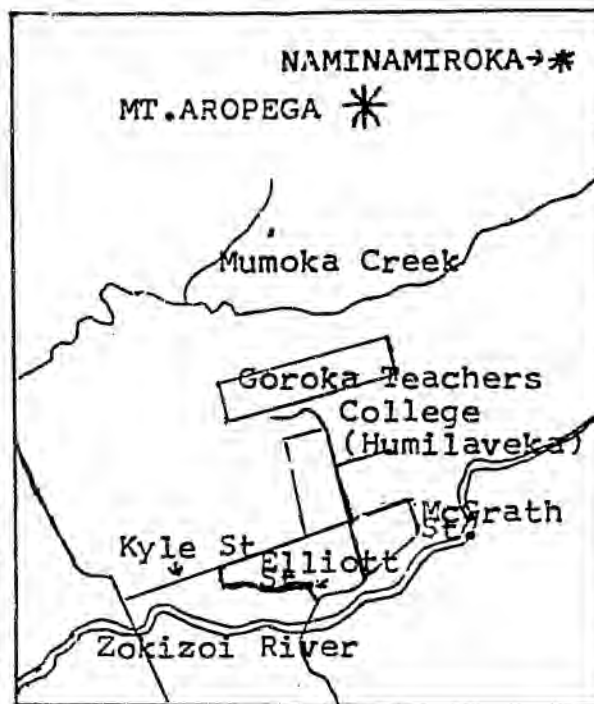
35 Hans Flierl, personal communication, 28 July 1973.

After a brief stay at Sigoiya, which by this time was "well manned, because from there the upper Bena area should soon be occupied and a forward movement into the large Asaro area should also be realized", they moved on towards Goroka. Buko had joined them at Sigoiya, being the one chosen to pioneer the work in the Goroka area. His colleague Eso'nuwe', whom Flierl regarded as another "experienced co-worker" and "leading evangelist", was selected to open another station further up the Asaro River branch of the Goroka valley at Asaroka. Each man was to have two or three less experienced helpers to support them. It is significant that these young assistants are not included in Buko's account of his pioneering work nor in the reminiscences of the Goroka people, and if it were not for Hans Flierl's brief acknowledgement of their presence, one would be led to believe that Buko and Eso'nuwe' performed their courageous pioneering work unaided. It can only be concluded that these assistants assumed a very low profile in this early contact missionary experience, and that it was the task of the "leading evangelists" to take all the initiatives with the local people. However, Eso'nuwe' did recall in 1973 that Buko had with him a young assistant from Kalasa called Bataningmu and Buko himself mentions that when he was at Asaroka in 1937 he faced hostile warriors, supported only by his companion from Kalasa. This could imply that they had had a previous working relationship. Hans Flierl was relying on his memory for his information about the evangelists, for as he explained in his 1973 correspondence: "I left it to Georg Hofmann to make all necessary records of our

experiences and findings .... as he anyhow was to become the caretaker and manager of the work in this promising area. I myself had more than sufficient tasks, problems and duties to record in the Kainantu-Henganofi and adjacent areas." He further suggested that in the turbulent events of 1939 Hofmann's "handwritings and reports" may have been lost or destroyed, and consequently no detailed account of their January 1935 Asaro trip is available.(36)

In spite of the loss of records, Hans Flierl was able to provide a brief outline of their progress through the Valley: "From Sigoiya we marched on to Naminamiroka, right in back of the present town of Goroka, where we were met in quite a friendly manner by the large village group. With the consent of the locals we opened this ... station. Buko was stationed there as the leading evangelist. The names of his co-workers on the station I do not know any more. Passing on we went as far as the Asaro village group, where we stationed Eso'nuwe' with three additional evangelists on the edge of the grass-plain north of the river, close to the village group. This site lying very much in the centre of the whole Asaro-Gafuga area we considered would be the most efficient site for the future central mission station for the surrounding area."

36 In March 1935 Flierl made a follow-up journey to the head of the Asaro Valley without Hofmann, who was doing language study at Sattelberg. Flierl made notes of this journey, which he still retained in 1973. He provided me with a resume of this trip, which is described later in the chapter.



Georg Hofmann's photos of Naminamiroka people. The tall man in the top photo is Vilovilo (see p. 119). Map shows Naminamiroka in relation to present-day Goroka.



Naminamiroka was the main village site of the Masilakai'zuha (Masilakaiyufa) clan, and in common with most pre-contact settlements was perched on the top of a steep and prominent peak, which provided security from enemy attack (see map). Access was by narrow mountain tracks which snaked across the ridges which form the foothills of Mt Otto and the Bismarck Range. A thousand feet below Naminamiroka lies the dissected alluvial fan on which present day Goroka is situated. The isolated Naminamiroka site strikes the observer as a curious place on which to establish a mission station, until it is remembered that it was on the hilltops and mountain ridges that the bulk of Goroka's population lived. Today Naminamiroka is a deserted site, most of the people having moved down to the Masilakai'zuha hamlets on comparatively level ground not far from the Highlands Highway. Patrols in the mid 1930s, however, whether by government officers or missionaries, tended to follow the high ridges along the tracks which went from one mountain village stockade to the next. By 1935 there was a fairly wellworn track used by patrol officers, which traversed the ridges from Sigoiya, right around the Bismarck foothills to Goroka,(37) and it can be assumed that the missionaries took this path. Allow'ng for time to stop and talk with each village group along the way, the mission party would have arrived at the foot of the Naminamiroka

37 See Charles Bates, "Report of Patrol Along the Middle Reaches of the Southern Slopes of the Bismarck Ranges, 24 June, 1933". Australian Archives, Canberra.

hill in time to make camp for the night. There does not seem to have been a pre-conceived plan to establish Buko here, rather than at any of the other half dozen or so clan settlements in the immediate vicinity. However, the Masilakai<sup>v</sup> zuha clan does appear at that time to have been in the ascendancy over its neighbours, and it was led by a very powerful 'big man' called Vilovilo, who was widely feared and respected. Vilovilo was obviously quick to recognise the advantages to be gained by having Buko reside with his people. The presence of the evangelist's European sponsors, Flierl and Hofmann, would of course enhance Buko's status enormously in Vilovilo's eyes.

According to Buko there was some initial apprehension shown towards him by the Naminamiroka people, at least until they were satisfied he was truly human like themselves. They solved their dilemma with a neat compromise which enabled them to keep their guest "on the hook" without actually receiving him into their midst. The story is best told by Buko himself:

"The man in the photograph is Vilovilo.(38) He was the big man and the one we first contacted when we made our camp down below. He said that he had been to Sigoiya and had seen me there quite recently. So I said, 'What do you reckon? Should I stay with you or should I go back?' He and his wantok replied, 'We are very happy that you have come, so we will give you a piece of land and we will make a house

38 Hofmann took a photograph of Vilovilo and another leader called Goroha-gipa (red-skinned man).

there for you and you can stay with us'. So they took me up into the bush on top of the mountain next to Naminamiroka. You can see some yar trees there - I planted them. They put me there in the bush, up high, because they weren't certain what I was. Was I a man or was I a devil? They wondered about this so they put me a little distance from them on that second hill top, so they could watch my habits.

Then Vilovilo divided the people into groups and some went and cut house posts and rafters and some collected kunai for the roof, and some cut pit pit for the walls. They were very fast and soon they had gathered all these things and quickly built the house for me. Then some men and all the women went home and only a few men remained for the night with me, just watching to see if I was a man or a devil. If I was a devil they reasoned that I would get up and walk away in the night, but if I was a real man I would sleep. Also if I was a man I would eat food and excrete and urinate. So when I ate food, when I covered myself up in a blanket and slept, and in the morning got up to urinate, they watched all these things and decided I was a real man, a man staying on their land. So they spread the word that a man had come to live with them, and everyone was very pleased. They were not angry with me, neither did they steal from me. They made a good fashion towards me."(39)

The people's own account of the evangelist's reception accords well with Buko's story. An Oka'zuha (Okiufa) clan informant, Sare Tate, who was a boy of about eight years old in 1935, claims that the missionaries were directed to a camp-site close to the Oka'zuha mat-mat (cemetery), apparently on the assumption that if the visitors were spirits or 'devils' they would be in good company among the spirits of the villagers' own dead. The Oka'zuha people were quite happy with the arrangement whereby

39 Buko Usemo, interviewed at Goroka, 7 August 1974.



The German axe blade presented to Mrs Tata Urakume by Pastor Buko Usemo in 1935. Insert shows the German word 'GARANTIE' stamped on the blade, indicating it was imported from Germany by the Lutheran Mission. Photo of Tata by Andrew Collins (1983). Photo of Buko taken at Goroka during his visit in 1974.





Buko went to live close to their neighbours at Naminamiroka. They did not dispute Vilovilo's claim on the newcomer, being content to let him bear the consequences if Buko turned out to be a harmful spirit.(40) Oka'zuha (Okiufa), Asaro'zuha (Asariufa) and Masilakai'zuha (Masilakaiyufa) had traditional kinship ties and were part of a fighting alliance, so there was no fear on the part of Oka'zuha that Vilovilo would use Buko against them.

The Masilakai'zuha people, in recalling Buko's arrival in their midst, stress the friendly relationship which they quickly developed with him. Mrs Tata Urakume, an important woman of Lumapaka, one of the Masilakai'zuha hamlets, has reason to remember him:

"We used to take good care of him up on the mountain, where we all lived in those days. He told us, 'I'm not bringing in wars or fights to you. When kiaps and policemen come they bring in all these things, but I'm bringing in a better way - the good news'. And he was very very generous to us. We received many things from him like shells and axes and beads. I've still got the axe which Buko gave me (see photo opposite). Now when husbands die people come and take all these things away from the house, but Buko gave me that particular axe and I kept it hidden away until after the funeral of my first husband, and when everyone went away I brought it out and started using it again."(41)

40 Sare Tate, interviewed at Oka'zuha hamlet, Aketauka, 31 August 1973.

41 Mrs Tata Urakume, interviewed at Lumapeka, 4 April 1983. Interview translated by her niece, Debbie Koveso, a high school graduate. Peter Lawrence refers in Road Belong Cargo to the

It was unusual for women to receive valuable gifts from the agents of government or mission, such prizes or payments going to the leading men of a clan or village. Buko's gift would mark him out as someone special, an important agent of change in Tata's eyes. In fact all the people regarded him as remarkable, in that he came proclaiming a message of peace which he did not enforce with the weapons of war and he was extremely generous in gifts or payments, sharing his wealth not only with the 'big men', but with ordinary people including women.

One further explanation of the people's readiness to accept Buko is offered by a group of observers who were not connected with Masilakai'zuha or its allies. These were men of the Gama clan, traditional enemies of Masilakai'zuha. Their evidence must be treated with some caution, insofar as their early knowledge of Buko could only have been gained at second hand, either from information given out by the Masilakai'zuha people or from conclusions they reached independently from unverifiable data. However, in an interview with a group of elderly Gama men it was claimed by one of their spokesmen, Herohero Himoni, that "there was a man from Okesana called Degora who had died shortly before Buko arrived, and we thought Buko was him returning from the

American Lutheran missionary in the Madang area, R Hanselmann, who "was extremely popular for his liberality with food and trade goods." (p 89)

dead."(42) Okesana was part of the Masilakai'zuha clan alliance. It is possible that the Masilakai'zuha people deliberately spread this story of Buko being a dead kinsman returned to live among them, to enhance their power over enemies such as Gama, even though they had satisfied themselves that he was a real human being. On the other hand they may have believed in his spirit status as strongly as the Gama people did, but are reluctant to admit today to their mistake. But the fact that they, unlike the Gama people, had watched Buko perform his natural functions, and continued to live in close proximity to him, whereas Gama only saw him when he made occasional visits to their distant hamlets, supports the first explanation. The Masilakai'zuha people were confident that Buko was human but were happy for their enemies to think otherwise.

The Gama people offer another interesting story about the early evangelists which throws some light on the question of Buko's companions. The Gama men claim that before the European missionaries arrived with Buko, a party of evangelists had come across from Sigoiya, unarmed but carrying bags of shells and beads. Because they had no guns, the Gama warriors "regarded them as women" and began to menace them, forcing the visitors to

42 Interview with Gama men, 18 February 1977. Translation by Goroka Teachers College student Argo Aeno, himself a Gama clan member.

take flight. "We chased them right up to Nupaha (in Bena)", they boasted, "And as they ran we pulled their bags away from them. One of our Gomu'zuha (Komiufa) allies Gahale, then composed this song of triumph:

Hasuhasu, Hasuhasu, you feel it, you feel it.  
On the mountain of Nategehatole,  
I capture loads and loads of your belongings.

Makarai, Makarai, you feel it, you feel it.  
On the mountain of Gimizatole  
I seize loads and loads of your belongings."(43)

This story may explain why Flierl and Hofmann made contact with the Oka'zuha and Masilakai'zuha clans rather than with Gama and Gomu'zuha when they first arrived. However, the Gama settlements were some distance from Goroka at that time, situated on dissected alluvial ridges over towards the Asaro River, and the Gomu'zuha people had recently been driven from their lands overlooking Goroka.(44) Although the evangelists' experience would make them want to steer clear of Gama and Gomu'zuha and seek out more friendly people, it must also be remembered that

43 Hasuhasu and Makarai were names for Europeans, for those New Guineans associated with Europeans and for material objects introduced by Europeans. See my MA thesis, "Makarai - A History of Early Contact in the Goroka Valley, 1930 - 1933", pp 73 - 78, for a fuller explanation of the names given to Europeans by Gorokans. The song here should be compared with the lament quoted on p 90 of chapter 2 (of this PhD thesis) which begins with the words, "There, Hasuhasu ..... There Makarai ....."

44 Land Titles Commission Files, Gomiufa, Okiufa and Kaveve Land Dispute (1961). Provincial Office, Goroka.

their erstwhile tormentors did not occupy land through which the mission party travelled, whereas Oka'zuha and Masilakai'zuha did. One further comment to be made on the Gama men's story is that, given the treatment the evangelists had received from one group of Goroka people, they may have been reluctant to take their chance with another group, and consequently could have deserted Buko at the first opportunity. All are agreed that Buko was a man of exceptional courage, and to be left alone without support at Naminamiroka would not have given him undue concern.(45)

Once settled at Naminamiroka Buko was in no hurry to make wholesale and rapid conversions to Christianity. Carefully observing the Keysser principle of attempting to understand the religious beliefs of his hosts Buko, having mastered the Gahuku language, began searching for a Gorokan concept of God, a concept upon which he could build the new gospel structure. He found it in Omasing, the creator spirit who lived beyond the skies and had given gifts to men. One story tells how Omasing created the first man and woman and gave the man a parcel, out of which slithered a snake. Buko naturally seized on this as a God-given opportunity to introduce the Bible creation story of Adam and Eve and the serpent. "That is a really interesting story", he told the people, "And I know it too, but I can add some things to

45 It would be convenient to surmise that Buko's companions were hounded away after they had settled at Naminamiroka, but the Gama men were insistent that this episode occurred before Buko and the European missionaries arrived.

it which you do not know."(46) Thus he built on religious concepts already understood, rather than tearing up the old foundations to create an entirely new belief system.

Half a century after Buko's tentative efforts to introduce Christianity, the traditional understanding of Omasing is all but forgotten, although the name remains, being used interchangeably with the Kotte word Anutu. The story of the snake is still remembered in various forms, although noone can recall Buko linking it to the Adam and Eve creation myth. An Oka'zuha 'big man', Aino, explained with some difficulty: "We sometimes say 'Omasing' to certain things which we used to worship. We believed in the power of certain objects such as stones and we would say, 'Omasing, our god'. And when Buko came he learnt our language and used the word 'Omasing' to explain the idea of God our heavenly father."(47) Mrs Hogotame Gonohauto of Gamuga village (Notohana clan) believes that Omasing sometimes appeared in the form of a bird, perched on a house top, delivering important messages to individuals. She thought Buko may have used this image of the heavenly messenger to explain the concept

46 Buko Usemo, interviewed at Goroka, 31 July 1974. In their introduction to Gods, Ghosts and Men in Melanesia, Lawrence and Meggitt refer to Kenneth Read's findings that the Goroka people only vaguely recognize or expressly deny the existence of creator spirit beings. This conflicts with information obtained from Buko, et al, although it will be seen below, that some confusion about Omasing's nature exists.

47 Aino of Airpos, Oka'zuha, interviewed 12 August 1982. Interpreters: Goroka High School Year 10 students Carlson Akunai, Elisabet Susuge and Maria Baliki.

of the Holy Spirit.(48) Paita Hero of Gehamo (Kefamo) believes Omasing was a protector spirit. He could appear in the form of a bird perhaps to warn that a close relative was in trouble. To members of another clan he would assume a different guise.(49) Other old people interviewed were confused about the precise nature of Omasing, other than that he was some kind of sky person, superior in importance to the spirits of ancestors. All agree that Buko used Omasing as a means of explaining the Christian concept of God. Omasing's apotheosis from primal creator spirit to Christian omnipotent God is now all but complete.

More important to the people than the new theology was Buko's politico-religious message, the word of God through his servant Buko that "tribal fighting must cease", that "people must live together harmoniously, that Masilakai'zuha and Gama, Gehamo and Uheto, Seigu and Asaro'zuha, Noto'hana and Asaro, the traditional enemies, all must lay down their bows and arrows and embrace the way of peace." Not surprisingly it was the women who first responded to this message - for them the promise of an end to incessant warfare was indeed the gospel, the good news of

48 Mrs Hogotame Gonohauto, interviewed at Gamuga, Notohana clan, 1 April 1983. Interpreter Mrs Kana Iyzaho, Secretary, Goroka Teachers College.

49 Paita Hero of Gehamo, interviewed at Goroka, 31 March 1983. Interpreter Mrs Hihio Jasinaha, Secretary, Goroka Local Government Council.

salvation. As Mrs. Hogotame Gonohauto of Gamuge put it: "The evangelists told us that the Gospel would bring peace. That was the good news. We must forget about the tribal fighting and live in peace with each other. That was the good news .... In those times life was terrible for us, especially we women and children. Fighting and all the running about from place to place was bad. It seemed we were never at peace with our neighbours. If there was time before a fight the men would rush in and warn us, and lead us off to a safe place. Women, children and pigs, we all ran away to that safe place." Strong memories indeed for a 72 year old woman who associates the coming of Christianity with the promise of a new way of life, free from the violence and insecurity of war. As already noted, her perception of Christianity is shared by a woman of similar age, Tata Urakume of Masilakai'zuha, who recalls how Buko declared he was bringing in a better way, the good news of peace. He warned Tata's people that they must stop their tribal fighting for otherwise the kiaps would surely come with their police and kill them all. As Buko won the confidence of the Naminamiroka people and their allies, he began to organise village gatherings where he would tell Bible stories and challenge his hearers to carry his message of peace to their enemies in distant villages. These messengers appear to have received the support of Vilovilo in this dangerous enterprise. As Buko explained: "Vilovilo was a man of great influence over the whole area. Not only his allies but also enemies like Gama and Seigu and Nagamiza and Nagami'zuha recognised him and acknowledged his power. He was the man who



said that such and such would be and all the people listened to him. He had a powerful voice and when he called out from the mountain everyone around here and even across the valley listened to his words."

Among the messengers of peace were two women, one of whom went up to the people in the hills behind Gabi'zuha (Kabiufa) and another went down to the villages along the Asaro in the Uheto (Ufeto) area.(50) Not all the women regarded Buko and his message so highly. He tells one story of a young man of Naminamiroka who came to him for Bible instruction and then offered to go out as Buko's spokesman into the surrounding villages. One Sunday they were away 'preaching' from morning to night and when the young man returned home late to his wife and mother they upbraided him for leaving them so long on this silly and dangerous task. But very soon after this the mother got extremely ill with a sort of fever and it was clear to her family that she was going to die. The son believed she was ill because she had opposed his work, and this was confirmed for him and indeed the whole village when she continued to deny the value of his work and very quickly died. All the people were shocked by this incident. Buko interpreted it as a demonstration of the power of God. Further

50 It is possible these were Asaroka women and that Buko is referring to a later period (say 1938 - 1939) for in this tape he mentions that Georg Hofmann and his father-in-law Paul Helbig were at Asaroka. The narrative moves freely between his Naminamiroka experiences in 1935 - 1936 and his Asaroka experiences of 1937 onwards.

proof of this power was provided in another case where Buko was invited to participate in the funeral of an old man who had died. But when at the people's request Buko offered prayers to Jesus a man began to protest violently, declaring that such an intrusion on the traditional rites would offend the spirit of the dead man. But later this man began to shake and after sunset he died too.

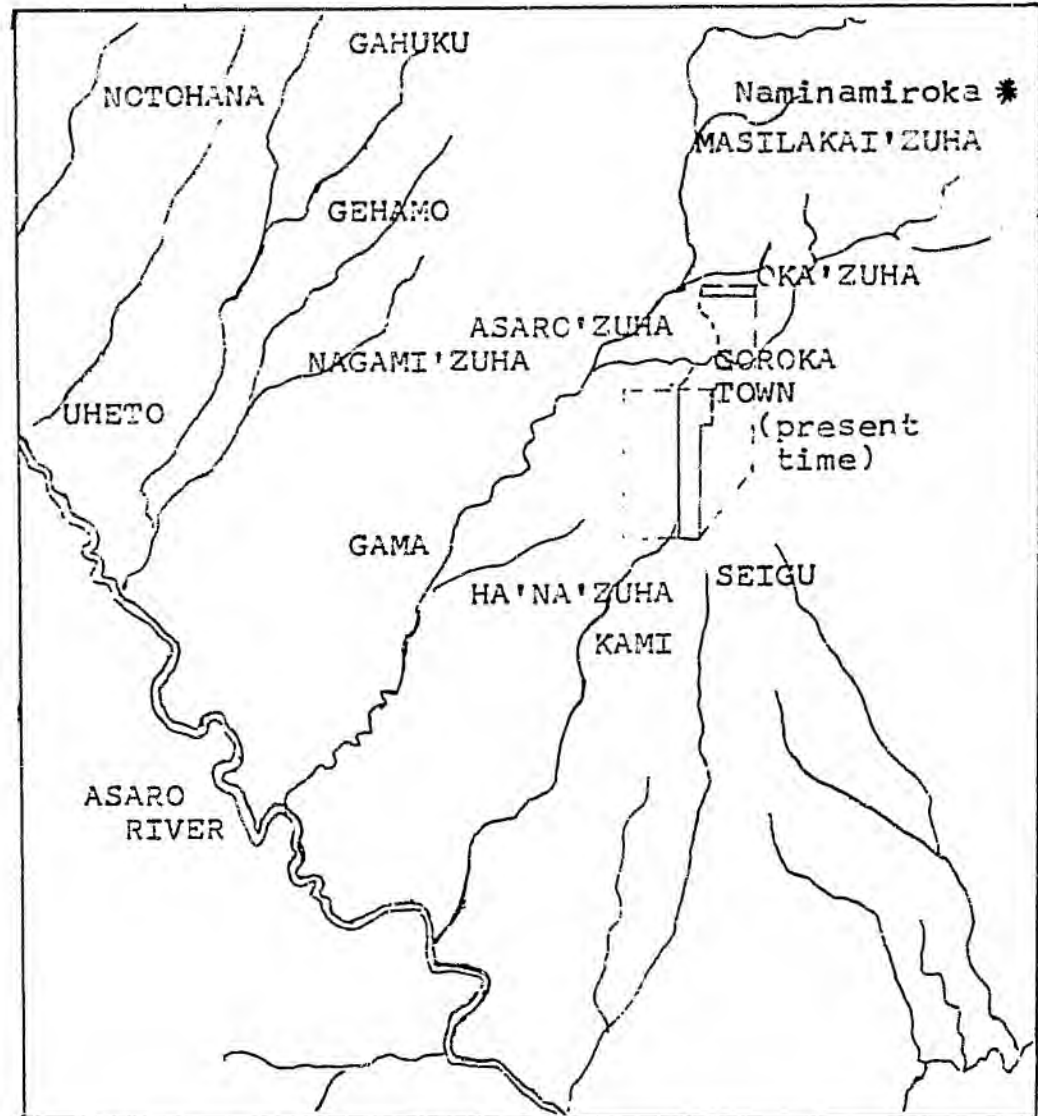
Buko's message also took on a prophetic form. Tata Urakun recalls that he foretold the coming of many changes, such as roads and air transport. They had already seen aeroplanes in the sky, but did not relate them to their own lives until Buko forecast that they would be available for them to use. He also looked to the day when they would live happily in equality with Europeans, a suggestion which seemed preposterous at the time. "But", Tata concluded, "All these things and many more have come true."

The most forceful vindication of Christianity was not magic or prophecy, but the new opportunities it provided for the acquisition of wealth. Inapo Kaug, a village court magistrate and leader of the Uheto clan, says that his people were impressed by Buko's claim that all the wantoks at his own place near Finschhafen shared his belief in God and that since they had accepted the new way they had become prosperous and more like Europeans.(51) This was a very telling argument, which shrewd

51 Inapo Kaug of Uheto, interviewed at Uheto, 20 April 1976.

pragmatic Highlanders were quick to act upon. The common thread which runs through every account of Buko, provided by his contemporaries from Masilakai'zuha, Oka'zuha, Gama, Seigu, Nagami'zuha, Gehamo, Notohana and all other Goroka clan spokespersons interviewed, is the people's admiration of his wealth and generosity. From him they received shells, axes, knives, beads, salt, in exchange for food, firewood, building materials and labour. His wealth was conclusive proof of the efficacy of the new religion. The source of the wealth displayed by European patrol officers and gold prospectors was hard to explain, for these people appeared to have no relationship with spiritual forces, but the origin of the largesse which Buko distributed could be perfectly understood. Buko had an advantage over his government and company rivals in that being permanently settled among the people he could provide a fairly constant supply of trade items. He in turn was supplied by the European missionaries from Onerunka on a regular basis. In order to avoid devaluing the shell currency, government officers and gold miners had agreed in 1933 to limit the number of shells or other items paid for labour and materials supplied by the Goroka Valley people. Assistant District Officer Jim Taylor had learnt the rather costly lesson at Kainantu in 1932 that if you flooded the market with shells or other highly prized items, the people would soon not want to work for the Administration or supply the government station with food and building materials.(52) The

52 See Makarai, *op cit*, p 142.



Map 5: Approximate locations of Goroka clans, from some of which Buko recruited young lads to go to Onerunka Mission Station, near Kainantu, for elementary schooling. Kenneth Read, the anthropologist, identified seventeen clans or sub-tribes which spoke the Gahuku-Gama language. (Map based on Read.1966.The High Valley, p.xiv.)



Hans Flierl 'among wild ones' on one of his evangelistic and recruiting trips. (Photo supplied by the late Rev. Hans Flierl)

Lutherans seem to have been under no such restraints, although it must be recognised that they operated on a much smaller scale than government or mining company. The requirements of an evangelist like Buko, consisting of little more than the regular supply of food and firewood, were tiny in comparison with those of a government patrol post with its large contingent of police, carriers and juvenile interpreters, or the labour force of a prospecting or mining operation. Buko could afford to pay twice as much for goods and services without upsetting the equilibrium of the local currency system. Twenty or thirty Bukos living together in the one area would have had an entirely different effect.

Methods used by Keysser's proteges varied from place to place but were essentially compatible with the original concept. Although unable to establish a village school at Naminamiroka, Buko so gained the confidence of the Goroka clans that he was able to obtain permission of the elders for young lads to go with the European missionaries to attend their school at Onerunka. He recalled in 1974 that he succeeded in recruiting boys across enemy clan lines, obtaining two lads from Gama (a considerable achievement considering Gama's treatment of the evangelists in 1934), two from Masilakai'zuha, four from Gehamo, four from Uheto and three from Nagami'zuha, plus others he could not remember. "Some ran away", he mused, "but others remained and learnt very well." Altogether fifteen from the Goroka area stayed at Onerunka during 1935 and many more were recruited in 1936, when

the evangelists had to withdraw from the Valley.

One of the Gehamo boys was Paita Hero, who was allowed to go when Buko gave his father an axe.(53) With him on that occasion went Hinamo and Ihanizo and two boys from Seigu. The slight discrepancy in numbers of Gehamo boys could indicate a memory lapse, but more likely Buko is referring to the overall number from Gehamo, whereas Paita is recalling the occasion of his own recruitment. Paita believes he was seven or eight years old when the first Europeans came in 1930, which would make him twelve or thirteen in 1935. Most of the boys who were gathered up by the kiaps, prospectors and missionaries were in the twelve to fourteen age bracket. Mick Leahy believed that boys of this age learnt more easily than those who were older, but the more important reason was that at twelve or thirteen a boy had not taken on the responsibilities of marriage and clan protection that preoccupied a youth of eighteen or nineteen. Thus the clan elders could be more easily persuaded to let him go. Assuming that Paita and his friends were aged between twelve and fourteen they could have gone to Onerunka at any time between 1935 and 1937. Paita remained at the Onerunka school for one and a half years, but on returning home he joined Jim Taylor at the Bena Bena police post, where he became a cook boy. As Jim Taylor was based at the Bena post throughout 1936, this points to Paita going to Onerunka quite early in 1935. Hans Flierl does in fact

53 Paita Hero, loc cit.

mention that at both Naminamiroka and Asaroka, during their January 1935 visit, "we were able to win some school boys for our station school at Onerunka."(54) He returned to establish another station further up the valley at Runumpebe, beyond Asaroka, in March 1935. On this occasion he records that "I asked the people if they would be willing to find 4 young boys (in exchange for the four evangelists he left at Runumpebe - P.M.) and give them into our care to take them along to our station Onelunka to visit school there. They straight away went into the village and soon came back with four boys at the age of about 12 years each and gave them to us. I in turn gave each of the chiefs a hatchet as present and they rejoiced."(55)

On this trip Flierl visited Buko at Naminamiroka and Eso'nuwe' and his companions at Asaroka, and although he does not mention taking boys from these places back to Onerunka, it is possible that he did. By this time Buko would have made contact with the Gehamo and Seigu village communities, who would no doubt have heard about the Naminamiroka boys going to Onerunka with Flierl and Hofmann two months earlier, and be prepared to let their own boys go too. Although there is no documentation of further visits by the European missionaries during 1935, Buko says that Hofmann visited him regularly, at least every two to three

54 Hans Flierl, loc cit, (see note 36).

55 Hans Flierl, personal communication, 6 August 1973.

months. Thus it is also possible that Paita went to Onerunka on one of these occasions, although it could not have been too late in the year for him to have been away for eighteen months and still find Jim Taylor at the Bena patrol station when he returned. Jim Taylor left Bena for another posting in November 1936.(56)

Hans Flierl's account of his March 1935 trip to establish evangelists at Runumpebe contains some illuminating evidence on missionary strategy not previously considered in this chapter. As already noted, for the four evangelists left at Runumpebe, four local boys were taken away to attend school at Onerunka. Although it is perhaps putting it too strongly to say that these boys filled the role of hostages to ensure the safety of the evangelists, the exchange can be seen to be in the nature of an agreement or treaty between the two parties. "If you look after our evangelists we will look after your boys", could have been the unspoken message of the missionary, and likewise the village people would have felt assured of their boys' safety while having the evangelists securely in their power. This is not to downgrade the more obvious benefits of the boys' schooling at Onerunka - the benefit to be derived by the Mission of training young 'evangelists' to return to their people with the rudiments of the Christian gospel and the benefit to the local people of

56 Jim Taylor, interviewed at Goroka, 5 April 1983.



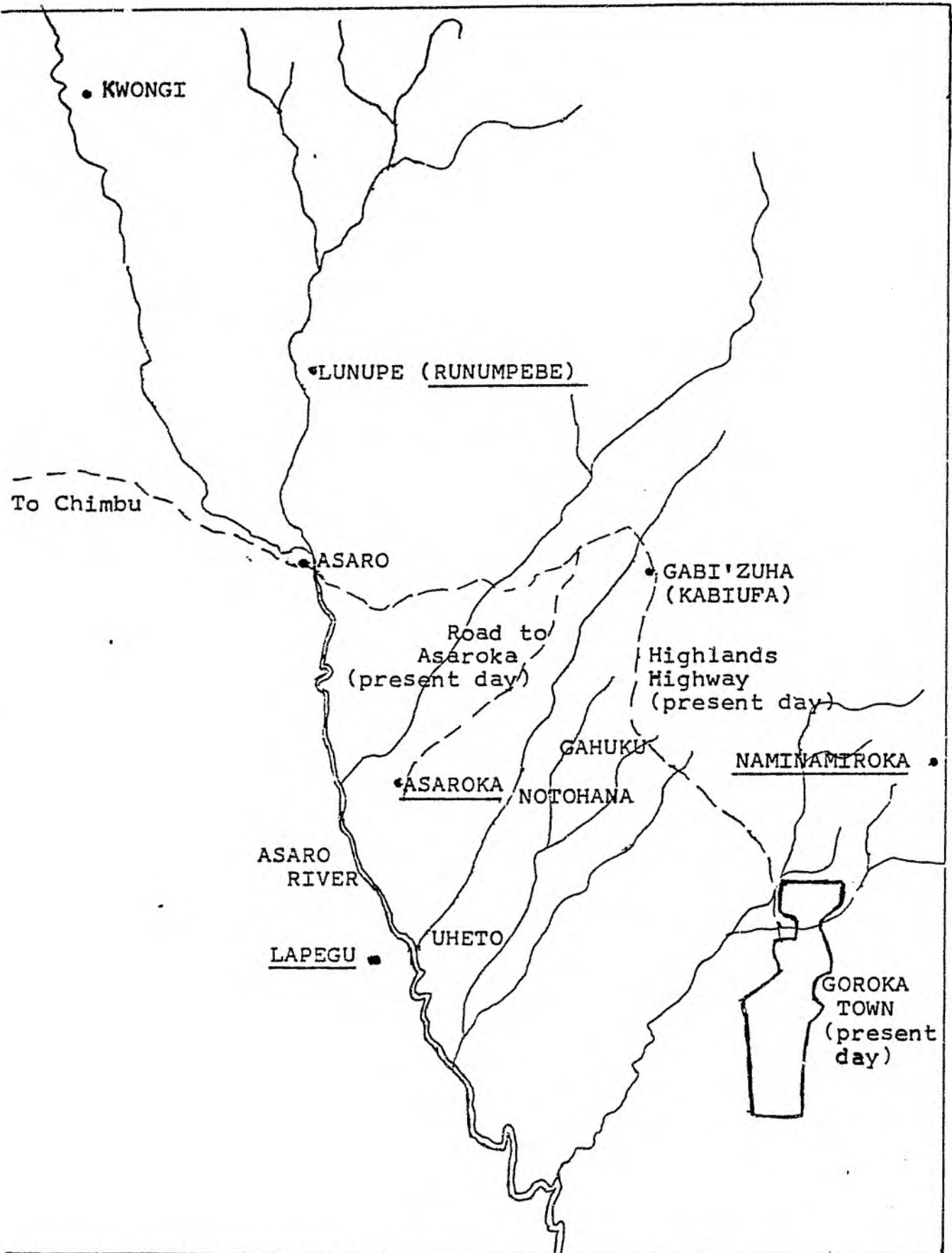
their boys going to live with Europeans where they might learn the secrets of European wealth. But the security aspect of the exchange could surely not have been lost on missionary and clan leader alike. In this encounter with the Runumpebe people, Flierl handed over the four evangelists with the following ceremony: "We lined up the four young evangelists before the four chiefs of the clan and told the chiefs: 'These four men are willing to leave us and live and work with you. Each of you may choose one of them and adopt him as your son. They will honour you as fathers and assist you in leading your people on the path of peace'. They joyfully agreed and each chief embraced one of them, claiming them as his son." For the four lads Flierl was taking away, he left four 'sons' in their place. Thus the exchange of persons for persons can be seen to be as important as the exchange of shells for food or axes for building materials.

Flierl's strategy was in the spirit of the Keysser 'method' inasmuch as the consent of the village community was obtained, both in the placing of the evangelists and the removal of the boys, with each party being 'adopted' into the family of the other. The evangelists became 'sons' of the big men, honouring them as if they were their fathers, and the boys went away to live with the missionary and his wife, as if they were their children. Further, no attempt was made by the evangelists to divide the village into pro and anti Christian groups - they worked within the power structure to win the whole village, not working outside the village leadership to create a rival faction.

And likewise there was no attempt by the missionaries at Onerunka to develop an elite of baptised juveniles, who would return in due course to the village to defy their elders and cause dissent among the people. Baptism outside the context of the village community was forbidden. The aim of the missionaries was to teach the boys Bible stories and introduce them to some principles of health and hygiene and some simple agricultural and technical skills which could be usefully applied when they returned to the village.

They also attempted to teach them Kotte, the church 'lingua franca' which was intended to open doors to the outside world. With hindsight this can be seen to have been a mistake, a waste of effort when Pidgin was able to achieve the same result so much more easily. But the guiding light for the missionaries here, as in everything, was the Keysser method. The introduction of Kotte as the 'lingua franca', an indigenous language structurally similar to the highland languages, guaranteed the preservation of the Volkstum in a way that a bastardised English could never do.

Paita Hero learnt Kotte at Onerunka, some of which he still remembers, but he claims that, in contrast to Pidgin, it was never of any use to .. However he concedes that the time he spent at the Lutheran school was useful in that it obtained him the job of cook-boy at the Bena Patrol Post. This in turn launched him on a career with the government as a carrier, receiving payment for his services on a patrol to Chimbu of one axe, a kumukumu shell and a length of laplap. Later he claims to



Map 6: Goroka Valley - Middle and Upper Asaro areas, showing Lutheran evangelist stations at Naminamiroka, Asaroka and Runumpebe. (Also at Lapegu - see below, p.149.)

have received a regular wage of £6 a month. Employment with the government was not an outcome of schooling at Onerunka which the missionaries intended, but they could hardly have been surprised at it happening. The pattern was familiar enough on the coast.

The four evangelists whom Flierl left at Runumpebe in March 1935, appear to have been well regarded by the people. Hans Flierl recalled that when Hofmann got back from one of his Asaro visits six months later, he reported to him that they were getting along excellently with the locals. Later, one of them died of pneumonia and Flierl visited Runumpebe at the first opportunity: "The foster father and his wife came crying to me and the woman said: 'Look! This finger-top I cut off for sadness when he died, we all loved him so much!'"

The experiences of the evangelists who settled at Asaroka were less welcoming than those of Buko at Naminamiroka and the four at Runumpebe. Flierl and Hofmann regarded the Asaroka site, from the first time they set eyes on it in January 1935, as the future pivot point for all Lutheran mission activity in the Goroka Valley. "This site lying very much in the centre of the whole Asaro-Gafuga (Gahuku) area we considered to be the most efficient site for the future central mission station for the surrounding area", Flierl wrote. On his second visit in March, Flierl confirmed their initial observation:

"Going towards Asaroka we climbed a high hill, rising above all the surrounding plain land.

Looking upon this vast area .... we saw before us the favourable wide plain country close to the Asaro village group. I told my native teachers and evangelists, 'Look at this wide even stretch just in front of our new Asaroka station down there. I am sure it will give us a wonderful centre as a central mission station for the whole Asaro area, as well as a good and sufficiently long aerodrome too.' Then we went down the hill and proceeded to Asaroka. And criss-crossing the area in front of our station we found our hypothesis to be correct, that with its central position and good aerodrome close to, it could serve well as the mission centre for the large Asaro-Gafuga area."

What Hans Flierl overlooked in his forward planning was the political situation at Asaroka. Geographically the site could not have been bettered, but politically the situation was very unsettled. In establishing Eso'nuwe' and his colleagues at Asaroka the missionaries had hit on an area of 'game-mikasi', a no-man's land between three warlike and hostile clans. To the north and west lay the Asaro settlements, to the east was Notohana and to the south Uheto. These groups were almost constantly at war, either with each other or with adjacent groups. Whereas Zuko and the Runumpebe evangelists resided in the midst of their respective clan's territory Eso' and his companions lived precariously on a battle ground. If Belgium was once regarded as the cockpit of Europe, Asaroka was similarly the cockpit of the Asaro. Unfortunately it was not possible to interview Eso' and his colleagues to get at first hand their experiences of those turbulent times, but the late Mrs Frieda Helbig forwarded in 1973 some notes of a conversation she had with Eso' at Lae. She commented that "this should be the surest information, as Eso'nuwe' seems to have a most wonderful memory



People identified by Georg Hofmann as Jujufufa (Iufiufa or Iuhiuho), enemies of the Asaroka people. The old man (centre foreground) is wearing a mirror as part of his 'hilas' (body decoration). (Photo by Georg Hofmann, June 1938)

in spite of his age".(57) He told her that his two co-workers were called Eteu and Maka, and that their life at Asaroka in the early days had not been easy.

Whereas Buko and Bataningmu lived in comparatively peaceful circumstances at Masilakai'zuha, Eso', Eteu and Maka experienced constant disturbance. Writing in 1937, Georg Hofmann noted that the Asaroka people "lived in an awful state of warfare. The Ufeto (Uheto), Notofana (Notohana), Jujufafa (Iufiufa or Iuhihu), Olepaina (Horepokana?) and Lunumbewe (Runumpebe or Lunupe) all living around Asaloka all fought against the Asaros and tried to chase them away and wipe them out. During these fights our houses were used for a war base."(58)

One Asaro man who had very close contacts with the early evangelists and missionaries was Sipane Halakue, a 'big man' of Gimisave No 1 hamlet. He recalls Eso' and Maka arriving with the missionaries, who took a special interest in him because he had light reddish skin. "You are like one of us", the missionaries gestured, and their words were then interpreted by the evangelists who spoke the Bena language. Although Sipane was only a lad of about sixteen, he claims the missionaries addressed their questions directly to him, through the interpreters:

57 Frieda Helbig, personal communication, 12 September 1973.

58 Georg Hofmann, "Asaroka Station Report, 1937", Lutheran Archives, Ampo, Lae.

"Which is the strongest tribe which attacks you Asaro people?' they asked. I replied, 'The Notohanas, they are a very big tribe, also the Uhetos and the Gahukus. These three are our strongest and most bitter enemies.' And I told the missionaries I would place them on ground between us and our enemies" - an astute move on Sipane's part.(59)

The Asaroka land, although a buffer zone between the Asaros and their enemies, was claimed by Sipane's people and at the time of the missionaries' arrival was occupied by refugees from Seigu, who were allies of Asaro. It will be recalled that when Ihanimo Auwo returned from Schmidt's disastrous prospecting trip to the Sepik in September 1934 he found his Ha'na'zuha people had been scattered by their enemies, some to Sigoiya in Bena and some to Asaro. The Seigu people were kinsfolk of Ha'na'zuha, sharing their successes and their misfortunes, and some of them had fled to Asaro with the Ha'na'zuha refugees. Thus they endured with the evangelists a precarious existence on the Asaroka 'game-mikasi', enjoying to some extent the protection of Sipane's people but also suffering the disadvantages of living in the front line of Asaro's skirmishes with her enemies.

Sipane says that at first the evangelists told no Bible stories nor did any preaching. This is not surprising. However, when

59 Sipane Halakue, interviewed at Gimisave No 1, Asaro clan, 29 April 1976.



the building of their bush-material houses was completed and their presence had come to be accepted by the surrounding peoples, it was possible to make a very tentative beginning to their evangelistic work. Sipane describes the first public preaching: "Everyone was called, both from our side and our enemies' side - Uhetos, Notohanas, Gahukus - and Eso' preached the gospel to us. He called God's name - that is Anutu. A long time before the missionaries came we knew about God. Our name for him was 'Omasa'. We believed he was in heaven, or beyond the sky somewhere. We didn't know the name 'Anutu', but when Eso' said, 'Anutu is in heaven' we knew he was talking about Omasa." Apparently, Eso' had not done his preliminary investigations into the people's religious beliefs as carefully as Buko had done. Unlike Buko, he had not served a four year apprenticeship among other eastern highlands people before coming to the Goroka area, and it must have taken some time to learn the Asaro language, which is closely related to but not exactly the same as Gahuku. It is unlikely that he was able to communicate with the Asaro people as quickly as Buko was able to speak Gahuku to the people of Masilakai'zuha. In 1973 he told Frieda Helbig that he had come straight from Sattelberg to his Asaroka posting, with just a short stay at Onerunka for an introduction to highland language and culture.

It is significant that when Hans Flierl visited Runumpebe in March 1935, it was Buko and not the Asaro evangelists who interpreted and negotiated with the Runumpebe people. If Eso'

and his colleagues had been able to speak Asaro they would have been the ones to turn the talk. However, Flierl does mention that they had with them some Asaro boys "as carriers and talk-turners", so in the two months the evangelists had been at Asaroka, they had at least gained the support of some of the local lads, who were probably teaching them the Asaro dialect. The big meeting which Sipane describes probably occurred a few months later, by which time Eso' would have had sufficient grasp of the language to preach his sermon.

Sipane went to Onerunka with the missionaries some time between 1935 and 1937. In 1937 he mediated between the Mission and the landowners in the purchase of the Asaroka ground. He is one of the few Goroka Valley informants to have mentioned the name of Martin Zimmermann, who was based with Flierl at Onerunka, but unlike his senior colleague had little to do with the Goroka area. However he did have a permit to visit the Upper Purari stations in the company of either Hofmann or Flierl,(60) so Sipane's recollection that he came with the other missionaries on the visit which resulted in Sipane's going back with them would be correct. Sipane says that the missionaries promised him they would look after him at Onerunka and then bring him back safely again. So he went and "slept for many nights". They gave him "work to do in the garden, planting kaukau and all this". He does not seem to have been a pupil so much as a visitor who had

60 Robin Radford, op cit, p 219.

to work for his keep. By this time he would have been seventeen or eighteen, probably too old for schooling.

The Goroka Valley evangelists remained at their village stations from early 1935 until about August 1936. In all those months they were never harmed by the local people, no matter how fiercely the inter-tribal warfare raged around them. Neither do they seem to have been victims of theft of their precious shells and other trade goods. They and the European missionaries did treat pilfering very seriously, threatening to withdraw from an area whenever items were stolen and not returned.<sup>(61)</sup> Possibly because the desired trade goods were easily obtainable anyway, in exchange for the simple supply of labour or food, there was no incentive to steal them and risk losing the 'goose that brought the golden eggs'. Also, as noted in Chapter 2, the dreadful lesson of Finintegu was well known to the Goroka Valley people. Further, Buko makes the interesting comment that he could walk about freely among the warring clans because his "hands were not stained with blood". Although the evangelists developed very close relations with the villagers they observed an iron rule never to take sides in an inter-tribal fight. Consequently they maintained the respect of all the belligerents. By December 1935 Buko felt so confident of his own safety that he brought his wife and child across from Sigoiya to live with him at Naminamiroka.

61 Hans Flierl, op cit, 6 August 1973.

He recalls the impact this had on the people: "The village women were really surprised. They knew she was one of them and this encouraged them to come and stay up on our mountain top with us. Later my wife Emau gave birth to our second child, a son we called Nobanu.(62) Then the Naminamiroka people really accepted us as their own."

Buko's confrontation with the kiap probably occurred in 1936. He recalls that the patrol had come from Chimbu, not from Bena Bena, and that the kiap was a short, bald-headed man. This was possibly Alan Fairlie ('Bill') Kyle, who was Assistant District Officer, Chimbu, from November 1935 until sometime in 1937. Kyle's carbon-copy reports of patrols he made from Chimbu to the Goroka Valley in 1937 survived World War Two and are now filed in the National Archives in Port Moresby. Unfortunately there are no records of his 1936 Goroka patrols. In general, visits to the Goroka area were initiated from Bena Bena or Kainantu, but as Kyle's 1937 copy-book indicates, it was not uncommon for patrols to come from the opposite direction. Jim Taylor, who was officially based at Bena Bena, had a "roving commission" which took him on journeys as far as Mount Hagen and beyond. When he was away on a long patrol in the western highlands, he arranged for other kiaps, such as Kyle, to keep an eye on his home territory.

62 Nobanu was later given the additional name of Walter in honour of the Hofmanns' son who was born at Asaroka in 1938.

Buko provides a colourful description of his encounter with the patrol:

"There was a short kiap with a bald head who came up when he heard news of a big fight between Masilakai'zuha and their enemies. He came all the way from Chimbu. So he came and stopped the people from fighting. I heard the noise of rifle fire and the people were shouting and yelling so I hurried down and found the kiap standing on Humilaveka, up where the Primary School is now situated. He saw me running and he aimed his gun at me. But one of my friends from Bukaua, Morobe District, a policeman called Ubom, he quickly recognised me and told the kiap I was his 'wantok'. He said, 'Hey, that's my 'wantok'. He heard the news so he is coming to talk to you.' So the kiap put down his gun and stared at me. He asked me, 'Where are you from?' and I replied, 'From Finschhafen.' The kiap was very surprised and asked me how I managed to live here when there was so much fighting going on. 'Where is your rifle', he said. I replied, 'Kiap, my rifle is above', meaning that God was protecting me. So from there the kiap told me we were now friends and he gave me some food."

#### AMENDMENTS TO THE UNCONTROLLED AREAS ORDINANCE

The 'big fight' to which Buko refers was not confined to the Goroka area. Robin Radford(63) obtained from Hans Flierl the information that the whole of the eastern highlands was disturbed by a severe outbreak of influenza in 1936. The evangelist who died at Runumpebe would have been one of its victims. Sorcery was usually blamed for the deaths which resulted, and this led to pay-back killings which quickly escalated into warfare. What

63 Robin Radford, op cit, p 217.

Buko did not realise was that the patrol officer's visit heralded the beginning of the end of his sojourn at Naminamiroka. The 'rifle which was above' had protected him from the anger of axe and spear in Goroka, but could not save him from the wrath of government ordinance in Rabaul. It had long been the view of the Administration that the invasion of the highlands 'Uncontrolled Areas' by Europeans and their New Guinean collaborators posed a threat to the peaceful penetration of the area. Gold prospectors had been tolerated because the government desperately needed the revenue which the discovery of a significant gold field would have provided. During the years of the Great Depression, gold was one commodity whose value increased. And the missionaries had been allowed in partly as a counter-balance to the prospectors and partly because under the terms of the League of Nations Mandate they could not properly be kept out. The reality was also that both prospectors and missionaries had entered the highlands of their own accord anyway, and until this vast area was properly supervised it would have been very difficult to prevent them access. But when the murder of Bernard McGrath in February 1934 was followed at the end of that year by the killing of Catholic missionaries Father Karl Morschhauser and Brother Eugene Frank by Chimbu warriors, the government was provoked to act.

The Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance of 1925 was amended early in 1935 "to prohibit further activities of non-officials in the disturbed districts, and in other uncontrolled areas beyond range

of the supervision of the District Officers."(64) Europeans already established in the Highlands could continue their work within a prescribed area "but further expansions and the acquisition of land were definitely prohibited". The Administration admitted that it was influenced in taking this action not only by the deaths of the Catholic missionaries, which were blamed in part on the shooting of domestic pigs by another priest, retaliating against the burning of catechists' huts, but also by the conflicts caused by the Schmidt party involving natives of the Yuat watershed. All of these melancholy events occurred far from the Goroka Valley, and the 'pacification' measures taken by the Administration following the Finintegu murder should have ensured the safety of white men at least in the eastern highlands. But the ordinance allowed no favours or exceptions. The proclamation of the new restrictions put paid to the Lutheran plans to establish Georg Hofmann at Asaroka in 1935, which had been one of the reasons prompting him and Hans Flierl to seek out a site for a mission centre during their visit to the Goroka Valley in January. Curiously the amended ordinance said nothing about 'foreign' natives in the highlands, the coastal New Guinean helpers who assisted missionaries and miners in their work. Hence the sudden expansion of Lutheran evangelist stations into the Goroka and Asaro areas early in 1935. This would probably have happened anyway, but not so rapidly. The

64 Report to Council of the League of Nations, 1934 - 1935, p 22.

restrictions placed on Europeans did not prevent the missionaries visiting existing evangelist outstations, so it was in their interest to establish new posts as rapidly as possible before the full effects of the amended ordinance were implemented by the kiaps. Under ordinary circumstances the new station at Masilakai'zuha would have been firmly established before the mission frontier was extended to Asaroka, and likewise the work at Asaroka would have been consolidated before moving on to Runumpebe.

Buko seems to have been the only evangelist with previous highlands experience.(65) As already noted, Eso', Eteu and Maka had come virtually straight from Sattelberg, presumably having just completed their middle school training at Wareo. The four young men adopted as 'sons' by the big men of Runumpebe would have also been hastily recruited. Two other centres were established at this time, according to Buko. Four evangelists were placed at Lapegu, just across the Asaro opposite Uheto, and four at Kategu, a village at the lower end of the Valley where the Bena and Asaro rivers meet. So in all five evangelists' stations were established within a matter of a few months, involving about seventeen evangelists, all of whom, with the

65 This is verified by implication by Hans Flierl in his account of the March visit to Runumpebe. Buko was in every sense the leader of that patrol, initiating contacts with the local people who at first were extremely hostile, conducting negotiations and advising Flierl on the best way to act. The other evangelists played a very passive role.



exception of Buko, must have been raw recruits. Such rapid expansion was uncharacteristic of previous Lutheran evangelistic outreach, and is perhaps the one instance where the Keysser method was not strictly adhered to. Keysser had recommended consolidation of the work at one station before opening another. Up until now this had been Lutheran policy and practice in the eastern highlands. But the new government restrictions had obviously forced the missionaries to adapt the policy very quickly to meet the altered circumstances. Buko claims that he had a supervisory role over the other evangelists, a measure probably devised by the missionaries to shore up what they must have regarded as a risky, although necessary, venture.

News of bitter sectarian strife in the Iwam area of the Madang District in December 1935 would have brought a new wave of apprehension to missionaries working in the highlands. Although Iwam is not strictly a highlands region, it is situated on the Ramu fall of the Bismarck Ranges, and had become a field of intense rivalry between Madang Lutherans and Roman Catholics. Evangelists and catechists had brawled and burnt down each others' buildings, urged on by their respective European missionaries. There had been further trouble between Lutheran evangelists and village people at Kerowahgi in Chimbu. The New Guinea Administrator, Brigadier-General W R McNicoll, was much less sympathetic to Missions than his predecessor Brigadier-

General T Griffiths had been,(66) and he reacted to these outbreaks of violence by clamping even further restrictions on missions working in the Uncontrolled areas. The evangelists who had slipped through the net of the 1935 amendments to the Ordinance, were firmly ensnared in the new provisions which McNicoll introduced in May 1936. The amendment stated that "any native not being born in the area shall not reside except in a village or place in which there resides a European who has immediate control over the native."(67)

In the 1935-36 Annual Report to the League of Nations the government explained that the disturbances at Iwam and Kerowahgi "together with other incidents in connection with native mission teachers" had led it to decide to "prevent native teachers not belonging to such areas from living in any uncontrolled area except with the Europeans in charge of them."(68)

Buko and his fellow evangelists in the Boroka Valley were now living on borrowed time. From 30 May 1936 when the amendment was promulgated they had only a couple of months to wind down the work which was progressing with such promise, and prepare to

66 Brian Harrison, op cit, p 218. This is confirmed by R R McNicoll, Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society, Vol 2, No 2, 1969, pp 8-10.

67 Amendment to the Native Administration Regulations (1924), New Guinea Gazette No 449 of 30 May 1936.

68 Report to Council of the League of Nations, 1935-1936, p 26.

farewell their "beloved heathen" and withdraw to the European headquarters at Onerunka. Protests of the Lutheran missionaries on the grounds of discrimination fell on deaf Administration ears. The Lutherans argued that the success of their work depended on the effective placement of native evangelists to a far greater extent than was the case with their rivals, the Roman Catholics and the Seventh Day Adventists. The Catholics presented no challenge to the Lutherans in the eastern highlands, but the SDAs had established themselves at Kainantu in 1934, and were watching the Lutherans' advance west into the Goroka Valley with more than casual interest. The Lutherans were under the impression that both Catholics and SDAs had far more European staff available to work from their headstations than they did.(69) They also protested to the Minister for Mandated Territories, Sir George Pearce, that the evangelists' withdrawal would expose the inland people to "the virus of the ills of western civilization".(70) In sympathetically transforming the people's traditional beliefs and culture to an indigenous Christian lifestyle, they were protecting the "unbroken vitality" of the highlanders. It was suggested that the government's action could "never be justified before the League of Nations", an argument calculated to raise apprehension in Canberra, even if the flinty Brigadier-General in Rabaul could not be moved. This

69 Harrison, op cit, pp 219 - 220.

70 idem.

indicates why the Administration went to such lengths to explain in its Report to the League of Nations the reasons for the amendment. It was even mentioned in that Report that two Europeans, a Catholic priest and a Lutheran clergyman, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment over their parts in the Iwam and Kerowahgi outrages, presumably to underline how serious the situation had become, and how justified the new regulations were.

McNicoll had also armed himself against the onslaught which he expected over the restrictions, by personally conducting an inspection of the highlands in April 1936. He first sent his envoy E W P Chinnery, Director of Native Affairs and Government Anthropologist, to visit the Upper Ramu, Upper Purari, Chimbu and Wahgi areas in March. Chinnery accompanied Tom Aitchison on a horse-back patrol from Kainantu to Bena Bena, and reported on the unsettled state of the tribes in the Finintegu and Bena Bena areas, tribes who would require "careful watching and attention".(71) McNicoll's Easter visit by air to Kainantu, Bena and Chimbu (Kundiawa) enabled him to claim first-hand knowledge of "the native situation", and in his published account of this tour of inspection, while praising the excellent work of his officers, drops the information that "some (tribes) had been fighting each other as recently as two days ago" and refers to "these uncontrolled hordes". He records meeting a Lutheran and

71 Report to League of Nations, 1935 - 1936, p 26.

an SDA missionary at Kainantu, but in contrast to his commendation of the "very good work" of the government officers, makes no comment at all about the work of the missions.(72) Consequently when the Neuendettelsau Lutheran missionaries pleaded that none of the disturbances involving missionaries and evangelists had been caused by their people (the Madang Lutheran Mission seems to have been responsible), McNicoll could reply that the eastern highlands was still experiencing inter-tribal warfare and unrest, and even if the evangelists were not contributing to it, they also seemed to be ineffective in preventing it.

Thus, it must have been with a heavy heart that Hans Flierl set off from Onerunka in early August to bring out the evangelists and their families working in the Upper Purari. All the mission's work had now to be concentrated at Onerunka, and the strain on the headstation's resources, in terms of food supply, accommodation and providing the evangelists with useful work to do, must have been considerable. Buko comments rather tersely that "we looked after the station and made our gardens there." Tending vegetables offered hardly the same challenge as the tending of the souls of Goroka Valley warriors and their families. Life was not confined to the Onerunka station all the time however, as Hofmann and Flierl were permitted to continue patrols into the Upper Purari area and presumably took Buko and

72 ibid, pp 116 - 117.

other evangelists with them. The SDAs were not allowed to venture beyond the Ramu-Purari divide, because they had no mission work west of Kainantu before the Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance was amended. This was one advantage the Lutherans retained as a result of their pioneering efforts in the Dunantina and Goroka valleys. It must have been humiliating, however, to be obliged to submit to the patrol officer each month both an oral report and a written diary of activities and impressions of the local situation.(73) Martin Zimmermann was one German missionary who took this curtailment of his freedom badly, and he is said to have hung a portrait of Hitler in his living room at Raipinka, which he pointedly saluted when patrol officers and other Australian visitors called at his house.(74)'

Robin Radford has documented the remarkable "burning of the spears" which occurred among communities between Kainantu and the Dunantina,(75) when people realised that the evangelists had been withdrawn because of their tribal fighting. To demonstrate their good faith they brought bundles of weapons to Kainantu for public burning, and the Administration was eventually so convinced of their sincerity that in February 1937 the restrictions were eased somewhat. Evangelists were allowed to return to their

73 Robin Radford, op cit, p 219.

74 ibid, p 265. Reported to Robin Radford by SDA missionary Dave Brennan.

75 ibid, chap 8.

Upper Ramu and Finintegu-Dunantina villages, but the restrictions were still strictly applied to the Goroka Valley and all places west. The cleansing flames of repentance which consumed the passions of war in the eastern region, were snuffed out by the continuing conflagration of tribal conflict in the west. It was not yet possible to meet fire with fire.

Clearly the evangelists had not been long enough at their Goroka Valley stations to have the pacifying effect on the people which those at the older established centres seem to have achieved. Missionaries and evangelists had, for example, been in contact with the Dunantina Valley settlements since 1926, whereas the first contact which missionaries had with the people of the Asaro branch of the Goroka Valley did not occur until 1933. When it came to a choice between continuing warfare or retaining the evangelists, the people with the longer experience of mission influence chose the latter. Robin Radford sees this choice not just in terms of the wealth which the evangelists' presence guaranteed: "The events revealed that foreign intrusion had made a deep impression on the people who were prepared to seek a compromise in order to retain these changes that they considered desirable or advantageous. There was also a plea for support in helping people accommodate tradition with innovations over which they felt they had as yet little or no control."(76) The Goroka

76 ibid, p 227.

Valley people had not yet reached the point where they felt that innovation was overwhelming tradition. By 1936 they were still only beginning to feel the effects of sustained government patrolling. Because they had not killed any Europeans they had not received the close attention from kiaps and police to which the people of the Kainantu and Finintegu areas had been subjected. The Europeans who had come to the Valley bringing changes, had always gone away again. If the evangelists had to withdraw, this fitted a pattern which up until now had been the norm. Thus people still felt in control of their lives. There was no perceived need to retain the services of a group who could cushion the assault of innovation on tradition. In spite of the best endeavours of Buko and his colleagues, the arrow below was still preferred to the 'rifle above', and the policeman's bullet, not the evangelists's Bible, remained the arbiter of inter-tribal disputes.





"All the police in those days were strong men true." Contingent of police at Finintegu in 1934.  
(John Black photo)

## CHAPTER 4

### "POLICE POSTS AND BASE CAMPS"

"What they tell the officer to do in such circumstances is to create posts and put a good native policeman in charge, one for each post ... I know it was particularly suitable for the Highlands." Jim Taylor

"All the police of those days were strong men true."  
Bepi Moha

No government regarding itself as having a mandate to rule could long tolerate a situation where other agents of change were seen to be setting the pace. The problem facing the Administration in Rabaul in 1935 was that its limited financial resources severely restricted the number of patrol officers available for posting to the new, uncontrolled areas of the Highlands. The solution was to place coastal New Guinean policemen in positions of authority over large communities of Highlands people. Although this system of administration had obvious dangers and weaknesses, it was the best that could be devised under the circumstances.

The account of Lutheran Mission activities in the Goroka Valley as outlined in the previous chapter, may leave the impression that Buko and his fellow evangelists were the only foreigners operating in the valley at that time. It is true that when Buko took up residence at Naminamiroka in January 1935 the government

patrol post at the Bena airstrip was unoccupied by patrol officer and native police. The Administrator Brigadier-General Griffiths had closed it in the latter half of 1933, in spite of the pleas of John Black and his District Officer: "It was a great pity the (Bena Bena) post was abandoned. No good can result from entering an area and leaving it before concluding our influence there...."(1) It remained closed until 1935. So for a period of about six months the Lutheran evangelists had the field to themselves, apart from an occasional government patrol from Kainantu or Kundiawa.(2) But at some point in 1935 their monopoly as agents of pacification and change was broken. The Bena Base Camp was reopened by Assistant District Officer Jim Taylor, and put in the charge of an experienced New Guinean policeman, Sergeant Lapengom, and his deputy, a kinsman from Bukaua on the southern Huon coast, Corporal Ubom Mawsing. Pastor Buko regarded these Morobe policemen as his 'wantoks' and although he was a Kotte speaker and their native language was Yabem, they did have a common Lutheran background.

The circumstances leading up to the reopening of the Bena post

1 See Chapter 2, p 88.

2 As noted in Chapter 2 (see p 37), John Black was transferred to Chimbu from Finintegu early in 1935, to assist in the pacification measures implemented after the killing of two Roman Catholic missionaries. No European officer was appointed to replace him at Finintegu and thus when Buko came to Goroka the nearest patrol officer was at Kainantu, just over 50 miles (80 km) away.

arose out of incidents which occurred further west. As with Finintegu, the government's hand was forced by the loss of European lives. In December 1934, the Roman Catholic missionary Father Charles Morschhauser was attacked and killed by warriors in the Chimbu Valley near Gogolme, and on 7 January 1935 his colleague Brother Eugene Frank was mortally wounded while travelling through the same area. Jim Taylor, who was on a tax-collecting patrol on the Waria River, south of Salamaua, was immediately recalled by his District Officer, Robert Melrose, and together they flew to Bena Bena, and walked from there to Kundiawa. No doubt Melrose regarded Taylor as his most experienced officer in dealing with Highlanders, and Taylor subsequently went in and arrested over 80 Chimbu warriors who were implicated in the attacks on the two Catholic missionaries. He later escorted these men to Salamaua, where they were detained for about six months. He then brought them back to the Highlands, but in small groups so that they would not be too great a burden on the villagers who supplied them with food along the way. To Taylor's dismay, the first party of 20 died of malaria on their arrival back in the cold mountain altitudes. It was necessary to hold the remainder at Kainantu over a period of several months, where they received 30 grains of quinine each week, until it was considered to be medically safe for them to return to their homes in Chimbu.(3)

3 Information from Jim Taylor, interviewed at his home, Goroka, 5 April 1983.



Above: Ubom Mawsang with Goroka Teachers College students during his visit to Humilaveka in 1972. Below: Late 1930s photo of police at Kainantu. Ubom would have been similarly equipped. (Photo from Mrs Dulcie Halliday, Bill Brechin's widow)  
To face Page 161.

With the assistance of Patrol Officer Alan Roberts (and later P.O. Alan "Bill" Kyle) Taylor concentrated his attention on the Chimbu and Wahgi regions of the Highlands, and he believes that it was not until towards the end of 1935 that he was able to turn his close attention to the Goroka Valley. The Administration's Annual Report to the League of Nations for 1934 - 1935 mentions that "the Bena Bena Post has now been reopened".(p 21) As the Report covers the financial year July 1934 to June 1935 it may be assumed that the reestablishment occurred before the end of June, 1935. But Jim Taylor's account of his own preoccupations with the Chimbu people suggest that not much could have happened at Bena during most of that year. However once the initial pacification measures had been carried out in the Chimbu and the prisoners had been taken to Salamaua, police would have been available to man the various police posts, base camps and patrol posts.

Jim Taylor's system of administration over the vast area stretching from Kainantu in the east to Wabag in the west relied heavily on the effective operation of New Guinean policemen, some of whom worked from the posts which formed a thin line of communication across the Highlands, and others who held roving commissions in heavily populated districts, living among the people it was their task to control. In mid 1935 there were permanent Patrol Posts with resident European officers at Kainantu (the Ramu Post) and Kundiawa (the Chimbu Post), and what were described in the Annual Report as Base Camps with resident New Guinean policemen at Finintegu, Bena Bena, Goromei (Upper

Chimbu Valley) and Mount Hagen.(4) Jim Taylor was officially based at Bena Bena, but as already noted more urgent duties in Chimbu, trips to Salamaua and patrols through the Wahgi and further west to Wabag, kept him away for much of the year. As the senior officer in the Highlands he had a supervisory mandate over the whole region. His subordinates at Kainantu (PO Tom Aitchison and Cadet PO Neil "Pompey" Elliott) and at Kundiawa (PO's Alan Roberts, Alan "Bill" Kyle and Charles Bates)(5) concentrated their attention on the immediate areas around their respective posts, although there is evidence that Aitchison and Elliott patrolled as far west as the Goroka Valley and on more than one occasion Kyle made patrols in the opposite direction from Kundiawa to Bena Bena.

There was a special arrangement which Jim Taylor worked out with his superiors in Rabaul and Salamaua, allowing him to be constantly on the move, giving support to his police on isolated out-stations and making his presence felt in areas where tribal disturbances were particularly bad. He had to feed police and carriers with locally grown produce, which meant that every base

4 Mount Hagen is not mentioned in the Annual Report, but Jim Taylor informs me that he did have a Base Camp there, although a policeman may not have been always present. He kept in close contact with the Leahy brothers and Father Ross of the Divine Word Mission, who were living there permanently in 1935. The Gormis Patrol Post, Mount Hagen, was not built until January, 1938. (See 1937 - 1938 Annual Report, p 26.)

5 Not, of course, present at Kundiawa at the one time, although Kyle and Bates's terms may have overlapped in 1936.

camp became a thriving market garden. At Bena Bena, for example, he had 15 acres under cultivation, producing sweet potato, beans, sweet corn, etc. When given his Highlands commission he was told that not one bag of rice could be supplied, as funds were simply not available for the type of freelance operation he was proposing. However, as compensation for this lack of supplies he was relieved of all the tedious bookkeeping and reporting of activities normally part of a field officer's duties. He was required to furnish the District Officer with a monthly summary of activities, but was freed from the burden of detailed patrol reports, station diary and financial records. To an outdoors man like Jim Taylor this was the next best thing to a life in paradise.

The system of Highlands administration which he put into operation was recalled by him, not without nostalgia, in April 1983:

"What I did was, and the authorities might have thought otherwise, but if you get a copy of the instructions for patrol officers in about 1924, you'll see in there is that what they tell the officer to do in such circumstances is to create posts and put a good native policeman in charge, one for each post. Now the authorities had forgotten about that, but I knew of its existence and I knew it was particularly suitable for the Highlands, because there were such high populations, and if the policeman was by himself - there could be a variation to that, you might have to alter it in some places - but if you had an individual policeman with the power he would behave himself. As I used to tell him, 'You've got to sleep.' So they knew where they were. If they were offending the people they would be in danger. Some people would say, 'Oh, but they'll kill the policeman.' I said, 'No,



they won't', and they said, 'How do you know?' I replied, 'Because I keep them rich with shell. People don't destroy the providers of wealth.' The result was I had posts all the way from Kainantu right through to Wabag, each manned by one policeman. The only exception to this was where there was already a hostile situation and I had to have two policemen. So the system brought the whole Highlands under a certain measure of control."(6)

#### THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

What probably happened at Bena Bena was that as soon as the Chimbu situation was under control Taylor put Sergeant Lapengom in charge at Bena on a permanent basis, with his cousin-brother Corporal Ubom on a roving assignment, patrolling between the Finintegu and Bena posts, spending a few weeks at Finintegu, then moving west among the Karmamontina, Dunantina and Bena Bena populations to Hapatoka (the Bena Post). Sometimes he made these patrols on his own, at other times he accompanied a patrol officer, such as on the occasion when Buko intervened to prevent a confrontation between patrol and people at Humilaveka (Goroka).(7)

6 Jim Taylor, interviewed at Goroka, 15 April, 1983. His reference to instructions for patrol officers "in about 1924" is correct. The Native Administration Regulations (NAR) were first framed in 1921, but were added to progressively (1923, 1924, 1925, 1927, etc). For a detailed discussion of the Regulations and for a comparison with their Papuan counterparts see E P Wolfers. 1975. Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea. Sydney: Australia and New Zealand Book Company, pp 90 - 96.

7 Assuming that the patrol officer was Bill Kyle, who took over from Alan Roberts at Chimbu in October 1935, the incident must have occurred between then and mid 1936, when the Lutheran evangelists were withdrawn to the head-station at Onerunka. Jim Taylor moved Ubom into the Goroka-Asaro area in 1936.

The influence of these 'men from Morobe' on the Goroka Valley people from 1933 to 1936 was probably greater than that of any other district group. This is understandable, of course, as all the miner, missionary and administration penetration of the eastern highlands came from Morobe, and it was natural for the three 'estates' to recruit labourers, evangelists and policemen from their own areas. Thus the three coastal New Guineans who had such an important effect on the lives of the Goroka people, Mick Leahy's 'bosboi' Ewunga Goiba from the Waria River, the Lutheran Mission's Buko Usemo from near Sattelberg and Jim Taylor's police recruit Ubom Mawsing from Bukaua, were all Morobe men. The Leahy brothers 'line' of labourer/carriers were nearly all recruited in 1932 from the Upper Waria and Markham valleys, and of the 42 New Guinean personnel in Jim Taylor's component of the 1933 Mount Hagen Patrol, all but six were from Morobe. The Lutheran evangelists were without exception from the Finschhafen area of the Morobe District. As an example of the shift which occurred in 1937, when administration of the eastern highlands was transferred from Morobe to the Madang District, place of origin of policemen became more diverse. On a patrol from Kainantu to the Asaro in July - August 1937 Tommy Aitchison was accompanied by eleven policemen, of whom only one was a Morobe man. The remainder came from the Sepik (3), Talasea (New Britain) (3), Madang (3) and Manus (1).(8)

8 Patrol Report M 37/38, July - August 1937, from Kainantu to the Asaro Valley. National Archives, Port Moresby.

Details of the careers of Lapengom and Buko, subsequent to their appointment to the Goroka Valley, are necessarily sketchy, although it is clear that they were experienced policemen having done useful work on patrols with Jim Taylor and John Black prior to 1935. Ubom went with Jim Taylor on the celebrated Mount Hagen Patrol of 1933, and his highlands experience went back even earlier to the establishment of the Kainantu Patrol Post in 1932, when the Administration began its long task of pacification of the Highlands people. He recalled in 1972 (9) that he was born at Bukaua village back in the German time, between 1901 and 1907. From 1915 to 1921 he attended school at the old Morobe station, south of Salamaua, after which he went to sea as a crew member of the government coastal schooner, the 'Edith'. He claims that Jim Taylor recruited him as a policeman in about 1930, and he came with him to the Highlands when it was decided to build a patrol post and construct an airstrip at Kainantu in 1932. He may therefore have worked with Buko on the construction of the Lapumpa strip, which preceded by a few months the one at Kainantu. He would at any rate have been in the same area as Buko at that time, thus establishing a 'wantok' relationship with him.

During the Mount Hagen Patrol of 1933 Ubom learnt that to travel safely through country inhabited by thousands of potentially

9 Ubom Mawsang, interviewed at Goroka, 18 October 1972.

hostile, fully-armed warriors needs about ten per cent courage and ninety per cent bluff. On the march one day a cheeky villager stole a clock out of his knapsack and tried to grab his rifle as well. Ubom was panic stricken and appealed to Jim Taylor for help. "Go after the so and so and get it back", shouted Taylor, so Ubom put on his fiercest bull-dog expression and set off in pursuit of the thief. A crowd of warriors scattered in alarm as the stocky little policeman came charging towards them, and the clock was hastily returned. The bluff had worked.(10) Ubom also learnt on that patrol to fire his rifle with careful precision so that the bullet plunged into the ground just inches in front of a hostile group, sending up a cloud of dust and smartly converting their confident advance into a rapid retreat.

It is not clear when Lapengom began his career with the Administration, but he was senior to Ubom having reached the rank of Sergeant by 1934. Ubom described him as his 'older brother', and was full of admiration for his leading role in 'the desperate Finintegu affray'. His claim that Lapengom was with John Black at Finintegu is confirmed by Black's patrol report of 3 April, 1934. Lapengom is listed as the senior policeman among the nine present at Finintegu Base Camp with John Black.(11) Ubom

10 Story told by Jim Taylor, Goroka, 12 May 1972. Jim Taylor also made the observation about bluff and courage.

11 J R Black, "B10/4 Patrol Report of activities in the PURARI

believed that Lapengom had been in the Watut area with Black before their sudden transfer to Finintegu, and he went later to Mount Hagen. Thus, he was a policeman with considerable knowledge of the ways of Highlanders by the time of his appointment to the Bena post in 1935.(12)

Another well known Morobe policeman who came into contact with the Goroka Valley people in 1936 was Corporal Bungi from Wain. He had also been on the Mount Hagen patrol in 1933, so was not new to the Highlands either. Like Ubom he came to Kainantu with Jim Taylor in 1932, and was present at Bena Bena on Christmas Day of that year when the first aeroplane landed on the newly constructed airstrip there. Again because of the lack of documentary material on the 1935 - 1936 period, it is not possible to trace Corporal Bungi's movements among the Goroka Valley people, but he was a member of Jim Taylor's Bena Bena police establishment for at least part of 1936 and did some good work, according to Taylor, in the Uheto (Ufeto) area on the Asaro

area - progress report by J R Black, Cadet, 3 April, 1934", Australian Archives CRS AS13/26, Item 48.

12 Lapengom died at Mount Hagen in September 1975. Although a Morobe man he had, like several of his police colleagues, married a Highlander, and was regarded by the Hagen people as one of their own. At his funeral the Lutheran bishop said: "He had been a christian man and had not given up his work for the Government. Rather he had combined the two, and even until he died he was an untiring worker for God and the Government." (Post-Courier, 22 September 1975.) Unfortunately I did not know he was in Mount Hagen until this newspaper announcement of his death, and thus missed the chance to interview him about his Bena Bena experiences.

River south of Asaroka. (13) The Uheto people remember him, but have more vivid recollections of Ubom, who was the first policeman to live with them.

Because of the interviews with Ubom in 1972, in which he recounted many interesting events and observations he made when with the Goroka people in 1936, his role in tribal pacification could appear to be more important than it was, and thus not do justice to the work of his colleagues Lapengom and Bungi. But in fact in the assessment of many Goroka people he was the paramount figure, the one who remains firmly fixed in their memories. This is partly because of his outstanding personality, partly because he moved about from place to place and was therefore personally known to more than one group of people, and partly because he married a Goroka woman and the children of this marriage are well known in Goroka today.

As already pointed out in Chapter 2, the administration of the highlands was initially dictated by events outside of the government's control, such as the search for and discovery of gold, the evangelical zeal of missionaries and the deaths of Europeans at the hands of the local people. It was not until 1935 that Jim Taylor's plan for systematic pacification and

13 Jim Taylor, interviewed at Goroka, 20 February 1977. I was not able to trace Bungi's whereabouts, or whether in fact he is still alive. Consequently, no interviews with him were possible.

control by means of a constant police presence was able to be put into effect. Somewhat ironically, because the Goroka Valley people had not killed a European they had been allowed to continue killing one another, with very little interference from the European authorities whose self-proclaimed task it was to prevent all loss of life. But with the appointment of Sergeant Lapengom to the Bena post some time in 1935, and Corporal Ubom's arrival in the Goroka area early in 1936, the problem of tribal fighting among these turbulent people was at last to be confronted head on.

#### THE BENA BENA BASE CAMP

In 1933 the Bena post was just a collection of a few bush material huts along the side of the airstrip. But when Jim Taylor established Lapengom there in 1935 he selected a level terrace a few hundred yards to the east of the hog-back ridge on which the landing ground was situated. This tiny plateau was known locally as Hapatoka,<sup>(14)</sup> and its level, elevated position made it an ideal site for a government station. The land fell steeply away to the south, but more gentle slopes on the other sides proved to be excellent ground for kaukau (sweet potato) gardens. The airstrip had been a no-man's land between the Samago and Hofagayufa clans, but the terrace selected by Jim

14 Information from Isagua Hepu of Magitu, interviewed 8 February 1977. The name Hapatoka is applied to the area including patrol post site and airstrip.

