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***PATROL REPORTS***

DISTRICT: WESTERN

STATION: NOMAD, 1963 - 1964

# Papua New Guinea Patrol Reports

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*Original*  
To Director of Native Affairs  
KORROGO  
21/7



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

## PATROL REPORT

District of..... **WESTERN DISTRICT** ..... Report No..... **NOMAD No. 4 - 1963/64**

Patrol Conducted by..... **R. A. Hoad, Patrol Officer** .....

Area Patrolled..... **EAST STRICKLAND DIVISION** .....

Patrol Accompanied by ~~Europeans~~..... **Assistant Patrol Officer M. Rarua, from 24/12/63**

Natives..... **R.P. & N.G.C. 8; Interpreters 3; Carriers 55.**

Duration—From... **16 / 9 / 1963** ... to ... **11 / 10 / 1963** ... - (SUPEI ; KUBOR : BIAMI) - 26 days  
and - from **13 / 11 / 1963** - **12 / 2 / 1964** - (GEBUSI ; BIAMI ; KOMIFA to TARI)

Number of Days.....  
**(26 days + 92 days) = 118 days**

Did Medical Assistant Accompany?..... -----

Last Patrol to Area by—District Services...../...../19... (1) Hides & O Malley in 1935  
(2) Champion & Turner in 1939  
Medical .... /...../19... (3) McBride & Browne in 1959  
(4) Clancey to the DABA in 1948

Map Reference..... **Drawing of "TUGIRI" Approach Chart with all local information** .....

Objects of Patrol..... **Mainly to visit the BIAMI population and to assess the influence of the Administration; to examine community affinities, subsistence pattern, and trade; and to consolidate influence where possible.** .....

Director of Native Affairs,  
PORT MORESBY.

Forwarded, please.

16 / 8 / 1964

*[Signature]*

.....  
District Commissioner

Amount Paid for War Damage Compensation .... £.....

Amount Paid from D.N.E. Trust Fund .... £.....

Amount paid from P.E.D.P. Trust Fund ....

.....  
.....  
.....

TERRITORY of PAPUA and NEW GUINEA

Administration  
Press Statement,  
No. 173.

Port Moresby,  
December 4, 1964.

MAJOR PATROL TO BIAMI COUNTRY IN WESTERN DISTRICT

(Statement by the Director of District Administration, Mr. J.K. McCarthy.)

A Patrol Officer, Mr. R.A. Hoad, who made an extensive first contact patrol through the main area of the Biami country in the Western District, has described the people's reaction to seeing a European and European goods for the first time.

The Biamis, who probably number around 2,500, live in small scattered communities in a region some 50 miles south of the Southern Highlands border and approximately 100 miles east of the Strickland River. Their area is now being brought under government influence by District Administration staff from the Nomad Patrol Post which was opened in 1962.

In the report on his 118-day patrol Mr. Hoad says the Biamis are amongst the most isolated people in the Territory, being cut off from outside contact by a vast expanse of forest to the south, and by huge limestone escarpments to the north. Probably as a result of this isolation they are extremely primitive, and although exploratory patrols moved through the fringes of the Biami country in prewar years, and again in the postwar era, many of the people had never seen a European until Mr. Hoad's recent visit. A number of small communities had been contacted by the McBride patrol in 1959 but many people deliberately evaded all previous patrols.

Although some of the Biamis had been hostile towards Mr. McBride's patrol five years ago, Mr. Hoad encountered no difficulty when he entered the Biami country. In fact quite a number of Biami men walked from their hamlets to see the patrol when it was visiting adjoining groups before actually reaching the Biami homesteads. When the patrol arrived at the first Biami homesteads the inhabitants showed no surprise, and the women and children were present, a sure sign of confidence on the part of the local people.

The Biamis helped the patrol to build rest houses at their hamlets, and showed keen interest in everything carried by the party. At some places there was great excitement at seeing a white man and obviously the people found a European to be a fascinating novelty. For instance, as the patrol was leaving one of the hamlets it was halted by excited cries of "Wait! Wait!" Then a Biami from another area rushed up, and after a torrent of explanation to the interpreter, the latter finally said to Mr. Hoad: "It's all right now, he's seen you. We can go."

Commenting on the Biamis' interest in the patrol gear, Mr. Hoad says: "The spontaneous interest in our trade items and equipment was more pronounced in this locality than I had encountered in any other primitive area. The things that delighted them were simple, and so much taken for granted by us that their astonishment was reflected in me. Looking into a mirror for the first time, a puzzled expression of uncertainty,



or delight, would appear. Often the next reaction would be that the person looking into the glass immediately centred his bamboo nose piece, just as a European woman would adjust her hair. Fish hooks were accepted as ornaments until their purpose was explained, and even then some of the men preferred to use them as hair ornaments. Matches also fascinated the people. When shown how to strike them, some Biamis cautiously held them at arm's length as though the match would suddenly explode into a great fire-ball. The mere opening of a box of matches intrigued them, particularly when the box was held upside down and all the matches spilled out.

Mr. Hoad says: "It was not easy to tell what would capture their imagination or what would be accepted without comment. The patrol radio, for example, aroused no interest, but any book which I chanced to be reading caused great excitement. Their reaction was - all those pages between the covers - and the pictures! These delighted them, and it didn't matter if they were viewed sideways or simply upside down. They were also fascinated by the "houses" we carried about (tents), the lamps used at night, the flag put at the top of a post where it served no purpose that they could discern. Boots with hob nails, clothing, canned food, combing one's hair and washing one's hands, all this aroused the keenest interest. Confronted with these wonders the Biamis continually flicked their wide bark belts in gestures of astonishment, and uttered cries of amazement at all our wonders."

The only real problem encountered by the patrol was due to the people's acute hunger for steel axes and knives which prompted several thefts. The Biamis still use stone adzes for felling trees and clearing large food gardens, a laborious task, but Mr. Hoad comments that stone tools are much more efficient than some people realise. Due to the acute shortage in their area steel represents great wealth to the people, and it was possible that the friendly reception accorded the patrol was extended in the hope of getting some. The people were not always content to wait for steel through the customary process of trading local foodstuffs for axes and knives, and some sought to obtain them by theft. However, all stolen articles were recovered, being brought back voluntarily by the village elders after Mr. Hoad explained that the patrol would remain until all the stolen goods were returned. In all hamlets where such incidents occurred, the patrol remained in the area until full confidence was restored with the community.

During the extended journey through the Biami country Mr. Hoad saw some of the human trophies taken by the people during raids on neighbouring groups. Skulls of raid victims are bleached and then decorated before they are put on permanent display in the communal houses used by the Biamis. When raiding the young men make swift surprise attacks on isolated homesteads where the raiders can be sure of superiority in numbers. They depend on a rapid flight from the scene of the raid for immunity against immediate retaliation. The widespread fear in which the Biamis are held by other tribes appears to obviate any chance of revenge raids. In talks with the people Mr. Hoad also learned that cannibalism had been practiced after successful raids, and among such primitive and isolated people this was regarded as normal tribal custom. On subsequent patrols which will consolidate government influence in the area District Administration Officers will explain how this will benefit the people, and they will be told that raiding and cannibalism must cease. Long experience in similar primitive areas indicates

that these strictures soon become accepted by the tribes once regular patrolling is established.

Mr. Hoad reports that in addition to regional isolation the Biamis have very little contact between their own groups, the people of the various communal houses being scattered over a wide area and are also separated by distrust, friction and hostility. They do not think of themselves as being members of the Biami group, but use the names of their individual hamlets. There are few tracks between the homesteads, and even these are overgrown and obviously seldom used.

Their communal houses are quite large and accommodate all members of the clan group. The houses are built of saplings and split palm, tree bark and sago fronds, all held together by bush vines. The essential feature of the communal house is security, a strongly fortified front and a narrow central entrance with heavy sliding bars which fall into position to close the building. A rear veranda is built out over sloping ground. Within the building there are separate areas for the men, and the women and children.

Mr. Hoad says that unless there is some special project under way - house building or clearing land for food gardens, the men take life very leisurely. After a late rising in the morning some may drift out to the forest for a day's hunting or fishing. A few may help the women by fencing garden land or clearing more land, but always there are some who indulge in nothing more active than sheer idleness. They sit on the veranda of their house looking out over the apparently endless forest, making casual conversation before falling asleep. Others may fill in time scraping down their fine arrow heads, plaiting an armlet of fine cane, or weaving a new string bag. However, the women have much more to do as most of the food growing is their responsibility, also the care of the children, the household chores and looking after the pigs which are one of the main forms of wealth. Other wealth comprises stone axes, cowrie shells and strings of dogs' teeth.

The people are keen hunters and never travel far without their weapons. Their arrows are long, slender and finely carved, some being bone-tipped and some fitted with bone barbs. Those used for fish and birds are pronged, and others used for hunting pig, cassowary and wallaby have wide bamboo blades. The men hunt individually or in groups. They are good at tracking and moving silently through the bush, and know their own hunting grounds in great detail, the rivers, the ridges, and the constrictions where they can corner their quarry. When hunting in groups the young boys accompany the party. The hunters build a log fence through the thickest part of the forest, leaving a very narrow gap where the game, hotly pursued by the dogs, makes an effort to escape. The best marksmen take up positions in hiding behind this outlet and the rest of the hunters fan out. With much whooping and yelling they attempt to drive whatever game there is through the forest to the ambush.

The customary garb of the Biami men is a narrow bark apron in front and over this a short knitted sporan of native fibre. At the back swing a series of grass skirts, the first reaching to the back of the knees, the second being shorter, and the third only about six inches deep. A wide bark belt is worn around the waist, and sometimes as high as the chest, and over this strips of cane are often fastened which can be used for fire-making when the need arises. Most of the men wear a fringe of cassowary quills high across the forehead, but alternatively others wear wigs made of grass, the grass being fine and long so that it bends almost to

the shoulders. Fine long lengths of sago leaf are tucked into the armllets, and the belt and knee bands. Other ornaments of the men include coils of plaited string, threaded lengths of red and white berries, or cowrie shells, all worn slung from one shoulder, bandolier style. Other strings of beads are worn around the neck or suspended from the ear lobes. Armllets are made of plaited strips of green and white cane. The final touch of ornamentation is a bamboo or bone nose-piece of which the men are very proud. None regard themselves as properly dressed without it, and the larger and longer the piece of bone or bamboo, the greater the credit it does the wearer. The men groom their hair into dozens of greasy ringlets which fall to the shoulders. The forehead is shaven well back and wide bands of white beads are tied in position.

In contrast the women's dress is very drab, comprising string skirts and bark capes, with only a few woven ornaments. Some wear strings of cowrie shells around their necks but these belong to their husband or father. On the approach of strangers the women immediately wrap themselves from neck to feet in their long bark capes.

In addition to visiting 35 of the Biami clan groups and 120 of their communal homesteads, Mr. Hoad also contacted the Supei, Kubor, Gebusi and Komifa people, all of whom also live in the region administered from the Nomad Patrol Post.

An Assistant Patrol Officer, Mr. M. Rarua of Pari Village near Port Moresby, accompanied Mr. Hoad during the latter part of the patrol. Also the party comprised eight members of the Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary, three interpreters and 55 carriers.

Mr. Hoad conducted an outstanding patrol through an area where hostility had been shown towards previous exploratory patrols. Despite this he won the confidence of the Biami people and his skilful and careful handling of theft incidents made it unlikely that subsequent patrols will run into similar difficulty. Also the detailed information gathered by Mr. Hoad will be of great value to other officers in consolidating government influence in the area.

The Biamis are one of the few small isolated groups who number in all about 20,000 people, who are still in the first stage of coming under government influence. This figure compares with a total Territory population of just over 2,000,000. There are now no areas of the Territory where the people have not been contacted by District Administration patrols.

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67-3-23

12th November, 1964.

District Commissioner,  
Western District,  
D A R U.

PATROL REPORT NO. 4-63/64 - NOMAD:

Thank you for forwarding me the above report, which is a first class presentation of facts illustrated by an outstanding collection of photographs. It is a grave pity that it did not arrive in time to be of current value and I trust that steps have been taken to ensure that whoever borrowed and mislaid the file will not do any such thing again.

2. The patrol has been conducted in an unhurried manner allowing sufficient time to establish real and effective contact throughout and care has been taken to create a proper impression of the Administration, showing firmness and strength as well as fairness and desire to help. A few more patrols carried out in a similar manner will go a long way towards establishing some semblance of law and order.

3. It is desirable that officers from Nomad purchase a reasonable selection of artefacts for the museum before patrolling and trade have wrought too many changes in the pre-contact situation. See Standing Instructions, Volume 1, pages 39-41 and Appendix C for an outline of what is needed. In addition, it could be of interest to briefly sketch in any particular history attaching to a particular implement.

4. The report gives a good outline of the Nomad Sub-District other than Mt. Bosavi and a very clear picture of the Biami area. Those who followed Mr. Hoad at Nomad must have found it of very great value in planning their work.

(J.K. McCarthy)  
DIRECTOR.



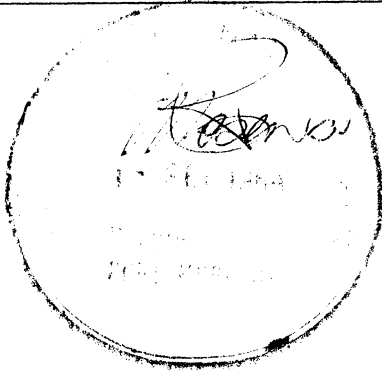
Telegrams IAH'CR

Telephone 67-7-1

Our Reference.....

If calling ask for

Mr.....

District Office,  
Western District,  
DARU.

August 26th, 1964.

The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
KONEDOBU.PATROL NOMAD 4-63/64 - EAST STRICKLAND CENSUS DIVISION

... Attached is a profusely illustrated report of the above 118-day patrol by Mr. R.A. HOAD, Patrol Officer. I regret its delayed submission, owing to the file having been "borrowed" and subsequently mislaid. Mr. HOAD was accompanied for 26 days by Mr. M. RARUA, Assistant Patrol Officer.

2. This is an exceptional Report by a most astute and analytical observer. Seldom does one see as adequate a coverage of all aspects of life amongst primitive cannibal headhunters. If it was a biographical novel or newspaper article, it would probably be worth a great deal of money. I trust that the Report will be released to the press and Mr. HOAD will be given full acknowledgement for his fine effort.

3. The very full diary, population, group and anthropological information and map will be of immense value in planning future field administration and development. It is obvious that both cautious confidence and prolonged overtures will be necessary before we can claim any viable influence amongst the BIAMI. From other indications it is clear that all surrounding groups are "scared stiff" of them and as a result of this, endeavours to recruit locals to replace the permanent KIUNGA carrier line are unlikely to be fruitful for some time: a non-BIAMI in BIAMI territory spends all his time cowering behind a policeman.

4. There is little I can add to the report except to congratulate an outstandingly efficient officer on his initial reconnaissance and the presentation of his findings. Association with this officer is a pleasure.

5. I would recommend that the Report be brought to the notice of His Honour the Administrator and the Public Relations Officer.

*(Signature)*  
(I. A. Holmes)  
DISTRICT OFFICER

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Telegram

Telephone

Our Reference.....

If calling ask for

Mr.....

TELEFOMIN

(ex. NOMAD Patrol Post,  
Western District.)

26th. April, 1964.

The District Officer,  
Western District,  
DARU, Papua.

Patrol Report NOMAD No. 4 - 1963/64

EAST STRICKLAND DIVISION - BIAMI

Attached please find Original and three copies of the above-mentioned Report, together with my memo 1-6-9 of 25th. April, copy of patrol map, photographs of the East Strickland, and patrol claims. The original of the map and various arrow heads of the East Strickland are being sent under separate cover.

I had delayed the submission of this report hoping that other photographs of the BIAMI (reference is made to them in the report) would be returned from processing for inclusion. However, they have not yet been received and since I leave for OLSOBIP to-morrow I think it perhaps best to forward the report in its present form and submit a further illustrative section in due course - I hope in the not too distant future.

Only five copies of the map were printed by Lands. Perhaps you will care to ask for additional copies for the information of the TARI and KOROBA and further working copies for NOMAD?

*R. A. Hoad*  
(R. A. Hoad)  
Patrol Officer





TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Telegrams

Telephone

Our Reference..... 67 - 1 - 3

(Copy)

If calling ask for

Mr.....

Sub-District Office  
K I U N G A,

Western District.

1st. November, 1963.

The Officer in Charge,  
N O M A D.

BIAMI PATROL 1963

Your 67-1-3 of 15th. October, 1963, refers. I have read your proposals with great interest and concur with all your arrangements for this patrol. I have minuted on a copy of your memorandum to the District Officer so that we might have his comments before your departure.

1. I think that on a patrol of this nature it would be desirable to have a second officer but unfortunately our present staff position makes this an impossibility. This aspect of the patrol has already been discussed with Mr. Carey.
2. Although your earlier contacts with the BIAMI people in fringe areas have been suprisingly cordial, in view of their past records the real core of feeling towards the Administration is still only to be guessed at, and I would strongly advise you to proceed with the utmost caution in contacting this group. This of course I know you intend to do. In particular there should be no overt display of steel tools by your police or carriers. The cupidity of these people for that commodity may overcome their discretion, as there was apparently an element of it in the confrontation of McBride's patrol.
3. If you have not already done so, I suggest that you peruse Chapter vii "The Use of Force" Part 1 "Firing on Hostile Natives" of the recently distributed Departmental Standing Instructions. This is a first class piece of work and admirably outlines the position under the Queensland Criminal Code relating to the circumstances where self-defence is justified and the degree of force which may be employed in certain situations. If you have not received a copy of these instructions at NOMAD, please advise by radio and I will send the KIUNGA station copy to you on loan. Your police detachment should be carefully instructed at NOMAD before the patrol on the types of fire orders they may receive.
4. Please ensure that your portable radio equipment is in good order. We have a supply of fresh batteries here if you require replacements, and maintain the usual radio schedules on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. I would appreciate the earliest possible advice of airdrop requirements so that the District Officer may be enabled to make the necessary arrangements with Stolair.
5. Please advise if you require anything. Good patrolling.

..... M. Lang  
a/Assistant District Officer

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

*In Reply  
Please Quote*

No.

NOMAD Patrol Post,  
Kiunga Sub-District,  
Western District.

1st. April, 1964.

The District Officer,  
Western District,  
DARU, Papua.

PATROL REPORT NOMAD No. 4 - 1963/64

Report of a patrol to the BIAMI and to TARI in the Southern Highlands

Officer conducting patrol : R. A. Hoad, Patrol Officer

Duration of patrol : From 16/9/1963 to 11/10/1963 - (26 day)  
SUPEI; KUBOR; BIAMI populations  
From 13/11/1963 to 12/2/1964 - (92 day)  
GEBUSI; BIAMI; KOMIPA to TARI  
118 days

Patrol accompanied by .... : M. Rarua, Assistant Patrol Officer,  
from 24/12/1963

Native personnel accompanying : (1) R. P. & N. G. C. : 9  
(2) Interpreters - 4 +  
(3) Carriers : 55

Area patrolled : EAST STRICKLAND DIVISION

Objects of patrol : Familiarization: mainly to visit the  
BIAMI population and assess influence  
of the Administration;  
To assess population, community affairs  
subsistence pattern and trade;  
To consolidate influence where possible

Map reference : TUGIRI Approach Chart, print attached.

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(R. A. Hoad)



(71)

## INTRODUCTION :

When Hides left his canoes at the RENTOUL in 1935 he led his patrol out to the east and this expedition would then have passed through the tribal area that we speak of as "BIAMI". The population located was found to be mostly timid and few in number and except to recall an incident in which an armed constable was ambushed by a native on the Strickland River it seems that Hides was left rather depressed - except, perhaps, in the simplicity of life of the "nomadic folk" who lived contained by this sea of forest. Certainly Hides was less thrilled with his discoveries of this locality ("fit only for wallabies and bandicoots") that his report presents a gloomy picture of the depressing inhospitable country "where the goru tree predominates" and where the limestone foothills abruptly arise thousands of feet into the KARIUS Range. Rounding the eastern shoulder of Mount SISA Hides named the two predominant outcrops after his companion, O'Malley.

I suppose, however, that Cláwd Champion was the first European to come in contact with the main population - or that part of it which did not evade his patrol. Working up to the north from the TIOMU River Mr. Champion encountered the AEBE, GEBUSI, and BIAMI people. The kunai grassed ridges were crossed and Mr. Champion reached the headwaters of the SEWA River. Reaction of the natives to the patrol ranged from positive hostility in the AEBE to ill-defined hospitality and avoidance of contact by the BIAMI. Little food was offered to the strangers, but that is reasonable for there is no surplus of food when gardens have to be hewed from forest with only primitive stone tools.

The small population that was found in this sea of forest warranted little immediate attention for there would obviously be negligible return for any amount of expenditure. The only interest then expressed was by a geological team working for the Australasian Petroleum Coy. in 1953. That party was working with the sanction of the Administration and was escorted as far as the headwaters of the RENTOUL River by the Assistant District Officer from Lake KUTUBU, Mr. D. Wren. Unfortunately Mr. Wren returned to his station before the geological party entered the BIAMI.

It seems that after he left them their party then encountered a series of unpleasant and embarrassing incidents. There is little recorded about what followed except by Mr. Wren in a subsequent report to the BOSAVI area ..... Moving down on the RENTOUL River Mr. Wren wrote, "Having seen the river my alternate plan to move downstream by raft to the junction of the FUMA (East RENTOUL) and the SEWA (North RENTOUL) was abandoned. The people said that there is no life at this junction but the A.P.C. party reported that here was the place where they had experienced hostile demonstrations."

In any event that was not the last encounter for almost certainly there was a serious attack on a camp which had been placed near the NOMAD RIVER - that is, a good way from the SEWA incident, but still amongst the group we have ill-defined as BIAMI.

Talking with the people today it is possible to glean some information about their earliest experiences and of their subsequent intention to attack a patrol camp. They expressed themselves in these following terms .....

.....

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The main patrol to the BIAMI was preceded by a patrol to the north in September. The people of the Strickland River had been visited and there remained their neighbours the KUBOR who lived between the SUPEI and BIAMI.

The KUBOR were visited for the first time by David Calder in 1953. They are a small group who live in small communities on a feeder stream from the DAMAMI River. They had remained quite impassive during the establishment of NOMAD Patrol Post, seeming to prefer their own state of 'incomparably lovely' to the new order.

Purpose of my visit to this locality was to assess population and build rest houses in the main community centres. They were very friendly and assisted the patrol of their own volition.

PATROL DIARY (1) :

September 16th. 1963

Patrol prepared. Objects of the patrol explained to police and carriers; instructions were given that native property and customs are to be respected at all times.

All the equipment was ferried across the Nomad River and with Mr. Douglas we set out at 14.00 for the barracks at SUGIABI, the first SUPEI village.

September 17th.

Mr. Douglas departed for the next SUPEI village, DOGUGU. My carriers put to work making sago palm thatching. Myself with the interpreter then contacted three SUPEI homesteads GOSIALUBI (1hr. 15), BOLUWASU and SOKABI (main centre) all in close proximity. The ALIBU people from WOU MOSOM have migrated in - apparently in sympathy with the migrations of SIUMOSOM following incidents on the RENTOUL - see NOMAD REPORT No. 2 - 1963/4.

September 18th.

Departed for the KUBOR at 8.00. Arrived DOGUGU homestead at 9.00; WAILIBI homestead in 10 minutes and KWOBBI gardens in 10. A further 30 minutes to DOGUBI and 1hr. 15 to GIWOBI, the first village with KUBOR influence. Camp made. Contact made with KIUNGA on the portable transmitter.

Camp GIWOBI

\*KUBOR

Time 3hrs. 15.

September 19th.

Working out from GIWOBI, the adjacent homesteads, old and new, were visited. These include BOISUBI (migrations to GIWOBI) and SISIOBI (migrations to SONABI). The Andu River to the north was visited and two other homesteads KWOBBI and MODYUBI were found. A site was located for a rest house and the area cleared. Local people most helpful.

September 20th.

At GIWOBI. Further clearing of the site for a rest house and gathering of building materials. p.m. visited gardens of the GIWOBI people; people of SONABI also into camp. Some 60 people into camp with food this evening.

September 21st.

At GIWOBI. Framework of the rest house completed. Labourers out to collect goru palm for the flooring and sago palm for thatching. Frequent showers of rain today and generally the weather seems to be deteriorating.

September 22nd.

(Sunday) at GIWOBI. Construction of the rest house proceeding; local people seem more lethargic today - must be in sympathy with the weather.

September 23rd.

At GIWOBI. Rest house completed. A number of visitors into camp, including people from SONABI, SINABI, and some BIAMI speakers. Visited another house north of GIWOBI; it appears to be a purely garden house. Plentiful supplies of food purchased.

September 24th.

Departed GIWOBI for SHUAMOSOM at 11.15. Crossed the Andu River at its junction with a small creek, BOLI'E; continued to the N.E. for 1hr. 20 to arrive at the communal centre. Site selected for a camp. Some people in with food for sale. However, no women are present and these people are not as affable as the last villagers. Influence of the BIAMI present and most people are bilingual speakers.

Camp SHUAMOSOM

\*KUBOR

Time 2hrs. 30

September 25th.

At SHUAMOSOM. Site selected for a rest house and clearing commenced. Building materials brought in. Framework erected. p.m. visited old village sites ASIAWOBI and DOGUMOSOM.

September 26th.

At SHUAMOSOM. Work on the rest house continued whilst I visited villages to the south. Crossed the ANDU River and arrived at FOI'IBI in 1hr. 50 minutes. Population 15. Continued to the south for a further hour to the communal centre HONOB. (The old village site is called SINABI). Lesser homesteads include UNAGABABI and DUGASU. Returned to camp. Many more people into camp today with food.

September 27th.

At SHUAMOSOM. Rest house completed. More visitors into camp today, including people from the BIAMI villages to the north. The relationship between these people and the BIAMI is by no means clear. Yesterday the people told of how so recently the BIAMIs came down and raided one of their homesteads killing four villagers and taking five girls. Thus though most of the KUBOR truly fear the BIAMI there still appears to be some liaison between the neighbouring people.

September 28th.

At SHUAMOSOM. Barracks for the labourers completed. Further talk with the people of this area, also with visitors in from FOI'INI and HONOB. Gardens visited and a garden house to the north located.

September 29th.

Patrol packed and we departed for HONOBI. One hour's travel to the south brought us to FOI'IBI (homesteads include UAMOSOM and EBA). Further 1hr. 15 to the south and we arrived at HONOBI, visited last Thursday. Camp established.

Afternoon observed, Sunday.

Camp HONOBI

\*KUBOR

Time 2hrs. 15

September 30th.

Camp area cleared and an area marked out for a rest house. Villagers sent out to collect thatching and sago palm. Population appears more meager than I had realized.

October 1st. 1963.

At HONOBI. Framework of the rest house laid out, with some support from the village people. Visited again FOI'IBI and then walked S.W. to SONABI (1hr. 15). Returned to HONOBI in a direct route in little more than one hour.

October 2nd.

At HONOBI. Construction of the rest house progressing. Village people have brought in sufficient palm for thatching and are now collecting kipa for the walls. p.m. gardens and the three homesteads again visited.

October 3rd.

At HONOBI. Rest house completed. Carriers commenced clearing a further area for additional barracks for patrol carriers.

Reconnoitred the NOMAD RIVER this afternoon hoping to find a suitable crossing point to take the patrol over to the BIAMI. However, with the recent heavy rains the river is in flood and quite impossible to ford. Returned to camp.

October 4th.

At HONOBI. Labour barracks completed. Visitors in again from the BIAMI homesteads of the north. An account obtained of a BIAMI raid on one of these villages approximately a year ago.

October 5th.

Patrol departed for BIAMI homesteads located somewhere to the north and as indefinitely described as being "far away". Guides are with the patrol and people from these homesteads have visited the patrol at HONOBI. Returned to SHUAMOSOM in just over two hours. Continued on at 10.00 along a track which follows the top of the ANDU creek to ANDUMOSOM at 11.30 and KEGABI at 12.00. Both these areas are now deserted and ANDUMOSOM has been burned to the ground - by the BIAMIs from the east side on the occasion of a raid some three months ago. A bush camp made on the NOMAD RIVER at 15.30.

October 6th.

Broke camp at 7.00. Continued to follow up the north bank of the NOMAD; passed McBrides turn-off at 7.45 and so climbed north-east on a fairly high ridge. Garden areas located at 10.00, now probably 800 feet above the NOMAD River. Homesteads are TIGASUBI, YOLOBI,

**Guard posted**

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**Guard posted**

and the other two are the same as in the first case.

**Time 7 hours**

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**Time 2 hours**

**0000 0000 0000 0000 0000 0000 0000 0000**

**00000000000000000000000000000000**

**Three hours to NOMAD Patrol Post.**

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The patrol had returned to the station to meet a number of contingencies .....

- 1) On Sunday, 13th. October, the station was inspected by the Minister for Territories, Mr. Hasluck.
- 2) On Friday, 25th. October, the first D.C. 3 aircraft landed on NOMAD airfield (which up to that time had only taken traffic by Cessna aircraft) and as the 'plane ploughed further into the surface runway and was finally halted, bogged, it became something of an embarrassment. After manually moving it out and a series of taxi tests we were left with an amount of work to do to fill in the wheel ruts and consolidate. Fortunately the 'plane was able to take off the next day after jeto had been fitted. On the lighter side of it, a number of natives had been drawn into the station to see this strange beast. (The natives have their own word for aircraft: they call it UDUKAI, a large and noisy bird.)
3. On Thursday, 31st. October, an aerial survey was conducted of the main BIAMI population by Cessna aircraft. We were able to locate the distribution of gardens, concentration of population, gaps between population (BOSAVI and BIAMI) etc. This information was of considerable assistance when the patrol entered the field.

Originally it was my intention to take the patrol into TARI for Christmas; also, if it were possible, to co-ordinate with a patrol working out from KOMO Patrol Post. But unfortunately the BIAMI communities were more difficult to contact than I had anticipated and in the end we experienced a truly "bush Christmas". The Assistant District Officer was kept informed of our arrangements and movements.

#### PATROL DIARY (2) :

November 13th. 1963.

Principle patrol to the BIAMI commenced. This patrol comprises of 55 carriers, 9 police and two interpreters; also a bi-lingual BIAMI-KUBOR who has agreed to accompany the patrol and assist our official interpreters, none of whom can understand the BIAMI tongue.

Patrol moved to SIRIGUBI where barracks had been constructed. Village people contacted and a little food purchased. Conditions are extremely dry as we have had no rain for a month. The banana harvest has not matured, the taro is withering in the ground.

Tonight the patrol was again addressed on our purpose, on the conduct expected of all, and that under no circumstances were any to abscond from the main patrol body or to indulge in any personal transactions.

Camp SIRIGUBI

\*GEBUSI

Time 2hrs. 30

November 14th.

Some stores and rations left at SIRIGUBI, the bulk carried through to UNAWOBI, the GEBUSI homestead to the north-east. SIRIGUBI villagers declined to accompany the patrol as apparently they are not all too friendly. Passed through HOROGOMI; those homestead people hastily covered up one of their brothers, a corpse, with a goru frond as it seems to be not good etiquette to allow one's enemies, the BIAMIs (who are accompanying this patrol) to view deceased kindred. The deceased is in a nice state of decay and the fragrance is over-powering.

People of UNAWOBI contacted. The rest house, constructed last April, is in fair shape, but the grounds are untidy.

Camp UNAWOBI

\*GEBUSI

Time 2 hours



November 15th.

Departed at 7.30 to the north-east walking up on the western side of the HAMAM River. The first BIAMI village contacted was AMADALABI, three new houses in a garden site. Women and children present and none was disturbed by our approach. From here on, following close to the HAMAM, we visited a further five dwellings and other garden shelters. The old communal houses (dobu) TULIMA and MISUEBI are still occupied but generally the people are in a process of change. Camp made at new MISUEBI above the creek. Guard posted.

Camp MISUEBI

\*BIAMI

Time 2hrs. 30

November 16th.

At MISUEBI. Commenced the building of a rest house; actual construction is being done by the patrol and the local people are bringing in the building materials. p.m. out to visit homesteads which lie further to the north and east. These include SAIOMI and DOGUBI, an hour's walk distant, and WOMI across the Hamam River. By the latter homestead were a skull and spinal cord resting in an inverted conical basket. Above the verandah entrance were hanging two sets of human jaws - all the trophies of a feast like the threepences out of a Christmas pudding. People said that one was a youth from YOLOBI, killed in a pay-back. Eighty people into camp with food, mainly sago. Guard mounted.

November 17th.