Taylor for the base camp belonged to Hofagayufa.(15) The people say the ground was paid for with Kumukumu shells.(16) Although the airstrip site is still owned by the government, the patrol post land reverted to the people after World War 2.

On the Hapatoka terrace Jim Taylor and his police established a neatly laid out station, with bush material buildings arranged around a parade ground. They planted clumps of casuarina to provide shade and some measure of protection from the strong, warm wind which blew up from the southwest every afternoon during the dry season. The one disadvantage to the siting of the camp was that there were no mature trees to provide building materials and firewood. Timber for house frames had to be carried down from the mountains, and cooking was done on a primus stove. Jim Taylor describes it as "a primus stove patrol post".

Life on the station followed a busy routine. After reveille and the raising of the Australian flag, there were inspections and prisoners were paraded from the 'Kalabus'(prison). Because of lack of escape-proof fencing, the kalabus consisted of a hole in the ground beneath a police house, and was divided into compartments for different sexes and age groups. It may seem

15 Information from Cr Kiama Gena of Kenčmaro, interviewed 8 February 1977.

16 Information from Filiopale of Sigoiya, interviewed at Hapatoka, 19 November 1975.



surprising that women were 'kalabused' but as it was customary for them to take an active part in tribal battles, providing their menfolk with arrows and plenty of verbal encouragement, it only seemed fair that when the warriors were arrested for fighting, the ladies should be taken into custody too. One Goroka man, Inapo Kaug, who became a protege of Jim Taylor, recalls that when his Uheto clan was arrested for fighting and marched across to Bena he was locked up with the women:

"I was just a boy when Jim Taylor came and told us not to fight the Gahuku people any more. But we did and the police came and kalabused us, all the men and women who were fighting. I went and hid with five women in the bush, but the police found us and took us away too. They tied the women with ropes and handcuffed the men. They tied me too and I went with the women. We came to the house at Bena and I stayed with the women all night. Jim Taylor came in the morning and saw me with the women and said, 'He's not a woman.' So I went and stayed in the policeman's house. And I began to go about with the policemen, because Jim Taylor said, 'You are not to put him in the kalabus. He can stay with us.' So I came and they gave me food and that was that.

I couldn't speak Pidgin - I was like an ignorant person. However I picked the words up from the policemen. They told me names of things like water, fire and sweet potato. They said, 'Monkey, you go and fetch this and that', and that's the way I learnt. So now that I could understand Pidgin I could turn the talk for my people."(17)

It will be seen from Inapo's story that education of village boys at the government station was casual and informal, but quite

17 Inapo Kaug, interviewed at Uheto, 23 April 1976.

effective. While these young lads learnt Pidgin, ran messages and did light work around the base camp the older men and women served their prison terms cutting grass and working in the vegetable gardens. Some assisted with construction work, collecting timber and kunai and erecting bush material houses. Others who had proved themselves reliable were taken on patrols as carriers to areas where they could come into contact with people who were strangers or were regarded by the prisoners as their enemies. As well as the utilitarian purposes of this penal system (free conscript labour in plentiful supply) there was also an educative process. People lived in close contact with government officials, learnt new gardening and building skills, received medical checks and treatment (this was not common in the 1935 - 1936 period, but became standard practice in the late 1930s), were taught basic hygiene, met people from other clans and districts, were introduced to various manifestations of European technology and discovered that government laws and restrictions were applied to all people, not just to themselves. There was also a hard disciplinary edge to the station kalabus system, which was not easily forgotten by its victims.(18)

Many old men today remember with a mixture of wry humour and lingering resentment the punishments meted out to them by over-

18 A picture of station life drawn from information supplied by various informants eg, Jim Taylor, John Black, Allan Robertson, Inapo Kaug, Isagua Hepu.

zealous policemen. Mahabi Ihoyane of Mohoweto West, recalling his 1935 experience: "Jim Taylor went on patrol to Kundiawa with Ubom. But other police remained here at Bena and they kalabused us for fighting. They dug holes in the ground and made us stay there for two or three days. Three times I went to kalabus and on the fourth time they wacked me on the arse, so I decided it was not worth fighting any more."(19) Inapo, recollecting police action at Uheto: "If we engaged in tribal fighting, the police were very hard on us. They burnt our houses and spoilt our gardens. The people didn't have much to do with the kiap - their dealings were usually with the police." Aula Zogizane, 'big man' of Kenimaro, reflecting on his conversion to Christianity some time in the 1940s after years of defiance and suffering at the hands of the police: "I was kalabused time and time again, beaten on the buttocks with canes, chained like a dog to my fellow prisoners, forced to do hard manual labour and confined to a pit at night, where the police guards urinated on us from above."(20)

The foregoing are not exactly testimonials of good character on behalf of the police, but their behaviour was to some extent accepted by the people who did as much or worse to their own

19 Mahabi Ihoyane, interviewed at Mohoweto West, 16 July 1982. Translation by Linton Seka, Grade 6 school graduate and local farmer.

20 Aula Zogizane, interviewed at Kenimaro, 26 February 1981. Translation by Ian Mopafi, Department of Primary Industry officer, who is related to Aula.

enemies. Also most informants admired their toughness and courage, as is demonstrated in this tribute by Bepi Moha, a well-known government interpreter: "I remember Sergeant-Major Ubom as a strong man and indeed all the police of those days were strong men true. They were not 'men of drink'. They weren't afraid of anything. Even though there was a heavy rainstorm or a big fight or it was a very dark night the kiaps sent them out and they just went. Even in the big rains they would cross rivers. They would carry letters from Kainantu to Bena, Bena to Goroka, Goroka to Chuave, Chuave to Kundiawa. They went on and on and on."(21)

People are also quick to point out that the patrol officers exercised fairly strict control over the police, and if a policeman stepped out of line he was given the worst kind of punishment, humiliation before the people he had mistreated. Zokizoi Karkai of Asarozuha clan, Goroka, who was, like Inapo Kaug, one of Jim Taylor's earliest Gorokan interpreters and accompanied him on many patrols, makes this observation: "When a policeman disobeyed Jim Taylor's orders and was brutal to a local fellow, Taylor used to punish the policeman by removing his lap lap and tied tanget leaves around his waist and made him carry a bilum. Jim Taylor said he was king of everyone in the Highlands at that time ..... Every single mountain and hill in the Highlands has a footprint of Jim Taylor on it. He was a really

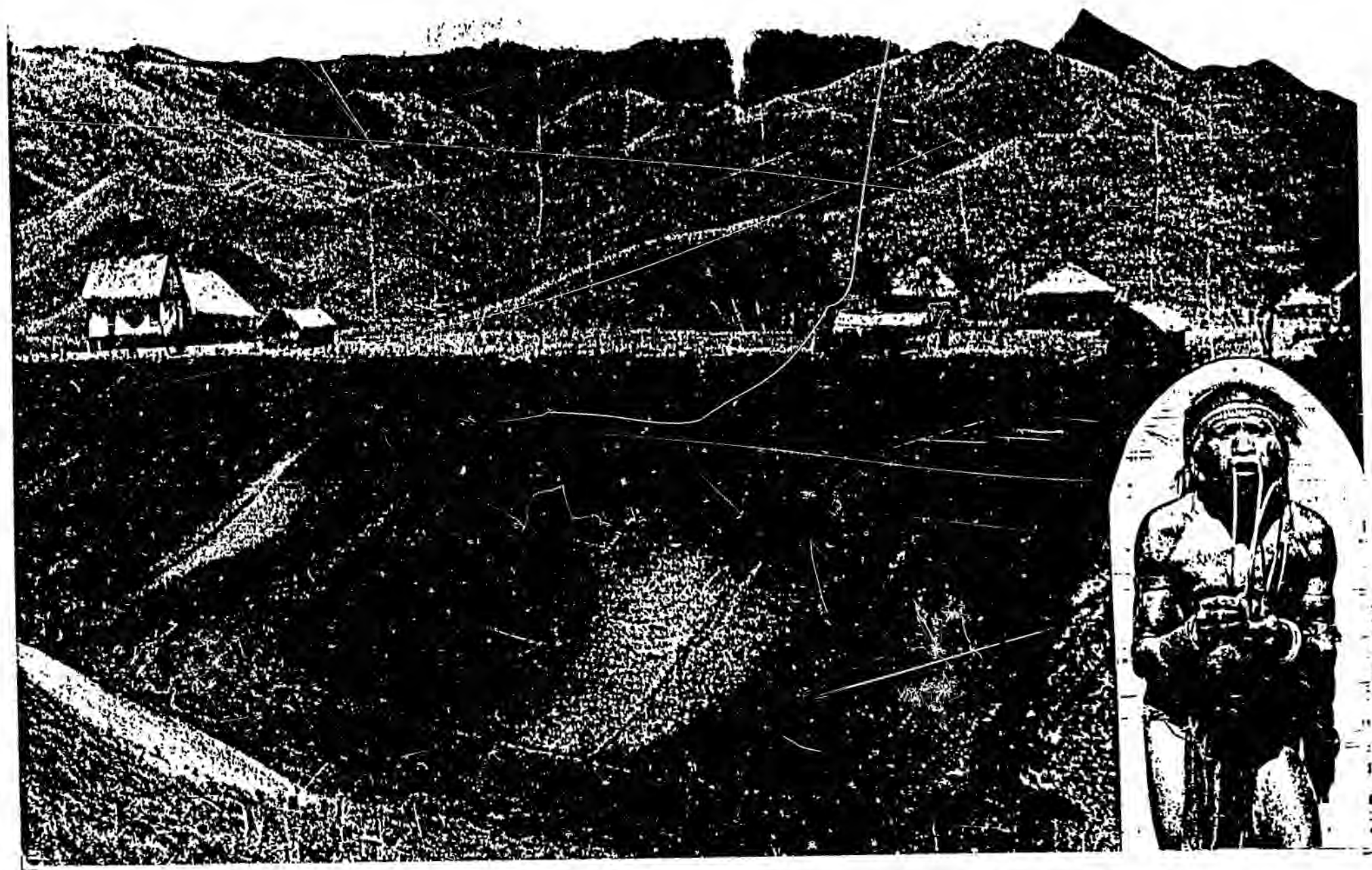
21 Bepi Moha, in a talk given to Goroka Teachers College students, 25 July 1973.

strong man."(22) The Highlands were Jim Taylor's kingdom and in 1936 Bena Bena Base Camp was his capital.

It was while Taylor was away from Bena on a six weeks patrol through Chimbu and the Wahgi to Mount Hagen, putting his footprints on all those hills and high, steep sided valleys, that one mightier even than he set foot on the little terrace at Hapatoka. The Administrator, Brigadier-General Sir Walter Ramsay McNicoll, CB, CMG, DSO, VD, while making a tour of inspection of Wau, Bulolo and the new Highland stations, landed on the Bena airstrip in a single-engined Junker on the morning of Easter Monday, 13 April, 1936. Accompanied by Aitchison and the Morobe District Officer Ted Taylor, the Administrator was met by Sergeant Lapengom who escorted him from the landing ground to the Base Camp, where he was introduced to a group of Bena cane-swallowers. In his official report on this tour of inspection, McNicoll described "the strange ceremony of 'Kunda' swallowing":

"The local male native must learn this 'sword-swallowing' act as part of his initiation. Each one carries the necessary coil of cane wherever he goes. They would not demonstrate until all the women and children were sent out of sight. The Kunda, rather less in thickness than a lead pencil, is about 5 feet long and doubled. The looped portion is placed in the mouth and gradually pushed down, one portion of the cane being held in each hand. When the kunda was withdrawn we measured it

22 Zokizoi Karkai of Asarozuha clan, Goroka, interviewed 18 February 1977.



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The Government Post at Hapatoka in 1940. The kaukau gardens on the hill slopes are the same as those which earned McIlcoll's admiration in 1936. Insert: Cane swallower from Siooiya village. (Photos by A. Robertson)

and were surprised to find that nearly 18 inches of it had gone down the man's throat."(23)

By way of afterthought McNicoll added to his observations on the Bena post that "Ramu to Bena Bena had taken 20 minutes (about 3 days on foot)". He paid a nice compliment to Tommy Aitchison, to whom, incidentally he was related: "... a young Cadet appointed in 1933, having just completed his University course, had been promoted to be a Patrol Officer, and placed in charge of this important station (Ramu), where he is doing very good work", but of Jim Taylor, the architect of effective Highlands administration, there was not a word.

When Taylor returned to Bena on the completion of his long patrol, Lapengom described to him how McNicoll had made a smart inspection of the post, the sergeant at his heels, and had startled the worthy policeman by whistling through his teeth the name of the founder of Christianity, as he surveyed the splendid vegetable gardens which stretched away down the hill from the top of the terrace.(24)

Isagua Hepu, an articulate and imaginative observer of European

23 Annual Report on Territory of New Guinea to the Council of the League of Nations, 1935 - 1936, p 117. See my MA thesis, Makarai, pp 185 - 186, for a fuller explanation of cane swallowing.

24 Jim Taylor, interviewed at Goroka, 5 April 1983.

ways, was present at the time of McNicoll's brief visit. He remembers the 'Namba Wan Kiap' as "a short but big man, with 'grille' (skin disease) on his arm, or it might just have been sunburn. He had come from Rabaul and he had a moustache. He arrived at Hapatoka in a 'plane, inspected us and then went away. About a year later there was a big volcanic eruption in Rabaul. After he had seen us he went back and after a while the fire came up." (25) So much for the long-term effect of McNicoll's visit to the Bena Bena Base Camp!

In 1935 - 36 Isagua was something of an asset to Taylor and Lapengom, as he was already a fluent Pidgin speaker and as a member of the Samago clan whose territory abutted the southern boundary of the Bena airstrip he had an intimate knowledge of the surrounding peoples. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (pp 22, 45), Isagua had been 'adopted' by the Leahy brothers in 1933, had flown in an aeroplane to Wau to live with Jim Leahy for almost 12 months, was with Mick and Dan at the desperate Finintegu affray in 1934 and had then gone on with them to Mount Hagen to work on their gold claim at Kuta. It was here that Jim Taylor found him in 1935 and invited him to return with him to Bena: "Jim Taylor needed someone for an interpreter at Bena, so I went along and helped with the place. I turned the talk of all the people. I

25 Isagua Hepu, interviewed at Magitu, 8 February 1977. Isagua's linking of McNicoll's visit with the Rabaul eruption is an interesting example of the primal world view, where human actions and natural phenomena are inextricably linked.



used to get the small kids and I taught them Pidgin. Now they are all grown up - people like Sabumei Kofikai, Kiama Gena, Sergeant Upego, I taught them all. Those 'big men' in Goroka today who are now highly respected were all my little pupils."

Sabumei Kofikai, who was eventually to become elected member of his people to the national Parliament, was born at Kapakamarigi, a Bena village south-west of the airstrip. In a talk he gave to Goroka Teachers College students on 7 May, 1974, "Memories of a Long-Service Man", (26) he recalled how he was at the Bena Base Camp for nearly a year during which time "Jim Taylor left some police to look after the station while he patrolled to Chimbu and Mourt Hagen" and then Sabumei was sent with "Sergeant Ubom to establish a police post near where Mr Jim Leahy's plantation is now situated. We made a small station among the Uheto people to help them stop fighting. Later we shifted over to where Okiufa Primary School is now situated, and made a small station there."

#### PERMANENT POLICE PRESENCE IN THE GOROKA - ASARO AREA

Jim Taylor points out that the Goroka villages were mostly situated away from the direct path the patrol officers followed when on their way from Bena to Kundiawa. If a visit to Goroka was intended they would follow the mountain track described in Chapter 3, but when the destination was Chimbu it was quicker to take a lower route that passed to the south and west of Goroka. Explaining how the Goroka people had been more or less neglected

26 Transcript in my possession.

until Ubom wanted to live with them, he emphasises this factor:

"We were very close to the Bena people right from the beginning, much more than with the Goroka people. In some ways Goroka was off our route - we walked west of it. And even when we put a police camp at Goroka, we still tended to come through the heart of the valley. If we were going through Koreipa and west into Chimbu we would call at Ufeto, which is just down below Jim Leahy. But marching through we often observed the terrace of Humilaveka (Goroka) and as soon as you saw it you said to yourself, 'That is the dominating feature of the populated area.' Bena had much more waste land and unoccupied areas. But as you came up here the concentration of people really struck you. Approaching Bena from the Kainantu direction in the early morning, and looking out across the valley towards Goroka, you'd see the smoke from a thousand fires burning - cooking fires - and you'd get an idea of the immense population."(27)

Ufeto had a reputation for truculence, so it is not surprising Ubom made his first camp amongst them. He recalled in 1972 that word came that tribal fighting was raging along the Asaro, and that Ufeto was in the centre of the uproar. His sudden appearance brought a cessation of hostilities for the moment, and in his own words he simply "settled the fights". Inapo Kaug mentions how "he fired his rifle in the air and the people got frightened. Then he surrounded the warriors, tied them up and marched them away." It is not clear how one policeman

27 Jim Taylor, telephone conversation, 20 February 1977. His reference to a 'police camp' is confusing. Some informants use 'police post' and 'base camp' interchangeably - here Taylor seems to be combining them. As a general rule read 'base camp' in 1936 to mean a small permanent station like Eena Bena with intermittent European supervision, and 'police post' (or 'police camp') to refer to a temporary post such as Ubom set up at Ufeto. A patrol post (such as at Kainantu and Chimbu) had permanent European oversight.

"surrounded" a group of fighting men, but as he was now living among them there would presumably be opportunities to track them down and secure their arrest in his own good time.

Old men of Gegetuharoka village (Nagamizuha clan) speak of two policemen stopping the tribal fighting, Ubom and a colleague called Kaike. They believe that Ubom called Kaike in to help him. There was a big fight between Uheto and their enemies the Gahuku and Gehamo clans, and Ubom and Kaike intervened. However their verbal entreaties were ignored, so the policemen used their rifles to disperse the fighters. According to the Gegetuharoka men, this was the first time a rifle had been fired, and the noise was enough to break up the combatants and send them scurrying into the bush. Even the local boys with the police constables were terrified of the "big bang" which came from the rifles, and they noticed an unpleasant smell too, which was quite unlike anything they had smelt before. The people 'Gorokacised' Ubom's name to Opuvu or Opu, and following this incident his name was held in high regard throughout the Uheto and Nagamizuha territories.(28) Some informants speak of him "shooting" those who fought, and this would certainly have happened if his own life was threatened. But the story tellers more often relate how he fired over their heads or into the

28 Gegetuharoka village elders, Ijavilo, Jasinaha and Malae Alapuso, interviewed by Goroka Teachers College student and member of Gegetuharoka, Ben Melekenemo, 20 April 1976. Transcript of interview in my possession. The name Opu' is also mentioned by the Kami people, interviewed 23 January 1977.

ground at their feet, where the bullets kicked up a cloud of dust into the eyes of the assailants. Every recollection of Ubom includes the words, "He stopped us from fighting."

Although Jbcm described his movements rather sketchily in his 1972 talk - he mentioned going from Uheto to Notohana, Asaro, Gahuku, Asarozuha, Gehamo and Okazuha - it seems that he lived for extended periods in 1936 at Uheto, Hove (among the Gahuku clan) and Okazuha (Okiufa). It was at Okazuha that he did his most effective work and took action there which was to have a profound effect on the future of Goroka:

"I put a house near where the Okiufa school now stands and I lived there. I found the Okiufa people were living up here on the Humilaveka terrace and I said to them, 'Maybe if you people shifted aside I can make an airstrip here.' This gave them the idea and a few years later they moved their houses down close to the Zokizoi Creek. They tried to oppose me at first but I calmed them down and said, 'Bena is not a good place where settlement can grow and in the future Europeans will settle here.' I calmed them down as far as warfare was concerned and preached against fighting. So the people did calm down and I looked after them. I said to them, 'If you people don't fight you will attract European settlement here and you will have a better life. You have the advantage of land so you must calm down and stop fighting and Europeans will come.' And that encouraged the Okiufa people to hand over this land at the Teachers College to me."(29)

The promise of European settlement was Ubom's great drawcard, for

29 Ubom Mawsang, in talk to Goroka Teachers College students, 18 October, 1972. Transcript in my possession.

although it meant restrictions on the freedom to fight, the promise of untold wealth outweighed other considerations. There was also a certain expectation that European law enforcement would curb the aggression and wrong-doing of their enemies, and thus make life generally more pleasant. But Ubom's success in getting the Okazuha people to surrender traditional village land to the government is a noteworthy achievement, in that unlike the Bena airstrip and Asaroka, this was not "ga'me mikasi" ground, that is no-man's or buffer land between two hostile clans, but the 'heartland' of one tribal group. True, Humilaveka was not good agricultural ground - it means "the place of red clay inhabited by men" - but its level, elevated position made it an excellent site for a village or 'house-line', and giving it up was no empty gesture by a people who had occupied it for many generations.

Construction of an airstrip on Humilaveka did not begin until 1939, and presumably the people did not vacate the terrace until then, but it is Ubom's claim that he drew Jim Taylor's attention to the potential of the site in 1936, and began preparing the people for its eventual surrender to the Administration.(30) It

30 When questioned about this Jim Taylor replied: "Yes, we had it in mind quite early. We were very close to all the police and we would talk about various things and they would report on their experiences and observations. He could have come to the same conclusion as me about Humilaveka, quite independently, because the terrace was an outstanding feature. I'm quite happy to give him the credit." (Telephone conversation, 20 February 1977.)

was also at this time, according to Ubom, that he first heard the name Goroka, or Koloka, and was therefore instrumental in this name being applied to the town in later years. His explanation is illuminating, as it helps to explain the naming of Goroka, for which there is no surviving documentary evidence. An Asarozuha hamlet just west of Humilaveka and the present Highlands Highway is known as Koloka, and the land beneath the Humilaveka terrace is called Humi-Koloka - the Koloka land which consists of red clay. Shortly after Ubom set up his camp on the Okiufa school site he asked an old man whom he had appointed unofficial luluai the name of the Humilaveka terrace, and the old fellow, mistakenly thinking he was pointing to the land below the terrace said: "This is the ground of my ancestors, and I am the owner of it. The name of the place is Humi-Koloka (Humi-Goroka)." "And afterwards", Ubom claims, "the name Goroka became the important one." Presumably he used it when talking to Jim Taylor and the patrol officers who came later, and the name 'Garoka' was in general use by 1939,(31) when the airstrip and base camp were established on Humilaveka.

Ubom's relationship with the Okazuha people was strengthened when

31 One of the Kainantu reports, dated 21 June 1939, quotes Assistant District Officer Kyle's Patrol Report M.67 of 1938/39: "From Kainantu to Bena Bena, and thence to Garoka the road is excellent and further work is in progress." This, so far as I am aware, is the first official use of the name Goroka, or more precisely, the only document of that period to survive which specifically mentions Goroka. For further discussion, see Ch 8, p 494.

he married one of their own women, a lady called Yagire. They had a daughter Urakume, whose son, today a well-known businessman in Goroka, proudly carries on the Ubom name. A retired policeman belonging to Okazuha clan, ex-Corporal Sare Tate, was a small boy when Ubom married Yagire and he recalls that his people "gave Ubom their daughter and called him their 'tambu' (relative), hoping he would not punish them." (32) But Ubom was too good a policeman to allow this relationship with his new in-laws to blunt his effectiveness as a law enforcer, and Sare says he continued to be "the big policeman", although it is conceded that "he was like our father, stopping us from fighting and protecting us from our enemies. When people fought he arrested them and took them to Bena where they went into the kalabus for a while." Ubom was the first policeman to marry a local woman, but his example was followed in 1937 or 1938 by a Markham policeman, Corporal Enka Pumumpil, who also married an Okazuha lady. By this time Ubom had been transferred to Chimbu and it can be inferred that the Okazuha people had derived sufficient benefit from their relationship to him to give their blessing to a second police marriage. The patrol officers gave their approval to these marriages because they strengthened the Okazuha people's ties with the Administration. The people's willingness to surrender their village site on Humilaveka may have resulted from this new and intimate relationship with the agents of

32 Ex-corporal Sare Tate, interviewed at Aketauka hamlet, Okazuha clan, 31 August 1973.

government.(33)

### GOROKA VALLEY PATROLS

Although Jim Taylor's "middle Kingdom" extended for over 200 miles from Bena Bena to Wabag, he did find time in 1936 to widen government influence in the Goroka Valley by means of what was described in the Annual Reports as "vigorous patrolling". On one occasion he took a party of police and carriers to the lower reaches of the valley where the Bena and Asaro rivers join forces, and the turbulent waters hurl themselves through the deep and narrow Tua Gorge to become part of the mighty Purari further downstream. But instead of following the footsteps of the gold prospectors Michael Leahy and Michael Dwyer, who passed this way in 1930, the patrol climbed up the south west slopes of the valley towards Mount Michael, the towering monadnock-type mountain of nearly 12,000 feet which bears the name of the two prospectors. The Yagaria people who live in the Lufa hamlets(34) which cling to the northern foothills of Mount Michael, had not seen a European since Leahy and Dwyer had picked their way along

33 The question of Humilaveka becoming a base camp and later a patrol post in the period 1939 - 1942 is dealt with in detail in Chapter 6. It is sufficient at this stage to note the factors at work in 1936 which led to the Okazuha people surrendering the site three years later. The police marriages are, of course, only one contributing factor. A clue to another cause is given by Ubom in his statement about the people moving their houses down close to the Zokizoi Creek. This indicates that by 1939 the police pacification measures had been sufficiently effective to enable the people to move off their easily defended Humilaveka terrace to lower ground beside the creek, where previously they would have been vulnerable to enemy attack.

34 The Lufa people regard themselves as Huwa.



the precarious edge of the Tua Gorge six years earlier. Understandably, the people were nervous of the patrol, and each side regarded the other with apprehension. Jim Taylor's desire to climb the great mountain, and stand on the flat-ridged top among an Elysian field of everlastings and gently waving grasses, had to be curbed.(35) His colleague and friend Charlie Bates had already made an attempt on the 15,000 feet summit of Mount Wilhelm in Chimbu,(36) and the lure of being the first Europeans to stand on the 'roof-tops' of New Guinea, where on a clear day one could almost see forever, must have been great indeed. But as Jim Taylor and a couple of policemen heaved themselves up the mountain's side towards Rongo, the thumb-like volcanic plug which stands about two-thirds of the way from the top, they knew it would be folly to stay away for more than a few hours from the main party of police and carriers which they had left below at Lufa. If these men were attacked and overwhelmed, Jim Taylor and his companions would have no chance of survival either. In these circumstances the conquest of Mount Michael would have been a hollow victory. So reluctantly they turned back after reaching the minor peak of Rongo, and the distinction of being first Europeans to the top was left to two young patrol officers Allan

35 Jim Taylor, interviewed at Goroka Teachers college, 25 June 1973.

36 Mt Wilhelm was climbed by Bates in March-April 1936. See McNicoll's tour of Inspection report in the 1935 - 1936 Annual Report, p 117. Mt Wilhelm's highest peak is 14,793 feet above sea level. Mt Michael is 11,966 feet (3647 metres) a.s.l.

Robertson and Greg Neilsen, who carved their names on a high outcrop of rock on 1 May, 1941.(37)

The Lufa people were surprised at the daring of these white men and their native police in venturing so far up the mountain, for it was their belief that the summit was the domain of U'be, the creator of the world.(38) However, the European desire to share the heights with U'be only confirmed the villagers' original suspicion that white men were themselves spirits or sky people, and that the police were ancestors returned from the dead. If Jim Taylor could have been confident that the people viewed him in this light, he might have risked going on up to U'be-nono, the resting place of U'be, the Lufa god of all creation. The "king of everyone in the Highlands" would have been in good company on the summit of Mount Michael.

Tommy Aitchison, being a lesser mortal and PO to Jim Taylor's ADG, contented himself with more conventional patrols along the floor of the Goroka Valley. When interviewed in 1976,(39) he recalled making a patrol with Ubom and Lapengom and two other

37 Allan Robertson, interviewed while visiting me at Maryborough, Victoria, March 1980.

38 Information from Tony Fova, Goroka Teachers College student and member of Korowa hamlet, Lufa area, given while I climbed Mt Michael with him, 31 July - 1 August 1976.

39 Tommy Aitchison, telephone interview, Sydney, 20 February 1976.



These photos of Tommy Aitchison on a census patrol with his police were taken in 1937. It was probably a patrol through the Kainantu area, but the 1936 and later patrols in the Goroka Valley would have been very similar.

(Photos from Tommy Aitchison.)

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policemen Bumbum and Serak, at about the time of McNicoll's tour of inspection in April 1936 (when Jim Taylor was away on a long patrol to Mount Hagen). McNicoll promised Aitchison he would supply him with "deciduous and citrus fruit seedlings with which to experiment. He also agreed that soya bean seeds be made available, together with white maize and peanuts."(40) The citrus trees thrived, as did the peanuts and maize. But although the village people willingly planted the soya beans too, Aitchison experienced difficulty in getting them to process and eat the crop. The Lutheran missionary Willi Bergmann was the first person to introduce citrus fruit to the Highlands in 1932, and by the time Aitchison was distributing seedlings to selected villages in 1936, orange and mandarin trees were well established at Kambaidam and Onerunka, and probably in many of the evangelists' villages too. McNicoll's gift of citrus trees can be seen as a late attempt to counter the Lutherans' popularity and engage in the struggle to win the hearts and minds of the Highland people. In the 1976 interview Aitchison alluded to this government-mission rivalry: "There was quite a stir at this time over the evangelists, as they were causing rivalry between groups and interfering politically. We thought they would get their heads knocked off." The Goroka Valley patrol was probably prompted more by the need to assess the mission situation than to distribute McNicoll's gifts of orange and peach trees, maize,

40 T G Aitchison, "As I Remember It : Early History of Kainantu", Goroka District Newsletter No 32, September 1964.

peanuts and soya beans. It was on this patrol that Aitchison met Pastor Buko at Naminamiroka. (It is possible that Aitchison was the patrol officer described by Buko in the 'my rifle is above' incident, but he was a young man with a good head of hair, not the older, bald-headed kiap whom Buko remembered.)

In addition to the introduction of fruit trees and vegetables the Administration was also, in 1936, concerned about supplying a source of firewood to the tree-denuded highland valleys. The shortage of firewood at the Bena Bena Base Camp has already been noted. The patrol officers observed that the village people often lacked easily accessible firewood, necessitating long, and sometimes dangerous excursions away from their home territory. If people could be self-sufficient in their own areas, there would perhaps be less opportunity for clashes with enemy groups who might regard a common source of timber as belonging to them. Aitchison wondered if the fast-growing crotalaria shrub would flourish in the Highlands:

"The crotalaria got introduced into the area from a tree near Holden's Air Transport hangar at Salamaua. I took a couple of handfuls of pods, threw them on the ground and Jim Taylor was the one who spread them, mostly along the roadsides. By 1936 we had a big bush of it which grew well to twelve feet outside the house at Kainantu. And Jim Taylor, when he was passing through Ramu station would get some pods from this tree and plant them alongside the track as he moved through. It has proved a godsend throughout the Highlands. Then there was a little kind of ironbark that used to come in amongst the

crotalaria and it could withstand fire. Jim Taylor had a lot of foresight in this, you know."(41)

The role of Europeans as the bringers of new plants (and later new animals such as the horse, goat and superior breeds of pigs) was not lost on a people who attributed all living things to powerful creator spirits like Omasing and U'be.

Throughout July and August 1936 Jim Taylor was based at Bena Bena,(42) conducting patrols in the Goroka Valley. His attempted climb of Mount Michael probably occurred at this time, as July and August are the best months for mountaineering, with their fine, dry weather and clear skies. But on 28 August he arrived at Kundiawa for a month's patrolling in the Chimbu, and on 22 September he set off for Mount Hagen with a young Cadet Patrol Officer, J J Murphy.(43) His last influential act in the Goroka Valley in 1936 was to obtain permission from parents to take several promising young lads to Kundiawa to attend a Pidgin school conducted by two Morobe policemen, who had formerly worked for the Lutherans as village teachers. One of these lads was John Akunai of Seigu, near Goroka. Another may have been Sabumei Kofikai, who recalls going to Kundiawa with Jim Taylor after

41 Tommy Aitchison, telephone interview, Sydney, 20 February 1976.

42 J J Murphy, interviewed in Brisbane, 25 February 1976.

43 Dates from John Murphy's diary, kindly made available to me, February 1976.

working with Ubom at Uheto and Oka'zuka. He then went on to Mount Hagen with Taylor and seems to have begun his schooling at Kundiawa in 1937.

In an article on the European penetration and pacification of the Highlands in the 1930s, Professor Francis West coins the very descriptive phrase, "Australian moving frontier".(44) After identifying the three frontiers, those of missionaries, miners and government, he demonstrates the somewhat transitory nature of these frontiers. Gold prospectors were constantly on the move, patrol officers and policemen shifted camp, opening one post and closing another. Even missionaries moved their head stations in the early phase of their evangelistic effort. Usually the Highlands people had no idea why the Europeans came and went so frequently, but they learnt to live with unpredictability. As we have seen, the Goroka Valley people were no strangers to this coming and going of Europeans and their New Guinean agents. However by 1936 they had learnt that the foreigners meant to stay, even if they were essentially a restless species, wandering about from place to place. The important factor now was that the wanderers always returned to a home base, which was beginning to look more and more like a permanent frontier of European power and influence.

44 Francis West, "An Australian moving frontier in New Guinea", in The Changing Pacific - Essays in Honour of H E Maude. 1978. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

## CHAPTER 5

### "CORRIDORS OF POWER, 1937"

"The adventurous, thrilling story of three white men who ruled three million savages." (Publicity blurb for the film, 'Sanders of the River', Rabaul Times, 6 August, 1937.)

"White missionaries, yes", he said wrathfully, "But black missionaries I will not endure." (Sanders of the River, p 84.)

#### MOVING FRONTIERS, OIL STAINS, ENCLAVES AND CORRIDORS OF POWER

The concept of Australian moving frontier as defined by Francis West provides one way of describing the situation in the central highlands of New Guinea in the early years of European contact. A generation earlier in British New Guinea (Papua), Sir William MacGregor referred to the small areas of government and mission influence as "oil stains", which would gradually spread across the country until the process of pacification and control was complete. Rod Lacey, in commenting about the western part of the New Guinea Highlands in the 1930s, offers a similar concept. He sees each patrol post and mission station as European enclaves, rather than frontiers, with the implication that effective control of highland peoples was very limited, and really only extended to those communities living in close proximity to the



enclave.(1)

The frontier concept, on the other hand, implies control over all those on the 'European' side of that frontier, rather as the 'Pax Romana' embraced everyone within the boundaries of the Roman Empire. West does however emphasise the transitory nature of his frontiers, which would expand or contract according to the movement of the European miners, missionaries and patrol officers. Thus the government "frontier" established at Bena Bena in December 1932 had been moved back to Finintegu by February 1934, and the Lutheran mission frontier established by Bergmann at Kambaidam in 1931 advanced westward to Onerunka in 1933, and into the Goroka area in 1935, to be followed by a forced retreat back to Onerunka in 1936.

Lacey's concept of enclave does appear to accommodate the fact that even within areas of European influence, such as the Goroka Valley in 1936, tribal fighting continued. If a frontier implies a state of pacification on the 'inside', and unrestrained warfare on the 'outside', then it is not a useful concept to apply to the highlands. But one can also find examples of inter-clan warfare within the enclaves. As late as 1938 tribal fighting was taking

1 Francis West, op cit, pp 216 - 218 (for description of the moving frontier). A M Healy, op cit, pp 41 - 54, 110, etc (for references to the 'oil stain' technique in Papua). R J Lacey, Trading on the Frontier, paper given at ANZAAS (Historical Section), Adelaide, 1980 (for the concept of enclave).

place across Asaroka mission station land, and missionary Georg Hofmann had to barricade the windows of his house to prevent flying arrows from endangering the lives of those inside.

Another way of looking at the situation is to describe European control in terms of "corridors of power" or "corridors of influence". If one plots the European stations which existed in the 1930s across the map from Kainantu in the east to Mount Hagen in the west there emerges a fairly narrow corridor, in some places perhaps 20 to 30 miles wide, in others just a thin line denoting a track from one police post to the next. The people living along the corridor were all within a day's walk of a government post or mission station, and can be described as having been under fairly constant supervision by a patrol officer, policeman or missionary. This supervision was not such as to prevent tribal fighting, but all those engaging in warfare could expect to be reported and subsequently arrested and gaoled within a few days of the outbreak. European power was dominant within the corridor, and the people could be said to be under the influence, if not under the control, of the Australian administration. Beyond the "corridor of power", contact with the people was infrequent - the Lufa people first met Europeans in 1930, were not again visited until Jim Taylor made his patrol in 1936, and probably had little if any contact with Europeans again until Robertson and Neilsen ascended Mount Michael in 1941. A map of the present-day Eastern Highlands Province reveals vast areas south of the Highlands Highway which had no regular contact



Maps 7 & 8: The Highlands 'corridor of power'.

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with Europeans until the 1950s or even later.

The patrol reports written by officers stationed at Kainantu and Kundiawa over a period of about five years from 1936 to 1940 suggest that most patrols took place within the "corridor" of power. A patrol might begin at Kainantu, cross into the Karmamontina Valley to visit Finintegu and adjacent villages, pass through the middle Dunantina and then proceed over a low ridge into the Goroka Valley and on to the Bena Patrol Post. Here the Kainantu officer would call on his junior colleague, inspect the station and then continue his patrol through the Goroka villages and northwest up the Asaro as far as Asaroka. The round trip from Kainantu would take up to three weeks, depending on the time spent in each village or police post along the way. A lot of ground was covered, large populations were visited - the fertile valleys mentioned above supported big concentrations of people, and it was therefore sensible to visit these areas frequently. But it is clear that most patrolling was done along a narrow, east-west axis - the location of the Australian corridor of power - rather than in a north-south direction as might be assumed from the term 'moving frontier'. One cannot speak of a long line of European influence from the Ramu Valley in the north to the Papuan border in the south, a frontier which could be shown to move slowly but inexorably west across the map of inland New Guinea. Instead there was a narrow corridor of European power from Kainantu to Mount Hagen, thrust through in a short period between 1932 - 1933 and linking the major areas of population in the Goroka, Chimbu and Wahgi

valleys. This corridor demanded the close attention of government and mission, for the rest of the decade, at the expense of less thickly populated and more inaccessible areas of the highlands.

West's "moving frontier" is still, however, a valid concept if seen to operate within the corridor of power. The relocation of government and mission stations has already been noted, and the concentration of pacification and evangelistic activities in one area of the corridor, at the expense of other areas, went hand in hand with this movement of station sites. Rod Lacey's concept of European enclaves can also fit into the corridor of power idea, providing it is flexible enough to allow for both tribal violence and European pacification measures to occur both within the enclave and beyond it. It has to be acknowledged that inter-clan warfare erupted within areas of European influence, just as street brawls, football riots and criminal and racial violence break out in Western cities today, cities which are also theoretically under the control of law enforcement agencies. But in both situations the miscreants are subject to intervention by the authorities and incur the penalties imposed by law. In this sense the people living within the corridors of administration power are under the control of that administration.

#### GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE MISSIONS

Control by which administration, government or mission, was a question, however, that still had to be resolved. Although the restriction placed on the missions in 1936 appeared to give the

government a decided advantage, the representatives of Christianity had by no means given up the struggle to win the hearts and minds of the Highland people. With regard to the Goroka Valley, the Lutherans were quick to realise that the establishment of a head-station there, with a European missionary, would to some extent compensate for the loss of resident evangelists in the villages. The Seventh Day Adventists were also anxious to extend their work from Kainantu, where they had established a mission station in 1934. At first sight this increase in mission influence might appear to have posed a threat to the government's position of dominance, but one new factor now emerged. Where prior to 1936 the Lutherans were the only mission operating in the Finintegu - Dunantina - Goroka Valley areas, there was now the possibility of two rival missions working virtually side by side, competing for people's allegiance, and presenting dissimilar religious doctrines and codes of conduct. From the Administration's point of view this situation could only serve to weaken the missions' credibility and authority. By assisting the Lutherans and SDAs to set up in competition with each other in the Goroka Valley the government, wittingly or unwittingly, was introducing that ancient and effective administrative policy of "divide and rule".

It is difficult to decide how much the rival mission situation was the result of deliberate government manipulation, or whether the authorities were simply responding to the pressure of various mission bodies determined to evangelize the Highlands. Whenever the Administration appeared to be putting a brake on European

missionary activities, the missions were quick to flourish their copies of the League of Nations Covenant article on freedom of religion in Mandated Territories.(2) These provisions allowed European missionaries access in pursuit of their religious calling, which explains why the 1936 prohibitions on movement only applied to the native evangelists. The European missionaries were free to travel, subject to government supervision, providing they adopted certain safety precautions, and in theory could establish new mission stations in any area where the Administration maintained a presence, as long as such stations were manned by Europeans. (Strictly speaking, the missionary had to be a national of a member state of the League of Nations, so that when Germany withdrew from the League in 1935, the Rabaul Administration could have denied German missionaries these religious rights. However, this was not done, at least until the outbreak of War in September, 1939.)

2 "The Mandate provides that subject to the provisions of any local law for the maintenance of public order and public morals the Mandatory shall ensure in the Territory freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship and shall allow all missionaries, nationals of any member state of the League of Nations to enter into, travel and reside in the Territory for the purposes of prosecuting their calling." Quoted in document, "German Missionaries in New Guinea", Australian Archives CSR A518 item A.B161211. This statement is based on Section 5 of Article 22 of the Covenant, which deals with Mandated territories and the Mandatory nations which administer them. The Article states that "the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the Territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion." The reference to missionaries is not part of the original Covenant, but is probably covered by Section 8 of Article 22, which gave the Council of the League power to "explicitely define in each case" the degree of authority, control or administration exercised by the Mandatory.

Lutheran suspicions that the Administration was not being even-handed in its treatment of rival missions were aroused in 1937, when it appeared that the Seventh Day Adventists were being assisted by government officers to establish a station in the Goroka Valley ahead of the Neuendettelsau Mission. To Georg Hofmann, the German missionary appointed to set up a head-station at Asaroka, this smacked of favoured treatment to the SDAs. In his 1937 Station Report he explained that the Asaro River portion of the Goroka Valley was closed to Europeans by order of the District Officer, because of an outbreak of tribal fighting early in the year. Hofmann accepted this until in March he received news that an Adventist missionary was starting to build a station close to the original Lutheran evangelist station at Sigoiya. Hofmann applied to Aitchison at Kainantu for permission to visit the Lutheran villages around Sigoiya, but was refused. He must have protested, or perhaps Neuendettelsau officials took up the matter with higher authorities, for he was able to report:

"Later the officer must have realised that it was not fair if the Adventists got permission to build a station for white missionaries so close to our old station, where our evangelists had worked for more than three years and now we did not even get permission to visit .... So finally permission was given to us."(3)

As far as can be ascertained no documentary evidence exists to

3 Georg Hofmann, "Station Report Asaloka (Gafuga), 1937", Lutheran Archives, Ampo, Lae.



prove that the Administration was pursuing a policy of discrimination against Neuendettelsau Mission expansion in the Highlands. There were no written instructions to patrol officers that they should actively cooperate with SDA missionaries in the securing of station sites while at the same time putting obstacles in the way of the German Lutherans who wished to do the same. Nor can it be proved from the documentary evidence that the Seventh Day Adventists were encouraged to expand their work in the Highlands with the express purpose of counteracting the influence of the Neuendettelsau Mission. The SDAs' own explanation of the Administration's favourable attitude towards them was their excellent record in native health, hygiene and education as demonstrated on such islands as Mussau and Emira. In his book, Letters of Gold, SDA author A G Stewart describes how in 1933 the government anthropologist E W P Chinnery called an SDA missionary into his office in Rabaul and showed him a collection of aerial photographs of Kainantu, which revealed the inhabitants to be "industrious, organized gardeners". They were also "dirty" (a challenge to the SDA promotion of the 'cleanliness next to godliness' maxim) and being without tobacco as yet, were non-smokers. Stewart reports Chinnery as saying, "I thought this would appeal to you Adventists when I heard it", to which Stewart adds the comment, "It certainly did."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A G Stewart. 1973. In Letters of Gold. Heroism for God in the South Seas. Mountain View, California: Pacific Press, p 100.

However there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that the Australian authorities were not merely concerned about health and hygiene when encouraging the SDAs to commence and expand their mission work in the Highlands. The Department of Territories' file document on 'Germans in New Guinea' of 1939 - 1940 reveals an official fear of Neuendettelsau missionaries which almost borders on the hysterical. The authors quote a Department of the Army report on "suspicious consignments, labelled 'machinery' of the size of machine guns and rifles, which were noticed during the last ten years for delivery to the missions." It was further stated that "Finschhafen (the Neuendettelsau Mission headquarters) has been supplying regular weather reports for the German Naval Observatory. The districts concerned in the reports are near the main aerodromes and landing grounds." The Defence Authorities are also quoted as saying that "there is ample evidence that the Lutheran Mission has been promulgating pro-German doctrines for years past and that it is not too much to say that the Mission has been for all practical purposes the equivalent of an active branch of the NSDAP."(5)

That most German nationals working in pre-War New Guinea felt a

5 "German Missionaries in New Guinea", a report compiled by JB/JM, 15 February 1940. Commonwealth Archives, Canberra. 822. Dept of Territories, 1928 - 1941. Correspondence Files, Multiple Number Series 1918 - 1960. "Defence Control of German Missionaries F2". 1940 - 1945. CSR A518 item AB161211.

NSDAP - the German Nazi Party or Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei.

sense of loyalty to their Fatherland is beyond dispute, but charges that the German Lutheran missionaries were active Nazi agents is another matter altogether, and impossible to prove. That some Lutherans were sympathetic to Naziism was evident to patrol officers who discussed politics with them. However it is one thing to be sympathetic and quite another to engage as a spy or subversive agent. The question of the Neuendettelsau Mission's political attitudes and activities in New Guinea is discussed at length by Hank Nelson in his paper, 'Loyalties at Sword-Point'.(6) He gives a sympathetic exposition of the dilemma faced by the German missionaries, caught by Martin Luther's injunction to submit to the secular authorities, even though the home government be made up of "fools" and "scoundrels", and though the local administration appears to have no sympathy for the work of the Mission.

More perplexing was the fact that Luther, writing from a 16th century perspective, was able to offer little guidance to his 20th century followers (who found themselves living thousands of miles from their homeland) on how to act when two rival and increasingly hostile secular powers demanded of them complete and undivided loyalty. Christ's warning that it is not possible to serve two masters must have come home to these German Lutherans in New Guinea with particular and distressing force.

6 H N Nelson, "Loyalties at Sword-Point: The Lutheran Missionaries in Wartime New Guinea, 1939 - 1945", discussion paper, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, Canberra, April 1977.

Although the most serious charges brought against the Neuendettelsau Mission by Australian military intelligence lack credibility, the fact that these reports were believed by the Rabaul Administration does lend support to the view that there was an official, although unstated, policy to restrict the influence and expansion of the Lutherans in the Highlands. If the Lutheran Mission's activities had been under observation by Australian security for ten years, as claimed in the 1940 Army report, and it was genuinely believed that crates labelled 'machinery' actually contained machine guns and rifles, then surely the Administration would do all in its power to hinder the Mission's growth. And would not one effective measure be to aid and abet the establishment of a rival mission, particularly one whose personnel were loyal, English-speaking Australians, missionaries who might have some unusual ideas about diet and Sabbath observance, but whose allegiance to the British Empire could be depended on absolutely? Another advantage was that the SDAs put little or no stress on vernacular languages, using Pidgin as the medium for the spoken and printed word.(7) A complaint levelled by the Defence authorities against the Lutherans was that they issued dubious publications in native languages which nobody else could read, and might very well be

7 It was explained to me by Pastor John Gate, of the SDA Mission, Goroka, that SDA pastor and missionary appointments are for fixed terms, and that consequently the time spent in one place is not long enough to justify the church worker learning the local language, particularly where Pidgin can be used effectively.

used to spread pro-German influence among the local population. This fear would have been confirmed by a report in the Rabaul Times of Hitler's stated aim to regain former German colonies. The date of this report - 12 February, 1937 - is significant.

The Rabaul Administration also did what it could to encourage the Anglican Church to establish a mission in the Highlands. In an editorial headed 'Messages to Mt Hagen',<sup>(8)</sup> the Rabaul Times rather scathingly reported a lecture delivered by Chinnery to the Anglican Melanesian Mission in London in July 1934, which resulted in "our Director of District Services (awakening) the interest of the officials of the Melanesian Mission to such an extent that they have launched their special 'New Guinea Fund'.." The Rabaul Times quoted from a Mission folder which claimed that the Bishop of Melanesia had been invited, presumably by Chinnery, to send missionaries "into the hitherto unexplored territory of New Guinea around Mt Hagen" and that "the Government is willing to give every encouragement to the Missionaries if they are forthcoming." The writer of the leader in the Rabaul Times points out that there are already three rival denominations - Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist - operating in the Highlands. Warning of "the lengths to which sectarian strife will go" the newspaper editor urges the Administration to

8 Rabaul Times, Friday 21 September 1934.

"enforce the strictest surveillance" upon the missions. There is a strong inference that rather than encourage new mission bodies to enter the Highlands, as Chinnery had done, the Administration should be restricting those already there. In the light of the difficulties which government officials had already encountered with Lutheran - Catholic rivalry in the Highlands, this would seem to have been advice the Administration would be glad to heed. But not, of course, if Chinnery's purpose was to counteract German missionary influence. What more loyal, level-headed, dependable body than the Church of England could be found to fulfil such an aim? Fresh from his success in getting the SDAs established at Kainantu in the eastern highlands, Chinnery's next move may well have been to dangle before the Anglicans the bait of Mount Hagen, in the western highlands. Unfortunately for him the bait was not taken. This was not for want of appetite on the part of the Melanesian Mission, but simply that the Church in Australia was suffering from anorexia nervosa, brought on by an acute shortage of funds as a result of the Great Depression. Neither stipends nor materials were available for a new mission venture.(9)

The Bishop of Melanesia, Walter Baddeley, did have discussions about Mount Hagen with the Administrator in Rabaul, and McNicoll

9 Australian Board of Missions, Minutes of meetings held in Sydney 13 - 14 March and 10 - 11 July 1935. "Nothing has been possible towards sending a pioneering party to open work amongst the newly discovered natives in the Mt Hagen plateau. The main hindrance is lack of funds." (Minutes, 10 - 11 July 1935, p 2.)

advised him to talk to Charles Marshall, an experienced Highlands gold prospector-surveyor, who had been with the Leahys in the Goroka Valley in 1933. In 1934 Marshall was at Wau, working for the New Guinea Goldfields Company, and when the Bishop made his pastoral visit to the Goldfields late that year, he took the opportunity to be briefed by Marshall on the highlands region and the costs, manpower and equipment needed for an inland expedition. He told Marshall that McNicoll was worried about German missionary influence in the Highlands, particularly that of the Lutherans, and wanted the Melanesian Mission to counteract this influence. When the Bishop asked why the Roman Catholics could not fulfil that function McNicoll is reported to have replied that their Divine Word Mission was also largely made up of Germans.(10)

The Department of Territories document on 'Germans in New Guinea' noted that on the staff of the three Catholic missions operating in New Guinea there were "numbers of Germans" but that "there is no suggestion that the personnel of the Catholic Missions is anti-British and pro-German". The Administrator had reported that although many Roman Catholic missionaries had been "definitely antagonistic to the Administration over years past, there has been no new feature in the nature of pro-German activities since the beginning of the war." There may be a

10 Charles Marshall, interviewed at Killara, NSW, 1982. For McNicoll's attitude to Germans see also the article by his son, Gen R R McNicoll, Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society, Vol 2, No 2, 1969, pp 9, 12, 13, 15.

hidden assumption here that missionaries' anti-government sentiment resulted from pro-German sympathy. Certainly foreign missionaries who opposed the Administration on any matter, be it restrictions on the freedom of movement or failure to protect the rights of plantation labourers, were branded as disloyal persons "attempting to embarrass Australia before the League of Nations".(11) McNicoll and other Territory officials who had gone to War against Germany in 1914 - 18, found it difficult to separate legitimate criticism of their administration from subversive undermining of Australian rule, particularly when the criticism came from a foreigner, and more especially when that foreign national was a German.

To conclude the discussion on government attitudes toward the missions, it can be said that the Administration entertained considerable fears concerning the activities and influence of German missionaries, and that the Neuendettelsau Lutherans, more so than the German staff of Roman Catholic missions, were the focus of this alarm. That the government did not make these fears public can be understood both in terms of wanting to keep the supposed enemy under quiet surveillance and of not having sufficient hard evidence to make an exposure credible anyway. Whether the Administration's attitude towards the Neuendettelsau

11 Nelson, op cit, p 4. R R McNicoll (op cit, p15) reveals that his father was concerned about defence, intelligence and the control of aliens from as early as 1934. He prepared a secret defence scheme, known only to himself and two other officials. This helps to explain his attitude to foreign missionaries.



Mission was translated into a deliberate policy of hindering Lutheran activities in the Highlands and of encouraging rival missions whose loyalty to Australia was unquestioned, cannot be proved beyond doubt, although the circumstantial evidence outlined above does point in that direction.

T G AITCHISON AND N C ELLIOTT

The two government officers most directly responsible for administration of the Goroka Valley in 1937 were Thomas George Aitchison and Neil Campbell Elliott. Aitchison was promoted to patrol officer in 1936, and with the departure of Jim Taylor from the Highlands in November 1936 he became the senior officer in the eastern section of the region, and was in charge of Kainantu, Binintegu and Bena Bena posts. His senior officer was A F "Bill" Kyle at Chimbu. Kyle made at least two patrols from Chimbu to Bena Bena in 1937, but the Bena post and the Goroka Valley were regarded as part of Kainantu's administrative domain, and Aitchison was answerable for what happened there.

N C Elliott was the son of Brigadier-General H E Elliott, whose troops in France during World War I had christened him "Pompey" after the Roman general who was famous for his 'crash-through' battle tactics. Neil quickly acquired his father's nickname, although he was by nature "quiet and rather reserved".(12) But A

12 Territories Branch, Correspondence Files, "New Guinea Staff Cadets. Department of District Services and Native Affairs, 1935 - 1936. Report to Prime Minister, 3 February 1936". Australian Archives, Canberra. CRS A518, item C852/1/5 Part IV.

R McNeil, Chaplain at Scotch College, Melbourne, Elliott's school, wrote to the Public Service Inspector's Office: "Do not judge him by his manner. He is shy with strangers. Only those who know him realise the concentrated power in the man."(13)

The young 'Pompey' Elliott had passed seven B Sc subjects at Melbourne University while working part time but for financial reasons had had to discontinue his studies in 1934 and take full-time employment. His plans, like those of the (Anglican) Australian Board of Missions, fell victim to the Great Depression. His father, who became a Senator in the Australian Parliament, had committed suicide in 1931,(14) an event which probably contributed to the son's inability to attend University full-time. His vigorous recreational life, which included rowing, rifle and revolver shooting, five years as a machine-gun sergeant in the Militia Forces and ten years involvement with the Boy Scouts Movement impressed the selection committee acting on behalf of the New Guinea Department of District Services and Native Affairs. He was appointed a Cadet Patrol Officer early in 1936, and a few months later found himself posted to Kainantu under the immediate supervision of Tommy Aitchison. He must have impressed his senior officers, for soon after the departure of Jim Taylor from the Bena Bena post in August 1936 he was put in

13 ibid

14 See The Age, 26.12.81 for article on Gen Harold Elliott, "The Hero Who Chose to Die".

charge of the Finintegu - Goroka Valley area. He was 23 years old, which might be said to be the right age in a physical sense for the demands put on an "outside" man, although somewhat wanting in terms of emotional maturity. That all the government officers in charge at the Bena Post from then until the end of civil administration in 1942, were men still in their early twenties, is a factor worth noting. Their youth ensured that the Goroka Valley would be "vigorously patrolled" and the people would experience a government presence which was forceful, tireless and enthusiastic. The strong, sometimes brash behaviour traits of these young cadet patrol officers did to some extent appeal to the highland temperament, for they were qualities much admired in the villagers' own fighting men. Although lacking the maturity of more experienced and older men like Taylor and Kyle, they seem to have made no serious mistakes in their exercise of administrative authority, and in general the people respected and in many cases admired them. "Pompey" Elliott, with his quality of "concentrated power", was well-suited for his Bena Bena posting, but when, after relating to highlanders, he was transferred to Aitape in the west Sepik, he failed to adjust to the swamp people's more introspective, brooding temperament. While on patrol in July 1939, he was ambushed and killed by the Wanali villagers, who resented his forceful methods of control.(15)

15 Elliott's death reported in Rabaul Times, Friday 21 July 1939. Details of the circumstances leading to his death given to me in 1976 by Father Tim Elliott, a Roman Catholic priest based

## SDA MISSION ESTABLISHED AT SIGOIYA

It was Elliott who had to deal at first hand with the Lutheran and SDA missionaries who were so anxious to establish head stations in his territory. It is perhaps understandable, with respect to his own and his father's backgrounds, that he would be more favourably disposed to the SDAs, whether or not he was guided by any official policy, than to the German Lutherans. The SDA missionary, Stanley Gander, arrived some time in March 1937 at the Bena Base Camp, with a party of ten native teachers and sixteen Bena lads who had been attending the SDA school at Kainantu. They walked overland for two days from Kainantu, and with "Pompey" Elliott's permission set up a camp at Sigoiya, not far from the government post, and right next door to the site of the Lutheran evangelist station. It was this information which had reached Georg Hofmann through the evangelists living at Rabana. (It will be remembered that evangelists had been allowed to return to their stations as far west as the Dunantina, but not into the Goroka Valley. The Rabana evangelists had been able to keep in touch with the Lutheran villages in the Bena Bena area.) Later Gander moved his station to a hilltop about 4 miles north-west of the government post. It is not clear whether this was due to Lutheran protests, to Elliott's desire to keep the

in the Wanali area. The people told Father Tim that 'Pompey' Elliott had ordered them to clean up the village, and when they had failed to obey his instructions he had his police beat them with canes while they cleaned up the human and animal faeces with their bare hands. His murder was in retaliation for this humiliating act.

missionaries at arm's length or the SDAs' own choice. Mrs Greta Gander, the widow of Stan Gander, stated in 1976 that she believed herself to be partly instrumental in the selection of the hilltop site.(16) The official permit to establish the mission specifically stated that she and her daughter Gwen were not allowed to leave the station, except for occasional visits to the government post. With recollections of the monotonous view of jungle and coconuts experienced on Mussau Island where the Ganders had worked before coming to Kainantu she pleaded with her husband for a site with an outlook. She was not disappointed. "What a wonderful position and glorious view!" she wrote ecstatically to the SDAs at home in Australia, in her first report from the new station.(17) Pastor A J Campbell, Stan Gander's colleague at Kainantu, was equally impressed when he visited the site. "From a scenic standpoint this station is superbly located, being situated at an altitude of almost 7,000 feet. Nature is lavish here, with her great mountains and ever-changing cloud effects."(18)

Greta Gander recalls that the hilltop site had been occupied by

16 Mrs Greta Gander, in telephone conversation with me, 19 February 1976.

17 "Letter from Bena Bena, Central New Guinea", in Australasian Record, 27 September 1937, p 3.

18 "Advancement in Central New Guinea", Australasian Record, 14 June 1937, p 3.

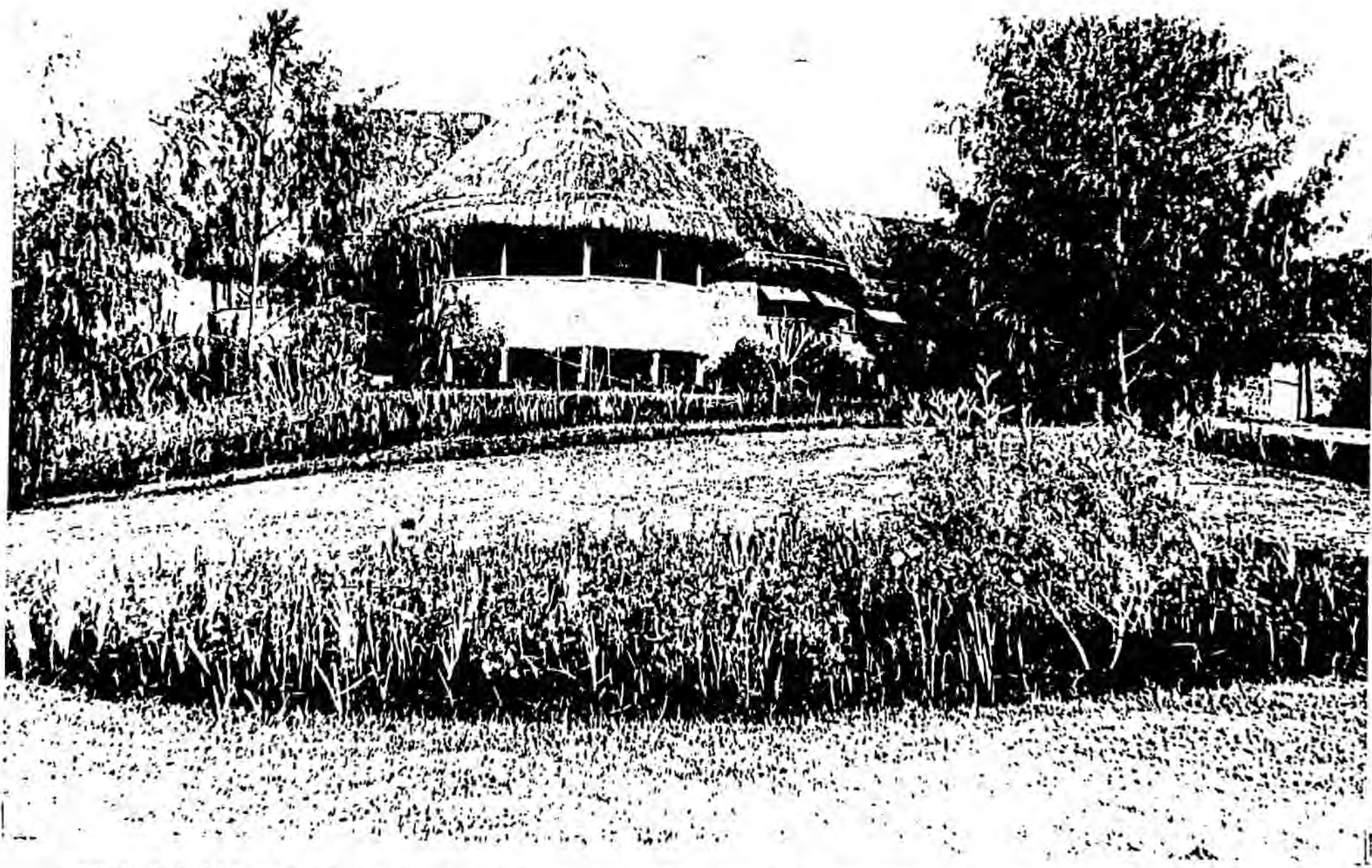
Sigoiya village people, but with the establishment of government control they had decided it was safe to move down to a lower position, which was much closer to the airstrip. They had offered Sigoiya hill to the mission, in the hope of benefitting from the presence of Europeans. Mrs Gander also confirms that 'Pompey' Elliott was not happy for the mission station to be too close to the government settlement. This was readily accepted by the Ganders, and there seems to have been complete cooperation between patrol officer and missionaries. In fact, according to Greta Gander, the SDAs had a high regard for 'Pompey' Elliott. "He used to come up to our house quite often", she recalled in 1976, "And he was a very nice chap. He became a great friend. Indeed all those young patrol officers were our friends and our mission house became a second home to them." This cordial relationship between government and mission needs to be recognised when considering the claims by the Lutherans that they were sometimes treated less fairly than the SDAs by government officers. The distance of Asaroka mission station from the Bena post, and the inevitable tensions and misunderstandings between people of different language and nationality, not to mention political beliefs, could only hinder the development of good social and business relations between patrol officers and the Lutherans. The SDAs had a natural advantage in this regard over their missionary rivals.

In May 1937 Aitchison flew to Bena Bena to "investigate land conditions and inspect (the) proposed site for SDA Mission

Lease."(19) He visited the various Sigoiya hamlets and then with the vendors ascended Sigoiya hill to examine the mission site. In his report he stressed that "particular care was taken and information checked so far as possible from a number of informants." This was a wise precaution to ensure that the people offering the land were in fact the owners. Apparently satisfied that all was in order, Aitchison recommended that the land be purchased and the SDAs be allowed to go ahead with the establishment of their Sigoiya mission station. He also noted that the government station "is being improved and repaired by Mr Elliott and work is progressing well."

Pastor Gander and his helpers erected an imposing bush-materials house on the hilltop. Most of the work was done by the ten native teachers, experienced craftsmen whom the Ganders had brought with them to Kainantu, in 1934, from the islands of Mussau and Emira. Stan Gander had been in charge of a training college on Mussau before pioneering the SDA mission work in the highlands. Consequently he and the teachers had had a long association together, and had three years at Kainantu to become adjusted to the altitude, climate and people before moving to Bena Bena. Although they could not claim the experience of the Lutherans, they were in no sense wide-eyed novices in the demanding task of highlands evangelisation. Their chief handicap

19 T G Aitchison, "Patrol Report No B.36/37, Ramu, May 1937. To Investigate Land Conditions and Inspect Proposed Site for SDA Mission Lease", National Archives, Port Moresby.



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The S.D.A. Mission house on Sigoiya hill, built by Stan Gander's Musau and Emira (New Ireland) mission helpers in 1937.  
(Photo from Mrs G. Gander)



was in their lack of knowledge of the local languages, and in at least the early years all their communication with the Goroka Valley people depended upon the young Bena boys who had been with them at Kainantu.

By August the big house with its conical roofs, high verandahs and superb views across most of the Goroka Valley, was ready for use. The new occupants of Sigoiya hill had also erected a large dormitory for the teachers, some of whom would later be joined by their wives and children. Vegetable gardens were being laid out on the hill slopes. Such was the scene which greeted Mrs Gander and Gwen. "Natives seemed to come from everywhere - all jabbering and laughing and crying, and pressing close to us to feel us and touch us and embrace us", wrote Greta Gander.(20) She did not realise at the time that they were the first white women to come and live in the Goroka Valley, and Gwen was the first European child the people had ever seen.

In the first few weeks after Greta and Gwen Gander's arrival, huge crowds gathered around the mission station to watch the European women's every move. When Mrs Gander attempted to do the washing a large audience pressed about her, kicking up clouds of red dust which swirled around the copper. She succeeded in getting the multitude to sit down, but as soon as she began pegging out the clothes they ran after her, gasping in amazement

20 "Letter from Bena Bena, Central New Guinea", loc cit.



Top: Greta and Gwen Gander with Jim Taylor and Isagua Hepu at Hapatoka in 1939.  
Bottom: Sigoiya from the air, c.1940. Mission house on left, church/school room on right. (Photos from Mrs. G. Gander)



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as each item of clothing was displayed. More excitement was to come. A herd of goats, indispensable on every SDA mission station as a substitute for the unclean pig, rushed at the clothes line, the old billy grabbing at a table cloth and a pair of Stan Gander's trousers. When the hundreds of people realised what was happening they turned on the goats, fighting them for possession of the washing. Greta Gander "did not know what was worse - the goats or the dirty, greasy natives dodging around the newly washed clothes." Eventually order was restored, the washing was dry and Mrs Gander concluded philosophically, "What do a few smudges of pig's grease matter, anyhow." (21) A similar keen interest was taken by the local people in the first Sabbath service, which was followed by a song service and Picture Roll talk. (The SDA missionaries did much of their religious teaching by means of these picture rolls, which vividly depicted scenes from the Bible and apocalyptic happenings soon to overwhelm the earth.) Greta Gander noted that the people "seem to take an intelligent interest in all that is told them" but admitted that "it is hard for us to know just how much of it they understand." In the early years of the mission's presence they probably understood very little of the SDAs religious beliefs, but what held their attention was both the novelty and the potential usefulness, of the missionaries' possessions, skills and lifestyle. The weekly washing of garments and table cloths, the

21 ibid

clever method of drying them on a clothes line, the relationship between soap suds and cleanliness, goats and healthy living - these practical manifestations of a new way of life were what drew the Goroka Valley people to Sigoiya hill.

Georg Hofmann's claim that "only one village close to the Adventist's station had turned towards them" and that "all the other villages still belonged to us" was rather a case of wishful thinking, even though he had been assured by the "Lutheran" villagers that "we were their 'real' fathers because we came first to them."(22) It was going to be very difficult to compete with a mission which had European personnel becoming more entrenched by the day in the midst of the Bena Bena population. The Lutherans looked down somewhat condescendingly on missionaries who worked in the "corrupt" pidgin language, and did not even try to learn the language of the people. Furthermore, Hofmann believed, Gander's native helpers were simply "contract workers", implying that they could not be expected to have the degree of dedication shown by his own evangelists. In this he probably underestimated the SDAs, although he was right about their language deficiencies. Another advantage he could fairly claim over the Adventists was that "they don't seem to have any understanding of New Guinean culture, art and education."(23) In

22 Georg Hofman, "Asaroka Station Report", 1937.

23 ibid



Georg and Clara Hofmann with baby Kate  
at Asaroka, c. 1938.

the short-term these were real handicaps which the SDAs carried in their race with the Lutherans to win the hearts and minds of the Goroka Valley people, but in the long run they were perhaps not so important. When the youngsters who learnt Pidgin in the SDA schools grew up and competed for jobs and economic advantage against their contemporaries who learnt Kotte in Lutheran schools, the Seven Days usually won all the prizes. Some of those educated by the Lutherans at Asaroka and Onerunka in the late 1930s carry strong feelings of resentment at the wasted time and effort learning a language which was of no use to them in their adult life. It might also be argued that the Lutheran missionary's respect for 'New Guinean culture, art and education' was not going to be appreciated by New Guinean students whose main aim was to learn the secrets of European wealth and power. However in 1937 Georg Hofmann was not vouchsafed a vision of the Goroka Valley as it would be 20 or 30 years into the future, and his immediate, urgent problem was to get himself established in the Valley at Asaroka, where he could match Adventist vegetarian, picture-roll millenarianism with Lutheran confessional, liturgical pietism.

#### LUTHERAN MISSION ESTABLISHED AT ASAROKA

Hofmann was a cultured, artistic man, whose recreational passion was to paint pictures of the immense, towering mountainscapes which dwarfed his isolated mission site on the valley floor. His deeply introspective personality carried the scars of a childhood spent in desperate poverty, in the terrible Depression years of pre-Nazi Germany. His father was an itinerant carpenter, whose

meagre wages became almost worthless by the time they reached his hungry dependents at home, in this time of rampant inflation. They faced starvation on more than one occasion. In his application to enter Neuendettelsau Mission Seminary he wrote, "I can't say that I can look back to a happy and carefree childhood." In 1928 he was accepted by the Seminary, and soon showed "a great gift for languages,(and) was sent to Hamburg for a course in linguistics."(24) He left Germany for New Guinea in June, 1933.

Georg Hofmann's tragedy was that he departed his homeland at the time of Hitler's rise to power and never returned to see the new Germany that the Nazis created out of the turmoil of the Depression years. He could only judge Hitler by the propaganda he heard each night from Berlin. (The programmes were transmitted on short-wave through Iran, and could be clearly received on Hofmann's radio at Asaroka.) Reports from relatives and friends confirmed the Nazi achievement of an economic miracle with working people again having bread and potatoes on their tables.

As Frieda Helbig, the Lutheran archivist and sister-in-law of Hofmann explained in 1974, he and his older colleagues saw Hitler, from a distance, as the saviour of Germany. They had

24 Biographical information from Mrs Frieda Helbig. Correspondence 9 November 1973.

made tentative plans to form a Nazi party in New Guinea, although it was never formally instituted, nor did it meet. However the Australian Administration knew about it and had a list of all those who were associated with it, or were known to have Nazi sympathies. Georg Hofmann was on this list.(25) Consequently the government officers with whom he dealt at Kainantu and Bena Bena could hardly have shared his enthusiasm for the setting up of a new Lutheran mission station in the Goroka Valley. Any sluggishness on the part of Aitchison and Elliott to provide the necessary permits and cooperation needs to be seen against this background, although when interviewed in July 1984, Tommy Aitchison disclaimed any knowledge of a 'Nazi' list. However he was aware of the German Lutherans' divided loyalties and their tendency to engage in power-politics at the village level. Consequently he was wary of any Lutheran advance into new areas.

By way of comparison it is useful to note the treatment Willi Bergmann received at Kunuiawa from Bil. Kyle, whom all the missionaries at that time agreed was the toughest kiap in the Highlands. Kyle's dislike of the Missions knew no denominational bounds. Greta Gander claims that even the SDAs felt the chill winds of his displeasure. Yet Bergmann, who lived virtually next door to him, quickly got the measure of the man, and after one or two clashes concerning police and evangelists, developed a good working relationship with him, and never felt that Kyle treated

25 Frieda Helbig, interviewed at Ampo, Lae, 24 August 1974.



him less fairly than others.(26) Although loyal to his fatherland Bergmann did not involve himself in any way in Nazi politics and was certainly not on the Administrator's list of Nazi suspects.(27) Hans Flierl, another missionary whom the authorities believed they could trust - he had, after all, spent most of his life in New Guinea - also seems to have been treated evenhandedly. He had officiated at the Aitchisons' wedding, and remained on good terms with them throughout the years of growing international tension. Admittedly Bergmann and Flierl were friendly, sociable men whose affable natures transcended any political differences of opinion with their Australian neighbours, whereas Hofmann's rather dark, introspective personality set up a barrier in his relationships with the kiaps. It must also be acknowledged that the area chosen by Hofmann for his mission station, although within the Administration's 'corridor of power', was not under the same degree of control as the area surrounding the SDAs at Sigoiya. Although Ubom and his police colleagues exercised some influence over the Asaroka

26 Willi Bergmann, interviewed at Mutdapilly, Queensland, June 1982. Most, if not all, the missionaries Kyle had to deal with in Chimbu and the Wahgi were foreigners.

27 Those on the list were arrested and removed to Australia as soon as War was declared in September, 1939. Hofmann was among that first group of prisoners of war. But Bergmann, like many other German nationals, was allowed to remain at his station until after the Allied reverses in Europe of May 1940. Also he was permitted to return to Chimbu after the War, whereas the Administration was adamant that Hofmann could not return to the Highlands, where he could exert an influence among a large number of people. Instead he went to a remote station on the Rai coast.

people and their hostile neighbours, there was no permanent police presence, and the European patrol officer at Bena Bena was a day's walk away. Hofmann and his evangelists were going to be very much on their own for most of the time amongst this turbulent, excitable people.

During January 1937 Hofmann had visited the villages vacated by the evangelists in August 1936, and had been disappointed to find the mission huts at Asaroka completely demolished. His frustration was tempered by the realisation that the site was in the midst of a battle ground: "To be fair to the people it has to be stated that around that time the Asaloka people lived in an awful state of warfare. The Ufeto, Notofana, Jujijufa, Olepaina and Lunumbewe .... all fought against the Asalokas and tried to chase them away and wipe them out. During these fights our houses were used for a war base. .... Of course our huts provided good firewood."(28)

However when the permits were finally issued and the mission party was able to return to Asaroka on 13 July, 1937, Hofmann reported that "the people welcomed us with shouts of joy." The first job was to prepare "the very much neglected" airstrip, as it had been arranged that the mission Junkers, the 'Papua', would fly in supplies on the 16th. This strip had been cleared by

28 Georg Hofmann, "Asaroka Station Report", 1937.



Asaroka people awaiting the arrival of the Lutheran Mission Junkers plane 'Papua', July 1937.  
(Georg Hofmann photo, Lutheran Archives, Neuendettelsau)

Eso'nuwe' and his fellow evangelists in 1936, in anticipation of a head station being established at Asaroka. Hofmann wrote that the slashing of the grass cost "many drops of sweat" but that they completed the job in time and the "Papua" landed on the appointed day "amidst much shouting and enthusiasm on the side of the people." Pastor Akiro, a boy of 12 at the time, recalls that the approaching aeroplane sounded like the beating of kundus (drums). Sipane Halakue, a big man of the Asaro clan, says that as the 'plane approached, the people thought it was a huge, noisy bird, but when it landed and Europeans stepped out of its inside, they decided it was some new magical thing which carried the 'spirits' about from place to place. The effect of the aeroplane was to increase the people's respect for the missionaries. The Lutherans had made a promising new beginning in the Goroka Valley. The SDAs had a head-start on them, but Hofmann was confident of winning not only "a few Asaroka villages for Christ", (and the Lutherans!), "But we are hoping for the whole area and it would not be so nice if the Adventists would put a wedge between the work we have started."(29)

Close on the heels of Hofmann and his helpers came Tommy Aitchison and eleven police. The patrol arrived at Asaroka on 26 July, and in the official language of Aitchison's report, commenced "inspection of site for proposed site for establishment

29 ibid

of Lutheran Mission Station."(30) Georg Hofmann put it more simply: "The officer from Ramu arrived to measure out a mission lease of two hectares."(31) The officer also brought unwelcome news to the Mission. He informed Hofmann that no land outside the 2 hectares could be used for gardens or mission buildings, and that no timber, which admittedly was very scarce, could be cut from a stand of casuarinas only 7 minutes walk from the station. With regard to native ownership of land and trees these restrictions were reasonable, although Hofmann probably hoped to make a private arrangement with the owners. This he was now explicitly prohibited from doing. More serious was Aitchison's order that the missionary could not visit the surrounding villages. The people could come to him, but he was not allowed to visit them. This proved to be a temporary, but nevertheless irksome, restriction. Hofmann confessed that the prohibitions "dampened my spirit and enthusiasm considerably."

Aitchison would have probably argued that village unrest was still sufficient to make it unsafe for Hofmann and the evangelists to venture forth among the warlike clans. His main concern during this patrol was to establish Rest Houses at Asaro. Yuhiyuha (Yufiyufa) and Runumpebe ('Ruruindebe' in the patrol report). Rest houses were used by patrol officers and police

30 T G Aitchison, "Patrol Report No M.37/38", dated 17 August 1937. National Archives, Port Moresby.

31 Hofmann, op cit.

when on patrol, allowing them to stay overnight in the midst of the people they were attempting to influence. The rest house remained as a permanent reminder of European power, long after the patrol officer and his men had departed. It was the job of the village leaders to maintain the rest house, and the patrol officer would make it very clear that retribution would follow if the building was not in immaculate condition when next he visited. The rest house was just one more device employed by the Administration to widen its 'corridor of power'. The next step in this process was the institution in the village of the office of luluai. However Aitchison does not refer to luluais in this report of his July patrol, and it is clear from his description of meetings he held with the people that he judged them to be not yet ready to become active participants in the government's village administration programme.