At MISUEBI. Continued work on the barracks and this afternoon they were completed. Talked with the people about different matters, their neighbours and their relationships, their gardens and the harvest etc. No patrol has been along the HAMAM before but of course they have heard of Europeans, dating back probably to Hides' patrol in 1935. It is quite remarkable that so little steel is possessed by these people. Even now in the new gardens most of the trees have been felled by stone implements. It is no wonder they put a high price on their food - even for steel. Eighty people into camp again with food. Guard mounted.

November 18th.

Patrol moved off at 7.45 with guides. Returned to the communal houses MISUEBI and TULUMI in 30 minutes and continued along the north side to SAIOMI (one hour). Crossed the ISYUA creek - feeder stream of the HAMAM - at 9.00, and climbed to DOGUBI, 9.20. It was found to be a fairly large dubu. Here were some new faces not previously seen. One of the associated homesteads is ISUEBI to the north. Moved on at 10.00. Many camp followers by now; some had acquired their weapons. Apparently they had good reason to be cautious for on arrival at SAFIBI (11.15) we found deployed all the bones of a youth on a platform. People said that members of the DOGUBI homestead were responsible for his death. Camp established away from the house. p.m. talking with these people; sixty into camp later with food. Guard mounted.

Camp SAFIBI

\*BIAMI

Time 3 hours

November 19th.

Broke camp at 7.30. Marched to the north through two homesteads OHAMBI and KOLOMI and then to the east following the DUDUGWA River (flows into the NOMAD). Across the river we could see a homestead which they called ABALUMBI. Arrived at a new dubu homestead called KENAGOBOBI at 08.45. (People say the old home MOGULUBI is now deserted) Continued on at 9.30 to the east and the KUMU River.



Two hours later we arrived at the homestead IANOWOBI. As we approached we heard the wailing of many women - heralding someone's death, we thought. But surprisingly there was nothing here but a bundle of bleached bones and skull stacked on the mortuary platform; still the women sat around shrouded in their kosika capes and moaned.

Camp moved to a high ridge on the KUMU River. About 50 men into camp to look us over. Many are very wary and a few bolted as the guard saluted to the lowering of the flag.

Camp IANOWOBI

\*BIAMI

Time 3hrs. 15

November 20th.

Remained at IANOWOBI, visiting the different homesteads and trying to estimate the population. Crossed the junction of the LUDA and KUMU streams and from there followed a fairly good track across and up. Homesteads include OWOBI, FALIBI, FOMYABI, and GIGILIMOB. Returned to camp. Seventy adult males in this evening with food. No women, however. Guard posted.

November 21st.

Departed at 7.20. Crossed two small creeks and headed in a south-westerly direction for two hours. Passed a homestead KEGANOB. At 9.00 but then the guides pulled us away from the KUMU River. Camp made near a communal house NAGABI at 11.00. p.m. visiting gardens and small homesteads associated with this area.

Camp NAGABI

\*BIAMI

Time 3 hours

November 22nd.

Camp site moved to an area more central and then I walked to a large homestead west on the KUMU. It is called IMOB and lies 1hr. 30 over a very difficult track. Inside the house I counted 53 people (including infants). People friendly and although the women are timid they view me with great interest. There are many small garden houses on these ridges and banana gardens are extensive. Returned to camp by following a track along the KUMU River.

November 23rd.

Departed to the east following the KUMU. The tracks are well formed which indicates a fairly (relative) substantial population here. At 9.00 we reached a large dubu called ADABOBI. A further branch road was seen, probably leading to another dubu. At 10.15 our guides deserted us, saying that they were now in territory hostile to them. (They admitted that this was one of their hunting areas and that only a few months ago they had taken two heads.) The track then deteriorated considerably until we arrived at WAILIBI. There are three large communal houses here.

Camp WAILIBI

\*BIAMI

Time 4 hours

November 24th.

At WAILIBI. Carriers commenced work on a rest house whilst I visited some garden homesteads and mapped the country. Clear view of Mt. SISA (O Malley's Peaks) from here.

November 25th.

At WAILIBI; work continued on the barracks. Further investigated this area. Some visitors in from a village to the north, though these people have insisted that there is no village to the north.

November 26th.

Camp moved to WAMOB, one of several small homesteads on the western side of the KUMU. People here are friendly and many into camp this afternoon with food. Four different houses visited; the 'dubu' is still under construction. People say there is no population between here and the KUMU although maps have indicated to the contrary.

Guard posted.

Camp WAMOB

\*BIAMI

Time 1hr. 30

November 27th.

Broke camp at 07.00. Today we moved further to the east to a house called MIGILOBI; I had previously slept at this place when returning with my patrol from the TOMU River. Recalling from that experience we had found the people to be friendly but demanding excessive prices for food. Camp made on our former site and arrangements made to complete a rest house whilst we remain here. Further to the east across the river we could see a homestead which the people called KOGOYABI. The women of this area remain very much in the background, taking a fast glimpse of the patrol as they dare. Only a little food was purchased.

Guard posted.

Camp MIGILOBI

\*BIAMI

Time 2 hours

November 28th.

At MIGILOBI; work commenced on the rest house, the people bringing in the building materials. Two homesteads on the western side of the HARAGUMI were visited - the first, KOGOYABI, is the main 'dubu'. Out on the verandah I turned face to face with two heads mounted on the wall. One was male and the other female. The bone had been painted black, the eye sockets filled with wasps' honey and berries inserted for eyes. A nose was formed and completed with bamboo piece through the septum. Over the forehead were draped bands of cassowary quills and small white feathers added a smart touch of colour. The people said they were trophies from the SEWA River. I had not seen skulls decorated like this before. Most of the teeth were in place so I doubt that the heads - in this state - were very old.

November 29th.

At MIGILOBI. Work continued on the barracks; the house was completed this afternoon. Visited the homesteads we located yesterday and photographed the heads. Talked with the people over contact by former patrols and the activities of the A.P.C. party. However, they say that they are not the people who were harassed. They insist that their contacts are to the south and west. Pointing to the east, they rub their hands across their belly - indicating the first carving act of the cannibal feast. They are not friendly with those people. This afternoon we visited other homesteads to the west on the AGUWA streams. Long houses are called AWOB and GAFALABI.

Guard posted.

November 30th.

Patrol packed and returned to the west to the GEBUSI people. Travelled north to AWOB in one hour 15; then crossed the AGUWA and FESIGARA streams and travelled west to WAILIBI, in two hours 30. Carriers rested before continuing south through WAWOB across the KUMU to FABI. People contacted, a little food purchased.

MIGILOBI to FABI via AWOB, WAILIBI, and WAWOB.

Camp FABI

\*GEBUSI

Time 4hrs. 45

December 1st. 1963

Fifteen carriers detailed to return to the station for supplies. Myself with party visited SISIOBI and tried to locate a route to BIAMI homesteads which could be seen on distant ridges. However, these people are completely unco-operative, maintaining that the houses we could see do not really exist. In their capacity for mendacity these people are unsurpassed.

December 2nd.

Remained at FABI. Started out to the south to a GEBUSI village until we met a group of BIAMI tribesmen returning with the carriers from NOMAD. They are from a village east of the HAMAM and so far not visited. They agreed to guide us back into this area. So we returned to FABI.

December 3rd.

Departed FABI at 7.00; arrived WAILIBI at 8.15. The track then continues to the north across a small creek (ASAWA) to reach SOI'IBI at 10.40. Three homesteads complete this community with an associated group HALIMOB I to the north. One constable cut his foot badly whilst setting camp up; we will have to repatriate him to-morrow. Eighty people into camp this evening with food - like the entire population has turned out. Guard posted.

Camp SOI'IBI

\*BIAMI

Time 3hrs. 30

December 4th.

Carriers and two police detailed to escort the injured constable back to NOMAD. The patrol is now committed to staying here until their return. Camp moved to HALIMOB I, visited yesterday, and a site cleared for a rest house. Fifty people into camp with food.

Camp HALIMOB I

Rest house under construction.

December 5th.

At HALIMOB I. Work proceeding on the rest house. Visited the area known as SOGAIBI lying 1hr. 30 to the east and across the headwaters of the HAMAM River. There are four small homesteads in this area but the communal dwelling has not yet been commenced. Tried to glean information on settlements to the north - a difficult process at the best of times. It seems that the people of SAEFOLOBI were responsible for the raid on the KUBOR community earlier this year. Guard posted.

December 6th.

At HALIMOB I. Rest house completed and payment given. Different people into camp again. Tried to recruit some to accompany the patrol onwards, but unfortunately they are all afraid of the next group - they expressly state that they have no desire to be eaten. Carriers returned from NOMAD this afternoon. Guard posted.

December 7th.

Departed at 07.00; arrived SOGAIBI at 8.15 and continued N.E. and N.W. around the streams feeding the HAMAM River. Arrived KENAGABOBI at 10.45. Camp made. p.m. patrolling some of the country on the northern side of the DUDUGWA but could find no population there. Guard posted.

Camp KENAGABOBI

\*BIAMI

Time 3hrs. 30

December 8th.

Departed at 7.30 to the north. Crossed the DUDUGWA river and then crossed a ridge to the KANO river, at 8.50. Crossed this and climbed the divide with the NOLUWA, then east. (These streams flow into the NOMAD) For the next two hours we had to cut our own tracks. There seems to be little converse between these people and their neighbours of the west - except for raiding, and well defined pads are not necessary for that. Arrived SAEFOLOBI at 12.00. The gardens are all new and so far the communal house has not been built. In one of the garden houses lies the body of a youth. It has been there like that (decomposing and swelling) for five days. The people said that they will move him to the mortuary platform in two days.

Many of the women were sent away into the bush from the patrol but a few returned to sell us food later in the afternoon. The men were more confident. Great bundles of banana were brought in for sale; it is the only crop which is being harvested. Guard posted.

Camp SAEFOLOBI

\*BIAMI

Time 4hrs. 30

December 9th.

Crossed a fairly large stream called ULALA and climbed to the main dubu of ULALOBI. There are two other houses associated with it, both large and new. There are extensive gardens, all banana, merging into old gardens and for the next half hour we were crawling our way along, through, under and over the slippery debris. Quite a number of men were seen about in the gardens, standing on tree stumps and eyeing the patrol off. A few were gathered in their houses and a few women were also present. No war trophies were seen. (This was the group who raided ANDUMOSOM) Walked on for thirty minutes through these gardens and then for an hour through bush to recross the ULULA stream. A garden house called GIGIDIRIBI was sighted on the northern side. Then east for two hours crossing two streams KASIMA and SAMO to arrive at the communal house called KASIMOB I at 3 p.m. Camp made. Guard posted.

Camp KASIMOB I

\*BIAMI

Time 4hrs. 30

December 10th.

Prepared to move on but then delayed leaving when it appeared that arrogant abuse was being directed towards us. The continuous calling out had no clear interpretation. A number of men could be seen in the gardens running back and forth, whilst others jumped up on to the high tree stumps and eyed the patrol off. Some were enjoying themselves in an obscure dance whilst many others were with weapons. Contacted five elders and impressed upon them that this behaviour was not good neighbourly. Relationships thus amended, we visited the two long houses. A few women and children were present. Fifty males into camp later with food but no women accompanied them. Another attempt made to steal a knife from the patrol. Another firearms demonstration given. Again their arrogance seemed to dissipate. Guard posted.

December 11th.

Broke camp at 7.20; moved south around the head of the LUDA creek (called KAIANOBO) and the KUMU creek. Arrived at the large communal house called TEGOMIDIBI at 9.30. Made camp. p.m. visited two other homesteads. Women and children present and there is no strain in relationships here. Guard posted.

Camp TEGOMIDIBI

\*BIAMI

Time 2 hours

December 12th.

Today we walked for little more than two hours to the south through gardens and forest to the next community centre SEDADO near the HARAGUMI River. Made camp and visited the homesteads associated with this group. Clear view of the ranges and Mount SISA, all of which the people simply call "the mountains", without any names for the predominant peaks. Guard posted.

Camp SEDADO

\*BIAMI

Time 2 hours

December 13th.

Departed at 7.30 to the west following below the streams which into the KUMU River. Tracks are well formed and all the way we were proceeded by a good number of local camp carriers, some 40 in all. We were then informed of another large centre called SIBIDIBI. When located, however, it was found to be only a small homestead and so we returned to the main population centre.

Permission was requested to set up camp. Then as one of the carriers was cutting a sappling he was attacked by a local native who grappled for the knife. See NARRATIVE The whole camp was immediately on the alert. The carrier's hand had been cut between thumb and finger and required eight stitches. Camp made without further incident and some natives who had fled returned later. Firearms demonstration given. I made it quite clear I wanted the return of the knife and compensation for the incident. Guards posted.

Camp UGWALUMOBI

\*BIAMI

Time 2 hours

December 14th.

Out at daylight bent on a visit to the homesteads. We encountered a party on their way to meet us with the stolen knife. I shortly explained that under the circumstances the return of the knife was inadequate and compensation would have to be added to this. Returned to camp. Later a group of natives in from a "different locality" (alleged) advised that all the people had fled. In return we explained we would remain here as long as necessary. Another firearms demonstration given. These people were then sent away. A number of sets of bows and arrows found in the bush and communal houses were destroyed.

p.m. camp was moved to another site and the area cleared as a precautionary measure. At 18.00 emissaries shouted that they had brought a pig and would like to visit the camp. The pig was accepted as compensation and the people were told that they had nothing further to fear. They should return to their houses but we will remain here to-morrow until all appears normal.

December 15th.

At UGWALUMOBI. Waited in camp for the local people to visit us and then proceeded to visit the local homesteads including TANABI, ISISMALIBI, and GIGILMOBI. By the afternoon many of the people, including some women, had returned to their homes. Some sixty males into camp with food this evening. Amongst the crowd are visitors from the SEWA and FUMA (RENTOUL) Rivers. Guard posted.

December 16th.

Broke camp at 7.15. Crossed one of the Nafunya streams at 8.00 and at 8.20 the patrol was halted whilst I visited the homestead called KUMABI. On again at 9.00, now deviating in a S.W. direction. Arrived OBAMI at 10.30. Camp made. Contacted KIUNGA on the portable wireless and arranged for an air drop of supplies. Afternoon was quite except for a branch torn from a tree that came crashing down through the tent.

Camp OBAMI

\*BIAMI

Time 2hrs. 40.

December 17th.

Moved off at 7.30 in an easterly direction through a homestead called GASOGAIBI and gardens of WASILIBI. At 9.05 we came to the edge of the steep ravine of the HARAGUMI River and changed our course to the south. Crossed the river thirty minutes later and climbed up to the homestead called, I believe, YOLODOMO. The best camp site is on the edge of this (plateau) but we were encouraged to go further and ended up putting camp in the bush. Seventy males in with food; visitors included people from the SEWA River. All seem friendly. Guard posted.

Camp YOLODOMO

\*BIAMI

Time 3 hours

December 18th.

First visited gardens and two homesteads of the MUFULOBBI area. Again it is a very clear morning and the ranges to the north are alluring. Mount SISA appears as the weathered lips of a volcanic cone and it is a remarkable fact that these people do not name it.

Departed this locality at 8.40; headed south and then west to arrive at YASIBI at 10.00. Then on for a further half hour to arrive at KOGOYABI visited last month. Camp made Guard posted.

Camp KOGOYABI

\*BIAMI

Time 2 hours

December 19th.

Departed at 7.25 preceded by a number of villagers and guides of little value. Met some people along the track from a village they called WAIAMOMI. A garden house called BULAMOBBI was passed at 8.15. Arrived at a fairly large homestead called UGUBBI at 8.45. Then on for another hour to arrive at a different homestead HIOLIBI.

Guides by this time were confusing the issue as to where further population lives and as the Cpl. was disturbed by their weapons their services were terminated. Then on to the S.W. for one hour to arrive at homesteads called TAIBI and KELEMI. Camp made. Only a little food brought in. Guard posted.

Camp KELEMI

\*BIAMI

Time 3hrs. 15

December 20th.

Broke camp at 7.30 and moved off to the east. Arrived at MIHAMOBBI at 8.00 and then crossed the MIHAM River at 8.50. A new house called HARAGOMI is located here. Entered the first kunai grassed ridges at 10.15; many traces could be seen further to the east. Arrived at a homestead KIBIGILIBI at 10.30 and then the main communal centre ABIGOLIBI at 11.30. The next two hours were spent looking for an air-drop site. More village people were located and the camp then established on a ridge. There are a number of houses in this area but so far only a few people have been seen. Guard posted.

Camp MUGULUBI

\*BIAMI

Time 4 hours

December 21st.

At MUGULUBI. As the drop-site has cleared approaches and requires no further attention the carriers were put to work building a rest house. Contacted KIUNGA at 10.30 and advised that all was ready. Two drops were received in the afternoon by Cessna aircraft but the recovery of rice was a poor collection. A few more men into camp this evening but they said their women have fled for they were frightened by the 'plane. Guard posted.

December 22nd.

At MUGULUBI. Work on the rest house continued. A line of carriers was sent to the station for Assistant Patrol Officer RARUA who wishes to join the patrol to TARI. p.m. visited homesteads of the HADIMABI group. There appears to be no 'dubu' but the population would be 60 plus. Two other houses WASIBI and KOROBBI are to the N.E. across a creek called SOGAMO.

December 23rd.

At MUGULUBI. Rest house completed today. Visited a few houses associated with the long house and also went hunting down to the HARAGUMI River - but without success.

December 24th.

Some excitement early this morning when a cassowary entered the camp and was shortly thrown into the stew pot. Left the camp at 2 p.m. for YULUBI, a rest house in the GEBUSI. Arrived 3.45; Mr. RARUA had reported in earlier.

Camp YULUBI

\*GEBUSI

Time 1hr. 45

December 25th.

Patrol moved back to ABIGOLUBI and picked up the stores which had been left there. A few of the kunai ridges were examined but nothing was found to be very level. At 11.00 we continued on to HADIMABI where we made camp. Later I visited the largest homestead which is called DIBAGOLUBI. Fifty people into camp with food this evening. Guard posted.

Camp HADIMABI

\*BIAMI

Time 3hrs. 45

December 26th.

Departed at 7.30 to the east through DIBAGOLUBI and into the bush. Here the "guides" became bushed and we had to return to the village for other guides more familiar with the road. On again at 9.20 to arrive at the homestead HILOBI previously visited. First contact was not all that could be desired here so we camped. Guard posted. p.m. trying to form a picture of the small loose homesteads in this area.

Camp HILOBI

\*BIAMI

Time 2 hours

December 27th.

Departed at 7.00 to the east. Reached the edge of a narrow ravine (NAWO) at 9.00. A number of houses were found located in this particular area - ULUMOBBI, ENABI, KOSIBI. Made camp to consolidate in an area which has been antagonistic. Thirty people into camp with food. Guard posted.

Camp HAFIAMI

\*BIAMI

Time 2hrs. 30

December 28th.

Departed at 7.45. Heavy rain last night and the creeks are swollen today. Crossed the NOWA River at 8.15. Climbed to a homestead UGWALUMI above the river. Then generally east to the GIWAGAFI homesteads. Camp made.

p.m. visited the two communal houses and talked with the people. They told me about the elusive HALADO people across the RENTOUL River whom I had tried to contact last June. Then they showed me



three more heads which proves they are something more than a mere legend. These were probably collected from the SONIA people who live on the extremity of the population patrolled from Lake Kutubu.

Camp GIWAGAFI

\*BIAMI

Time 2 hours

December 29th.

Broke camp at 7.30; arrived at KALUMABI at 8.00. Then north to SULUBUBI on the NOWA headwaters at 10.00. Fairly extensive gardens in this area; as far as I can determine this was where McBride was attacked. People now seem content to be hospitable. They said there was no reason for us to be afraid and they would not steal from us. Their psychology is profound. Camp made. Firearms demonstration. Pig purchased and shot at close range. p.m. visited gardens and homesteads. Ninety (90) men into camp with food; however, almost certainly there are many from different centres Guard posted.

Camp SULUBUBI

\*BIAMI

Time 2hrs. 30

December 30th.

Departed for the north branch of the RENTOUL River at 7.40. Returned through the homesteads and gardens, leaving the last cultivations around 8.40. Arrived at a small house FASIBI above the SEWA River at 9.15. Then a steep descent into the gorge and a difficult crossing of the SEWA. When all were safely over we climbed to the homestead called KEDAMOB. These people have heard the story of KOMO station and in fact some trade - beads, knives, axes - has found its way down into their hands. They call the people of Mount SISA the KOMIFA people and the mountain they call KOMI. These people welcomed the patrol - the first to visit them - and agreed to find guides for us to-morrow. Camp made above the communal house. Guard posted.

Camp SEDADO

\*BIAMI (?)

Time 3 hours

December 31st.

Reveille at 5.00; camp packed up at 6.15. Patrol moved high along the eastern bank of the SEWA River. Entered some large clearings and the community centre of the FILISADO people at 10.00. Homesteads include OBI and FALOB. Talked with these people for some time and then moved on at 11.30 through the forest with new guides. Language is becoming increasingly complex and we now use three interpreters. Arrived at the first homestead of the KOMIFIA people at 14.30.

Immediately beyond the steep limestone escarpment of Mount SISA (sometimes called "the Whaleback") loomed up sharply. It brought the carriers much pleasure since they think that now the worst part of the journey is over - (little do they know!) Requested permission to set camp up in a garden and then visited the houses.

None of these people have visited KOMO, none have previously seen a European, but they seem surprisingly familiar with our peculiarities. (They tell a strange story of a flag flying from a mast, but no patrol with it!) Certainly quite a lot of trade - beads and steel in particular - has found its way down to this locality. The first large gardens of sweet-potato were found today. Guards posted.

Camp UBULA

\*KOMIFA

Time SEDADO-OBI : 3hrs.  
OBI - UBULA : 3.30

January 1st. 1964

Departed at 7.40; for four hours we walked east over a little used track to AIDULUBI. Two feeder streams of the GIWA were crossed and the GIWA was reached at 13.30. We have been climbing all the way. Homesteads are few but still large, and they seem to be situated in the most remote and difficult places. From KAFUDALA where we



camped two houses could be seen perched precariously on the lip of the escarpment. It would probably take the better part of a day to reach them though across the gorge they are near neighbours. The influence of the HURI culture is becoming increasingly evident. Many men are wearing the Mother-of-Pearl shell of a good quality; the women are shy and retiring but still have their tapa cloaks. Sago trees are still found but we are moving into higher country and it is decidedly cooler. Main harvest is still banana. The people are friendly. They cannot recall having seen a patrol before; I should have thought that once Hides passed through these villages.

Camp KAFUDALA

\*KOMIFIA

Time UBULA - AIDULUBI : 4hrs.  
AIDULUBI - KAFUDALA 3hrs.

January 2nd.

At 7.45 the patrol moved off with new guides. We crossed this divide and descended to the communal house SISIGOLO. From here we looked out over the Great Papuan Plateau and to Mount BOSAVI which rises first gently and then so steeply out of the plateau to finish in billowing clouds. To the south the water courses of the RENTOUL and TIOMU broke through the forest. At 9.45 we crossed the WAMUGALA River and the BOGOLAI at noon. From another ridge I could see more gardens and homesteads by the WAMUGALA. At 13.15 we arrived in the centre of the KAIBI people. Camp made. This community seems to have acquired the off-casts of civilization: bottles and cans (mainly V.B.) and bits of wire are amongst their treasured possessions. To the south we could now see the Bosavi communities and I think there is some trade amongst these people. Guard posted.

Camp KAIBI

\*KOMIFA

Time 5 hours

January 3rd.

Torrential rain all through the night; finally moved out at 8.00 with new guides but without interpretation. We forded first the ARABABU River at 8.30 and later the WASIA River which tumbles out of the crater of SISA. Crossed over the boulders through the white spray; the carriers were not altogether happy. Then a steep climb through the forest with the guides cutting the track. At 12.30 we reached an unfinished communal house - I believe it was called DADO. By signs the people told us it is now three days to KOMO over the shoulder of SISA; or it is many more days across the FUMA River and through villages of the LIBANO River. (TUGUBA people) These people are very friendly but it is not possible to converse with them. Thirty people brought food in for sale.

Camp DADO

\*KOMIFA (?)

Time 4hrs. 30

January 4th.

A clear morning; Mount BOSAVI could be seen to its best advantage. Departed at 7.45. Travelled north all day. The track is little used and had to be widened for the carriers. Climbed steeply over one of the many spurs, then crossed the last two tributaries of the RENTOUL River - the POBOLE and FUMA Rivers. Arrived at the first of the TUGUBA homesteads, called IDABI, at 14.00. Very few people present and I gathered that many had gone into KOMO for New Year Celebrations.

Camp POBOLE

\*TUGUBA

Time 6 hours

January 5th.

Away at 8.00; at first a steep climb over the RENTOUL/KIKORI divide to reach the top at 11.00. Descended to the AVIA creek, feeder stream of the TAGARI, followed this and then crossed it; then penetrated further sections of forest. Entered the first HURI gardens at 2.30 and reached the more densely settled areas at 4 p.m.

The HURI people were very friendly towards us and their cultivations in the MARENDA Basin looked splendid. No wonder Hides was so impressed after the scattered and uncultivated gardens of the nomad people.

Camp TUANDA

\*HURI

Time 9 hours

January 6th.

From TUANDA to KOMO Patrol Post through the HURI community in three hours.

Overnight : KOMO Patrol Post : Southern Highlands District

January 7th.

Departed KOMO at noon and moved down to the TAGARI River camp in four hours.

Camp TAGARI RIVER

Southern Highlands

January 8th.

Crossed the TAGARI RIVER by cane suspension bridge; all carriers and cargo safely across by 8.15. Then commenced the haul across the divide into the IUMU and the road head at AGAU. Thence into TARI by vehicle.

T A R I - Southern Highlands District.

January 9th. to January 13th.

At TARI. Carriers resting; the BIAMI natives who accompanied the patrol shewn over the station.

January 13th.

From TARI to KOROBA by road with stores for the return journey.

K O R O B A - Southern Highlands District.

January 14th.

At KOROBA. Packing stores and arranging loads for carriers. Eight HURIs recruited to accompany the patrol back and assist us through territory known to them. Decided with the Assistant District Officer that the best route lies through LAVANI VALLEY, through two sink holes known as HANOI and GERERO to the STRICKLAND RIVER and into the WESTERN.

January 15th.

Said good-bye to Mr. Haywood and moved out ten miles along the TUMBUDU road to a camp called PIANGONGWA. Visited the Baptist Mission and obtained a little further information about the route to the STRICKLAND.

January 16th.

Broke camp at 7.00 and commenced the climb over the divide into Lavani Valley. Reached the top at 10.30, though the carriers arrived much later. Down into the valley, crossed the TUMBUDU, and reached GWALI camp at 4p.m. Local people (HURI) in with food. A very cold in these high places.

Camp GWALI in the LAVANI VALLEY, S.H.D.

January 17th.

Unable to obtain a lead on the passage out the back door of LAVANI; there apparently is one, but there are no steps, just a sheer descent thousands of feet down. Only course left is to go west and find the Strickland waters.

Departed at 8.00 and moved the patrol to HUGUNI, an easy walk. p.m. visited the ponds of LAVANI where the water is so cold. Today was a beautiful day, apparently an exception in this poor-man's Shangri-la. At 17.00 contacted the A.D.O. KOROBA on schedule.

Camp HUGUNI in the Lavani Valley, S.H.D.

January 18th.

Patrol moved off at 7.00. Climbed high out through the north-western pass at 9500 feet and in the clouds; then a steep descent into the sink hole and the small communities of the HURI people. Camped at the rest house called HANOI. Most of the carriers took eight hours over today's walk.

Camp HANOI in the DUNA Sub-District, S.H.D.

January 19th.

Moved out at 7.00 and immediately climbed high into the moss forest, again. Two hours of climbing and we could see our destination, GERERO; however, it was more than six hours later that the first carrier arrived in. Turning, twisting, climbing, and descending, none were happy at all about today's march. Contacted people of this community and tried to ascertain details of what lies west. We are at the end of the last patrol.

Camp GERERO in the DUNA Sub-District, S.H.D.

January 20th.

Broke camp at 7.00. Though the people are not keen for us to continue west a few agreed to guide us along a track which crossed and then recrossed the ADIA River (flows into Strickland - or subterranean?), and then entered more moss forest tangled with rattan vine. The track is little used and we had to cut our way through. At 1.30 our guides left us, afraid to go further. We then started the descent down and down till we came to a pandanus house at 16.00. Camp made here. Water is impossible to find in the dry limestone creeks but inevitably the rain came and we collected water from the tents.

Bush camp in the DUNA Sub-District.

January 21st.

Further rain through the night and another tree came thundering down into the tent. I was very concerned till I found it had only crashed into my tent, and I was still alright, though a little shaken by it all.

Departed here at 8.10 when the rain had eased. Descended through a saddle until we could see a river racing away to the S.E. This was very confusing as I had expected to find rivers flowing to the west to the STRICKLAND. However, I suppose anything can happen in this limestone country. Passed around this river (though I still don't know where it came from) and cut a compass bearing west to another range. Stumbled on to an old native pad at 14.00 and a long pandanus shelter near a flowing creek. Made camp here.

p.m. continued to cut the track over the range.

January 22nd.

Moved off at 8.15 when the rain had eased. We continued on a westerly course as far as possible, climbing higher and higher over the range. Looking back on the sheer limestone wall I wondered how we managed to find a way down there yesterday. At 10.45 we reached the crest of this range and proceeded to cut along its shoulder. Movement through this moss forest was very, very slow and tedious. At 2 p.m. we ran into limestone like honey-comb such as I had never seen before. This was impossible country. For three hours we tried to wend our way through, cutting back and forth and bridging the gaps which sank mysteriously. The Cpl. of police had his own ideas about this strange phenomena, impressing upon the carriers not to call out or the spirits would drag them under. I myself was concerned for our safety for some of the gaps were concealed by moss-covered debris which would give way, startlingly, into nothingness so that one would have to leap for the side or extract the foot from the thigh downwards.

At length I despaired and we returned to the top where we next cut out to the south to avoid that country. But now luck came our way and on to a descending spur, an old pad, we commenced down.

At 18.00 we set up camp and again wished on the rain for water.

Camp in the MULLER RANGES which defines the Southern Highlands / Western District.

January 23rd.

Continued down the mountain slope making good progress except in a few places where the limestone outcrops presented the usual hazards. By some chance we continued to find the native pad taking us west closer to the Strickland. But then as chance would have it the track abruptly ended in the fork of two large rivers, neither of which could be crossed.

Returned with the carriers up the incline for an hour and located a site for camp. Then sent three parties out to look for a constriction where the rivers may be bridged to-morrow.

(Later I found that these were feeder streams of the BURNETT RIVER)

January 24th.

Patrol moved down to the south to the larger of the rivers. In the centre was cast a huge limestone boulder and we were able to move bearers on to this and bridge the river in two sections. All the patrol members with gear were moved safely across; we then commenced the journey up out of the gorge to the crest of the ridge which we followed S.W. All the afternoon we could hear the roar of the BURNETT as it plunged through the race.

January 25th.

Broke camp at 7.00 and continued to cut our track down close to the river. At one point we were forced up a sheer cliff and along a narrow ledge for 200 yards. It took a little over an hour for the carriers to negotiate this difficult section.

At 1 p.m. we unexpectedly entered a garden. Two women and a child who were working there shrieked and fled. Some of the HURIs that accompanied the patrol immediately dropped their loads and set foot after the fleeing women; we had to shout at them aggressively to recall them, which did not help the soul of the fleeing women who in the meantime were discarding sweet-potato from their string bags to lighten their loads. Papuan savages.

One track from the garden lead straight down to the BURNETT and a flimsy cane suspension bridge. The other (which we later followed) found a deserted house, foot prints and another garden. We continued south to a broad shallow river flowing between banks of white gravel, quite attractive. No difficulty in fording this river. Then climbed and cut our way through an old garden till 17.15.

January 26th.

Broke camp at 7.30. Tried to cut a track out to the south but this ended in a sheer wall and even the track-cutters could not climb around it. Then tried another direction west and dropped into another ravine, then climbed high again and dropped into another ravine. In ten hours we covered not even two miles. Altogether a frustrating day. The last ravine was so steep that we had to climb back to the top to find somewhere to spread our tents (17.30) and then we were without water.

To-morrow we will try to move back on to the river and follow the bank down.

January 27th.

Dropped down into the ravine again, crossed the river which was surprisingly small, and commenced climbing to the top. From the crest of the ridge we could see over the enormous expanse of swamp forest which is so characteristic of the Western District. However, there still remain two or three ridges to be crossed before we reach that. The Strickland could be seen bending its way to the west and below us was a house and a garden. On the whole this is certainly not a hospitable region. Dropped down on the other side and was pleased to find that the faint hunting pad became more and more a defined track.