On 19 July a large assembly of from 700 to 800 people gathered at Aitchison's camp. He mentions in his report the villages of Aserufa (Asaro'zuha), Okufa (Oka'zuha), Kepamu (Ge'hamo) and Gafuka (Gahuku), which are the clans to the immediate north-west and north of the present town of Goroka. These were the people who had been Pastor Buko's neighbours when he lived at Naminamiroka in 1935 - 1936, and also those most under the influence of Police-Corporal Ubom, who had established a Police Post at Oka'zuha in 1936. Aitchison refers to 'labour working at Base Camp Buildings' on 19 July, buildings which were in fact being erected on the site of Ubom's post. Aitchison heard the

villagers' complaints, some of which "were adjusted on the spot" and he then proceeded to take "a rough census" of Oka'zuha village. This must have been difficult when representatives of so many other clans were present, but presumably he had all the Oka'zuha people at the meeting (they lived closest to the Police Post) and he seized the opportunity. The people would have sat in their clan groups. Before he could do any more census taking "rain set in at noon and natives returned to their villages." July is in theory a dry month in the Goroka Valley, but even European patrol officers could not make the weather behave as it ought to have done.

On the 22nd Aitchison visited Uheto and found the people there "extremely nervous". He spent the next day investigating sorcery cases between the Uheto and Gahuku clans, and noted that the Uheto people were "gaining confidence". On the 24th he visited all the Uheto hamlets and compiled a rough census "in order that the natives may become familiar with routine patrol procedure". After "adjusting" matters between Nota'hana and Gama and Nota'hana and Uheto the patrol moved north to Asaroka on the 26th.

It is interesting that in all of Aitchison's notes on each day's activity thereafter, he makes no mention of Hofmann actually being present at Asaroka. He describes his meetings with the Asaro, Yuhiyuha (Yufiyufa) and Runumpebe clans, the construction of the rest houses in each place and the big meeting and 'sing

sing' at Asaroka on 5 August, attended by the three aforementioned groups plus Gahuku and Uheto. But of Hofmann there is not a word, even though a primary objective of the patrol was "inspection of site for proposed site for establishment of Lutheran Mission Station." If Hofmann had "jumped the gun", so to speak, and gone to Asaroka before his permit was issued, this omission in the report could be interpreted as a desire on Aitchison's part to protect the missionary. But Hofmann is very explicit in his annual report that the permit had been issued. He even notes that his father-in-law E P Helbig, a mission carpenter-builder, (32) who had been appointed to accompany Hofmann to Asaroka, had to remain back at Orerunka because his permit had not arrived. Hofmann was not one to disobey government rules. Aitchison's only reference in the body of the report to his work on behalf of the Lutherans, is a rather oblique comment under the heading 'Missions'. "When questioned regarding missions, the natives stated that there would be less likelihood of fighting breaking out on a large scale if there was a European living among them and stated they desired both sects operating in Ramu Area to visit them." The last part of that sentence is significant. Could it be that in failing to report Hofmann's commencement at Asaroka, Aitchison was trying to leave the way open for the SDAs to move into the

32 E Paul Helbig, the father of Clara, Georg Hofmann's wife, was born in South Australia in 1884. He came to New Guinea as a lay missionary in 1906. He was ordained to the ministry in 1946, when he returned to Asaroka to reestablish the mission after the war.



Asaro area also? Once it was officially noted that the Lutheran head station had been established at Asaroka, the Administration could hardly allow a rival mission to set up in the same locality. On the other hand, Aitchison may have merely wanted to establish the SDAs right to work in a Lutheran area of influence, and by recording the people's desire to be visited by both sects, forestall any protests the Lutherans might make when the Seven Days came 'poaching' on their ground. Either way, the patrol officer can be seen to have been promoting not only the government's, but also the SDAs 'corridor of power' in the Goroka Valley.

To be fair to Aitchison, a further explanation of the omission of Hofmann from the patrol report needs to be considered. Given that the Lutherans' permit to settle at Asaroka was delayed because of the outbreak of tribal fighting earlier in the year, it is possible Aitchison wanted to give the impression that the situation was now quiet and that the people were genuinely seeking peace. He reports how he held long discussions with them on "the objects of the Administration" - it was not necessary to do this with the Goroka area clans, who no doubt were by this time familiar with these objectives. But he had to admit to an underlying current of restlessness among the various groups in the Asaroka region. Natives at Yuhiyuha, for example, were "nervous and distrustful". Had he drawn attention to Hofmann, some official reading his report in Salamaua or Rabaul might have decided it was still unsafe for the Lutherans to live in the area, and withdrawn the permit. Once the station was properly

established, with permanent material houses erected, there would be less likelihood of this happening. When interviewed in July 1984, Tommy Aitchison was not able to throw any further light on this matter. He was unable to recall details of the patrol.

#### GOROKA VALLEY PEOPLES' VISIT TO KAINANTU

One objective, which only becomes clear when he reports his activities on 7 August, the third last day of the patrol, was to gather up a representative group of 200 volunteers to accompany him back to Kainantu to meet the Australian Governor-General, Lord Gowrie. He drew these people from each of the main groups he had visited - Gahuku (Goroka), Uheto, Asaro, Runumpebe and Yuhiyuha - and whom he had brought together at Asaroka for the big meeting and 'sing-sing' on 5 August. For many it would have been their first trip out of the Goroka Valley.

At Finintegu, Aitchison and his 200 met "Pompey" Elliott and a further 500 villagers, whom the CPO had collected from each of the clans in the Bena Bena - Finintegu area. As Elliott remarked in his report of this great march along the 'corridor of power': "Starting with small numbers at Bena Bena the party swelled, snowball fashion, as it progressed until on reaching Ramu, the extended line was over a mile long." (33) He commented on the gratification he received in seeing former bitter enemies

33 N C Elliott, "Patrol Report M37/38 '150 Bena Bena and 200 Gafuku (Asaro) Natives Visit Kainantu for Governor-General's Visit'. District of Madang, Ramu Police Post, 21 August 1937". National Archives, Port Moresby.

intermingling and shaking hands, and receiving food along the way from clans with whom they had previously been at war. Elliott had left Bena Bena with 150 villagers, arrived at Finintegu with 300, met up with Aitchison and his 200 from Goroka and the Asaro, collected another 100 at Finintegu, arrived at Kompri with 900, left there with 1200 and finally marched into Kainantu with a small army of 1500. Meanwhile in Rabaul, where people were still cleaning up after the disastrous volcanic eruptions in May, the movie-talkie film 'Sanders of the River' was being screened at the Regent Picture Theatre. Promising to reveal 'the darkest secrets of the darkest continent' the promoters offered "the adventurous, thrilling story of three white men who ruled three million savages ...." Aitchison and Elliott could be forgiven for imagining themselves the New Guinean counterparts of Sanders of the River.(34)

Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Gowrie were entertained at Kainantu by five and a half thousand plumed, dancing warriors, and the Governor-General was treated to an exhibition for male eyes only of the cane-swallowing act, "performed by an experienced exponent of this peculiar rite."(35) This was Bena

34 'Sanders of the River', starring Paul Robeson, Leslie Banks, Nina Mae McKinney "and a cast of thousands", advertised in the Rabaul Times, 6 August 1937. Aitchison's and Elliott's thoughts are a matter for conjecture, but Ian Downs has told me, "we all to some extent identified with Sanders of the River". (Interviewed in Canberra, 17 December 1973.)

35 Rabaul Times, 20 August 1937.

Bena's special contribution to the vice-regal entertainments. For his part Lord Gowrie made a speech, which according to Inapo Kaug, the Goroka language (Gahuku) interpreter, made less impression on the multitude than did his dazzling white suit. Inapo recalls that "we all sat around in groups on the ground and he made a speech, but I don't think anybody understood it. Each group had different interpreters. The kiaps told us in Pidgin what the Governor-General was saying and we had to turn it into our place-talk for the people. But in the end I think the people got the wrong idea."(36) Inapo was able to grasp the gist of the address - that they should live together in peace, and that the government is the bringer of peace and if there is no fighting things will work out well for the people. Perhaps the warriors heard the message well enough, but failed to act upon it. This would be true of Inapo's people, the men from Uheto and their Gahuku, Notohana, Yuhiyuha and Asaro neighbours, who still had a few years of bloody fighting to get out of their systems before His Excellency's message was finally embraced as their normal way of life. According to Inapo the Goroka Valley representatives were very pleased with their trip to Kainantu - not least the food rations of bully beef and sweet potato issued at government expense and on their return home "the big men got all the people together and told them everything they had seen and done. Everyone listened to them with great interest."

36 Inapo Kaug, interviewed at Uheto, 23 April 1976.

Nomi Payo, the Kainantu interpreter who was also present at the Governor-General's welcome, makes the interesting observation that although there was still some fear of one another expressed by the different clans, they joined together for a spectacular sing-sing and "this was the first real sign of Highlands unity."(37) Aitchison and Elliott, aided by the 'Big Man Bilong Gavman long Australia' and his lady, had struck a decisive blow for Australian rule in their corridor of power.

C R CROFT AND N D MCWILLIAM

In October 1937 Aitchison went on leave and was replaced at Kainantu by Cedric Robert Croft, a 25 year old patrol officer who had come to New Guinea as a CPO as recently as October 1935. His appointment was only a few months ahead of Elliott's, but seniority was the important factor in promotion, and "Pompey" Elliott had to wait until early 1938 before his leave and subsequent appointment to the West Sepik as a patrol officer. Croft spent about a month with Aitchison "learning the ropes" prior to the latter's departure, and then on 29 October he set off on his first patrol along the eastern highlands' 'corridor of power'.

He was able to describe the by now well-worn track along which the government patrols moved as the 'Main Road between Ramu and

37 Nomi Payo, interviewed at Kainantu, 4 May 1976.

Asaluka Mission Station.'(38) These paths were maintained by the local villagers by order of the government authorities, as a distinct part of the Administration's policy of pacification and control. In Elliott's Patrol Report of 30 September, 1937,(39) he describes at some length his efforts to find a suitable crossing place over the Bena Bena River, keeping in mind the ultimate development of the road which "must make provision for motor traffic." This prediction had to await the coming of the Pacific War to the Highlands for its fulfilment, and "Pompey" Elliott would have envisaged somewhat more elegant vehicles than the sturdy, squat, army jeeps which in 1943 pounded along the dusty route he had helped to survey in 1937.

At Bena Bena Elliott had been joined by his replacement Neville David ("Sam") McWilliam, and the day after Cedric Croft's arrival at the post the three government officers were visited by Stan Gander, who had presumably come to pay his respects to Croft. Sam McWilliam was Number 51 to Cedric Croft's Number 50 on the 1936 seniority list,(40) and in October 1937 was still a CPO. He was 3 years younger than Croft, and the three young men gathered

38 C R Croft, "Patrol Report No M 37/38", 17 November 1937. National Archives, Port Moresby.

39 N C Elliott, "Patrol Report No M 37/38", 30 September 1937. National Archives, Port Moresby.

40 Department of District Services and Native Affairs, Staffing List, 1936. Australian Archives. Filed with Territories Branch, Correspondence Files: New Guinea Staff. (See Note 41, below.)

at Bena Bena on that weekend in late October 1937 shared much in common. As well as their youth they were all men with what might be described as 'good family connections'. Elliott, the son of a well known Anzac general was the social equal of McWilliam, son of "a well known barrister in Sydney" and Croft came from a wealthy family of industrialists in Newcastle, New South Wales. His father owned a coal mine. Although they did not all wear the same old school tie, they shared a similar educational background. Croft had been a boarder at Sydney Grammar School, where he had "passed the Leaving Certificate (6 B's) and won his blazer for football", (41) Elliott had achieved a good academic record in Leaving Honours at Scotch College, Melbourne, and McWilliam was a graduate of the Royal Australian Naval College, where "his record is excellent". (42) Each man came to New Guinea with the highest recommendations of the Prime Minister's Department in Canberra. The interviewing panel was impressed by McWilliam's "air of breeding and of command that marks him as outstanding among the applicants interviewed." Croft was described as "a well set up man of good appearance and address, and looks a likeable type." There was some hesitation on the part of the selection panel over Elliott's reserved nature, but

41 Territories Branch, Correspondence Files, Multi-number Series; Classes Relating to External Territories: New Guinea Staff. Cadets, Department of District Services and Native Affairs. Australian Archives: CRS A518, item C852/1/5 Part IV.

42 ibid. See also Ian Downs's reminiscences as a young patrol officer in the Morobe and Madang Districts (including the Highlands) from 1936 to 1939, "Kiap, Planter and Politician: A Self Portrait", in James Griffin (Ed). 1978. Papua New Guinea Portraits - The Expatriate Experience. Canberra: ANU Press.

his father's military record and the Scotch College chaplain's reference to "the concentrated power in the man" had won them over. In spite of their youth, these young men were recruited for a job which gave them considerable power over the lives of large numbers of Highlanders, a responsibility rarely placed on ones so young anywhere else in the world.

A specific objective of Cedric Croft's first patrol into the Goroka Valley was to investigate a reported disturbance between the Uheto and Asaro clans, which had involved the Lutherans at Asaroka. In his 1937 station report Georg Hofmann describes how four young women from an Asaroka village were hacked to death with axes by Uheto warriors, who ambushed them as they walked home from the mission station. The girls had been in a group who had brought sweet potatoes from their gardens to sell to the missionaries. The Asaroka people blamed Hofmann for the deaths, arguing that he should have seen the women safely home and shot the Uhetos who were hiding in a clump of casuarinas near the river. Hofmann tried to make amends by giving the aggrieved families axes and shells by way of compensation, but their resentment only seemed to increase. Every day for the next two weeks armed warriors from the Asaro clan and its allies converged on the mission station at noon, and stood with arrows ready on their bowstrings, sullen and menacing. Although they offered no physical violence, they made it very clear to Hofmann that they wanted him to leave. In time their anger subsided and Hofmann was able to report that "at long last our mutual friendship



returned."

Cedric Croft ascertained that the killing of the four Asaroka girls was a 'pay-back' for the murder of a Uheto man by the Asaros six months earlier. Inapo Kaug's claim that the Uheto people had not understood the Governor-General's message at Kainantu seems to have been well founded. However Croft does report that the Uheto's "leading man, Umwe, has been a protagonist of the Administration for a long while, as a result of his guilty conscience; but since a recent visit to Ramu on the occasion of the visit of the Governor-General, he seems to have changed his attitude." Umwe's new perspective did not prevent the pay-back killings, but he was at least willing, at Croft's insistence, to make compensation to Asaro on behalf of his clan, and participate in a peace ceremony.

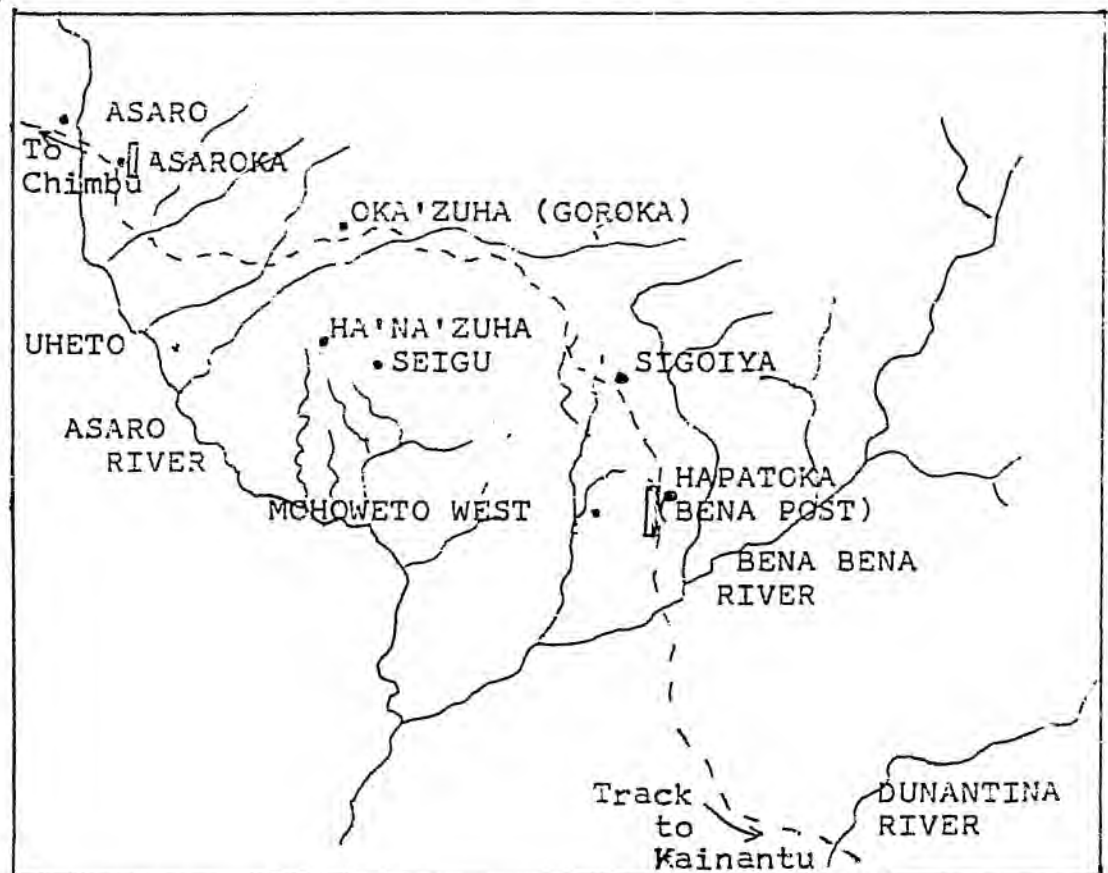
Unlike his predecessor Croft acknowledged the presence of Hofmann at Asaroka and reported that the surrounding natives were showing confidence in him by sending their children to the station boarding school. Croft concluded his report on the Lutherans with the very positive comment: "A European resident in the area has a very settling effect on the ambient natives." He did not relate how Georg Hofmann had 'stared down' the hostile warriors who had come each day at noon and surrounded the station, but he obviously recognised and appreciated Hofmann's quietly determined action as a peace-maker.

As well as presiding over the peace ceremonies between Uheto and



Photo: "A very settling effect." Asaro warrior at Asaroka Mission Station, July, 1937. Note coastal evangelists and local schoolboys in background.  
 ( Georg Hofmann photo)

Map 9: Foot-track into the Goroka Valley from Kainantu, linking the Bena Post with Sigoiya Mission Station, Goroka and Asaroka Mission Station.



Asaro, Croft was able to supervise another reconciliation of former enemies. The Seigu people, who had close links with Ihanimo Auwo's Ha'na'zuha clan had been driven out of their ancestral lands sometime in late 1933 or early 1934 (while Ihanimo was travelling with Ludwig Schmidt on the ill-fated prospecting trip to the Sepik). When Ihanimo returned home from the Sepik he found that his Ha'na'zuha relatives had taken refuge with their Sigoiya allies, and were living close to the Bena Bena Police Post. But the Seigu people had fled to Asaro, and were guests of the Asaroka villagers, gardening on no man's land adjacent to Asaroka Mission Station. By 1937 their former enemies, Mohoweto West and most of the Goroka clans [lumped together as Gafuku (Gahuku) by Croft] had repented of their evil ways, no doubt with a little help from their police friends such as Ubom, who had become an in-law by marrying an Oka'zuha woman. Their change of attitude provides further evidence of the increasing effectiveness of the Administration's presence in the Goroka area. The Seigu people were invited back by their erstwhile enemies to their homelands, which lie immediately to the south-east of the present-day Goroka town boundary, and peace was concluded between all parties. Croft took the opportunity during his patrol of supervising the repatriation of the refugees. He reported: "Their shifting proved to be an opportunity for good contact as the surrounding villages planted crotons as signs of friendship and aided them in the construction of their village, while the Patrol was present for a time."

Croft also makes the perceptive comment in his report that "with the rain season getting in, foods are not planted, and thus time is at the disposal of the natives to concentrate on more bellicose matters." To counteract such tendencies he set the villagers to work on clearing the paths between Asaro, Uheto, Gahuku (Gorok~~u~~) and Bena Bena. These paths he described as "some forty odd miles of bridle tracks", work calculated to keep many otherwise idle hands out of mischief. Croft remained in the Goroka - Asaro area from the first to the ninth of November, and arranged for McWilliam to follow up his patrol "with further consolidation, within a short period". It is clear from these few 'Kainantu' patrol reports which survived the War that most of Elliott's patrols concentrated on the Bena Bena - Finintegu area, and Croft was anxious that McWilliam should shift the emphasis to the Goroka Valley proper, which he noted "seems to have been neglected no doubt owing to the stress of work at Ramu". Unfortunately, no reports of McWilliam's patrols, nor indeed of any of his successors at Bena Bena, have survived.

The 'Kainantu' reports referred to in this chapter cover the period March - November, 1937. They continue on through 1938 and early 1939 (Croft), 1939 to May 1940 (Lloyd Pursehouse), and 1941 (Greg Neilsen).(43) However none of these later reports deal

43 See Robin Radford's unpublished MA thesis, "Highlanders and Foreigners in the Upper Ramu: The Kainantu Area, 1919 - 1942", UPNG February 1979, p 296 (Bibliography - Official - Unpublished material).

with Goroka Valley patrols, and the reason is made clear by Croft in his November 1937 Report. During the Aitchison - Elliott period of administration the senior officer (Aitchison) made infrequent patrols from Kainantu to the Goroka Valley, and at such times Elliott, based at Bena, patrolled in the Gadsup area east of Upper Ramu. Croft considered this arrangement "a waste of time in travelling and lacking in continuity of contact". In future he would concentrate on the Kainantu area and McWilliam would take complete responsibility for the Goroka Valley. Aitchison had probably maintained the previous policy as much to keep an eye on Elliott as to make the presence of an experienced officer felt among the turbulent Goroka and Asaro peoples. There is some evidence to suggest that Elliott needed supervision. He was, according to some contemporaries, developing a tendency to put his skill in the handling of firearms to greater use than was warranted in the pacification of recalcitrant villagers,(44) and the Lutheran evangelists in the Finintegu area felt that his

44 Malcolm Wright, former patrol officer, interviewed at Sunshine Beach, Queensland, 28 February 1976. "'Pompey' told me he got into a few fights in the Finintegu area and killed a few people. He developed into a killer. We were very concerned about him." Tommy Aitchison, telephone interview, Sydney, 20 February 1976, talking about Elliott: "I've noticed that blokes who make fire-arms a hobby - it always happens to them. Its interesting. Seems to attract violence." Sgt Enka Pumumpil, interviewed at Goroka, 12 November 1975: "I can remember his death in the Sepik. He was a big-head, and that was his problem. I used to look after him when he was here at Bena and Finintegu. When a fight came up and arrows flew at us he used to be afraid. Arrows came and we lay down on the ground. I was his protector."

attitude towards them was excessively overbearing.(45) McWilliam, on the other hand, was a more stable personality, had already done his first apprenticeship as a cadet, and had been recruited at the same time as Croft. Although junior to Croft on the promotions list, he seems to have enjoyed Croft's complete confidence.

It is also clear that at this time Bena Bena was upgraded to the status of a patrol post. The upgrading occurred partly because of the establishment of the Lutheran and SDA mission stations in the Goroka Valley. The flag not only followed trade in the Pacific - it also followed the gospel. For reasons already mentioned, the Administration was not prepared to let the missions have the field to themselves. Having allowed rival denominations to settle in the Valley, it was important to keep them under close supervision. If Bena Bena was to be merely a base camp outpost of Ramu administration, manned by a cadet who spent long periods patrolling in the Dunantina and Kainantu areas, close touch with the Goroka Valley situation could not be maintained. Thus it was that from the time of McWilliam's

45 J Flierl, "1937 Year's Report, Onerunka Circuit, November 1936 to August 1937". Lutheran Archives, Ampo, Lae. "It soon became clear that he (Elliott) had mainly one aim in mind, to 'pound it into the people'; the government is Number One, mission only number two. After his actions on the foregoing days: unfair and rigorous treatment against 2 mission teachers and a local enthusiastic young gospel-village leader - the people listening to him could clearly understand that he was not only opposing mission work on a whole but also had a real hatred against all native mission workers."

appointment to Bena Bena, supervision of the area was carried out independent of Kainantu and patrol reports were not forwarded through the senior officer there, but went direct from the man at Bena to the District Officer. Hence the reason for there being no reports of patrols through the Goroka Valley in the Kainantu files after 1937.

Another administrative change with far wider implications than Croft's alteration of patrolling arrangements occurred in July 1937 when the highlands area was transferred from the Morobe to the Madang District. The town of Madang was, of course, much closer to the Central Highlands than was Salamaua, but until an aerodrome was constructed at Madang in March 1936, the shorter distance was of no advantage. The success of European contact and control in the highlands, from 1932 onwards, is directly related to its accessibility by air. With the change in district boundaries, Bena suddenly became closer to headquarters than was Kainantu. The centre of highlands administration inevitably moved westwards, with Chimbu (Kundiawa) and Mount Hagen growing more important as Kainantu's pre-eminence began to fade. And although the Goroka Valley was still not regarded as a top priority area for pacification and control, the Madang authorities accorded it higher status than had their predecessors at Salamaua. It is clear that the new District Officer, Ward Oakley (formerly O'Kelly, but he changed his name at the insistence of his wife, whose social pretensions excluded connections with Ireland) was drawn to the Chimbu and Wahgi

sections of his highlands domain, possibly because they presented a greater challenge in terms of law and order and future agricultural development.(46)

When Ward Oakley completed his first inspection tour of the highlands in May, prior to the July changeover, he left Ralph Mader, the CPO who had accompanied him, to make the return journey to Madang on foot. The shortest route was up the Chimbu Valley, through the Mondia Pass and down to the middle Ramu via Bundi, where the Roman Catholics had for many years conducted mission work. The use of this land route into the high valleys reinforced the westward movement of European influence. Kainantu was no longer the gateway into the highlands either by land or by air. The Goroka Valley had swift and direct access to the coast by air, and the journey on foot to Madang, by way of Chimbu and Bundi, could be done in half the time it took to walk to Salamaua via Kainantu and the Markham Valley. 1937 had seen quite a dramatic widening of the European corridor of power in the Highlands, with the Goroka Valley beginning to occupy a more central place and importance in the chain of command which stretched along the corridor from Kainantu to Mount Hagen.

46 Oakley's visits to the highlands, as reported in the Rabaul Times eg, 28 May 1937, 4 March 1938, seem to have concentrated on the Chimbu and Wahgi areas, and he made Kundiawa his base for his inspections. In February March 1938 he left Mrs Oakley at Kundiawa, "to enjoy the Chimbu air" while he spent several weeks visiting the various posts along the 'corridor of power'.



## CHAPTER 6

### "A VERY SETTLING EFFECT"

"It is fortunate that these young Administration officers are well-meaning people and no enemies of our work. Mr McWilliam here knows that mission work will help him to get the area under control. The Adventists are even better friends of his." (Georg Hofmann, 1938)

When Cedric Croft predicted that the establishment of European missionaries would have "a very settling effect on the ambient natives", (1) he was over-estimating the propensity of people who had a history of generations of tribal fighting, to give up their established way of life in deference to new neighbours. The battles raged on, even across the neighbour's backyard which happened to straddle a former no-man's land between hostile clans. (2)

1 C R Croft, "Patrol Report on Patrol between Ramu and Asaluka Mission Station, October-November, 1937", dated 17 November 1937. National Archives, Port Moresby.

2 Georg Hofmann reports several clan battles around the Asaroka station between 1937 and 1939 (Asaroka Station Reports, 1937 - 1940). When Walter Hofmann was born in the mission house on 28 November 1938, shutters had to be placed over the windows to prevent stray arrows from entering. Two warring clans faced each other on either side of the building. (Information from Mrs Frieda Helbig, correspondence, 6 July 1973.)

Nevertheless, these Europeans were to prove very effective agents of change, complementing the patrol officer's forceful methods of pacification with the gentler use of precept and example. Their application of European science and technology was also a potent influence. Old tribal enmities and quickly aroused emotions were the steels and flints to spark off violent clashes, but it was possible to direct these aggressive energies into more peaceful and productive activities. It was not just a matter of replacing traditional magic and spirit beliefs with Christian doctrine, ritual and life-styles. The missionaries were the first to experiment in the Goroka Valley with potential cash crops, such as coffee and passionfruit. Hofmann planted coffee at Asaroka in 1937 and his father-in-law, Paul Helbig, reported harvesting coffee beans as early as 1940.(3) Pastor Stan Gander was able to gather large, ripe passionfruit on his arrival at Bena Bena, which had grown from seed he sent from Kainantu in 1935.(4)

Both Missions placed a high value on education and health - schools and medical work were begun almost immediately. The transformation of Goroka Valley society was seen to have a material as well as a spiritual dimension. It could be argued that the missionaries were more successful in their educational,

3 Asaroka Station Report, 1940.

4 Stan Gander, reported in The Australasian Record, 19 April 1937, p 3.

medical and agricultural programmes, and in the establishment of local church leadership and organization, than in their primary aim of mass religious conversion. Certainly the success of the former is easier to measure than that of the latter. Also people's religious enthusiasm is prone to wax and wane, whereas their desire for material progress remains constant.

In his definitive work, Road Belong Cargo, dealing with the impact of European technology and material wealth on the traditional cosmic order, Peter Lawrence stresses the importance of material culture and its relationship to religious belief and ritual in a New Guinea society. He maintains that New Guineans coming into their first contact with Europeans believed they could have satisfactory dealings with the newcomers only if they found the means to acquire large quantities of material 'cargo'. In the southern Madang District, ritual was seen as a means of acquiring this wealth, hence the development of a cargo movement. In the Goroka Valley however, where such a movement did not develop until the late 1940s, and was seen by the missionaries as a "religious awakening" rather than as a cargo cult (see chapter 8), the secular socio-economic developments provided by Europeans were reasonably successful in giving the people access to wealth.

Thus it is important to look at the Missions' early activities in the economic and social fields, and to recognise that their impact in this 'material' sphere was at least as great as their 'spiritual' input. The point should also be made that the Missions' contribution to the pacification of the Goroka Valley

people, without which no social or economic change was possible, had a 'material' as well as a 'spiritual' dimension. Certainly where the proclamation of the Christian gospel induced converts to give up fighting and live at peace with former enemies, such a message was a powerful instrument of transformation. But in the slow process of change, the channelling of villagers' aggressive, competitive energy into European-type agriculture and commerce, aided by the tools of education, medicine and political organization, is also of fundamental importance. With the settlement of European missionaries in the Goroka Valley this process was accelerated, although the end result was still more than ten years away into the future.

The Administration's role in social change, predominantly through the forceful imposition of law and order, was also beginning to shift in emphasis. The Chimbu Native School, established by Bill Kyle late in 1936, increasing medical patrols begun by Medical Assistant Arthur Ewing in January 1935,(5) and the development of the Highlands Agricultural Station at Aiyura, near Kainantu, by Agricultural Officer R F ("Bill") Brechin, all

5 John D ('Mangrove') Murphy recorded in his Diary entry for 15 January 1937 that Arthur Ewing had arrived at Kundiawa to begin a medical patrol through the Highlands. (J D Murphy Diaries, Fryer Memorial Library, Queensland University.) Ewing was at Bena Post with Aitchison in May 1937. (T G Aitchison, Patrol Report, 14 May 1937, National Archives, Port Moresby.) The Chimbu school was established as a part of government policy, not as a whim of Bill Kyle. (See R R McNicoll, op cit, p 9.)

began to have their small effect on the Goroka Valley people.(6) As already noted(7) several young adolescents from the Goroka Valley attended the Chimbu School from 1937 onwards, two graduating to the Malaguna School in Rabaul, where they experienced the Japanese invasion and its aftermath. Not only did Bill Brechin make occasional patrols to Bena Bena, for the purpose of testing soils and distributing various plants and vegetables to government and mission stations, but in April 1938 he employed twenty casual labourers from the Goroka Valley, increasing this number to forty three in July. (8)

#### ADMINISTRATIVE BACKGROUND

The government's and missions' social programmes, using the term 'social' to include health, education, village hygiene, agriculture, trade and local leadership, need to be seen within the political and administrative structures which developed from 1938. This period, 1938 - 1942, saw the development of the Humilaveka site at Goroka from police post to a fully operational patrol post, with the consequent decline of Bena Bena. On 12 October, 1941, the patrol officer L G R Kyngdon, still conducting

6 The Aiyura Highlands Agricultural Experiment Station, as it is known today, was established by Bill Brechin in 1936. For details see Radford, MA Thesis, op cit, pp 246 - 254.

7 See ch 4, pp 191-2. The two who went on to Rabaul and subsequently experienced the Japanese occupation were John Akunai, a Goroka man, and Sabumei Kofikai, from Kapokamarigi, Bena.

8 See Radford, op cit, p 250.

civilian administration before ANGAU (9) took control in 1942, shifted his headquarters from Bena Bena to Goroka, thus setting the stage for Goroka's eventual selection after the War as administrative capital of the Central Highlands.

However when Sam McWilliam took over from "Pompey" Elliott in November 1937, the Hapatoka site next to the Bena airstrip was very much the seat of the kiap's 'corridor of power' in the Goroka Valley. McWilliam was popular with the two groups of missionaries and also with the local people who lived on or around the patrol post, although he was soon to encounter fierce opposition from the belligerent clans in the Asaroka area. Georg Hofmann spoke highly of him, making only one qualification that "the Adventists are even better friends of his .... Naturally the Kiap likes the idea of them working in the Pidgin language.." (10) Hofmann had good reason to be grateful to McWilliam, because it was only after the departure of Elliott, who had shown marked anti-German prejudice against the Lutherans, that life began to improve for the lonely missionary. McWilliam had been in charge for about a month when a permit came for Hofmann's father-in-law,

9 Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit, which took over administration of all areas not occupied by the enemy after the Japanese invasion of New Guinea in January 1942. What happened in effect was that all government patrol, agricultural and medical officers and other personnel took up rank in ANGAU, in many cases remaining at their posts and carrying on their work as best they could.

10 G Hofmann, "Asaroka Station Report", 1938. Lutheran Archives, Ampo, Lae.

Paul Helbig, who had been waiting anxiously at Onerunka since July, to join Hofmann at Asaroka. Then close upon this welcome turn of events came the news that Mrs Clara Hofmann, her baby Kate and Helbig's wife Ernstine, could also go to Asaroka, which they did in February, 1938.

Mrs Greta Gander has a photo of Sam McWilliam at Sigoiya, talking with her teenage daughter Gwen and some young Bena women. It shows a relaxed, friendly kiap, obviously at ease with his neighbours. Hofmann reveals another side of him in his account of the way he dealt with the Upper Asaro clans when fighting flared again in 1938. McWilliam displayed traits of patience and fearlessness, holding back when it was prudent to do so, but not afraid to engage in fierce combat with the warriors when they attacked. Hofmann reported that the Asaros "fought to the last. Between them and the police fighting went on for hours. Three natives were killed and one police boy was badly hurt ... The Kiap said never before in his life did he see anything like that." As a result of this encounter McWilliam wrote to Hofmann that "he hoped to shift his station to Gafuga and once he lives closer he may be able to stop the fighting altogether." However he confessed to the missionary that "this will be a hard task." The Asaros' unquenchable fighting spirit convinced him, if any further evidence was required, that a Goroka patrol post was needed.

Consequently in about mid 1938 McWilliam set his police and local

villagers to work clearing land for an airstrip. The site chosen ran approximately north and south through what is now the commercial centre of Goroka, parallel and to the east of the present aerodrome. When the first 'plane landed on it there was the usual intense excitement of the assembled villagers, and an eyewitness recalls the pilot firing a pistol over the heads of the advancing crowd for fear they would damage the fuselage.(11) However, when a particularly wet season set in at the end of 1938 this first airstrip had to be abandoned, because much of it became waterlogged and McWilliam was forced to seek a higher, better drained position.

He must have concluded that the Humilaveka terrace was the preferable site, even though its east-west axis lay directly across the path of the prevailing south-westerly wind. The Humilaveka base camp was developed along the northern side of the new airstrip, and Ubom's old police post on the ground now occupied by Okiufa Community School was dismantled. McWilliam was thwarted in his desire to move the Bena Patrol Post to Goroka, but he made Humilaveka his headquarters whenever he patrolled the Goroka and Asaro regions.

With the approach of War in August 1939 McWilliam was able to take up his commission in the Royal Australian Navy (he was a

11 Bepi Moha, Goroka government interpreter, interviewed 25.7.73.





ALLAN ROBERTSON S.H. GANDER A. EWING H.E. HAMILTON 1940

- Top left: Sam McWilliam with Gwen Gander and Bena girls at Sigoiya, 1939. (Mrs Greta Gander photo)
- Top right: Cedric Croft with Dulcie and Bill Brechin at Aiyura, c.1938. (Mrs Dulcie Halliday photo)
- Below: Allan Robertson, Stan Gander, Arthur Ewing and 'Hammy' Hamilton at Hapatoka, 1940 (A.Ewing photo)

naval reservist, having graduated from the Naval College at Flinders in 1935), and his resignation from the New Guinea Service was accepted speedily, if reluctantly. His patrol officer colleagues were surprised at the ease with which he was able to go off to War, for the Administration, with Canberra support, was reluctant to let any of its field officers resign. They may not have been so envious of him if they had known he would be killed in action on HMAS Perth during the Java Sea battle in March 1942. Other patrol officers working in the Highlands who were able to "escape" to the European War were Cedric Croft and Allan Robertson. Croft resigned to join the RAAF and was subsequently killed in a bombing raid over Germany. Allan Robertson also joined the RAAF after leaving New Guinea in mid 1941. He survived the War but was not welcomed back by the post War Territory administration because, it was made clear to him, he had 'let down' the service by going off to fight in Europe.

#### H E HAMILTON

McWilliam's replacement was Harold Edward Hamilton, known to his friends as "Hammy". Since acceptance as a cadet in July 1934, on Canberra's recommendation that "this young man has a very pleasing personality .... and should make an excellent cadet", he had had a somewhat chequered career. A less pleasing personality trait came to the Administrator's attention one night while they were together on the Sepik. McNicoll had arranged to visit the Middle Sepik in November 1934 on the government schooner 'Thetis'. During the six days and nights of steaming up river to

Ambunti and Wogamush, Hamilton must have found the strain of maintaining his best behaviour in the presence of the most senior official in the Territory somewhat irksome. One night when McNicoll had retired to his cabin the young CPO succeeded in getting himself very drunk, and proceeded to sing bawdy songs about His Excellency which the Administrator could not fail to overhear. "We must keep an eye on this young man," McNicoll remarked to the District Officer, Townsend, and from that time Hamilton was a marked man.(12) In 1936 he was brought to Rabaul because of his drinking problem, where he could be kept under the watchful eye of McNicoll and his senior officers. He suffered the humiliation of being reduced to a clerk, a device occasionally used by the Administration to discipline and chasten unruly patrol officers, who were thus given a chance to redeem themselves instead of being dismissed from the service. Hamilton must have earned a reprieve, because in May 1937 he was posted to Salamaua, and in September that year he was promoted to Patrol Officer. By August 1939 his District Officer must have had sufficient confidence in him to put him on his own in charge of a patrol post, for he was the one chosen by Ward Oakley to succeed McWilliam at Bena Bena.

Robin Radford, in her history of Kainantu, suggests that Bena was

12 Story of this incident from J K McCarthy, interviewed at Mt Eliza, Victoria, 8.1.76. There is an interesting report of McNicoll's Sepik tour of inspection in the Annual Report to the League of Nations, pp 109 - 112. Hamilton is not mentioned.

a punishment station, rather in the way the post at Green River in the remote upper Sepik District was regarded after the War. It would seem to depend on a patrol officer's personal attitude to a Highlands posting, because Allan Robertson, 'Hammy' Hamilton's immediate successor at Bena Bena, speaks in glowing terms of the Goroka Valley environment, praising the invigorating climate, the lively people and the sheer adventure experienced by a young man living in this frontier situation. Robin Radford's assessment is influenced by the letters of Lloyd Pursehouse, the introspective and rather unhappy kiap at Kainantu from June 1939 to April 1940, who described "Hammy out there probably bored to tears with the whole world and waiting like Micawber for something to turn up."(13) Pursehouse reflected on the incongruity of two such disparate souls as himself and Hammy Hamilton developing so firm a friendship. "Hammy is a curious bird - 31 and not at all attracted to women ... far too hot on the beer ... once on he stays on."(14) However they did have one trait in common - their dislike of German missionaries with Nazi sympathies. One of Hamilton's less pleasant duties after his takeover from McWilliam was to have to arrest Georg Hofmann, on 21 September 1939. Initially he had nothing personal against the

13 Pursehouse correspondence to his fiancée, Celia Vost, National Library, Canberra, Manuscript Section. Letter dated 17 December 1939.

14 ibid. Letter dated 4 January 1940, after Pursehouse had returned from a Christmas drinking spree with Hamilton at Bena Bena. When taken to task about his drinking by his fiancée, he pleads: "But what other diversions can a man have up here."



Paul and Ernstine Helbig, Clara, Kate and Georg Hofmann at Asaroka, c. 1938 or early 1939.  
(© Hofmann photo)

Asaroka missionaries - he had inherited the good relationships established by his predecessor McWilliam - although by this stage of international events he must have been advised by Rabaul that Hofmann was on the list of suspected Nazi sympathisers. But Hamilton was still licking his wounds after having been tricked by Garms and Rabe, the pilot and mechanic of the Lutheran Mission plane "Papua", who landed at Bena Bena to obtain fuel for their escape to Dutch New Guinea. War had just been declared, but Hamilton had no reason to refuse help to aviators in distress. Their story was that they were on a routine flight to service the inland mission stations, and that Hofmann at Asaroka could not supply them with fuel. Afterwards Hamilton may have suspected that Hofmann knew of their escape plan, and had directed them to Bena Bena because Hamilton had no radio contact with his superiors, and was new to the area.(15) Whatever the true circumstances, Hamilton was in no frame of mind to be gentle with the Asaroka missionaries, and Hofmann's forced removal was as painful as it was sudden. Hamilton later told Robertson he had to escort the missionary onto the plane at bayonet point.

Hamilton accompanied his prisoner on the flight to the coast, and the next day Pursehouse flew from Kainantu to Asaroka to collect

15 Information from Greta Gander. Hofmann's complicity is simply a matter for speculation. He may have been as ignorant of their true intentions as was Hamilton. However, he did resist arrest, and Hamilton had to escort him onto the plane at bayonet point (A Robertson, 29.3.76).

Clara Helbig and the two children. Mrs Hofmann was born in Australia, so she could not be arrested with her husband, but she was forced to leave the Highlands and be kept under observation with other missionaries' wives at Finschhafen. Her father, Paul Helbig, wrote a poignant account of the aftermath to her sudden departure with the children: "When they were all gone there was much crying and mourning on the part of our heathens, just like people who have no hope. The quiet tears of our pupils were of a different nature, and one could comfort them .... The evangelists were timid and quiet .... Our first task was to get all the children's things from their play yard over to our house and stow them away. The helpers assisted me to carry these things over without a sound. They just asked in a whisper where they should put this and that."(16)

Lloyd Pursehouse saw matters from a different perspective: "A plane arrived as usual at lunch time and I was handed instructions from the District Officer by the pilot to accompany the plane to Asaloka Lutheran Mission and see that an enemy alien (a woman and two children) were taken out to Lae to be honourably interned.... The missionary in charge did not want to lose his daughter who was married to a German - a few wisely chosen words altered the complexion of the situation ... The farewells were brief, sentimental and very curt to me. Just before leaving Mrs

16 Paul Helbig, "Asaroka Station Report", September 1939 - December 1940.

Helwig (sic) enquired if the plane could get to Salamaua or Lae as the weather looked very dirty and murky. I replied that if not the party could sleep at Ramu. The reply was venom - 'Sleep with the Government Officer - Couldn't be done.' I had to put a word or two together and it was equally as biting." Pursehouse boasted to his fiancée: "You wouldn't know me now. I'm all warish, particularly with the tongue." This "warish" attitude seems to have affected everyone, and Paul Helbig might well have questioned by what legal right the Administration was removing his daughter, a British subject and Australian-born citizen like himself. The whole affair would have left an unpleasant taste and relations between the Helbigs and the patrol officers must have been strained from then on. However Paul Helbig was one of the last missionaries to be evacuated from the Highlands, being permitted by the ANGAU authorities to remain at Asaroka until as late as April 1943. The SDA missionaries had all gone by April 1942, so this was quite a remarkable achievement on Helbig's part.(17) He was also one of the first to return to New Guinea after the War, arriving back at Asaroka in February 1946. There is some evidence to suggest that officialdom simply forgot about him in the early stages of the War. Certainly his loyalty could not have been questioned, and the severed relations between mission and government in 1939 must have been repaired to a considerable extent once the strong feelings aroused by the

17 Pursehouse correspondence, undated but on or soon after 22 September 1939.



Hofmann family's removal had subsided.

Hammy Hamilton had other matters to occupy him after the events at Asaroka. The people of Kapugwi village, situated not far from the Bena patrol post, were giving trouble, and he sent word that they should assemble at Hapatoka to settle the dispute with their neighbours. None of the Kapugwi villagers attended and on 22 October 1939 Hamilton led a party of police and local youths who were "attached to the post for civilizing purposes"(18) on a raid to apprehend the ring-leaders. Their approach was observed and most of the people escaped into the bush. Annoyed and frustrated the police retaliated by shooting the village pigs, contrary to Hamilton's orders. This kind of insubordinate behaviour from the Native Constabulary was not uncommon - Pursehouse encountered considerable trouble from his police at about the same time(19) - and the patrol officer needed to be alert if he was to control men who were old hands in dealing both with highlanders and inexperienced young kiaps. On this occasion Hamilton reprimanded the whole party and then drew his revolver to kill the pigs which had been wounded by the police. Unfortunately one of his Hapatoka station lads got too close and was accidentally shot by

18 McNicoll to Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 6 February 1940. Australian Archives, Territories Department Correspondence Files, Multi-Number Series, Classes Relating to External Territories: "New Guinea Natives", Accidental Shooting of Native by Patrol Officer Hamilton, Bena Bena area, Madang District. CRS. A518, Item B.H. 840/1/3.

19 Radford, op cit, p 239.

Hamilton and died a few minutes later.

Hamilton reported the tragedy to Oakley and in normal circumstances the matter would have rested thereon. But Oakley saw fit to draw the matter to McNicoll's attention, and although the wheels of government moved slowly, McNicoll finally wrote on 6 February 1940 to the Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department, giving him full details of the incident. This can only confirm the impression that Hamilton was a marked man, for it was somewhat exceptional to burden Canberra with the details of an accidental shooting in New Guinea involving one government officer and a village lad. When McWilliam shot four Asaro warriors in 1938, an act that was not even accidental, no one in Canberra was any the wiser. But as a consequence of his unintentional action Hamilton was recalled to Madang, thus abruptly curtailing his term of duty in the Highlands.

The Bena people appear to have borne no grudge against him for the shooting - certainly those who remember the incident today tell it without rancour.<sup>(20)</sup> He made "liberal compensation in the form of pigs and trade goods to the relatives of the

20 Kiama Gena of Kenimaro, who was attached to the Bena station as an interpreter and medical orderly, stated (8.2.77) that the government was cross with Hamilton and sent him away because of this incident, but he did compensate the Hofagaiyufa people so they bore him no ill-will.

deceased"(21) at Hofagaiyufa, and he seems to have been generally liked by the people during the short time he was among them. He is remembered affectionately as Lhanimo (bird of paradise man) partly no doubt because Lhanimo resembles the name Hamilton, but more particularly because he wore a splendid Raggiana plume in his hat band. On Christmas Day, 1939, he organised what could be described as a carnival for the six to seven thousand villagers gathered at Hapatoka. There were footraces and a slippery pole contest, which involved scrambling up a greased pole to secure a prize of axes, knives and shell tied to the top. There was the inevitable sing sing, the people "all dressed up in war paint with feathers, etc, dancing and kicking up hell's delight."(22)

Pursehouse was critical of the way Ward Oakley handled the shooting episode. With some disregard for accuracy of detail, he described to his fiancée how "Hammy, poor cove is going down under a cloud. He had a fight not long ago and killed a couple and the District Officer, nit-wit as he is, reckons that the fighting was not justified."(23) Pursehouse implies that the Missions had a hand in reporting Hamilton. If so, it is unlikely it was the Ganders, as they were on very good terms with him, in

21 McNicoll to Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, op cit.

22 Pursehouse correspondence, 4 January 1940.

23 ibid, undated, but probably February 1940.

spite of his fondness for alcohol. Mrs Gander 'mothered' the young patrol officers, and Hammy was always welcome on Sigoiya hill. This leaves Paul Helbig as the only suspect, and if either Kapugwi village or the lad who was killed were Lutheran, it is more than likely he would complain to the authorities. He had reason to bear a grudge against Hamilton, considering the circumstances of his daughter's and son-in-law's arrest, and this would have been a convenient way of settling it.

#### A J ROBERTSON

Thus it was that PO Allan Robertson suddenly found himself brought in from his post at Amele, near Madang, to be briefed by Ward Oakley in his Madang office on 28 February 1940. Oakley set out his instructions in an official memorandum, which is worth noting as an example of the responsibilities laid on young officers serving in uncontrolled areas of the Highlands: ".... Arriving at Bena Bena take full opportunity to become acquainted with the correspondence files relating to duties completed by PO Hamilton in connection with the native situation, mission activities including mission teachers. Patrols are to be restricted to areas under a strong form of government influence, which will include the Finintegu area and areas adjacent to the government station, and Asaloka. Patrols to groups not previously visited or to groups where an unsettled situation is reported to occur are not to be carried out, in any case until you have covered the whole of the areas usually patrolled and which it is expected will be under government influence. Please go into this matter carefully with PO Hamilton who will direct

you with regard to the areas which may be visited with safety. The above restrictions will not apply permanently but it is necessary for you to make yourself fully acquainted with the subdivision and the native position generally before commencing patrols which are likely to conclude with native conflict or deterrent action."(24)

Oakley's stress on the necessity to avoid conflict and bloodshed is, of course, commendable, although it may well have been prompted as much by the knowledge that the Missions would be quick to publicise any deaths of their followers, as from purely humanitarian considerations. Hamilton's mistake could not have been the primary reason for these restrictions being placed on Robertson, because the accidental shooting occurred in a village close to the station, and the victim was a member of the patrol party, not a villager. Robertson has no recollection of Hamilton being involved in any other fatal encounters at Bena Bena, or of acting in any untoward manner with the local people:

"While at Bena Bena before Hammy left I did go into great detail with him and I explained to him my instructions and the limitations that Ward Oakley had placed on me geographically and Hammy did tell me that he was being removed because of an incident. But I would never say that he had any kind of aberrations at all. He was a very intellectual type of young man(25) and intense. He over-reacted to

24 Quoted by Allan Robertson in tape sent from Quebec, Canada, 29 March 1976.

25 He had done 3 years of a law degree at the University of Western Australia.



Top:View of Mt.Michael from the Ganders' garden, Sigoiya, 1940.



Left: Allan Robertson in his Newcastle (N.S.W.) surf life-saving club blazer, at the Ganders' Christmas party, 1940.

Below: Allan Robertson on the mare he rode when patrolling through the Goroka Valley. Cedric Croft recorded in 1937 the existence of "some forty odd miles of bridle tracks"between Asaro,Uheto, Gahuku (Goroka) and Bena Bena.

(Allan Robertson photos)



criticism and I think this was his problem ....  
Whatever did happen to decide Ward Oakley in  
reaching that decision was not an incident that  
could be laid at the door of Hammy Hamilton."(26)

Robertson obeyed Oakley's instructions, and it was not until May 1941 that he sought and received permission to patrol the wild Yagaria country at the base of Mount Michael. It was only then that with his colleague and friend Greg Neilsen he ascended to the summit of that towering mountain, which had beckoned him from the verandah of his 'haus kiap' at Hapatoka on many a clear evening as he sat having a quiet beer after the day's work.

Ward Oakley's memorandum to Robertson defines the extent of the Administration's 'corridor of power' in 1940, and it can be seen that it had not changed significantly since Jim Taylor's time at Bena Bena in 1936. A lot more attention was being given to the Asaroka area, but the long line of influence was still being drawn from Finintegu through Hapatoka to Asaroka and on over the Asaro Range into Chimbu. The vast, thinly populated areas south of the corridor, extending down to the Papuan border, were still uncontrolled and rarely, if ever, visited by Europeans.

A clue to the reasons which prompted Oakley to put restrictions on Robertson's actions is given by Goroka Valley men who worked with Hamilton. They all comment on the latter's forceful

26 Robertson, loc cit.



Informants who remembered 'Hammy' Hamilton, the short man who used short words and had a short temper.

Above: Cr. Kiama Gena pointing towards Kapugwi, where Hamilton accidentally shot a youth.

Left: A Mohoweto West village elder with a photo of Hamilton, who is remembered by the Mohoweto people as a kiap who responded quickly to outbreaks of tribal fighting.

Below: Zokizoi Karkai, who interpreted for Hamilton in the Goroka area.

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initiatives when going after trouble-makers - dawn raids on villages, prompt responses to tribal fighting, stern disciplinary action. Kiama Gena of Kenimaro remembered him as "a fiery little man" who earnestly sought to pacify the people he administered. He was very quick to respond and would despatch police to trouble spots immediately he received reports of trouble.(27) Kiama also commented that Hamilton was a good Kiap although he did have a quick temper: "Hamilton said to himself, 'I am not a long man so I don't speak in long sentences. I am a short man so I use short sentences.'"(28) This interesting association of stature with speech and temperament was drawn by another observer, Zokizoi Karkai of Goroka, who as a youthful interpreter accompanied Hamilton on his patrols in the Goroka area. "He was a short man and he used short words and he had a short temper."(29) Isagua Hepu of Magitu, who was present when Hamilton accidentally shot the lad from Hofagaiyufa recalls that "he would fight the kanakas (bush people) without any hesitation."(30) It was this kind of confrontation administration which Ward Oakley apparently wanted to avoid. Ian Downs, who was in charge at Chimbu in 1939 - 1940, was, for a period, subject to similar restrictions. J K McCarthy referred to him as "the patrol officer who wasn't allowed to

27 Kiama Gena, in conversation with Lands Magistrate Rick Giddings, 1979.

28 Interviewed by author at Mohoweto West, 8.2.77.

29 Zokizoi Karkai of Asaro'zuha, Goroka, interviewed 18.2.77.

30 Isagua Hepu, interviewed at Magitu, 8.2.77.

patrol."(31) Perhaps there had been unfavourable publicity about violent clashes in the Highlands, perhaps there had been complaints from the Missions, although there are no press reports or official correspondence in the archives to support either of these theories. A more likely explanation is the simple fact that it was war time, and that staff shortages in District Services and Native Affairs, as men resigned to join the War, were becoming critical. There was no point in patrol officers attempting to extend areas of control, to widen the corridor of power, nor indeed to risk their lives or those of the police and carriers, in unnecessary conflicts with hostile groups of people.

Consequently Allan Robertson played his part in tribal pacification in a much lower key than Hamilton had done, following fairly closely Oakley's instructions to patrol in "areas under a strong form of government influence." He soon discovered the places within the corridor of power which were better left alone:

"One spot that gave me trouble was about half way between Finintegu and Bena Bena, south of the main road about 3 to 5 miles. This area was honeycombed with limestone caves into which the people would retreat. The caves were dangerous to my party as the entrances were kunai covered and a good volley of arrows could pour out and cause serious damage if you got hit .... Another village bordering on the dangerous was about 3 miles west to north-west of

31 J K McCarthy, interviewed at Mt Eliza, Victoria, 8.1.76.

Goroka. It had a so-called red-skinned tul tul. I don't know who appointed him tul tul. I never dished out any hats at all. That particular village wasn't particularly friendly to me or my patrols. They tried to ambush us on one occasion. So I kept well away from there, well away."

Hamilton would have been appalled!

Allan Robertson also made the point that he did not raid villages:

"My predecessors Hammy and McWilliam were strong dawn raiders. They used to do this in order to capture a particular person. I never did it. I didn't like it. I thought it was dangerous, and I always enjoyed my sleep at dawn anyway. I did try it once and it was a dismal failure. The man I wanted wasn't in the hut he was supposed to be in, so I guess the counter-espionage had beaten me that particular time."(32)

The counter-espionage here referred to lay within Robertson's own police ranks. A young man from Mohoweto West, the son of a rather devious but friendly 'big man' [who had tried to put sorcery on Robertson when he 'kalabused' another son, but then became a fervent admirer of the kiap when the sorcery failed to

32 This and most other quotations of Allan Robertson, from tape he sent from Canada, 29.3.76. In March 1978 Allan Robertson and his wife visited me at Maryborough, Victoria, when many of the issues mentioned on the tape were clarified or expanded.

work(33)], had been sent by McWilliam to Rabaul to train as a policeman. To Robertson's surprise this man had been posted back to his own district, a practice which Robertson felt was out of step with the procedure adopted in British and Australian police forces, and was open to abuse. His unease was soon justified, when it became clear that every time he went to arrest, fine or reprimand someone who had links with Mohoweto West, that person could not be found. The problem was solved by transferring the young policeman to Mount Hagen, where "he worked out very well."

One task which Allan Robertson set himself was to try to consolidate village groups into compact hamlets, instead of being scattered about in small family units on inaccessible hill-tops or river escarpments. The aim of this consolidation was to bring the clans under closer government control. Robertson admits that this was "a great success except for one great failure, and that was that even though the people at my constant insistence built very nice villages in a nice straight row, with a road to them, they didn't live in those houses. They still lived in their individual houses dotted about here and there, the

33 On one occasion the Medical officer at Madang flew to Bena Bena to extract one of Robertson's teeth. The old man of Mohoweto West begged to be given the tooth and the following day he returned to the Patrol Post wearing it on a string, which was threaded through a hole he had neatly drilled. He explained to Robertson that he had worked sorcery on the kiap when he put his oldest son in jail, magic which had proved totally ineffective. He therefore reasoned that Robertson must have a natural protection against sorcery and by wearing the white man's tooth, he would gain protection too.



A routine daytime patrol to a Goroka Valley hamlet, 1940. Allan Robertson was not a 'dawn raider'. Note policeman with three station lads and Robertson's dog.  
(A. Robertson photo)

way they always had". However, the kiap was able to demand that the people assemble in the new 'village' whenever he came to visit them, and that made local administration much easier for him, even if tiresomely inconvenient for the villagers.

#### BENA BENA PATROL POST

The patrol officer's day to day life at Bena Bena was much as it was at other stations, except that he was left more to his own devices than were his colleagues on the coast or even at places like Kainantu and Chimbu. Ward Oakley visited Robertson every two or three months. He would come up from Madang on the cargo plane under government charter and spend the half hour or hour required to unload the plane drinking a cup of tea with the kiap. He would discuss issues raised by Robertson in his monthly patrol reports, give him some fatherly advice and words of encouragement, and then fly off to Chimbu or Mount Hagen to repeat the procedure with his staff there. But the ADO at Chimbu, and for at least some of the time the PO at Mount Hagen, had CPOs under them, and Greg Neilsen at Kainantu had Bill Brechin at Aiyura to share his problems with. The kiap at Bena Bena had no other government officer to talk to. Consequently the Ganders at Sigoiya probably assumed a more important role in the patrol officer's life than did the missionaries in other places.

However, most of Allan Robertson's time would be spent out on patrol, not at the government post. He was expected to patrol for three weeks out of four, returning to base at the end of each



Above: 'Tri-Mark', a junior member of Allan Robertson's domestic staff, so named because he was only three feet tall. 1940.

Centre: 'Kong Kong', another station lad, who gained his name because of his Chinese-like features. 1940.

(Allan Robertson photos)

Below: 'Kong Kong' (Bena Ana) in 1979 with his son Jakupa, a talented Goroka modern artist.



month to "wash up and rest", attend to station matters and type up a report on the month's activities to be forwarded to Madang. A copy was kept for the station records. Robertson did not retain a copy for himself as some patrol officers did - consequently all his information about his time at Bena Bena depends on an unusually good memory. The official copies, as mentioned earlier, were all lost during the War.

The buildings at Hapatoka were laid out in the form of a square, with the kiap's house sited on the north-west corner closest to the ridge which connected the Hapatoka terrace with the airstrip. The land fell away steeply on the west, south and east sides of the terrace, but was elevated somewhat along the north side. The 'haus kiap' had been built by McWilliam and had three main rooms and a verandah. One of the rooms served as the office. At the back was an outhouse containing kitchen, bathroom and burglar-proof store. A small domestic staff comprised 'Tea-Pot', the manki-masta and cook, 'Hot Water', the boiler attendant, and general rouseabouts 'Kong Kong', a lad from Upper Bena who had Chinese features and 'Three-Mark', a diminutive character just three feet tall. 'Hot-Water's job was to keep the fires alight under the 45 gallon drums and provide the kiap and his occasional guests with a plentiful supply of bath water. When the plug was pulled 'Hot-Water' would be waiting underneath to take his own shower bath. All these lads grew up to continue working for the government in one capacity or another - interpreters, hospital





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Panorama of the Bena Patrol Post (1960 T Allan Robertson photo)

maintenance staff, corrective services employees, etc.(34)

In front of the 'haus kiap' was a large flag pole and open space where a general 'fall-in' would be held morning and evening. The domestic servants' quarters were situated along the north side of the square and down the east side were the houses for married personnel (mainly police and their families). The single police barracks were on the south side of the square, straddling a deep hole which served as the night-time lock-up or 'kalabus' for the prisoners. This 'basement' as Robertson described it, was divided into compartments so that the sexes could be segregated, and all informants agree that it was escape-proof. If prisoners complained of their lot, the police would urinate on them through the gaps in the heavy plank floor. The young lads who acted as interpreters came under the more benign influence of these police, and were housed close to the barracks in small kunai huts. Back along the fourth (west) side of the square was a stoutly-built store house containing station food, patrol equipment, arms and ammunition.

A striking feature of the station was the very extensive food garden, which covered the slopes at least on the west side

34 Information from Zokizoi Karkai of Asarozuha, 18.2.77; Kong-Kong Bena, interviewed at Bihute Corrective Centre, Goroka 8.9.79; and Isakua Hepu of Magitu, 8.2.77.



- Above: Police wives with a bag of peanuts grown at Hapatoka in 1940 for export to the coast.

Centre: Allan Robertson with 'ohoweto 'big man' who wore Robertson's tooth on a string (Footnote 33). In this photo he is wearing pigs' tusks, not the kiap's tooth.

Below: Ward Oakley at Mt Hagen. He visited Robertson at Bena Bena every two or three months.

(Bena photos by A Robertson. Mt Hagen photo by D. Leahy)



between Hapatoka and the airstrip. It was this garden which so impressed McNicoll in 1936, and was the first sight to catch the eye of visitors approaching Bena Bena by air. Allan Robertson has a coloured slide of the policemen's wives carrying huge sacks of peanuts which they have just harvested from the Hapatoka slopes. These peanuts were sold in Salamaua and Lae, and along with Stan Gander's passionfruit were probably the first cash crops from the Highlands to be marketed on the coast. On the station, Kaukau (sweet potato) was the staple food for native staff and prisoners alike. Most of the garden labour was provided by the prisoners. They also grew corn and the station lads looked after a herd of goats, which were kept for their milk and meat. Allan Robertson had dogs which are still remembered today throughout the district for the tricks they could perform and for their sharp teeth which were capable of sinking deeply into an intruder's ankle. They had an uncanny knack of knowing who had legitimate business on the station and who did not. They also presumably protected from the marauding goats Robertson's flower beds of larkspurs and snapdragons, which grew in colourful profusion in front of his house. His uncle was curator of the Sydney Botanical gardens and it would be surprising if some of the exotic shrubs and flowers which flourish today in the Goroka Valley did not originate from this source. To complete the rural domestic scene Robertson kept a mare and foal, which enabled him to do much of his patrolling on horseback. The so-called 'roads' which the people maintained between Kainantu and Asaroka were in essence bridle paths for the use of government officers and their patrol parties.

The patrol post at Hapatoka provided as much of a 'settling effect' in its own way on 'the ambient' natives as did the mission stations. When Croft made his prediction with regard to Hofmann taking up residence at Asaroka, he may not have envisaged the government station fulfilling a similar role. Under Cadet Patrol Officer Elliott, Bena Bena shared a very minor importance with Finintegu, Kainantu being the regional headquarters. But when McWilliam took over with patrol officer status, Bena Bena became, as already noted, a patrol post in its own right. The new 'haus kiap', police barracks, kalabus and store contributed with the married quarters to give the station an air of permanence and continuity, which it had not enjoyed under Taylor's and Elliott's itinerant stewardship. It began to exert a strong influence on the surrounding villages and Allan Robertson found in 1940 that he could travel within a four mile radius of the post without ever having to be alert for a possible ambush or hostile reception.

#### HUMILAVEKA BASE CAMP

The Goroka and Asaroka areas were another matter however, and it was not long before Ward Oakley had returned to the theme taken up by McWilliam in 1938 that the station should be shifted to Humilaveka. Robertson recalls that the lower Goroka airstrip was not only water logged at certain times of the year but was constantly being dug up by village pigs, and was inconveniently located in relation to the police post on Humilaveka, which lay over a mile to the north. Although McWilliam and Hamilton had been aware of these disadvantages, they had not been able to do



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Geroka Valley panorama looking west, with Humilavoka airstrip and police post on terrace in  
10 ft. centre of picture. Chaturaha hamlet in strung out along the Sabiwa track in foreground.  
Gilliam Robert on photo.

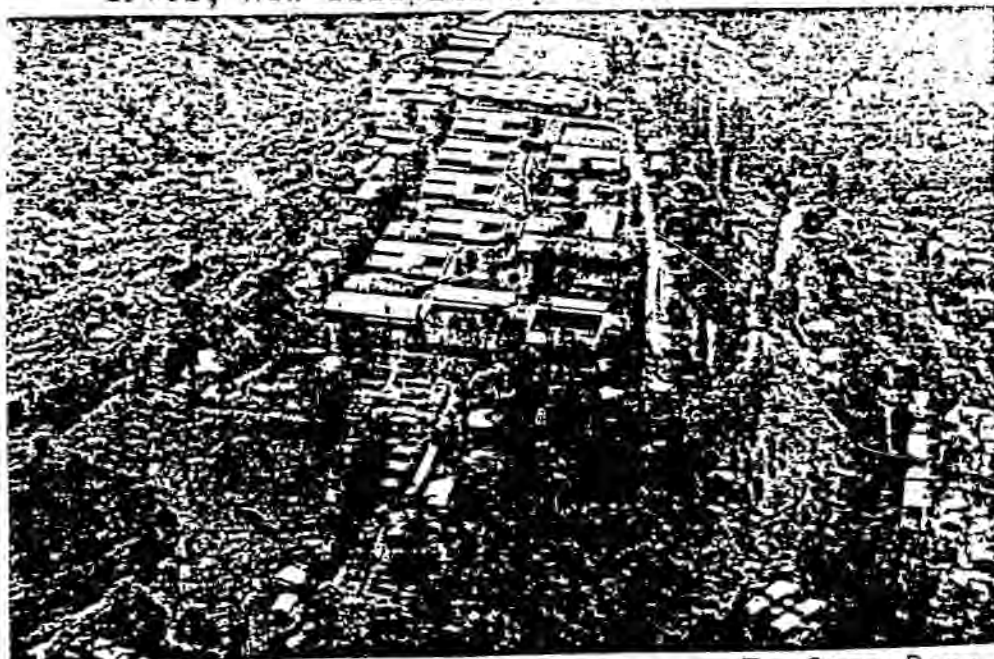
very much towards the preparation of a new airstrip on Humilaveka terrace. Consequently Robertson's first task was to make a compass traverse which would allow "optimum use of the total length, regardless of the actual (east-west) direction this length would take." He found that the traverse closed "right on the nose", giving him a gently-sloping, well drained airstrip of about 900 yards in length, whose only disabling feature was the prevailing cross-wind which blew from the south-west for much of the year.

Once markers were placed in the ground work began on the uprooting of clumps of bamboo and casuarina, the removal of a few huts and the levelling of the earth. Much of the labour was contributed by gangs of prisoners under police supervision, supplemented by paid workers from nearby villages. Along the north side they built a 'haus kiap' and a burglar-proof store reinforced with solid planks. The police hut and other accommodation had been built in McWilliam's time, and continued to serve these purposes. Vegetable gardens were established along the opposite (south) side of the airstrip, in preparation for the time when it would be necessary to feed a full station complement of staff and prisoners. As there was no lock up at this stage prisoners were chained together with light-weight dog chains attached to neck collars. There is a photograph of a "chain-gang" digging out a bamboo root on Humilaveka airstrip, under the watchful eye of a police constable armed with a .303



Top: Humilaveka airstrip (lower left) and Goroka Valley looking south, 1940 (A. Robertson photo)  
 Centre: 'Chain gang' of prisoners clearing airstrip, 1940. (A. Robertson photo)

Below: Aerial view of Humilaveka terrace in the 1970s, now occupied by Goroka Teachers College.





rifle.(35) The chains ensured that the rifle would not have to be put to use.

Allan Robertson explains that 'kalabusing' was reserved for those involved in tribal fighting and other kinds of "assault with a deadly weapon": "For other breaches of the peace such as wife and pig stealing, sorcery and garden thefts I used the cane. I don't think the natives liked the cane very much - it left marks on them - and I don't like the idea of it myself, now that I think back on it nearly 40 years later. But of course then it was accepted as normal pacification procedure." It is of course salutary to remember that when Allan Robertson's police were chastising law breakers with forced labour and corporal punishment, crimes of violence in Australia earned the perpetrators death by hanging or long periods of incarceration. It is important to see law enforcement in the New Guinea highlands in perspective. There is no doubt that at times the police exceeded their authority in punishing prisoners, particularly where their own lives had been endangered when arresting them. Old clan fight leaders who were 'kalabused' again and again for tribal fighting, speak of their buttocks being flayed by canes until the flesh came away, and of being bashed about the head and body with rifle butts.(36) But they

35 Allan Robertson, photo collection.

36 Mahabi Ihoyani of Mohoweto West, interviewed 15.7.82; Zaho and Samere of Samogozuha, Goroka, 20.4.76: "The police used to



Garoka (Humilaveka) Police Post as it was when Allan Robertson took over from Hamilton in 1940. Naminamiroka, which the Lutheran evangelist Buko Usemo occupied in 1935, was situated on one of the mountain peaks directly above the police post.

( A. Robertson photo )

concede that these punishments were meted out for specific misdeeds, not because the police were by nature brutal or sadistic. Being 'kalabused' for several weeks had a positive side. Food rations were more than adequate and medical care was provided, particularly if the Medical Assistant happened to be present, and in any case a local 'doctor-boy' was on the station to treat ulcers and sores, bronchial infections and stomach aches. McWilliam sent Kiama Gena to Madang in 1938 to do an aid post orderly course, and when he returned to Hapatoka he was able to give "basic treatments of different sicknesses". Allan Robertson recalls that all prisoners had their hair cut and enjoyed a hot bath once a week: "We used to heat up a 45 gallon drum and when it was warm enough they would ladle it over each other and soap up with Lifebuoy or whatever it was. They told me they liked feeling clean."

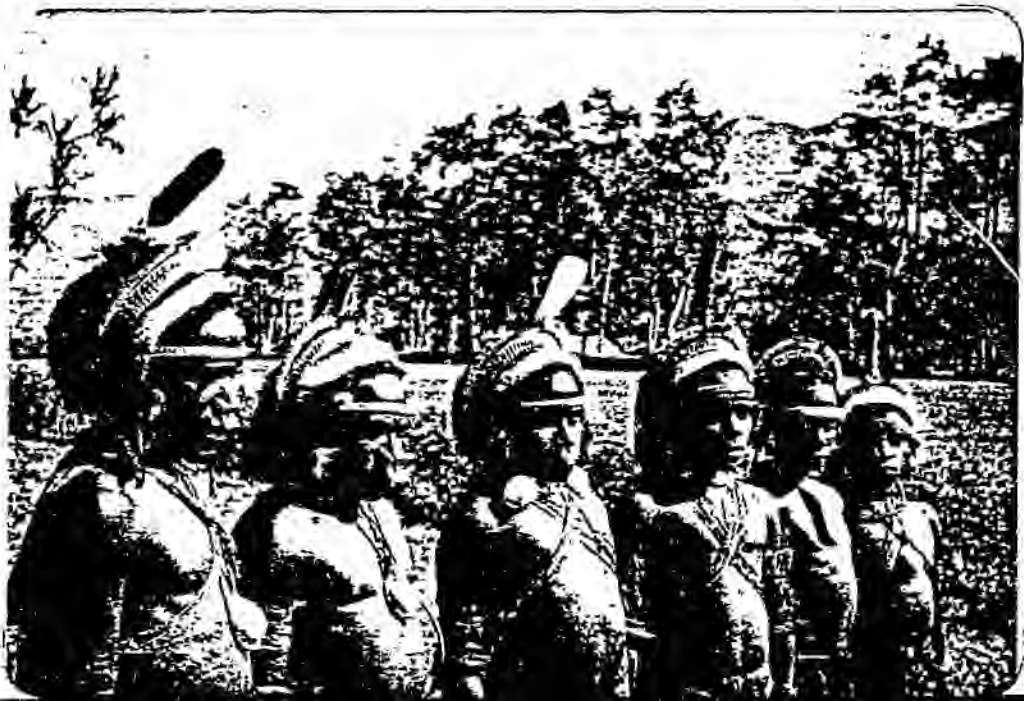
The policeman in charge of Humilaveka when Robertson was not present was Constable Tembe of Talasea. Like Ubom and Enka before him, he found himself a wife from among the local people. His choice was a young woman from Gehamo, a clan group adjacent to Oka'zuha. Allan Robertson made sure that the policeman observed all the traditional marriage requirements, including the payment of bride price, and Tembe was accepted into the local

take us and lie us down over a log. One man would hold one arm, another one the other arm, one held a leg, another the leg. Then a man with a cane would beat us up. It was really terrible. Our flesh would stick onto the cane."



Top: Constable Tembe with his Gehamo (Goroka) bride and in-laws at Humilaveka, 1941.  
Centre: Constable Tembe (left) in a friendly fist-cuffs bout with Robertson's Madang cook, Ena.  
Below: Goroka men, probably from Gehamo, who came for the wedding celebrations, 1941.

(Allan Robertson photos)



community, fathered several children and after the War, on his retirement, he settled permanently at Gehamo with his family. Allan Robertson did not arrange for him to be immediately transferred to another district, as had been the case with the young policeman from Mohoweto West. He reasoned that he would not be under the same pressures as a native-born police constable, and that whatever hold the people did have on him would be outweighed by the influence he could exert on his newly-acquired relatives. Sergeant Enka is very emphatic that police marriages with local women did not compromise their role as law enforcement agents, although some of the Goroka people thought differently. Mrs Tata Urakume of Masilakai'zuha, who was in a good position to observe the actions of Ubom, Enka and Tembe commented: "It is true that if our women married police we believed we might have some influence or control over them. And it worked because those police never took any action against the people when they were married into that village."(37)

However it did not always work to the villagers' benefit. A Sepik policeman called Paia acquired a bride from Notohana at the time he arrested the village 'big men' for an attack on Asaroka mission station, paid no bride price and later abandoned his new wife when he was transferred to another part of the Territory. The Notohana people believe they gained no advantage from this

37 Tata Urakume, interviewed at Lumapaka, Masilakai'zuha, 4.1.83.



Kong Kong and Epa entertaining Lufa people during Robertson and Heilsons' Mt. Michael patrol in May 1941. Kong Kong would have known enough of the Lufa language to be able to communicate with these villagers.

(Hess. 1941. Even photo)

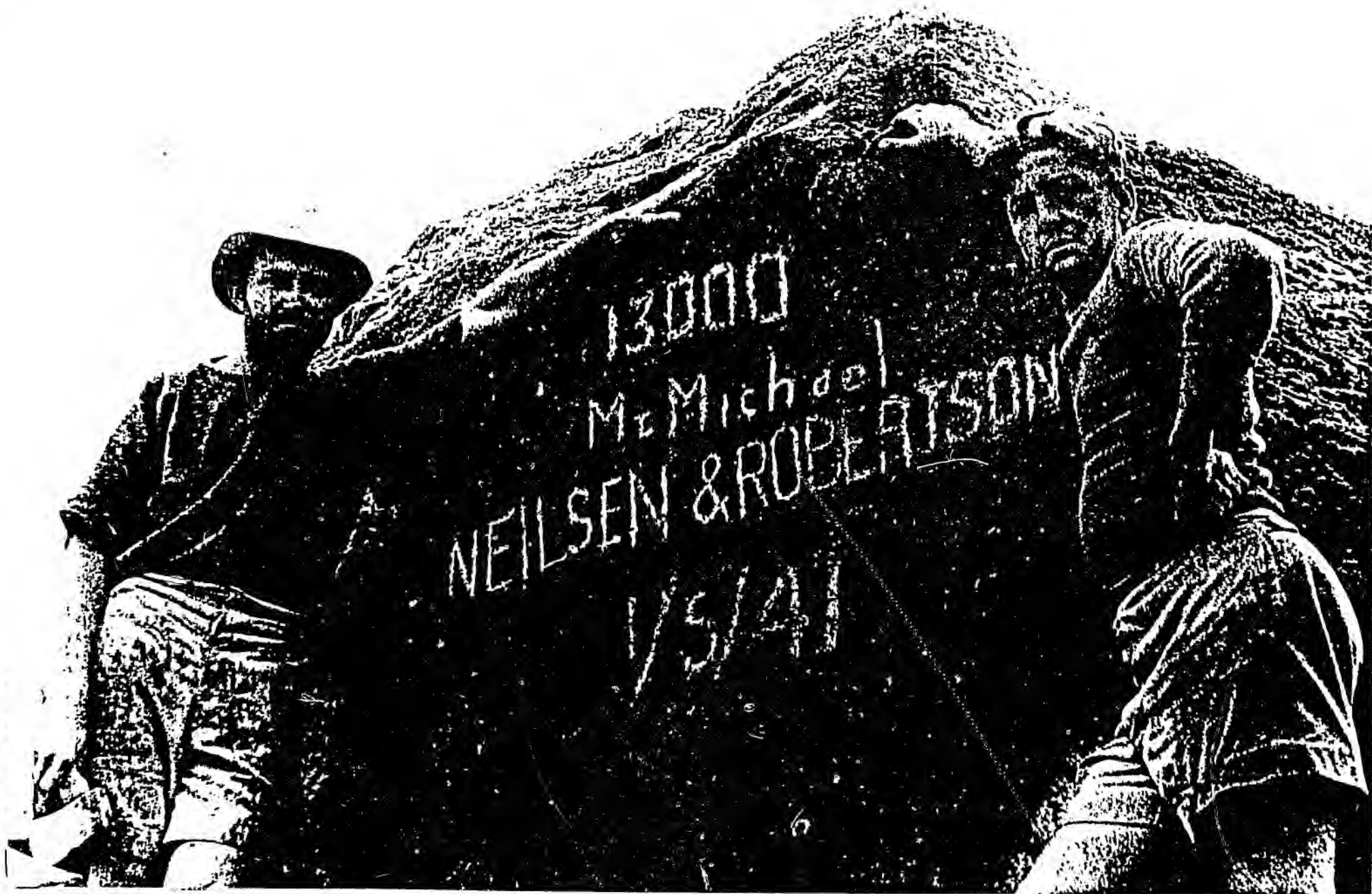
marriage.(38) During McWilliam's time a Sepik policeman Manakori treated his Gehamo bride in a similar fashion, the police being somewhat a law unto themselves in the Goroka area.(39)

#### YOUTHFUL 'TANIM - TOKS' (INTERPRETERS)

The other group who had close links with both the administration and the local people were the interpreters. Although they were all young men or youths, and consequently lacked the status of village leaders, their close relationship to the kiap and his absolute dependence on them for any effective communication with the villagers made them important power brokers. They usually began their government careers as 'manki-mastas' or personal servants to the kiap, and their promotion to interpreter or 'tanim-tok' depended on their facility for languages and smooth and accurate translation, and also to some extent on the village they came from. One of the first Goroka interpreters was Zokizoi Karkai of Asarozuha, a clan which occupies what might be described as the 'heart land' of the Gahuka speaking people. Asarozuha land was next door to Okazuha, the clan who owned the ground on which the Humilaveka post was built. Zokizoi had been Jim Taylor's 'manki-masta' in 1935 - 36. In 1938 he accompanied Taylor and Black on the Hagen - Sepik Patrol. He was the one who

38 Hogotame Gonohauto of Gamuga, Nctohana, 1.4.83. She is probably referring to her kinsman's attack on Asaroka in 1937, during Hofmann's first year of occupancy of the mission site. Supervision of the police would have been minimal, because of Elliott's preoccupation with the Bena and Finintegu areas.