At 14.00 we could see smoke rising from a river bank and our BIAMI friend was sent off to make contact. The people, who were of the DABA group, were not at all afraid and when the initial formalities were exchanged the patrol moved down to the river. The River is, I believe, the LIDDLE, quite deep and swift flowing. We crossed to the other side by a cane suspension bridge and climbed a ridge, through a garden, past a house, to make camp.

Camp BUGUHAI

\*DABA

Located on the bank of the LIDDLE River (DOGOMO).

January 28th.

Selected guides to take the patrol south and departed at 8.45. Two hours later we arrived at the southern feeder stream of the LIDDLE (called ABAI). No difficulty was experienced in fording this though elsewhere the river was seen to be deep. Followed the river upstream (south) to a cane bridge (apparently no longer used); then climbed over the divide of the LIDDLE and CARRINGTON waters. Arrived at a homestead at the crest of the ridge at 14.45 and made camp a little beyond. Possibly this will be a place for a rest house later. People contacted.

Camp GABIOMOSOM

\*DABA

Time 4hrs. 30

January 29th.

Remained on the divide of the Liddle and Carrington waters resting carriers and drying tents, clothing and stores. Police party sent down to the CARRINGTON to find the crossing and the canoe allegedly tied up there. Discussions with a few people in camp today.

January 30th.

Patrol moved down to the CARRINGTON along a poor track in two hours. Here we found the canoe, quite reasonable for bush people who are not river people. Commenced the crossing at 10.00; it took two hours to ferry all the carriers and gear across. Then started an arduous climb up a creek bed; the track was terrible. Reached the head of the CECILIA anticline at 15.30; the carriers a little later. Camp made by a sago house at 16.20.

Camp KUHAI

\*DABA

Time 7hrs. 30

January 31st.

Departed at 7.40; climbed over the last part of the escarpment. Still very rough country. Reached the last ridge at 9.00 and now we could look down on the featureless country of the Western District stretching beyond for miles and miles. Descended and found a small homestead KOMOGATO at 10.30. Spent an hour here searching for people but without success. Continued to the south following a creek and then a good track to reach YAWOBI at 14.15. People contacted. Two other homesteads reported located this area. Made camp.

Camp YAWOBI

\*DABA

Time 5 hours

February 1st. 1964

Broke camp at 7.30; then south with new DABA guides. Tracks have improved considerably so there is at least a little more population here. Found the main homestead called TOISA at 9.45 with people present. Advised that the best track was to KWISUBI but there were no canoes or rafts to cross the CECILIA River. Other route was through DIMABI located on the river itself. A little food purchased and the patrol moved on. At 11.30 we came to a homestead called HAGWAIBI, the largest located so far, and the skulls in evidence again. Reached the TAIYO creek at 13.00 - now swollen by heavy rains. Its crossing took us two hours. Made camp in the bush at 16.00 near the banks of the STRICKLAND.

February 2nd.

Moved out at 7.30. Then for three hours we walked south over a good track to a garden house AIMOSOM. People here confused the issues considerably as to where the patrol should go, tracks, canoe crossing, etc. Decided the best thing to do was to continue into DIMABI. Finally located this homestead but it was deserted. Made camp. No canoe found; others had said it was away at the sago-making place. To-morrow we will have to continue down to the STRICKLAND camp.

Camp DIMABI

\*DABA

Time 6 hours

February 3rd.

Broke camp at 7.30; continued south along the CECILIA River. Country very flat with only a few springs feeding into the river. Arrived at the STRICKLAND junction at 13.00 and after a short spell we commenced the crossing of the CECILIA. All completed by 14.45 and then walked on to the first camp in the SUPEI.

Camp BEBELUBI

\*SUPEI

Time 8 hours

February 4th.

Patrol's movement today was along the main line of communication towards NOMAD. Departed at 8.00 to the DAMAMI River; all were safely over by 10.30. Stopped for a rest at the HONINABI mission, presently deserted, and then continued on to make camp at SOGAIBI.

Camp SOGAIBI

\*SUPEI

Time 6 hours

February 5th.

Patrol departed at 7.30 and moved down in three hours to the NOMAD RIVER. All crossed the river safely to the station and the patrol stood down for the evening.

END OF PATROL DIARY

*R. Head*

## East Strickland Patrol

NARRATIVE

People who live by the Nomad River and Strickland are far removed from influence of either the coastal people or the mountain people. Their land is isolated by a never-ending green sea of forest and by the huge limestone escarpments ringing the north. The population is sparse, dispersed into small communities mutually inhospitable. There is little trade, little wealth, and little promise for the future. To them their horizon had no allure. Or perhaps it was that they were too afraid to travel far through the fear of losing their heads. In any case they have for many years remained quite beyond the civilizing interests of Europeans.

A few patrols have visited the East Strickland Division with different interests in mind. They date back to 1935 and some information on the environment and the way of life of the people has been recorded. But still it was surprising that so many years later there would be many people who had not seen a European nor counted the commodities associated with a patrol. Their interest was simple and amusing, then sometimes embarrassing.

At one village I was greeted by a man who fell to the ground and moaned: "He's come; oh why did he come! Now the season of the long nights begin; the harvest will wither and fall to the ground. When will he go?" The interpreter started to reproach him but I think his heart was set more at ease by the promise of trade exchange and a place to sleep for the night. Yet on another occasion when I had left the patrol to visit a garden homestead, and was returning, I was halted by incoherent cries: "wait, wait!" After a while a man came up to my party. They exchanged words and then the interpreter said: "It's alright, we can go now: he's seen you." The women also find a European an amusing novelty; singularly pointing and jabbering they show no respect for a person's dignity.

The spontaneous reaction to certain trade commodities was more pronounced in this locality than I had encountered elsewhere. The things that delighted them were simple and so often taken for granted that their astonishment was reflected in me. Looking into a mirror for the first time: a puzzled expression of uncertainty or delight, or (quite often) immediately centreing one's bamboo nose piece like a woman would touch up her lips. Common salt: anything white - powder or granular - was taken to be salt and swallowed without thought or consequence. One persistent, trying youth accepted a taste of Sal Vital and seemed bewildered by the result. Fishing hooks were accepted as ornaments until their purpose was explained. Still some preferred to wear them in their hair. Matches: so easy to strike, yet some had to hold them at arm's length as though it would all suddenly explode into a great fire-ball. And the subtlety of opening a box: how the matches will spill out if the box is opened upside down!

But it was not always easy to tell what would capture their imagination or what would be passed over as normal consequence of the patrol. The patrol radio, for example, was generally accepted without comment. But any book I happened to be reading brought a loud applause - all those pages between the covers. And pictures delighted them too: it didn't matter much if they were viewed side ways or simply upside down.

The camp equipment was always regarded with some appraisal: the 'houses' we carried about, the lamps at night, the flag up a post where it didn't do anyone much good. Boots with hobnails, clothing, canned food, combing the hair and personal toiletry: all this. They continually



flicked their wide bark belts and uttered cries of astonishment at all our wonders. Without doubt they are the most primitive people I have encountered, both in degree of influence and cultural practice.

Many of the communities visited live within the stone age, completely. The small amount of steel that has seeped in is surprising; stone adzes are still used for felling timber and clearing large gardens. It is a laborious task, yet stone is more efficient than some people would realize.

Because steel is so short there is no abundance of food. Consequently the price asked is high, out of proportion to the item, and a haggling process has to be commenced to reduce the trader to a reasonable value. It would seem that in a poor season these people have barely sufficient to live on and there is nothing to sell. On the other hand their pigs - as valuable to them in prestige as in other societies - were sold for a tomahawk without quibbling. In fact it was difficult to leave any one community without purchasing at least one pig.

The wealth associated with the patrol is steel and unfortunately the hospitality often accorded the patrol was artificial, their real delight being the patrol's wealth and their hope to obtain some of it - one way or another. The difficult time was always in setting up camp when, no matter how well policed, there is always some confusion. Tent poles, stakes, and fire wood must be found; in assisting us the local people were peculiarly lithargic, more of a hindrance. At these times there were a few who contrived to break through the camp, with mixed success. Two axes were stolen outright but were later returned by the village elders. Four tomahawks were 'lost' by carriers through their negligence. One carrier, going against instructions deep into the bush, was assaulted and as he grappled with his assailant for the knife his hand was severely cut. Yet another asserted he was about to be attacked when he wandered off the track to urinate. He let out such a yell that would have started the saints praying for his welfare. Before I knew it the patrol was in confusion with carriers everywhere, the assailant fled, and the local people melted like in a chapter from Isaiah.

It was difficult to determine what was the best course of action for these circumstances. The community had not previously been contacted and European influence was slight to say the least. The incidents were caused by individuals who tried to satisfy their own personal needs. It was not group action or group supported. But quite obviously the matter had to be corrected for to do nothing would be interpreted as weakness and would surely invite other incidents.

From my experience of the area it was not yet a question of court and criminal procedure which would be quite beyond their understanding and sophistication. It was a question of how best to administratively deal with the matter and how to extract compensation. Without paying for their errors in some way the matter would be lightly passed over.

As a matter of fact I think I was rather lenient in these particular instances. But on the other hand when the stolen item was returned and compensation agreed to our contact with the people was restored. Any patrol entering the area should not experience repercussions.

Many firearms demonstrations were given by the patrol. Pigs were shot; accuracy, range, and penetrating power were demonstrated. I make no apologies for this, it was in their best interests.



As a step in the right direction - that is, to limit their unpleasant practices - five rest houses have been built in the BIAMI. This will be a reminder to them that the Administration is not confined to NOMAD RIVER and patrols will be back more frequently. However, I feel sure that other people are going to go losing their heads before we have control of this area; that is *ipso facto* the problem of the area. The impression of the patrol was that these are very primitive types.

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# PROVENANCE OF THE EAST STRICKLAND DIVISION

The East Strickland Division takes in an area of 9,200 square miles of low-land country. The northern limits are the mountain ranges. The southern limit lies somewhere below the TOMU River; it is immaterial where and all we need say is that beyond that limit there is just an ever-progressing forest continuing and it is still a long, long way down to the delta country. If we were to give further statistics, the average population density is about 1 person per 2 square miles.

Fortunately much of this Division is something of an undeclared 'reserve' - it contains no population or human influence; just at present it lies an unwanted profitless waste. The population lies outside this; or rather, isolated by it. Above it the cultivations become more numerous and extend around in a wide arc to Mount BOSAVI. This is where the people of the East Strickland live - in organised societies of a kind.

There are loose tribal formations based mainly on language or dialectal differences. There is no clear cultural or physical change but people have a tendency to declare themselves as belonging to a particular localised group. They refer to all other people who come from a different area by a classificatory name. That is the tribal area, though there is no tribe in any political sense.

Solidarity is village based. Villagers will occasionally unite to form a common front against others (as happened to McBride's party) but this is rare. Free social intercourse seldom penetrates beyond two or three villages. Raiding parties took over from there and ventured further afield. They travelled for up to two days in search of their quarry, going well beyond the accepted line of safe limit. The hard core of the raiders would be made up from one particular village but others from an associated village would perhaps be invited to participate.

The raiders of Lake Murray disturbed the isolationism of the people on the TOMU, and the AEBE further north, when they raided those villagers and took heads. More occasionally young girls would be taken alive and later wed, then completely intergrated into the Lake Murray society. Further north there was some exchange between the groups on either side of the Strickland, the SUPEI and the PARE. But that was fairly limited because the STRICKLAND is a sizeable stream there and a natural barrier. Further north, near the BURNETT River, people told me of the men who wear the long phallocrypt and who come from the mountains of the north-west. So apparently there is a canoe crossing somewhere and some interaction of these societies.

On the other limits the BOSAVI people are much the same as the Nomads. But around the base of Mount SISA there is a change where the people not only look shorter and healthier but have items of European manufacture. Bands of beads, steel axes, Mother-of-Pearl shell - items that have obviously been traded in for no patrol had camped there previously.

I should think that these people are related to the HURIs and the mountains but the idea is not shared by the mountain people themselves who prefer to equate them with the cannibals of the low-lands. In short, it is a cultural mixture and it starts right at the base of the mountains.

Many people lack the extremer traits of the western Papuans - the 'Jewish noses', and depth of skin colouring. Here there is more variation in stature, facial features and complexion. Some of the people are tall; most are lean and lithargic. Progressively further to the east they become shorter and nuggety.

Commonly their culture has been determined by an environment hot and humid but removed from coastal influences. Houses are a reflection of the climate: large and spacious, they allow for a measure of comfort under primitive conditions. The land is not naturally endowed with an abundance of food (sago) and therefore the people are committed to an agricultural subsistence. Garden practice, which at first seems to be ill-developed, is the best suited to their area and their natural resources. The crops they grow indicates what the land will produce: very little. They manufactured stone adzes, which happened to be the only implement they needed. If these people are so far behind others it is simply a reflection that they are locked away in an unfortunate environment.

The people are not nomads in any true sense of the word but they do migrate from locality to locality over short distances when the old leaders die and homesteads become infected by evil spirits of the deceased. Near the Rentoul River there are coconut groves indicating former village sites. However, the new village is never very far removed from the old and over-all their knowledge of other communities, not even distant, is apauling. In many respects they seem to be quite the anthesis of nomads. They are farmers and settlers.

They are poor travellers and afraid of their neighbours, and the unknown. The towering, aluring mountains, for example, have no meaning to them: they don't even give them a name. They are dispassionate traders, although it must be admitted that their wares and talents are few. Occasionally the BIAMIs of the north came down as friends bringing barter - ropes of cowrie shell in exchange for stone celts, salt and arrows. But more often the BIAMIs came to collect heads free of exchange and the other people had no desire to go north into the country from whence they came.

Their normal communications were limited to two or three communities and beyond that nothing was very friendly.

## THE COMMUNITY :

The communities are self-contained and are organized on an agricultural pattern. The focal point is the communal house, perhaps in association with two or three other homesteads. Smaller bush shelters are located deep in the forest but people prefer communal residence for reasons of social security and safety in numbers. The houses are very large constructions and can accommodate many times more the number of people who would normally reside therein.

Extensive banana gardens surround the houses. This is their staple crop, banana. It is planted out in the forest and when the crown starts to shoot the heavy timber is felled into an impenetrable mass of broken branches and foilage. If not destroyed by this sudden disaster the crop will continue to grow through the debris and mature as best it can.

The people are keen hunters and never travel far without their weapons. Their arrows are long and slender and finely carved, some bone tipped or some bone barbed. Others are pronged (for fish and bird) and some are fitted with wide bamboo blades for hunting pig, cassowary, or wallaby.

Men hunt individually or in groups. Individually they are good at tracking and moving with stealth. They know their own hunting grounds, the rivers, the ridges; the constrictions where to corner their quarry. But they are not always as accurate with their weapons as they would profess and in the end the poor beast may be stuck about like St. Sebastian before it finally yields up its life.

As a group the men hunt with their sons and dogs. They build a log fence through the thickest part of the forest leaving just a narrow gap where the game, hotly pursued, rushes forth. Their best marksmen take up a position in hiding behind this outlet and the others then fan out. With much whooping and yelling they attempt to drive whatever may be contained in the forest to this constriction.

The people also trap, snare, and fish with mixed results. Falling log traps are the most common. They are frequently built across the track or over old sago trunks. Deep pit traps are also built but I have never seen one yet that was very deep. I have seen two cage affairs with swinging doors held open by rope. From a distance the trapper awaits his quarry to enter and then jerks the rope. The door shuts. He must be very patient. Similar cages can be found in the top-most branches of trees or on the ground just off the track, or often located near the wild fowl nest. But here in reverse the hunter waits inside, concealed, just waiting for a bird to alight and then he lets fly with an arrow.

Fish traps made of plaited cane may be small and open or small and bottled at the neck. The open traps are scooped through the water or left in the fast flowing constrictions of a river for small fish. The bottled traps are for deep waters. The people also 'poison' the water with the perandan plant, a kind of derris cultivated around many of the houses. The stunned fish rise to the surface and are scooped out.

Whatever the catch may be it is always followed by celebration and honour for the hunter. Back in the homestead it is roasted and distributed with praises galore. Finally the skull (of wallaby or pig) breast bones (of birds) hip joints (of o'possum) back bone of fish - or what it may be - is mounted to the trophy wall in the communal house.

But hunting is pleasure and subsistence is agriculture. Inevitably communal life resolves around the gardens and the desultory tasks of preparing, planting, and maintaining. Social activities are threaded with this routine and the consequences of it; it is their existence, their cycle. Every individual is called upon to make his particular contribution to the common effort.

Gardens are of two types: the large banana gardens, as we have seen, hewn out of a forest with stone. They cover many acres around the communal homestead. The other gardens contain supplementary crops: taro and yam each in its season, the tall edible pitpit, various cabbages, cucumbers and melloon etc. These gardens are prepared on the usual Papuan style - trees felled, gardens fenced, debris cleared and burned, crop planted, maintenance.

It may seem odd that with the banana cultivations the trees are felled after the crop is planted; many of the crowns are damaged by falling timber. But then the debris which litters the ground also hinders secondary growth which in this climate grows profusely, and this the people know better than anyone else. Maintenance of the garden is thereby greatly reduced and the banana plants have a good chance to carry their crop before being strangled. Also the need for fencing against wild pigs is eliminated; it is sufficiently difficult for anyone to walk through these gardens, even by the so-called tracks.

The village native lapses into periods of idleness after the planting of one crop and before the maturing of another; but at other times he works with a good deal of intensity for in no wise is a man's measure more surely taken than by the amount of food he can give away. His satisfaction is the display of his produce and acting as host to all his friends.

Feasts and ceremonies are organised to celebrate the harvest and as the season draws on more food is stacked away into the long house. Coconuts, bundles of sago, and the red pandanus are added. The pigs also are led into a series of cubical pens and for their last few days they are nicely fattened. Then comes the day of the feast and the community achieves that peculiar sense of fulfillment of purpose.

**After the feasts new gardens are made and the cycle continues.**

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## The Tribal Groups

Something remains to be said for the different tribal groups of the East Strickland. That is, for the people who live in the communities of a particular district and have been given a common name: the SUPEI, the BIAMI, for example. Here we are not using the term 'tribe' in its strict and narrow political sense but rather in the more popular idiom.

### 1. THE KUBOR PEOPLE

#### Legend of the tribe

Near the banks of the Nomad River lived spirits of the bamboo plant, ordinary folk like you and I. They lived in a village, raised pigs, built gardens, and behaved in a normal social pattern. One day they decided to celebrate their existence and sent out invitations to different settlements around. It was to be nothing less than a proper feast.

Amongst the guests who came were people from GIWOBI. They apparently enjoyed themselves more than others and to show their appreciation to their host, chose to adopt one of the spirit boys, an orphan, and a rather wretched lad at that. They took him home, fed him well, and in time he grew into a fine young youth. But then sickness overtook all these mortals, his 'brothers', and they died. He was left alone, lamenting.

He wandered around aimlessly through the bush, hunting mainly. At some stage he decided to build a camp and make his life a little more comfortable. He prepared the timber, bark for the walls, goru palm for the floor. But how hard it was for one to build a house! So he wandered off into the bush again, hunting with his dogs, intending to complete the construction when he returned.

At length he came back to his camp and behold! there was the house standing completed. He was rather startled but entered for closer scrutiny. What he saw then startled him even more, for there was a woman, without property, without ornaments, with nothing. He started to flee but was drawn back. The woman said: "I have come from the goru palm you cut, and I will be your wife."

So the next morning the man packed all his effects into his string bag (for the woman had none) and together they returned to the old village where they settled and raised their tribe. The man is called WASUBU and the goru palm, WADIBI, of GIWOBI is the totem.

Three hours to the north-east of the station live the KUBOR tribe. First contacted in 1953 and only twice since then, these people have remained within their own district and have rarely visited the station. They seem to be a people in the class 'incomparably lovely' and prefer to go about their business uninfluenced by recent developments at NOMAD. They are a small group of people who number little more than 150 on current estimates. They live in five agricultural settlements each with its own particular long house.

The KUBOR tribe is the buffer group between the SUPEI and the BIAMI and (according to their view) they live a perilous existence. The SUPEI were friends but faint hearted folk who offered little comfort in forming a common front against the common enemy. The BIAMI are the numerically superior group living across the river and considered the KUBOR their personal quarry.

Further west towards the Strickland live the DABA who are the main alliance of the KUBOR. In recent years there has been some migration to the west as remnants of the KUBOR villages seek to put distance between them and disaster. On the other hand it appears that a few KUBOR folk have an association - either trade or marriage - with BIAMI. It quite often emerges that these people are bi-lingual and I think that the terrors of the BIAMI have too often been exaggerated.

I have, however, extracted information about a raid on a KUBOR house (ANDUMOSOM) apparently three months prior to the visit by this patrol. Not that it was reported, I stumbled on to it. We passed the burntout shell of a house and I said 'Why?', and the guides said 'raid by the BIAMI.' The story that four people had been killed and three girls taken captive then unfolded. One of the girls was later returned because she had already been betrothed to a BIAMI native from a village on the north side of the Nomad River. But the other two girls were kept and are probably by now quite part of the BIAMI social group.

The disturbing thing about this episode is that the people are disinclined to say anything about it. Whereas the SUPEI are for ever telling tales of the terrible BIAMI and the threat of invasion\* the KUBOR have attempted to conceal these issues. It was as though they resented anyone prying into their affairs. Their approach is confused and intangible but I think it sufficiently reflects the little influence we have over the area. It would seem that so far they lack confidence in the Administration. They have made no request for protection against any further violations.

In another community further north I found another communal house completely deserted. The people no longer lived there. I was simply informed that the BIAMI had said should the people continue to reside in the house then they would eat them.

But on the other side of the balance people from HONOB I village (KUBOR) quite delighted in telling me stories of their raids on the GEBUSI people. They had no reservations in outlining their desultory operations and what they did with their captives. Five stone clubs which I purchased here each had quite a story attached to it - various notches on the handle, to use the Western idiom. It seems that each stone club is made for a particular raid.

Three rest houses have been built in the KUBOR communities. They will remind people - and others across the river - that we are extending our influence. The houses were built by the patrol with the co-operation of the people.

As a final note we will mention that on February 2nd. (or shortly before my patrol returned) a group from GIWOBI village broke into the station store and made off with many trade items, principally steel. The loot was later recovered and the matter is considered as an appendix to the report.

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\*A case in point occurred whilst I was on patrol amongst the BIAMI. During the late hours of the night a youth rolled over in his sleep and kicked the tail of his grass skirt into the fire. It immediately caught alight and the youth screamed out in alarm, pain and fear. Everybody else so rudely aroused from their slumber left from the house one after the other with the greatest of speed. They thought it was a raid and it was every man (or woman) for himself. Meanwhile the youth was left to discard the fiercely burning garments as best he could. He was badly burned.



2.

The BIAMI People

East of the Nomad and west of Bosavi live the BIAMI people. According to legend they are something of a notorious group and people who have ever visited them have never since spoken a very kind word for them. According to native fantasy they are supposed to be like bats (actually with wings, I am told) who fly at night to feast on their prey.

Actually the BIAMI are the people whom I should least like to call a tribe. Internal distrust, friction, hostility and sorcery, all this is very much in evidence. They themselves never express group solidarity nor use the term 'BIAMI'. Instead you hear of the Andumali people in that direction, or the Gigio beyond there etc. A series of fragmented mutually inhospitable groups who sometimes conducted raids amongst themselves. But the 'BIAMI' culture is fairly homogeneous and whether one comes from the east or west stories of these terrible people are told and of the confusion of others who are frightened of them by night.

The patrol contacted 35 of their communities and visited 120 associated homesteads. Population I have estimated at 2,500.

There is no single thread joining the villages and there is no singular thought or action. Between neighbouring communities there is a fairly friendly association by individuals who may be bound by family or affinal ties but no all-embracing alliance. Moving from one community to the next the patrol was escorted by guides whilst others who refused to accompany us through fear of some past misdeed remained in the village.

Communities are located two or three hours apart. Often connecting tracks are ill-formed and show no indications of frequent use. All social life seems to circulate around the particular community centre. The focal point is the communal house sited on a ridge and surrounded by gardens. Other homesteads or even a second communal house are probably located nearby. These people also believe in the security of numbers.

The communal houses are large constructions and are a product of the environment. The building materials are all simple bush materials - saplings and split palm, tree bark, sago fronds, and all is held together by bush vines. The roof is sago palm thatching. No use is made of heavy timber. Some of the houses are so large I wonder that they do not collapse under their own frail construction.

The essential feature of the house is security: a strong fortified front, a narrow central entrance with heavy sliding bars which fall into position to close the house, and a rear verandah built out over sloping ground.

In front of one communal house on the SEWA River was a trench and deep pit - probably a natural formation originally but the hole had been deepened. It appeared to be something of a hazard to the unwary. I asked them why they did not fill it in; they replied that when the people from beyond came to raid them then they hoped that some would fall in. It would be quite easy to shoot them as they were trying to get out.

Close to the mountains the design changes with a raised floor throughout and many fire-places for warmth at night. There is no real privacy anywhere except for the men who congregate on their own verandah. Sometimes the interior dividing partition is low, and this allows the husband to easily check up and see what his wives may be about.

Though man is undeniably master and woman is servile to him one is still impressed by the free social action. Women are not embarrassed or under duress in the presence of men. They mix freely, talk freely, act naturally. They are unashamed of their affection for men; there is no affectation. In camp they were not at all shy and sometimes their intensity of interest had to be checked. In the home they are responsible for small children and the daily meals. It is here particularly that they are likely to be upbraided if they take the job too casually. An obstreperous or disobedient wife is likely to receive a cuff on the ear and is quickly reduced thereby to a submissive mood.

#### **Property :**

People possess very little property and personal wealth. Of land there is so much that it is never disputed. Land is communally owned and vested interests are with the males. Some large sections were said to be owned by individuals but I think in those cases there was only one surviving member of the parent lineage. Hunting rights are a greater preoccupation than cultivation rights.

Women are the undisputed owners of their personal belongings, feminine things: string-skirts, bags, kosaka capes, woven ornaments, etc. They possess very little else. The strings of cowrie shell around their necks belong to their husband or father. Pigs, though spoken of as "belonging to the women" and raised by them, are the property of man and are slaughtered, barded, or given away by them. Women are simply their custodians; but at least they receive all the affection.

#### **Trade :**

The people are not wealthy and are very poor relations of their neighbours in the Highlands. Wealth is measured in terms of pigs, strings of cowrie, stone celts and more recently steel, strings of dogs' teeth and the like. There was very little trade: normal ceremonial exchange was more common. Items exchanged were the strings of cowrie which came down from the mountains for the stone celts and arrows going north. No Mother-of-Pearl shell were seen until the mountain people were reached.

Small bundles of salt and tobacco are traded or simply given to visitors. Salt is made from the 'Kabugi' cane found throughout the Strickland area. The cane is dried and burned and burned again till only a fine residue remains. This is washed and the salt is taken out in solution. Then crystallised the salt is brown and coarse and has a very strong bite, I believe.

According to practice items of wealth were frequently obtained during raids, thereby removing the need for any formalized trading expedition

#### **Betrothal, Marriage, and Exchange :**

The pattern is familiar to western Papua. Girls are betrothed at a very early age, perhaps in response to some former exchange long before they were even conceived. Under the system of exchange human debts are so often left outstanding. From the male approach then, the competition for a wife is fairly keen and so a man will only look in those places where an exchange has already occurred - that is, where he can, if necessary, demand a wife by right.

**Daily life :** Unless there is a project underway life in the household stirs from its slumber very casually. Men slowly loosen the bonds of sleep; women meanwhile are already attending to the chores of the day - tidying the house a little, perhaps, and preparing the first meal. Daughters are continually getting in the way trying to help, but ineffectually.

The women have more to do of course. If there is sago to be made, that is their job. If the garden is to be maintained, that too is their job with their husband. They carry the loads, fetch firewood and water, keep the household functioning. Their main responsibility is the welfare of their infants and feeding of the pigs. For creative tasks they have the monopoly on all feminine interests.

After the seventh day approximately the men prepare the mortuary platform. It is slightly troughed and elevated about six feet above the ground. A further wide platform is built around it so that after the body is placed in state the women may climb to it and continue to weep over it. The body is now left to decompose under the weather.

As the body decays and the bones become bleached by the sun they are stacked into smaller heaps. Still the women occasionally climb up to the platform and weep over him. On approaching a village once I heard this terrific wailing. Thought I, that's nice; a new corpse. But to my surprise there was nothing left but a shiny white skull.

[illegible]

## W A R F A R E .....

"One hesitates to use the word 'warfare' to describe these desultory operations - which hardly ever involved true fighting. The raid indeed was a killing expedition rather than a fighting expedition, and perhaps the best expression for it is the legal one of "murder in company." The twofold object of the raiders was to take their revenge for some real or imagined aggression, and to carry off as many as possible of their enemies heads."

(F. E. Williams, Papuans of the Trans-Fly; P. 287)

In this district people mixed cannibalism with their headhunting.

### The Biami Raiders

The BIAMI more than anyone else enjoyed the thrill of raiding their fellow beings and taking up the carcass to the feast. It is impossible to say with any accuracy how often this lust had to be satisfied but it is quite obvious that they had the SUPEI bewildered and the KUBOR - those who did not flee to put distance between them - were continually on the alert. The KUBOR in their turn were content to make retaliatory raids into the GEBUSI where the communities were weaker than those of their aggressors who had so victimised them. The picture is presented that the neighbouring people held the thin edge of the wedge and lost more heads to the BIAMI than they could ever capture. The evidence is still on display in the different BIAMI homesteads.

The raid at ANDUMOSOM (which we have noted was not reported) brought the warring BIAMIs too close to the station. It unfortunately illustrates their refractory spirit. This party of raiders came from a community located fairly deep in the centre; they had not been contacted by previous patrols. But still I suppose it could be assumed, though perhaps erroneously, that the raiders were aware at the time that this practice, however satisfying, had been outlawed. If so, they continued undaunted.

The issues at ANDUMOSOM were deliberately confused until I questioned a young boy who knew no better and told the truth. He himself had been in the house. Just as the first grey streaks of dawn were breaking he was aroused from sleep by the shrill call of a bird. Feeling the need to urinate he went outside. He wandered a little further into the scrub and was then on the point of returning when he saw two files of men scurry out of the bush and surround the house. He froze.

The occupants left inside the house included two men, three women, and five girls. Meanwhile the two files of men, which also included young boys, moved up hunched over each other, like cassowaries. After they had the house surrounded they continued to shuffle around it. Singularly they let out a long sinister wail Ohh...ee...ee... and rattled on the walls. Men were painted in black and oil, with black faces and cassowary quills, with grass streamers from their hair and arm bands, ver saturnal.

The occupants of the house were instantly aroused; they knew what it was. They sprang up terrified and confused from their sleep to flee from the house or to fall into the hands of the raiders. One woman came flying out over the verandah corner and went summersaulting down a thirty foot embankment into the river. But she escaped.

The corner was sealed off. Next moment one of the men came out with his weapons. He pulled the bow string back but the weapon was knocked from his hands by a stick and at the same time he was clubbed to death from behind. The second man came running out, stumbled, and was shortly admonished with a final blow.

I'm afraid our young witness by this time had seen quite enough and fled for dearest life into the depths of the forest. We may assume that the other two women were clubbed without further delay. The five girls were all taken captive. The house was set alight.

The whole principle of the assault is surprise and speed; success depends upon it. It is planned in secret and delivered in one swift unexpected attack in the earliest hours. Never by design did the raid take the form of face-to-face combat. They needed that element of surprise, to catch their victims unprepared and defenceless, and to have a clear start to fly with their bloody trophies bobbing over their shoulder before the enemy could muster for a counter-attack.

The weapon par excellence is the club. Star shaped, circular, disc, elongated, or pineapple, clubs are to be found in every communal house. There are also wooden shingles of different shapes and sizes. The men also carry their bows on the raid but they are to be used only as a last resort, only if the victims start to flee before they have been clubbed.

After the victims have been slain they are picked up and carried with all possible haste to the nearest creek. Not a moment must be lost. With a few swift cuts of the bamboo knife through the stomach the bodies are halved. The head and legs are pulled backwards, the spinal cord snaps. A few more swift cuts with the knife and the legs are separated. Already someone has snatched up a leg and thrown it across his shoulder. If there is no more time the head with chest and arms still attached is filled into a string bag and carried off. But preferably the head is detached, sawed off. A rope is threaded through the nasal septum (through the bamboo piece) and then with much delight the hapless head is swung over the triumphant victor's shoulder.