39 Tata Urakume, loc cit, and Makarai Bobe of Oka'zuha, 7.8.82.



Greg Heffgen (left) and Allan Robertson beside their inscription on the summit of Mt. McMichael on 1 May, 1941. The highest point is approximately 13,000 feet above sea level.



claimed: "Every single mountain and hill in the highlands has a footprint of Jim Taylor on it." His own feet left their mark in quite a few of those mountains too. On his return to Goroka in 1938 he worked as official Goroka interpreter for Hamilton, Robertson and Kyngdon. He and the Bena interpreter, Isakua Hepu, accompanied Allan Robertson and Greg Neilsen on their Mount Michael patrol, and stood shivering on the summit with them as they cut with picks in the rock the inscription:

13,000  
Mt Michael  
NEILSEN & ROBERTSON  
1/5/41 (40)

This inscription remains as perhaps the only permanent reminder of the rule of the pre-War kiaps - there are no monuments or plaques on the streets or public places in Goroka, although McWilliam and Elliott still have streets named after them. It will be somewhat ironic if the names of Neilsen and Robertson live for ever among the swirling mists and bracing winds of Mount Michael's summit, they and their colleagues forgotten by all but a few old interpreters and village leaders among a vast and indifferent population going about their business in the valley

40 Allan Robertson has a photograph of himself and Neilsen standing on either side of the inscription. They estimated the altitude by observing the boiling point of a billy of water, a rough and ready method which brought them within about 1000 feet of the correct height above sea level. The correct figure at the highest point is 11,966 feet.



Robertson and Neilsen with the lufa people while the police prepare for the night's camp.  
(A. Robertson photo)

below.

In 1941 the Goroka Valley people could not afford to be indifferent to patrol officer, policeman or interpreter, officials who all exercised considerable power over their lives. Inapo Kaug of Uheto interpreted for McWilliam when he negotiated with the Seigu people over the use of their land for the first airstrip, assisted Allan Robertson in the recruiting of local labour for the construction of the Humilaveka airstrip and patrol post, and was with L G R Kyngdon when he moved from Bena Bena to Goroka. Inapo was another of Jim Taylor's proteges, and the fact that he came from Uheto was no accident. It will be recalled that Uheto was the most belligerent and intractable of the Goroka clans, and it was useful from the kiap's point of view to have a lad from that group.

Although the patrol officers must have been conscious of possible 'wantok' loyalty, they made sure that Inapo gained experience with Europeans and coastal policemen at Bena Bena, Finintegu and Kainantu, which ensured he had a perspective of life and law enforcement beyond the parochial confines of his own language group. This held no guarantee, of course, that he would act impartially when dealing with his own people, but at least he was able to make the kiap's intentions clear, and also provide feedback to the patrol officer on the villagers' reactions.(41)

41 Inapo Kaug, interviewed at Uheto, 20.4.76 and 23.4.76.

When, for example, Croft reported that the Uheto warriors had killed the Asaroka women in retaliation for the slaying of one of their own clansmen, it would have been his interpreter (probably Inapo) who gave him this information. Other pre-War Goroka interpreters were Bin Arovaki of Gehamo (related by marriage to Constable Tembe) and Makarai Bobe of Okazuha. Makarai's understudy was Bepi Moha of Yabi'zuha (Yabiyufa), an Unggai village on the Asaro Range, which had strong links with Oka'zuha. When Makarai became a policeman after the War he ensured that his job as official government interpreter went to Bepi, his 'wantok'. Bepi was suitably qualified for the position, having gone through the previous steps of 'manki-masta' and assistant interpreter, and also had the advantage of being fluent in his native Unggai dialect as well as in Gahuku, but as in the case of Bin's appointment there is a suggestion of nepotism. Apart from the obvious benefit of being on the government payroll, there was an equally tangible advantage to a village or clan group of having one of their own representatives as 'tanim-tok'.

Makarai was closely involved with the take-over of Humilaveka by the administration in the pre-War period. He claims that Jim Taylor took him to Kainantu in 1936 and he later became a 'manki-masta' to Cedric Croft. He returned to Goroka when McWilliam was in charge, and recalls that the police 'annexed' Humilaveka very simply by putting their hut in the middle of the Oka'zuha house-line. The people soon found that having the police living in their midst was a decided disadvantage, and were easily



Police and carriers struggling with cargo across a turbulent mountain stream, Lufa area, 1941. It would appear the labourers and carriers earned their 'generous' pay.

( A. Robertson photo )

To face Page 251.

persuaded to move down to a site near the Zokizoi Creek. Makarai negotiated on their behalf for compensation in the form of shells and axes, and also was able to gain payment for the timber, bamboo and kunai thatching that the people supplied for the station buildings.(42)

Allan Robertson was aware of the undercurrents in police-villager and interpreter-villager relationships, but did not interfere except when, as in the case of Constable Tembe's marriage, it was necessary to ensure that village traditions were upheld and the 'foreign' bridegroom acknowledged his responsibilities. The people remember him as a just and humane kiap, who paid village labourers adequately and had time to sit down with local leaders and discuss their problems with them. The Bena interpreter Isakua Hepu recalled: "Mr Robertson was a good man. He looked after us well and he paid the labourers and cargo carriers generously. He was tough with fighters, putting them in a big hole at Hapatoka, but he did not shoot anyone."(43) A Bena Bena 'big man', Koritoiya Upe of Nagamitoka, Korofeigu, remembered him as "a good man - he didn't do us any harm. He was really kind and helpful. We brought food to him at Hapatoka. He talked to us in a friendly manner."(44)

42 Makarai Bobe, 7.3.32.

43 Isakua Hepu of Magitu, 8.2.77.

44 Koritoiya Upe of Nagamitoka, Korofeigu, 8.6.76.

L G R KYNGDON

Louis Godfrey Richard ("Dick") Kyngdon, who succeeded Robertson in May 1941, thought less generously of his predecessor. He was shocked to find a number of prisoners in the 'big hole' at Hapatoka: "There were 28 fellows down in the hole, each attached to a log by means of a dog chain. There were no depositions, no reasons why they should be there. When Robertson left in mid-May I undid the locks and told the prisoners to go home. I had no reason to keep them."(45) Kyngdon did not blame Allan Robertson for this state of affairs - he recognised that his predecessor was simply following an established system:

"I arrived at Bena Bena on 4 April 1941 ... Ward Oakley wanted me to have six weeks with Robertson 'to learn how things were done in the Uncontrolled Area'. I certainly learned how things were done, and a lot more, all of which convinced me that there had to be a revolutionary change in approach and methods if we were to achieve a standard of administration which would bear outside scrutiny."(46)

He also questioned the necessity and the justice of forcing people to relocate their houses in compact, neatly aligned villages: "Putting people in villages no doubt aided administration - Ward Oakley could inspect them from a plane as he flew overhead! - but it caused much resentment and I think detracted from the people's self-reliance and independence."(47)

45 L G R Kyngdon, interviewed at Bowral, NSW, 16.2.76.

46 L G R Kyngdon, correspondence, 6.9.73.

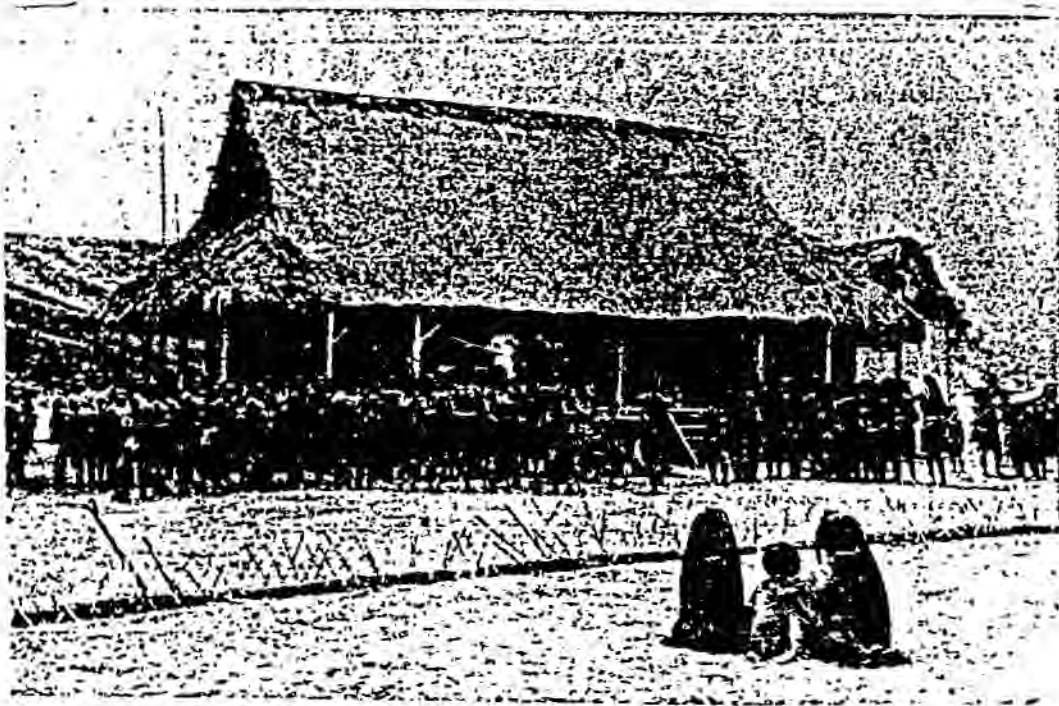
47 Kyngdon, correspondence, 12.11.73.

Kyngdon's desire to reform the system, by easing up on previous practices, was interpreted by the people as a sign of weakness, and tribal fighting erupted all over the valley. Kyngdon acknowledged that he was reaping a whirlwind from the winds of reform he had unleashed, and it took him six months to restore any kind of order.

As an indirect result of the pacification measures he was forced to employ he fell out with the SDA Mission, a quarrel which hastened the removal of the patrol post to Goroka in October 1941. Unlike his predecessors he failed to get on with Stan Gander, whose aggressive evangelistic methods clashed with Kyngdon's sense of fair play. Early in July Stan Gander requested assistance in placing a mission teacher in a certain village. Issuing of permits to native evangelists to reside in villages was still strictly controlled in 1941, and was only done on the recommendation of the residing patrol officer.(48) It

48 The restriction applied to 'foreign', that is non-highlander evangelists. The Roman Catholics were getting round this problem by training highlanders as catechists, but the SDAs and the Lutherans were slow in following their example. The opening of the SDA Training School at Omaura, south of Kainantu, by Pastor Dave Brennan in 1940, was the first step in this direction. However, it will be recalled that an amendment to the Native Administration Regulations in February 1937 (see Rabaul Times editorial comment, NAR Amended, 19 February 1937), did give the power to District Officers to issue village residence permits to mission helpers from the coast under certain circumstances. The SDA Annual Report to the Government Secretary, Rabaul, dated 12.8.39, refers to permission from the Administrator to "do opening up work in five different localities in the Bena Bena district. (Australian Archives, Canberra.)



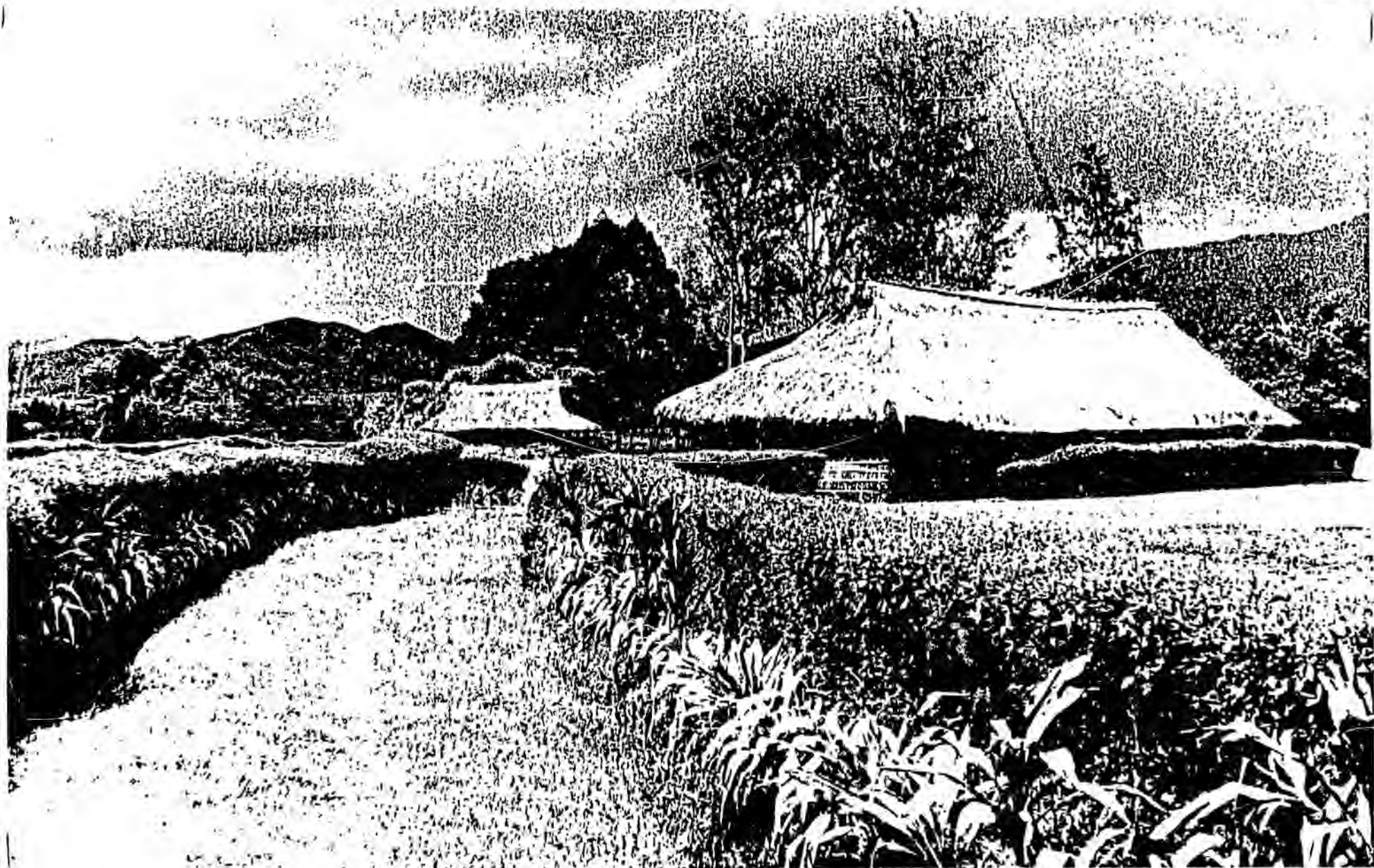


Top: Greta and Stan Gander with their mission helpers collecting cargo from the Bena airstrip, 1941. They were less welcome at Hapetoka after attempting to lodge an adverse report about Kyngdon to Ward Oakley. (A. Robertson photo)

Centre: Kyngdon explaining to Bena people that he is about to move his headquarters to Goroka, 1941.

Below: Close-up of Kyngdon on his Bena verandah. (L.G.R. Kyngdon photo)

emerged that the teacher had already settled in the village in McWilliam's time, but he had alienated the people by desecrating a burial ground, and they had expelled him. When Dick Kyngdon had satisfied himself of the details, and had been told by the people that they most definitely did not want the SDAs in their village, he supported their decision and advised Stan Gander accordingly. At about this time (early July 1941) the Sakanaga people in the Upper Bena attacked their enemies and Kyngdon and his party were ambushed when they went out to make arrests. In the ensuing fracas two warriors were killed and several wounded. Kyngdon remained to settle things down and then received word from Paul Helbig that serious fighting had broken out at Asaroka, at the other end of the district. By the time he returned to Hapatoka to make a full report of the Sakanaga shootings to Ward Oakley, Stan Gander had left on foot for Madang, leaving his station without the patrol officer's permission. The journey was ostensibly to purchase horses for Sigoiya, but he took the opportunity to call on Ward Oakley and protest that Kyngdon had killed 13 Sakanaga warriors. Kyngdon interpreted this as a deliberate payback attempt by Gander in retaliation for the mission teacher village residence refusal. If Hamilton could be removed for shooting one native, Kyngdon would surely go for killing thirteen. But Kyngdon had covered himself by sending Ward Oakley a detailed account of the incident, so that Gander's story fell on deaf ears. Oakley, according to Kyngdon, decided it was time to separate church and state. "Kyngdon", he said, "the time has now come to move the



The Goroka Patrol Post at Humilaveka several months before Kynqdon took up residence in October 1941.

(A. Robertson photo)

station to Goroka away from Bena, because when you go there may be a more susceptible patrol officer who will be unduly influenced by the people on top of Sigoiya hill."(49) Kyngdon concedes that the policy to shift the post to Humilaveka so that pacification of the Goroka, Asaroka and Siane people could proceed more rapidly had been formulated since McWilliam's time, but his row with Stan Gander had finally been the catalyst to put that policy into effect.

The move to Goroka was commenced in October 1941, and Kyngdon took up residence on Humilaveka on the 12th. He soon had himself comfortably set up on his new station, safely out of view of interfering missionaries and well placed to intervene in the affairs of the warring clans along the Asaro. By November peace had been restored throughout the district, Stan Gander was fully occupied installing a hydro-electric scheme to supply his mission with power (50) and Dick Kyngdon could look forward to a quiet year after the conflict and upheaval of his first six months. He was not to know that within a month would begin a holocaust which would make clan fighting look like children's games. The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 and on 23 January 1942 they occupied Rabaul. Australian civil administration came to an abrupt end, and the Australian New

49 Kyngdon, Bowral interview, 16.2.76.

50 S H Gander, "Modern Conveniences in Inland New Guinea", The Australasian Record, 3.11.41, p 3.

Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) assumed control of all areas not conquered by the Japanese.

Dick Kyngdor found himself a conscripted private in ANGAU, under the command of Warrant Officer Bill Brechin, who remained at Aiyura. They received orders to cease all civil administration, but Kyngdon thought this was a silly instruction, as his best contribution at this stage of the war was to keep the people in a settled condition. This could only be achieved by continuing as before with regular patrols, village inspections, adjudication of clan disputes and maintenance of bridle paths. So with battles raging on land, sea and in the air over much of coastal and inland Papua and New Guinea the Highlands paradoxically enjoyed comparative peace and calm throughout 1942.

Bill Brechin was killed in a plane crash on 26 June 1942 while visiting the Goroka Valley. The small, Spartan reconnaissance aircraft, while taking off from the Bena airstrip, failed to clear Mount Magepa, a small kunai covered peak to the south-east, and Brechin did not survive the crash. He had been inspecting the old station at Hapatoka with a view to the army setting up a camp there, and Dick Kyngdon believes he also planned to visit him at Goroka with instructions from his superiors to cease patrolling forthwith. As Kyngdon did not get these orders he just carried on as before.

By June 1942 ANGAU had organised mainland New Guinea into three

administrative districts, Sepik, Ramu (late Madang) and Markham.(51) Although the Japanese did not occupy coastal Madang until December 1942, ANGAU authorities recognised that enemy occupation was extremely likely, and were prepared to regroup in the Highlands, with headquarters at Kainantu. Ramu District Officer was N Penglase; ADOs were J R Black, G C Harris and L G R Kyngdon; Patrol Officers were G F Neilsen and R H Boyan; Warrant Officer of Police, Tom Upson, and Medical Assistant, Rod Fowler. Fowler was a former SDA missionary.

Apart from continuing native administration in the Goroka Valley as best he could Dick Kyngdon was busy improving the Humilaveka station and airstrip. He put the finishing touches to the work Allan Robertson had done on the airstrip, and supervised the erection of more bush material houses. A water-race was constructed to bring water from a creek above Humilaveka to irrigate the vegetable gardens on the terrace slopes. This water was also used to feed a station swimming pool which was dug by prison labourers.

Kyngdon watched with some relief the departure of Stan Gander and his Kainantu colleagues in April 1942. The women missionaries had been evacuated earlier, and the men had to walk to Mount Hagen to be flown from there to Australia. Whether or not

51 New Guinea Admin Unit, War Diaries, February 1942 to March 1943, Appendix 23, 31 May 1942, Box No 442, National War Memorial, Canberra.

Kyngdon had a hand in Gander's removal is not clear, but it is interesting that Helbig, who gave Kyngdon no trouble, was allowed to stay on at Asaroka for another year. Kyngdon comments: "I was on pretty good terms with Helbig. Funny old chap. His old wife was very kind. I think they were pretty good people - no doubt at all about their loyalty."(52)

When the occupation of Madang by the Japanese became imminent late in 1942, there was a steady stream of refugees into the Highlands, and Kyngdon became responsible for all those who passed through the Goroka Valley on their way to Mount Hagen. (They were flown direct from Mount Hagen to Australia.) People had to be housed and fed and provided with police escorts along the 'corridor of power'. Although they were no longer in danger of attack from the Japanese, Kyngdon could not absolutely guarantee their safety from tribal ambush. As late as Christmas 1942 Kyngdon himself was attacked near Iuhi Iuha (Iufi Iufa), just north of Goroka. He had received a report that 19 men, women and children had been massacred in a raid on a small village near Iuhi Iuha, so taking the only 3 policemen who were available, he went off in pursuit of the raiders. Just below Asaroka Mission the small party was ambushed, and in self-defence they shot three warriors. Later the people came to make peace, bringing a lot of pigs, and after shaking hands they said, "Well,

52 Bowral interview, 16.2.76.

that was a fair fight, there were only a few of you and there were a lot of us." Kyngdon could not afford to have parties of inexperienced Madang and Rabaul refugees subjected to similar "fair fights". However, when the last of the refugees had passed through Kyngdon was ordered to pack up and follow them to Mount Hagen, where he gained the rank of ANGAU Lieutenant. W/O Tom Upson, ex European Police, took over from him at Goroka, awaiting the arrival of John Black, who was now officer in charge of the Ramu District. A small contingent of fighting soldiers, to be known as Bena Force, also arrived in the Goroka Valley, on 23 January 1943.

#### SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

##### MEDICAL

As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the "very settling effect" contributed by resident Europeans was as much a result of their social programmes, as their more overtly forceful attempts at pacification and the missionaries' work of evangelisation. The most spectacular effects were gained from their medical services. European drugs and other treatments produced quite dramatic cures of some diseases. Outstanding among these were the injections for framboesia or yaws, a fatal and disfiguring condition introduced into the Highlands from the coast at about the time of first contact with Europeans and their coastal helpers, or possibly a generation earlier.(53) Framboesia was

53 See R Radford, op cit, p 246.



caused by a bacterium related to the one producing syphilis, but was not a venereal disease as such. Suppurating sores all over the body later gave way to disfiguring, destructive lesions of cartilage and bone. Two new arsenical drugs, new that is in the mid-1930s, before the later advent of penicillin, were novarsenobillin (NAB) and salvarsan. Administered by injection, one 'shoot' caused superficial sores to disappear completely within three days. Bad cases responded to a second dose. So effective was this treatment that the Europeans' reputation as workers of a superior magic was enhanced immeasurably.

Georg Hofmann treats this theme of medical "wonder worker" in his 1937 Asaroka Station Report:

"Since I have been here I have injected 280 people sick with framboesia. The people from the whole area bring their sick ones here. If I tell them to bring their sick people they say, 'You have done your magic to them all already. Nearly all are well now.' Neo-salvarsan injections are sure of miraculous cure. I tell the people that this cure comes from God and not from me if they want to praise me for it."

Hofmann's success as a healer produced some bizarre effects. On one occasion a man came to ask if he had a cure for his dog so that it would not kill any more pigs. Hofmann presented the man with a stick saying it was the only dog cure he knew of for this complaint.

Across in the Bena Bena Stan Gander was also busy administering

NAB or neo-salvarsan injections to yaws sufferers: "We are becoming known, and large numbers arrive every day for help. Yesterday twenty nine came in one company for injections, and the day before fourteen."(54) In June 1938 he reported giving 100 injections in one week, at a cost to the Mission of 5.(55) Greta Gander wrote in August 1938 of the "wonderful" results of the yaws eradication programme and how "the fame of this remarkable cure has spread abroad for miles, so that there are always plenty for this treatment."(56) It is clear that the missionaries regarded the medical work as an indispensable part of their evangelistic thrust. The Ganders' colleague at Kainantu, A J Campbell, wrote in September 1938 that "there is mostly implicit confidence in this treatment by injection. Its final influence for the message cannot now be measured."(57)

The Asaroka people called yaws "jombo", their name for a large tree with scarred and nobbly bark. They attempted to effect a cure with leaves and magic. The missionary's injections certainly enhanced his reputation as a miracle worker, but although people cured of "jombo" were grateful to him, the connection between being cured and becoming Christians does not

54 "Letter from Missionary Gander", 2 October 1937, Missionary Leader, October 1937.

55 The Australasian Record, 13.6.38.

56 The Australasian Record, 15.8.38.

57 The Australasian Record, 5.9.38.

seem to have been made.(58) Nobody asked for baptism as a result of their being healed, and although the Lutherans, as followers of the Keysser method, would not have baptised individuals anyway, the SDAs, who had no such scruples, did not baptise any Goroka Valley converts either, apart from a few school pupils, until well after the War. The missionaries' medical work undoubtedly contributed to changing attitudes, but 'conversion' was a slow process, and the marvelous cures experienced by framboesia sufferers did not produce any dramatic 'spiritual' results.

An insight into the SDA's attitude to baptism is offered by the anthropologist Camilla Wedgwood, who visited an Adventist mission station in the Aroma area of eastern Papua in November 1944. She noted in her diary:

"The policy of the SDA is to be very hesitant about admitting people into church membership. Mrs B (the missionary's wife) says that they want to be very sure of a native before admitting him - of all the missions she thinks the SDAs are the most hesitant to admit to membership. (Note. The SDA conception of the church is a select few who will be saved by the 2nd Coming as opposed to the mass of people who will be cast away.)"(59)

This would suggest that although the SDAs baptised individual

58 Pastor Akiro Orosovano of Asaroka, interviewed 23.7.82.

59 Camilla Wedgwood Diaries, Vol VIII, entry for 13 November, 1944. Halstrom Library, International Training Institute, Sydney.

converts without reference to the whole village community, they were still very careful about selecting candidates for baptism. Should a person have applied for church membership as a result of being cured of a disease, a long process of education and probation would have been required before the convert was admitted.

Other diseases which affected highlanders and which responded in varying degrees to European treatment were tropical ulcers, intestinal worm, an infective mouth condition called 'New Guinea mouth', which eats away the tissue and is fatal if not treated,(60) venereal disease, malaria and influenza. The latter three had certainly been introduced from lowland areas as a result of European and coastal New Guinean contact. Pneumonia was also common, and was often associated with influenza epidemics which swept through vulnerable highland communities in the 1930s. Stan Gander was able to successfully treat the Sigoiya 'big man' Inevesiti, who fell victim to an influenza-pneumonia epidemic in the Goroka Valley in April 1939. Gander reported that many people died, but Inevesiti responded to the missionary's medicines and prayers and his recovery became for Gander "a real victory for God in the midst of heathen

60 Probably Cancrum Oris. It is mentioned in the New Guinea Annual Report, 1934 - 1935, p 42, as being almost entirely limited to the Morobe District, including the highlands. J J Murphy's Chimbu Diary entry for 15 January 1937 records Medical Assistant Arthur Ewing treating station personnel for venereal disease, New Guinea mouth and tropical ulcers.

darkness."(61) Inevesiti had been taken to Rabaul by the Ganders as a sort of prize exhibit at the annual SDA missionaries' meeting, and had received a lot of favourable publicity. He had also impressed his own people when he returned, telling them he had been to Australia and experienced all the wonder of the white man's world.(62) Stan Gander could not afford to have him die of a white man's disease just a month or so after his triumphal journey.

Treatment of venereal disease is not reported by the missionaries in their accounts, written for home consumption in uplifting church journals like The Australasian Record and the Missionary Leader. Cadet Patrol Officer J J Murphy had no such inhibitions, at least in the privacy of his diary, and he described how Medical Assistant Arthur Ewing lined up all the police at Chimbu on 26 January 1937 for the intravenous injections for VD. On 29 January he examined gonorrhoea germs through Ewing's microscope. Earlier in the month he recorded that Corporal Boganau had been sent back from a Siane patrol because "Mr Kyle apparently thought he would not be of much use with his touch of VD". He also noted that all the women examined by Ewing at Kundiawa had VD.

Murphy also mentions a community of lepers found in the Upper

61 The Australasian Record, 8.5.39.

62 Jopee Gobiassa, SDA lay leader, Sigoiya, interviewed 28.7.82.

Chimbu, but leprosy is not listed by the Goroka Valley missionaries as a prevalent disease in their area. If brought to their attention it would have been mentioned because of its Biblical associations - modern leprosy has caught the interest of most Western Christians and its mere mention by missionaries "in the field" can be guaranteed to bring in extra donations from supporters at home.(63) There are also no accounts at this time of malaria in the Goroka Valley, although there were many casualties at Henganofi in the adjacent Dunantina area reported by "Pompey" Elliott in May 1937. Kiama Gena, who trained as an aid post orderly in Madang in 1938, and returned to work with McWilliam at Hapatoka, recalled treating his patients for coughs, headaches, sores and stomach aches, but could not remember any cases of malaria.

Any evangelistic advantages which the missionaries may have gained through their medical work was somewhat blunted by the presence in the highlands between 1937 and 1940 of Medical

63 Andrew Collins of the Medical Research Institute, Goroka, was told recently by the people of Lumapaka hamlet (Masilakai'zuha/Okesana clan) that in pre-contact times the Goroka people put leprosy sufferers in huts, with the patient lying on a bed suspended over a pit. When the victim died it was not necessary to handle the body - the relatives simply removed the planks and the corpse fell into the pit, where it was covered with earth. Because of the infectious nature of the disease, sufferers were put in strict quarantine, and as far as possible the kinsfolk kept the condition of the patient a secret. Consequently outsiders such as patrol officers and missionaries did not hear about such cases. (Andrew Collins interviewed 4.4.83.)

Assistant Arthur Ewing (64) and his team of "doctor boys", who although men of government rather than men of God, appeared to achieve the same miraculous results. A significant achievement which both mission and administration could claim through their medical work was a gradual change in the people's thinking about the causes and prevention of fatal illness. Where previously sickness was attributed to sorcery, and some of the tribal fighting was a response to the belief that people who died were victims of an enemy's evil magic, Europeans could now intervene in this cycle of sorcery and violent "payback". Treatment which prevented the death from illness of a clan leader prevented by the same stroke a further outbreak of clan fighting. The other important effect of the application of European medicine was to help develop the peoples' general confidence in Europeans. Although mission and government had not yet demonstrated their ability to stop tribal fighting and thus bring in the era of peace and prosperity they were always promising, they had shown that in one important area at least they could work very powerful magic to the benefit of many people.

#### EDUCATIONAL

Education produced less spectacular immediate results than

64 Ewing was based at Madang, but spent much of his time in the highlands. Murphy records his presence at Chimbu in 1937, Pursehouse mentions him operating on a warrior with an arrow in his back at Kainantu in August, 1939, and he spent time with Hamilton at Bena Bena in 1940 (there is a photograph of him with Hamilton, Robertson and Stan Gander at Hapatoka in possession of Ewing - see page 252) He also returned to the Goroka area with ANGAU in 1944 - 1945.

medical programmes, but in the long term the schools set up by the missionaries and the kiaps played an important part in transforming Goroka Valley society. Although the Missions had a strong commitment to formal education as a means of evangelisation, the work was at first difficult and unrewarding. This explains why their medical programmes, which achieved almost instant success, were reported on with more enthusiasm. However, it was the policy of both the Lutherans and Adventists to conduct schools at their mission stations in the Highlands. The Lutherans had to modify their Keysser method of establishing village schools rather than central boarding schools at the primary level, because the Uncontrolled Areas restrictions prevented pastor-teachers being placed in villages. Consequently their educational work in the Highlands closely resembled that of the SDAs - both conducted station boarding schools made up of children and teenagers recruited from surrounding villages.

In its Annual Reports to the Administration, the Lutheran Mission Finschhafen always placed its educational work immediately after the section on evangelism, and ahead of the account of medical activities.(65) This does indicate the Lutherans' mission priorities. The SDAs set out their Reports less methodically, and there is no indication that education had more or less status

65 These and similar Mission Reports in File 838/-/- New Guinea, PNG Missions - annual reports. A518. Australian Archives, Canberra.



than other activities which were not specifically evangelical in nature. Conversion was all-important, and educational, medical and agricultural endeavours were seen as tools of equal importance to be used to this end. The 1938 Report touches briefly on the work of Stan Gander at Bena Bena, explaining that he is engaged in evangelistic patrols through the surrounding region and in educating "those who can be brought into the Mission to attend the school."

The Lutherans are more forthcoming than the SDAs in setting out publicly their educational aims. In the 1937 Report it is stated that in addition to making the pupils literate in the Kotte language, it is "one of our chief aims to train the pupils in such a way that they may play a leading part in agricultural enterprises, for we consider it a danger for the future of the race if better educated Papuans take a dislike to manual work, or prefer to live on rice or tinned meats, and copy the white man." The SDAs hint at a similar philosophy in their 1939 Report, stating: "It is our endeavour to make the natives useful, courteous, and industrious. To this end we prepare gardens and encourage the planting of various crops. The natives are given the opportunity of gaining skill and practice in their own native crafts. Such crafts as canoe making, weaving and basket making, pottery, etc, are crafts we encourage the natives to retain and to become proficient in."

Loras Baka, a Manus SDA pastor, who began working at Sigoiya in

1940, and remained in the Goroka area for 27 years, draws attention to the incidental teaching which the Sigoiya school provided - lessons in house construction, in gardening, in health and hygiene, in the resolution of conflicts of interest - skills and ideas which the young pupils transmitted to their elders each time they returned home to their villages.(66) At Sigoiya in 1940 there was a staff of 18 coastal helpers, the majority from the New Ireland off-shore islands of Mussau and Emira, plus two each from Bougainville, Manus and Rabaul. All these men and their wives had a strong influence on the 40 or so pupils in the school, demonstrating coastal crafts, songs and games (but not dances!), building styles and, of course, a sophistication in dress and behaviour, which they in turn had learnt from their European mentors, and which their Goroka Valley pupils were eager to copy.

Information was imparted more overtly through the school curriculum. The "Seven Days" did all their teaching in Pidgin, and concentrated on reading, writing and spelling, arithmetic and Bible knowledge. Social studies were not taught as such, but simple geographical facts and concepts were introduced incidentally as part of the reading and Bible studies. As in all New Guinea mission schools, the children spent several hours working in the gardens each day, and helped with other station work. The more able linguists performed an important role as

66 Pastor Loras Baka, interviewed at Goroka, 29.7.82.

interpreters at all Sabbath services, and accompanied Stan Gander on his patrols. To describe the pupils as 'children' is not strictly accurate - a photo of the entire school population published in The Australasian Record in May 1938 shows the smiling faces of 40 students, all boys. Pastor Loras states that some girls attended the school when he went to Sigoiya in 1940. The SDAs admitted 12 girls to their Kainantu school of 60 pupils in 1939.

The Lutheran school at Asaroka followed a similar curriculum and organisation, the one basic difference being that the language of communication was Kotte (Kate) not Pidgin. As mentioned earlier, this attempt to make Kotte the lingua-franca of the highlands people proved a failure. It earned the resentment of those pupils who wasted so much effort learning it and then found themselves disadvantaged when competing for jobs or establishing businesses in competition with those whose schooling had been in Pidgin. Between working for Bill Kyle at Kundiawa in 1936-37 and going on the Hagen-Sepik patrol with Taylor and Black in 1938-39 Zokizoi Karkai spent a brief period as a student at Asaroka. He recalled that he "did not learn Kotte very well. Some understood it and spoke it but it was very difficult." Zokizoi was happy to leave Asaroka and go back to working with the patrol officers, using Pidgin. Pastor Akiro Oroso-vano, who was born at Lunupe in the Upper Asaro in about 1926, accompanied the Finschhafen evangelist Metinge when he was recalled to Onerunka in 1936, but was stopped by Jim Taylor when they reached Bena Bena post, and

the missionaries were told he was too young to accompany them. He stayed at Bena where the police taught him Pidgin, but when Hofmann returned in 1937 to set up the Asaroka station, Akiro was one of the first to present himself at the new school. He had no difficulty in learning Kotte, and became so proficient that in 1952 he taught the language to a new generation of Asaroka students. Because he remained with the church he found plenty of scope to use Kotte, but for those who did not make a vocation as Lutheran pastor or teacher it was of little, if any, use.

Because of the state of unrest among the clans around Asaroka, life for the school boys was not without its dangers. Hofmann mentions in his 1937 Report that three Lunumbewe (Lunupe) boys were threatened with a payback killing by the Asaros, who had been fighting with the Lunumbewe warriors for 2 days, and had sustained several casualties. Akiro, who was one of the three boys, recalls how they remained terrified in the school dormitory all weekend, when the other students had gone to their home villages. They were too afraid to go outside to urinate, thus incurring the displeasure of their teachers. However, when Akiro did pluck up courage to leave the building, he got an arrow in his leg for his trouble.

By the end of 1938 Hofmann had 90 boys in his school, about 30 pupils in each class. He wrote proudly of their progress: "One class which finished the second year speak almost perfect Kate. The boys are intelligent and want to learn." The best of these students helped him in his own study of the Gafuga (Gahuku)

language. At the end of 1937 he was able to report that "the Gafuga language is a Papuan language. In its grammatical structure it resembles the Kate tongue as far as I can see. The verbal way of expression dominates. It is difficult and hard compared with Kate to learn the constant tone change with the vowels in the verbal stem." However he persisted, and by mid 1938 he was able, with the help of the local school boys, to translate into Gahuku Pilhofer's "Qapuc Miti (Preaching to Heathens)" and some additional Bible stories. This was the first book to be published in a Goroka Valley language, and it further encouraged Hofmann and the evangelists to continue the teaching of reading in the school.

Even if some pupils had difficulty reading the Kotte Bible, they could at least read Bible stories and simple doctrine in their own language. Like the pupils at the SDA school, the Asaroka boys were required to grow food and assist with station building construction.

#### FURTHER INNOVATIONS

At first Hofmann, and later he and his family, lived in a bush materials house. He began in "a miserable hut right on the ground", then graduated to a larger grass building with a bamboo floor, which he shared with the evangelists. They then used their skills as weavers to construct a comfortable bush house for him in which "floor, walls and ceiling were plaited from a kind of reed". It had two rooms and a verandah, and made Hofmann feel "like a prince in a mansion". He reported to the Neuendettelsau Mission that "Brother Oertel, who once flew in on the 'Papua'



Above: Lutheran Mission aeroplane at Asaroka, 1938.  
The two houses built by Paul Helbig and the  
Finschhafen carpenters are left and right of  
the 'plane.

Below: The Hofmann house at Asaroka, photographed  
in August 1938, soon after its completion.  
(Georg Hofmann photos)

To face Page 303.

said, 'Brother Hofmann, you truly live in a basket'". It was not long before the schoolboys had perfected the art of weaving these pit pit wall sheets, and it was only a matter of time before this kind of house construction began to appear in the villages, as the boys passed on their newly acquired skill to their relatives.(67)

When Paul Helbig arrived at Asaroka early in 1938 he began the construction of the large, permanent materials mission house which is still in use today. The school boys were conscripted to help carry planks of sawn timber from Rabana, more than 20 miles away, and timber-gathering excursions were also made to Akiro's home area in the Upper Asaro. They used adzes and planes to make this hard wood smooth. Both the school boys and the villagers watched with interest as Helbig and some carpenters from Finschhafen erected the framework of a house the like of which had never before been seen in the Goroka Valley. When the 'Papua' arrived with sheets of roofing iron from Willi Bergmann's old mission station at Kambaidam, their interest turned to amazement. Akiro watched the carpenters nail the iron onto the roof frame, using metal nails, but he also recalls that the wooden frame was put together with wooden pegs knocked into holes which Helbig drilled. The building of this and a smaller house, by Helbig and his assistants from the coast, made as strong an impression on Akiro and his fellow students as anything they learnt in school.

67 Pastor Akiro Orosovano, interviewed at Asaroka, 23.7.82.

The same comment could probably be made of other European phenomena, such as Gwen Gander's bicycle, Stan Gander's hydro-electric engineering, the Asaroka galvanised iron rain tanks, which stood prominently beside the Hofmann and Helbig houses, the government and mission horses, cattle and goats, and of course, a wide variety of imported fruit trees, shrubs, coffee plants, vegetables and cereals. Gwen Gander's bicycle created sufficient interest to gain a mention in a letter Greta Gander wrote for the Australian SDA journal, The Australasian Record: "At present we are having crowds come every day to see Gwen's bicycle. It is the first they have ever seen, and is most wonderful in their eyes. To some it is even terrifying .... Even the bicycle is a means of making contact with tribes miles and miles away. As the news spreads, so they still come in."(68) People did not flock in the same way to see Paul Helbig's ripening coffee cherries or taste the rye bread his wife baked from the first Asaroka harvest in 1940, nor were they particularly excited by the flourishing passionfruit vines and bags of peanuts being prepared at Bena Bena for a cash crop export business to the coast. Yet in these humble beginnings in cash crop agriculture was the promise of profound change in the lifestyle and level of prosperity to be attained by the Goroka Valley people. Gwen Gander's bicycle may have been the sensation of the moment, but the small grove of coffee bushes at Asaroka represented an industry which was going

68 The Australasian Record, 15 August 1938, p 4.





Christmas at Sigolya, 1940. Such social gatherings did not take place at Asaroka.  
Left to right: Greg Neilson (P.O. stationed at Kainantu), Greta Gander, Stan Gander,  
Allan Robertson, Dulcie Brechin, Bill Brechin (Agricultural Officer  
at Aiyura). (Allan Robertson photo)

to have a far greater "settling effect" on the ambient natives; and passionfruit and peanuts, although failing to develop into large-scale cash crop exporting industries, were to become important items of local diet, and form part of the local fruit and vegetable market economy. This latter point is equally true of other fruit and vegetables introduced by Europeans. Paul Helbig proudly reported in December 1940 on his success with mulberries, strawberries, raspberries and pawpaws,(69) all of which are still grown by people today and sold in the Goroka market. Potatoes, tomatoes, lettuces, cabbages, peas, beans, carrots, and improved varieties of sweet corn are just some of the vegetables introduced by Europeans before the War, largely by the missionaries at Asaroka and Sigoiya, who distributed seeds, tubers and runners to interested villagers.(70) Bill Brechin, the Agricultural officer in charge of Aiyura, made official patrols to the Goroka Valley as well as social visits,(71) and although he does not seem to have had much contact with village people, he did make soil tests and advised the missionaries on

69 Asaroka Station Report, 1939 - 1940.

70 Pastor Loras Baka 29.7.82; Jopee Gobiassa, 28.7.82; Stan Gander: "In one village I was able to purchase a copra bag of potatoes, with salt and matches, and also cabbages the size of your head. They had beautiful tomatoes and cucumbers. I had given them good seed a year before." (Missionary Leader, February 1941, p 8.)

71 T G Aitchison, Patrol Reports, 14 May 1937 and 30 June 1937. Allan Robertson, photographs and tape referring to Christmas celebrations at Sigoiya in December 1940, involving the Ganders, Bill Brechin and his wife Dulcie, Greg Neilsen and Robertson. Dulcie Halliday, widow of Bill Brechin, interviewed at Plympton, Adelaide, 6.8.81.

the suitability of local conditions for growing certain plants. Aitchison reported as early as June 1937: "The Agricultural Officer took the opportunity to investigate various matters connected with his work and made a routine soil survey." As mentioned earlier, he employed up to 43 Bena Bena labourers at Aiyura in 1938. It is likely that these were the men Lloyd Pursehouse arranged to fly from Kainantu to Wau in December 1939,<sup>(72)</sup> to work on the Agricultural Station there. If this is so, the impact of these men on their own people would have been delayed, as they could not have returned home for another two years, and perhaps not even then, assuming they were caught up in ANGAU's war-time labour force.

Those who did manage to come back from Aiyura in 1940 - when their contracts expired - would have had much to teach their fellow villagers. They were the fore-runners of those involved in the post-War Highlands Labour Scheme, and their experiences may have influenced their younger brothers a decade later to go off to see the outside world. Dr Carlton Gadjusek, whose work on Kuru in the Eastern Highlands in the 1950s brought him into contact with village societies, believes that it is the people who leave home to work on coastal plantations, to become domestic servants in towns or travel overseas for study, who are greater agents of change in the home village than those who remain behind

\* Personal discussion during Pacific Science Congress, Dunedin, February 1983.

72 Lloyd Pursehouse, correspondence, 17 December 1939.

and never travel beyond their own locality. It is the travellers who bring back innovative ideas, inject money into the local economy, teach new skills in agriculture, mechanics, building and so on. This thesis cannot be widely applied to the pre-War period insofar as only very few Goroka Valley people gained work experience in other areas, and when they were recompensed for their labour, payment was in shells, axes and knives, not money. However even this influx of valuable items must have affected the local economy, and altered the social status of certain individuals. The returning workers also influenced those who stayed home in a non-material sense, by spreading stories of the white man's world and reinforcing their understanding of European affluence and power.

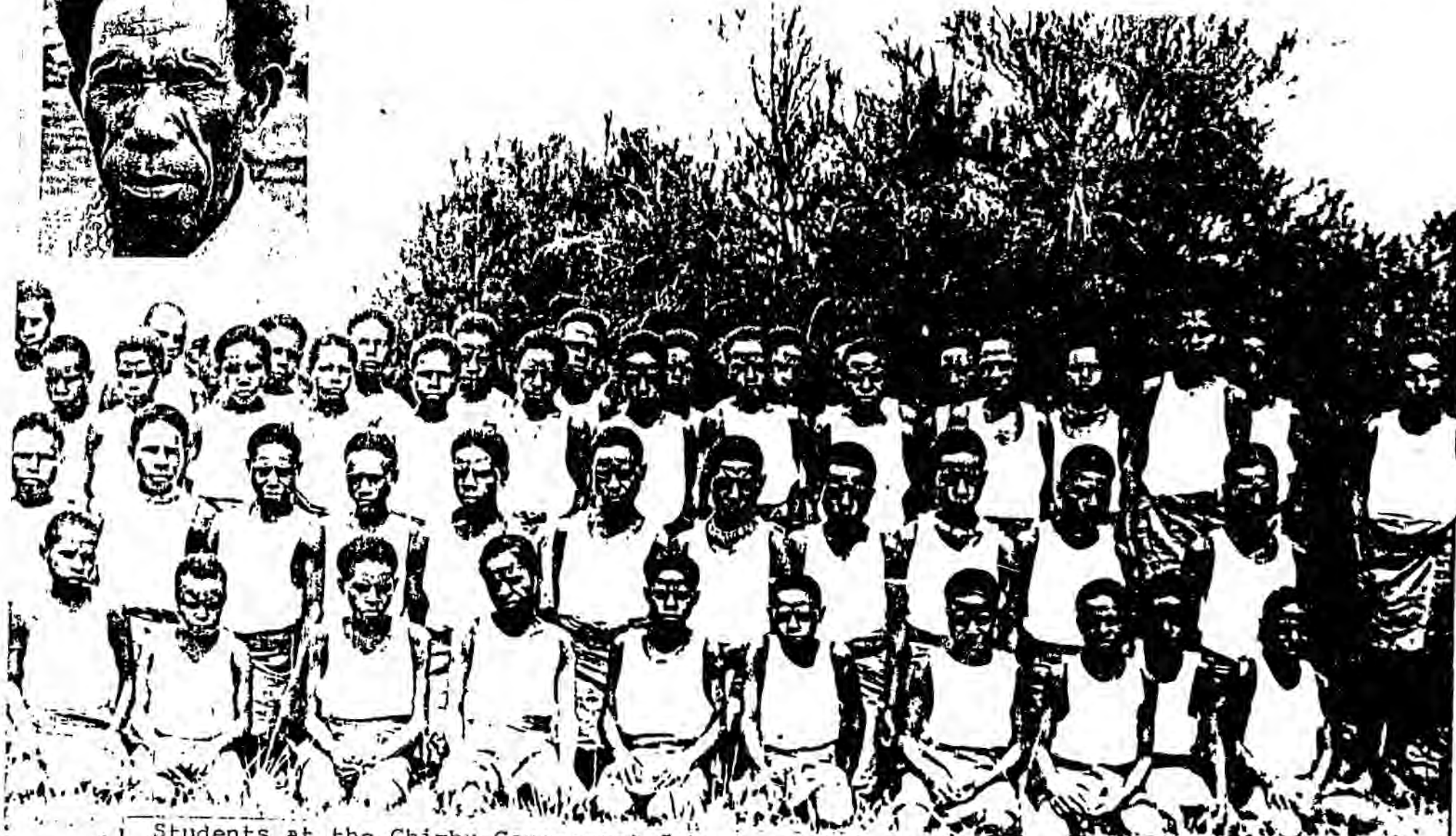
#### EUROPEAN EFFECTS ON TRADE, WEALTH, PRESTIGE AND LEADERSHIP

With regard to changing trade and commerce, the permanent settlement of Europeans in the Goroka Valley did two things. In the first place the traditional trading links with distant communities who supplied shells, stone axes, nipa palm for bows, tapa cloth, clay pots and salt became less important as Europeans either began to supply these needs or made them less necessary. Payment for local foods, building materials, labour and land in shells, steel implements, metal containers, laplap material and table salt provided a new, plentiful and relatively easily obtained source of supply of many domestic necessities. In theory the demand for nipa palm should have diminished as pacification policies began to succeed, but the record of tribal fighting between 1938 and 1942 would suggest that the nipa palm

suppliers in the Ramu Valley would not have gone out of business during this period. The second effect of European settlement was that the scope for an individual to obtain wealth, and consequently prestige, was considerably enlarged. Particularly those who lived close to a government post or mission station had a continuing opportunity to gain economic advantage. This did not necessarily mean that the traditional 'big men' lost out to a new group of entrepreneurs, as they themselves were well placed to supply food, labour and building materials to the Europeans. Allan Robertson describes how the 'big man' of Mohoweto West visited him whenever he was at the station, always ready to seize any opportunities Robertson offered him for economic advancement. The shift in status was more a matter of location than of social position. In other words, those 'big men' who lived close to European settlements prospered; those who were situated advantageously in relation to the old trading system but far from the new centres did not do so well.

As Ben Finney has shown in his study of Goroka entrepreneurs in the 1950s and 1960s,(73) continued European influence produced a new class of wealthy men, sophisticates who had grown up in the 1930s in company with white men and native police and evangelists, either as school pupils, interpreters or kiaps' 'manki mastas'. Two of the men who figure prominently in his study are John Akunai Rovelei and Sabumei Kofikai, both of whom,

73 Ben Finney. 1973. Big Men and Business - Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth in the New Guinea Highlands. Canberra: ANU Press.



Students at the Chimbu Government School, c.1937. Sabumei Kofikai is third from left, second back row. The lad second from left in the second row may be John Akunai Rovelei. In 1974 he recalled: 'They taught us the alphabet ABC and after that they told us to write numbers 123. It was very hard for us and we could not get it quickly. We were all real kanakas. But I was a very bright lad and I got to know the numbers and all the alphabet and they put me as the Number 1 boy'. ( J.J.Murphy photo)

Inset: Sabumei at his home village, Kapokamariqi, December, 1976.

as already mentioned, went to the Chimbu Government School between 1938 and 1940, and then graduated to the Malaguna school in Rabaul. Another of Finney's successful businessmen was Apo Yeharigie, a war-time protege of John Black, and there are others not mentioned by Finney, such as Akepa Miakwe, who was a product of the pre-War SDA school at Sigoiya, and became a leading businessman, politician and eventually Government minister.

In some areas of New Guinea the luluai and tultul system, introduced first by the Germans and later taken over more or less intact by the Australian Administration, may have altered traditional leadership patterns. As Stewart Firth demonstrates, luluais in German New Guinea, who were village policemen in all but name, wielded considerable power, using the government for their own purposes, often without the knowledge of the government officer. In Papua, the village constable was more of a figure-head, effective power being retained by the traditional chiefs. But even in Papua, particularly during the latter part of Murray's rule, the chiefs' influence was under challenge.(74) Because the Uncontrolled Areas restrictions in the New Guinea highlands applied to the Goroka Valley right up to the War, the system of luluais or village constables does not seem to have been introduced. Most of the evidence points to the later stages

74 For luluais in German New Guinea, see S Firth. 1982. New Guinea Under the Germans. Melbourne University Press, various references, especially p 74. For village constables in British New Guinea and Papua, see A Healey, PhD thesis, op cit, (numerous references).

of the War, when ANGAU officers such as John Black and Jim Taylor gave out luluai badges. L G R Kyngdon stated: "Quite definitely in my time there were no luluais or tultuls. This is not to say that they had not been appointed by earlier patrol officers and later dismissed by one or more of my more immediate predecessors."(75) Kyngdon's suggestion is given some support by Allan Robertson, who relates how he was ambushed near Goroka by a tultul appointed by a previous government official. It is possible these appointments were unofficial, being made by native policemen who, it will be remembered, had control of the Goroka area during 1935 - 1936. Ubom stated, when interviewed by me, that he selected luluais in 1936 when he was in charge of the Okiufa police post.(76) As these men do not seem to have been recognised by the patrol officers, they could have had no status in the official sense. Because they were probably traditional 'big men' in their own right, their importance within the village leadership structure would have remained the same. It was only when 'big men' became officially appointed luluais, or when other men attained these positions that the traditional leadership patterns were subject to alteration. But it will be shown in Chapter 7 that most of the luluais selected in 1943 - 44 were already 'big men' and that their status was not compromised by accepting government appointment.

75 L G R Kyngdon, correspondence, 12.11.73.

76 Ubom Mawsang, interviewed 18.10.72.



The situation as regards local church leadership in the period 1938 - 1942 was much the same as the luluai-tultul position. As there were no church congregations organised - without baptised members it was not possible to form local congregations (77) - any local leaders had unofficial status. There were plenty of potential leaders within the ranks of the school pupils, and their role as interpreters and as mission agents within their home villages was already established. But they could not yet pose any serious challenge to the traditional leaders. The presence of the Missions in fact enhanced the position of the 'big men' because it was generally through them that the missionaries dealt. Stan Gander's favoured treatment of Inevesiti, the 'big man' of Sigoiya is, of course, a special case, as the Missions could not afford to take all the leaders on trips to Rabaul, but it does indicate the importance missionaries attached to village men of influence in their evangelistic strategy. As the Lutherans found to their cost at Asaroka, if the 'big men' were offended because they considered payment for food or labour inadequate, or the missionary was involving himself too much in clan quarrels or government intervention, then it was impossible to bypass the leaders and appeal directly

77 'Congregation' is used here in the Lutheran and SDA sense of a worshipping community of baptised church members. Groups of people gathered together for services of worship may also be described as a congregation, but the Lutherans referred to the activity as "preaching to heathens", not congregational worship, and the SDAs conducted what they called "Sabbath School" for the unbaptised.

to the people for support. Hofmann reported in 1937 that the Asaroka leaders "were straight out rude and provoking as far as pay for their goods is concerned. For each little thing they expect an axe or an expensive shell or a big knife." In 1938 he wrote that they were "somewhat cross with us after the kiap had been here and 4 of their people were shot. For some time they blamed us for what had happened." But by 1940 Helbig was able to report very good relations with the big men: "It is not unusual that one single man, a chieftain, comes and stays for an hour or longer to discuss his problems and one cannot tell them that I had no time, or else he would leave in anger and tell the other people to stay away from the station .... It is one way to help these people simply to take the time and listen to them, more so since those who come are 'big people'." Later in the same Report he comments: "At least we now can see that the heathen trust us and it gives us a wonderful opportunity to lead them to God."

#### MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTION TO PACIFICATION THROUGH PRFACHING

For the missionaries, religious transformation went hand in hand with pacification. To accept the Gospel was also to accept the need to give up tribal fighting. Georg Hofmann saw inter-clan conflict as having a religious basis: "This warfare is fundamentally religious. It cannot be stopped by force. Only by learning of the true God and his Word can such warfare be stopped."(78) Writing of the Asaro clan Hofmann related how

78 Asaroka Station Report, 1938.

"they wanted to be the people who first heard the 'peace talk'.." The term 'peace talk' is a useful label to describe the main thrust of the Missions' christian message. When asked what they remember of the missionaries' and evangelists' early preaching, village elders invariably reply that it was about the need to settle down and live together in peace. Mahabi Ihoyani of Mohoweto West recalled the Lutheran evangelists saying to his people: "If you accept God there will be no more fighting",<sup>(79)</sup> thus neatly tying together the two strands of conversion and pacification.

Aula Zogizane, a big man of Kenimaro, a Bena-speaking group south of Mohoweto, found that by 1940 the kiap at Hapatoka was exerting considerable pressure on his people to stop fighting. Again and again Aula was 'kalabused' and he describes with some passion how the police beat him with canes, chained him like a dog to his fellow prisoners, put him to hard, manual labour and confined him in a pit at night where the police guards urinated on him and his hapless companions. But at the end of each prison term Aula returned in triumph to Kenimaro, to again lead the warriors in battle against their traditional enemies. All of this seems to have gone on against the background of the larger European War and the immediate post-war period when ANGAU was still in charge of the area. But then a Lutheran evangelist came to live at

79 Mahabi Ihoyani, interviewed at Mohoweto West, 15.7.82.



Left: Pastor and Mrs Akiro Orosovano at Asaroka, July 1982.

Below: Lutheran evangelists settling down the people before preaching to them, at Ofaina (probably today's Ofa'zuha or Ofayufa) upper Asaro, July 1938. Akiro's home village was near here. He would have modelled his own preaching on that of the evangelists.

( Georg Hofmann photo )



Kenimaro, and each time Aula returned from 'kalabus' bruised but unrepentant, the pastor reminded him of the Gospel message of peace: "My baptism was because I now believed that if I got myself 'washed' all my bad habits would by themselves go away. And after my baptism, up to this very moment, I have not gone back on my bad old ways. I had been beaten up by the police, bound by chains, and yet I could not help getting into trouble. And baptism gave me a new life." (80) Aula's story would no doubt warm the hearts of all the missionaries and evangelists who first began to preach the gospel of peaceful living in the 1937 - 1942 period.

There were other dimensions to the preaching as well as pacification. Pastor Akiro recalls the content of his message when he first began to talk to his own village people about the things he had learnt at Asaroka, a message he continued to repeat to a wider circle of hearers as he grew older: "The message of my preaching was - 'Don't fight. There is a God above and he is going to send his son back and he will bring all the dead people back to life. So don't kill or steal or fight. We should live in peace.' While I preached I used to cry. And the people listened very attentively and when I told them that Jesus is coming they would cry too and ask him to come straight away. They didn't know that he is coming later. I told them that when

80 Aula Zogizane, interviewed at Kenimaro, 26.2.81.

the Lord comes back there will be peace."(81)

The message of the 'Seven Days' was basically the same, reinforced with picture-rolls which vividly portrayed Gospel stories and fearsome apocalyptic happenings from the Book of Revelation. If there was some doubt in Akiro's mind about the imminent coming of Christ, no such reservations existed in the SDAs thinking and preaching. Stan Gander saw the rise of Hitler and the outbreak of World War 2 as positive evidence that the end of time was near. He wrote home in February 1941: "What a sad civilization it is, to be sure! Skilled and educated white people raining bombs from the heavens and blasting women and children just as if they were flies. What a real blessing it is that Jesus is coming soon."(82) He repeated this theme in April 1942, shortly before his evacuation: "I know of no other body of people here telling the native that Christ is coming. What a responsibility is ours when we realize this!"(83) This was being less than fair to the Lutherans, but insofar as eschatology was a major part of the SDA teaching, Gander's claim was correct. Under the circumstances the German Lutherans could not have been expected to announce that Hitler was the anti-christ and that events in Europe signalled the end of the world.

81 Akiro Orosio-vano, interviewed at Asaroka, 23.7.82.

82 Missionary Leader, February 1941, p 7.

83 The Australasian Record, 6.4.42, p 3.

The other unique feature of Adventist preaching was the emphasis on Sabbath observance and abstention from the eating of pig. Although the concept of Sabbath observance was new to villagers, it does not seem to have struck them as a divisive or disruptive issue. Taboos on certain activities at certain times were a part of traditional living, and the missionaries' insistence that no manual work should be done on a Saturday could be seen as an extension of this practice. But the giving up of pigs was a different matter. Although highlanders also placed taboos on the eating of animals under certain circumstances, the restrictions do not seem to have been applied to pigs, which were as much a basic social and economic commodity as an item of diet. To ban the pig was to strike at the heart of the traditional wealth and exchange system, as well as to deny people a desirable source of protein. Some who heard the SDA message were immediately alienated. Isakua Hepu recalls that "when the 'Seven Days' said we couldn't smoke or eat betel nut or pig some of us thought, 'What's this? It's our food. Why can't we eat? Papa God made it for us.' When Mr Gander said, 'Don't eat pig', we were upset. So we didn't go to hear the SDA lotu after that." (84) Mahabi Ihoyani describes the dilemma which the pig taboo presented to many people: "My people used to go up to Sigoiya for injections. The 'Seven Days' would tell us we should not eat pigs. But our people said the pig is good food and we will stick with the

84 Isakua Hepu, 8.2.77.

Lutherans. The 'Seven Days' replied that a tambaran (devil) or something had gone into the pigs, and some people believed them and stopped eating."(85) Akiro states that he countered the SDA teaching by telling people: "Pigs are made by the Lord for our use. Don't believe this rubbish talk about pigs being no good."(86)

Those who accepted the SDA position were nevertheless slow to part with their pigs. Jopee Gobiassa, a lay church leader at Sigoiya, admits that although he found the new religion attractive he did not get rid of his pigs until he was baptised after the War. However he finally came to accept the SDA argument that "God had cursed the devil into the pig's belly, and it was therefore an unclean animal. The human body is the temple of God."(87) Jopee also admits that his pigs had become a nuisance to him, forever fouling the village and destroying his neighbours' gardens. Consequently he was glad to be rid of them when he finally made the break with tradition and was baptised into the new faith.(88) Pastor Loras confirms how difficult the people found the SDA teaching on pigs. "People were slow to respond to our preaching, because they were so reluctant to give

85 Mahabi Ihoyani, 16.7.82.

86 Akiro Oroso-vano, 23.7.'82.

87 Jopee Gobiassa, 28.7.82.

88 Rod Lacey makes a similar observation about Enga 'big men' who gave up their pigs to join the SDAs (personal communication).



up their pigs. The main response came through the school children. They were the key to our evangelistic success."(89) However there was never any doubt in Loras's mind that his church's stand on pigs was right: "In the Bible there is the story of the bad animals, including the pig, going in only two by two, whereas the good animals went in seven by seven.(90) God said then that the pig is harmful to our bodies. There was also the time when Jesus cast out devils and they went into the pigs. So bit by bit the people accepted our teaching."

Early in 1938 Stan Gander described a crowded Sabbath School meeting on Sigoiya hill, when the picture rolls elicited shouts of amazement and lively discussion among the assembled villagers. 200 people adorned with pig grease and sardine and adhesive plaster tins, one man with Gwen's old kewpie doll suspended from his ear, almost began a brawl because some individuals would not keep quiet during the picture roll presentation. However, all joined in singing, 'Jesus loves me, this I know', followed by 'Little feet be careful'. The incongruity of this latter hymn was lost on the worshippers, but it seems to have been effective in settling everyone down, and Gander believed that 'the angels

89 Loras Bako, 29.7.82.

90 This is based on Genesis 7.2: "Take with you seven pairs of each kind of ritually clean animal, but only one pair of each kind of unclean animal."

of heaven were at that meeting'.(91) With so powerful a company of supporters, the missionaries could not fail to contribute a very settling effect on the ambient, if still somewhat turbulent, natives.(92)

91 The Australasian Record, 21.3.38.

92 In spite of the SDA and Lutheran missionaries' enthusiastic reports of these early attempts to christianise the Goroka Valley people, they recognised the immensity of the task which still lay ahead. They may not, however, have realised that even after converts were baptised and church congregations established, elements of traditional belief and behaviour would be retained. In 1977, an acquaintance of mine, a young educated Gorokan who was a practising Lutheran, 'met' a masalai (evil spirit) while walking through a village garden, became seriously ill and had to be treated with traditional healing magic.

The continuation of primal religion within Melanesian Christian communities is discussed by Ross Weymouth in his article, "The Gogodala Society: A Study of Adjustment Movements since 1966", Oceania, Vol 54, No 4, June 1984. He notes: "Studies of missionary work among non-literate societies have demonstrated that there is no easy road in the task of christianizing traditional intellectual assumptions." Among the Gogodala people of western Papua "even though Christianity has taken firm root in the society, primal assumptions still colour the beliefs and influence the behaviour of the people." (p 269.)

## CHAPTER 7

### 'ROVA - GOROHA'VE FASHION' (TRIBAL FIGHTING AFTER THE FASHION OF THE EUROPEANS)

#### THE MILITARY BACKGROUND

"The natives thought it was all a huge joke and when the Japs put on an attack they would roll around on the ground with laughter and chatter away about how we were 'making fool of the Jap man'." (Gen George C Kenney)

"The Japanese bombed every place. Bullets came down like rain water, making a sound like 'rat-tat-tat'. The bombs burned the kunai too. The planes did not fly high - they were close to the ground. If a bullet or a bomb hit one of us, that person died. The bombs did not discriminate between white and black." (Kizekize Obaneso of Koloka)

'Rova' is the Goroka name for warfare which extends across clan boundaries, involving loosely-knit alliances of clans in more or less permanent conflict with other similarly organised clan groups. In Gorokan terms 'rova' was large-scale warfare, to be contrasted with 'hina', the word to describe minor skirmishes between clans generally in alliance, or internal clan fights which were quickly resolved.(1) Thus when news was first

1 Kenneth Read, "The Gahuku-Gama of the Central Highlands", South Pacific, vol 5, No 8, October 1951, pp 157-9.

received that the 'goroha've', or Europeans, were locked in mortal combat with a new invading enemy this was accepted as 'rova', a concept easily understood in the Goroka Valley. What was to come as a shock was the magnitude of 'goroha've' warfare - its intensity, ferocity and enormous capacity for destruction. Curiously however, the spectacle of Europeans becoming involved in the very thing which they had spent the best part of a decade trying to stamp out among the local clans, does not seem to have struck anyone as being at all incongruous. This suggests that even as late as 1943 tribal fighting was still such an integral part of life that Europeans might not only be forgiven for engaging in it, but in fact be expected to fight their enemy, just as everyone else did.

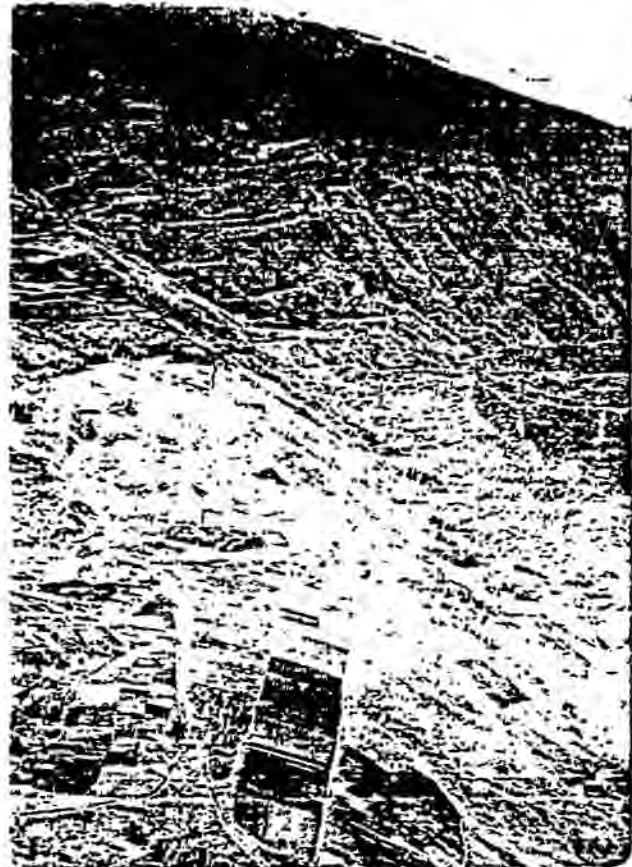
Although the Pacific War began in December 1941, with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour quickly followed by the fall of Rabaul to Japanese forces in January 1942, the Goroka people were not directly affected by war until 1943. Before then, the fierce conflict between Allied and Japanese troops had been fought further east at Milne Bay (August 1942), Kokoda Trail, Gona and Buna (August - December 1942) and Wau-Bulolo (January - February 1943). In each of these battles the Japanese had been thwarted in their attempt to capture Port Moresby. There remained one final plan in their strategy to defeat the Allies - to occupy the Highlands and use them as a base to launch a massive attack on Moresby by way of the Gulf of Papua. Impractical as such an invasion may have been, the occupation of the Highlands was a

real possibility.(2) For the Allies the presence of a Japanese army on the plateau would be extremely dangerous and make the ultimate defeat of the enemy very difficult indeed.

A problem for the Allies in January 1943 was that they could not spare a large force to guard the Highlands from a Japanese attack. The costly battle for Wau and the consequent follow-up involved many thousands of troops during January and February. Only a tiny force was available for despatch to the Highlands. Thus on 22 January the 6th Australian Division was ordered to detach 57 men under Lieutenant A N Rooke to occupy the Bena Bena airstrip. Known as 'Bena Force', this group was instructed "to secure Bena Bena drome against enemy attack: to deny the enemy freedom of movement in the Bena Bena Valley: and to harass and delay any enemy movement in the area between Bena Bena and Ramu River." (3)

2 A document found in a crashed Japanese plane at Tsili Tsili on 13 December 1942 revealed plans for a Japanese attack on the Kainantu, Bena Bena and Chimbu areas to be carried out in September - October 1943. Three infantry battalions were to be involved, with air support and the possible use of paratroops. (Undated secret communication to 2/2 Australian Independent Company, c. August 1943, filed with 2/2 Indrp. Co. War Diary, Bena Force File 1/5/42, Aug - Nov 1943, Australian War Memorial Archives, Canberra.)

3 David Dexter. 1961. The New Guinea Offensives (Australia in the War of 1939 - 1945, Series One, Army, Vol VI). Canberra: Australian War Memorial, pp 234-5. It is not clear if these operational instructions were drawn up as early as January, 1943. They may have been developed as a result of Rooke's own experiences between January and May. They first appear in Bena Force and ANGAU documents in late May, when the 2/7 Australian Independent Company arrived in strength under the command of Major (later Lieut-Colonel) T F B MacAdie.



Left: Aerial view of Bena airstrip in 1972. Although under cultivation its outline is still clear.

Centre: The Bena Patrol Post (Hapatoka) during Lieut. Rooke's occupancy, April 1943.

(A.D. Gallucci photo)

Below: John Black (left) and Jim Taylor (centre) with Sam McWilliam and Greta and Gwen Gander at Hapatoka on Taylor and Black's return from the Hagen-Sepik patrol in 1939. (Sgt. Lapengom is the policeman on the right, Isagua Hapu is on left between Black and Mrs Gander.) (G. Gander photo)



Lieutenant Rooke found himself in charge of all troops on the plateau, which included in addition to his own men an ANGAU (Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit) group of 13, a detachment of the RAAF's Rescue and Communication Flight and 'special New Guinea Force patrols' which were operating from Bena Bena. Command of ANGAU had passed from Dick Kyngdon to Captain J R Black, the same John Black who was stationed at Finintegu in 1934 and shared with Jim Taylor leadership of the famous Hagen-Sepik patrol of 1938-39. Black became District Officer of what had been mainly Madang District but was now called Ramu, and which took in territory in the old Madang and Morobe Districts not under Japanese occupation.(4) Ramu District had, in January, a staff of 4 officers and 9 NCOs, most if not all of whom had worked in New Guinea pre-war, either as patrol officers, medical orderlies, plantation managers or businessmen. Black, J A Costelloe, A C Ewing and H E Hamilton are 4 officers mentioned in the ANGAU War Diary who were operating in Ramu District between January and March 1943, and who had had previous experience of Highlands administration. This was important as it was ANGAU's task to continue to exercise control over the Highlands people, to conscript large numbers of carriers and other labourers, and

4 In a signal sent to John Black on 19 January 1943 he was instructed to exclude from the Ramu District all areas occupied by the Japanese and to include in his District "Kainantu, Bena Bena, Chimbu, Hagen, Iwam and adjacent areas formerly part of old Morobe and Madang Districts .... and establish Ramu District Headquarters at Bena Bena". ANGAU War Diary, 1/10/1 N G Admin Unit, N G L of C Area, Feb 42 to March 43, Box No 442, Australian War Memorial Archives, Canberra.

to organise villagers into growing sufficient quantities of garden food to supply the large labour force engaged in the war effort.

When John Black took charge of the new Ramu District his superior in Port Moresby, Colonel Edward Taylor (the same Ted Taylor who had administered the vast Morobe District during the early European penetration of the Highlands) wrote to him outlining his expectations of the role ANGAU should play. Black states that Taylor was recognised as the most capable, efficient and dedicated DO in the New Guinea service.(5) In his letter dated 6 December 1942 he pointed out the necessity for the maintenance of good relations with the native people and the need to not lose sight of their welfare in the exigencies and demands of war. Also as far as possible Black should keep in mind "future developmental activity which could flow from the NG Force presence".

These worthy aims did, to some extent, conflict with the purely military objectives of Bena Force. When Lieutenant Rooke's

5 See Ian Downs' tribute to Ted Taylor in his "Kiap, Planter and Politician", in James Griffin (Ed). 1978. Papua New Guinea Portraits - The Expatriate Experience. Canberra: ANU Press. He describes him as a man who was of necessity a pragmatist, but one who "read with exceptional care, encouraged reading by his staff and made great use of personal discussion" (p 227). He made strong demands on his men, keeping them constantly on patrol, and "could smell a phony report before beginning to read it". But he took a personal, fatherly interest in the officers' welfare, and also "kept the interests of the native people uppermost".



soldiers were posted to the look-out positions on the Ramu Fall [Black lists these as in the Onga (eastern), Weisa or Wesan (central) and Bundi-Faita (western) areas of the middle Ramu valley], they were under the direction of ANGAU officers. Black concedes that there were some problems associated with working alongside "troops unfamiliar with dealing with natives". Consequently when the threat of Japanese hostilities became a reality, and military defence demands far outweighed native welfare considerations, Black was replaced by H R Niall, a man more in tune with the military mind. He also lacked previous Highlands experience, which was not necessarily seen by the Army at that time as a disadvantage. Niall oversaw a much more ruthless conscription of native labour, having the task of implementing a policy which was bound to cause strong local resentment against ANGAU.

From the Army's point of view Niall had made an excellent contribution to the war effort in the Highlands, and in early September he was promoted to a more senior position in command of ANGAU troops preparing for the capture of Lae. His successor was F Warner Shand, an ex-patrol officer who had had previous Highlands experience in Chimbu. Warner Shand was concerned about native welfare, and Gorokans such as Bepi Moha appreciated his efforts to make life less harsh for them. In his very comprehensive reports in the ANGAU Diary he signed himself as Assistant District Officer, Ramu District, so he must have been acting as O-I-C in an interim capacity. In November 1943 Ted

Taylor was instrumental in the appointment of his namesake James Lindsay Taylor as District Officer. John Black believes this was a deliberate move on Ted Taylor's part to have a man whose proven ability in Highlands pacification and exploration made him best fitted to preside over the post-hostility phase of the War, when native welfare would be the main priority in ANGAU administration. Jim Taylor's ten months at Goroka from November 1943 to September 1944 proved to be an important period for the Goroka Valley people, as it was a watershed in their transition from traditional warrior-subsistence farmers to modern cash crop producers and entrepreneurs. It would seem too that during this time the practice of tribal law and payback was finally abandoned in favour of European controls and institutions. In March 1944 Jim Taylor was joined by John Black at Goroka and they made a formidable team in promoting the rule of Australian law, the luluai system of village leadership, agricultural and economic development and a European understanding of health and hygiene. This work was carried on by Taylor's successors Tommy Aitchison and Malcolm Wright, who saw ANGAU's rule give way to the return of civil administration in early 1946.

Although, in 1943, ANGAU dealt more directly with the local people than did Bena Force, the presence of fighting soldiers in the area introduced a new element in the villagers' experience of Europeans. Thus the purely military aspects of the War, focussed as they were on the activities of Bena Force, provide an important background to the social upheaval experienced by the local inhabitants. As such it is useful to detail, at least for

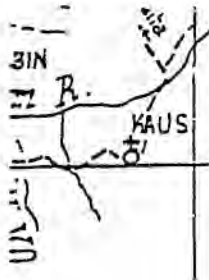
1943, the military events which affected the Goroka Valley. (By 1944 the threat of a Highlands invasion by the Japanese had been removed and Bena Force's area of operation had been advanced into the lowland Ramu, Markham and Madang areas. The Japanese were in full retreat from Madang by April 1944.)

#### BENA FORCE

When the small Bena Force arrived on 23 January 1943, Lieutenant Rooke set up his headquarters at Hapatoka, in the old haus kiap' which Kyngdon had abandoned in October 1941. Defence positions were dug around the 'drome, which had been cleared on an exposed 'hogs-back' formation by the Leahy brothers in 1932. It was now about 1200 yards long, and was at that time the only landing ground in the Valley capable of receiving heavily-loaded DC3 (C47) transports. The gutters which defined its position were filled in and grass was burnt in patches to give the impression from the air that it was part of burnt-off garden land. Four observation posts were set up to guard the tracks into the valley, each one in telephone communication with Hapatoka.

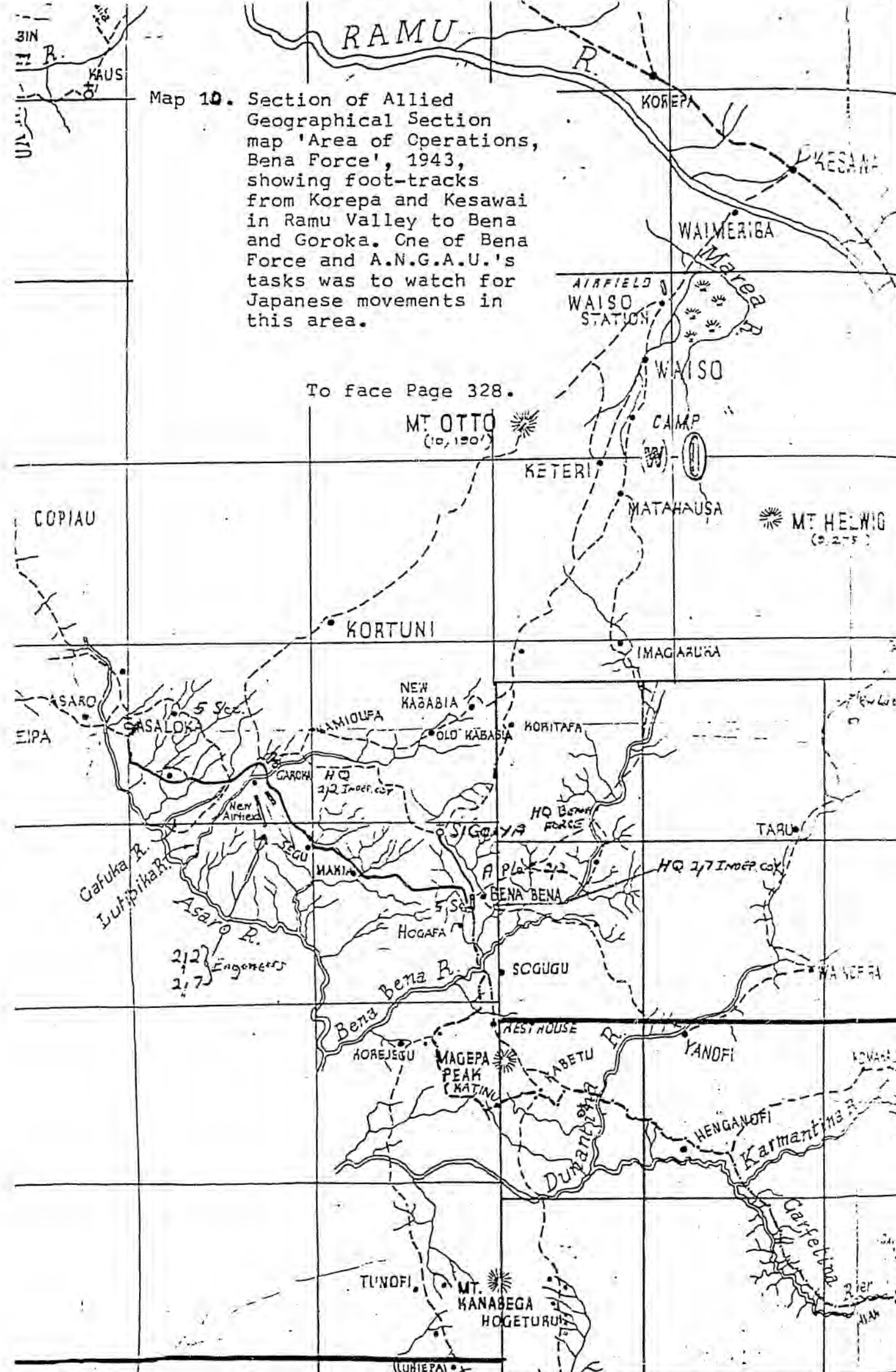
On 20 February it was recorded in the Unit War Diary that "87 natives paid one KUMAKUMEI shell and returned to the villages around BENA BENA, CHIMBU and GAROKA."(6) Payment of native labour would be an ANGAU responsibility, but the work performed by the labourers had gained the admiration of Rooke's soldiers -

6 Unit War Diary, Bena Force, January - April, 1943. Box No 301, File No 1/5/42, Australian War Memorial, Canberra.



Map 10. Section of Allied Geographical Section map 'Area of Operations, Bena Force', 1943, showing foot-tracks from Korepa and Kesawai in Ramu Valley to Bena and Goroka. One of Bena Force and A.N.G.A.U.'s tasks was to watch for Japanese movements in this area.

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the diarist described them as "working like tigers". The men employed on or around the airstrip would have seen a constant stream of DC3 transports bringing supplies to Bena Force - between 5 and 23 February there were 12 deliveries from Moresby. Another unfamiliar sight to the local people was a herd of cattle which two ex-stockmen in Rooke's group had commandeered from the Lutheran Mission near Kainantu, and driven to Bena Bena. The soldiers ate well over the following months. On 24 April the transports delivered a Red Cross gift of a full cricket set, which was immediately put to use. The diarist recorded on 25 April: "Sunday usually spent writing letters was spent playing cricket. We had a real match and it was indeed interesting" - a sentiment no doubt shared by any local people who happened to be watching.

Life was not all roast beef and cricket, however, and an anxious watch was kept on Japanese movements in the Ramu Valley below. Patrols were seen at Korepa and Kesawai, areas directly north of the route into the highlands via Wesan, Matahausu and the Upper Bena Bena, and there appeared to be a good deal of mapping and road building activity. The possibility of a surprise attack from the north west was not overlooked by Rooke, and he detailed two of his men to select a site for an observation post "on the high ground overlooking GARFUKA Valley."<sup>(7)</sup> Corporal J Hughes,

7 ibid, 15 April 1943.

one of the two men responsible for the post, then took 100 native labourers to clear scrub along what was described as 'the GAROKA track', which passed close by the observation post. This was the old 'high' track which in pre-war times linked the government stations at Bena Bena and Goroka. It afforded magnificent views of the Goroka Valley in both its Bena Bena and Asaro river aspects, and a Japanese patrol advancing from the Upper Asaro end of the valley could have been easily spotted.

Further evidence of Japanese interest in the platea was afforded by the presence of reconnaissance aircraft. In the early hours of 16 April bombers dropped four red flares on Bena Bena station and on 14 May ANGAU reported an unidentified aircraft circling Goroka and Asaroka four times at a high altitude. Five days later there was no question of identity when a single-engined Japanese plane flew very low up and down the valley, "flying particularly low over Asaloka".(8)

The reason that Asaroka mission station appeared to excite more than usual interest was probably because the two permanent materials mission houses built by Paul Helbig in 1938-39 would have been a prominent feature from the air. The grass-thatched buildings at Goroka and at Bena Force headquarters would have been more difficult to identify. The Australian soldiers of 2/2

8 ANGAU War Diary, loc cit.

Independent Company who later occupied Asaroka were convinced that the Japanese knew of the Lutheran Mission's German connections, and claimed that enemy pilots actually "waggled their wings" as they flew over, presumably to signal to native sympathisers who may have been watching.(9) This belief was supported by the fact that the Japanese did not destroy the two houses, seemingly being content to machine-gun the galvanised iron water tanks. It is possible the houses were spared for future use by the Japanese, should a Highlands invasion have been successful. Aerial reconnaissance of the plateau was a prelude to bombing raids which began with attacks on Kainantu and Aiyura on 21, 22 and 25 May and on Mt Hagen and Ogelbeng on the 23rd. Bena Bena, Goroka and Asaroka awaited their turn, but it was 1 June before the Japanese directed their attention to these centres.

#### THE 2/7 AUSTRALIAN INDEPENDENT COMPANY

Meanwhile the Australian military planners had recognised the vulnerability of Lieutenant Rooke's tiny group in the Highlands, and had decided to reinforce it. They sent in one of the Independent companies, the 2/7, which had been fighting in the Wau campaign for seven months, and was due for leave. It may have been reasoned that the Bena Force assignment would be as good as a holiday, and compared with the Wau-Mubo-Markham

9 S V (Mick) Mannix, member of 2/2 Australian Independent Company, Bena Force who was in the Goroka and Asaroka areas, July - August, December 1943. Interviewed at Penshurst, NSW, 18 February 1976.



Lieutenant-Colonel T.F.B.(Fergus) MacAdie (right) with colleague and his Irish setter Sheila. Photo taken at Nadzab in 1945. (Australian War Memorial photo.)



engagements it probably was, although by the time the men of the 2/7 were finally given leave in late 1943 they were tired and morale was low. The Independent Companies were an elite group of fighting soldiers, with special training in commando tactics, sabotage and intelligence. Each man was selected for his sharp mind, physical fitness, individual initiative and resourcefulness.(10) Up to the end of 1943, eight Independent Companies were formed, each comprising from 300 to 400 men. The two companies involved in Bena Force were the 2/7 and the 2/2. The 2/2 had distinguished itself in Portuguese Timor between 1941 and 1943, fighting a lonely but successful guerilla campaign against the Japanese occupying forces. If an enemy invasion of the Highlands did take place these men of the 2/2 and 2/7 Independent Companies were by temperament, training and experience, best fitted to resist such an attack, even though their combined numbers were fewer than 700.

The 2/7 was commanded by Major (later Lieutenant-Colonel) T F B MacAdie, and comprised about 400 soldiers.(11) Fergus MacAdie

10 Bernard C Callinan. 1953. Independent Company - The 2/2 and 2/4 Australian Independent Companies in Portuguese Timor, 1941 - 1943. Melbourne: Heinemann, pp xiii - xv.

11 Dexter gives an approximate figure of "about 400 strong" in The New Guinea Offensives, p 238. The ANGAU Secret Administrative Instruction 28 May 1943, advised: "The 2/7th Independent Coy, strength all ranks 289, together with AASC Det (Signals ) strength all ranks 4, move by air to Bena Bena on 29 May." It is possible Dexter added Rooke's group to this number, giving a total of 351. (Administrative Instruction filed with ANGAU War Diary, loc cit.

was given the same instructions as Rooke, with the addition that "Comd. Bena Force will not, except when attack is imminent or in progress, interfere with the general tasks of ANGAU and special detachments."(12) Some friction between Rooke's men and ANGAU had already developed, and this clause was designed to keep the two groups on reasonable terms. The regular soldiers depended on ANGAU to supply native labour and food, and it was therefore in MacAdie's interest to achieve a good working relationship. As already noted, the ANGAU men were mostly pre-war Territorians, with wide experience of the country and its people, and some of the Bena Force troops were given the impression that their presence was not appreciated by the old hands. For their part the soldiers, particularly those in the 2/2 Independent company who had been in Timor and in many cases owed their lives to the Timorese, resented what they regarded as the harsh and overbearing attitude of some ANGAU men to the New Guinea people. S V (Mick) Mannix recalls how he "frowned on the way these ANGAU men carried on, shouting and roaring at the natives." He and other Bena Force men relate stories of unfair and condescending treatment meted out by ANGAU personnel to the local people,(13)

12 ANGAU War Diary, 28 May 1943.

13 Mick Mannix tells two stories which illustrate Bena Force soldiers' reactions to ANGAU officers' attitudes to New Guineans:

i "We were down the creek at Asaloka washing ourselves and an ANGAU patrol came up with 4 police boys, a couple of carriers and an officer - he had 3 pips on him and he was shouting and roaring and they carried him across the creek. I thought what a degrading blooming thing that a black man should have to do so

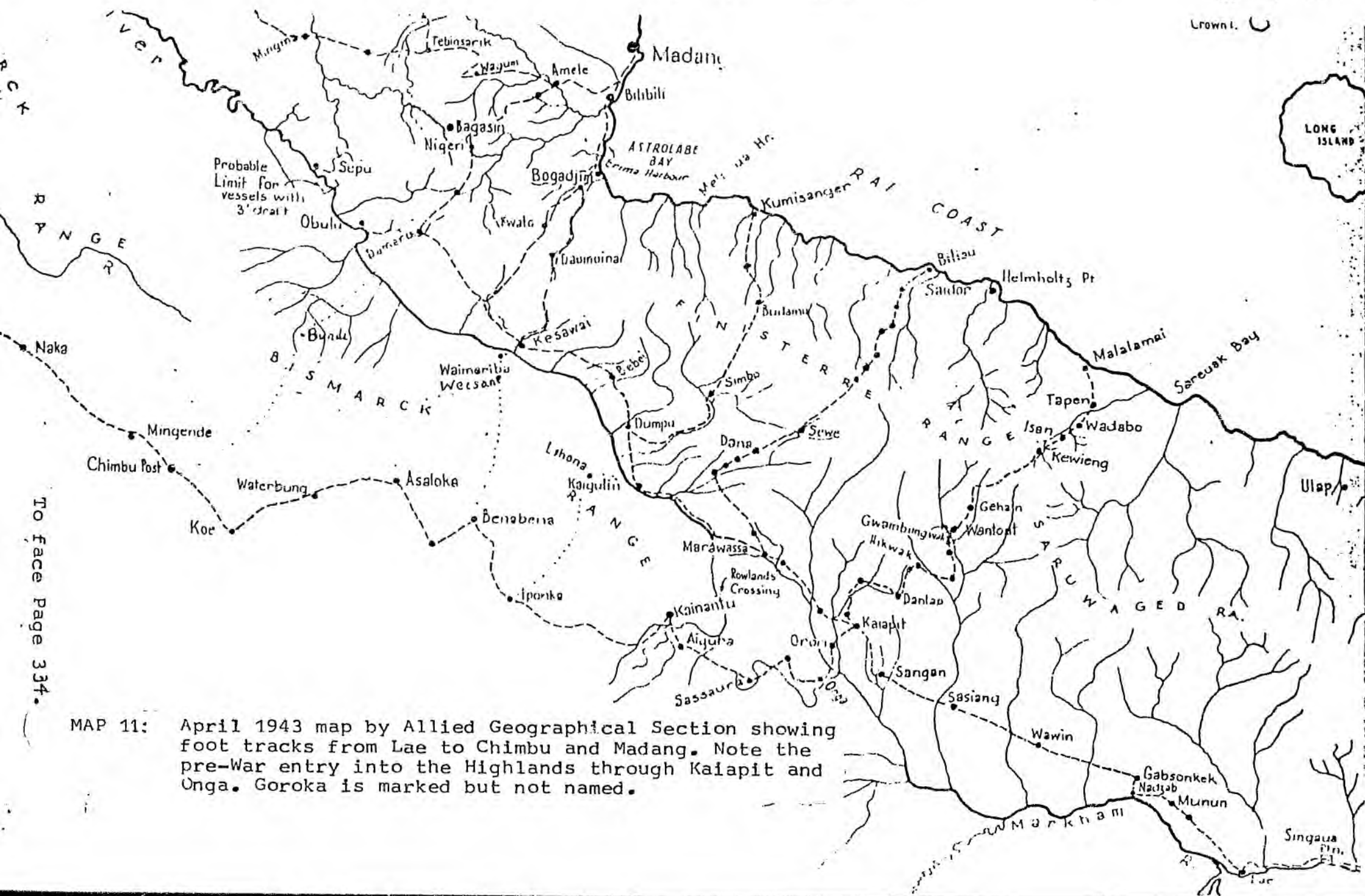
but they also recognised that the ANGAU men had an unenviable task in having to conscript an unwilling and often frightened labour force, whose work was essential if Bena Force was to achieve its objectives.

The airlift of the 2/7 into Bena Bena on 29 May was carried out by a 'flight' of 12 Douglas transports (DC3s) and the men "went straight into patrol activity and observation post work on the Ramu side of the mountains." (14) MacAdie's strategy was to keep a constant watch on Japanese movements in the Ramu Valley and develop defensive positions on the four tracks by which the

much for a white man. Anyway he got across and saw us and said, 'What's all this going on?' There were five of us down there with our native boys, doing our washing and having a bit of a bath. We were naked and soaping ourselves and he said, 'How dare you take your clothes off in front of the natives'. We replied, 'Who do you bloody well think you are?' He blew up and ordered our boys off and went raging up to the house, where our officer 'Bull' told us later, 'If anything like this happens again, just get in the scrub, will you.'"

ii "I got left behind on the trail somewhere with ulcers on my leg and I was walking along the track with a carrier and up came this ANGAU bloke with 3 natives. 'Oh, how are you going, old chap', he greeted me. He was carrying a cane. As he spoke he went to sit down and immediately a police boy had put a chair under him. Bang! The chair was there. The officer hadn't looked around, or said anything, because once he had addressed me he just sat down. And then he put his hand out saying, 'How's the track down there?' and as he spoke a cigarette was placed in his fingers. His story was that he had been in Wewak when the Japs came and his police boys had deserted him. Now he was waiting to be first back into Wewak so he could hang the three police who had deserted him, before jurisdiction caught up with him. He was determined to make an example, in the old colonial tradition." ('Mick' Mannix, interviewed 18 February 1976.)

14 Don Latimer, former member of 2/7 Australian Independent Company, interviewed at Sydney, 17 February 1976.



MAP 11: April 1943 map by Allied Geographical Section showing foot tracks from Lae to Chimbu and Madang. Note the pre-war entry into the Highlands through Kaiapit and Onga. Goroka is marked but not named.

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Japanese could gain access into the Highlands. These routes were, taken in order from east to west, through Kaiapit, Aiyura and Kainantu, through Lihona and the Upper Dunantina, through Kesawai, Wesan and Matahausa to Bena, and through Glaligool, Bundi, Upper Chimbu and Asaroka to Goroka. The fifth track, from Wesan through the Asaro Gap into the Upper Asaro, although used as a trade route by the Goroka Valley people, was more difficult than the others, and was considered less likely to be used by an invading force.

To be able to meet a possible attack through any of these mountain passes MacAdie needed a motor road linking Kainantu, Bena Bena, Goroka and Asaroka, by which troops and supplies could be moved quickly to the places where the main Japanese thrust was concentrated. Thus road construction became an important part of Bena Force's activities, and in June the first section was constructed between Bena and Goroka, while the longer stretch between Bena and Kainantu was reconnoitred. Road building, as well as airfield construction, observation post siting, the clearing of tracks, laying of telephone lines, the supply of native foods, digging of trenches and store tunnels, all required the cooperation of ANGAU and the native labour force. Hence MacAdie's concern that Bena Force and ANGAU work together harmoniously. By and large this objective was met, and all these tasks were completed on schedule.

The arrival of the 2/7 at the end of May coincided with a

stepping up of Japanese aerial attacks on the Highlands. The two events were, of course, related. During June the Bena Force diarist recorded three heavy bombing attacks on Bena Bena, two on Goroka, two on Asaroka and one each on Kainantu and Aiyura. One of the most destructive of these raids occurred on 14 June, when 27 bombers and 30 fighters attacked the airstrips of Asaroka, Goroka, Bena Bena, Kainantu and Aiyura. Aware of the build-up of Australian troops, the Japanese attempted to make all the landing grounds inoperable. In this they were partly successful as many direct hits left large bomb craters up to nine feet deep across the runways. Bena Bena airstrip, which serviced MacAdie's 2/7 Headquarters, was particularly important to the Australians, and had to be kept open at all costs. Chimbu labourers, equipped only with picks and shovels, were kept busy filling in the craters. It was feared that the point would be reached where the holes would be so extensive that refilling would be ineffective and the runway might collapse. To take the pressure off Bena Bena, soldiers and labourers were set to work on dummy airstrips which from the air looked like the real thing. David Dexter quotes with some scepticism the report of this diversionary tactic by General George C Kenney, commander of the US Fifth Air Force. Kenney wrote that the Japanese bombed almost daily "the cleared strips, which looked enough like runways to fool them. The natives thought it was all a huge joke and when the Japs put on an attack they would roll around on the ground with laughter and chatter away about how we were 'making fool of the Jap man.'" Dexter responds to this levity with the sober observation: "To those who were actually the recipients of the Japanese bombs

there seemed little reason for such mirth. In these raids three natives were killed and three Australians wounded."(15) Damage was also inflicted on huts at Headquarters, on the rainwater tanks at Asaroka and on several native villages which the Japanese mistook for army camps. One of MacAdie's main fears was that if native casualties increased to any degree the labourers would desert, with disastrous consequences for Bena Force. However the timing of air raids could be predicted with some accuracy - the soldiers at Bena Bena called them 'the morning tea raids', because the planes appeared at about the same time each day during the mid-morning (16) and early warning techniques were developed which allowed all personnel to take shelter in the trenches before the bombs began to fall.

For the Australian soldiers these enemy air raids did have a lighter side. On one occasion at Bena Bena an incendiary bomb set alight the stores hut. The quarter-master, Sergeant Con Hughes, risked his life entering the burning building in an attempt to rescue some equipment, but only succeeded in grabbing the men's personal issue cards. When he realised what he had in his hand he threw them back into the flames, thus enabling his mates to get a double issue of clothing, mess utensils, ground sheets, etc. Such incidents show how the Australian soldier was

15 David Dexter, op cit, p 239. His Kenney quote is from G C Kenney. 1949. General Kenney Reports, p 253.

16 Don Latimer, op cit.

able to turn the most disabling circumstances to his own advantage.

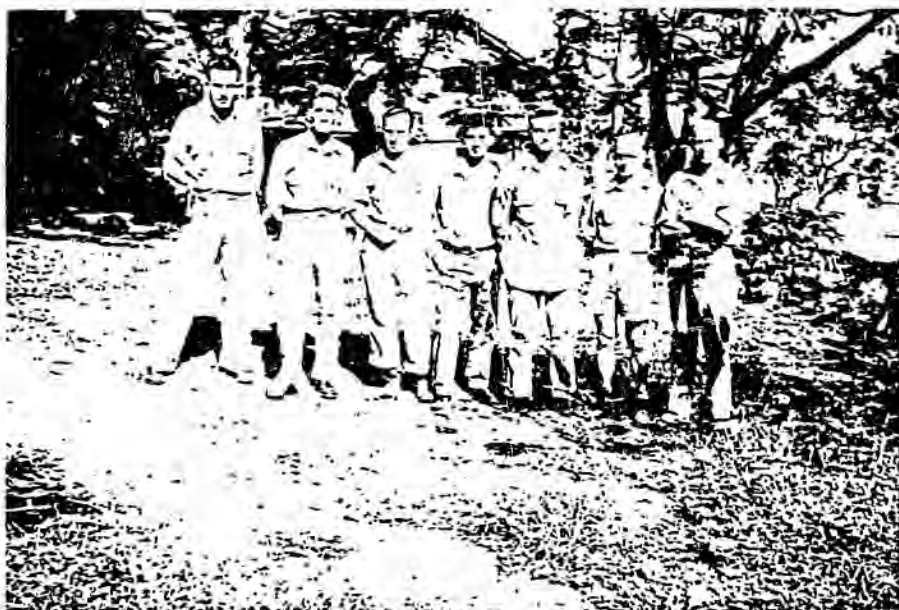
The destruction of the personal issue cards points up the Australians' awareness that they were much more poorly equipped than their American counterparts. Don Latimer, a member of the 2/7 stationed at Bena Bena in June 1943, recalls how he was able to trade a piece of a Japanese plane for much needed tobacco from an American soldier, who came in as a passenger on one of the flights supplying equipment to Bena Force. The Australians were issued with emergency rations which consisted of a small tin containing "salt tablets, a couple of milk tablets, a couple of tea tablets, a little packet of dehydrated vegetables and a plug of fruit bar." By comparison "the Yanks had chocolate, cigarettes, little tins of paste - all kinds of luxuries we never got." Bena Force's contacts with Americans were limited at this time, although anti-aircraft, wireless and radar positions were established under the supervision of an American group led by Major Homer Trimble on and after 12 June.(17)

#### THE US 648 TOPOGRAPHIC BATTALION

However, General George Kenney and his officer colleagues of the United States Fifth Air Force had their eyes on the Bena - Goroka area for a site for a fighter airstrip which could be used to raid Japanese bases along the north New Guinea coast. Detailed

17 Dexter, op cit, p 243.





The U.S. Army 648 Engineering Topographical Battalion, New Guinea Detachment, April 1943. Left to right: Lt. Alfred D. Gallucci, Mr A.K. (Ted) Edwards, Pt. M. Straus, T-4 L.V. Elia, T-4 W.F. Mugford, Mr Leo W. Stack, M/Sgt. L.D. King. Photographed by Alfred Gallucci in Port Moresby before the departure of King, Edwards and Stack to Bena Bena for their Highlands mapping assignment.



Alfred Gallucci photographed on the site of the old Bena Bena airstrip during his return visit in March 1976.

mapping of the area and surveys of possible sites were undertaken by the Americans during the first half of 1943. These tasks were assigned to the New Guinea Section of the 648 Engineer Topographic Battalion. Lieutenant Alfred Gallucci (18) commanded the Port Moresby detachment, which had responsibility for mapping the Highlands. He posted a Sergeant King at Bena Bena and he was assisted by two Australian civilians, Leo Stack and A K M (Ted) Edwards,(19) who had been employed in the Sepik pre-war by the Australasian Petroleum Company (APC). The aerial photography was done by P38 aircraft and Alfred Gallucci claims that the photographs "showed practically everything, almost down to each blade of grass". Maps were drawn from these pictures, and copies were delivered to King, Stack and Edwards at Bena Bena so that they could annotate them. This involved naming all the features shown - mountain peaks and ridges, rivers, trails, airstrips and settlements. Information was obtained by personal enquiry on patrol or from ANGAU officers and police who had extensive knowledge of the area. The Australian troops worked from pre-war

18 Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Gallucci (US Army, retired) returned to Papua New Guinea for a short visit in March, 1976. Interviewed by author in Goroka and on site of Bena Bena airstrip on 21 March, 1976.

19 Leo Stack and A K . (Ted) Edwards were qualified geologists, but also had some experience in surveying and map making. Edwards worked for Oil Search Ltd from 1934 to 1937, and joined APC in 1938. He later became Government Geologist before his accidental death in Port Moresby. Leo Stack was the assistant palaeontologist with APC in the immediate pre-war years. My efforts to trace him to a Middle Park, Melbourne, address in 1976 were unsuccessful. I assume he must have died shortly before then.

maps drawn by patrol officers and mining surveyors, and Gallucci had some difficulty in convincing them that he could produce a more reliable document for their use. One ANGAU officer proudly showed him his collection of 20 pre-war reference maps and Gallucci scored across each one the word 'OBSOLETE' with a red pencil. There was no more talk after that of Australian maps with "latest information, 1933" and he was able to present the ANGAU man with a new set of Topographic Battalion maps, prepared with the help of the latest "trimetragon machines projecting in three directions - no guess work at all with them."

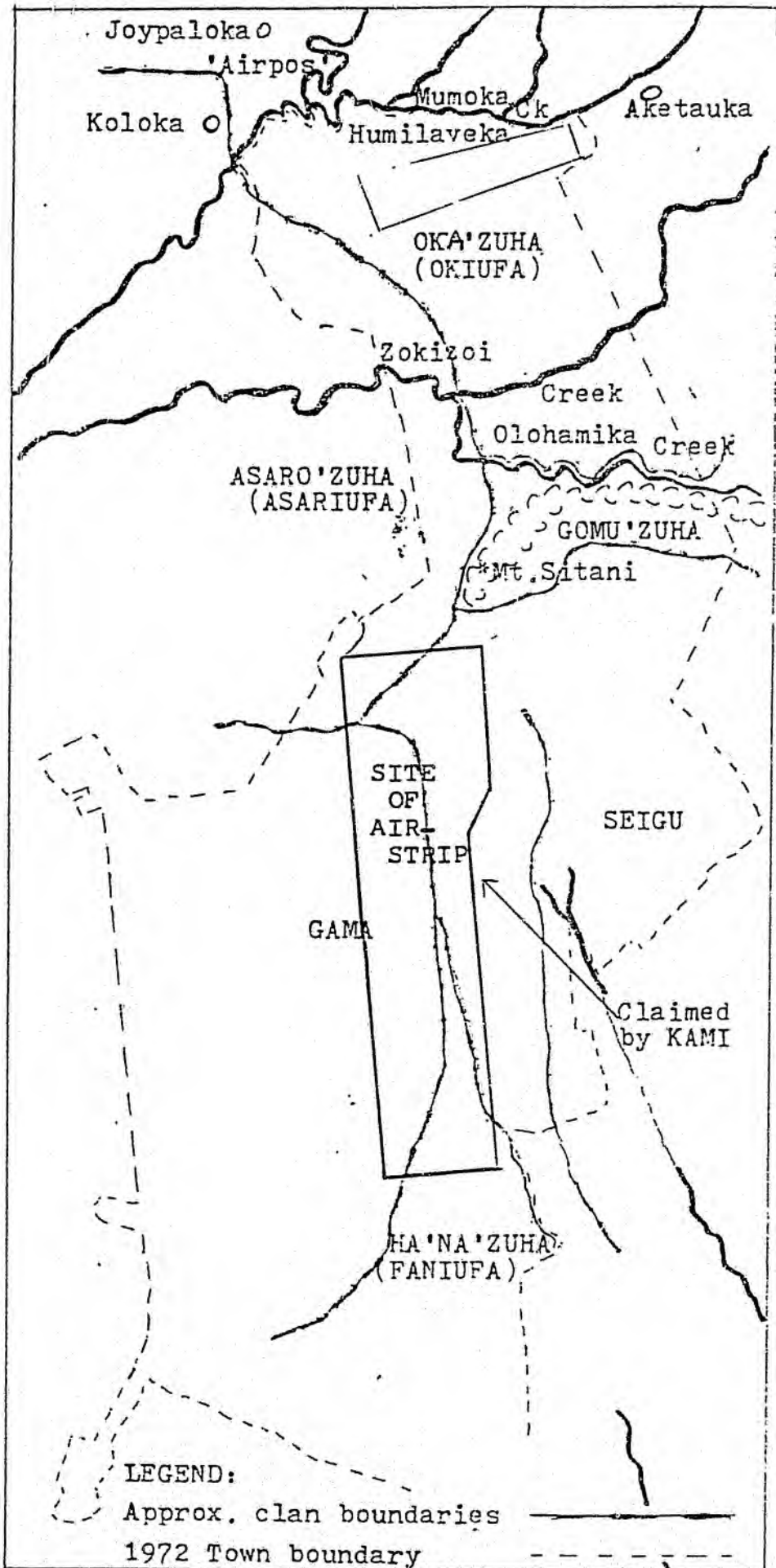
Gallucci made four trips to Bena Bena between January and May, the last one being mainly concerned with the new Goroka aerodrome. He had plenty of time to look around as the plane to take him back to Moresby was delayed, and he was stranded at Bena Bena for nearly two weeks. He believes that Stack and Edwards chose the Goroka airfield site after studying Intelligence Aerial Photographs and Mapping Aerial Photographs, then inspecting and surveying the actual site. The ground was level and well drained, free of trees and native settlements, and was within a mile of the 'old' Goroka landing ground and patrol post on Humilaveka. Unlike the top airstrip its long axis lay in a north-south direction, so the prevailing south-east and northwest winds did not blow across the flight path of incoming and outgoing aircraft. A further advantage was that there was over a mile of unbroken ground along the north-south axis, providing sufficient length of runway to accommodate the largest planes.

Kenney's main objective was a strip for fighters which could support raids against the enemy's north coast bases,(20) but Alfred Gallucci believes that it was also intended to serve as an emergency landing ground for the heavier bombers, which were sometimes unable to make the long distance back to Moresby. Kenney also wanted to divert attention from aerodrome construction activity in the Watut Valley, closer to Lae, which was to support the planned invasion of Lae in September 1943. There was no intention of using Goroka as the assembly point for a parachute attack on Lae, as is sometimes claimed,(21) although it can be seen as playing an indirect role in the Lae invasion plans, if only as a device to divert Japanese attention from the real operation. Increased attacks from the air was the price the Goroka people would have to pay as their contribution towards the Allied capture of Lae.

The loss of tribal land to the new aerodrome was not such a serious matter. When Stack and Edwards chose the site they were probably unaware that they had stumbled on a 'game mikase', a

20 Dexter, op cit, p 239.

21 Jim Taylor says it was rumoured that the new Goroka airstrip was to be used for the invasion of Lae, but this is not mentioned by Dexter, who had access to official records, which presumably give the correct reasons for its construction. Dexter also gives some credit to MacAdie for the acceptance of the plan to build the Goroka airfield. The bombing attacks on Bena Bena quickly convinced him that a second landing-ground was needed, and although the Americans probably initiated the project before MacAdie's arrival in May, his enthusiastic support for the idea would have helped to push it along.

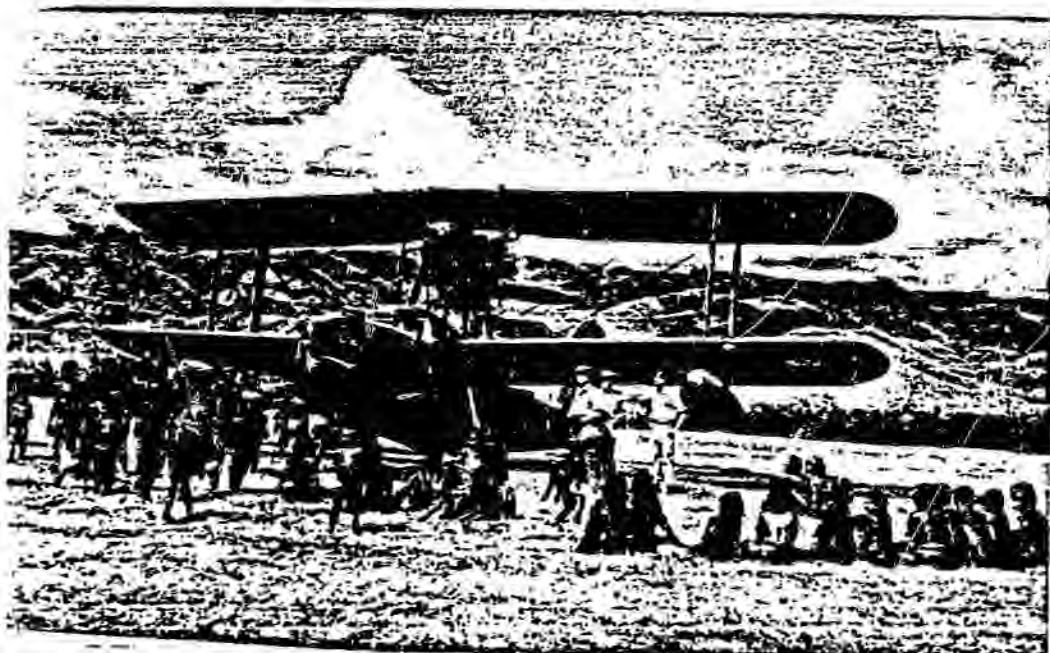


Map 12: Goroka, showing 1972 town boundary and the Clan boundaries approximately as they were at time of construction of new Goroka airfield. To face Page 341.

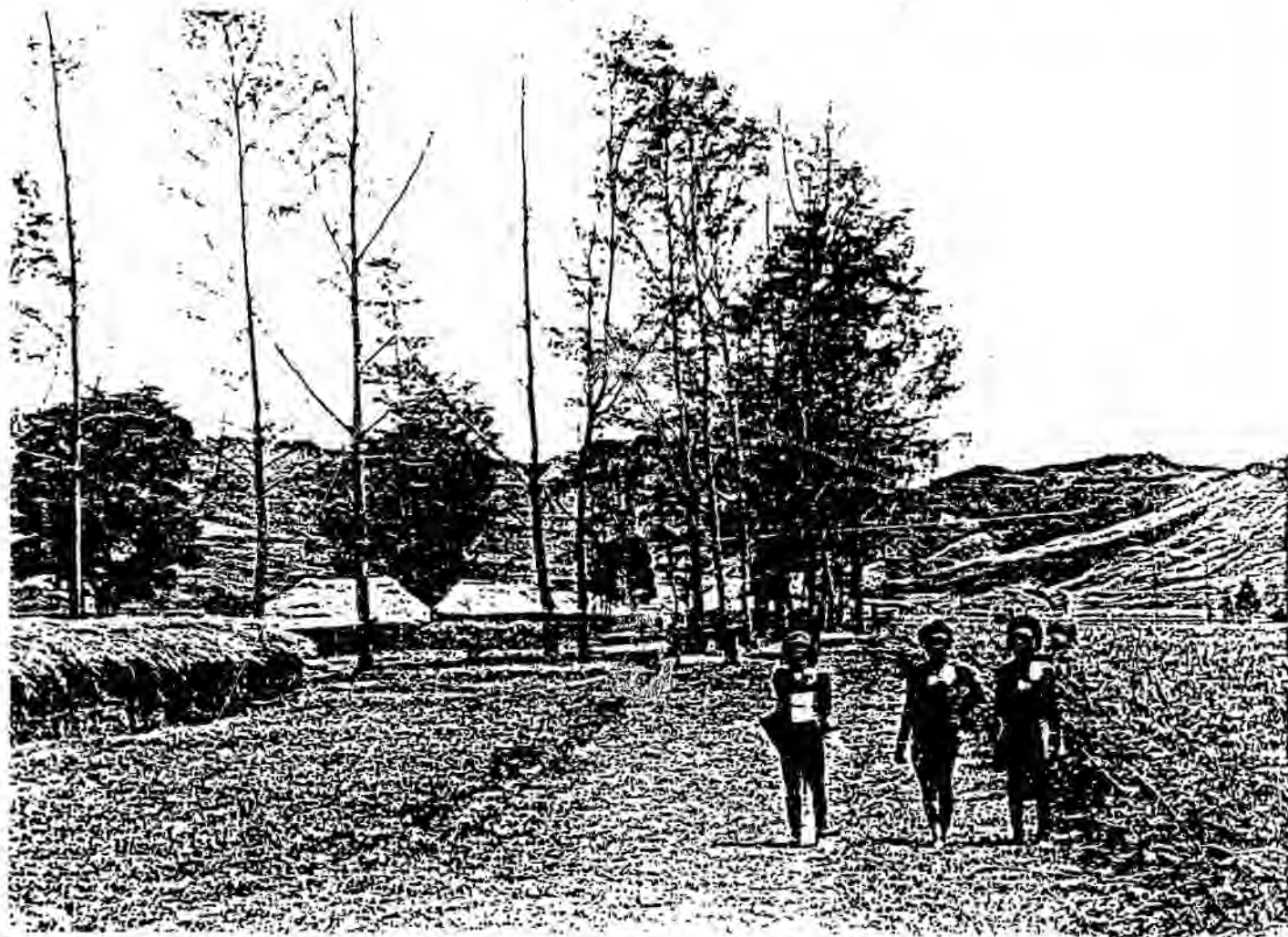
strip of territory taking in the boundary between several hostile clans, a sort of no-man's land claimed by more than one group of owners but generally occupied by none. The Goroka clans involved were Gama, Ha'na'zuha, Seigu, Kami and Asarozuha. Gama claimed the western boundary, the Ha'na'zuha-Seigu-Kami alliance was along the south and east sides, and Asarozuha occupied the northern end. The three groups were traditionally hostile to each other, and the new airstrip provided a welcome buffer zone between them. When Leo Stack got to know the local people better - he stayed on at Goroka for several months after the initial contact with the villagers - he probably came to realise what a happy choice he and Edwards had made, insofar as relations with the landowners were concerned. He is still remembered with affection by Gorokans who worked with him. Some refer to him as 'Captain' Stack although he was actually a civilian assisting the Americans.

#### CONSTRUCTION OF THE 'NEW GAROKA AIRSTRIP'

When Lieutenant Gallucci returned to Moresby from Bena Bena at the end of his final visit in May, he took with him detailed maps and survey information prepared by Stack and Edwards relating to the new Goroka airfield site. This material he forwarded through his Battalion Headquarters to the engineers of the 5th Air Force, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel L V Sverdrup. A flying visit to Goroka was made by Sverdrup, who was able to bring with him Mick Leahy, on loan from the RAAF. Mick Leahy had been the first European to enter the Goroka area, with his gold prospecting partner Mick Dwyer, in November 1930. He knew the Goroka Valley



The new Goroka airfield about a year after its construction. This Walrus amphibian was still able to draw a crowd of interested Gorokans, although by now they were familiar with everything from B. 4s (Liberators) to the humble Dakota. (Photo by F/L Peter Hopton)



The north side of Humilaveka (Goroka) station, photographed by Mick Leahy when he visited the new airfield site in May, 1943.

well, having prospected the area again in 1932 and 1933, and passed through many times in succeeding years on his way to and from his gold mine at Mt Hagen. He was able to confirm for Sverdrup the choice made by the Topographical Section as "the best site in the Valley", (22) and plans were immediately drawn up for the construction of a 6000 feet long fighter airstrip.

As already mentioned, Major Homer Trimble and his party of American 5th Air Force engineers arrived on 12 June, and work began on the 19th. Trimble was assisted by engineers of the 2/2nd and 2/7th Australian Independent Companies. (23) The ANGAU officer at Kundiawa, J A Costelloe, recruited more than 1000 Chimbu labourers for the task, while H R Niall, John Black's successor at Bena Bena, oversaw the employment of local men from the clans close to the airstrip, in particular from Gama, Seigu, Ha'na'zuha and Asarozuha. He arranged for the Chimbis to be paid in gold lip pearl shell while the Goroka workers received the large white 'egg' cowries, or kumukumu.

22 Michael James (Mick) Leahy, interviewed at Zenag, New Guinea, 15.9.76.

23 The Australian engineers would probably insist that Trimble and his men assisted them, and Dexter certainly indicates that this was the case (p 243). Alfred Gallucci believes that Trimble was in charge. Horrie Niall, who was senior ANGAU officer at Bena Bena at the time recalled that the project was supervised by Lieutenant Buckingham of the 2/7 engineers. (H R Niall, Correspondence, 19.7.73.) However an entry in the 2/7 War Diary for 2 July 1943 reads: "RAE (Royal Austn Engineers) 2/2 Indep. Coy placed under command Maj TREMBLE (sic) USAFFE (US Air Force Field Engineers) for work on airfield."



Speed was essential in the construction of the airfield, as a protracted period would increase the likelihood of Japanese detection of the project. It was important that the native labourers should not come under heavy aerial attack, as it would be well-nigh impossible to prevent their desertion once they began to panic and suffer casualties. To try and divert attention from Goroka MacAdie ordered his men to increase activity at Asaroka. They "cut strips of kunai along the airfield as though it were about to be enlarged, kept fires burning, put up tents around the Mission building, hung out many clothes to dry, and tramped Chimbus up and down to make fresh tracks."(24)

This, and the speed of construction at Goroka, had the desired effect, and in the amazingly short time of seven days, the new aerodrome was completed with only one serious interruption.(25) Six thousand feet long with dispersal bays, it was built entirely with hand tools and hardened Chimbu feet. The tramping of squads of bare footed labourers up and down the runway would have been a sight to attract the attention of any Japanese pilot who happened

24 Dexter, op cit.

25 "At 09.15 hours (on 3 July) 8 enemy bombers bombed and straffed the new airstrip. 1 bomb landed on the strip, others were off target. Casualties - 1 native killed 2 injured." Work was delayed for 6 hours while urgent efforts were made to calm the labourers. (War Diary, 2/2 Australian Independent Company, Goroka, 3 July 1943. 2/2 Independent Company file 25/3/2, Nov 1942 to Oct 1943, Australian War Memorial Archives, Canberra, ACT.)



Major Geoff Laidlaw, D.S.O. at Faita in January 1944.

"Geoff Laidlaw was very impressive, the sort of chap that looks every inch a soldier. I'd been with his troop right through from Timor and you felt safe as a house with him. He was a big man and a very solid man, a thinker. He never panicked, he quietly sorted things out. He was offered the job of a colonel, to go and look after a batallion, but this was the job he liked and he just stuck around." (Harry Botterill)

(Australian War Memorial photo no.63340)

to be overhead, but the warning system was usually early enough to allow everyone to get off the work-site and under cover before enemy planes got near.

#### THE 2/2 AUSTRALIAN INDEPENDENT COMPANY

Two days before work began on the Goroka airstrip the vanguard of another Independent Company, the 2/2, arrived to reinforce the 2/7. The 2/2 had had six months to recover from their guerilla warfare experience in Timor, and were in good shape to fight the Japanese. They saw their role as offensive rather than defensive, and to some of the men this holding operation in the Highlands was rather tedious. The opportunity to 'have a go' at the enemy would come in a few weeks, but for the moment they had to be content with guarding the Goroka and Asaroka airstrips and patrolling the country from Goroka west to Chimbu. Their commander was Major Geoff Laidlaw, whose aggressive leadership in Timor had earned from his men the nick name of 'The Bull'.(26) His men had immense admiration for him, and by all accounts he led a very closely-knit, campaign-seasoned team of commandos. The men of the 2/7 held their commanding officer, MacArdie, in

26 Don Latimer of the 2/7 commented jestingly that "he had the nature of a bull and looked like one too! And he had to be like a bloody bull to control the 2/2!" Harry Botterill of the 2/2 was a strong admirer: "Geoff Laidlaw was very impressive, the sort of chap that looks every inch a soldier. I'd been with his troop right through from Timor and you felt safe as a house with him. He was a big man and a very solid man, a thinker. He never panicked, he quietly sorted things out. He was offered the job of a colonel, to go and look after a batallion, but this was the job he liked and he just stuck around." (Harry Botterill, interviewed at Highett, Victoria, 13.1.76.)

somewhat less affection, and the best nick name they could bestow on him was 'Spin', their name for a five pound note. As Don Latimer recalls, "A fiver was the least he would bloody well fine you. If you did anything wrong it was, 'Fined a fiver - march out!'"(27) 'Spin' MacAdie for the most part had other things on his mind than fining recalcitrant soldiers, and his immediate task on receiving word of the 2/2 reinforcement, was to reorganise the dispersal of his troops. As commanding officer of Bena Force, he moved Force Headquarters from Hapatoka (the site of the old government patrol post beside the Bena Bena airstrip) to the SDA mission station at Sigoiya. The bush materials house built by Stan Gander and his island helpers in 1937 was still intact, and provided MacAdie with a comfortable, if exposed, hilltop base. 2/7 Company Headquarters remained at Hapatoka, under command of Captain F J Lomas.(28)

Three weeks before the arrival of the 2/2, MacAdie had despatched sections of the 2/7 to occupy posts at Goroka and Asaroka, with the task of guarding the small airstrips in each place. With the construction of the new Goroka aerodrome, the defence of the area gained a high priority and it was decided to put the 2/2 in charge of all territory west of Sigoiya. Laidlaw established his

27 Don Latimer, op cit.

28 Dexter, loc cit.

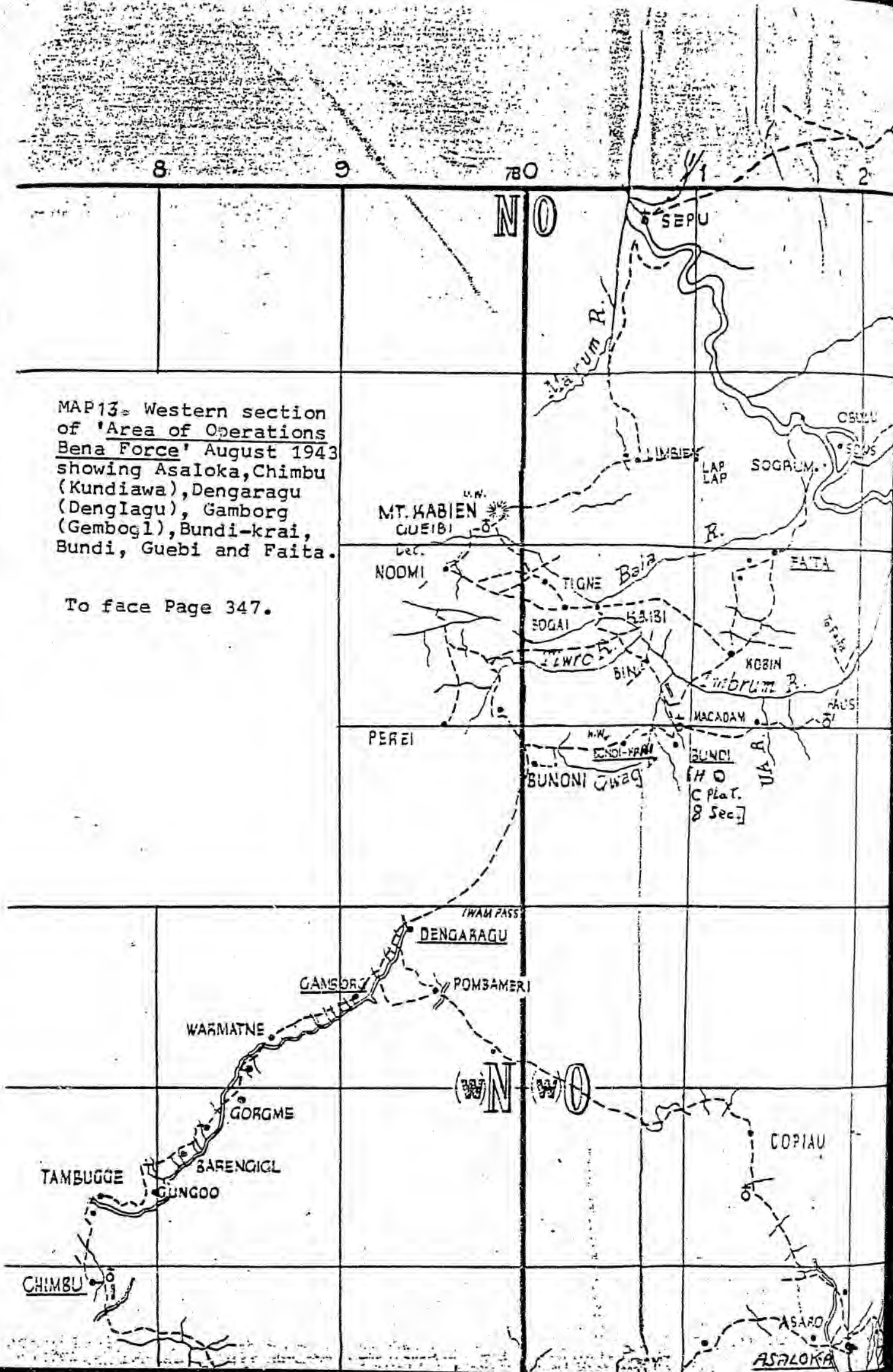
Company Headquarters at Humilaveka, and placed troops around the new 'drome and at Asaroka. Goroka had suddenly resumed its pre-war significance as a centre of administration, and from 30 June 1943, the day on which 2/2 Company Headquarters were set up, it continued to increase in importance, until in 1946 it became the civilian administrative headquarters for the whole of the Highlands. The establishment of the new aerodrome was, of course, the key to this development. The Americans had given Goroka a landing ground superior to any other throughout the Highlands, a facility not to be matched until the new drome at Mount Hagen was opened over two decades later.

The first contingent of 10 plane loads of 2/2 troops landed at Bena Bena on 27 June. On 8 July, with the new Goroka aerodrome complete, a second flight of DC3s, escorted by Lightnings, brought 6 officers, 92 other ranks and their stores direct to Goroka. This would have been the occasion of the official opening of the big landing ground, and there must have been considerable satisfaction that a large body of men and supplies could be delivered right to their field of operation.

The next day there were no air-raids, although enemy aircraft were heard, and stores were feverishly "scattered to dumps in the area, mainly natives being used as porters." On the 11th it was noted: "Two years ago today, this Coy was brought into being at FOSTER, VICTORIA." The diarist commented dolefully that "owing to the lack of civilization in this area, the occasion was not

MAP 13. Western section of 'Area of Operations Bena Force' August 1943 showing Asaloka, Chimbu (Kundiawa), Dengaragu (Denglagu), Gamborg (Gembogl), Bundi-krai, Bundi, Guebi and Faita.

To face Page 347.



celebrated in the customary manner."

Further detachments of 2/2 Company troops arrived on 24 and 25 July and the last group came in on 1 August. The Diarist reported on that day: "The movement of this COY is now complete, except for hospital patients at Moresby. The COY strength in this area is now 20 OFFRS (OFFICERS) 277 O/RS (other Ranks). Dispositions are:- HQ at GAROKA. A PL.H.Q. and No 2 SEC at MATAHAUSA (MADANG 0.4846); No 1 SEC AT HALF-WAY CAMP (MADANG 0.5454); NO 3 SEC AT WESA STATION (MADANG 0.60537). The Signal Section is split up amongst HQ's and Sections. Engineer Section is on road building activities around BENA BENA area. B.PL positions are unchanged.(29) C.PL still at GAROKA."

The opening of the new Goroka airfield and the deployment of 2/2 troops in ever increasing numbers during July was bound to invite increased Japanese aerial attacks on the Goroka Valley. The Diarist records bombing raids on either Goroka, Asaroka or Bena

29 B Platoon's headquarters were at Bundi-Crai, on the Ramu side of the high central range north of Mount Wilhelm and the upper Chimbu. No 4 Section was at Bundi itself - lower down towards the Ramu Valley, No 5 at Gueiba (Gulebi) - north-west of Bundi - and No 6 at Dengaragu (Denglagu), a Catholic Mission station at the foot of Mt Wilhelm on the Chimbu (southern) slopes of the main range. The 'HalfWay' camp mentioned by the Diarist was half way between Matahausa in the mountain rain forest north of Bena Bena - and Wesan, on the Ramu fall above the middle Ramu Valley. This was later known as the Maley camp, after the corporal who established it. A site with a better command of the Ramu Valley was chosen on a spur which ran towards the Ramu between Mounts Helwig and Otto (Dexter, p 245), and was called Maululi camp, after Laidlaw's Timorese servant/assistant in Timor.

Bena on 3, 6, 8, 13, 20, 24 and 30 July. The most serious of these were the attack on the new Goroka airfield on 3 July, when one native was killed and two injured (although their identity is not given, Goroka informants recall that they were Chimbu labourers, not local villagers) on the 20th, when a majority of the huts at Bena Bena were burned out, on the 24th, when the old Goroka airstrip was hit by 2 H.E. (high explosive) and 4 A.P. (antipersonnel) bombs and on the 30th, when 6 bombers and 19 fighters bombed and strafed the Goroka area, dropping five 500 lb bombs and 13 A.P bombs. Four of the H.E. bombs scored direct hits on the new airstrip, but the Diarist was able to record that "no damage or casualties resulted, and the drome was still serviceable."

At the same time as these enemy raids were being endured the Diarist was noting with increased frequency the presence in the skies of large numbers of Allied aircraft, presumably on their way north to bomb Japanese positions around Madang and Wewak. By the end of July the Allies had aerial supremacy over the Highlands, and the Japanese bombing raid on Goroka on the 30th was in fact the last they were able to undertake.(30) The climax of the Allied aerial offensive came on 17 August, when no less than 275 enemy planes were destroyed in the vicinity of Wewak.

30 Other raids did occur, such as the fighter attack on 10 November, when Bena, Sigoiya and Goroka were strafed (Dexter, p 599). However there is no record of further bombing attacks.



The 2/2 Company Diarist recorded: "The enemy had been gathering this force of planes for a major land and air push in N.G., as we are in the immediate neighbourhood, the result was especially gratifying to this Coy." This devastating blow to Japanese air power meant that Bena Force's task of defending the Highland airstrips from aerial attack or invasion was virtually complete, and the 2/7 and 2/2 Independent Companies could now concentrate all their efforts on fighting the enemy on the ground. This required engaging the Japanese along the middle Ramu River Valley, in all that country north of the forward patrol positions perched on the ridges of the Ramu Fall. These engagements are covered in detail by David Dexter in his The New Guinea Offensives, and are somewhat outside the scope of this study, except insofar as the troops were supplied from Goroka and Bena Bena throughout the period July to November 1943, and Force Headquarters remained at Sigoya until it was closed down on 10 November.

The decision to disband Bena Force was implemented in November, but as early as 29 September General Vasey, commander of the Australian 7 Division, had decided to move the 2/2 and 2/7 down into the Ramu Valley and virtually withdraw the troops from the Highlands plateau.(31) Vasey recognised that the 38 specialist troops still working in the Highlands, plus 40 ANGAU men and 120 Americans keeping the new Goroka airfield open and operating the

31 Dexter, op cit, p 436.

two radar stations nearby required some local protection.(32) He recommended that one militia company be stationed in the Goroka area to provide this support. This was confirmed on 4 October, when General Herring informed Vasey that "adequate troops would remain on the Bena Bena - Goroka plateau to guard the American air installations and radar equipment."(33) This task fell to a contingent of 2/2 Independent Company soldiers, while the bulk of the Company moved down to new headquarters at Faita, in the western sector of the middle Ramu Valley, directly below Bundi.(34) Dexter indicates (p 680) that by early November two troops of the 2/2 were operating around the new airstrip at Faita, while the third troop rested and guarded Goroka. Each troop consisted of about 100 soldiers. On 1 December "B" troop was flown to Goroka and "A" troop, which had been resting there, took up combat duty at Faita. So even though Bena Force as such was closed down on 10 November and MacAdie left his headquarters at Sigoiya on the same day, the 2/2 still maintained a presence in the Goroka Valley into 1944.(35) However, their role was now

32 This figure does seem somewhat excessive, considering the tasks the Americans had to perform. A few engineers would have remained at Goroka, plus a small detachment in charge of the anti-aircraft positions. The two radar stations close to Goroka and Bena Bena may have required larger units, and there may have been Americans at other centres, such as Kainantu, Chimbu and Mount Hagen. There was a US Air Force Rest Centre at Mount Hagen in 1944-45.

33 Dexter, op cit, p 561.

34 ibid, p 575.

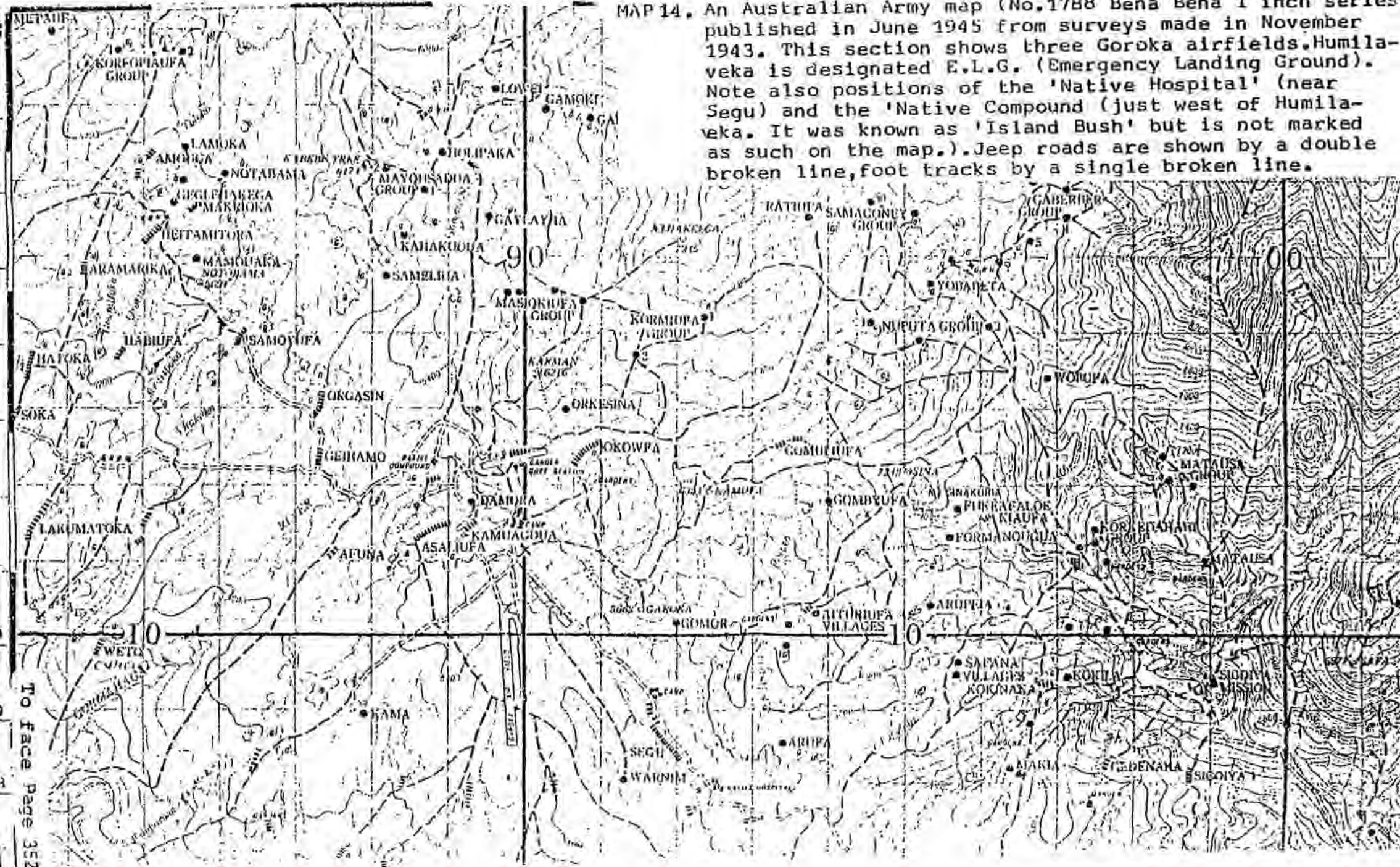
35 ibid, pp 687 (footnote) and 739.

a passive one, and apart from minimal interaction with the Goroka people who were their immediate neighbours around the rest camp and the big aerodrome, they ceased to have a significant impact on the inhabitants of the Goroka Valley.

From a military standpoint the achievement of Bena Force over the 10 month period from 23 January to 10 November were considerable. MacAdie in his final report was able to claim with justifiable pride that not only did the two companies, by resisting Japanese probes along a frontage of 140 miles, prevent an enemy invasion of the Highlands, but their presence, by threatening the enemy's line of communication from Lae to Madang "must have contributed largely to his decision to withdraw from the Markham and Upper Ramu Valleys".(36) Dexter too gives an impressive list of achievements (he was himself a member of the 2/2 Independent Company, so his material on Bena Force bears the mark of a man who was there): "For the loss of 12 men killed, 16 wounded and 5 missing it had killed about 230 of the enemy. It had built the Garoka airfield for fighters and bombers; it had constructed 78 miles of motor transport road between Bena and Garoka, Sigoiya, Asaloka and Kainantu, and it had produced maps of a vast and

36 Closing Report, War Diary, 9 Nov 1943. Bena Force File 1/5/42, August - November 1943. Australian War Memorial, Canberra. MacAdie's reference to 'the upper Ramu' valley is confusing, as Upper Ramu was the pre-war name for Kainantu, and is still used to denote the Highlands section of the river above the Yonki Dam and Power Station. What MacAdie refers to as the upper Ramu is more correctly described as the middle Ramu Valley.

MAP 14. An Australian Army map (No. 1788 Bena Bena 1 inch series published in June 1945 from surveys made in November 1943. This section shows three Goroka airfields. Humilaveka is designated E.L.G. (Emergency Landing Ground). Note also positions of the 'Native Hospital' (near Segu) and the 'Native Compound' (just west of Humilaveka. It was known as 'Island Bush' but is not marked as such on the map.) Jeep roads are shown by a double broken line, foot tracks by a single broken line.



hitherto unknown area."(37)

Another accomplishment which Dexter omits, but which MacAdie refers to in his final report, was the establishment of "four large-sized, plainly marked hospitals." The first of these was set up in July at Segu (Seigu) - the exact location was east of Seigu village on a terrace above Genoka Creek, a tributary of the Kami, and close to the present-day site of Siokiei Community School. It was conveniently placed about half way between the Bena Bena and Goroka airfields, but sufficiently distanced to be away from the areas subject to Japanese air attack. The Bena - Goroka motor transport road passed the hospital, allowing patients to be moved to it by jeep from either base in less than 30 minutes. It was staffed by a detachment of the 2/2 Field Ambulance. Although it was not intended to serve the needs of the local population its purpose being purely military, it did contribute to saving the lives of thousands of Goroka Valley people in late 1943 and 1944, when an epidemic of bacillary dysent<sup>e</sup>ry ravaged the Highlands (see below pp 407-414). A smaller hospital may have been set up by ANGAU near Goroka to serve the

37 Dexter, op cit, p 600. At first sight his reference to map making might appear to con\*radict what was written earlier about the US Topographical Batallion's work. However given that the Americans provided all the aerial photographs and accurate maps based on them, the men on the ground compiled the mass of detail necessary for their completion, and Bena Force would have contributed significantly to this work. The US Topographical Batallion, Bena Force and ANGAU all take the credit for the production of comprehensive maps, but the truth is probably that each was able to draw on the resources of the others. The Americans had the technical equipment and expertise, Bena Force had the 'ground' knowledge and ANGAU was able to draw on its own and native experience.

needs of the native labour force, but it was more likely a medical aid post. The four Bena Force hospitals were at Seigu, as mentioned; at the former Lutheran Mission station Raipinka, near Kainantu; at Bundi (established on 20 October when the larger part of the 2/2 Independent Company moved into the Bundi - Faita area) and at Mount Hagen.(38)

Bena Force therefore left the Goroka Valley with a number of facilities which had the potential to profoundly affect the lives of its inhabitants. 1943 saw the establishment of a new, large and permanent aerodrome at Goroka, the nucleus of a vehicle road system, linking Sigoiya, Bena Bena, Goroka and Asaroka [and stretching beyond the valley eastwards to the Dunantina (Henganofi), Raipinka, Kainantu and Aiyura], the provision of adequate maps of the area, improved medical services (including for the first time the opening of hospitals) and the confirmation of Goroka as the administrative and distribution centre for the district.

The social and psychological effects of war on the Goroka Valley people were derived to some extent from these material changes. As already noted the villagers provided labour for construction

38 There is no mention of a hospital at Mount Hagen in the Bena Force records, but ANGAU had one there in 1944, and it may be assumed that Bena Force established it in 1943, when some evacuees from the Madang and Sepik areas fled to Mount Hagen in the wake of the Japanese invasion of coastal north-west New Guinea.

work and portorage, and suffered the consequences which those facilities and activities attracted when the Japanese attempted to disrupt and destroy them.

However the ramifications of the white man's War were much wider than the positive and negative effects of airfields, roads, hospitals and administration and distribution centres. The physical presence of many hundreds of Australian and American soldiers was bound to affect the local population, who prior to 1943 had had to deal with only a handful of white patrol officers, missionaries and gold prospectors. The importation of huge quantities of material goods - food, weapons, tools, medical supplies, radio and telephone equipment, motor vehicles, generators and, of course, the apparently inexhaustible supply of shell money and other trade goods, had immense appeal to a people whose notions of prestige and power were based on the assessment of personal material wealth. The conscription of labour to carry cargo, construct roads and airfields and grow large quantities of garden food to feed the labour force, was a less agreeable manifestation of European power, which although experienced by villagers prior to the War had never before affected so many people or been enforced so ruthlessly. The result of war-time contact for the Goroka Valley people was to increase both their admiration for, and their fear of Europeans, and thus pave the way for a radical change of attitude and life-style in the postwar period. The remainder of the chapter is concerned with the detail of this war-time contact experience.



MacAdie's instructions not to fraternise with the local people were largely ignored by the Australian soldiers, as this photograph suggests.

'Lance Sergeant Stuckey, photographed with some Bena Bena carriers, 3 October, 1943.' (Australian War Memorial photo no. 58539 )



## SOME EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE LOCAL POPULATION

### RELATIONS BETWEEN SOLDIERS AND GOROKANS

It was the intention of the military authorities that, with the exception of ANGAU, Australian and American soldiers should have as little contact with the local population as possible. Instructions to Bena Force concerning 'relations with natives' were very explicit:

"No dealing of any kind whatsoever will take place with natives except through or when authorised by an ANGAU representative. Natives will not be given gifts of any kind. The giving of gifts would have a bad effect on the present trade system on which this force is entirely dependent for native food and labour.

Similarly there must be no interference with native women. This area has the highest percentage of VD infection in New Guinea (90%)."(39)

39 Unit War Diary, Bena Force, June to July 1943, Appendix VI, Routine Orders, Part 1, by Major T F B MacAdie, 15 June 1943. Bena Force Records, Box No 301, File No 1/5/42, Australian War Memorial, Canberra. I am not sure that the startling claims about the extent of venereal disease in the Highlands was based on any real evidence, as what was known pre-war about the health of the people, apart from those in the vicinity of the patrol posts, was based on fairly limited patrols done by medical assistants. To claim that 90% of the women in the area had VD does seem to exaggerate matters, but it was probably designed more in the interests of soldier restraint than of scientific exactitude.

There was also concern about native morale. Noting the presence and influence of mission educated New Guineans, MacAdie informed his troops: "Many missions are no longer occupied by Europeans and are being managed and cared for by educated natives who have a powerful influence over other natives. Any interference with mission property will cause bad feeling towards us which will be of great assistance to the enemy. In this area where no other troops are present any breaches in this matter will be easily detected and severely punished." This instruction had particular relevance to men of B Platoon of the 2/7 stationed at Asaroka from 14 June to 17 July, and those of C Platoon, 2/2 Company, who took over from them for the following 6 weeks. Pastor Buko Usemo, the Finschhafen Lutheran evangelist who pioneered mission work in the Goroka area, had remained on at Asaroka when missionary Paul Helbig left in April 1943. He had no complaints to make over the Bena Force soldiers' conduct, and when interviewed in August 1974 recalled that the occupation had been a friendly one.(40)

The Bena Force soldiers maintained their respect for mission property, but were not above poking round in cupboards and ceilings for signs of the former residents' occupancy. Don Latimer of the 2/7 found a trombone in the roof of one of the houses, which he nearly blew his "guts out trying to get a noise

40 Pastor Buko Usemo, interviewed at Goroka, 7 August 1974.

out of. Didn't realise it needed a mouth-piece."(41) Mick Mannix of the 2/2 found and pocketed a set of snapshots taken by the Lutheran missionaries, but is certain there was no trace of any Nazi literature or portraits of Hitler as is sometimes claimed by soldiers who occupied Lutheran mission houses.(42) The good relations which existed between the soldiers and the local residents can in large measure be attributed to the friendly attitude of the men of the 2/2. As Mannix, Botterill and others point out, the 2/2's experience in Timor had taught them to respect and make friends with native people, and the order to 'have no dealing of any kind' with them was largely ignored. The 2/7 soldiers, lacking experience of a relationship where their very lives depended on the loyalty and good will of the local people, were somewhat more detached in their attitudes to New Guineans. Con Hughes regarded the Bena Bena people as "a lazy, dirty mob - they wouldn't do any work, wouldn't do anything."(43) He did pay tribute to the Chimbus, however, as "a fine race of people who would come down and do all our carrying." And although he had a poor opinion of the Goroka Valley people's capacity as labourers, he had a high regard for their intelligence: "I've seen our Signals chaps get them and teach

41 Don Latimer, op cit.

42 See Peter Ryan. 1959. Fear Drive My Feet. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, pp 80 - 82. See also George Johnston. 1943. New Guinea Diary. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, pp 55 - 56.

43 Con Hughes, 2/7 Independent Company quartermaster, interviewed by telephone, Sydney, 18.2.76.

them morse code and in no time they could do it ten times better than I could. They were fantastic."

Although the practice was frowned upon by MacAdie, the Bena Force soldiers employed local youths as personal guides and servants. At Asaroka Mick Mannix obtained the services of a twelve year old lad called Jessie, who had attended the mission school there prior to Helbig's departure. Jessie did Mannix's washing and taught him Pidgin. In return the young Australian soldier taught him to swear: "Little Jessie was very religious, but when he saw the Jap planes coming he'd say, 'Jesus Christ', just like we did. I'm sure he learnt that from us, not from the missionaries. Each of us adopted a boy, and when we were given orders to move on, we couldn't take them with us. It was a very pathetic sight when we left Asaroka. Tears rolled down their faces and they howled."(44) But parting gifts from the soldiers (again contrary to MacAdie's instruction) made some amends. Mick Mannix recalls that he "gave my bloke 2 razor blades, a tin of bully beef and a few other things which probably made him a millionaire for a week or so."

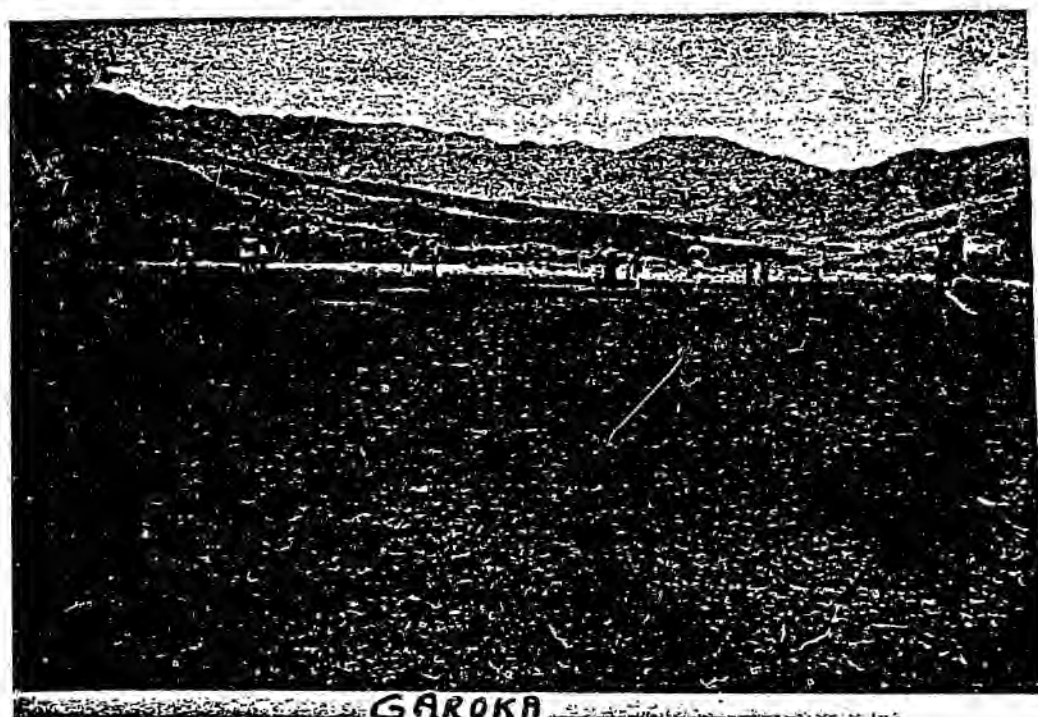
MacAdie was still trying to prevent fraternization between his troops and the locals in September, when he issued an instruction: "The practice of 'joy-riding' kanakas on jeeps will

44 Mick Mannix, op cit.

cease immediately."(45) He also found it necessary to point out in the same routine order: "All pigs in this area even though they may appear to be 'wild' are kanaka property and will on no account be killed." (An exception was made at the new Goroka airfield, where the local people had been warned their pigs would be shot on sight if allowed to damage the runway.) A month earlier MacAdie attempted to "stop the practice of using native labour for tasks normally performed by officers' batmen", but the men of the 2/2 obviously did not consider this order applied to them. At least soldiers like Mick Mannix could argue that his Jes<sup>S</sup><sub>A</sub>ie was too young to be regarded as part of the native labour force. In Timor each soldier had had a creado (personal servant boy) and they did not see why things should be different in New Guinea. Also, as Harry Botterill points out, in Timor they lived on pigs, and 'knocking off' a few Goroka Valley pigs was second-nature to them.(46) This could not have affected local attitudes too adversely, as Harry Botterill claims the people in the Goroka area were "very friendly". While his 'B' Troop was resting at Goroka during Christmas 1943 he had the opportunity of getting to know the local villagers at first hand. They worked around the camp on Humilaveka, cooking, cleaning, etc., and relations between the two groups were very cordial. Both Botterill and

45 MacAdie, Routine Order, 22 September 1943. Bena Force Records, Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

46 Harry Botterill, Signals Section, 2/2 Independent Company, interviewed at Highett, Victoria, 13.1.76.

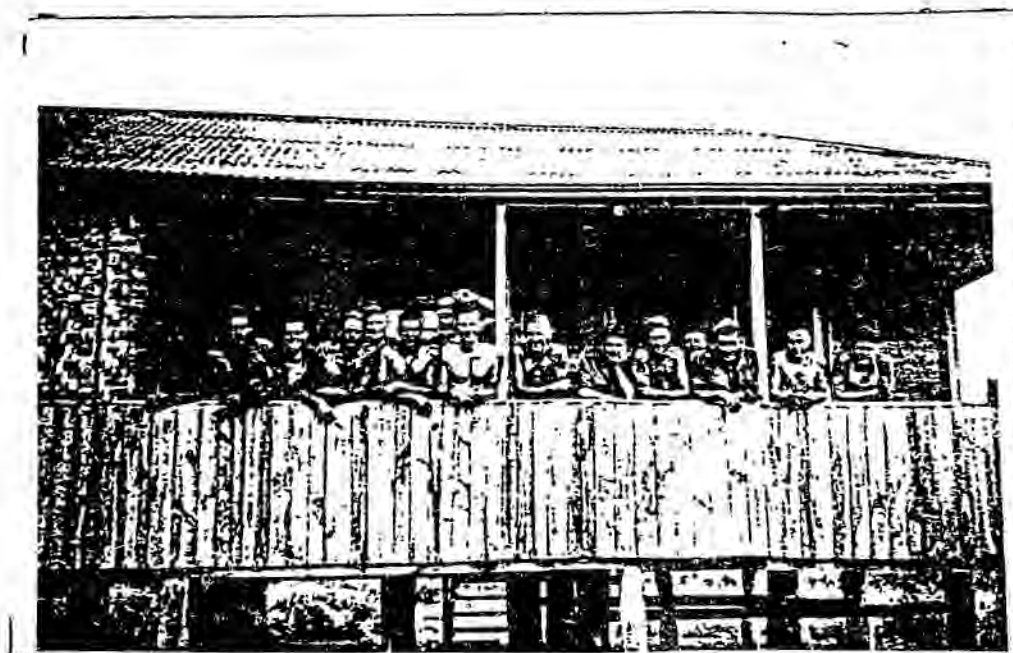
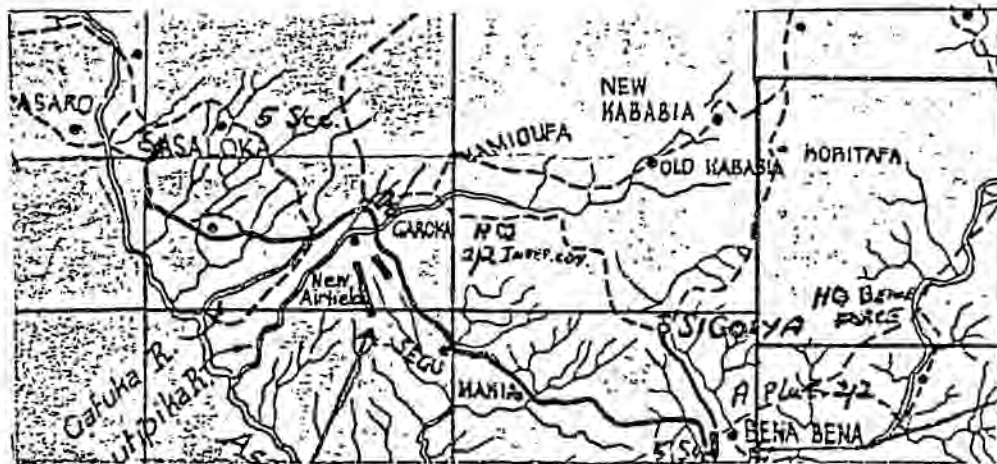
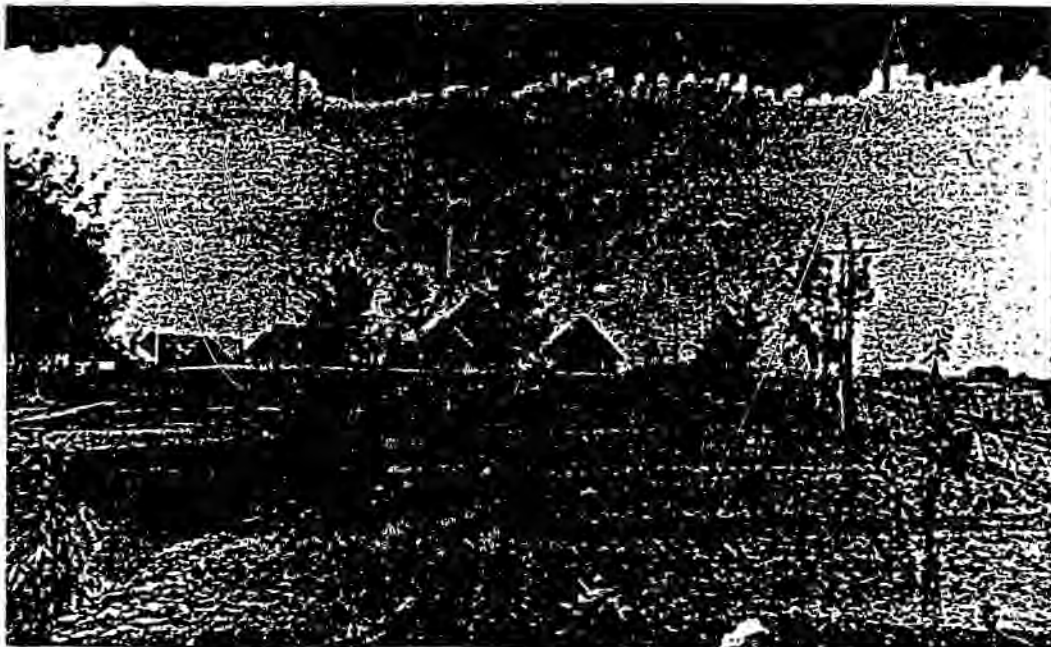


Bena Force soldiers at work and at play, Goroka.  
Top: 2/2 Independent Company soldiers (Signals Section) stringing telephone cables.  
Below: 2/2 Independent Company Headquarters staff playing cricket on the Humilaveka airstrip.  
(Photos in Mick Mannix's possession, taken on a Box Brownie camera smuggled in by a Bena Force soldier.)