The whole business takes only a few seconds. The blood is washed into the creek and they all take to their heels. Now triumphant, it would be disastrous to be caught weighted down with these trophies. So they commenced their homeward journey.

When they approach the communal house they deposit their loads into the bush. They come down to the clearing and let out a singular yell. The women and old men (often the instigators of the raid) run to the door. "Were you triumphant?", they demand. Nothing is said but the warriors, now standing on one foot, lift up the other leg and turn the foot skywards - (it is success). A cry of jubilation goes up. "How many?" they shout. "Four" is the reply. "Come then", say the women.

The men go cantering down to the house. Suddenly they stop; they form a single file and pursue a slow tortuous course around the house. "Come inside, come inside," shout the women. As the single file rounds the last corner of the house they go in through the entrance.

Now they move through the house, chanting. "But where is it, where is it?" demand the women; "go and fetch it!" Finally the men comply with their wish, run outside and pick up their bundles. The fires are heaped up. The head is thrown in and the hair is singed off. The meat is

I recall reading once that Jack Hides asked a youth why he had participated in a cannibal feast. His reply was simple: "I was born with the taste in my mouth." I asked a group of KUBOR people if there were any amongst them who had not tasted human flesh; all said they had participated at some time.

Very few women ever survive a raid. Even if she is extraordinarily attractive, desirable, then so is her head and the lust for blood sweeps aside any sentimental considerations. And if there was one who hesitated a second to deliver the coup de grace then another would step in and steal his rôle. It is important to realize that a head is a head and it is quite immaterial if it was originally attached to a male or female body. There is no loss of male prowess simply because it happens to be feminine.

The BIAMIs of the east are less elaborate with their skull decoration. They are simply contented to stuff it with straw (so that the eye-sockets are filled) and then tie the skull to a beam over the main entrance of their house. Streamers may be tied around the skull to attract a little more attention to it.

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## The KOMIFA People

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## The D A B A People

The settlements are very few and small; I do not think the population would exceed 200. Other small gardens are dotted along the headwaters of the Carrington River. It seems almost impossible that anyone would live there; those savages must have an introverted twist. Still, as the DABA call them their own we must record them with the parent group Flying in from the Strickland around the range there is nothing to report but a small crater lake; there is no population. ✓

The DABA people were very friendly towards the patrol and we ourselves were extremely happy to find them after many days through the mountain forest. Some of the people were contacted by Mr. Clancey in 1948 but many were then timid and watched the patrol in secret. The first people we saw, women, screamed out in alarm like their day had come, and fled. It was then that we found the bridge crossing the BURNETT but no one was sufficiently intrepid to cross it, least of all me.

The next group of people we contacted were on the LITTLE River. I sent the native interpreter off and he was able to communicate with them. When later the patrol moved down as a group they simply said: "We are pleased you have come at last."

Lower down on the Cecilia River the DABA are mixed with immigrants of the KUBOR who fled the BIAMI. The homesteads are larger, some people have inter-married. The language seems to undergo a subtle change but people can understand each other.

Unfortunately the people of the north would not accompany the patrol back to the station; the middle people were unknown to them and therefore possibly unfriendly.

I hope that the next patrol to the Cecilia River will be able to appoint Village Officials.

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## DRESS

This has been recorded before, but to make the narrative complete I venture to add a little further comment.

Men wear a narrow public apron of bark cloth and a short knitted sporan similar to that worn in the Highlands. This covering is attached from lengths of knotted strings which hang low from the thighs. Across the buttocks swing a series of grass skirts, the first reaching the back of the knees, the second being shorter, and the third being only six inches or so in length. A wide bark corset is worn around the waist - or even higher, around the chest. Strips of cane are sometimes fastened tightly around the girdles; they may be used for fire-making when the need arises.

Once I saw a youth wearing a full grass skirt. It was made from the shredded roots of the red pandanus palm and its function was apparently ceremonial. The men make the most of their appearance on these occasions; they dress very handsomely. They are very partial to using red ochre or the red stain of a berry. The whole body is decorated. Zig-zagging stripes of white on black cross the chest, back and thighs. The face is painted a deep dingy black with soot and if he has been eating the berry of the goru tree then his lips will be very, very red. The whole effect is quite satanic.

Many wear a fringe of cassowary quills high across the forehead; alternately some may wear wigs of grass, the grass being fine and long, bending perhaps to touch the shoulders. Fine long lengths of sago leaf tufted into the armlets, belt, and garters add a touch of colour.

Other ornaments of the men include coils of plaited string, strings of berries red and white and threaded on to twine, narrow bands of woven twine, or strings of small cowrie shell - all this may be slung from the shoulder across the body, baldric-fashion. Other strings of beads made from the same seed berries are hung around the neck, or from the lobes of the ears. Armlets of fine cane strips, green and white, are plaited.

The bamboo or bone nose piece completes his dress. He is very proud of this additional item and none look properly dressed without it. The larger and longer the piece he can push through the greater is his prowess. What happens if he sneezes? - slivers of bamboo, I suppose.

The hair is groomed into dozens of greasy ringlets which fall down to the shoulder. The forehead is shaven well back and wide bands of white beads are tied in position. Children often have their hair shaven except for a small tuft which is left. At least this gives the parents something to hold on to if the spirits try to drag the child away.

Once we have crossed the SEWA River the men have discarded the grass skirts which covered their buttocks and instead a branch or two of cordyline, red or green, is tucked into the belt, the leaves hanging down. These people told our BIAMI interpreters to remove the grass skirts as the natives who lived further along would be derisive of it. These people also did not like the BIAMI and our interpreters just had to make themselves as inconspicuous as other patrol carriers.

**NARRATIVE, continued.**

It was my intention that from KOROKA I would go west into the STRICKLAND GORGE and then follow down the river. The country to the north was better known but I chose the MULLER Range as the route appeared shorter.

As it turned out we found the mountains to be extremely difficult; at one stage we had to turn around and climb back on to the range. It is difficult to describe this country; the limestone is like honeycomb with fissures and holes, and with moss and debris covering the cracks. Really quite dangerous for the carriers if they should casually loose their footing. Despite the numerous outcrops of rock, the continuing white scars of the crevices always criss-crossing, all is covered by a stunted moss forest. Terrible country. There are no streams here for the rain seeps straight in. For water we collected the rain from the tents at night.

The country between the Strickland had not been mapped and we found the headwaters of the BURNETT River penetrated further north than had been indicated. These are large streams and we could not cross them. As it was we had sufficient difficulty crossing the smaller streams, improvising bridges as necessary. At first, I confess, I thought I had reached the STRICKLAND; then as we continued to go south I became more confused. It is very difficult country.

There is no population here. We did not find any tracks until we were fairly well down on the BURNETT, and then we found a cane suspension bridge crossing that river.

The population there is extremely thin, insignificant. The country continues to be difficult until the last range, the Cecilia anticline, is crossed. And then we were down into the DABA population - though even that is perhaps of little more significance.

*R. Hoad*  
(R. A. Hoad)  
Patrol Officer

14-00000

## Nomad Patrol Report No. 4 - 1963/64

After the Patrol - Theft of the Steel Trade

When the patrol had finally run its course, crossed the river to the station, pleased to be home again at last, we were greeted by the news that the store had been ransacked and a number of items removed. Principle among them were 24 tomahawks and 3 Australian flags. The value of these goods does not appear to be much in sophisticated terms but here in this primitive society where stone adzes are still the economy it of course represents a considerable haul.

The theft could, I think, be compared to the Royal Mail Robbery. In fact if it were possible for these people to break into the Bank of England their only motive would be a fast search for tomahawks and Australian flags.

The news of the theft was not really welcomed after three months on patrol and a hard walk back. But the incident was recent and of a nature to require immediate attention; certainly it would not be good for other groups to hear of this nor for the offenders to go unpunished. To have done nothing would have sanctioned the theft and invited contempt.

Therefore the patrol was remounted and those who had participated in the robbery were taken into custody. We were very fortunate in our actions and in the recovery of all stolen goods. Unfortunately the flags had been torn into fragments for ramis (how they show their spirit of patriotism for the Government) and they are now quite useless to be flown from even the tallest mast.

All of the prisoners were sent out to DARU, many through KIUNGA. This is the first time that any of these people have left their native area and come into the sphere of a civilized society as we know it. It will be interesting to hear their impressions in due course.

Mr. Rarua and Mr. Viner-Smith accompanied this patrol and have gained experience.

*R. Head*

**PATROL DIARY**  
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**February 6th. 1964**  
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Reports received that the station store had been broken into and a number of items stolen. From other information it appeared that people from the KUBOR village GIWOBI (see Diary 19th. - 22nd. Sept.) were probably responsible.

Mr. C. Viner-Smith, C.P.O. arrived in at NOMAD on transfer.

Overnight at NOMAD.

**February 7th.**  
**-----**

Contacted the District Officer and explained the circumstances of the theft. Arranged to take the patrol out and investigate. Stores ferried across the Nomad River to camp.

**February 8th.**  
**-----**

Other stores, police and carriers, ferried across the river. The patrol set out prepared to visit all homesteads which were friendly with and possibly sympathetic towards the GIWOBI people. Arrived at HONOB I village in three hours. Seven men taken into custody and the houses searched. Patrol moved to FOI'IBI in two hours and those houses searched. Then on through SONABI in an hour and the process repeated. More taken into custody. Patrol moved next to GIWOBI to locate the principals. Heavy rain was now falling and of course all the villagers had moved to their communal house. I confess they were taken by surprise and we did very well. Later the houses were searched and we recovered most of the stolen goods - flags that had been torn into rami cloth, matches, soap, knives, mirrors, and the tomahawks. The boodle had been cunningly concealed beneath the floor boards.

Camp GIWOBI

**February 9th.**  
**-----**

At GIWOBI. Questioned our prisoners, laid charges and conducted proceedings. The houses further searched and more of the loot recovered.

Camp GIWOBI

**February 10th.**  
**-----**

Patrol moved down to KWOB I, with prisoners. Unable to contact any people here who have apparently become afraid of reprisals and fled.

Camp KWOB I

**February 11th.**  
**-----**

Mr. Viner-Smith and Mr. Rarua escorted the prisoners back to the station whilst my patrol moved down towards the mission and SOGA I. I was pleased to find many people working around the rest house, busily clearing up and tidying as I had previously instructed. I set their hearts at ease and told them they had nothing to fear if the Queen's laws were obeyed.

Camp SOGA IBI

**February 12th.**  
**-----**

Patrol moved down to the station. There contacted the District Officer and notified our return. Also requested the evacuation of the prisoners to DARU - partly for security reasons and partly to broaden the horizons of these isolated bush people.

*R. Hoael*  
 (Patrol Officer)

# APPENDIX 'B'

Patrol Report N O M A D No. 4 - 63/64

..... estimate of the population

## (1) K U B O R lingual area

<u>DUBU</u> (communal house)	<u>HOMESTEADS</u>	<u>ESTIMATES</u>
GIWOBI *	Giwobi	30
	Kwobi	12
	Sonabi	30
FOI'IBI	Foi'ibi	12
	Ebamosom	4
	Umosom	8
HONOB I *	Honobi	20
	Unagababi	5
	Dugayasu	6
SHUAMOSOM *	Shuamosom	35
	Degumosom	-
	Andumosom	-

\* Rest houses sited here

TOTAL estimate K U B O R ..... 162

## (2) B I A M I lingual area

<u>DUBU</u> (communal house)	<u>HOMESTEADS</u>	<u>ESTIMATES</u>
MISUEBI *	Amadalabi	120
TULUMI	Wagoibi	
	Nogobi	
	Maifobi	
	Nogobi (2)	
	Nogosombi	
	Saiomi	10
TOGUBI	Togubi	20
	ISYUEBI	10
	Womi	20
SAFIBI	Safibi	45
	Ohambi	
	Kolomi	
	(also Abalumbi across the DUDUGWA River)	
TIGASUBI	Tigasubi	100
	Yulobi	
	Kosabi	
IANOWOBI	Ianowobi	12
	Benawoli	6

\* Rest house sited here

(343)

<u>DUBU</u> (communal house)	<u>HOMESTEADS</u>	<u>ESTIMATES</u>
(B I A M I continued)		
OWOBI	Owobi	70
	Falibi	
	Fomyabi	
	Tiongabi	12
NAGABI <sup>I</sup>	Nagabi	80
	Kobalabobi	
	Kubi	
IMOBI		60
ADABOBI	Adabobi	40
WAILIBI *	Wailibi	100
	Uabi	
	Malalubi	
WAMOBI	Wamobi	70
	Alibi	
	Awobi	
	Yosobi	
	Unobi	
	Taibi	
MIGILOBI <sup>I</sup>	Mimobi	50
	Moiyalimi	
	Kobimi	
	Migilobi	
AWOBI	Awobi	60
	Gafalibi	
HALIMABI *	Soi'ibi	80
	Igilabi	
	Halima	
SOGAIBI	Sogaibi	35
SAEFOLOBI	Saefolobi	40
	Saeyagilibi	
ULALOBI	Ulalobi	80
	Fonobonibi	
	Hegeniga	
	Gigidiribi	
KASIMOBI	Kasimobi	150
	Higumedebe	
	Fongoni	
TEGOMIDIBI	Tegomidibi	80
	Ilibobi	
	Nodobi	
SEDADO	Degadibi	80
	Sinadinobi	
	Domanagubi	
	Nogasinobi	
	Tuwibi	
UGWALUMABI	Ugwalumabi	70
	Tanibi	
	Gigilimobi	
	Isismalibi	
	Sibdibi	
	Kumabi	

\* Rest houses sited here

(1157)



20

<u>DUBU (communal house)</u>	<u>HOMESTEADS</u>	<u>ESTIMATES</u>
(B I A M I continued)		
OBAMI	Obami Moselamobi Kuninubi Gasogaiabi	40
WASILIBI		30
MUFULOBI <sup>I</sup>	Yolodomo Sohanabi Kuladagabi Hamadagabi Ulibi	60
YASIBI	Yasibi Honibi	30
KOGOYABI	Kogoyabi Obami Hogwalibi	60
BOLUBI	Bulamobi	20
UGUBI		20
HILOBI		20
KELEMI	Taibimi Mihamobi	20
HARAGOMI		20
ABIGOLUBI (MUGULUBI) *	Mugulubi Abigolubi Wogulubi  Wasibi Korobi	50   15
HEDAMABI	Kobiami Pisyugubi Elamoni Bobogolubi Maigomi	60
DIBAGOLUBI <sup>I+</sup>		30
HAFIAMI	Kosibi	70
SOGAIBI		
FULUBI		
ENABI	Ulumobi Konasibi	
UGWALUMI		
GIWAGAFI	Kolibi	75
KALUMABI		
SULUBUBI	Sulbubu Mosebi Tatalua	65
SEDADO	Fasebi	65
KEDAMOB I		
FILISADO	Falobi Obi Tebula	40

\* Rest house sited here.

(790)

## Estimates of population continued .....

(BIAMI continued, 2290)

Other homesteads said to be located between the

HARAGUMI and SEWA Rivers

(not visited)

Holosabi		
Haibaso		Wafami
Adumali	also	Modi
Kanabi		Kuge
Halagubi		

TOTAL estimate of the BIAMI population ... 2,500.

## (3) KOMIFA lingual area

<u>DUBU</u> (communal house)	<u>HOMESTEADS</u>	<u>ESTIMATES</u>
UBULA	Osobodobi Wanibi Kuguli Wasi	60
AIDULUBI		20
KAFUDALA	Sisigolo Hauni	70
FAI'A	Mobieli Halado (Three houses which could be seen on the western side of the WAMAGALA River)	
DADO		40
KAIBI	Hamo Tolaba Saniba	60

These and other small homesteads are located around the steep limestone escarpment, the base of Mount SISA.

Estimate total population at .... 300 plus

## (4) TUGUBA lingual area

<u>DUBU</u> (communal house)	<u>HOMESTEADS</u>	<u>ESTIMATES</u>
	POBOLE	30
	HARAPANE	32
	KADIMANI	45

These and other small homesteads contacted by a patrol from KOMO Patrol Post in November 1963.

Total population estimated at ..... 200 approx.