Mannix recall how they introduced Australian Rules football to Goroka at this time. Mannix recollects: "We taught the local kids to score for us when we played Australian Rules football. They stood behind the goal posts and waved their arms when we kicked a goal or point."

Another 'B' Troop soldier with recollections of the good times spent while 'resting' at Goroka during Christmas 1943 was Trooper Bob Smyth. His platoon had gone into action in the Bundi area after spending only a few weeks at Bena Bena and Goroka in June, so their return to the safety and tranquility of the plateau after five months hard slog in the Ramu was most welcome. For the first time the Goroka people were able to see the Australian soldier at play. Patrol officers, miners, missionaries and fighting soldiers had always presented an air of serious purposefulness - rarely were the local people given a glimpse of the lighter side of the European character. But now those villagers who worked for the Army at Humilaveka or lived close by were treated to a display of Australian humour and relaxed behaviour which demonstrated that Europeans also knew how to enjoy themselves. As well as playing cricket and Australian Rules football (the majority of the 2/2 were Western Australians and Victorians) the men put on a Christmas Eve concert which Bob Smyth describes as "gems of presentations.(47) One assumes that

47 Bob Smyth of West Perth, Western Australia, but interviewed at Goroka, 21.12.76.



Top: Post-war view of Humilaveka buildings and empty swimming pool. (J.L.Taylor photo)

Centre: Detail from Map 10, showing Bena Bena, Goroka and Asaroka.

Below: Members of 'C' Platoon, 2/2 Independent Company relaxing on verandah of Paul Helbig's house, Asaroka, July 1943. Mick Mannix is fifth from right. (M.Mannix photo)



the unofficial New Guinean audience enjoyed the show too.

A further novelty afforded the locals was two days of diving lessons, given by Bob Smyth to his 'country-born and bred' mates from Western Australia, in the Humilaveka swimming pool. Bepi Moha, the government Gahuku/Pidgin interpreter, remembers soldiers who overslept being thrown unceremoniously into this pool by their mates, amid much uproar and laughter. At other times soldiers swimming in the pool would whistle at the bare-breasted, grass-skirted local Okazuha girls who passed by on their way to and from the village gardens. Bepi says the soldiers would tease them by pretending to jump out of the pool to catch them, causing the girls to squeal and run off with or without their bilums of kaukau. The pool which had been excavated during Dick Kyngdon's time, was fed by the chilly waters of a mountain stream drawn off by the 'barat' or canal dug to irrigate the station gardens.

Relations between the soldiers and the Goroka Valley people were in strong contrast to those between Bena Force and the people living on the Ramu Fall of the Bismark Range, where most of the forward positions were situated. The Ramu Valley natives had come under the influence of the Japanese, the "powerful and open-handed Nippon soldier", to quote MacAdie, who was comparing Japanese generosity in payment of trade goods for food and services, with his own chronic shortage of shell money. MacAdie noted that the Ramu natives "have actually helped the enemy by

guiding his attacking parties into our concealed OP's (observation posts) by their own little pig tracks. If these natives can be captured, it would greatly help our prestige to publicly hang them." He concluded with some sourness: "The local 'Fuzzy Wuzzy' has few attributes of the angel, and is most definitely sitting on the fence or on the other side of it."(48) Although this comment was directed towards the Ramu natives, he did not overlook the possibility that the Goroka Valley people's loyalty could be compromised if he did not have sufficient 'trade' to pay for the work and food they were supplying. The Highland labourers assured the Bena Force soldiers that the Ramu villagers were 'bush kanakas' who could never be trusted, unlike themselves who were loyal and civilized supporters of the Allied cause.(49)

Mick Mannix claims that his platoon was well received by the Goroka, Asaroka and Chimbu communities, was never attacked or had to attack, whereas in the Ramu they always had to be on their guard and would have shot about 20 hostile New Guineans during the course of their patrols on the Ramu Fall.(50) This difference in native attitudes and behaviour is partly explained by the influence of Australian and Japanese soldiers in their

48 MacAdie, "Progress Report", Bena Force, 21 July 1943, loc cit.

49 Don Latimer, op cit.

50 Mick Mannix, op cit.

respective areas, but the pre-war experiences of the Highlands and Middle Ramu peoples could also have been a determining factor. Australian administration was not as firmly established along the Ramu as it had been on the plateau, as the lowland population was much smaller and did not warrant as much attention from patrol officers and missionaries. Also many communities were hidden away on remote ridges above the valley. Some of these villagers were undoubtedly influenced by the Japanese, but others would have been hostile to any strangers intruding on their territory.

The Goroka Valley people's recollections of the Bena Force soldiers are generally very favourable. Although ANGAU recruited young men to carry cargo and build roads and airstrips, the jobs they did brought them into close contact with the fighting soldiers. When shown Mick Mannix's photo of his troop of 2/2 soldiers grouped on the verandah of Helbig's house at Asaroka, the Lutheran pastor Akiro Oroso-vano commented: "I remember those fellows very well. I used to go around with them. We went to Mount Hagen and all the way down to the Ramu, through Gembogl and Bundi. We did not see any Japanese, but we followed their tracks. Back here at Asaroka those soldiers behaved themselves very well. They didn't spoil the houses or interfere with our women. The only thing they did wrong was to kill and eat the Mission cows. I was here when the Japs flew over and machine-gunned the water tanks. The Australian soldiers looked after us

and told us what to do during these air-raids."(51) In 1943 Akiro was about 18 years old, just the right age to be recruited as a carrier. When the men of C Platoon who had been based at Asaroka during July moved on to the Bundi area, Akiro went with them. As he states, the carriers went "all the way down to the Ramu, through Gembogl and Bundi."

#### CARRIERS' EXPERIENCES

Bob Smyth, whose platoon went virtually straight into action at Bundi, without the interlude at Asaroka which Mick Mannix and Harry Botterill enjoyed, describes how the carrier lines supplied the troops on a regular basis: "I think the whole Unit had from 600 to 700 carriers working for it. There were certainly long lines of them carrying food and equipment for us. They would arrive at Bundi about once a fortnight - 80 or 90 of them supplying a troop."(52) He recalls that at the end of the term they would be paid in shells or a tomahawk head. If they were Chimbuses they got a large Kina shell. [The small cowrie shell (girigiri) was used to pay for local garden food supplied by the villagers although an empty bully beef tin would fetch a bunch of bananas or 4 or 5 paw paws.]

51 Pastor Akiro Oroso-Vano, interviewed at Asaroka, 23 July 1982.

52 Bob Smyth, op cit.

In the early days of the Ramu operation the troops were on hard rations - a packet of biscuits and a tin of bully beef a day - and these along with ammunition and equipment would make up the forty pound loads born by the carriers. There was a rule that Highlanders could not be made to carry into the Ramu Valley, because of the danger of contracting malaria. This was generally observed, although if it was possible to deliver cargo to a Ramu Valley post in daylight, and return to the relative safety of the uplands before nightfall, the rule was broken.(53) So Akiro's claim that he went down to the Ramu is most likely correct. Another carrier who claims to have spent time in the Ramu Valley itself is Makarai Bobe, the government interpreter. Makarai states: "Before the War none of the Highlands people were allowed to go down to the coast. Jim Taylor understood the danger of malaria and he would not allow us to go to the lowland areas. But in the War time we were sometimes made to go down to the Ramu Valley. They did give us tablets to prevent us getting sick."(54) He concedes that most of the carriers he met there were from the coast or from the Markham Valley.

However the work done by the Highlanders was not pleasant wherever it was undertaken. Subject to Japanese aerial attacks, the carriers would abandon their cargo and run for cover. Some

53 Tommy Aitchison believes 'the rule was often observed in the breach'. Interview, 18.7.84.

54 Makarai Bobe, interviewed at Goroka, 28.6.84.



Top: Weti Auwepa telling the story of his war-time ordeal to Kingsley Anakapu, June 1984.

Left: Inapo Kaug who worked reluctantly for A.N.G.A.U. during the War (see Page 376), with his grand-daughter and his war medals, Anzac Day, 1976.

To face Page 366.

did not get away in time and fell victim to bombs or gunfire. Weti Auwepa, although too young to carry heavy loads, had been working with Bena Force soldiers at an observation post (probably Matahausa or Maululi) and on one occasion was accompanying a carrier line back to the post when Japanese planes came through the Bena Gap. Everyone took what cover they could, but as Weti relates:

"There were two young fellows from Asaro, myself and two others, and we just stood and watched. We saw two objects drop out of the plane and our eyes followed them as they fell to the ground and exploded. But then the two Asaro boys panicked and ran out into the open. The river was close by so I just dived into the water, where I was safe. But the Asaro fellows were shot from the plane - one in the head, one in the stomach. Bullets smashed into the trees and there were splinters flying everywhere."(55)

Weti added that the soldiers at the observation post were delighted at his safe return and were not even cross with him for allowing the small pack he was carrying to get wet when he dived into the river!

Makarai makes the observation that it would not have been so bad if carriers had only been required to make one dangerous journey, but the authorities forced them to go back and forth many, many times, so much so that their shoulders and backs developed nasty

55 Weti Auwepa, interviewed at Goroka, 28.6.84.

sores. By way of dramatic emphasis he adds that two men were made to carry a sixty or seventy pound bag of salt, slung between them on a pole. As if to rub salt into wounds "after so much work the carriers would return to their villages, hoping to have a rest, but the police would come after them again especially if there were no new recruits to carry the cargo. The police would beat them with sticks, damage their property and force them to carry cargo again."

It is not possible to know how many Goroka Valley carriers died as a result of their war-time activities, but several informants tell of men known to them who were killed, particularly in the Ramu area. Makarai can name men of Okazuha clan who did not return. Ai-a of Koloka hamlet states that he was in a group of Asarozuha carriers who went "to Bundi and Paita (Faita) on the Ramu, where the Australian soldiers had a big camp", and that some of his comrades were killed by the Japanese while they were in that area.(56) Two village elders of the Aketauka house-line of Okazuha clan, Papazo Zawo and Aidameso Sekiriha, were recruited to carry cargo to Bundi and they recalled with sardonic smiles that "if the Japanese didn't get you the Australians would." When under Japanese fire their natural instinct was to run away, but any men attempting to desert would court the risk of being shot by the accompanying police or soldiers.(57) A

56 Ai-a of Koloka (Asarozuha), interviewed at Koloka, 7.8.73.

57 Papazo Zawo and Aidameso Sekiriha of Aketauka (Okazuha) interviewed at Aketauka, 31.8.73.



Gehamo man known as Peter Hero carried cargo from Goroka to Faita, and when relating his experiences mentioned that his name was not really Peter but Paita, after the Faita camp and airstrip. He worked for an ANGAU soldier called 'Han-bruk' (Broken Hand), a pre-war miner who had his hand blown off when dynamiting for gold. (This was most likely Jim Brugh, who was a well-known coffee-planter in the Goroka area after the War.) Some of Paita's companions got malaria and died, but 'Han-Bruk' did his best to ensure that all the Highlanders took anti-malarial medicine. There was an American medical orderly at Faita who dispensed injections and tablets. Paita implies that some of his fellow Gorokans disliked taking the medicine, and their deaths were due to their own refusal to accept the protection offered.(58) Soldiers who fought in New Guinea have distasteful recollections of atebtrin, the acridine and quinine-derived prophylactic which they were required to take for malaria - both the taste and effects were unpleasant - so it is not surprising that some carriers avoided it. There were also instances where soldiers got malaria in spite of the atebtrin treatment, particularly if it was not taken on a regular basis, and this could also have happened to the carriers, who were generally in the malarial areas for too short a time to receive the full course of treatment.

58 Peter (Paita) Hero of Gehamo, interviewed at Goroka, 31.3.83.



'Area of Operations Bena Force' August 1943, Henganofi to Onga, showing location of Kainantu, the Aiyura Agricultural Station airstrip, Raipinka Mission and tracks used by carriers.

To face Page 369.



Insert: Carriers supplying Bena Force in the Kainantu area. The 'billy' held by the first carrier contained his issue of cooking fat. (Australian War Memorial photo no. 58637.)

To face Page 369

HQ A Pln. + B Pln. 2/7 Indep. Coy.

Not all Goroka Valley carriers were required to deliver cargo to the Bundi-Faita or Matahausu-Maululi areas, although naturally enough the supplying of the 2/2's forward positions was a first priority. A few Goroka informants describe journeys in the opposite direction to Kainantu and Aiyura. The 2/7 had observation posts on the Ramu Fall north and east of Kainantu, and ANGAU operated the Aiyura Agricultural station where cinchona was grown for the production of quinine, among other crops. Goulopa Anupave of Lumapaka hamlet, Masilakai'zuha, provides an interesting description of his experiences as a carrier to Kainantu:

"They assembled all the villagers up at Humilaveka, using the luluais to gather us and they selected us from there. We stood in a straight line at Humilaveka and all the things to be carried were laid beside us. They told us to pick them up and policemen were placed among us to look after the cargo. We walked all day and slept the night at Hapatoka. Then we continued on to Henganofi where we slept, and then we completed our journey to Kainantu. The boxes were closed up so we don't know what was inside them but I can tell you they were very heavy. Probably they contained guns, rice and tinned fish, but I don't really know.

The police in charge of the patrol were given canes and even though we were exhausted they hit us to make us keep going. And the luluais never cared about us or stood up for us. They were on the side of the police. I was a strong young fellow in those days and I did that walk several times. Our luluai was my relation, so I had to go with him on every trip. At the end of each trip we got paid with axes, bush-knives and shells."(59)

59 Goulopa Anupave of Lumapaka, Masalikai'zuha, interviewed at Lumapaka, 4. .83.

## LULUAIS

Goulopa's reference to luluais points to an important development in village administration during this period. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the office of luluai was not introduced officially to the Goroka Valley before the War. L G R Kyngdon states categorically that there were no luluais when he was officer in charge from 1941 to early 1943, although it is possible that the police marked influential big men as unofficial luluais during periods when a European officer was not stationed permanently in the Valley. Almost every man interviewed who had been a luluai before the introduction of local government attributes his appointment to Jim Taylor and John Black, who worked together as ANGAU officers in the Goroka-Bena area in 1944.

John Black, as noted earlier, was ANGAU O.I.C. at Sigoiya in the first part of 1943, but was replaced by H R (Horrie) Niall in June. However, as mentioned he and Jim Taylor were posted back to Goroka, no doubt because of their wide knowledge and long-standing experience of the area. This time they judged that the people were ready for the luluai system of village administration. Being old hands they knew which big men held the reins of power in each clan, and avoided the mistake often made earlier in coastal districts of appointing men of little or no consequence to the position of luluai. The Goroka luluais were for the most part men of strong and proven leadership ability. The fact that Goulopa's luluai cooperated with the authorities in



Top : John Black, at his home in Adelaide, August 1981, examining pre-war photo of himself.

Below: Gopie Ataiamelaho of Gama with his grandsons, August 1974. John Black made Gopie a luluai in 1944.

spite of the knowledge that his actions would be highly unpopular among his own people suggests that he was very secure in his clan leadership position.

This does not necessarily hold true for all the Goroka Valley. Langness argues that in the case of the Korofeigu clan which he studied closely, luluais were not traditional leaders. He points out that leadership qualities required in the indigenous clan warfare system were not necessarily those the administration looked for.(60) However most of the Goroka luluais appointed by Taylor and Black - men like Gopie of Gama, Gelepet-amelauho of Seigu and Aitoveh of Okazuha - had been traditional fight leaders. Hanimo of Hanazuha did have a different background. As a young man he accompanied the gold prospector Ludwig Schmidt to the Sepik (see ch 2) and this had resulted in his having a much closer contact with European law and institutions than most Gorokans had experienced. It will be remembered that he came back from the Sepik as a hero among his demoralised Seigu clanspeople, who at the time were living as war refugees near the Bena Station, and he had then gone to Salamaua to give evidence in court against Schmidt. He was therefore a man of considerable prestige among his own people, but it was a position of leadership gained by his successful contact with Europeans, not by his success as a traditional fight leader. However in all cases the Goroka luluais seem to have been acknowledged as men of

60 L L Langness, Oceania, Vol XXXVIII, No 3, March 1963, p 155.

power by their people, no matter in what way that power was derived.

Ex-luluais interviewed in the Goroka area who claim to have been appointed by Jim Taylor and John Black are Aino of Okazuha, Gelepet-amelauho of Seigu, Gopie of Gama, Hanimo of Ha'na'zuha and Lapiso Givonimo of Iufi Iufa.(61) Mrs Tata Urakume of Masilakai'zuha says that her first husband, Halizula Genoi'i was also chosen by Taylor and Black:

"My husband was the local fight leader. The kiaps asked who was the leader in the village (Lumapaka), and everyone pointed to him. It was when they gave men like my husband luluai badges that we finally accepted that these European kiaps were human beings like ourselves. I remember very well that it was Mr Jim Taylor and Mr Black who were in charge at that time. These two were very well known. I can't remember any other names."(62)

Opo'gusai Harope'ia of Kami recalled that "Masta Raiti (Malcolm Wright) gave out luluai's badges."(63) Malcolm Wright was in charge at Goroka in 1946, after civil administration was restored. Soso Subi of Asarozuha made a similar statement: "The

61 Aino interviewed at Airpos, Okezuha on 12.8.82; Gelepetamelaho at Seigu on 31.5.74; Gopie at Sipike, Gama, on 29.8.74; Hanimo at Ha'na'zuha on 22.4.76; and Lapiso at Goroka Council Office on 10.1.77.

62 Mrs Tata Urakume of Lumapaka, Masilakai'zuha, interviewed at Lumapaka, 4.5.83.

63 Opo'gusai Harope'ia of Kami, interviewed at Kami, 23.1.77.

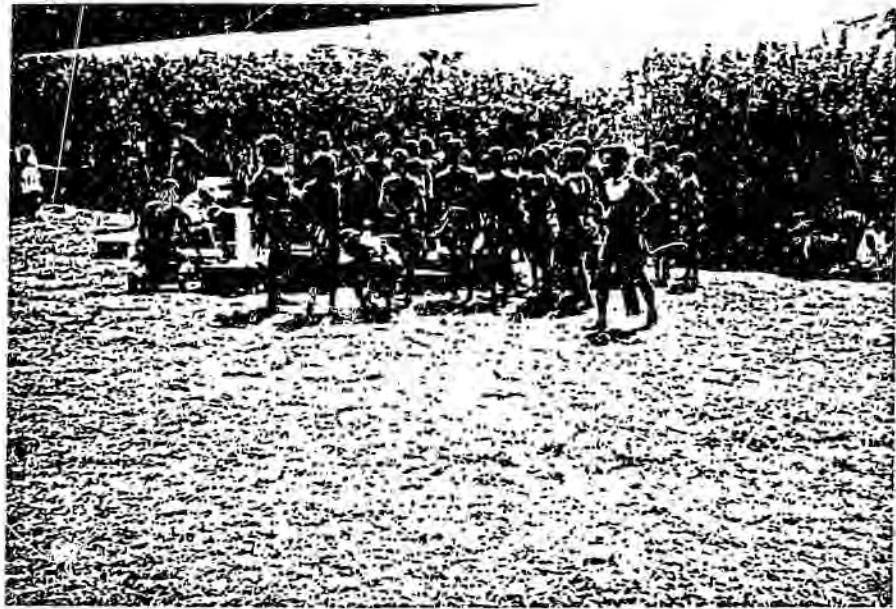
kiap in charge straight after the war chose some luluais and he worked through them. They were all big men and no one argued against them."(64) Makarai confirms that "the luluais were mainly the big men. The kiaps didn't want to just pick anybody. They chose the big men because they believed they could stop the fighting. And the luluais knew that if they didn't stop the fighting the kiap would put them in jail." Bepi Moha also endorsed the claim that the luluais were traditional big men: "The old luluai of Okazuha was Aitoveh. He is now dead. Another man, from Asarozuha, Asa-kohai is still alive. They were all big men. When they said, 'You have to stop fighting', the people stopped."(65)

When labour was recruited in 1943, the task fell largely upon ANGAU kiaps and their police, which as already noted made them unpopular among the Goroka Valley people. But Taylor and Black, by appointing strong luluais in the villages from which recruits were drawn, astutely turned that resentment away from themselves onto the village leaders. The extent of village resentment against ANGAU in 1943 should not be over-emphasised, however, as the number of Goroka Valley men actually conscripted into the carrier lines was not very large - at a guess probably no more than 100. As the ANGAU and Bena Force records clearly establish,

64 Soso Subi of Asarozuha, interviewed at his house next to Goroka Market, 2.8.73.

65 Bepi Moha, interviewed at Goroka Teachers College, 16.7.73.





Carriers and labourers at the Bena airstrip.

Top: Alfred Gallucci believed these carriers were Chimbus. The man wearing the kina shell supports this claim, as Goroka Valley people preferred the kumu kumu (egg cowrie).  
Below: The women in this photo, carrying sacks of vegetables on their heads are probably local villager gardeners. One of the American pilots is photographing their 'wantoks'. The prohibition placed on Australian soldiers regarding cameras does not seem to have applied to Americans.

( A Gallucci photos )

the vast majority of carriers were Chibus, chosen for their positive attitude to manual labour, their reliability and their strong physiques. By September 1943 there were 3400 Chibus working for Bena Force, mostly employed as carriers and road builders.(66) In early September 1,120 of those men were engaged in the construction of the Bena Bena - Kainantu road, but the bulk of the remainder were used as carriers or labourers supplying and building up the forward posts. To avoid having to feed and house a large number of Chimbu carriers based permanently at Goroka, the lines were assembled in Chimbu when a supply patrol was required. The men would then walk to Goroka, pick up the stores and head off for the designated forward post or to the staging post at Dengaragu (Denglagu). However there were occasions when supplies were required urgently and the Chimbu routine was impracticable. For such emergency situations a small labour pool was maintained at the Goroka Compound at "Island Bush", comprised largely of men recruited from the surrounding villages. Those men living close to Goroka probably did more than a fair share of this unpopular work, as Makarai and Goulopa testify. At least one man of Asarozuha clan, Aizjo Ovaneso, managed to steer clear of the recruiters by hiding in the bush during the day time, which had the dual effect of avoiding the Japanese air raids on Goroka and not having to work

66 F N Warner Shand, ADO, Ramu District, 12 September 1943, Appendix 207 B, ANGAU War Diary, NG L Of C Area, District Officers Report, Ramu, August-September 1943. Australian War Memorial Archives, Canberra.

as a carrier: "At the end of the day we would return from our hiding places in the bush and cook our food. At the first crack of dawn we would be up and off before the planes began their bombing again. I was only once caught by the kiap and made to work on the big airstrip at the time it was built. At that time all my wantoks worked together on the airstrip, but I always managed to avoid going on long carrying trips with them. I just didn't want to get involved in the War like the other young fellows did."(67)

#### PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TO THE WAR

Trying not to get involved in the white man's war was an important preoccupation of the Goroka Valley people, even though few if any were successful. A common reaction of people was that this was the gorohave's 'rova', and that they should get on and fight it without disturbing everyone else. The inconsistency of kiaps telling villagers before the War that fighting was wrong, and now demanding that everyone must join together and fight the common enemy, was not an issue. The issue was that the European war was nothing to do with the local people. "Of course Europeans told us not to fight", people said, "but when they began to fight themselves, that only confirmed for us that they were human beings too." Traditionally when one clan fought

67 Aizjo Ovaneso of Asarozuha, interviewed at Goroka Council Chambers, 5.7.84.

another clan, they did not expect every clan in the valley to join in. True each clan had its small group of allies, who on occasions would give assistance against a stronger enemy, but the concept of total war, where everyone joined in over a dispute which only involved a few clans, was quite foreign. When asked about their attitudes to the War, Gorokans generally reply in these terms. It was the Europeans' War, they chose to fight the Japanese, and New Guineans should not have had to be involved.

The Goroka interpreter Inapo Kaug expressed this view when talking about his war experiences: "The War came up and I wanted to have nothing to do with the fighting. I said, 'When you Australians have finished your War I will come and sit with you again.' I went around with them very reluctantly, and believe me it was hard work. ANGAU still owes me K10 to this day."(68) Makarai Bobe reacted similarly: "Although the kiap told us we must fight, we firmly answered, 'No, this is your war.' When the guns went off and the bombs fell around us, we said, 'This fighting is not for us' and we ran away into the bush."(69) It was not only guns and bombs which disrupted village life and turned people against the War. As Makarai noted, a very simple domestic issue also made the villagers angry: "Another thing was that the white men told us we couldn't cook our food, because the

68 Inapo Kaug, interviewed at Uheto, Goroka, 23.5.76.

69 Makarai Bobe, op cit.

smoke from our fire would reveal our positions to the Japanese. When we couldn't cook our food we got very upset and wanted to run away." Councillor Kirupanu Esau of Seigu when interviewed by Goroka Teachers College students in 1975 drew their attention to his people's attitude that it was very definitely "the white man's War" which they were all most reluctantly caught up in. Kirupanu wanted these young New Guineans to appreciate that Europeans were responsible for the fighting and it was not by choice that New Guineans were involved in it.(70)

#### VEGETABLE GROWING

Although only a small number of Goroka Valley men were conscripted as carriers, just about every member of Goroka and Bena Bena society was involved in the War in other ways. A general task which was important but not so onerous as carrying cargo was the growing of vegetables to feed the labourers, carrier lines, troops and hospital patients. Most, if not all, villagers were organised by ANGAU to contribute to food production. And ANGAU reports are full of praise for the way in which the people cooperated without undue coercion. Reluctant carriers they may have been, but as enthusiastic market gardeners they had no equal. In May 1943 John Black was instructed by

70 "Urban Village Report", by Ufao Billio, Sister Margaret Vianney, Margaret Aufe and Henry Matsangki, Social Science Department, Goroka Teachers College, 1975 (roneod typescript).

Brigadier Donald Cleland that one of ANGAU's tasks in the Highlands was to "arrange as far as practicable, for a regular supply of native foods."(71) In August Captain H E (Hammy) Hamilton was organising local food supplies for the workers constructing the Bena Bena - Kainantu vehicular road, and the Acting District Officer, F N Warner Shand reported on 12 September that "the BENA BENA natives have a most important task in feeding the majority of the CHIMBU labour."(72) He noted that a population which did not exceed much more than 24,000 was feeding approximately 2400 Chimbu labourers "who eat at least 10 pounds of sweet potatoes per head per day." He concluded: "To supply food sufficient for the needs of the CHIMBU labour is a very large task and the fact that sufficient food is being provided speaks well for the Native Situation and the cooperation of the BENA BENA native ...." He elaborates on this theme in a later section of his 12 September Report, explaining that until the beginning of 1943 the people were concerned only with the growth of sufficient food for their own needs:

"Without undue strain on the local population we have been successful in obtaining sufficient food for the large number of native labour required in the Sub-District to handle the requirements of Bena Force. It has not been easy but has entailed much

71 Brigadier D Cleland, DA and QMG, New Guinea Force. Secret ANGAU Administrative Instruction, 28 May 1943, ANGAU War Diary, Australian War Memorial Archives, Canberra.

72 F N Warner Shand, op cit.

peaceful persuasion and schooling of the population to bring to the various labour compounds and camps regular supplies of food. Natives have had to be constantly urged to plant larger gardens than accustomed to and have been frequently shown how the regular supply of food is at present their main work in the war effort. New gardens take time before they are ready for harvesting and in pre-war times the native was accustomed to face a lean time between the middle of the 'Dry' season and two or three months after the commencement of the 'Wet', which has now begun. However the local natives have been, with organisation, up to now able to provide sufficient food for the labour without themselves going hungry."

Warner Shand does not point out that the rains had come early in 1943.(73) In some years the 'wet' season does not arrive until October or November, and if that had happened he may not have been able to report so enthusiastically. However his claim that the local people responded to ANGAU's urging to grow more food, and met all the production targets in a spirit of cooperation, is born out by the people's own testimony. Whereas those who were forced to carry cargo speak with bitterness of their experiences, the market gardeners bear no grievances, and mention their achievements casually, if at all. Of course it could be argued that as most of the people interviewed about their war-time experiences were men, the picture is somewhat distorted. In

73 Warner Shand was a patrol officer based at Kundiawa in the Chimbu Sub-District from December 1940 to January 1942. He was probably well aware of the favourable weather, but wishing to emphasise the success of the vegetable-growing project, concentrated on the cooperation between ANGAU and the local people rather than on the early onset of the wet season. His report bears the marks of a man with considerable experience of the Highlands and its people.



Top: Women gardeners,  
Bena Bena, 1941.  
(A. Robertson  
photo)



Left: 'Official' food  
gardens, Bena  
airstrip, 1943.  
(A. Gallucci  
photo)

Below: Little Bena  
girl with her  
mother's  
digging stick.  
(A. Robertson  
photo)





traditional New Guinea society, most of the day to day gardening labour is performed by women. However men are responsible for the heavy work of clearing and preparing the garden plots, and as a large increase of acreage would have been required to meet ANGAU's production demands, it can be assumed that the men did a fair share of the work. Aino of Okazuha states that most of his war-time work as a luluai was connected with food production-growing vegetables and raising pigs. He was paid by ANGAU, mainly in shell money.(74) Makarai suggests that children also played an important part in supplying vegetables to Bena Force:

"During the time of the air-raids we moved all our women and children away from Goroka, and put them in safe places up in the hills. Only the men stayed near the airstrip. After the Japanese planes had gone people would bring food down to the workers around the airstrip and the station, and the soldiers or kiaps would buy the food from them. They paid for the food with girigiri shells, tobacco, salt and matches. Often it was the strong, young boys who came with the food. It was grown back in the villages, not around the airstrip, although there were official food gardens around Humilaveka. This station food was grown to feed labourers and carriers etc. who were based at Humilaveka, but probably not enough to supply everyone. So the young boys brought food for them too. It was put in the store house, and scaled out to the various groups." [Goroka interview, 23-6 34]

Warner Shand referred to the "official" food gardens also. Jim Taylor's large kaukau plantings which he established on the

74 Aino of Joypaloka ("Airpos") hamlet, Okazuha, interviewed 12.8.82.

slopes leading down from the Hapatoka terrace at Bena Bena in 1936, were replanted by ANGAU in 1943, providing sufficient food when harvested in September to "relieve local demands for that compound for about two months ...." Extensive areas around the Goroka and Makia compounds (Makia was the half-way point between Bena Bena and Goroka) were also brought under cultivation by "natives (labourers) on light duties after carrying trips." Similar projects were begun at Mount Hagen ("30 acres of native food planted near the airstrip"), at Korn Farm in the Wahgi Valley ("fresh vegetables in abundance") and at Mingende in the Chimbu Sub-District ("where Philippino Enkera is producing a good yield of native food.") Although the intention in 1943 was to grow food to meet local demands, the potential of the Highland gardens to supply troops, hospital patients and labourers in other areas was soon realised, particularly by the Americans. As early as July 1943 when the 2/2 Independent Company was being flown in to Goroka the American pilots of the C47s (DC3s) were seeking back-loading of Highland vegetables for their troops.(75) After the capture of Lae and the establishment of large military hospitals in the area the possible supply of Goroka vegetables to this important centre of American activity was envisaged. Not only was kaukau (sweet potato) available, but also plentiful supplies of European vegetables such as peas and beans, potatoes,

75 Don Latimer, Mick Mannix, et al, op cit.

spinnach, cabbage, cauliflower and lettuce.(76) Jim Taylor relates how this factor guaranteed the continued use of the Goroka airstrip after it was no longer required to supply Bena Force:

"When I took over as ANGAU District Officer at the end of 1943 the authorities told me they would do their best to supply me, but not to expect things like butter. But later in 1944, after the theatre of war had moved further north, they said, 'We are afraid the Highlands won't be able to be supplied by air from now on'. But I knew an American officer who was the son of the geography specialist at John Hopkins University, with whom I had had dealings before the War, and I told him about our predicament. He said, 'We've got to do something about that. If you can guarantee us enough supply of fresh vegetables and we can satisfy the Airforce quartermaster, then you'll have it.' So I went in to my ANGAU superiors and they said, 'Sorry, it looks as if your Goroka airstrip will be closed down.' But I told them about the American arrangement for vegetables and they realised they were caught. Not that they wanted to close down, but they didn't want me to have butter! So it worked."(77)

The contribution of "Bena Bena and New Garoka" vegetables to the well-being of American servicemen in New Guinea is briefly acknowledged by Craven and Cate in their history of the US Army

76 This list of European vegetables was supplied by Don Latimer, op cit, from his observations at Sigoiya, Bena Bena. Added to it would be both local and imported vegetables, sch as sweet corn, squash and tomatoes. At Kundiawa, Costelloe supplied his guests with strawberries and cream, as did John B (Jock) Mackay at Mount Hagen in 1944. (Source: T G Aitchison, interview 18.7.84, and Robert G Bowman, "Army Farms and Agricultural Development in the South-west Pacific", Geographical Review, Vol 36, 1946, p 420.

77 Jim Taylor, interview 5.4.83.

Air Forces in World War 2,(78) and Robert G Bowman, in a general article on army farms and agricultural development in the southwest Pacific in 1944, wrote enthusiastically about the production and supply of Highland vegetables:

"Without the personal experience it is difficult to appreciate the craving of men forced to subsist for months at a time on packaged and canned foods for fresh fruits, vegetables, meat, eggs, butter and milk. Early in the war in the Pacific it was realized that such foods were needed not only to make up for nutritional deficiencies but - even more important in the short-range picture - to improve troop morale. It is not surprising that the attention of entire commands as well as of individual soldiers should early focus on the prospects for gardens and a local supply of fresh food."(79)

Against this background Bowman sketches the details of the growing American interest in the Highlands as a source of supply of fresh vegetables. He suggests that Nadzab, rather than the town of Lae itself was the destination for most of this garden food. Nearly 40,000 American air-corps troops were stationed at "the great air base at Nadzab" during the first 8 months of 1944. Up until May cargoes of surplus crops were collected on a somewhat haphazard basis, but during that month Bowman states he was able to work out with the Australians a scheme whereby "we

78 W F Craven and J L Cate (Eds). The Army Air Forces in World War II, Volume 4, The Pacific: Guadalcanal to Saipan, August 1942 to July 1944. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p 200.

79 Bowman, op cit, p 200.

were to supply the planes on a regular weekly schedule, and in return for produce given us by the Australians we agreed to transport ANGAU supplies and personnel to and from the plateau...."(80) The American troops became the grateful recipients of native-grown peas, onions, cabbage, silverbeet, turnips, squash, Irish potatoes, tomatoes, lettuce, radishes, beets, carrots "and even strawberries". Bowman says it was estimated that from the start about 7 plane loads of vegetables (28,000 pounds) were available each week from gardens on the plateau and that this amount could be increased to about 5 planeloads a day (140,000 pounds a week) within 3 months as existing gardens alongside the airstrips were expanded and natives were encouraged to bring in surplus food from their own village gardens. He qualifies these estimates by pointing out that the maximum pay load of a DC3 at 5000 to 6000 feet a.s.l. was 4000 pounds "so that these figures represent outside limits." Nevertheless the potential for a flourishing Highlands agricultural industry was enormous, and Bowman looked forward to the post-war period when vegetable growing could be established on a commercial basis, bringing great benefits to the native population.

Bowman concludes that the project was never wholly successful, but neither was it a failure. Bad weather and non-availability of aircraft, shortage of seed and dependence on hand labour,

80 Bowman was attached for 2 years to the Operations Analysis Section of the Far East Air Forces, during which time he visited Army farms in New Guinea, the Solomons, the Philippines, etc.

meant that the estimated targets were not reached. However by July of 1944 the troops at Nadzab were receiving "about 60,000 pounds of fresh vegetables each month from the plateau." (81) Produce was distributed in the ratio of two shares to hospitals and one share to combat units.

It can be assumed that most village communities in the Goroka Valley were involved in vegetable growing in 1943 and 1944, although those people living some distance from the two main airfields at Goroka and Bena Bena would have come under less pressure to meet production targets than those in the more immediate vicinity, who were the recipients of regular ANGAU attention. The deliberate introduction by ANGAU of the seeds of exotic vegetables for distribution among the villages had a positive effect on the local people, insofar as their diet was improved and the prospects for future economic activity were enhanced. This is not to underplay the pre-war contribution of missionaries and agricultural officers who, it must be remembered, introduced many fruits and vegetables for the benefit of the villagers. ANGAU's role was to reinforce this agricultural development by showing people the commercial possibilities of fruit and vegetable growing. Also Bowman's list of imported vegetables includes some items, such as silver beet, turnips, squash and radishes, which may not have been known pre-war.

81 Bowman, op cit, p 440.

## CONTACT WITH AMERICAN TROOPS

One question raised by the American interest in Highland vegetables is the amount of contact which actually occurred between the American troops and the Goroka Valley people. Margaret Mead and others have written about the profound impact which thousands of American soldiers had on local populations, particularly in places like Manus.(82) John Black states that this wartime contact with both American and Australian soldiers "gave the coastal people an appreciation of their full stature as human beings - it enabled them to have an appreciation of themselves as full citizens, in every way equal to Europeans."(83) But as has already been noted, the number of American personnel stationed in the Goroka Valley was very small. American aircraft pilots and crews were of course constant short-term visitors, bringing Australian troops and supplies and flying out cargoes of fresh vegetables. Some came as tourists and joyriders, providing a few local people with a certain amount of interest and entertainment,(84) but by and large there was little

82 See M Mead. 1956. New Lives For Old - Cultural Transformation - Manus, 1928 - 1953. New York: Wm Morrow & Co, especially ch 7, "The Unforeseeable: The Coming of the American Army", pp 163 - 187.

83 John Black, interviewed at Joslin, South Australia, Tuesday 4 and Wednesday 5 August 1981. The context of this comment was a conversation on the effects of World War 2 on the people of Papua New Guinea and the particular effect of Australian soldiers.

84 Mick Mannix tells an amusing story of "joy-riding" American airmen who flew into Goroka in late 1943 for a "huntin', shootin'

or no contact between Gorokans and airmen. However those Americans stationed on the ground did have some effect on their New Guinean neighbours, although as Mick Mannix points out: "ANGAU was pretty strict about having anything to do with the natives, more strict with the Americans than with us." (85) Strictness aside, it was necessary for the Americans to employ some local workers, particularly with regard to the preparation of gun placements around the airfields. Gama men, who owned most of the land along the western side of the Goroka airstrip, remember working with American soldiers, helping them to dig ditches and put machine guns in place. (86) Harimo of Ha'na'zuha recalled a similar experience:

"The guns were installed at Gama, Seigu and Ha'na'zuha and also up on Mount Kiss (Sitani). I remember that in a small ditch at the end of the airstrip there was a place for a machine gun chosen by the Americans. We were told to dig a trench around it. I worked on this with my wantok from Seigu. When a plane came from the direction of Lufa they told us to get into a hole so we all ran and hid ourselves. The soldiers ran to this machine gun and put on their hats and got the gun ready to shoot the plane down. The plane came over and shot some

and fishin'" expedition, equipped with their own jeep for sightseeing. In gratitude for the good time given to them by the Australian soldiers, they made a parting gift of the jeep to the Goroka garrison. Mannix comments: "We did have another one but it was running on kunai vines for its fan belt, so this one was very welcome." (Mick Mannix, op cit.)

85 Mick Mannix, op cit.

86 Gopie Ataiamelaho and other Gama elders, interviewed at Gama, 29.8.74.



bullets and the soldiers fired back. The plane dived down at us and its roaring engine and the sounds of the guns firing terrified us."(87)

Ai-a of Koloka claims that it was American soldiers who made their camp on his ground: "They stayed here and cut down trees and bamboos for materials for their houses. My people all moved away to a place west of here and those Americans took over Koloka village."(88) Ai-a's wantok Kizekize Obaneso added to his story:

"When the War came there were Australian and American soldiers here and they dug tunnels here at Koloka and down near the airstrip. They also dug holes and put the guns in them. At that time there were no trees like there are today and the villages were out in the open. That is why the soldiers made tunnels. They hid in these tunnels when the Japanese came to bomb us and then they came up and shot at the planes. We village people ran away into the kunai. The Japanese bombed every place. bullets came down like rain water, making a sound like 'rat-tat-tat'. The bombs burned the kunai too. The planes didn't fly high - they were close to the ground. If a bullet or a bomb hit one of us, that person died. The bombs did not discriminate between white and black."(89)

All of these Goroka informants were able to distinguish between American and Australian soldiers, but unlike the members of Bena force they did not draw comparisons regarding rations and equipment. Bepi Moha noticed that the Americans were very

87 Hanimo Auwo, interviewed at Ha'na'zuha, 22.4.76.

88 Ai-a of Koloka, op cit.

89 Kizekize Obaneso, interviewed at Koloka, 13.8.74.

generous in the gifts of food and cigarettes they gave to New Guineans, but their generosity was not markedly different from that of the Australian soldiers: "About the food in the Wartime, it was plentiful. Some of the soldiers didn't like their food and they gave it to us. There was sugar, tinned 'bulamakau' meat - we were never short of this kind of kai. They always had plenty to give us and I was happy to stay on with them and work for them."(90) Bepi recalls meeting "lots of Americans" at Kapokamarigi (the Bena Bena radar station) and "their uniforms were khaki and they had pockets all over their arms and legs, and each pocket seemed to hold cigarettes. They had tons of food, even chickens, and when they had dealings with us local people they would give us some of this food."(91) However this American generosity seems to have been matched by the Australians, at least to New Guinean eyes. Stack Aizje, who "went around with the Australian soldiers at Asaroka" remembers how they were all crowded into Helbig's house and "they had so many supplies of food they could not eat them all, so they gave us rice and tinned meat as much as we wanted."(92) Aizjo Ovaneso, who managed to slip through ANGAU's carrier recruitment net, was still able to develop good relations with Bena Force soldiers: "We got on well with the soldiers. They gave us food and tobacco. They were

90 Bepi Moha, interview 16.7.73.

91 Bepi Moha, interview 5.4.83.

92 Stack Aizje, a government interpreter interviewed with Makarai and Buffe at the District (Sub-Provincial) Office, North Goroka, 28.6.84.

very friendly fellows."(93) Thus it can be concluded that American soldiers had no special influence on the Goroka Valley people, but were included in the people's general attitude of good will towards the military.

#### CLASHES WITH SOLDIERS

These harmonious relationships between the soldiers and the locals occasionally came unstuck when rules regarding property were violated. The people of Koloka were not happy when their village land was compulsorily acquired for an army camp and storage dump, and their trees and bamboo clumps were cut down for building materials. This seems to be the only instance where a dwelling area was interfered with, and resentment by the inhabitants may have lingered on into the post-war period when the Administration's request to include a section of Asarozuha clan land within the town boundary was refused. (Koloka was part of Asarozuha.)

A more serious clash developed between Bena Force and the Gama clan people of Gepahina hamlet. It is claimed that a shortage of native food drove some men to steal rations from the soldiers' camp, and during the attempt they were shot by the sentries. The following day a meeting was held between the villagers and the soldiers, but violence flared again and several more men were

93 Aizjo Ovaneso of Asarozuha, op cit.

shot, including two leading warriors. So after this a big conference was held and the Army agreed to pay compensation of bags of salt, axes and knives for those who had been killed, in return for an undertaking that no more stealing would occur. As one old man of Gepahina commented, "There was not a good relationship between us and our European masters at that time."(94)

#### MEMORIES OF JAPANESE AIR RAIDS

People who lived close to Goroka, Asaroka and Bena Bena, where the dangers of war were most acute, are able to relate some vivid stories of the Japanese air raids in 1943. Observations such as that of Kizekize that "bullets came down like rain water" and "bombs did not discriminate between white and black" are as pertinent as they are colourful. The Gama men who saw a Chimbu "cookboy" blown to pieces by a Japanese bomb during the building of the Goroka airstrip later inspected bomb fragments which were "broken pieces of steel and razor-blade like objects."(95) They also claim to have fired arrows at the enemy planes, running the

94 Gama clan informants of Gopahina hamlet, relating their wartime experiences to Dominic Lawton, Michael Wal and Posa Katao (Goroka Teachers College Social Science students), 16.10.72. They are probably referring to the raid on 3 July, when "1 native killed, 2 wounded".

95 ibid. This was probably the raid of 24 July which, according to the 2/7 War Diary occurred at 1400 hours. However the Diarist reported "nil damage or casualties".

risk of deadly retaliation from the men in the air. These and similar incidents shocked many Gorokans, including Inapo Kaug, who worked for ANGAU as an interpreter:

"One day at 2 o'clock we were working on the airstrip. We had waited for the morning Japanese air raid, but they didn't come so everyone just kept on working. There were lots of men and women doing jobs around the airstrip. But suddenly the sky was full of enemy planes and everyone tried to run for cover. But 5 Chibus who were cutting kunai with their sarifs, were too slow to get away. We went into the trenches and the soldiers started firing the machine guns. The Japanese dropped bombs on the airstrip and at least one of those Chibus was killed. I got a big cut on my cheek."(96)

Mahabi Ihoyane of Mohoweto West helped extend the Bena airstrip at Hapatoka and worked on the construction of bush materials huts, only to see the results of his labours destroyed by the Japanese in several devastating air raids. He believes that some labourers were killed by a bomb which made a direct hit on the trench in which they were sheltering. Others were victims of Japanese bullets fired from the planes as they strafed the camp. Mahabi was quite relieved to get away from Hapatoka when he was required to carry Bena Force stores to Kainantu. Later again he worked with John Black maintaining the road system and spent some time in 1944 or 1945 at the Aiyura Agricultural Station all of which was greatly preferable to his experiences under Japanese

96 Inapo Kaug, interview 20.4.76.



Top: Rick Giddings beside section of the V.12 designed engine of the 'Tony'



Centre: Author being shown the shorn-off wing of the Japanese fighter. It has been covered by silt from the Nama-Namba (Big Bird) creek at Porum Buruma .

Below: Porum Buruma villagers with remains of Japanese pilot, which were exhumed and returned to Japan in 1976. Japanese authorities were unable to identify the pilot.

To face p.393.



attack at Hapatoka.(97)

The fighting was not all one-sided. The men on the ground sometimes gave as good as they got. The Bena Force diarist recorded on 24 July 1943 that during an air raid on Humilaveka by 13 'zeroes' and 2 bombers "the transport section of this Unit, acting as A/A defence force to this HQ, fired a magazine from each of 2 brens. Both guns claim hits." The ANGAU diary contains an entry by Lieutenant J P White on the same day stating that he had seen "13 enemy fighters followed by 7 4-engined bombers flying NNW from the Bena Bena area. One (was) flying very low." The following day two men from Forum Buruma, near Kwongi in the Upper Asaro, arrived at White's camp to report that a Japanese fighter had indeed crashed in the mountains close to their village.

In June 1976 I accompanied District Officer Rick Giddings to Forum Buruma to locate the crash site and the remains of the Japanese pilot, who had been buried nearby. The Japanese authorities informed the PNG Government that no records of the pilot or his plane had survived the war. The pilot's remains

97 Mahabi Ihoyani, interviewed at Mohoweto West, 16.7.82. Mahabi had worked pre-war for Mick Leahy and carried cargo to Telefomin for Taylor and Black during their Hagen-Sepik Patrol in 1938-39. The 2/7 Independent Company Diary entry for 16 June 1943 reads: "1113-1140. 18 bombers and 22 fighters pattern bombed BENA AIRFIELD. 3 natives killed. 30 HE bombs up to 500 lbs and incendiaries dropped."

were subsequently returned to Japan. The V12 engine of the plane is still lying in the Porum Buruma creek, which the local people re-named Nama-Namba (Big Bird), in memory of the aircraft. Although the Bena Force diarist thought the fighters were Zeros (Mitsubishi A6M5s) Rick Giddings believes this plane was a Kawasaki Ki61 Hien (Swallow), known to the Allies as a "Tony".

The Porum Buruma people found the pilot's body suspended from a tree and sections of the plane were scattered along the creek bed. After burying the body they were required by the ANGAU officer to carry the instrument panel and other parts of the plane's mechanism to Goroka. Lieutenant White told them that the authorities were interested in finding out how this Japanese plane worked. Mick Mannix recalls an American Marine Intelligence officer and a sergeant coming through Asaroka, after having recovered parts of the wreckage for trans-shipment to the USA for expert examination. "They told us it was not a Zero as we knew it but a new type. The pilot had a pistol and a bush-knife." The people felt sorry for the dead pilot and one spokesman claimed they had cared for his grave in the intervening years. There was no special marker but they knew its exact location. As no Japanese ground patrols entered the Goroka Valley this was probably the only occasion that people came into close contact with a Japanese serviceman, albeit a dead one.

At Sigoiya (Bena Force headquarters) a local man, Jopee Gobiasa, who had been influenced by SDA missionaries before the War, "just



stood under a tree while the air raids were on for I believed God would help me. Of course I wasn't baptised then, so I wasn't a real Christian, but I still believed God would preserve me, and he did." Jopee claims that his people had more to fear from the Australian soldiers than the Japanese because they used to shoot their pigs, and when the villagers got angry and followed the Australians to their tents to reclaim the pigs the soldiers would grab their rifles, fire false bullets from them, and frighten everyone away.(98)

Jopee's experience of standing under a tree is reminiscent of Pastor Buko's story of taking shelter under an orange tree at Asaroka, while Japanese planes strafed and bombed the mission station. It is not the sort of account that appears in the ANGAU or Bena Force reports, but would not be out of place in a missionary journal:

"In the morning we had prayers with some of the 'black mission' wives and children and soon after an aeroplane flew over the station. I told the women and children to go and hide down below saying to them, 'This aeroplane has seen us and soon plenty more will come.' The officer said, 'What sort of plane was that? And I replied, 'A white one.' He said, 'Oh, that's a Jap plane. I think they will come and bomb us now.' Then the sky was thick with planes. Where was I to hide? The soldier sang out, 'Boss-boi, come here. We'll go and hide in a hole. But I replied, 'No, you go, and I'll hide somewhere else.' Planes came roaring overhead and I stood against the trunk of an orange tree. The pilot in

the plane looked down and saw me. Then he fired his guns, but none of the bullets hit me. I stood up against the tree like a piece of wood. At this moment God overshadowed me and protected me. The bullets flew to all sides of me. As I stood there I saw a plane drop a bomb which hit my bush materials house. Everything I owned was finished, blown to bits. A piece of bomb shrapnel passed by but it did not hit me. God was looking after me.

After the Japs had finished their work, they flew off. Then the officer came up to me and asked, 'Where did you hide?' I replied, 'I stood up in this very spot. The bullets went all around me.' And he said, 'You are a man of great faith - one of God's men. No-one, anywhere, does things like that, only you. All the soldiers and their leader came and shook my hand and said, 'You are one of God's men.'"(99)

Difficult as it may be to credit the Bena Force lads with such religious discernment, they would certainly have paid tribute to the cool courage of this remarkable New Guinean. Buko cemented the good relations with the Australian soldiers by organising the local people into continuing the production of rye for bread which Missionary Helbig had begun before the War. "When the War came up the kiaps told us to plant food for the soldiers so that they would be strong and would continue to fight. For this reason we grew rye, which looked something like rice. When it was dry we cut it, bagged it and sent it off to the soldiers."

An Asaro man, Sipane Halakue, who had helped the Lutheran missionaries select the site of their Asaroka station in the mid-

99 Pastor Buko Usemo, from a public lecture given by him at Goroka, 7.8.74. Transcript in my possession.

thirties, worked for the Australians at Asaroka in 1943. He states that after the departure of Helbig (on 23 March, 1943) he worked with the ANGAU kiap to put obstacles (ditches and posts) on the airstrip to prevent Japanese planes from landing on it. Prior to that John Black had come to tell the police that they must look after the local people well and not hit them.(100) This confirms John Black's own account of the state of lawlessness he found when walking through the Upper Asaro on his way from Madang to Bena Bena in January 1943. As his party entered the first of the Asaro villages a man came up to Black and said, "The police have terrorised the valley." The policeman in charge of the area was summoned and admitted to having raped a local woman. He was flogged in front of the villagers to reassure them that in spite of the War, Australian justice still prevailed. As John Black got nearer to Bena Bena he found further examples of police outrages. It was not safe for women to walk abroad. It appeared that the police had farmed out areas where they had rights to the women. Black very quickly put a stop to this abuse of power, arresting several police and removing them from the District. One ANGAU officer tried to excuse the lax supervision of the police by claiming that if they were restrained they might take revenge on the European kiaps. But John Black, drawing on his years of experience as a patrol officer, pointed out that this was more likely to happen if

100 Sipane Halakue, interviewed at Gimisave No 1 village, Asaro, on 29.4.76.

Europeans showed signs of weakness. Also it was essential that the local people maintain confidence in the Administration, and this would certainly not occur if police tyranny was allowed to prevail. He noted that the Goroka Valley people gave a collective sigh of relief when the rule of law was restored.(101)

This incident suggests that it was not only the Japanese air raids that threatened the wellbeing of the Asaro people. However it was the destruction which came from the air which left a lasting impression. Sipane recalls: "We were terrified when the bombs dropped and we would run for our lives and hide in the pit pit. Sometimes we would watch in amazement as planes fought each other in the air. We had never seen this kind of warfare before."(102) He makes the interesting observation that "because the kiaps and soldiers were such important people the Japanese dropped lots of bombs around Asaroka station." He reaches the very valid conclusion that if Europeans had not been there, there would have been no air raids and the local people would have had a much less dangerous existence. However nobody in the Asaroka area appears to have been killed as a result of the bombing.

Several informants relate how warning device systems at both

101 John Black, op cit.

102 The 2/7 War Diary entry for 8 July reads: ASALOKA 1028. Enemy fighters were engaged by P38s. NGF report 2 enemy fighters shot down, 4 damaged.

Goroka and Asaroka effectively reduced the number of casualties from air raids. According to Makarai a bell was rung on Mountain Kiss (Mt Sitani), which is in a commanding position between Humilaveka and the big airstrip. However a more reliable system involving rifle shots was devised - three shots to warn of the approach of Japanese planes, two shots to signal the all-clear, and one shot to signify that the planes were American or Australian. This system worked well, saving many lives and Makarai believes it was adopted at Asaroka too.(103) Another eye-witness, Goruwaijo Akiriha of Gehamo, told Rick Giddings that he was chosen by the 2IC of Bena Force at Humilaveka to operate a flag-waving warning system on Mount Sitani:

"I was sent there with a Bena lad named Gorogoro'ja. We were told how to identify the different types of aircraft. It was our job to raise a long bamboo pole with a piece of white calico attached to it if a Japanese plane came over. If we saw an Australian plane we would raise a pole with a red flag on it. We were to wave these around and so alert the soldiers camped around the Goroka area as to the identity of the plane. We would identify the planes by the markings on their wings .... (later) the OIC told us to leave the flag and he took us back to Humilaveka. The soldiers were happy to see us return because they knew that we were the ones who had waved the flags and given them warning and so saved their lives. They sat us down on chairs and gave us food to eat."(104)

103 Makarai, interview 28.6.84.

104 Goruwaijo Akiriha of Gehamo, interviewed by Rick Giddings, 8.11.83. Goruwaijo was a tultul (village official) at Gehamo, ca 1946-59. I am indebted to Rick Giddings for a copy of a transcript of this interview.

It would appear that the flag-waving was done before the construction of the new airstrip, when there were not many native labourers employed, and the aircraft alert was mainly for the benefit of the small garrison of 2/7 Independent Company soldiers. Once the large labour force of Chimbu and Goroka Valley workers was assembled - Goruwaijo says, 'the people came in hordes, young and old alike, singing as they came' - the clanging of bells and firing of rifles would have become the more effective method of alerting the population.

#### CHINESE AT GOROKA

Recalling the first Japanese attack on Humilaveka, Goruwaijo said: "Five men were killed in that raid. Their bodies were cut to pieces - just like slaughtered pigs. We lads gathered together their dismembered remains. ~~There~~ were Chinese men." Goruwaijo also claimed that earlier in the year a contingent of Chinese "soldiers" had arrived on foot at Goroka, accompanied by women, who were dressed in Army clothes like the men. The people cried over these ladies, for although they wore men's clothing, they were not trained soldiers, and they were afraid they would be killed in the fighting. I was inclined to dismiss this story as there is no mention of Chinese in the Bena Force or ANGAU record, but when interviewed in Sydney in July 1984, Tommy Aitchison related how he and several ANGAU colleagues had escorted some Chinese refugees from the Sepik to Bena Bena in

early 1943.(105) This epic journey was reported by the Melbourne Argus on 23 February 1943. The Argus war correspondent, Geoffrey Hutton, wrote that there were 27 Chinese, including two babies in arms and two men of nearly 70, who "stood up to the gruelling marches without flinching."

A similar escape from the coast to the Highlands involving Chinese refugees, is described by a New Ireland ex-school teacher, Pelis Mazakmat. Pelis was appointed first teacher to the new government primary school in Madang in 1941,(106) and

105 T G (Tommy) Aitchison, interviewed at Schofields, NSW, 18.7.84. It is somewhat puzzling that there are no official records of the presence of these Chinese refugees, but when I examined the Bena Force War Diaries at the Australian War Memorial in 1976 the 2/7 Diary for May was missing from the file. It may well refer to the bombing raid on Humilaveka and the Chinese casualties, as each raid was recorded in some detail. The absence of any reference in the ANGAU Diary to Aitchison's arrival at Goroka with his Chinese group is harder to explain, but again the records held at the War Memorial are not complete, and the notes made by the diarist are fairly sketchy. It is noted that Aitchison was at Burui in the Sepik on 1 January 1943 but there are no further references to him or his ANGAU colleagues Charlie Bates and John Milligan. One of the elderly Chinese mentioned by Hutton was a woman of about 70, according to John Milligan (phone conversation 31.7.85.)

106 With him at the Sagalau Native School near Madang was another young teacher, Advent Tarossi, a protege of John Black. When the Japanese occupied Madang, Advent escaped along the coast to his home near Sio. However he then led several Australians (probably a group which included ANGAU officer Lloyd Pursehouse) in a hazardous journey to Bena Bena from Finschhafen. Pelis believes he received a medal for his loyalty and bravery. He was delighted when Advent turned up at Bena Bena, and their companionship helped soften the pangs of separation from family and friends experienced in this alien mountain environment. John Black says that Advent Tarossi was an extremely intelligent young man, with an outlook on life which extended far beyond the parochial. He was able to read and discuss with Black, H G

when Japanese occupation was imminent in December 1942 he joined an ANGAU group led by Lieutenant Montgomery and withdrew to Bogia. As the party retreated before the Japanese they gathered up a company of civilian refugees, including more than ten Chinese men, women and children, the wives and children of native police and a German priest suspected of pro-Japanese activities. Their escape route via Bundi and Chimbu to Bena Bena was cut off by the Japanese, so they made an arduous journey lasting more than two months via Atemble and the Jimi Valley to Mount Hagen, and then walked from there to Kundiawa and Bena Bena. At one point in the Ramu, a Chinese mother called Ning Hi became separated from her two children, and was drowned while crossing the river in a desperate bid to be reunited with them. Pelis believes the surviving civilian members of the party were finally flown to Moresby, but he remained at Bena Bena to work with ANGAU. At Sigoiya he was put in charge of the rations store where he issued food to the labourers and he also toured the Bena villages, distributing vegetable seeds and demonstrating how they should be planted and nurtured. When the people harvested their vegetables and brought them to him to sell, he paid with shells but also with small knives and mirrors, paint powder for body decoration, salt and laplap material. Later, in 1944 and 1945, the latter items became very popular as the over-supply of shell

Wells' History of the World, and was critical of missionaries whom he claimed had kept from him the sort of knowledge which was contained in Wells' book. He is also mentioned by Peter Lawrence in Road Belong Cargo, op cit, pp 168, 171-2, 174-5, with regard to his important influence on Yali, the Rai Coast leader and charismatic figure.





Top: Sigoiya hill today. The telephone switchboard is hidden by trees immediately below the summit.

Centre: The S.D.A. Mission house in 1938. MacAdie made it his Bena Force headquarters in 1943. It survived the War but was demolished when the S.D.A.s abandoned the site in 1947. (Greta Gander photo)

Below: Pelis Mazakmat with some of his war-time Sigoiya friends, during his return visit in November 1975.

money made it less highly prized. Salt was always in great demand but when it was realised how effective the paint powder was as a body decoration, it became the most sought after trade item of all.

After the arrival of MacAdie and the 2/7 Independent Company, Sigoiya became the headquarters for all Bena Force activities and a telephone system linking the various camps, airstrips and outposts by land-line was set up. The central switchboard was housed in a tunnel dug into the hill at Sigoiya, which Pelis helped some Australian soldiers in the Signals section to operate:

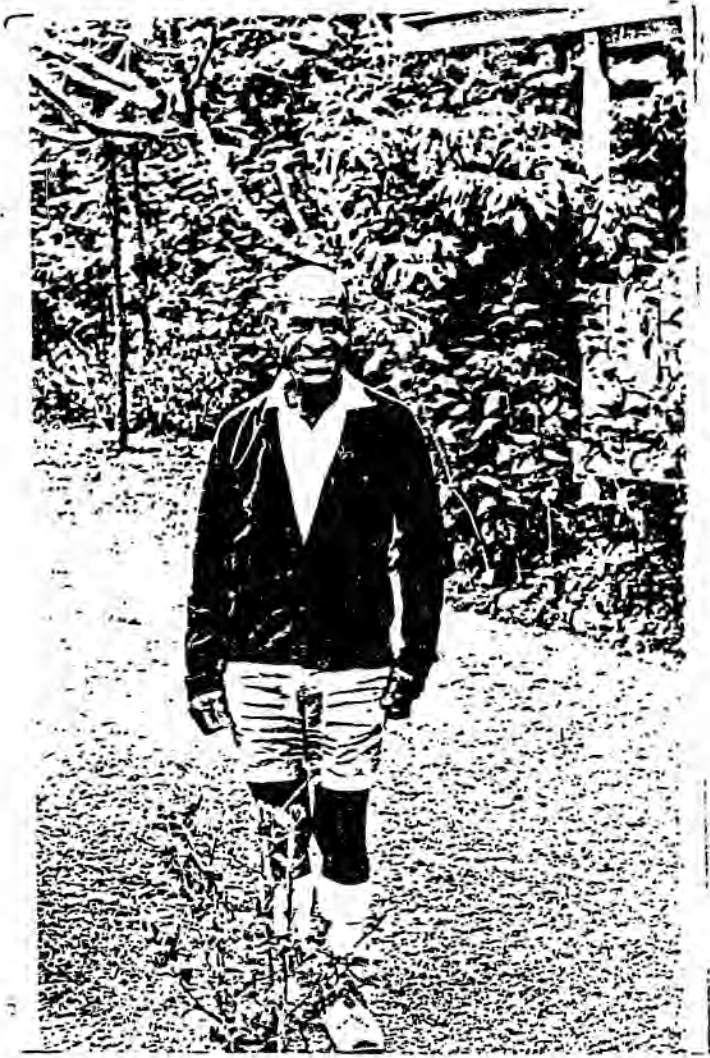
"We took it in turns and we were very safe in there because there were two entrances and the switchboard was a fair way in. Another important task was to operate the warning signal to all important officers in the area, whenever the Radar Section near Goroka warned of an approaching air raid. It was a wonderful thing to have a Radar Section as it saved our lives from enemy attacks."(107)

107 Pelis Mazakmat, of Munawai, New Ireland. In November 1974 Pelis responded to an article I had written in the 'Post Courier' about the Bena airstrip. In a two page typed letter he described his war-time experiences at Sigoiya and Goroka after the 'long march' from Madang. In November 1975 I was able to arrange for him to visit Goroka, and as well as giving a lecture at Goroka Teachers College on 18 November about his early training as a teacher and his time in the Goroka Valley, he led me to the telephone switchboard tunnel in Sigoiya hill, and pointed out other interesting military sites. The various discussions I had with him were taped, providing valuable material on the effects of the War on the Goroka Valley not readily available from other sources.

## GOROKANS INVOLVED IN SEMI-SKILLED OPERATIONS

Harry Botterill, who was in the Signals Section of the 2/2, operated the switchboard at Humilaveka after his arrival in July 1943, and he recalls that the telephone system was powered by batteries and the operator turned a handle to activate the line. He kept a log of all calls going through, and passed messages onto Laidlaw's office next door. Bepi Moha was given a job helping man the Goroka switchboard, after having worked on the installation of a telephone line from Sigoiya to the American radar camp at Kapokamarigi:

"I worked with a soldier called John in the control room. When he slept I took over. We worked the whole night through. John was my good friend at that time. He knew a bit about doctor's work. On one occasion a bomb dropped and I ran for my life and fell over and dislocated my arm. John made a splint and bandage to straighten it. I congratulated him and told him he was a first rate doctor. Another time a Sepik man got his leg cut off by a bomb. I was lucky as I jumped out of the way. But John did his best for this unfortunate man too. After he put my arm in the splint he got me in a jeep and drove me to the base hospital at Seigu (Siokiei). The reason I was put on the telephone switchboard was because I was only a little fellow and Mr Shand of ANGAU was frightened I would get hurt. He taught me to cover my body with camouflage and lie down on the ground during the air raids, but he decided I would be safer working with the telephone. With me was a lad from Asarozuha called Kombri, and also a man from Kenimaro."(108)



Top: Bepi Moha at Humilaveka, 1975. During the War he worked at the telephone switchboard in a bush materials building close to this spot.

Below: Sergeant Enka Pumumpil (left) with his in-law Corporal Sare Tate, who did his initial police training at Lobiloveka ('Tebo') in 1943. Enka came from the Markham but he married a relative of Sare's at Aketauka, Oka'zuha.

Bepi's story indicates that some local people, particularly youngsters, were drafted into jobs demanding more skill than that required of carriers, labourers and gardeners. Lads were trained at Sigoiya to be interpreters as soon as John Black took over as ANGAU District Officer in January 1943. Pidgin classes were conducted by New Guinean policemen, as had been the case pre-War, but the urgency of the times now required a 'crash' course of instruction. Pelis Mazakmat believes that ANGAU's main requirement was to have one or two interpreters to accompany every carrier line. Bepi Moha accompanied patrols to Kainantu and Kundiawa in his capacity as an interpreter, Makarai went to Bundi and Faita. However Inapo Kaug was employed locally, and spent some time in 1943 with Leo Stack, the Australian geologist who worked as a civilian with the American Topographical Section. When the map making job was completed Stack stayed on at Goroka supervising the defences around the new airstrip, and Inapo claims to have been his number one assistant.(109) Stack is remembered for his kindness to the local people, and his concern for their safety during air-raids.

Another group of young men were recruited to train as police. The police barracks was situated at Lobiloveka, a level stretch of land below Koloka village, and sufficiently far from Humilaveka to be out of reach of Japanese bombs and bullets. A

109 Inapo Kaug, interview 20.4.76.

little further on towards Asaroka was 'Island Bush', where a clump of yar (casuarina) trees gave some cover to the Goroka labour compound. The police barracks site at Lobiloveka is still referred to by Gorokans as 'Tebo'(Depot) and a few informants recall their training there. The police-master was Warrant-Officer R C Clammer, a Sergeant-Major with pre-war police experience at Rabaul and Manus. Makarai claims that although he began his war service as an interpreter, he was considered a suitable police recruit, and did his initial training under Mr Clammer. An Okazuha man, Sare Tate, was chosen out of a carrier line after a patrol to Bundi, as someone with potential for police work.(110) He did well at Lobiloveka, was sent to Moresby for a further short period of training and was then flown to Nadzab to take part in the Lae invasion. Later he went on a ship taking troops and police to re-occupy Rabaul, and on the voyage witnessed the sinking of a Japanese vessel. In Rabaul he met up with his Goroka Valley compatriots John Akunai, Kiama Gena, Sabumei Kofikai and Isakua Hepu, all of whom had been undergoing training there in January 1942, and had spent the remainder of the War as prisoners of the Japanese. These men returned home in due course, and all became important leaders in their communities.(111)

110 Ex-Corporal Sare Tate, of Aketauka hamlet, Okazuha, interviewed 31.8.73.

111 See Ben Finney. 1973. Big Men and Business - Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth in the New Guinea Highlands. Canberra: ANU Press, for details of John Akunai Rovelies's and

The training of local lads to be policemen in 1943 was looked at with some scepticism by the Bena Force soldiers, who were not aware that some Highlanders had already joined the ranks of the police force. Mick Mannix recalls that his mates made some unkind jests about this police training programme:

"There was a police barracks which you passed between Asaloka and Goroka. They were training police boys there. They got the local blokes by going around the vllages and grabbing the young promising-looking lads. They had just started it when we were there before going down to the Ramu. When we came back the word was that they had been there for 3 months and they had already taught them how to stand to attention."

Sare Tate when interviewed in 1973 assured his listeners that they learnt more than to stand at attention. During his short course he was trained to shoot a .303 rifle and was considered capable enough to be sent to the police barracks at Koke market, Port Moresby, for further instruction before going to Nadzab in September. He could only have had about 2 months initial training in Goroka.

#### SHIGA EPIDEMIC

The Goroka Valley people's greatest test of endurance in wartime came without warning in late 1943, when a far more dangerous

Sabumei Kofikai's business entrepreneurship and community leadership.

threat to their life and wellbeing than air raids and forced labour appeared in their midst. Shiga was a bacillary dysentery attributed to the Japanese, although its sudden and insidious arrival in the Highlands in November 1943 could hardly be blamed on them. In October the hospitals at Seigu and Mount Hagen reported no dysentery cases, yet by the end of November 4000 cases and 200 deaths had occurred in Bena Bena and Chimbu indicating "the abrupt and massive nature of the outbreak." (112) When Jim Taylor took over Ramu District from Warner Shand in November, he found the epidemic to be spreading rapidly, threatening the lives of thousands of Highlanders. A new drug which effectively combatted the disease, sulphaguanadine, was available, but Taylor found difficulty in convincing his superiors in Moresby that the situation was serious enough to demand immediate and sufficient supplies. Thus he took the desperate step of appealing over the heads of the ANGAU authorities to General Blamey, who was in Moresby at the time. Blamey acted promptly, probably serving a rap over the knuckles to the lethargic ANGAU headquarters staff in passing, and

112 John Burton, "A Dysentery Epidemic in New Guinea and its Mortality", The Journal of Pacific History, Vol 18, No 4, 1983, pp 236 - 239. This article deals mainly with the effects of the Shiga epidemic in the Western Highlands in 1944 - 1945, but reference is also made to the Bena Bena, Goroka and Chimbu areas. Burton quotes an official report of September 1944 which suggests that Shiga was introduced by "a US unit from Port Moresby, on 1 August 1943, with two of its members suffering from the disease". This does not explain how it took 3 months to get out into the surrounding Bena villages.



adequate supplies of sulphaguanadine arrived without delay.(113) European medical staff were increased from three to four in December and to nine in March 1944, as the epidemic spread into the Mount Hagen area. The Seigu hospital was handed over by Bena Force to ANGAU on 4 November 1943,(114) and treatment of villagers suffering from Shiga was commenced thereafter. Between November 1943 and September 1944 10,000 cases were treated throughout the Highlands and more than a million tablets of sulphaguanadine were dispensed.(115) By that time the epidemic was well under control in the Goroka Valley, but was still raging in areas further west, including Mount Hagen and Wabag.

Parallel to the medical treatment was a concentrated programme of village hygiene and education on the causes of the epidemic. To

113 Information from Jim Taylor (5.4.83), supported by John Black, who states: "Taylor's advice to ANGAU HQ Moresby of the danger of the dysentery outbreak was first apparently disregarded which forced an approach to be made to the HQ of New Guinea Force. Fortuitously General Blamey happened to be at NGF HQ and it was brought to his notice. He immediately ordered the availability of massive quantities of sulphaguanadine, medical personnel and jeep transport to minimise human portorage necessary to master the outbreak .... Taylor's prompt and forceful action in communicating direct with the commander of NGF did not endear him to ANGAU HQ and he was told not to ignore the usual channels of command again. I recall the signal was addressed HQ NGF RPT ANGAU HQ which was quite in order and in keeping with Army protocol, (RPT = repeated) when a commander considered appeal to higher authorities warranted. There is no doubt the Highlands would have been decimated if the epidemic had not been contained." (Correspondence 20.9.73.)

114 Jim Taylor, interview 7.7.72.

115 Burton, op cit, p 239.

ensure the effectiveness of this campaign the cooperation of village leaders was sought, and John Black attributes its success in the Goroka Valley to one Gorokan in particular, Apo Yeharigie Genauri of Seigu. Apo was not a luluai, but he had worked with Europeans pre-war, commencing with Mick Leahy in 1933 and with successive patrol officers thereafter, including Bill Kyle in Chimbu and John Black at Madang. Because Seigu village was so close to the hospital (the Siokiei site is just across the creek from the Seigu houselines) Apo's services were immediately used by the ANGAU hygiene team. John Black states:

"Being a fly-borne disease the Shiga dysentery epidemic necessitated radical innovation in native hygiene - particularly the destruction of sugar cane chewings, discarded vegetable rubbish, etc, and the meticulous provision of fly-proof latrines, the disposal of pig manure and any rubbish in which flies could breed. Seigu village, under the native Apo provided the first classic example that flies could be eliminated and the death toll stopped. Apo explained to his villagers the life cycle of the Shiga dysentery organism and countered successfully the notion that the deaths were due to sorcery. Native understanding spread from this source throughout the district and, most important, the population was trained to take the required doses of sulphaguanadine."(116)

Another Seigu leader, Kirupanu Esau, had worked at the hospital when it was under Bena Force control, and because of his knowledge of Pidgin he was able to perform a useful role as

116 John Black, correspondence 20.9.73.

interpreter between staff and patients when Shiga victims were admitted in increasing numbers. He claimed that even before the outcome of the epidemic, when wounded and sick Australian soldiers were being treated, the hospital performed a very useful function in dispelling any lingering doubts held by the villagers that Europeans were not human. Some people still suspected they were ancestors or spirits who would eventually withdraw to their homes in the sky, leaving the clans to get on with their tribal fighting, sorcery and so forth. But when they saw the wounded soldiers, "their arms and legs cut, their bodies so badly damaged"(117) then they were finally convinced they were humans like themselves. When "the big sick", as Shiga is referred to by Gorokans, first struck the Seigu people, Kirupanu states that they tried to treat it with traditional medicine, but some patients were persuaded to go to the hospital and be treated with white man's medicine. "When the doctor gave them this medicine", Kirupanu recalls, "The sickness was finished and we said, 'White man's medicine is good'. So from that time most people gave up traditional medicine and also the belief that sickness is caused by bad spirits from our enemies."

The people of Gepahina hamlet reported that "we worked many

117 Kirupanu Esau, Urban Village Report, op cit. The Kami people recall that during the Shiga epidemic, "Kirupanu, the Seigu interpreter, was at the hospital and he explained to us what was going on and when we had heard his explanation we drank the medicine which they gave us. It was thick medicine, but in a liquid form." (Kami village elders, interviewed 23.1.77.)

magics to stop people from dying. Sometimes the magic worked, sometimes it didn't. One treatment was to get fine ashes and to push them into the sick person's anus."(118) Makarai recalled that the Okazuha people resorted to traditional remedies too when they first began to excrete blood. However when they heard that the treatment offered at Seigu hospital was effective they began to seek help there. Nevertheless many villagers died, particularly old people and babies. The ANGAU kiaps gave orders that every village must dig fly proof latrines, and sent policemen like Enka and Tembe around to ensure that this was done.(119) A personal account of the ravages of the Shiga epidemic is given by Mrs Tata Urakume of Lumapaka hamlet:

"My first husband got a big stomach sickness not long after he became a luluai. He had 'pekpek wara' (diarrhoea) and he had bad pains and he died. And my son also got the big sick but he was young and was willing to go to hospital and they cured him with white man's medicine. At that time we believed the sickness was caused by our enemies at Kortuni. We thought they had poisoned us or worked magic against us."(120)

However the old adage about ill winds rarely being entirely bad can be applied to the Shiga epidemic insofar as the successful treatment raised peoples' confidence in Europeans and helped

118 Gama clan informants, 16.10.72.

119 Makarai Bobe, 7.8.82.

120 Mrs Tata Urakume, 4.5.83.

bring rival clans together in a common cause. Kirupanu stated: "White man's medicine made us well, so we all came to the hospital. Not only us but our friends and our enemies from all over this Valley. Those we had fought for generations were there beside us in the hospital and we did not fight each other. And we said to one another, 'It's good. If Europeans come and live here they will help us stop fighting.'"

A similar experience was felt among the Bena Bena people. Mahabi Ihoyani of Mohoweto recalls taking Shiga sufferers from his own village to the hospital and on the way meeting traditional enemies bound for the same destination. There were no hostile gestures now - the fear of one another was driven out by a common fear of 'the big sick' which was more deadly than any enemy's arrow.(121) Weti Auwepa, also from Mohoweto, confirms this spirit of unity in misfortune. Shiga was too widespread to be regarded as the malevolent work of one clan or individual. It spread all over the Highlands, killing enemies as well as friends. People gathered together in peace at Seigu hospital and were encouraged by one another in their efforts to clean up the villages and construct pit latrines. And after the big clean up they noticed there were fewer and fewer cases of 'pek pek wara', until eventually the epidemic was over, and everyone was glad they had been able to work with the kiaps and the clan leaders to

121 Mahabi Ihoyani, op cit.

rid the Valley of this terrible sickness.(122)

#### A TURNING POINT IN PACIFICATION

John Black recalls that clan warfare was now almost, but not quite, over. On 3 March 1944 he was posted back to Goroka to work with Jim Taylor, in what was to prove to be a very fruitful six months of native administration. Here were two old hands in Highlands pacification, perhaps the most experienced Europeans in dealing with Highlanders in ANGAU's ranks at that time, specially chosen by Colonel Ted Taylor to bring the people through what could be a difficult transition from war to peace. John Black says of his colleague:

"Jim Taylor was a liberal and dedicated native administrative officer. He was accessible to the people at all times and his policy was to make government posts places of cultural interest to visitors - in other words a happy and peaceful venue for contiguous tribesmen. The carrying of arms on or near government posts were prohibited and free and safe movement on roads was rigidly enforced."(123)

This road policy was seen by Taylor and Black as an essential part in the unification of the clans. Built for the purpose of war, the road network was now to be used as an agent for peace. John Black was made personally responsible for enlisting the

122 Weti Auwepa, op cit.

123 John Black, correspondence 20.9.73.

cooperation of villagers in the improvement and maintenance of the roads. He records:

"I endeavoured to inculcate a proprietary interest by the contiguous villages in their section of the road complex. I went to considerable pains to point out to all and sundry that it was the first step towards a road down to the Markham and thence to Lae and the key to future highland development and wealth from cash crops. To make it clear that motor transport was not just to be the prerogative and privilege of Europeans I invariably gave native people a lift in my jeep and trailer whenever I could."

Enlisting the help of his friend Apo Yeharigie Genauri as his "principal agent and interpreter in the Goroka Valley" he embarked on a concentrated programme of villager education. He pays a warm tribute to Apo as the one who brought about

"understanding and cooperation in creating a constructive commitment to road construction, the building of bridges sheltered by protective thatched roofing and fostering reforestation with casuarina groves and giant bamboo clumps in an erstwhile bare grassed valley .... He was probably the only local native in the Goroka plain able to communicate on an intellectual basis with Europeans and understand something of European values and communicate on this basis of understanding with his own people. He was in the unique position of being able to communicate between two cultures."(124)

124 John Black, "Notes on Goroka Development", undated, but sent to author c. September 1973. For Apo's postwar career see Ben Finney, op cit. When I arrived in Goroka in 1969, Apo had become a victim of another European-imported disease, alcoholism, and I was not able to interview him. He died of pneumonia on 26 January 1974. His Post-Courier obituary (31.1.74) headed, "Goroka 'King' Dies", claimed that he was "the first local man to

As noted by Black tribal fighting, the final barrier to economic, social and political development, was almost, but not quite, over. With the Shiga epidemic behind them, the threat of Japanese attack removed, and the number of Europeans reduced to something more like the pre-war establishment, the Seigu and Kami people felt strong enough to have another attempt at equalling old scores. However, Apo got wind of their plans, and reported to Taylor and Black. John Black relates their response:

"This first attempt of the Seigu Kami people to organise battle practice for young men was nipped in the bud. Taylor and I drove to the scene in a jeep taking with us a Bren gun and a Verrey light pistol. We spoke to no-one and proceeded into the deserted village grasslands and had a little battle practice on our own. After firing a few bursts and shooting a series of parachute flares into the air we packed up and went home. The hint was taken .... I think this incident created in native society the final acceptance of government control at Goroka. Their attention was diverted to cash cropping and male aggression was directed towards the acquisition of wealth."(125)

Tommy Aitchison, another experienced prewar patrol officer with several years of service in the Highlands, took over from Jim Taylor at Goroka on 24 September 1944. He inherited a situation

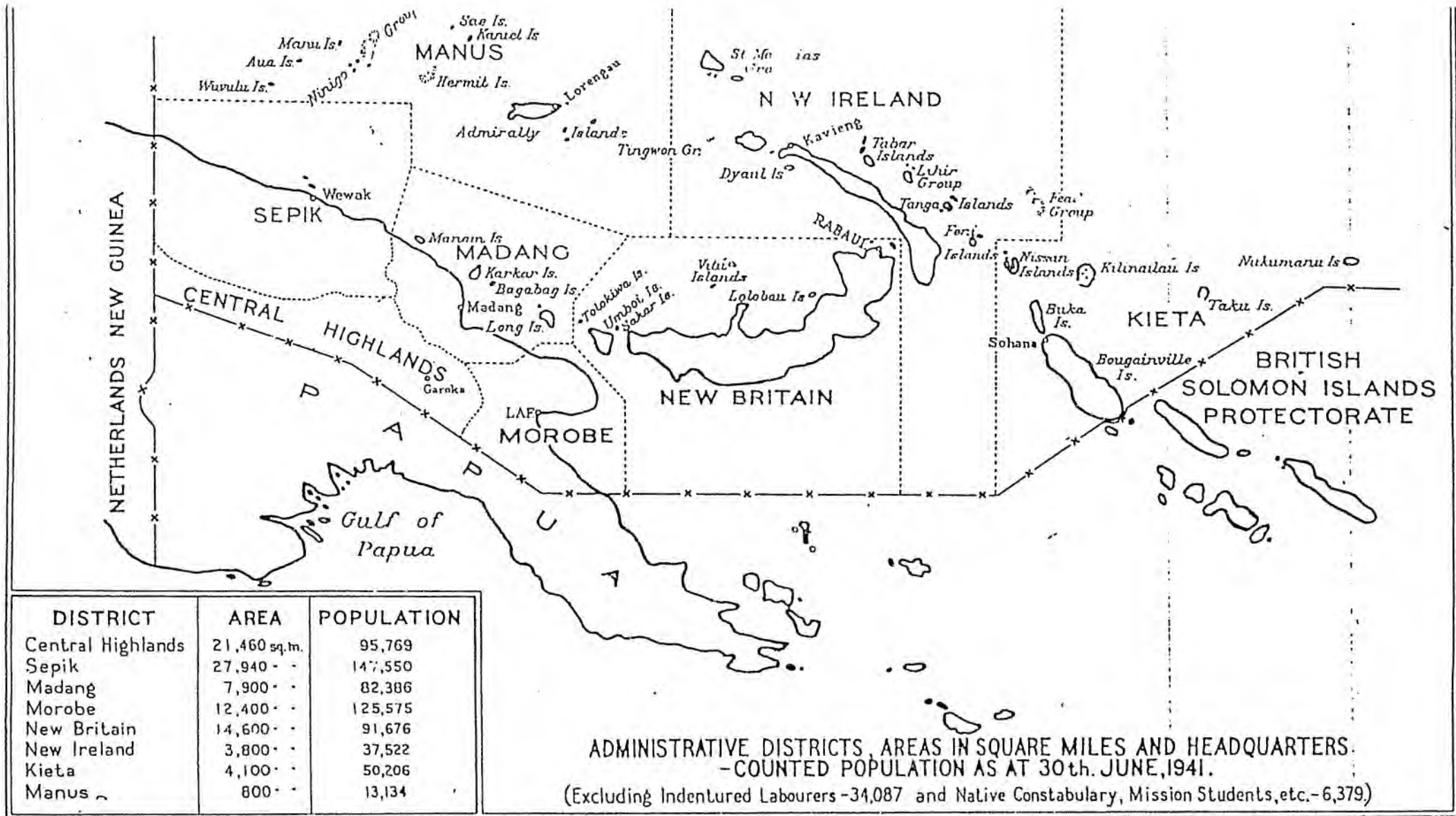
take heed of advice on cash cropping and that his example spurred on many of the current Highlands business owners."

125 John Black, correspondence 20.9.73. Hanimo Auwo of Ha'na'zuha (interviewed 13.9.73) and other informants who lived in the vicinity of Seigu confirm that this display of European fire power made a big impression on them and Taylor and Black's 'hint' was certainly taken.



of tribal peace previously unknown in the Goroka Valley. He attributed this triumph of the Pax Australiana to the people's new-found interest in the changes brought by the War and the opportunities for commercial development which lay ahead of them.(126) By an unexpected paradox, the white man's 'rova' had ushered in among the erstwhile enemies an unprecedented era of peace.

126 Tommy Aitchison, interview 18.7.84.



Map 16: 1948 map of Administrative Districts showing boundaries of the Central Highlands District, which Jim Taylor administered from Goroka, 1946-1949. (From Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, 1st July 1947 to 30th June 1948. Map 2, page (11).)

## CHAPTER 8

### "LAST EMPEROR OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM"

"I think one reason why it was so orderly was that when women came up to the office to complain about something the men would come too and say, 'Oh, we'll get a very good understanding today because Taylor is here.'" Jim Taylor

"I think that the approach we adopted to land purchasing, with all the villagers marching around with us and deciding where the boundaries should go, was the best." Bill Sippo

"I have seen with my own two eyes that the goroha've have brought good things to us so that now we live a better life than we did in the time before they came." Gelepet-amelauho of Seigu

When the Australian writer Colin Simpson visited Jim Taylor in Goroka in November 1953 Taylor told him that as District Officer of the Central Highlands from 1946 to 1949 he had been "the last emperor of the middle Kingdom."<sup>1</sup> By that he meant he was the last of the civil and military District Officers to have administrative responsibility for the whole of the Central Highlands, ruling perhaps half a million people in an area stretching from Kainantu in the east to Wabag in the west, and

1 Colin Simpson. 1962. Plumes and Arrows. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p 186.

from the Bismark Ranges in the north to the Papuan border in the south.

At the end of 1949 Taylor's 'middle Kingdom' was cut into two separate districts, Eastern and Western Highlands, thus reducing by half the area controlled by the officer based at Goroka. However the Goroka Valley was at the heart of the new Eastern Highlands District and with the extension of government influence and services the town of Goroka continued to grow in size and importance. Because of its superior airport facilities, it remained for some years the main Highlands distribution point for passengers and cargo and as the centre of the burgeoning coffee industry it led the Highlands region in economic development. Consequently the administrative changes after Jim Taylor's 'reign' merely signalled the end of what I have called the pacification phase of European contact, the period which laid down the social, economic and administrative foundations of the new Gorokan society. (See Chapter 1.)

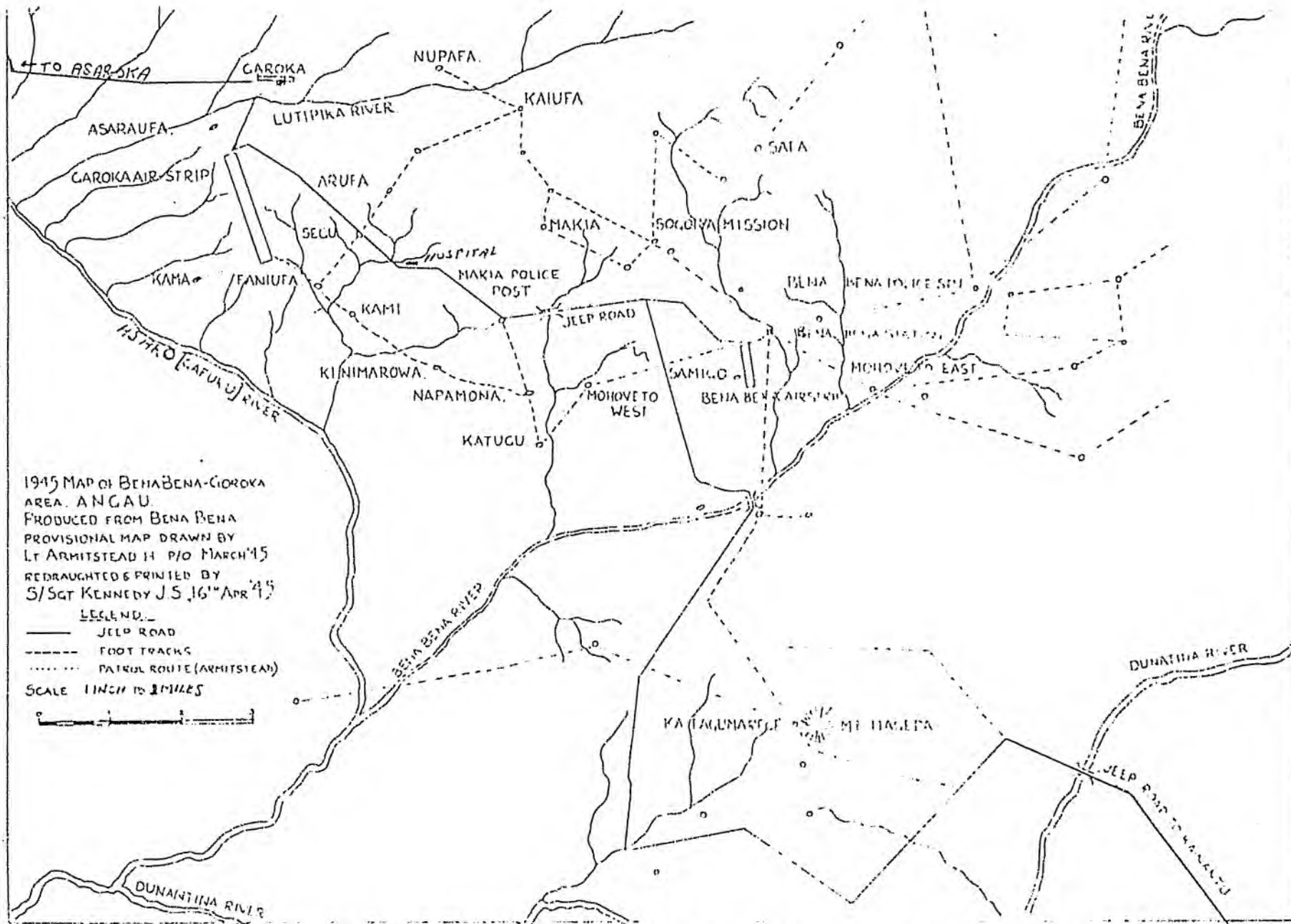
In chapter 7 the War years 1943 and 1944 were described as a watershed in the Goroka Valley people's contact experience, allowing them to see Europeans in a different light, helping them to break out of traditional patterns of exclusive loyalty to the clan, to embrace a wider world view, and laying down an infrastructure for future social and economic development along European lines. Using the watershed metaphor, it is possible to describe the streams of village life as flowing in a new

direction, leading to some extent to what might be termed an Australian -influenced modification of Goroka Valley culture. Nothing as dramatic as the events of 1943 and 1944 was to occur in the period 1945 to 1949, but it will be seen in this final chapter that the trends established as an outcome of war were consolidated and extended in the immediate post-war years.

#### T G AITCHISON

When Jim Taylor left Goroka in September 1944 to join the three-man J V Barry committee appointed to investigate compensation for Papua New Guineans sustaining losses caused by war, he was succeeded as District Officer by Captain T G Aitchison. As noted in previous chapters, Tommy Aitchison was an experienced officer in highlands administration, and like Taylor was sympathetic towards native welfare and development. Although the task was immense and resources limited, Aitchison and his ANGAU team attempted to make the transition from war to peace as smooth as possible, and emphasised agriculture as the key to native development.(2) Aitchison was fortunate to have on his staff

2 T G Aitchison, interviewed at Schofield, NSW, 18.7.84. Aitchison was left very much to his own resources, and had no firm development policy to follow. However a conference of ANGAU District Officers had been held in Port Moresby in February 1944, to which Jim Taylor had made a useful contribution. A typescript of his ideas as presented to the conference suggests the lines on which his thinking was moving and he would no doubt have passed on these policy directions to Aitchison. He argued that the aim of Australian rule should be to build up a vigorous population with an Australian outlook and culture "and that in consequence



MAP 17. Lt. Harley Armitstead's 1945 map showing completed jeep road. It was the forerunner of the present Highlands Highway, although today's road crosses the Bena further downstream and the Goroka-Asaruka section has been re-routed. Seigu Hospital, Kami and Arufa are marked.

Harley Armitstead, a graduate of Gatton Agricultural College in Queensland. Lieutenant Armitstead was assigned the task of educating villagers in the Goroka and Bena Bena areas in improved gardening techniques, and as part of this programme he introduced coffee in selected hamlets. During November 1944 he was stationed at Seigu Native Hospital, by this time empty of patients, and he concentrated his attention on the "preparation of coffee plots adjacent to villages" and began to "instruct and encourage village natives in coffee planting". On 19 November he commenced work on the Arufa coffee plots and on the 21st had prepared ground for planting at Kami.(3) These two village communities are close to Goroka. By September 1945 Armitstead was able to report that the seedlings planted less than a year earlier were doing well, and he was able to show the villagers how to prune them. He gave talks "on the necessity of cleaning the plots, and planting of wind breaks and inter-row crops." He also distributed beans, peas, cabbage plants, turnip and radish seed and noted the following vegetables growing in village gardens - kau kau, maize, yams, small amounts of taro, sugar cane, tapioca, peanuts, pit pit, beans, peas, passion fruit,

of this, native industry and agriculture will be encouraged, and that no alienation of land will be permitted ...." See Jinks, Biskup and Nelson. 1973. Readings in New Guinea History. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, pp 315 - 317 and 328 - 329.

3 W/O (later Lieutenant) H Armitstead, "Patrol Report No 12 of 44/45, 10 - 28 November 1944, while stationed at Segu (sic) Native Hospital". Patrol Reports, District of Eastern Highlands, National Archives, Port Moresby.



Jim Leahy, Goroka coffee industry pioneer, during his A.N.G.A.U. service. Australian War Memorial inscription on photograph reads: 'Lieut.J.L.Leahy, A.N.G.A.U., a member of the famous gold-mining family in New Guinea, shows ABANUNG where to sign his mark on an application form for Victory Loan Bonds, Dumpu area, 16 April 1944'. (Australian War Memorial photo no.72405 )



mulberries, lettuce, tomatoes, eschallots, radish, carrots, cabbages, potatoes and pumpkins.(4) This list included not only traditional vegetables, but also plants introduced by missionaries pre-War and by the ANGAU officers who initiated the scheme to supply US forces with garden food (see ch 7).

Back-up for this village cash-crop programme came from the Highlands Agricultural Experimental Station situated at Aiyura, south-east of Kainantu. Staff at Aiyura included the O.I.C., Captain A. J. Schindler and (at least from June 1945) Captain J. L. Leahy, brother of Mick and Dan. Jim Leahy was farm manager at Aiyura.

Aub Schindler accompanied Armitstead on an extensive patrol through the Bena area and the villages south of Goroka in December 1944 and arranged for coffee plants grown in the Aiyura nursery to be distributed to every community which had prepared a coffee plot under Armitstead's direction.(5) It was during his time at Aiyura in 1945 that Jim Leahy realised the potential for coffee growing in the Highlands, and the knowledge he gained served him in good stead when he pioneered large scale coffee

4 Armitstead, "Patrol Report No 11 of 45/46, 30 September - 22 October 1945, Bena Bena - Goroka area".

5 Armitstead, "Patrol Report No 17 of 44/45, 1 - 22 December 1944, Bena Bena - Goroka area.

production in the Goroka area after the War.(6) Tommy Aitchison states that New Guinean participation in the future coffee industry was also planned by setting up a small farm training school at Aiyura for boys about 12 years old, taken from the 17 villages where experimental coffee plots had been established. These "coffee" villages were strategically placed between Sasauro (east of Kainantu) and Asaroka (west of Goroka). Aitchison and Armitstead reasoned that by the time the coffee bushes were mature these lads would be old enough to take responsibility for them, and could put the knowledge and skills gained at Aiyura to good use.(7)

Aiyura also became an agricultural training ground for many Goroka Valley adult men. During his patrol with Schindler in December 1944, Harley Armitstead recruited 194 villagers from the Bena-Goroka area to work at Aiyura. The response to Armitstead's recruiting was so good that he had to "knock back" an additional 100 volunteers. He noted that some of these men had worked for the Administration pre-war, but the majority had been cargo carriers for Bena Force in 1943. Their enthusiasm to work at Aiyura placed him in something of a dilemma, as taking most of the able-bodied men out of a village could seriously limit local food production. It may also have affected village birth rates,

6 Jim Leahy, interviewed at 'Erinvale', Goroka, 7.8.75.

7 T Aitchison, op cit.

because when he conducted a census of the Bena-Goroka area in October 1945 he found that births were "reasonably low". [B. G. G. Report No. 11]  
 B. G. G. Report No. 11

The absence of young children in villages was also noted by Armitstead, who attributed the low figures to the shiga dysentery epidemic, to which infants and the elderly were particularly vulnerable. Armitstead's census figures for five Goroka villages are of interest:-

	CHILDREN		ADULTS		TOTAL
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
SEGU	27	21	61	67	176
FANIUFA (HA'NAZUHA)	13	7	31	33	84
KAMA (GAMA)	104	77	146	175	502
ASARAUFU (ASAROUHA)	53	45	80	112	290
KAMI	52	44	99	124	319
	249	194	417	511	1371

Male children outnumber female children by more than fifty, and there are almost one hundred more female adults than males. Male recruiting accounts for the latter imbalance, but there is no evidence that the shiga epidemic killed more young girls than boys. There used to be a commonly held belief that after a war more male babies were born than females, and this was said to be nature's way of compensating for adult males killed at the front. Some medical research suggests that where there is a preponderance of male births after a war this could be explained biologically. After a period of sexual abstinence while on active service (assuming that this does occur) the soldier builds up a predominance of male chromosomes which increase the

likelihood of a male baby being conceived when he returns to his wife on leave or at the end of the war.(8) Should there be any validity to this theory it could account for the preponderance of young boys in the Goroka villages in 1945, since many adult males had been absent for significant periods as carriers and labourers during 1943 and 1944.

The ANGAU patrol reports for the period 1944-46 refer to regular census-taking in the Goroka Valley villages, but unfortunately there is no record of the total population of the valley. Diana Howlett estimates that at the time of first contact in 1930 there were "perhaps 35,000" people, and by 1960 that figure had increased to slightly less than 40,000.(9) Armitstead is able to claim, however, that village census-taking was much more

8 I am unable to trace the article on which this theory is based. It appeared in a British medical journal, and was drawn to my attention by one of the staff of Goroka Hospital in 1975.

9 D Howlett, op cit, pp 35, 253, 268 & 269. These figures are more or less in accordance with Ian Downs's 1953 figures of 40,000, plus an estimated additional 7000 in the Lufa - Mt Michael area. According to the census figures available to Downs there were 6000 people in the Upper Bena area, 19,000 in the Upper and Middle Asaro areas and 15,000 in the villages west of the Asaro as far as Watabung. (This last census area was only partially within the Goroka Valley, the rest being the hills and mountains along its western rim.) However, note also Wurm's figures quoted in Ch 1, p 7. The discrepancy is due to the fact that in Downs's 15,000 people living west of the Asaro, many speak another language which Wurm calls Yabiyufa, classified as part of the Siane sub-family. He gives a figure of 4,464 Yabiyufa speakers. (Wurm, op cit, p 18.) Ian Downs to Director, Department of District Services and Native Affairs, 11 May 1953, District Organisation, Eastern Highlands District. General Planning and Administration File, District Office Archives, Goroka.

accurate in 1945 than had been possible pre-War. Communities were now more settled, although account had to be taken of migration, as groups moved back onto land from which they had been forced to flee during the days of tribal fighting. With the almost complete cessation of clan warfare, increased confidence in European officials and on-the-spot census-taking, village populations could be counted more accurately.

This settled state of most Goroka Valley communities is commented on favourably by the ANGAU patrol officers. Armitstead wrote after his January 1945 patrol through Bena and Goroka villages: "The natives are settling down very well since the military forces have moved out of the area. Tribal fighting is just about ceased in this area." In October 1945 he reported that people were still "returning to their tribal grounds after being chased out in the fighting days." He adds that this trend "is to be encouraged as it shows a tendency towards peace in the area which may last .... All villages are back to normal living conditions. Natives and their chieftains visit the Bena Penn station regularly with native foods. They bring in their major problems for arbitration instead of settling same with 'string bows'". Warrant Officer N.M. Bird, who was responsible for the villages around Asaroka, was generally pleased with the way people brought their disputes to him to be settled, and with their enthusiasm for agricultural development. Two village communities incurred his displeasure for not joining this general trend. In December 1944 he reported that the Asaro and Kabiufa groups were short of

food due to "their usual slothful and lackadaisical existence." In February 1945 he encountered trouble from two villages close to Goroka, Asaraufa (Asarozuha) and Lilihamato a. In each case the people refused to line for census when called upon to do so.(10) Bird offers no explanation for their behaviour - "slothful and lackadaisical existence" not being applicable in this case.

Asarozuha leaders Ai-a and Kizekize state that for their part they were angry with ANGAU and Bena Force for having taken over their village in 1943, forcing them to relocate their houses further out. The soldiers had then dug up the old site, putting in tunnels in which to store supplies, and had chopped down trees and damaged gardens.(11) Lilihamatoka was close to the police barracks and the 'Island Bush' labourers compound, so it can be assumed that it too suffered a certain amount of interference from ANGAU. Old men tell stories of how native police punished them for stealing by tying them over logs and flogging them with canes, and although they are not clear if this happened during or

10 W/O N M Bird, Patrol Report No 16 of 44/45. Patrol from Asaroka to Asaro, etc, undated but December 1944, and Patrol Report No 21 of 44/45. Patrol of villages in Garoka area, 27 February 1945. Patrol Reports, District of Eastern Highlands, National Archives, Port Moresby.

11 Ai-a of Koroka, interviewed 7.8.73, and Kizekize Obaneso of Koroka, interviewed 13.8.74. Also government interpreter Bepi Moha (interviewed 25.7.73) who stated: "There were many yar trees there and the soldiers dug foxholes and tunnels to hide in when the Japanese bombed us and we kept the stores there too."

before the War, they still carry resentment against kiaps and policemen.(12)

Captain Arthur Ewing, who had worked in the Highlands before the war as a Medical Assistant knew the Goroka Valley people well, and he was able to note a significant change in their attitude towards the settling of clan disputes. During a patrol from the Goroka District Office to the Bena airstrip in October 1944 the villagers brought a number of matters to him for "adjustment", and he noticed how keen the people were to sell their surplus vegetables and receive payment in giri giri shells, salt and tobacco.(13) Even at this late stage shell was still in great demand, although Ewing and other observers have noted that consumer items such as salt, tobacco and powder paint (for body decoration in sing sings) were becoming increasingly popular. At the Bena airstrip a native police sergeant Powaniu was exercising effective control, and he had several acres of carrots under production in the gardens alongside the runway. Powaniu had been at Bena for six months, performing the work usually assigned to a European patrol officer. There was still considerable reliance on police administration, and police posts were set up throughout

12 Zaho and Samere of Samogozuha, interviewed 20.4.76.

13 Captain A Ewing, Patrol Report No 8 of 1944/45. Patrol from Goroka (District Office) to Bena airstrip, 16 October 1944. Patrol Reports, District of Eastern Highlands, National Archives, Port Moresby. Also confirmed by Ewing when interviewed at Broadbeach Queensland, 25.1.75.

the valley, each one responsible for oversight of a cluster of villages. In July 1945 Bird reported that a new police post had been established one mile west of Asaroka and would be known as the Asaro Post. ANGAU was evacuating Asaroka "in anticipation of the return of the missionaries" and it was important to maintain a government presence in the area. Armitstead reported that in a section he patrolled in September 1945 there were 4 police posts "being at SEGU, MAKIA, METEHAUSA, KAMA. Each post has one constable. He has special villages under his care. They have to look after the motor road and report any unrest in the villages. All disputes are arbitrated by myself at the station or when on patrol."

The newly-created luluai system was not working as effectively as Taylor and Black had hoped (see chapter 7). The problem was not the same as the one encountered by Murray in Papua, where village constables, and later village councillors, were often ineffective because real power in the village was exercised by the traditional leader. Nor were the Goroka Valley luluais like their counterparts in coastal areas of New Guinea, who often suffered the same defects of leadership as the Papuan village representatives, and for the same reason.(14) The problem in the

14 Healey, op cit, pp 116, 132, 134 - 149, 166 - 173, 185 - 196. Healey reveals a more complex power structure in Papua than my summary may imply, a structure which included native mission workers as well as traditional leaders and government appointed officials. He also makes the point that even where village constables exercised power, they were crippled to some extent by



Goroka area was that there were often several sub-clans within clans, each with their own leader. For example, in September 1945, Gama clan had three luluais, Ulakusia, Morokoro and Gopie. Harley Armitstead commented that "most villages have 2 to 4 luluais. They appear to have their own groups and they pull against the real chief at times and I receive complaints occasionally that certain sections of a village will not cooperate in a task." This suggests that from ANGAU's point of

role conflict - the demands of government in collision with the demands of custom. The Goroka luluais were not immune from this confusion of divided loyalties.

I. P Mair. 1970 (2nd ed). Australia in New Guinea. Melbourne University Press, p 73. Quoting Kenneth Read's comments on the appointment of a luluai in the Markham Valley in 1945 Lucy Mair states: "The central feature was a reiterated assertion of the old men that he (the luluai) was nothing but a representative of government. 'It is they (the old men) who know what should be done and what should not be done.'"

S W Reed. 1943. The Making of Modern New Guinea. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, pp 171 - 173. Writing about New Guinea from a late 1930s perspective, Stephen Reed makes the interesting observation that the tultul, or government appointed interpreter, was becoming a more powerful village authority than the luluai: "... the present-day tultul acts as the spokesman for returned indentured labourers and is generally the progressive leader of the community. The luluai, surrounded by tribal elders who have never worked for the white man, clings to the past." Reed fore-shadows a process which would occur in the Goroka Valley two decades later, when the village boys trained by Europeans to be interpreters, medical orderlies, etc, became in their maturity the new community and church leaders, business entrepreneurs and public servants.

H I Hogbin, "Local Government for New Guinea", Oceania, Vol XVII, No 1, September 1946, pp 38 - 66. In this article Ian Hogbin says of the pre-war luluais: "Some of them proved to be thoroughly conscientious and tried to do their best, but it is probable that the larger proportion were either non-entities or rogues seeking some personal advancement." (p 45)

view there was a senior luluai in each clan group, to whom other luluais were expected to defer. This was probably not the way that the sub-clans understood the position. By 1948 the Administration had recognised the independence of each sub-clan luluai - as evidenced by the payment of separate sums of money to each luluai as the purchase price for the Goroka town land - but in 1945 the Army's hierarchical system of command still influenced patrol officers' attitudes towards village administration, an understandable although unworkable solution to effective local government. The pre-war system of appointing paramount luluais, who exercised authority over village luluais "in a fairly wide area", may also have provided a model.(15)

One development during Tommy Aitchison's period as District Officer which affected people in the immediate vicinity of Goroka was the establishment of an RAAF Rest Camp. At Mt Hagen there was a rest camp for American Airforce personnel, but there was no equivalent place for Australians. Aitchison could see the value of having close links with the RAAF and offered a site just north of Humilaveka (in fact on a level terrace across the Mumoka Creek). This site is still known by Gorokans as "Airpos" (AirForce), although it has long since been reoccupied by the Joypaloka hamlet of the Okazuha (Okiufa) clan. (The cement floors on which the huts stood are still to be seen at

15 E P Wolfers, op cit, pp 91 - 92.

Joypaloka.) The camp was supplied with a generator, and this enabled movie films to be screened for the benefit of the airmen and any of the local villagers who managed to sneak up through the darkness to crowd around the open windows of the 'picture house'. People from nearby villages observed that the airmen were a lazy lot of fellows who never seemed to do any work and this explained to them why the camp was closed down after the War! Mrs Tata Urakume's son Elai, who as a child had survived the shiga dysentery epidemic because he was treated at Seigu hospital, described the Masilakaizuha people's attitude to Airpos as follows: "There were these white men who just sat down there and did not do anything. They just sat around and consumed things. So after a while the government said, 'Ah, we've had enough of these lazy people' and they just sent them away." (16)

Airpos big man Aino gives a somewhat different interpretation of events: "When these European soldiers stayed on this site we lived up on the hill behind. I owned this place and I was the luluai and I said to the Europeans, 'This is my mother ground, and you must shift back up onto Humilaveka and give this place back to me.' So they took notice of what I said and they all left here and went back up on top." (17) During this interview in 1982 Aino pointed out the site of the picture house (haus piksa)

16 Elai Goulopa of Lumapaka, Masilaka'zuha, 4 April 1983.

17 Aino of Joypaloka, interviewed 12.8.82.



Above: Air Force Rest Centre ('Airpos') at Joypaloka, 1945.

Left: Samagoni lads on wreckage of Beaufort bomber A9-636, July 1982.

Below: F/O R. Stoner (left), Harley Armitstead (seated), Peter Hopton (arm in sling) and Tommy Aitchison at Goroka, 1945. (The two 1945 photos from Peter Hopton's collection.)



and confirmed that although there were vegetable gardens all around, the 'soldiers' never seemed to do any work in them: "It is true the traditional name of this place is Joypalo-ka (or Zoipalo-ka)", he added, "But the commonly used name is now Airpos because the Europeans built their houses here."

One incident that remains vividly in Aino's mind is the crash of an RAAF plane in the mountains above Samagoni, north-east of Humilaveka. Aino was in the party which went up to rescue the survivors. He recalls how the plane had crashed through the bamboo, rolling it up like vines around the propellers. The crew, some of whom were either dead or badly injured, had to be carried out on stretchers lined with banana leaves.

The pilot of the plane, a Beaufort bomber, was Flight-Lieutenant Peter Hopton, and he confirms Aino's recollections, pointing out that one fatality was a crew member, Adams, who died at Humilaveka on the night after the crash and one passenger, Muller, died later in Lae. Others among the six on board were seriously injured, but all recovered.<sup>(18)</sup> The flight of Beaufort bomber A9-636 was made from Madang on 9 March, 1945. Peter Hopton and his crew, Adams and Hunt were flying a party of three airmen, Lieutenant Kevin Beeton, and LACs Muller and Morrison to Goroka. Muller and Morrison were on their way to the

18 Peter Hopton of McLaren Vale, South Australia. Correspondence dated 19.4.82, 27.11.82 and 16.7.83.

Rest Centre and Kevin Beeton was on a short visit. He recalls that he was bringing a supply of fresh beef for Tommy Aitchison and his ANGAU colleagues, a gift which under the circumstances he was unable to deliver.(19) Because the ANGAU headquarters at Humilaveka were about a mile from the new aerodrome it was customary for pilots to 'buzz' the camp to announce their arrival so that the plane could be met by the station jeep. On this occasion low cloud obscured the hills to the east of Humilaveka and when Peter Hopton swung the Beaufort to the left to make a circuit before landing he found himself in a small side valley which "was rapidly running out of airspace". All he could do was put the plane down on a small ridge topped by a clump of bamboos, and when he and Kevin Beeton came to, some minutes after impact, they slowly grew aware of voices outside and dark faces peering in through the perspex windows. A native policeman eventually spoke to them and Beeton, who knew Pidgin, suggested he get them all out of the plane as quickly as possible in case of fire. Fortunately the fuel did not ignite and the six men were lifted to safety and carried on stretchers to the Humilaveka station. Tommy Aitchison recalls that Kevin Beeton's head was split open to the extent that his brain was exposed, but fortunately a medical team was able to be flown from Lae first thing next morning, and their treatment saved his life. Peter Hopton survived the crash with little more than concussion, and he

19 Kevin Beeton of North Balwyn, Victoria, interviewed 25.5.83.

stayed at the Rest Centre for a couple of weeks for a pleasant recuperation, marred only by the fact that he broke two fingers when a jeep in which he was a passenger ran off the road! He recalls that while he was at Goroka it was announced that the Rest Centre would be closed shortly, and all the men there cheered because this meant that future leave would be taken in Australia. So, with the possible exception of the ANGAU staff, no one was sorry to see 'Airpos' vacated.

The Beaufort crash made a strong impression on the Samagoni people, who up until this point had been little affected by the War. The injured airmen illustrated for them the mortality of Europeans, and they reacted in the same way as the people near Seigu hospital whose observation of sick and wounded soldiers finally convinced them that the goro'ha've were not spirits or ancestors returning from the dead. The remains of the wrecked aircraft lie on the forest-clad ridge above Samagoni village, a reminder that neither Europeans nor their technological achievements were invulnerable to destruction.(20) Although other Allied planes came down in country to the east and west of Goroka (B24s crashed with loss of all on board at Taru near Lihona, in Fore country south-east of Mt Michael and on the higher slopes of Mt Wilhelm, to name just three in the

20 Samagoni peoples' impressions of the crash were obtained during a visit to the crash site on a ridge above Samagoni known as Sakupaliga, on 31.7.82.

Highlands), Beaufort A9-636 was the only large Allied plane to crash in the vicinity of Goroka.

#### LUTHERAN MISSION REHABILITATION

An event of long-term consequences for the Goroka Valley people immediately after Tommy Aitchison's period of administration was the return of a Lutheran missionary to his station at Asaroka on 23 February, 1946. Aitchison had ordered the evacuation of Asaroka by ANGAU in July 1945, although his memories of Lutheran missionary activities in the Highlands pre-War prevented him from regarding the prospect of their return with relish. In November 1944 an ANGAU officer R.J. Stevenson, working in the Kainantu area, reported that the Lutheran native teachers had been interfering with village customs, - such as the wearing of the malo, and had threatened to report to the kiap for imprisonment anyone who failed to give up traditional dress in favour of European clothes. Aitchison cautioned Stevenson that it had been "the usual practice of the German Lutheran Mission to interfere with harmless native customs using the Kiap as a 'bogey-man'. However", he added, warming to his theme, "one cannot expect more from the ignorant superstitious type of European from which missionaries were drawn. The thirst for temporal power overcame their desire to become the spiritual advisers of the native and was reflected on their native teachers." He advised Stevenson that "the harmless 'sing-sings' should be reintroduced into villages. Yes, encourage the natives in the wearing of native



dress."(21) Tommy Aitchison told me in 1984 that he would exclude from this description of German Lutherans his friends Hans and Hana Flierl, who were in charge of the Mission's Kainantu area in the pre-War years. (Hans Flierl married the Aitchisons at Kainantu in 1936.) However Flierl's pro-Nazi colleague Martin Zimmermann, and also to some extent Georg Hofmann at Asaroka, would no doubt have qualified, as was noted in earlier chapters of this study. Consequently when arrangements were being made for the post-War return of the missionaries an understanding was reached between ANGAU and the Lutheran's American leader Dr John Kuder, that German clergy who had caused trouble to the Administration pre-War would not be allowed to return to the Highlands.(22) Georg Hofmann, who was not released from internment in Australia until the end of the War, had to be content with a posting at Billiau, on the Rai Coast, where he took his life in 1952 after the death of his wife, Clara, during an operation at Yagaum Hospital. Zimmermann was banned from New Guinea altogether, and he returned to Germany in 1947. Hans Flierl, on the other hand, was allowed to resume his work at Kainantu, as did Willi Bergmann at Kundiawa.(23)

Georg Hofmann's father-in-law Paul Helbig, who had assisted

21 Aitchison to Stevenson, 17 November 1944. Patrol Reports, District of Eastern Highlands, National Archives, Port Moresby.

22 Tommy Aitchison of Schofields, NSW, interviewed 18.7.84.

23 Flierl came back in 1951 and Bergmann in 1948.

Hofmann at Asaroka pre-War, and stayed on until evacuated by ANGAU in April 1943, was held in much higher regard by the Australian authorities than his strong-minded son-in-law. He was Australian born, and his record of cooperation with ANGAU in 1942 and early 1943 had not been forgotten. Thus there was no problem about his reinstatement at Asaroka and - last missionary to leave the Goroka Valley - he was now the first missionary to return. He recorded in his Asaroka Report that on 24 February 1946 "the kind officers from Goroka brought me here in a jeep, where the crowds of the dear heathen, knowing that I arrived at Goroka the day before, gave me a hearty surprise in saluting me, some shedding tears for joy. I also did so."(24)

The damage to buildings and gardens at Asaroka shocked the old missionary, but the effect of the War on the people's attitude to the Mission disturbed him even more. In his three years' absence "on forced furlough" the lads who had been pupils in his school had forgotten everything they had been taught and showed little inclination to start learning again. "How irregularly they come to school", he reported in 1947, "not even taking it seriously nor even trying their best to avoid absence. Though some would say, 'Are we little boys that we may not have our own will done?'" Helbig blamed this youthful intransigence on the influence of the soldiers. "No wonder after all the moral

24 Asaroka Station Reports, Lutheran Archives, Ampo, Lae.

mischief done at this place by so many Europeans morally shameless and godless after my evacuation." Mick Mannix and his 2/2 Independent Company mates would have been less than pleased to read these words of a frustrated missionary, who found it hard to accept the inevitable changes in New Guinean attitudes wrought by the War.

Helbig's difficulties were compounded by the fact that the coastal evangelists who had worked at Asaroka before the War had all gone back to their homes in the Finschhafen area, and most were reluctant to return to the Highlands. He had to wait three months before his leading teacher-evangelists Buko and Eso'nuwe joined him. By the end of 1947 there were still only 5 coastal workers (described as '3 teachers and 2 helpers') compared with the pre War figure of 34 ('ten coastal teachers and 24 helpers').

Helbig had not long been back at Asaroka, however, before people began to come to him for medical treatment. Dysentery cases were still occurring in outlying villages, and other sufferers came to Asaroka hoping for relief from coughs and colds, ulcers and pains. Helbig was in a predicament as his medical supplies had still to arrive from the coast, and all he could do was direct the sick to the native hospital in Goroka. But few were prepared to make the eight mile walk to the government station, preferring to "die at home than walk another long distance". Helbig calculated that about 600 villagers had died of dysentery in the

Asaroka area between 1944 and 1946, and it distressed him that deaths were still occurring. However he took the course of all missionaries faced with an insoluble problem and "brought the matter in prayer to our greatest Physician, Jesus, who inter-alia made the water wine. No doubt he was even now able to make the water in my cup dysentery cure, thus saving the lives of my suffering heathen. So my cup was filled with tank water, prayer followed and I now had dysentery cure and gave it to my sufferers, who in spite of having passed much blood all recovered in no time and got no after effects and no relapse." This miraculous cure proved effective through the months of May, June and July, and Helbig claims that his patients were ignorant during all this time that the medicine was rain water from the galvanised iron tanks. The medical officer at Goroka was not given the opportunity to test Pastor Helbig's wonder drug, but the Mission's prestige among the local people was certainly enhanced, and people began to attend services of worship at Asaroka in increasing numbers. Medical supplies from Finschhafen and from church agencies overseas arrived in August, possibly as the level of miracle water in the Mission tanks grew low.

The "greatest Physician" intervened even more dramatically in the affairs of Asaroka on the morning of the 24 September 1946, when "a powerful earthquake suddenly rocked the earth and everything that was on it ... Water from the tanks was ejected high up." There was no loss of life but Helbig noted that "all surrounding heathens never had experienced such a quake and were panic-

stricken, which was God's purpose. Thousands heard God at work, with His instrument the earthquake in their hearts and minds and souls which they themselves came to tell." This interpretation of events was strengthened for Paul Helbig by his own escape from death or serious injury. Just before the earthquake struck he had been repairing the roof of his house and was about to climb the ladder with tools and sheets of iron, when he was called down by Buko and Eso'nuwe to discuss some matter. Had they not interrupted his work he would have been precariously balanced on the roof when the house began to sway. He was by now 62 years old and was sure that a fall from the top of the house would have been serious if not fatal. All things considered this was "a special earthquake for a special purpose."

From that day the Asaroka Mission went from strength to strength. On the first Sunday after the 'quake a number of 'big men' from surrounding villages came to hear the preaching and "found all that they then needed in the Word of God". According to Helbig the numbers at Sunday services began to increase dramatically thereafter, until by November 1946 they were averaging over 4000 "all quietly listening and hearing every word we speak and responding accordingly". This figure did not satisfy the missionary, as it accounted for less than 25% of the surrounding population, but at least every village was constructing little churches which they called "namia numieni" (a house for singing) and "all have morning and evening devotions and before their meals they say a table prayer". Helbig sensed an "awakening"



Left: Paul Helbig and  
Ralph Goldhardt  
on patrol over  
the Asaro-Watabung  
Divide, c.1948.

Below: One of the Finschhafen  
evangelists (Eso'nuwe?)  
preaching to a large  
crowd at Asaroka,  
c.1948, while Helbig,  
Goldhardt and another  
evangelist look on.

(P.N.G, Lutheran  
Archives photos)



among the villagers, although it was not until 1951 that the first candidates were deemed ready for baptism. There were still reports of bad dreams and visions and fearful tales of magical snakes which had to be dealt with, and Helbig realised he was getting too old to be constantly visiting villages and reviving the faint-hearted. Assistance came a year later when an American Lutheran, Ralph Goldhardt, was appointed to Asaroka, arriving on 6 November 1947. Goldhardt was a young man of 28, spoiling for a contest with Roman Catholics, Seven Days and village sorcerers. He and Helbig made quite a formidable team, the young man brash, enthusiastic and energetic, his old colleague patient, experienced and reasonably fluent in the local language. Helbig was in fact the only European in the Goroka Valley at that time who spoke Gahuku and its Asaroka dialect, and he and the coastal evangelists put a lot of effort into the revision of the 'Qapu Miti' (Preaching to Heathens), a book of Bible teaching in Gahuku. Helbig's careful approach to his mission work is underlined by a comment in his 1947 Report that the longer he and his helpers worked on the translation the more they were able to find "so many terms to replace the former too profane phrases". Meantime Ralph Goldhardt began to reorganise the station school, which at the end of 1947 had 200 pupils, was encouraging the senior boys to engage in village preaching and arranging for the Mission to acquire a jeep. Village preaching had been a feature of the senior Asaroka school boys' work before the War, and Pastor Akiro claims that even during the War, when he was not carrying cargo for the soldiers, he went preaching in all the

villages of his home area north of Asaroka.(25) Goldhardt admitted that with only 2,3 or 4 years of schooling the sermons of these lads left much to be desired, but their presence in the villages at least kept people's interest in Christianity alive.

Attendance at the Sunday services at Asaroka continued to grow and by the end of 1947 congregations numbering 6000 were reported. Goldhardt describes a typical gathering: "During the 2 hour service in the open air the different preachers stand facing different directions ... Village by village is called upon to have a spokesman retell the story and make the application previously presented. After the sermon a very impressive thing occurs. Men from here and there arise, hurry to the end of the group and run down the lane. Are they anxious to be on their way home, some of those who have come more than 8 hours march to attend service? No, they are running to get a seat in the school chapel, where again they hear the sermon of the day with its application."

Some of those interviewed about their recollections of these events at Asaroka suggest that there was more to the people's interest in the services than the desire to hear a good sermon. Akiro recalls that Helbig's assertion that the earthquake had been sent by God and that people must repent and become

25 Pastor Akiro Oroso-vano, of Asaroka, interviewed 23.7.82.



Christians had made a profound impression. As noted in chapter 6 Akiro's own preaching emphasised the return of Christ to earth and an unprecedented era of peace in the Valley. A Summer Institute of Linguistics translator, David Strange, who worked in the Upper Asaro area in the 1960s, was told by some of his local assistants that there was a strong belief after the War that if a person became a Christian they would gain a white skin like Europeans. The implication was that if you looked like a European you would automatically gain access to European wealth.(26) When this idea was put to Akiro in 1982 he agreed

26 David Strange, S I L translator, interviewed at Ukarumpa, 3.8.82. David Strange's report of post-war promptings to be like Europeans can be related to events in other parts of Papua New Guinea. Tommy Kabu's movement in the Papuan Delta (see R F Maher. 1961. New Men of Papua - A Study in Culture Change. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.) and the Paliau movement in Manus (see M Mead. 1956. New Lives for Old. New York: Morrow.) are both salutary examples of the effect of war-time experiences on village peoples' expectations for change. Peter Worsley. 1957. The Trumpet Shall Sound. London: MacGibbon and Kee, writes briefly of wartime and post war millenarian movements in the Central Highlands, basing some of his observation on the work of Roland Berndt (R M Berndt, "A Cargo Movement in the East Central Highlands of New Guinea", Oceania, XXIII, Nos 1 - 3 1952-3; "Reaction to Contact in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea", Oceania, XXIV, Nos 3 & 4, 1954). Berndt worked among people living to the east and south east of the Goroka Valley. Worsley also included examples from Kainantu and from the Western Highlands. In all cases the War accelerated peoples' desire to obtain European goods and to become like Europeans.

A final example (one could provide numerous other cases - from Lawrence, Road Belong Cargo, op cit, pp 116 - 221; Healey, op cit, pp 263 - 265; R F Salisbury. 1962. From Stone to Steel. Melbourne University Press, p 121) is found in Peter Hemenstall's "Melanesian Myth Dreams and Transformation Cults in the Huon Peninsula", unpublished paper, 1984, History Department, University of Newcastle. He states that the effect of the War experiences on the eastern Morobe people was "apocalyptic". A spirit of militancy and of self-confidence in

that this was certainly the belief of many people who came to be baptised in 1951; when the change of skin colour failed to occur they decided it must be a gradual process which further religious application would achieve. Hope springs eternal .....

Pastor Buko Usemo recalled in 1974 that the immediate post-War years were a time when people were struggling with the idea that Christianity could protect them from the effects of sorcery. He saw their reaction to Helbig's interpretation of the earthquake in this context. Nobody was killed, which was a sign that God, although warning them of his power, would protect them from misfortune: "God showed his power and many people came to know him." Buko emphasised that "there was fear and superstition in every village" and that the Mission offered what seemed to be effective protection from a host of evil forces, which inhabited the 'heathen' universe. The missionaries' message was reinforced by the fact that it was proclaimed in the local language. Buko stated that he spoke Gahuku so fluently that people said, 'This man must have a mother from here.' When he returned to Goroka in 1974 he noted that people were no longer in fear of sorcery and had consequently become less dependent on the Mission. He told his former congregation that they were making business their god and were neglecting the work of the Lord.(27)

the presence of Europeans marked the beginnings of nationalism and the search for a millenium of abundant material possessions.

27 Pastor Buko Usemo of Finschhafen, interviewed at Goroka, 7.8.74.

A further explanation of the growing interest in the Mission's teaching in 1947 lies in the emphasis which many preachers put on living at peace with one's neighbours. As already noted this was the main thrust in Akiro's village preaching. At a time when government insistence that tribal fighting must cease was having a marked effect throughout the Valley, the Lutherans' announcement that Christianity made people less inclined to fight one another fell on receptive ears. Mention was made in chapter 6 of the post-War experience of Aula Zogizane, fight leader of the Bena village of Kenimaro, who was convinced by his Lutheran pastor that if he got washed (baptised) his bad fighting habits "would by themselves go away".

It is worth noting that the Asaroka religious movement was a phenomenon which was unique to the Goroka Valley, and does not seem to have occurred to the same extent in the adjacent Lutheran areas of Kainantu and Chimbu (28) Nor was it shared by the Seventh Day Adventists, who recommenced their mission work in the Goroka Valley in September 1946, when Pastor and Mrs L.T. Howell and their two boys took up residence at Sigoiya. While the Lutherans were getting up to 6000 worshippers at Asaroka, the SDAs could only muster about 600 at their Sabbath school services.(29) There are several factors which help to explain

28 Information from the Rev Willi Bergmann, interviewed at Mutdapilly, Queensland, 23.6.82. Bergmann stated that the Asaroka phenomenon had elements of cargo cult in it. But note also Berndt's description of cult movements east of Goroka - see Note 26.

29 The Australasian Record, SDA denominational journal published

the Asaroka phenomenon. Paul Helbig's charismatic and fatherly influence would head the list of reasons. Like Willi Bergmann and Hans Flierl he had pioneered work at his mission station pre-War, but had been absent from the field for a much shorter period. Bergmann was interned in Australia in 1939 and returned to Chimbu only in 1948. Hans Flierl was on furlough in Germany when War was declared and he did not take up his work at Kainantu again until 1951. Helbig, on the other hand, left Asaroka in April 1943 and was back again in February 1946. His 'dysentery cure' and explanations of the earthquake enhanced his authority, and his knowledge of Gahuku gave him an interested and appreciative audience. The 'message' preached - power over sorcery and strength to resist the urge to fight - was appropriate to the people at that time, and the stated hope of Christ's imminent return and the inference made by some villagers that acceptance of Christianity would earn them a white skin were powerful incentives to draw people to Asaroka.

Performance of the odd 'miracle' was not beyond the scope of the SDA missionaries, and the return of Christ was well up on their agenda too. But Pastor Howell and his family were newcomers to the Highlands, and knew nothing of the local languages.(30) The

in Sydney, 9 December 1946, 6 October 1947; and The Missionary Leader, SDA mission journal also published in Sydney, March 1948, January 1949.

30 Ward Nolan reported in The Australasian Record, 10 February 1947: "All the missionaries in the Inland are conscious of

pre-War missionary, Pastor Stan Gander, was, like his Lutheran rival Georg Hofmann, not allowed to return to his old mission field. Unlike Hofmann, it was not a pre-War record of non-cooperation with the government that kept him out, but simply the SDA system of postings, which worked against missionaries staying in the one area for long periods of time. There is also the suggestion that the Mission authorities believed Stan Gander was not suited for the post-War phase of mission work in the Highlands.(31) Thus it is not certain that even if the Ganders had returned Sigoiya would at that stage have experienced the sort of religious 'awakening' occurring at Asaroka. The SDAs trump card to ensure future growth was yet to be played - a well organised, English-language school system, and teacher and agricultural training centred on a new mission college at Kabiufa, set in the Lutheran heart-land not three miles from Asaroka. But Kabiufa did not function as a training college until 1953, and its influence was certainly not felt before the mid 1950s. Once fully established at Kabiufa the SDAs gave Ralph Goldhardt the sort of competitive challenge he had been looking for, but Buko claims that it was not until the 1960s that the

language difficulties, and everyone is anxious to master at least one of the native dialects. Brother L I Howell had been on his new station only a week when he had commenced a study of the most important language in his area." However there is no published evidence that the SDA missionaries made much progress in Highland languages.

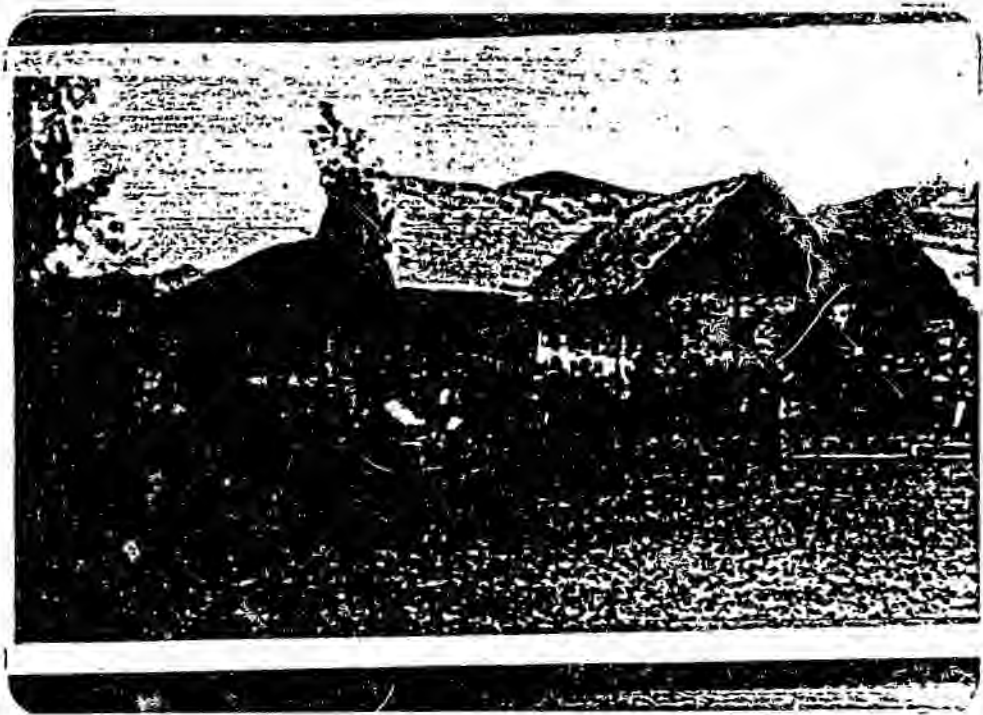
31 Pastor Dave Brennan of Birkdale, Brisbane, in a telephone conversation, 23.6.82.

struggle in the villages between the two Missions became really intense. In the late 1940s the Lutherans were well ahead in numbers and influence. If they made a serious error at this time it was in persisting with Kotte as the language of instruction in the Asaroka school. Helbig reported at the end of 1947 that reading and writing in Kotte was still being taught, albeit with little success, and he explained that it would not be possible to commence English classes until 1949 at the earliest.

In 1948 there was another development with serious future consequences for the Lutherans. Writing in the SDA 'Missionary Leader' in March 1948, Pastor R Thrift announced that inland New Guinea doors were about to swing open. At a conference of missionary leaders and administration officials held in Port Moresby in May 1947, it was agreed that all missionaries should have freedom of movement in certain areas of the Highlands. As Swift, mixing his metaphors, colourfully put it: "This is to be the gold rush of missions! Catholics, Lutherans, Methodist, Seventh-day Adventists, and maybe others are lining up for the barrier to be lowered!" The Lutheran horse, although at this time favourite in the Goroka Valley race, was rather too heavily handicapped to maintain its undisputed lead, and other missions with more realistic education policies would ultimately prove serious challengers.

#### MALCOLM WRIGHT

However when Paul Helbig stepped out of the plane into the sweet



Above: Re-siting an old house at Humilaveka, 1946. Most of Goroka turned out to help.



Left: View of the Govt. Station from the Wrights' house. Swimming pool left, office and store right.

Below: The Wrights' house at Humilaveka, 1946. When Grace Wright arrived in April it was decked out in flowers by the local women.

( G. and M. Wright photos )



To face P.450.

mountain air of Goroka on 23 February 1946 he had the satisfaction of knowing that the field, at least for the time being, was all his. Just three weeks earlier, on 1 February 1946, civil administration had been restored to all of New Guinea "north of the Markham". The Highlands were deemed to be within this area. Aitchison had left Goroka towards the end of 1945, having been promoted to Major, and was succeeded briefly by Captain Arthur Ewing. However a new appointment was made in 1946, possibly to emphasise the change from ANGAU to civilian administration. The appointee was (naval) Lieutenant Malcolm Wright, DSC, who had been a patrol officer in the Madang and New Britain Districts pre-War, and had distinguished himself during the War as a coast watcher in New Britain. During all the period that Bena Force occupied the Goroka Valley Malcolm Wright was observing Japanese air and sea movements along the coast of New Britain, and he played a significant part in preparing for the Allied landings at Arawe and Cape Gloucester in February and March 1944. Administration of the peaceful Highlands was a simple task compared with the demands placed on a coast watcher in New Britain, but he handled his new job with a happy mixture of efficiency and empathy for the people under his care. He was known to the Gorokans as "Mr Laiti" and is perhaps remembered best by them because of his wife Grace. She was able to join him at Goroka in April 1946 and when word of her impending arrival got around 3000 villagers turned up at the airstrip to greet her. The bush materials house at Humilaveka was completely decked out with flowers in her honour by the local women, and every old lady



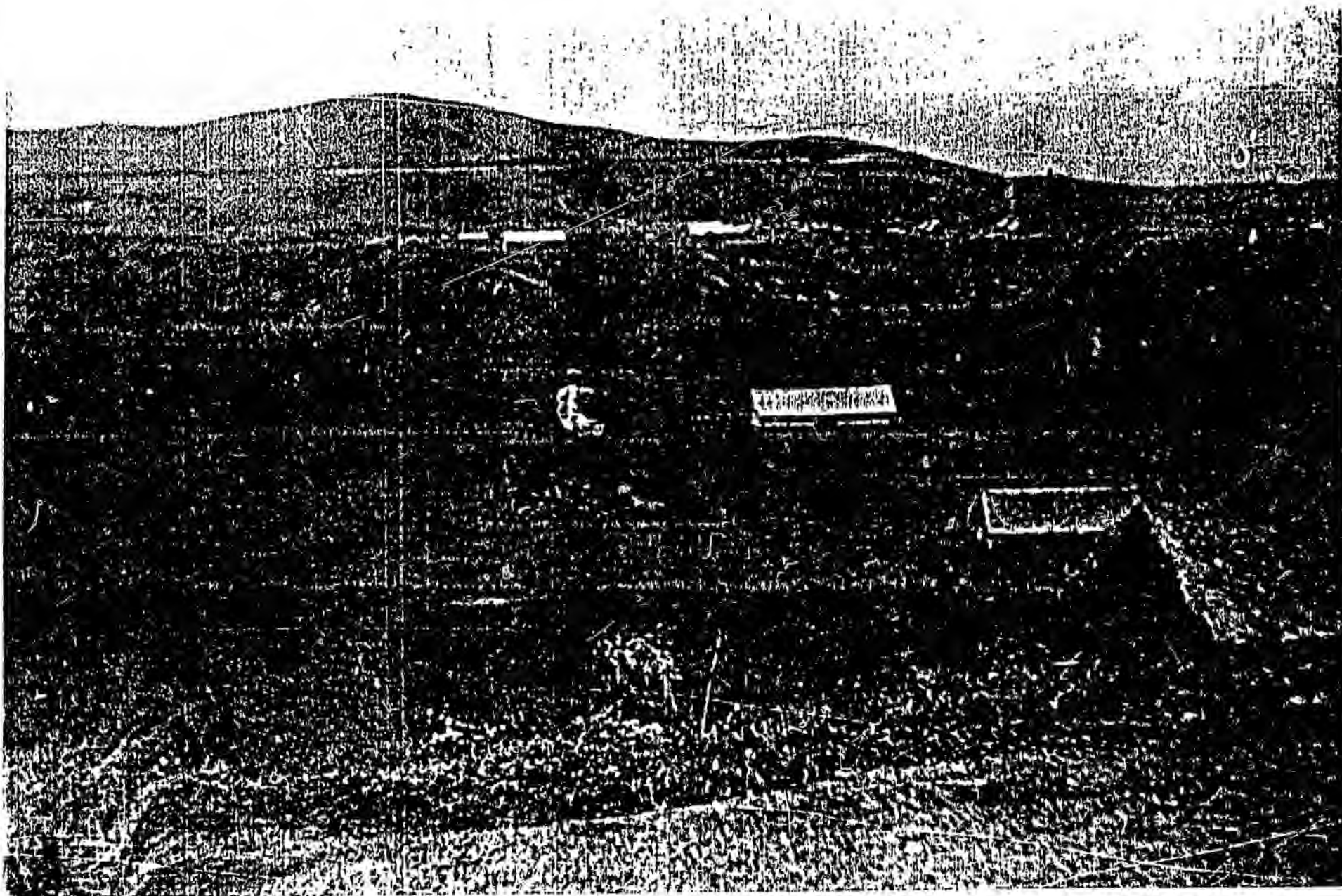
in the district wanted to touch and poke her to make sure she was real. She was the first white woman to return to the Goroka Valley after the War and the first kiap's wife to live on the government station. All pre-War and War-time patrol officers at Bena and Goroka had been single men or their wives had been evacuated to Australia. Grace Wright consequently excited enormous interest among the local people.(32)

The European community at Goroka in 1946 consisted of the Wrights, the medical assistant Os Toohy and the roadmaster Jimmy Wilton. Patrol Officers were based at Kainantu, Henganofi, Kundiawa and Mount Hagen, but at this early stage civil administration in the Highlands was carried out by a tiny staff of Europeans when compared with the number employed by ANGAU. Malcolm Wright had to look after the Goroka Valley virtually on his own. When assessing the situation with Arthur Ewing he discovered an enormous quantity of surplus trade - mainly shell - left behind by the Army, and he decided to put it to immediate use. Deputations of villagers had been arriving at the station demanding compensation for relatives employed as carriers during the War who had died of dysentery, malaria, etc, and also for property damaged or destroyed during Bena Force's occupation. Wright set up a war compensation tribunal presided over by the local police. On the table lay two spears - the spears of truth

32 Malcolm and Grace Wright, interviewed at Sunshine Beach, Queensland, 28.2.76.

- which were pointed towards the claimant. If it was suspected he was lying he was run off the station at the point of one of the spears. If the claim was upheld, compensation would be paid in shell. In this way a potential source of village unrest was overcome, at no expense to the Administration.

The other use to which the surplus trade was put was road building. There were plenty of willing labourers once it was known that shell was available for payment. On one occasion 1000 Chimbus arrived on the Wrights' doorstep wanting to work on the road. Jimmy Wilton advised Malcolm Wright that it would be feasible to upgrade the rough jeep track from Goroka to Asaroka and take it further on across the Asaro towards Chimbu. So they pegged out a 2 chain wide road and put "a beautiful dirt camber" on it, and in due course drove the new Administrator, J.K. Murray, along it for 3 or 4 miles in the station jeep. Murray embarrassed them by raising his hat to every Gorokan they passed - there is a story that he once raised his hat to a letter box he bumped into in a Brisbane street - and at the end of the ride announced that the road could not go on because there were no funds for it. Wright patiently pointed out that it was costing the Government nothing because of the surplus kina and trade goods. Murray then complained that they were making it too wide, at which Jimmy Wilton exploded and said, "You can't damn well have a road in this country with proper drainage unless it is as wide as this." Murray reluctantly agreed to let them continue "until further notice". This was not the only time that



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Goroka school established by Malcolm Wright in 1946. The floral Australian flag of  
coleuses probably planted by Harley Armitstead in 1945.

( J.L.Taylor photo)

officialdom attempted to stifle local initiative.

Shortly after Grace Wright's arrival a school was established in Goroka, to which she devoted much of her time on a voluntary basis. It was built in the small valley formed by the Zokizoi Creek, which flows between the Humilaveka terrace on its north side and the terrace now occupied by the Greathead Drive residential area on the south (where, incidentally, ANGAU had established the Goroka 'haus-sik' (native hospital) and the labour compound in the latter stages of the War.) The class-room stood on the site now occupied by Goroka Technical College. Beside it was a magnificent floral Australian flag, made up of coleuses probably planted under Harley Armitstead's direction in 1945. Two clerks from New Ireland, 'Joe' Watori and Yeraka, who had attended Malabunga school near Rabaul before the War, had little work to do in the office, so they volunteered to teach Pidgin and basic hygiene in the school. From 150 to 200 children attended classes each week, for a course which lasted for about a month. Each new intake was taken down to the Zokizoi Creek by Watori for a good soap and scrub, their long matted hair was cut, their noses wiped and a lap lap was issued to wrap around their now gleaming brown bodies. During the War, Watori had been given a French horn by Dal Chambers, a member of the elite 'Z' Force commando unit which patrolled behind the Japanese lines in the Sepik from its Highlands base. He had taught Watori to play "Men of Harlech" but by 1946 that was still the extent of Watori's repertoire. Grace found a book of songs which she played on an old piano acquired from the Rest Camp at Airpos, and she was able

to teach Watori to play some of the songs on the French horn. These were duly taught to the children, who now included music in their curriculum. At the end of one monthly intake when the school assembled for the passing out parade, the children surprised the Wrights with a rather shaky rendition of "God Save the King". Malcolm Wright reported this and other school achievements to the newly established Education Department in Port Moresby, but officialdom was not impressed. He was advised that the school did not conform to any curriculum the Department was planning, and it should be disbanded forthwith. He pointed out that like the road and the war compensation payments the school was not costing the Government a penny, and until the Education Department was prepared to send trained teachers and set up its own school in Goroka, the Pidgin classes would continue to meet a very real need among the local people.(33)

33 It is difficult to reconcile this story with Murray Groves' record as first Director of Education and his administration of the Department. Although it became policy that the medium of instruction be English, Groves was sympathetic towards the use of Pidgin and vernaculars and the adaptation of curriculum to local needs, under certain circumstances. However he was not appointed Director until 17 June 1946, and in the early stages of policy implementation was probably apprehensive of non educational government officers in the field applying ad hoc solutions to education problems. The fact that the Goroka school continued to function during Jim Taylor's time (1946 - 1949) under two Pidgin speaking teachers, Sabumei Kofikai and John Akunai, suggests that it was not Pidgin as the medium of instruction which prompted Groves' negative reaction to Malcolm Wright's school initiative. For details of Groves' record and policy see D J Dickson and G Smith, "Education, History and Development", in Peter Ryan (Ed). 1972. Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea. Melbourne University Press, pp 323 - 326.

Malcolm Wright's independence and initiative made him a superb coast watcher, but were qualities not judged by some of his superiors in Moresby to be suitable for the job in Goroka. Consequently when Jim Taylor, who in 1946 was chafing behind a desk as head of the Department of Labour, asked to be given the post of District Officer for the new Central Highlands, the opportunity was taken to move Malcolm Wright sideways to the position of ADO, Lae, where he could not make decisions on his own. He did become a District Commissioner himself in 1951. His last act of common sense resistance came shortly after Jim Taylor's appointment was announced, when the soon to be 'last Emperor of the Middle Kingdom' wrote advising him to stop building the Asaroka road because in his view a road to Chimbu must go south by way of Mt Michael and the lower Wahgi, a route which to this day has baffled the road engineers. When Jimmy Wilton heard this he was incensed, but Wright told him to keep working on the Asaroka road. "If Jim Taylor has anything to do with roads, they will never get built", he told the irate road master. Jim Taylor's reputation for less than efficient administration had preceded him. As Max Orken, a post-war Land Titles Commissioner commented in 1976, "Jim Taylor was a splendid outside man, but he was not a good administrator. He had no idea how to run an office. A lot of the old-timers were like that."(34)

34 Max Orken, Land Titles Commissioner based at Goroka until his retirement in 1973, interviewed at Sunshine Beach, Queensland, 28.2.76.



Above: Humilaveka, c. 1948.  
Headquarters of the  
Central Highlands  
District.



Left: The District Head-  
quarters office,  
Humilaveka, Goroka.  
As the first and only  
D.C. before the  
District was split  
into two (Eastern and  
Western Highlands) Jim  
Taylor described him-  
self as 'the last  
Emperor of the Middle  
Kingdom'.

(Jim Taylor photos)  
Below: Jim Leahy's trade store  
on site of present-day  
Burns-Philp main store,  
Goroka, early 1950s. His  
first trade-store, a bush  
materials hut, was situat-  
ed beside the aerodrome.

(Jim Leahy photo)

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## JIM TAYLOR

Jim Taylor arrived back in Goroka early in November 1946, to the expressed delight of thousands of Highlanders. He may not have run an efficient office, but as a kiap in day to day contact with New Guineans there was none to equal him. One of his tasks was to introduce Australian currency as the means of exchange, an innovation which was to require sensitive handling. Many Gorokans were reluctant to accept unfamiliar notes and coins in place of gleaming shells and useful trade items. In the change-over period in 1947 - 48 Jim Taylor displayed a sample of notes and coins under glass on a table outside his Humilaveka office, and put a policeman on duty to explain to the hundreds of visitors who came daily to the station their value and purchasing power. At first some people tried to smoke the paper notes or threw them away, but the coins gained a more ready acceptance.(35) It was easy enough to offer wages in money for work done for the Administration and to pay one farthing a pound for sweet potatoes delivered to Humilaveka, but the problem was to provide trade items for the people to buy, and to teach the customers the value of each item. It was not the Government's job to set up trade stores, but on 26 June 1948 Jim Leahy applied

35 J L Taylor, interviewed at Goroka on numerous occasions between 1972 and 1983. All following quotations from these interviews.





'Kalabus' and police barracks, north Goroka, c.1947. The prison buildings do not appear to be made of galvanised iron at this stage.

( Jim Taylor photo)

Insert: Jim Taylor photographed in 1976.

for a trading licence (36) and he opened the first store in Goroka, next to the airstrip, soon afterwards. His story of the success of this venture was recalled during an interview in August, 1975. He chartered a DC3 to stock the store for several months, but everything sold out in 3 or 4 days. When he accepted "dirty old one-pound notes" in exchange for shining new axes or brightly coloured lengths of lap lap material the people could not believe their good fortune and they would shake hands with him and then, as he put it, would "run like hell" before he changed his mind. However Jim Leahy acknowledged that this smooth transition to a money economy could not have occurred without Jim Taylor's careful preparation of the people: "When Taylor told them that something was ok then everybody accepted it; there was no more trouble."

Jim Taylor, a modest and self-effacing man, did admit in 1983 that the Goroka people held him in high regard when he was District Officer, and usually did what he said: "I think one of the reasons why it was so orderly was that when women came up to the office to complain about something the men would come too and say, 'Oh, we'll get a very good understanding today because Taylor is here.'" He confined a minimum of offenders to the 'Kalabus', and those who were jailed were at least well housed.

36 J L Leahy, Application for a Trading Allotment Licence, Sitanei - Goroka - Bena, File 34/2/1-13, District Office Archives, Goroka.

Official eyebrows were raised when the kalabus was constructed in corrugated iron, but to their criticism Taylor replied, "These prisoners are the King's guests. If they were locked up in an ordinary bush materials place they might burn to death."

Any assessment of Jim Taylor's period of administration of the Central Highlands from November 1946 to February 1949 must take account of the prevailing circumstances in this immediate post-War period. As Taylor pointed out in a letter to the Administrator J.K. Murray on 12 December 1947, he and a staff of four Assistant District Officers (ADOs) and six Patrol Officers (POs) had to try to control a territory extending "over 22,000 square miles" and "with an unknown population that could be in the vicinity of a quarter of a million."(37) In 1947 there was one Medical Officer for the whole District and only a handful of European Medical Assistants (EMAs). There was one District Storeman based at Goroka, and one European Clerk in the District Office. A European Roadmaster, Jack Fox, had the impossible task of maintaining the jeep road system built by Bena Force and ANGAU.(38) As late as April 1947 the District depended on the good offices of the RAAF to have jeep parts repaired in

37 Taylor to Murray, 12 December 1947. Filed with A518 - W.841/1 Attacks by Natives - shooting of 5 Natives by Admin. patrol, August 1947. Australian Archives, Canberra.

38 Jack Fox, of Korn Farm, Mount Hagen, interviewed 26.6.76.

Australia.(39) A Senior Mechanic, a European, supervised the work of one or two New Guinean mechanics. At Aiyura Aub Schindler continued as Agricultural Officer. Working under this core of less than twenty European officers were 210 native police, 117 Administration servants (this would include clerks, interpreters, medical orderlies, mechanics, storemen, road works overseers, drivers, cooks, etc.) and 516 casual workers (labourers and carriers). These figures are based on an October 1947 District establishment and rations return (40) and underline the enormous burden of administration carried by the District Officer and his European staff. Although the police force was generally competent and experienced in the tasks of pacification and control, European supervision was still regarded as necessary. The training of local clerks and other personnel was in its early stages - there was no Administrative College and post-War technical and para-medical education had only just been established under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS).

One of Jim Taylor's first tasks was to set up an administrative

39 J L Taylor, Letter of introduction dated 21 April 1947, "Mr Newman of RAAF taking to Australia for repair 2 jeep crankshafts..." Transport - General file No 27/1. District Office Archives, Goroka. The RAAF was still making regular flights into Goroka in April 1947, but by the end of that year such flights had ceased and Goroka was dependent on commercial airlines for all passenger services and delivery of supplies.

40 Filed under "General Planning and Administration, 1947 - 1954", D O A G (District Office Archives, Goroka).

structure based on four sub-districts, which he named Kainantu, Bena, Hagen and Wabag. He placed ADOs at Kainantu, Kundiawa (Chimbu) and Mount Hagen, and when later in 1947 a fourth ADO was appointed he was sent to Wabag. The Wabag Sub-District was the frontier region, where contact and pacification were still very much the order of the day, but this was also true of the remoter, southerly parts of the other three sub-districts. The Bena Sub-District included the Goroka Valley, the whole of the Chimbu (41) and all that vast territory south from Mt Michael to the Papuan border. In 1947, in addition to Taylor whose responsibilities covered the whole District, there was one Patrol Officer based at Goroka, Don Eisenhauer, an ADO, J.A. Costelloe at Kundiawa and a Cadet Patrol Officer, Craig Symonds, assisting Costelloe in the Chimbu area. When Ralph Goldhardt passed through Goroka on his way to Asaroka in August 1947 he found that there were five European officers living at the station - Taylor, Eisenhauer, Bill Thomas the acting District Medical Officer (42), A.R.(Cherry)Lane, Medical Assistant, R.F.(Snow) MacFarlan, District Storeman, and Gil Baylev, District Clerk. In spite of the heavy workload placed on all these officers, Jim Taylor says that morale was good: "The trick was to always have one more house than your staff requires. Then you don't have to force

41 Chimbu became a separate sub-District in 1948.

42 Thomas was an E M A (European Medical Assistant) but he acted as District M O before the arrival of a qualified medical officer Dr J Ackerman, whom Bepi Moha described as "a kindly Jewish doctor with mausgrass."

people to share accommodation or unload unwelcome guests on them. This made Goroka a happy place." Taylor regarded his Goroka appointment as his "legitimate task" and his enthusiasm and positive attitude towards the work rubbed off on his colleagues.

The natural environment would also have helped to lift their spirits. The breath-taking beauty of Goroka is captured in prose by the Australian anthropologist Kenneth (Mick) Read, who spent two years from 1950 living with a Gahuku-speaking clan, the Nagamidzuha, in the village of Susuroka, which is within walking distance of the government station at Humilaveka. Read breathed "the thin, high air sharp with the freshness of morning" and experienced the exhilaration of his first jeep ride from the new airstrip to Humilaveka, where he stayed with the ADO, Dudley Young-Whitford: "We passed the entrances to two villages where rows of round, thatched houses hid in the shadows. Then the road ran downhill, crossed a covered bridge above white water, rose to the light in careless but wholly enchanting abandon, and brought us out to a green plateau at the edge of the valley." The view from Humilaveka was "a vast bowl, open to a changing sky, walled by mountains, folded into ridges where the spired groves closed above the clustered houses, laced with white streams that filled the air with the sound of their descent, veined by narrow tracks, and traversed by a few roads which carried the infrequent traffic of a new people."

Patrol reports and office files fail to capture this pristine

atmosphere, but it could not have been lost on the "new people" who inhabited Humilaveka. Like Read they too "had walked these tracks when the damp grasses soaked ... clothes and the garden fences were etched with a tender, golden light." They too "heard the cries of flutes beating like invisible wings against a blue sky, winding their magic thread along the paths of evening."(43) Like Read it would not have been difficult for them to fall under the enchanting spell of this high valley landscape and be glad that their "legitimate task" had brought them to this place.

A later administrator, Ian Downs, probably suspected that there had been too much enchantment with the view and not enough awareness of the reality behind it. When he submitted his first quarterly report shortly after becoming District Commissioner of the Eastern Highlands in August 1952 he wrote: "We have done virtually nothing for the economic development and education of 242,000 people under census."(44) In three years of dynamic leadership Downs was able to rectify this situation, but it should be recognised that he had many more resources in manpower, equipment and funding than his predecessors in the immediate post-War period, and also benefitted from the civil administration structure which Jim Taylor had established. An

43 K E Read. 1965. The High Valley. London: Allen and Unwin, quotations from pp 12, 249 & 250.

44 Ian Downs, "Appendix B, Quarterly Report", period ending 30 September 1952, Eastern Highlands District - Policy. File 34-1-2, DOAG.

examination of a small selection of files, relating to Jim Taylor's period as District Officer, suggests that he was a more competent administrator than perhaps his critics give him credit for.(45) He is the first to admit that economic development was very slow in 1947 and 1948 but this was due to limiting circumstances rather than any failure of will.

At the time that Jim Taylor took up his Highlands appointment in late 1946 his old friend and colleague John Black, now an Assistant Director in the newly created Department of District Services and Native Affairs (DDS & NA) prepared an outline 'Policy and Working Plan For the Development of the Highlands District over the Next Five Years'.(46) His basic premise was

45 When I examined these files in a rat-infested shed at the rear of the District Office, Goroka, in 1974, it was clear that the complete set of records of Jim Taylor's period of administration was no longer available. In December 1974 the then District Commissioner Bernard Borok received instructions from Port Moresby that all old files should be examined and those considered of no archival value were to be destroyed. Bernie took a look at the piles of musty files which had suffered the ravages of rats and silver fish, and decided that all should be consigned to the flames. Following a 'tip-off' from ADO Rob Cleland, I was able to save some of them from the bonfire. Fortunately, those documents concerning land purchases were preserved by the DO Lands, and as far as I know are in safe keeping in the new Provincial Government Offices, Goroka.

46 John Black to Director, Department District Services and Native Affairs, 13 December 1946, "Policy and Working Plan for the Development of the Highlands District Over the Next Five Years". Following discussions with the Directors of Public Health, Public Works and Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries on his general recommendations, Black added a list of specific "Recommendations" (Black to Director, DDS & NA, 18 December 1946) which included the immediate opening of a Native Medical Orderly



that "the ultimate development of the Ramu-Purari-Wahgi Plateau will depend on the successful implementation of an active agricultural policy, embracing the establishment of native peasant proprietorship producing cash and better subsistence crops by family and clan groups on their own land and by village cooperatives undertaking larger communal undertakings where for technical reasons (eg tea plantations) the successful and economic development of the crop warrants it." To implement this economic policy of (native) agricultural development Black believed that a road linking the coast at Lae with the Highlands was essential, and much of his report is concerned with how this might be achieved. He envisaged a chain of European-planned establishments along this highway, the purpose of which would be to foster and encourage native agricultural projects. These would include towns, patrol and police posts, agricultural stations and stock farms, hospitals and schools, mission stations

Training School and a Central Agricultural Station at Goroka. Both documents in a file, "General Planning and Administration 1946-54", plucked from the burning, so to speak, in December 1974 (see note 45). After John Black left Goroka in September 1944 he came under the influence of Alf Conlon and the Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs. By mid 1945 he found himself in Borneo as part of the British Borneo Civil Affairs Unit, which was under the control of Conlon and the Directorate staff in Australia, until a British military administration took over. By the time Black returned to Port Moresby he was thoroughly imbued with Conlon's ideas for the future development of Papua New Guinea, ideas which surface in this Policy and Working Plan for the Highlands.

For details of Conlon's aims for Papua New Guinea see B Jinks, "Alfred Conlon, Directorate of Research and New Guinea", Journal of Australian Studies, No 12, June 1983.

and small European farms. He stressed that the latter two should be small and concentrate on intensive methods of agriculture. "Large ecclesiastical feudal estates and European properties are incompatible with native interests and development", he added. "Native interests and development" were the linch-pins of administration policy, and at this point a European plantation economy was seen as having little relevance to this overall aim.

Jim Taylor was basically in agreement with John Black's five year development plan, but faced with the practical realities of his situation, he responded cautiously. He reminded J.H.Jones, the Director of District Services and Native Affairs that it must be "based on the assumption that funds, material and human resources are available to enable the proposals to be put into effect." His first-hand knowledge of the limited resources available to the new civil government, gained while he was Secretary for Labour in Moresby, made him sceptical. He also pointed out that there was going to be "considerable difficulty in the next twelve months in merely maintaining existing stations in this District" and that they should not lose sight of the fact in their enthusiasm for economic development that "exploration, pacification and consolidation of control should go on constantly." There spoke the 'outside man' who still recognised the Highlands as Australia's moving frontier.

Malcolm Wright's prediction that under Taylor roads would never get built was not entirely accurate. It is true that Ian Downs was responsible for the completion of the road from Lae to Mount

Hagen, overcoming the enormous problems of constructing passes at Kassam and Daulo. But the hard initial trail-blazing, at least for the Daulo Pass, which links the Goroka Valley with Chimbu, was done during Jim Taylor's time. Any plans Taylor may have had for a southerly route via Mt Michael were dropped when John Black recommended an upgrading of the pack-horse trail from Asaroka to Watabung, which crossed the Asaro Range at Daulo, a saddle in the mountains situated just over 8000' feet above sea level. Tom Leabeater, a patrol officer assigned to the Upper Asaro area in 1949, confirms that work was proceeding on the Daulo Pass road during the latter part of Taylor's administration,(47) and Jack Fox stated (1976) that as roadmaster at that time, "Jim Taylor did an excellent job doing everything he possible could to give me all the equipment and labour I required for the job." It would seem that those who worked with Taylor and appreciated the difficulties of supply and distribution were not aware of any lack of administrative efficiency in the District office.

Some idea of the magnitude of the problems confronting Taylor can be gained from the files in the Goroka archives. The supply of perishable food rations to the District from government stores in Lae provides a classic example of official regulations triumphing over common sense. By the end of 1947 the sub-District stations

47 Tom Leabeater, interviewed at Broadbeach, Queensland, 25.1.75.

were stocked with an embarrassing over-supply of wheatmeal, much of it weevil infested and unfit for human consumption. This state of affairs existed because the regulations required the storeman in Lae to supply wheatmeal on a six-monthly basis, and all Jim Taylor's pleadings to have it sent in smaller quantities more frequently fell on deaf ears. Taylor kept suggesting to his superiors that the Central Highlands have a 'beach agent' at Lae or Madang, who would be responsible to him and would be thoroughly conversant with the needs of the Highlands stations. He stressed that Madang, which is only 70 miles from Goroka by air would be a much cheaper despatch point for supplies than Lae, which was 120 miles distance. He argued that if stores were moved to Madang, the Administration would save £7,000 annually in air freight to the Highlands.(48) He also had to do battle with the private air charter companies over poundage rates. He discovered that they were charging only 2 pence a pound for freight from Lae to Bulolo (70 miles) but 8 pence a pound Lae to Goroka (120 miles). He urged his superiors to take a strong line with the air transport companies, if necessary cancelling all charters in an effort to force prices down. Taylor was prepared, in these circumstances, to "maintain the District upon internal supplies and stocks held." He warned Jones that "from what I can gather, the Administration is, insofar as it is involved in the

48 Taylor to Director, DDS & NA, 9 August 1947, "Air Freight Charges", Finance - Travel/Freight Warrants, File No 9/6/3, DOA, Goroka.

hire of air transport, a laughing stock amongst those who are exploiting the situation and making the profits."

As well as being over-supplied in some items, a more common occurrence was the under-supply of certain essentials. When J.H. McDonald, Acting Assistant Director, DDS & NA, made an inspection of the Chimbu station in December 1947, he reported that police equipment and uniforms, for which requisitions had been in "for some considerable time", were urgently required: "75% of the police I saw were not in uniform and those I questioned said they had nothing but khaki 'lap laps'. Handcuffs are also required." There were no pressure lamps on the station and "staff were at a great disadvantage with hurricane lamps only."(49) The maintenance of jeeps and the supply of spare parts was a never-ending problem for the senior mechanic at Goroka. Matters became so desperate that Jim Taylor purchased at his own expense two second-hand jeeps in Lae, one in October 1946 and the other in May 1947. For six months the station was entirely dependent on these vehicles. In July 1948 Taylor wrote to headquarters stressing that "motor transport at this station has been kept operating only by pooling the vehicles and cannibalising when necessary."(50) On 15 October 1948 the

49 J H McDonald to Director, DDS & NA, 13 December 1947, "Central Highlands District", General Planning and Administration, 1946 - 54. DOA Goroka.

50 Taylor to Director, DDS & NA, 20 July 1948, "Privately Owned Jeep - Mr J L Taylor", Transport - General, 1947 - 1956. file No 27-1. DOA Goroka.

Medical Officer, Dr J. Akerman, pleaded with his Director for a jeep for medical work. The two jeeps in the station 'pool' had "enough work hauling supplies from the lower strip and timber from long distances". Akerman reported that the road to Kainantu was now open, with all bridges restored and wash ways repaired. He predicted, over optimistically, that it would be possible to drive to Mount Hagen in a jeep by early 1949.(51)

One time-consuming task which fell to the District Office was the processing of war damage compensation claims. Compensation of New Guineans was comparatively simple, as those who made claims do not seem to have argued over the outcome. Makarai Bobe, who stated in 1984 that ANGAU still owed him money, accepted 3.7.0 in June 1949 without complaint.(52) Eso'nuwe and Buko received compensation for the loss of their possessions, which were destroyed when their houses at Asaroka were bombed by the Japanese, and Buko seems to have been happy about the amount paid.(53) Dealing with the Europeans was a different matter. The American Lutheran missionary H. R. Hannemann led the clamour for restitution of mission property. He claimed that the

51 Dr J Akerman to Director, Public Health Department, 15 October 1948, "Transport PHD Goroka", ibid.

52 J H Jones, Acting Director DDS & NA to DO, Central Highlands, 6 June 1949, "War Damage Compensation", War Damage - Native - Goroka File No 38/3, DOA Goroka.

53 J L Taylor to E P Helbig, 21 March 1947, ibid.  
Buko interviewed at Goroka, 7 August 1974.

government officers at Kundiawa were holding and making use of his household furniture, which had been removed from his house at Kerowahgi during the War.(54) Costelloe was reluctant to surrender the desk, table and bed, realising that if he did he would be working, eating and sleeping on the floor for the next six months, so he suggested that Hannemann apply for financial compensation instead. However a missionary of whom Downs wrote in 1952: "Rev Hannemann of the Lutheran Mission was most obstructive. This is not new. Hannemann's native missionaries have been anti-Administration and anti-European since 1938"(55) was not to be put off so easily. He insisted on the return of his property, and through his Mission superiors fought the issue all the way to the Administrator's office (56). Another bone of contention was the ownership of livestock - horses, cattle, sheep and goats which the District found to have in its possession after the War. In a rare display of ecumenical cooperation the Lutherans and Roman Catholics combined forces to lay claim to these animals, asserting that they must all belong to the

54 J A Costelloe to DO Garoka, 9 April 1947, "Furniture at Chimbu Claimed by Rev Mr Hanneman (sic)", War Damage - European. File No 38/1. DOA Goroka.

55 Ian F G Downs, Acting Assistant Director to Director, DDS & NA, 11 July 1952, "Inspection Report: Central Highlands Areas: July, 1952", p 5. Untitled file, DOA Goroka.

56 Correspondence from the Administrator (30 May 1947) to the Government Secretary indicates that the Catholic and Lutheran Missions had sent Murray a joint letter requesting the return of mission property. File 38/1, DOA Goroka.

Missions as the Administration did not have any livestock in the Highlands preWar. Jim Taylor was quick to refute this claim, but he agreed to let the missionaries sort out between themselves which animals were theirs and take them away. The whole debate lasted from April 1947 to June 1948 requiring government staff to give time to a matter which diverted them from more urgent tasks of native development. A long document listing all the livestock in each of the subDistricts returned to the Missions by June 1948, must have required many hours of preparation. A receipt made out by Paul Helbig (3 June 1948) records the return of horses and cattle to Asaroka. In the light of Pastor Akiro's remark about the Bena Force soldiers eating all the Asaroka cows (see ch 7), one can only speculate on whose animals they may have been. The Asaroka missionaries were also prompted by Hannemann to secure the release of his circular saw which Jim Taylor was using at Goroka to cut timber for the station. The last word came from Clara Hofmann, who wrote to George Greathead in February 1950 asking about personal effects they had left at Asaroka, including one "Waldhorn - cornet, I guess". This was no doubt the "trombone" without a mouthpiece which Don Latimer of the 2/7 had tried unsuccessfully to play in 1943. The War Damages Commission said it was neither a cornet nor a trombone but a French horn. Such were the distractions which the processes of compensation of Europeans provided the authorities.

The missionaries made further demands on Taylor's time when it became obvious that guidelines on their movements and activities



in the Highlands were needed. In correspondence dated 8 February 1947 Jim Taylor informed his Director that immediately after assuming control of the District in November 1946 he began inquiries with a view to submitting a report on this subject.(57) His report is detailed and comprehensive, suggesting principles to govern movement and behaviour of missionaries, land alienation and the rights of local populations with regard to mission influence. Appendices include areas of land occupied by missions in 1947, and areas under various degrees of government control. In September 1947 Taylor produced a 6 page document setting out conditions under which missionaries and other persons could enter uncontrolled areas. All of the Central Highlands were regarded as "uncontrolled", with the exception of those areas to be designated as towns, but a distinction would be made between territory which although technically "uncontrolled" was actually "under real and effective control" and known as Area A, and territory where the safety of Europeans could not be expected, and would be described as Area B. Within certain limits missionaries, gold prospectors and others could move freely within Area A, but were not permitted to enter Area B. The guidelines also covered such matters as mission leases, the employment of native teachers, helpers, catechists, etc from other Districts and the establishment of mission schools and helper stations. In devising these recommendations Taylor was

57 Taylor to Director, DDS & NA, 8 February 1947, "Extension of Missionary Activities in Central Highlands", Missions - General. File 32-1-1. DOA Goroka.

able to draw on his very considerable pre-War experience, and remembering the friction which had often occurred between missionaries and government officers and between missionaries of different denominations, he included a paragraph headed "Advice to Field Officers", which stated that "it is the wish of the Commonwealth Government that the Administration and Missionary Societies should work together for the development of the people" and that officers in the field should act "impartially and wisely" in their dealings with missionaries.

Arising from his pre War observations Taylor was most concerned about limiting the numbers of non Highland mission helpers and the amount of land to be leased to mission bodies. At the conference called by the Administrator between government and mission representatives,(58) held in May 1947, Taylor outlined the difficulties which "foreign" native missionaries had created for the Administration in the Highlands pre War: "(He) might be out in a lonely place - the people become hostile - he uses the Government as a 'bogey' .... Then again, they eventually become controllers of the village or group ... They are human beings and they exploit their power. That means that it is very difficult for a District Officer to put his policy into effect if it conflicts with what this Mission helper in the village wishes."

58 Conference of Representatives of Missions and Administration, May 1947. 87 page Report, with appendices - roneod.

He recalled that during the War when he assembled the Lutheran helpers for repatriation to their homes on the coast he found that with their wives and children they numbered 700: "I could not recommend to His Honour that any number like that could come in", he added.

With regard to land alienation Taylor reminded the conference that "native land rights have been preserved, particularly necessary as they were a very mystical people who welcomed us as their dead returned, and would have sold the whole of the highlands to the Government or to any person who would have settled amongst them." The amount of agricultural land alienated to both missions and government should be limited to no more than is necessary to support the station, for in a generation or two "every acre of land" would be required to grow food for the local population.

Taylor's policy, which received the full support of the Government, had several implications for the Lutherans and Seventh Day Adventists working in the Goroka Valley. It was clear that they must take seriously the obligation to train local evangelists and teachers, rather than relying as they had pre-War on the importation of helpers from the coast. Consequently there was the need for post-primary education, which in the course of time resulted in the establishment of secondary schools at Asaroka and Kabiufa. With regard to land leases, Taylor tried to discourage the SDAs from establishing a mission at Kabiufa. Ward

Nolan, Pastor Howell's colleague at Sigoiya, had applied for 10 hectares there, but Taylor pointed out that a mission lease application could only be for 2.5 hectares, and an agricultural or pastoral lease would be subject to the payment of rent. (59) Eventually the SDA Mission obtained the agricultural lease it desired, but until 1953 when it became a training institution with 170 students, Kabiufa was only a small station on a mission lease. In 1947, Jim Taylor considered that the 50 hectares requested by the SDAs for their new Sigoiya station in the Bena would be sufficient for their agricultural needs. The Adventists were no doubt aware that pre-War the Lutherans had gained 720 hectares at Asaroka, land which, incidentally, included the mission airstrip. Constant surveillance of one's rival mission, and a desire to match or outdo it's influence and resources, was a not uncommon practice. Taylor's work in preparing guidelines for the missions, time-consuming as such a task was, did contribute to the smooth running of future administration in the Highlands. His contribution to policy making in this and other areas (5 Year Development Plan, stores and equipment supplies, sub-District boundaries and administration, etc) needs to be acknowledged in any assessment of his period as District Officer.

It is ironical that the area of exploration, pacification and control, in which it is generally acknowledged that Jim Taylor

59 Taylor to Director, DDS & NA, 8 February 1947, "Extension of Missionary Activities in Central Highlands", Appendix 2: Area of Land Occupied by Missionary Societies, loc cit.

excelled, provided the one incident which almost brought about his downfall as an administrator and hastened the end of his career in District Services. In August 1947, Chimbu ADO John Costelloe and his Cadet Patrol Officer Craig Symonds did a patrol in wild country south of Karap, in the Gumine area. Jim Taylor reported that the terrain was extremely difficult and the people had a reputation for aggressive behaviour. This was the first patrol into this southern part of the Chimbu. At some point on the expedition Costelloe received a message to return to base as he was required in Port Moresby. So Symonds was left with the police to continue the patrol. They knew that a fight leader called Mek and his warriors "had already committed some acts of violence including homicide", and the party was naturally on the alert for trouble. When the confrontation finally came, however, the police panicked and Symonds watched helplessly as they shot dead 5 fleeing warriors. Symonds was probably responsible for his police actions, although Taylor did entertain some doubt as to whether he had any legal authority over them. Taylor gave the young CPO a severe reprimand, but having regard to his inexperience, the circumstances of the patrol and the fact that a Coronial enquiry, out of which charges might have been laid, would have been a costly and time consuming exercise, he let the matter rest there. Unfortunately his superiors in Moresby did not take so benign a view of the affray, and by December Jim Taylor found himself relieved of his duties as District Officer and ordered down to Moresby to answer accusations of attempting to cover up for his junior officer. Taylor was deeply shocked

that his superiors could entertain such serious doubts about his integrity, considering his unblemished record in twenty years of civil and military service in New Guinea. He had, after all, given a full report of the incident and the action he had taken. It is feasible that the men of the old Papuan administration were 'out to get him', although the acting Director of District Services, J.H. Jones, had been a New Guinea officer, as was J.H. McDonald, the acting Assistant Director who came to Chimbu to conduct an enquiry into the affair in November. The man chosen to replace Jim Taylor as District Officer during his suspension, however, was the ex-Papuan explorer and 'outside man' Ivan Champion. There was naturally some competition between Champion and Taylor, although there is no evidence that Champion exploited the Chimbu affray to gain an advantage over his rival. He used his two months at Goroka to continue the battle with Stores Branch in Lae over the supply of wheatmeal,(60) and seems to have been successful in getting it issued on a needs basis. He also instructed all ADOs to grow peas on their stations so that dried peas would not have to be air-freighted from Lae. It may be significant that he signed all his correspondence as District Officer, not Acting District Officer as Taylor had done - a minor point perhaps, but one not lost on the recipients of his communications.

60 I Champion to Director, DDS & NA, undated, but December 1947 or January 1948, "Central Highlands District", General Planning and Administration, 1946 - 54, DOA Goroka.

Jim Taylor decided to appeal over the heads of his immediate superiors, and took his case to the Administrator. In a five page letter to Murray, dated 12 December 1947, he detailed the reasons for his acting as he had done, arguing that under the present difficult circumstances in the Highlands it was appropriate to take administrative, not legal, action: "My point is that an untenable situation is created when the law runs ahead of its own machinery and if we are to be unanimous in our contention that the law must run, I think it is also necessary for us to assume that we will provide all of the necessary courts and functionaries for its operation. In the absence of our capacity to provide such machinery it seems to me that a large number of occurrences will be dealt with administratively pending the development of full influence."(61) This argument eventually prevailed and he was reinstated in February 1948, but not before receiving a reprimand from Murray. At least the Administrator followed Taylor's own principle and dealt with the matter administratively rather than legally. In his letter to J.K. Murray, Taylor had also argued that "Your Honour will appreciate that the suspension of a District Officer becomes a notorious circumstance and its continuance over a long period of time an additional unfortunate factor." This may have helped his case for early reinstatement, and by 4 February he was back in the Goroka District Office preparing a circular on the duties of the

61 Taylor to J K Murray, 12 December 1947. Filed with A518 - W.841/1 Attacks by Natives. Australian Archives, Canberra.

District Storeman.

PURCHASE OF GOROKA TOWN LAND

As far as the Goroka Valley is concerned, Jim Taylor's most significant, specific contribution to its development during his period as District Officer was the formal purchase for cash of the Goroka town land, a purchase over which he presided with characteristic insight into the native land situation. Compensation for the new airstrip land was made by ANGAU to its owners in the form of shells and trade goods (62) and a similar transaction may have occurred pre-War when the Administration occupied Humilaveka.(63) But no documents were signed and the sales were probably not valid in a legal sense, although Jim Taylor remarked in 1973 that from the Highlanders' point of view possession was "nine-tenths of the law". L.G.R. Kyngdon states that when he shifted headquarters from Bena Bena to Goroka in 1941 he did not consider that the new settlement would be permanent.(64) Patrol posts were set up to assist the Administration in its task of pacification and control, and in some cases, as at Finintugu and Bena, were closed when it was

62 J L Taylor, interviewed 29.11.73.

63 Bepi Moha stated during the 14.7.73 interview that village labourers who helped construct the Humilaveka airstrip were paid in shell, but he is unsure if any specific payment was made to Okazuha for purchase of the land.

64 L G R Kyngdon of Bowral, NSW, interviewed 16.2.76.



considered the job was done or resources had to be relocated to meet an outbreak of violence elsewhere. Kyngdon regarded Humilaveka as a temporary post established to hasten pacification of the Goroka and Asaro clans, and believed the site may well have reverted to its original owners in the course of time. The events of the War, particularly the construction of the big airstrip, prevented such an outcome. As Ian Downs observed in his Inspector Report of July 1952: "Goroka is what it is because of an All-weather Unrestricted Airstrip". [Copy in D.O.A. Goroka]

The land selected for purchase, an area of 254 hectares, included Humilaveka to the north and the new aerodrome to the south and most of the territory lying between the two. Taylor knew that this strip of land encroached on the ground of some seven separate clan groups, or more precisely seven clans laid claim to portions of it. Having established with the Department of Lands that the price to be paid should be 5 per hectare, land which he pointed out "on an open market could bring from 10.0.0 (ten pounds) to 50.0.0 (fifty pounds) per hectare", (65) he turned to the question of how much belonged to each clan. He was guided in this by the principle that as far as was possible each owner group should be satisfied with the outcome, and to this end he called a conference of all the clan luluais to his office at

65 J L Taylor, memorandum to Director DDS & NA, 19 June 1948. Attachment A, "Land Required by Administration in Bena Sub-District", Goroka Town, 1948 - 1953, File No 34/4/1 DOA Goroka.

Humilaveka. "Where are your boundaries?" was his first question. "We haven't any", they replied. "Then where were the fight lines?" he persisted. "Oh, here, and here", everyone responded. "The young fellows were in front, the old cunning warriors giving directions from behind." "So these are your boundary lines", Taylor announced triumphantly, and a vigorous nodding of heads in assent showed him he had hit on the correct solution.(66) Two Okazuha informants Papazo Zawo and Aidameso Sekiriha recalled this meeting and agreed that Jim Taylor was a wise man who by his astute handling of the situation gained everyone's cooperation. Their one complaint was that in their view the money Okazuha received only covered Humilaveka and not the land known as Gururunoka, which is the small valley below formed by the Zokizoi Creek, where Malcolm Wright had established the first school.(67)

The seven clans who were claimants to the town land are described on the purchase document (68) as 'villages' but were more correctly clan groups. They are listed in the Bena spelling as Okeyufa, Asarayufa, Komiyufa, Karma, Ifaniyufa, Segu and

66 J L Taylor, interviewed 29.11.73.

67 Papazo Zawo and Aidameso Sekirihi of Aketauka, interviewed 31.8.73.

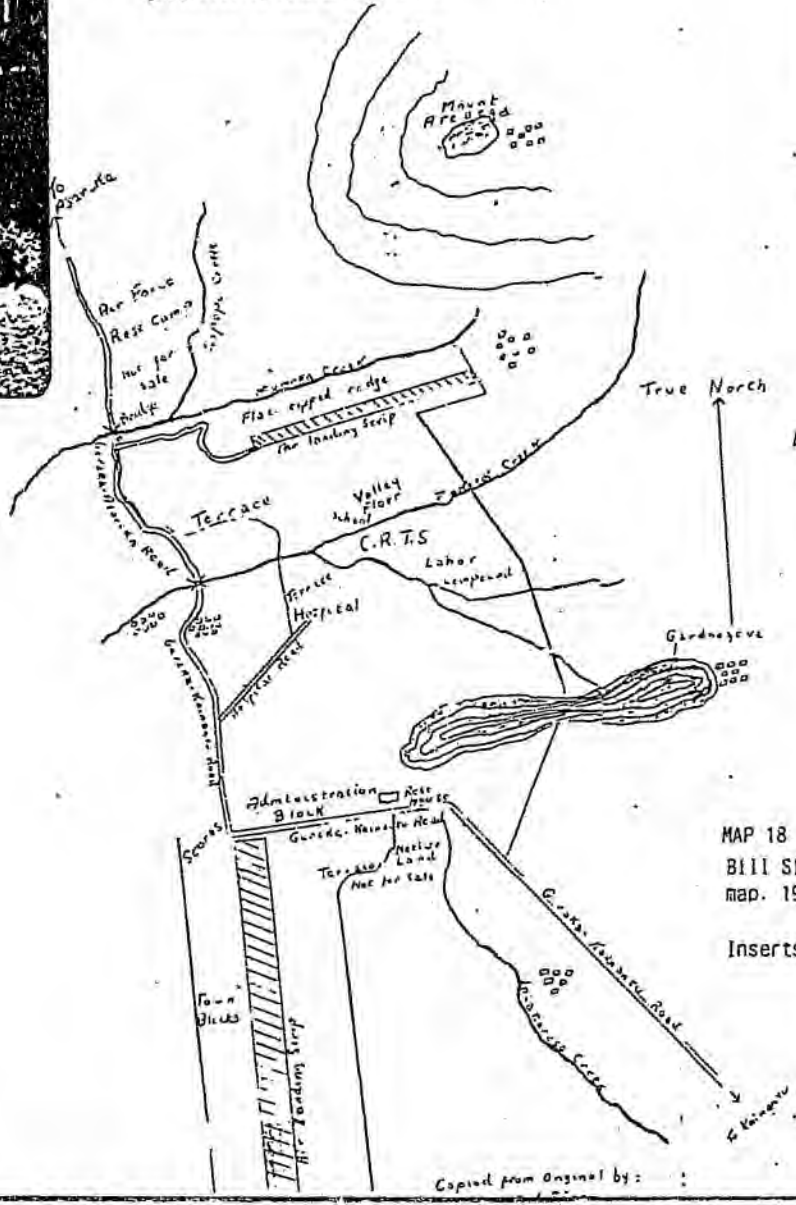
68 Transfer of Land from a Native to the Administration - UAL5: Purchase of Land called in the Native Language Sitanei and Fumilaveka and in the English language Goroka, 19 October 1948. A copy of this document is still held by the Lands Section, Provincial Government Office, Goroka. Although I have a photo copy, I was not able to ascertain its file number.



Scale: 1:10000  
 Area 256 117 Acres  
 Bearings etc. distances over  
 valleys very approximate

# Goroka Town

Lat 06° 1' 30" S Long 147° 26' E  
 District of Central Highlands



Legend:  
 Town Boundary ———  
 Rivers and Creeks ~~~~~  
 Roads = = = = =  
 Native Villages o o o o

MAP 18  
 Bill Sippo's 'Goroka Town'  
 map. 1948.

Inserts: (Left) Bill Sippo.  
 photographed August  
 1973.  
 (Right) Beci Moha  
 1975.  
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Copied from original by :

Karmiveh. In Gahuku phonology they are Okazuha(69), Asarozuha, Gomizuha, Gama, Ha'na'zuha, Seigu and Gami, although to make the distinction between Gama and Gami more precise, Gami is spelt as Kami in this study.

Having gained the luluais' permission to purchase and having defined an agreed method of determining clan boundaries, it remained for Taylor to organise an on-the-site inspection and traverse of the ground. This task was delegated to his patrol officer Bill Sippo, who had succeeded the hapless Craig Symonds at Kundiawa in 1947. Sippo was assisted by the government interpreter, Bepi Moha, who called together all the luluais and other interested villagers, so that whatever decisions were reached on boundaries would be made on a basis of consensus. When Bill Sippo was interviewed in August 1973 he described this unusual survey procedure as follows:-

"We drew up the boundaries by agreement on the spot. The leading men set off through the kunai, with a great crowd of villagers and Bepi and myself following. They used bush-knives to cut a boundary, chopping everything in the way and trampling it down flat. If the front leaders went astray the whole mob shouted and yelled to get them back in line. There were no gardens to mention. It was all pretty much unused, open land, and there was a fair amount of overlapping of boundaries. However they were

69 Kenneth Read spelt this as Ukudzuha. See his "Cultures of the Central Highlands, New Guinea", pp 37 and 41 in Southwest Journal of Anthropology, Vol 10, No 1, Spring, 1954, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

settled by the luluais - I did not interfere. I drew a sketch map on the spot - taking compass bearings and measuring in metres. We marked the corners with a post driven in the ground or a pile of rocks. Trees were blazed if conveniently placed, so that the markers could easily be found later.

As well as the external boundary map which was attached to the Transfer Document I also drew a map showing the internal boundaries between the tribes. It should still be at the District Office, Goroka. I worked out the area belonging to each group in hectares, by carving the map up into squares and triangles. It seemed quite easy at the time, even though none of us were trained in surveying or map making. A qualified surveyor did not come to Goroka until several years later. I think that the approach which we adopted to land purchasing, with all the villagers marching around with us and deciding where the boundaries should go, was the best. Later land purchases in other places ran into trouble because there was no attempt to involve the local people."(70)

Bepi Moha's recollections of "pulling the chain" are also worthy of note. He agrees that there was little disputation over the position of the clan boundaries, nor over the amount of money received. However there was considerable resistance to the new Australian currency, and Jim Taylor had to continue to educate the luluais on its value. According to Bepi some of them said, "We don't care about this money. We want shells for they mean more to us than anything else - just like our heart." So when they were paid in pound notes, ten shilling notes and shilling pieces they responded angrily. "What's this? We don't know this

70 W G Sippo, interviewed at Boroko, Port Moresby, 14 August 1973. His external boundary map is attached to the Transfer document, but I was unable to locate his clan boundary map.

thing. Masta Taylor, don't you want to give us kina shells and kumukumu?" Bepi recalls that Jim Taylor replied, "This is money. It is a very big thing. When more Europeans come and they build stores, you will be able to buy all the things you want. So keep the money; just as you keep bird of paradise plumes and shells and wrap them up in banana leaves, so you should keep this money until you are able to buy tomahawks and lap laps with it."(71) Bepi concluded that when Jim Taylor spoke everyone sat down and listened to him. They respected his word. It is not uncoincidental that the town land transfer document was signed by all parties on 19 October 1948, when presumably the money was paid out to each of the clan representatives, and that Jim Leahy's trade store was opened at about the same time.(72)

The resistance to European money that Bepi encountered could not have been widespread, because in Jim Taylor's memorandum to headquarters dated 19 June 1948 he wrote:

"It appears that all payments will have to be made in cash - there is an increasing demand for cash over a large part of the District. In many cases it should be possible to arrange for the owners to bank the money.

To expedite payment, would it be possible for the sums to be despatched in notes from Port Moresby, per air mail, immediately authority to purchase is given?"

71 Bepi Moha, interviewed at Goroka, 16.7.73.

72 The trading licence was issued on 6 August 1948. It is unclear whether Jim Leahy opened his store immediately thereafter, or waited until the land sale payments were complete.

Bill Sippo recalls that coins also arrived unwrapped in Commonwealth Bank bags, and the District Office staff had the tedious job of counting it out into 1 rolls. Shillings were very much in demand, more so than the paper notes.

The money was paid to the luluai representing his clan or sub-clan. In the case of Gama there were three luluais Gopie, Tareipa and Apilauwei, who represented three of the four Gama sub-clans. These three sub-clans claimed portions of the town land - in this case a substantial part of the new airstrip. Asarozuha had two luluais, Asakohai and Venapa. The other clans were represented by one leader each.

Bepi claims that all the Okazuha people, men women and children, received a share of the £395 paid to their luluai Aitoveh: "Noone went short of money; everyone including myself got some." (Bepi has kinship ties with Okazuha because an ancestor of his came from Yabiyufa (Yabizuha) in the Unggai several generations ago.) Papazo and Aidameso, also of Okazuha, were not so pleased because in their recollection there were too many people to each get 1 and some missed out. The Seigu big man Gelepet-amelauho said in 1973 that he not only 'scaled out' Seigu's £120 to his own people but also gave some to their Asaro clan allies, who had sheltered them prior to 1937 when a powerful alliance of Gahuku, Asarozuha and Okazuha had driven them off their traditional land.(73)

73. Gelepet-amelauho of Seigu, interviewed 5.9.73.

The Gama luluai Gopie Atai-amelaho, when interviewed in 1973 had a very clear memory of the distribution of Gama's share, even recalling the exact amount of money, £ 257.10.0:

"When we got this money, I sang out to all the people in my line to get together and we had a mumu and we shared all the money out. This was for all of the zuha - all four of them. The other two men who received money for Kama were there too, and we all three shared out the money.

We put it all together £ 257.10.0. It is not a lot of money for all this land. I sold my land for nothing. It amounted to about 1 per person and some got ten shillings only."(74)

It could be implied from Gopie's statement that the Gama people were disappointed at the sum they received for their land, but in 1973 Gopie was giving a retrospective view. In 1950 his people willingly parted with a further 108.5 hectares west of the airstrip, for which they received only £ 2.10.0 per hectare.(75) This area was purchased for the Livestock and Food Crop Experimental Station, a farm which John Black had recommended be set up in 1946.

The town land purchase did not go entirely according to plan.

74 Gopie Atai-ameloho of Sipike, Gama, interviewed 13.9.73.

75 When qualified surveyors measured this and the original town area (UAL5) they found that the patrol officers had miscalculated boundaries and internal areas. The Gama land was only 94.4 hectares, but no attempt was made to recover the extra money paid for 108.5 hectares.



Both Okazuha and Asarozuha refused to sell some sections of their ground which Jim Taylor had hoped to buy. The 'Airpos' land belonging to Okazuha was a case in point. On 19 June 1948 Taylor informed Moresby:

"Unfortunately, the old Air Force Rest Camp is not included for the native owners baulked at selling that and although I should like to see it as a part of the Administration's establishment at Goroka one cannot but sympathise with the elders, who say, 'What of our children? We have parted with so much land!'

This last is perfectly true. Expansion of Administration activity has exerted a steady pressure on the OKEYUFA group particularly the members of which who were the original inhabitants of the site where the District Office and the Goroka north airfield are situated.

It remains to be seen whether in the course of time the OKEYUFA people will require the land of the Air Force Rest Camp, but at present one would feel a cad to try and persuade them to part with it."

Okazuha's immediate neighbour and traditional ally Asarozuha also resisted government requests to purchase some of their best land. The area which was not for sale can be seen on a present-day map of Goroka where there is a large 'bite' in the western boundary between the Zokizoi Creek and the 'top' end of Independence Park. At the point where the Highlands Highway proceeds north from the Goroka Market until it reaches the Zokozoi bridge it passes through territory owned by Asarozuha. It was Jim Taylor's hope that all this ground on the east side of the Highway would become part of the town, allowing the western boundary line to be drawn in a straight line from Humilaveka to the Market. But as Bill

Sippo commented: "We would have had a war on our hands if we had tried to force the issue."

The area of land sold by Asarozuha to the Administration, 40 hectares, was quite generous considering that the clan's total area was small when compared with the land belonging to their neighbours. It should also be recognised that the Asarozuha people suffered more at the hands of the Army than any other Goroka group during the War. As noted earlier, they were the only clan whose village sites were taken over by the soldiers for defensive purposes - at Koloka, for instance, tunnels were dug as bomb shelters and supply dumps, trees were cut down and gardens damaged. This war experience undoubtedly stiffened the Asarozuha peoples' resistance to a request to part with an area of prime agricultural land.

When the negotiations for the purchase of the Goroka town area were finally completed and the luluais put their marks on the 'Transfer of Land from a Native to the Administration' document, and a total of £1,270 was distributed among the seven clans, Jim Taylor could be reasonably certain that the future of Goroka as an important urban centre was assured. It is true there were already moves to divide his 'Middle Kingdom' into two halves, but Goroka's position as the headquarters of the eastern section was not under threat. There was one small cloud still on the horizon, although Taylor may not have been aware of it in 1948. A circular from the Government Secretary dated 15 November 1949 promotes the idea of a regional headquarters for the Central



Goroka market, mid-1960s. Garden produce remains an important source of cash income for many Gorokans. The vegetables in the top photo include both indigenous (sweet potato, taro, sugar cane, etc.) and exotic (tomatoes, peanuts, carrots, parsnips, etc.) varieties.

(P.N.G. Extension Services photos)

Highlands, to be established in the Banz-Minj area of the Wahgi Valley. Although Goroka would retain its district headquarters status, the circular makes it clear that "In view of the proposal, the erection of permanent buildings at Goroka should, until a final decision is reached regarding the establishment of a regional headquarters, be restricted to the ordinary requirements of a district headquarters." The plan did not go ahead, and its only effect was to delay, not prevent, the growth of Goroka.

#### EFFECTS OF ESTABLISHMENT OF GOROKA ON THE GOROKA VALLEY PEOPLE

The sale of part of their land had both immediate and long-term consequences for the Goroka clans, and indeed for all the people of the Goroka Valley. By injecting £ 1,270 into the local economy, a sum which, by some calculations, has the 1985 equivalent of approximately \$A76,200 (76), a heightened awareness of the value of money was created, and this in turn affected people's desire to grow cash crops - mainly vegetables to sell to the Administration and to Goroka's small band of European and indigenous public servants. A transport flew regularly to Manus in 1948 with vegetables for American troops still based there, (77) so there may have been an external market

76 Calculated on the assumption that £1 (Australian) in 1945 is approximately equivalent to \$60 (Australian) in 1985. (Figures supplied by Clem Dickinson, Director, Uniting Church Stewardship and Promotion Agency.)

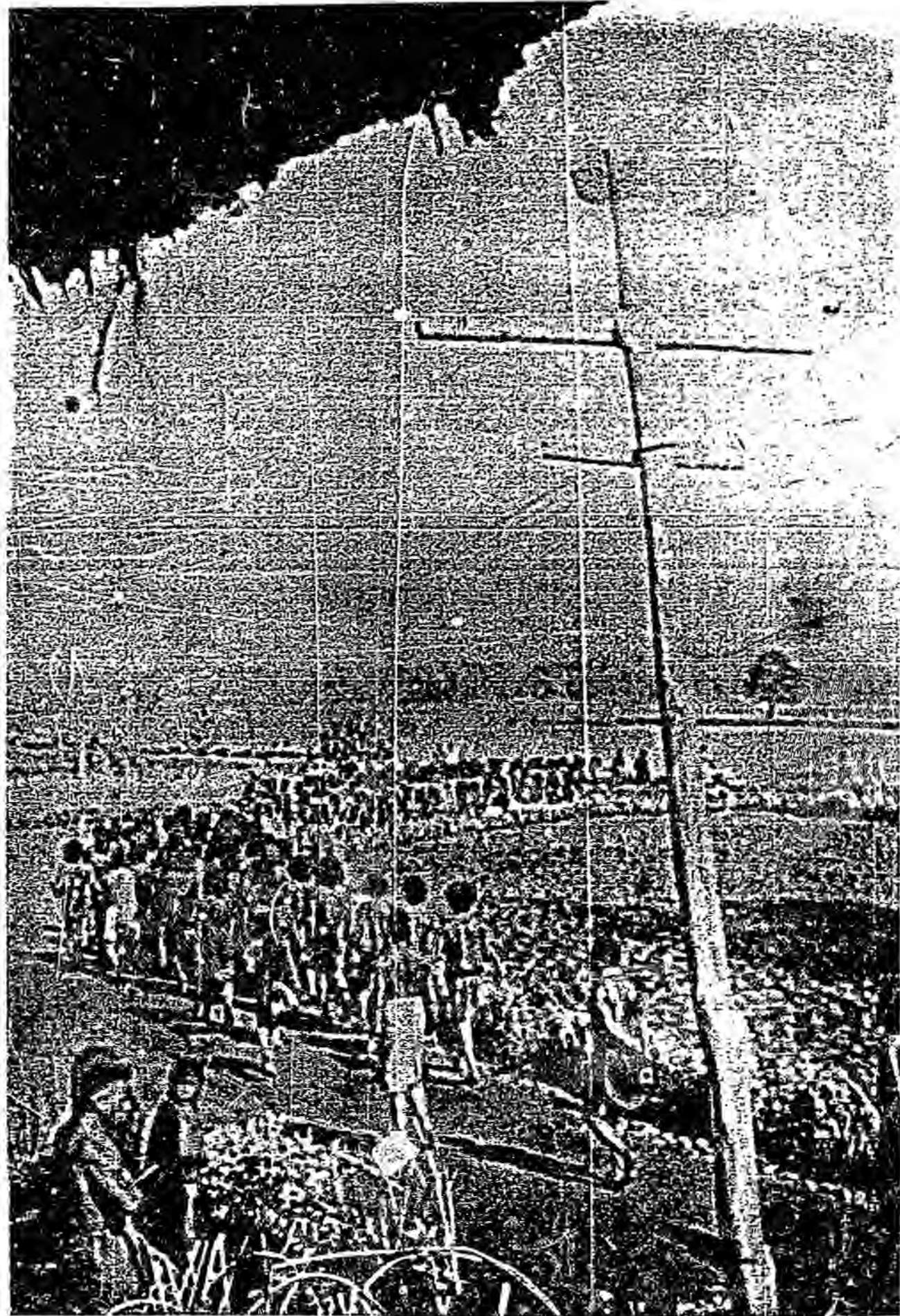
77 Bill Sippo, op cit. Max Orken told Rick Giddings that the plane used by the American Navy was a four-engine Douglas C-54. (R Giddings, correspondence 6.10.85.)

for their produce also. Small quantities of village coffee planted by ANGAU was being harvested and purchased by the Administration for issue to police and other public servants, but the production of coffee as a major village industry was still some years away.

Relations between the seven clans were improved as a result of the town land purchase, as several boundaries which had been a cause of contention were swallowed up within the town area. The one with the most potential for conflict was between traditional enemies Asarozuha and Seigu. In calculating each clan's entitlement to compensation Bill Sippo had recognised Seigu's claim to most of what is now the commercial and retail centre of Goroka, plus the land occupied by government offices, police station and post office. But an Asarozuha leader, Soso Subi, was emphatic when interviewed in 1973 that his clan owned all the ground from the Council Chambers across to the town centre, an area which cut deeply into the territory claimed by Seigu.(78) Other boundaries about which some disputation existed were between clans which were generally on good terms with each other - Okazuha and Asarozuha, Seigu and Gomizuha, Seigu and Kami - although the possibility of conflict cannot be entirely discounted.(79) Not only did the surrender of their land reduce

78 Soso Subi of Asarozuha, interviewed 2.8.73.

79 Gomizuha and Seigu were traditional enemies, but had been at peace for many years.



Chimbu visitors leaving District headquarters at Humilaveka in 1948 after an inspection of Goroka sponsored by Jim Taylor. He believed in making government posts 'places of cultural interest for visitors'.

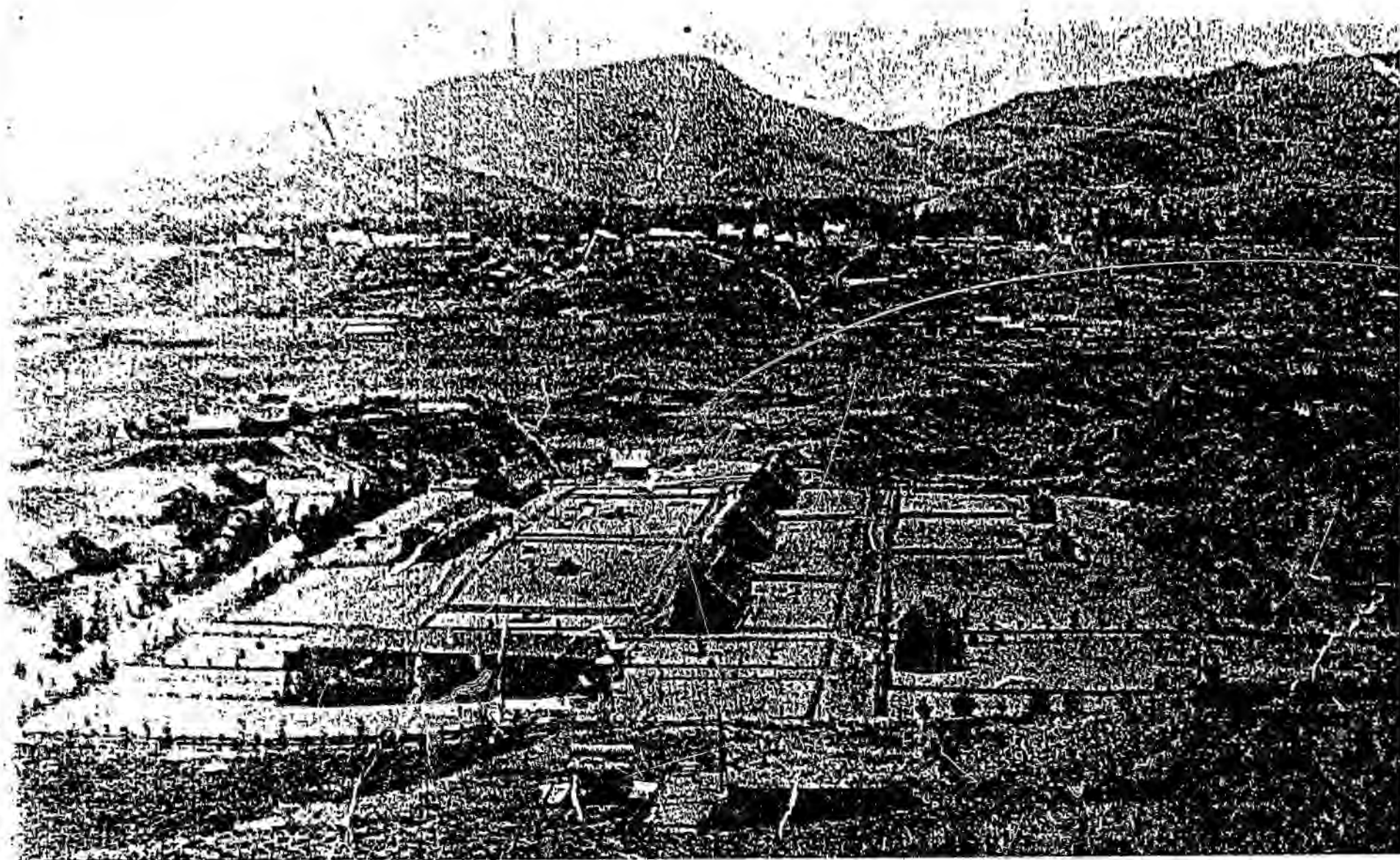
(Jim Taylor photo)

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the likelihood of tribal fighting between the immediate neighbours but it eliminated the necessity for their traditional allies and enemies to be drawn into the dispute.

The mere fact that the District's administrative headquarters were situated in the Goroka Valley meant that its people were all in relatively close contact with the agents of law and development. A patrol officer Tom Leabeater wrote in 1949: "Being close to Sub-District headquarters the places visited have easy access to administrative bodies and are comparatively well-behaved citizens."<sup>(80)</sup> He was referring to villages east and south-east of Humilaveka, such as Okazuha, Gomizuha, Seigu, Ha'na'zuha and Kami, but the same comments could have been applied to most communities within at least a ten mile radius of Goroka. Tribal fights sometimes erupted in more distant parts of the Valley, such as north of Asaro and in the still-uncontrolled southern areas near Mt Michael, but the situation was generally vastly improved to what it had been prior to 1943. Jim Taylor encouraged villagers to visit Goroka, following his policy described by John Black of making "government posts places of cultural interest to visitors - in other words a happy and peaceful venue for contiguous tribesmen." <sup>[John Black correspondence, 20-4-73]</sup> One photo taken at Humilaveka in 1948 shows a large group of Chimbus leaving the

80 Patrol Officer T J Leabeater, Patrol Report No 2 of 48/49 - Census patrol to villages in immediate vicinity of Goroka, 21 - 25 March 1949. Patrol Reports, District of Eastern Highlands, National Archives, Port Moresby.



View of north Goroka, c. 1948, with hospital and Medical Orderly Training School  
(Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme) in foreground, government school  
(left) and 'kalabus' (right) in valley and Government station on Humilaveka  
terrace beyond. ( Jim Taylor photo)



station, having come at Taylor's invitation to view this centre of government activity and development. According to Taylor there was much to excite their interest - aircraft landing and taking off on both the lower and upper strips, jeeps travelling between the two, Humilaveka with its District Office and radio room, staff houses, stores and the constant coming and going of local villagers bringing vegetables to sell, the hospital, medical orderlies training centre and labour compound on the next terrace and the small school(81) and kalabus in the valley between.

Jim Taylor believes that the health of the Goroka people improved because of their access to medical services - by 1948 dysentery had been almost entirely eliminated from the Valley and women in the nearer villages were beginning to come to hospital to have their babies. He is also convinced that the siting of Goroka benefitted the health of the town population, with its abundant water supply, good climate and absence of malaria. It is commonly believed that all of the Highlands were malaria free,

81 It would seem that the school established by Malcolm Wright continued to operate with untrained New Guinean teachers during Jim Taylor's period as District Officer. Two Goroka Valley men John Akunai and Sabumei Kofikai, who had graduated from the Chimbu Government School to the Malaguna School in Rabaul just prior to the Japanese invasion, eventually made their way home, arriving back in Goroka on 9.4.46. The following year, according to Sabumei, they began teaching at the Goroka school, remaining there until 1950. Sabumei recalls that there were 400 pupils and he and John Akunai taught them to read and write Pidgin. (Sabumei Kofikai, "Memories of a Long-Service Man", talk given at Goroka Teachers College, 7 May 1974.)

but as early as 1936 patrol officers reported cases in the Dunantina Valley east of Goroka and others noted its existence in the Wahgi to the west. Jim Taylor states that malaria had become endemic in the Kundiawa area by 1947 and he threatened to move the Chimbu station to a new location 8000 feet above sea level if the authorities did not take steps to eradicate it. This led to the establishment of the Malaria Control Laboratory which is fictionalised in Morris West's early novel, "Kundu".

Taylor's purchase of the Goroka town land opened the way for the establishment of government offices, stores and workshops, and the eventual opening of regional and district headquarters for the various Administration departments covering such activities as health, education, justice, agriculture, public works, stores and supply, transport and communications. The granting of a trading licence to Jim Leahy was the beginning of private sector development, including retail and service industries and in time the processing of coffee, passionfruit and timber. Residential areas would also be planned, providing housing in a garden setting, for those in government and commercial occupations and their families. All this was in Jim Taylor's mind as he tried to calculate the amount of land required for the establishment of an urban centre and as he explained to the vendors in simple terms the kind of development they could expect to see.(82)

82 Jim Taylor's vision of the future Goroka was shared by his name-sake Ted Taylor, who wrote on 15 May 1946: "The possibility

## NAMING OF GOROKA

There was one administrative task concerning Goroka which Jim Taylor had already attended to, the official naming of the town. When the sound of the name Koloka or Koroka first fell on European ears they heard it as Garoka, a name which seems to have been used since the police post was opened by McWilliam in 1938. ADO Bill Kyle referred to it in a 1939 report: "From Kainantu to Bena Bena, and thence to Garoka, the road is excellent and further work is in progress."(83) In the Allied Geographical Section's Terrain Study of the Madang District <sup>[Vol. 1, p 24.]</sup> dated 6 August, 1943, it is named and described as follows:

"Garoka:

New station. Three hours west from Bena Bena on the Chimbu track. Had a Warrant Officer of Police in charge, but was usually run in conjunction with Bena Bena. A small drome is near the station building."

On 23 April 1947 Jim Taylor wrote to DDA Director Jones:

of extensive agricultural and mining developments and subsequent growth of a settlement in the vicinity of the Garoka aerodrome should not be overlooked. This suggests the need for vision to ensure the availability of ample land for Administration purposes, aerodrome extensions, hangar sites and business activities." (E Taylor, Acting Director, DDS & NA to District Officer, Morobe, 15 May 1946 re application of SDA Mission for new leases at Sigoiya and Kabiufa. Mission Leases, File No 35-10-15, DOA Goroka.)

83 quoted in a letter from H L Downing, acting DO, Madang, to the Officer in Charge, Ramu, 21 June 1939. Kyles's Report, from which Downing drew this extract was No M.67 of 1938/39. Filed with Pre-War Kainantu Patrol Reports, DOA Goroka.

"Authority and approval is sought to change the spelling of GAROKA to GOROKA which is as near correct phonetically as it is possible with our present system of spelling .... Perhaps you would be pleased to recommend to His Honour the Administrator that he give his approval, and cause a notice to be published in the Gazette for general information."(84) Jones was pleased, apparently, and Goroka became the accepted name. There has been some speculation among Europeans as to whether the village word Koloka had any specific meaning. In Gahuku the suffix Ka means 'place'- Humilaveka, as mentioned previously, means 'the red clay of men place' or 'the red clay place inhabited by people'. However, Asarozuha elders claim that Koloka is the expression used to describe the sunrise. "It means 'the dawn has come'", they say.(85) Robert Cleland, who was a patrol officer stationed at Goroka in 1953 was told by Gorokans that the word signified 'the place where you walk about as the dawn breaks'.(86) The old people recall that while Jim Taylor was District Officer he conducted a 'competition' among the local clans to suggest names for the new town. Two Asarozuha men are said to have proposed

84 Taylor to Director, DDA & NA, 23 April 1947. "GAROKA or GOROKA - spelling of. General Planning and Administration file, 1946 - 54, DOA Goroka.

85 From interviews with Koroka leaders Ai-a (7.8.73) and Kizekize Obaneso (13.8.74).

86 Robert Cleland, interviewed at Goroka, 9.4.74.

Goroka/Koroka, and Taylor awarded them the prize.(87) This belief of the people that Jim Taylor involved them in decision making fits in with the general impression one has of him as a skilful and sensitive administrator. He may well have decided that Goroka was the best name for the town, but he allowed the original owners to feel that they had a decisive part in its selection.

### CONCLUSIONS

It is probably an unwarranted imposition of European thought patterns on the word Goroka to suggest that Gorokans associated 'the dawn has come' meaning with any realisation that the establishment of the town signalled the breaking of a new dawn in the social and economic life of the Goroka Valley people. However when Jim Taylor announced in February 1949 his intention to resign from the Administration to become a coffee planter and farmer on a lease just a few kilometres north-west of Goroka, he was aware that a new era for all the inhabitants of the Valley, both indigenous and foreign, was about to begin. As noted at the start of this chapter, he had presided as "last emperor of the Middle Kingdom" over the closing stages of the pacification phase of European contact. His application for an agricultural lease, along with those of fellow would-be coffee planters Jim Leahy and

87 Aizjo Ovaneso of Asarozuha, interviewed 5 July 1984. Soso Subi (interviewed 2.3.73) claims that when the competition was held the Asarozuha luluai Obiso, said: "Let us call the town Koloka, because this is the ground of our ancestors, and Koloka is where they lived."

Jerry Pentland, signalled a breakthrough in economic development, for in many ways coffee was to become the driving force in the rapid development phase.

The future did not only belong to Europeans. As Taylor cleared his desk in the Humilaveka office of official papers and reached for the manuals on coffee growing, the Goroka Valley people were also about to take hold of new opportunities. The Highlands Labour Scheme, which would allow hundreds of young Gorokans to work on coastal plantations and return home after their 18 month contracts with money and trade goods, skills and ideas, was within a year of implementation. The long dreamed-of highway making coastal New Guinea accessible to highlanders was to be completed within six years, while a network of internal roads would link most parts of the Goroka Valley. By 1953 the first English-curriculum primary schools would be opened, providing a select band of children with the most coveted of all European 'wealth', an English-language education. The patient labours of Lutheran and SDA missionaries were also about to be rewarded with mass baptisms of whole village communities into the Christian faith. A process of religious transformation was being ritually enacted as lines of eager converts passed through the chilly waters of the Asaro and the Bena rivers.

After nearly 20 years of contact with the Goroka Valley people the Australian Administration's efforts to achieve pacification had at last born fruit. A generation of patrol officers and coastal policemen had instilled in the people a new concept of

justice and order. The structural and processual causes of tribal fighting, and also where applicable environmental causes (see ch 2), had to a large extent been eliminated. Together with other agents of change - European gold miners, missionaries, agricultural officers and medical assistants and coastal New Guinean labourers, evangelists, medical orderlies, clerks and teachers, patrol officers and police had introduced a stone age society to 20th century technology, medicine, agriculture and economics. A social revolution, accelerated by the presence of hundreds of Australian and American servicemen, had affected people's work patterns, health and hygiene, co-existence with neighbours and the means of resolving conflict. Expectations of material well-being had been raised and to some extent met, and a primal world view of spirit forces active in human affairs had been partly modified by European religious and secular values.

Europeans such as Jim Taylor would have agreed that after 20 years of contact their presence in the Goroka Valley had indeed achieved "a very settling effect".(88) Gorokans, while acknowledging the value of a goroha've imposed peace, would probably have said that the main benefit to them of contact with Europeans was the opportunities it brought for wealth. People interviewed in 1972, looking back on this establishment phase of contact, linked pacification with economic development. "The Europeans helped us with our business and made our village a better place to live in", said Kirupanu Esau of Seigu. "The

88 Phrase used by PO Cedric Croft in 1937 - see Ch 6.

policemen who worked with the kiaps helped us stop fighting with Gama and other people. Then we could grow coffee and vegetables in our gardens. When we were asked to sell some of our land for the town we were willing because we wanted axes and shells and beads." (89) Some Gama people recalled: "When we first saw Europeans we were frightened of these strange beings because we did not think there could be another race of people and other lands beside our own valley. But when they gave us shells, axes and salt our attitude changed immediately and we were prepared to welcome them into our midst and follow them anywhere." Old men of the Okazuha hamlet of Aketauka stated that "the establishment of trade stores and the goods sold in them created happiness for us. At first we believed that the Europeans had got hold of the goods sent to us by our dead relatives, and we were pleased that they were prepared to let us buy them." The last word came from old Gelepet-amelauho of Seigu, who was among those who received the first Europeans, Leahy and Dwyer, on 7 November 1930, with cries of, "Here come the spirits. Be prepared to welcome them", and who in October 1948 was the luluai who represented Seigu in the transfer of the Goroka town land to the Administration. In 1972, two years before his death, he told a group of tertiary

89 These interviews with the people of Seigu, Gama and Okazuha were conducted by first year Social Science students of Goroka Teachers College in 1972, as part of a Goroka urban study. I am indebted to Frederick Paul, Sukina Siuru, Dominic Wain, Paul Mai, Michael Kande and Gideon Pakii for reports of their conversations with the village elders.





Images of the present.

Above: Ben Melekenimo, tertiary student of Gega-tuharoka, Nagamizuha clan, in traditional dress on his non-traditional motor-cycle.

Below: Air Niugini's P2-ANE Fokker jet on Goroka airstrip, 1983. Aircraft still create local interest, but mainly because 'wantoks' are arriving and departing on them.

students: "I have seen with my own two eyes that the goroha've have brought good things to us so that now we live a better life than we did in the time before they came." His words expressed the views of the generation of Gorokans who had seen their Stone Age culture come into contact with a different, but equally materialistic goroha've society, whose technology and social organisation offered access to wealth unknown to the ancestors, and whose continuing presence was transforming, for good or for ill, the lives of the people of the Goroka Valley. Whether or not the name Goroka conjured up for people the meaning 'the dawn has come', the dawn of a new and different kind of day had indeed come to the Goroka Valley.

E N D

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### INTERVIEWS

#### NOTE:

The people interviewed are listed alphabetically by surname, except in the case of older New Guineans, who are known by their first names in most cases. The second name is usually the father's name, and is included where known as an added means of identification. However, it is only in recent times that Papua New Guineans have begun to adopt their father's name as a surname, and most of those interviewed for this thesis would have been unaware of the practice.

Ai-a. Koloka 'big man', Asarozuha clan, Goroka, interviewed at Koloka, 7 August 1973.

Aidameso Sekiriha. Aketauka village elder, Oka'zuha clan, interviewed at Aketauka, 31 August, 1973.

Aino. Airpos 'big man', Oka'zuha clan, Goroka, interviewed at Joypaloka hamlet (Airpos), 12 August 1982.

Aitchison, T G. Former government patrol officer, ANGAU major and post war District Commissioner, now retired at Schofields, NSW. Interviewed by telephone, 20 February 1976 and at Schofields, 18 July 1984.

Aizjo Ovaneso. Asarozuha (Goroka) village elder and local government councillor, interviewed at Goroka, 5 July 1984.

Akiro Orosovano. Lutheran pastor and one of first Goroka Valley converts to Christianity, interviewed at Asaroka, 23 July 1982.

Aula Zogizane. Kenimaro 'big man', Bena Bena, interviewed at Kenimaro, 26 February 1981.

Bepi Moha. Government interpreter [Gahuku and Yabi'zuha (Yabiyufa) languages] of Goroka, interviewed at Goroka, 16 and 25 July 1973, 5 April 1983. Bepi also gave a talk at Goroka Teachers College, 25 July 1973. Transcript in my possession.

Bergmann, Rev Willi. Retired Neuendettelsau Lutheran missionary who spent most of his working life in the New Guinea Highlands, interviewed at Mutdapilly, Queensland, 23 February 1976 and 23 June 1982.

Black, John. Former patrol officer, explorer, ANGAU captain, interviewed at Joslin, South Australia, 4 - 5 August 1981.

## Interviews cont

- Botterill, Harry. Member of Bena Force (2/2 Independent Company) interviewed at Highett, Victoria, 13 January 1976.
- Brennan, Pastor David. Retired SDA pastor of Birkdale, Queensland, telephone interview, 23 June 1982.
- Brown, Rev Bert. Former LMS missionary, Gulf Province, Papua New Guinea. Numerous conversations at Koaru and Moru, Gulf Province, 1966 and at Hohola, Port Moresby, 1969.
- Buko Usemo, Pastor. Retired Lutheran evangelist who pioneered Lutheran mission work in the Goroka area. Interviewed at Goroka during his visit from his home near Finschhafen, July - August 1974.
- Cleland, Robert. Patrol Officer, interviewed at Goroka, 9 April 1974.
- Collins, Andrew. Member of staff, Medical Research Institute, Goroka, interviewed Goroka, 4 April 1983.
- Downs, Ian. Former patrol officer, ANGAU Captain, District Commissioner, coffee planter, novelist and historian, interviewed at Canberra, 17 December 1973, and at Murwillumbah, NSW, 15 July 1984.
- Elai Goulopa. Lumapaka village leader and businessman, Masilakai'zuha clan, 4 April 1983.
- Enka Pumumpil. Retired police sergeant, from Markham Valley, but married to an Oka'zuha, Goroka, woman. Interviewed at Aketauka hamlet, Oka'zuha, 12 November 1975.
- Ewing, Arthur. Former medical assistant, ANGAU Captain and District Commissioner, interviewed at Broadbeach, Queensland, 25 January 1975.
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## CONCLUDING ARGUMENT AND SUMMARY

The contact experience of the Goroka Valley people during the 15 year period from 1934 to 1949 resulted in the transformation of a traditional Melanesian society into a community beginning to take advantage of European social, economic and technological innovation. It has been the aim of this thesis to show how the European presence increasingly influenced the peoples' thinking and behaviour, promoting change at a speed and manner unknown to previous generations of Gorokans.

The thesis content may be summarised as follows. After an introductory chapter outlining the pre-contact and early-contact history of the Goroka Valley people, there is a discussion of the causes of tribal fighting in Highlands communities and two case studies of violent events which, although occurring beyond the Goroka Valley, had important consequences for those who lived within its bounds. The focus then shifts to the first permanent settlement of the agents of change - initially these were coastal New Guinean evangelists and policemen - and their impact on the local people. A period of consolidation is then described, as both government and missions established a permanent European presence in the Valley. This period was characterised by vigorous pacification coupled with the introduction of

innovations in health and education, agriculture, technology, law and religion.

The gradual transformation of Goroka Valley society as a result of the people's interactions with the newcomers was abruptly accelerated in 1943, when many hundreds of Allied soldiers occupied the Valley in anticipation of a threatened Japanese invasion. Village life was disrupted as men were conscripted as carriers and labourers and whole communities were obliged to grow food to assist the Allied war effort. Those living close to military airfields and camps were subject to Japanese aerial attacks and the entire population was exposed to an epidemic of bacillary dysentery introduced by the combatants. However the War also brought some positive effects, including paradoxically, the almost total cessation of tribal fighting, the construction of an all weather airstrip at Goroka which ensured its future as a town and administrative and commercial centre, and the compulsory growing of vegetables, coffee, etc, which laid the foundations for a cash economy and material prosperity.

The final chapter examines the aftermath of military occupation, the return of civil administration and the implementation of social and economic policies which brought the Goroka Valley people into the rapid-development phase of contact.

It is argued that the changes introduced from 1934 to 1949 were acceptable to Gorokans, after initial resistance, because of the perceived benefits of the new regime. A people who were

materialistic, industrious and competitive were able to seize upon the opportunities for material advancement which were now offered. The gradual abandonment of tribal fighting and submission to the rule of European law, the acceptance of Christianity and the adoption of new forms of agriculture and technology can be explained in terms of the desire for acquisition of wealth. When it became apparent that the benefits of change outweighed the disadvantages, the people became enthusiastic collaborators in the transformation process.

However it is also argued that resistance to change was modified by the variation in intensity of the contact experience. After periods of sustained European activity in the valley there was frequently a temporary and partial withdrawal, which allowed the people to continue their traditional way of life and reflect on the new experiences. Although each new wave of Europeans and their agents brought increasing demands, the short respites gave a chance for psychological adjustment. Such periods occurred after Leahy and Dwyer's initial visit in 1930, the gold prospecting activities in 1933, the withdrawal of the Lutheran evangelists in 1936, the early years of World War 2 when government patrolling was curtailed and missionaries were evacuated, and after the withdrawal of Bena Force in 1944, when A.N.G.A.U. scaled down its activities in the Highlands.

An explanation of the people's acceptance of change lies in the presence of the coastal New Guinean agents of the Europeans. It

is suggested that these men, who came as mission evangelists and government police, medical orderlies and teachers, were particularly effective interpreters of the new order. They brought a distinctively Melanesian emphasis and placed it within a Melanesian intellectual framework which was possibly more acceptable to Gorokans than a sweeping, unmodified European demand for change might have been. Their role as formal and informal educators of the Goroka Valley people cannot be overemphasised.

It is further argued that the pacification process was greatly assisted by the adoption of local teenage boys as interpreters, domestic servants and station assistants. They became interpreters of the new order in more than one sense, for not only did they provide the most effective means of communication between the inhabitants and the newcomers, but they also interpreted what they learnt of the European world for their fellow Gorokans, making acceptable what would otherwise have been alien and incomprehensible.

An assumption that underlies the thesis is that there were established government and mission policies for the Uncontrolled Areas, including the Goroka Valley, which patrol officers and missionaries attempted to implement, but that these were frequently modified or frustrated by circumstance. The overriding aim of government policy in the Mandated Territory was to achieve pacification through intense and frequent contact, with systematic development from one area of operation to the next,



but what happened in the Highlands was somewhat different. In the 1930s the Administration's policy was to establish a string of strategically placed patrol posts across the Highlands, each station staffed by at least one European officer and a cadet. Attached to these were a number of satellite police posts, each with a New Guinean NCO in charge. But because of acute staff shortages and lack of funds the Rabaul administration established only 4 permanent patrol posts (Kainantu, Bena, Chimbu and - later - Mount Hagen) to cover the whole of the Highlands. Further as a result of untoward events at Finintegu and Chimbu in 1934, it was necessary to delay the effective operation of the Goroka Valley station, situated in one of the most populous regions, for almost two years. Thus the Highlands area, with the greatest concentration of population in the Territory of New Guinea, was administered unevenly, and without continuous, systematic patrolling, for more than a decade.

Likewise the Lutheran Neuendettelsau Mission, whose policy it was to promote the spread of Christianity with Teutonic thoroughness, was forced to throw policy to the winds and move as circumstances dictated. At times the Lutherans were obliged to evangelise new areas with unseemly haste; at other times they had to endure a humiliating retreat. Both Lutherans and Seventh Day Adventists suffered when European staff were removed because of the War, and the baptism of converts was effectively delayed until the 1950s. Lutheran education policy was also impossible to implement fully in the 1930s and 1940s, the self supporting village schools which

provided a key part of the Lutheran establishment in older evangelised areas being replaced with central boarding schools. These compromises in the implementation of both government and mission policy served to delay the realisation of European goals in the Goroka Valley, although the ability of those in the field to adapt to changed circumstances meant that substitute solutions often achieved the desired objective, albeit more slowly.

Thus, although colonial principles of administration existed, individuals on the spot often determined the way policy was enforced. Several key figures stand out in the years of contact and change in this regard, and it is suggested that because of the quality of their contribution and the length of time they spent in the Goroka Valley they did put a certain personal stamp on the new society which evolved. Prominent among this influential group was government officer Jim Taylor, who established a temporary police post at Bena in December 1932, returned in 1935 to put the station on a permanent basis, and conducted the first vigorous programme of pacification in 1936, implemented a positive policy of native welfare and rehabilitation as A.N.G.A.U. O-I-C in 1944-45, and laid down important administrative structures and development strategies as District Officer from 1946 to 1949. When the implementation of stated policy was blocked by shortages of personnel and funds, he was often able to work out alternate strategies which were more appropriate to the Highlands situation. It is argued that Taylor was a better administrator than his critics allowed, and that considering the immense obstacles to efficient administration in

the immediate post-war years, his efforts in setting up a sound structure of government in the interests of the local people were very effective. However, his outstanding contribution to Goroka Valley development was in the field of human relations - his just and humane dealings with the people won their confidence and cooperation to a remarkable degree, and facilitated the acceptance of the radical changes demanded of them.

Two other government officers who were involved intermittently with the Goroka Valley over a long period, and whose names appear frequently in the thesis, are John Black and Tommy Aitchison. Although this is not a history of conflict, there were exceptions when blood was shed, as both Black and Aitchison's involvement in the desperate Finintegu affray demonstrate. Black had a key role in settling down the Finintegu people after the McGrath murder in 1934, and he made a minor impact on the Goroka Valley people at this time by means of patrols and by bringing young lads to his Finintegu station to train as interpreters and government helpers. He was in the valley with A.N.G.A.U. in 1942-43 and again in 1944, performing the role of arbitrator and protector on behalf of the people against the excesses of colleagues, soldiers and native police. His greatest contribution was in the area of policy, proposing strategies to his superiors for pacification, arbitration, economic and social development, derived from his own astute observation of the people and their environment. Tommy Aitchison was more a man of practical action, although he was aware of the theory behind it. Much of his

period of service was spent in the Kainantu area, but his patrols into the Goroka Valley enabled him to observe and to some extent influence the progress of the people there. When he took charge of A.N.G.A.U. operations in September 1944 after the departure of Taylor and Black, he had a knowledge of the district equalled only by his two predecessors, and he was well placed to lay the groundwork for a viable cash crop economy.

Of the New Guinean agents of change, two are outstanding. As several chapters in the thesis demonstrate, Lutheran pastor Buko Usemo and police sergeant Ubom Mawsang were at the cutting edge of mission and administration strategy. From his arrival at Namnamiroka near Goroka in 1935 to his retirement from the Lutheran ministry in the early 1960s Buko was a tireless and effective evangelist of the new order, and one of the prime movers in the process of religious transformation. Similarly Ubom waged a relentless crusade on behalf of law and order, and he above all other newcomers is seen by the local inhabitants as the apostle of pacification. His determination in the face of fierce resistance, his ability to outwit the fighting guile of the Goroka warriors, his marriage into the Okazuha clan and his apparent status as a confidant and esteemed colleague of Europeans such as Jim Taylor, won him the respect of all Gorokans. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, Ubom was also responsible for directing the Administration's attention to Goroka as a potential site for an airstrip and future town.

The discussion in Chapter 7 about the effects of World War 2 on

the Goroka Valley people leads to the claim that the War provided a turning point in their attitude to European law and to their acceptance of the demand to give up tribal fighting. It is argued that the combined impact of the military occupation, the violence of Japanese air raids and the Allied response, the conscription as carriers, labourers and garden food producers, the bewildering display of advanced technology and the onslaught and containment of the Shiga dysentery epidemic overwhelmed any further resistance to European rule. The fact that the authorities were able to substitute rewards through government employment and cash crop production for traditional activities such as tribal fighting, reinforced the new attitude and made the transformation an enduring one. Most of the young men who became post war political and business leaders, public servants and plantation owners or employees, were nurtured during the War, their experiences with soldiers and A.N.G.A.U. officers standing them in good stead when the time came to seize the new opportunities to accumulate wealth and prestige.

An important argument which runs through the thesis is that the contact experience of the Goroka Valley people occurred against a background of enormous technological advance. Europeans arrived in the Highlands at a time when the aeroplane could be used for the first time as an aid to exploration and administration. Medical research had provided a spectacular cure for that most disfiguring of Highland diseases, yaws or framboesia, the radio had closed the communications gap and motor vehicles were

produced in war time with the capacity to negotiate the roughest of Goroka Valley roads. These major innovations plus the more humble domestic European artifacts like soap suds and clothes lines and trade articles like axes and mirrors, powder paints and processed foods, combined to impress and amaze the people and to prompt them to reach out for their share of this rich and seemingly inexhaustible wealth.

In summary the major argument of the thesis, therefore, is that the cause of the Goroka Valley people's acceptance of change and willingness to meet the demands of the European invaders, lay in their perception of the benefits that would flow from their participation in the new order. Other factors, such as the nature and pace of contact, the influence of coastal New Guinean agents of the Europeans, non violent methods of pacification including the informal education of young Gorokan collaborators, administrative flexibility in the implementation of policy, the personal authority of certain key European and coastal New Guinean figures, the impact of the War and the seductive power of the new technology, all contributed to the process of change. However it is argued that without the rewards to be had at the end, none of these measures could in themselves have won the cooperation which was necessary for a thoroughgoing transformation from a traditional to a modern society. The lure of wealth was the motivating force which drew the people of the Goroka Valley along that uncertain but promising path of contact and change.