## Estimates of population continued .....

## (5) D A B A lingual area

<u>DUBU</u> (communal house)	<u>HOMESTEADS</u>	<u>ESTIMATES</u>
	Buguhai	15
	Gabiomosom	15
	Komogato	12
YAWOBI	Yawobi (12)	35
	Umobi ( 5)	
	Wegabi ( 6)	
	Sigonabi (12)	
TOISA		20
HAGWAIBI		30

Other small homesteads seen to be located on the BURNETT River and STRICKLAND River below Devil's Race (names not known)

BURNETT	20
STRICKLAND	20

Also other people seen to be living on the headwaters of the CARRINGTON River, in inaccessible places (seen by aerial survey)

WAMITI	30
BOGUWA	20

## Homesteads of the CECILIA River area .....

DIMABI	Dimabi	60
	Bogasobi	
	Wamabi	
KWISUBI		70

Estimate this small and scattered, inaccessible population

(TOTAL at 350 more or less?)

(6) SUPEI Lingual area (See P/R No. 2 of 63-64) 600

(7) GEBUSI Lingual area (See P/R No. 2 of 62 - 63) 500

(8) TOMU RIVER locality ..... 500

Estimate the TOTAL population of the EAST STRICKLAND DIVISION at 5 000

*R. Hoad.*  
(R. A. Hoad)

(Appendix 'B' NOMAD Patrol Report 4 - 63/64)

Appendix 'C'

PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLEMENT

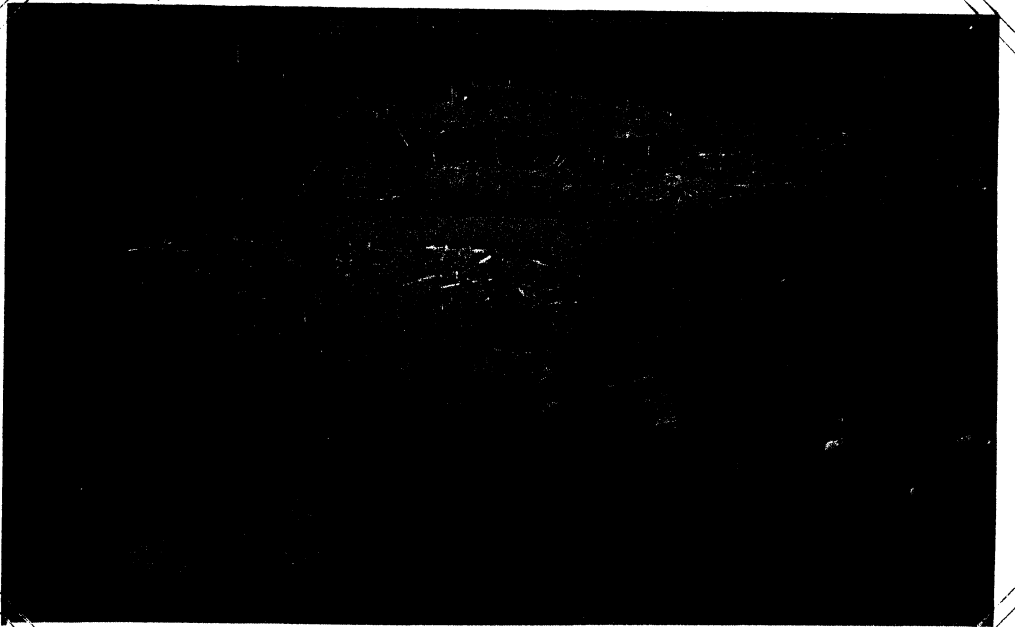
Photographs to illustrate the .....

EAST STRICKLAND DIVISION

And environs of that Division

NOMAD PATROL REPORT No. 4 - 1963/64

*R. A. Hoad*  
(R. A. Hoad)  
Patrol Officer



Setting up a Base Camp ..... Photographs show the native material domicile quarters of officers and labourers who moved on to the NOMAD RIVER to establish a patrol post in 1962.

Top photograph ..... In June 1962.  
 Centre ..... on completion of the airstrip, from Cessna in circuit January 31st. '63.  
 Bottom ..... A month later - flag staff and station identification.

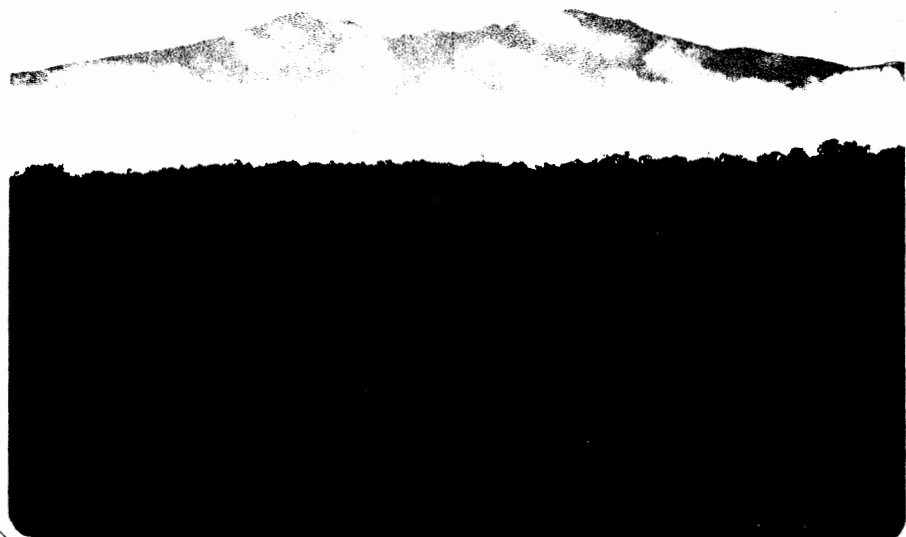
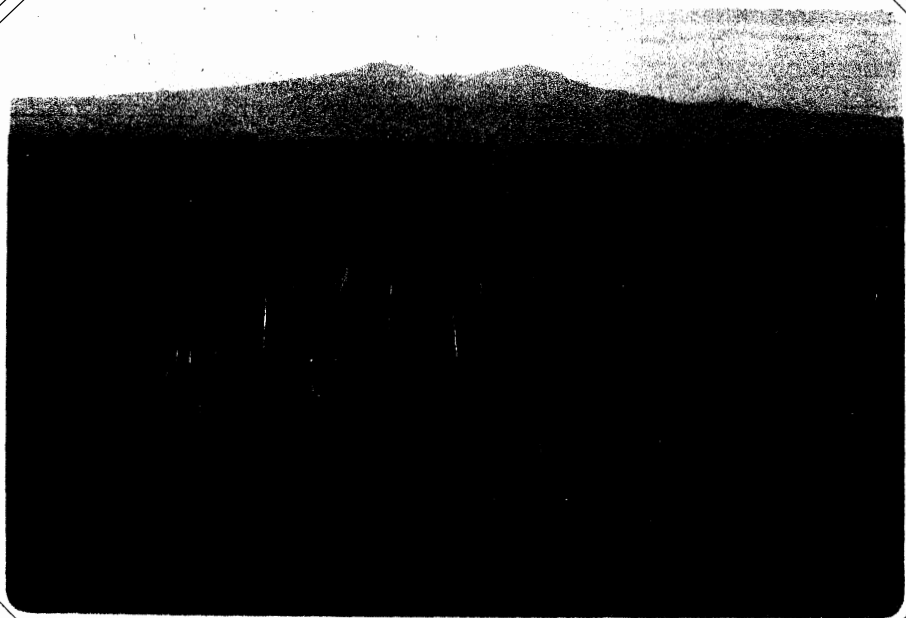


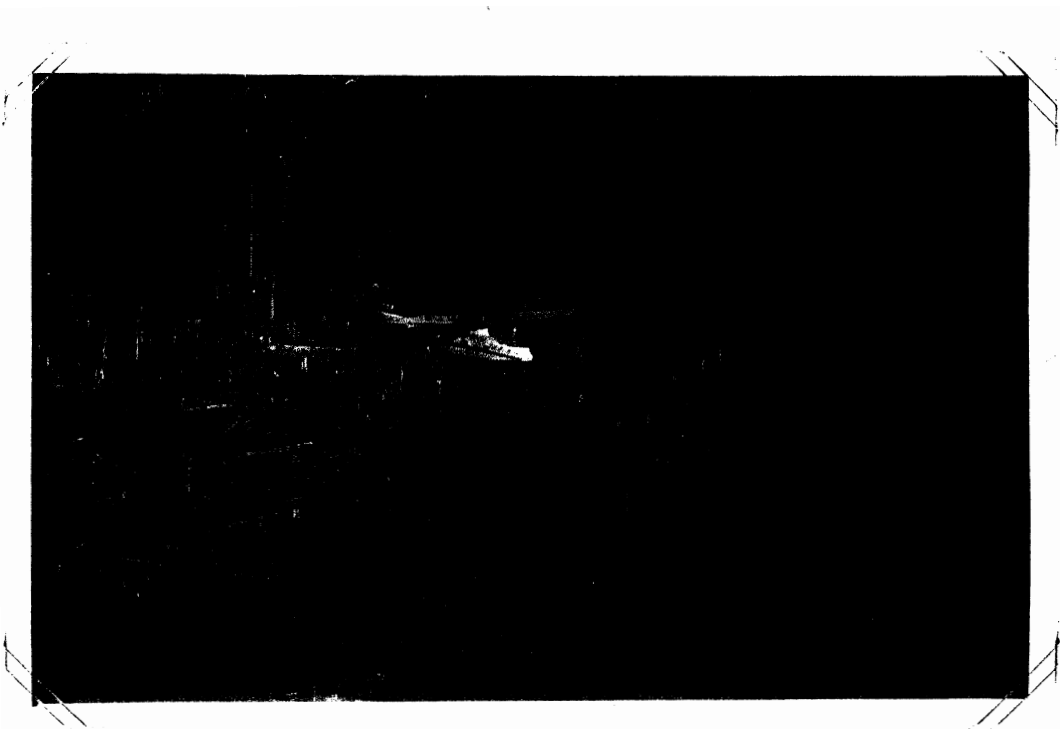
NOMAD PATROL POST .....

Above : View of the airstrip contained between the NOMAD RIVER (right) and the HAMAM (on left).

Centre : Looking to the station buildings from the junction of the two rivers; Mount SISA 8025 feet is seen rising up in the distance behind the station.

Bottom : From the same position Mount SISA is viewed through a telephoto (200 ml.) lens.



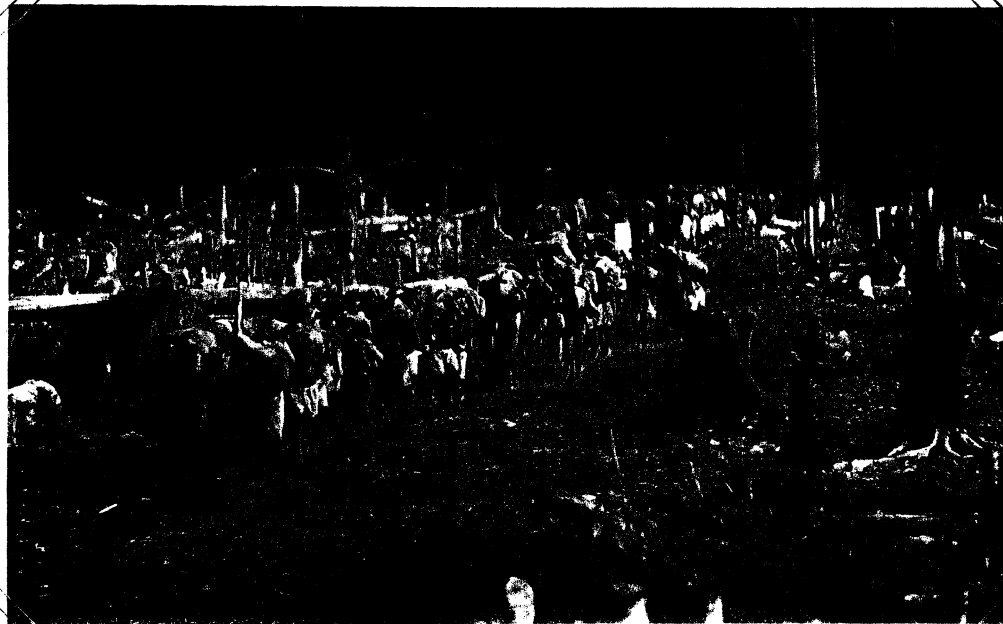


AIRDROPS of SUPPLIES ..... by Catelina from LAKE MURRAY.

For two years during the establishment of the patrol post, construction of airstrip, clearing of forest, and building domicile quarters, the labourers were supplied all rations by regular airdrops.

Bottom photograph shews Catelina in drop circuit, viewed from Cessna also in circuit.

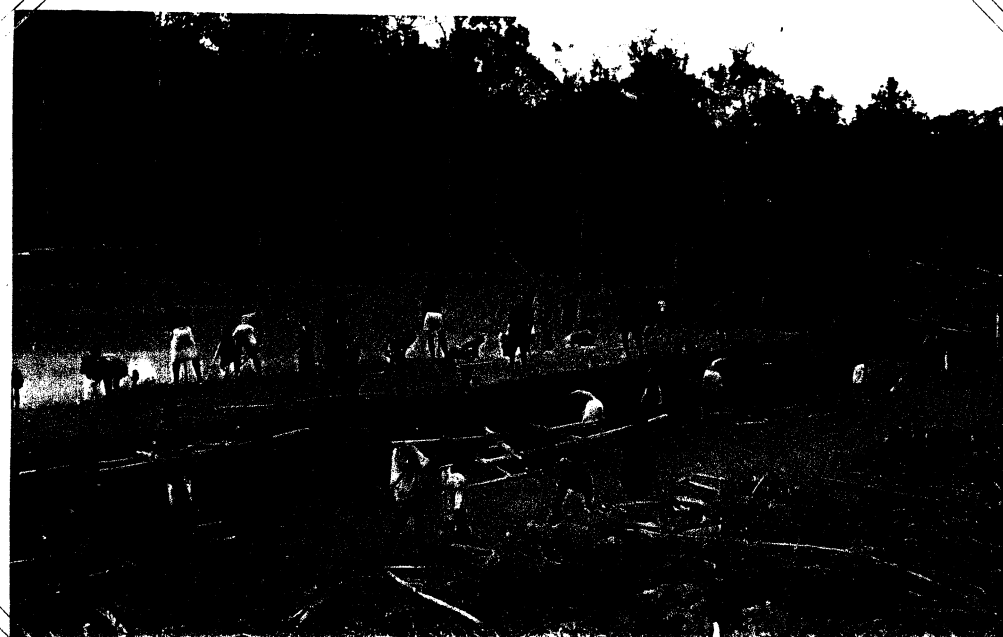


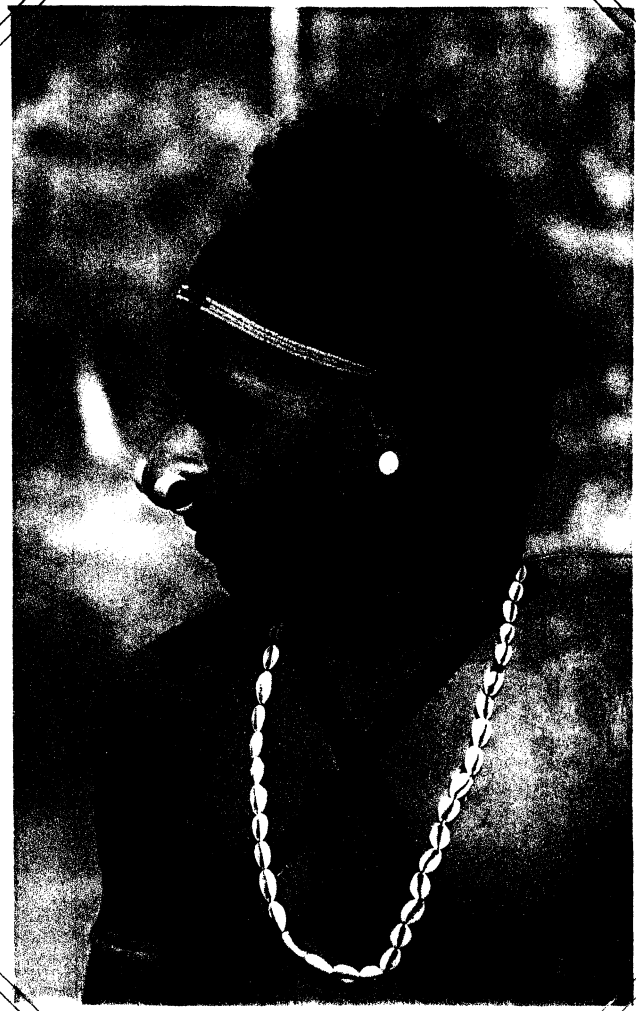
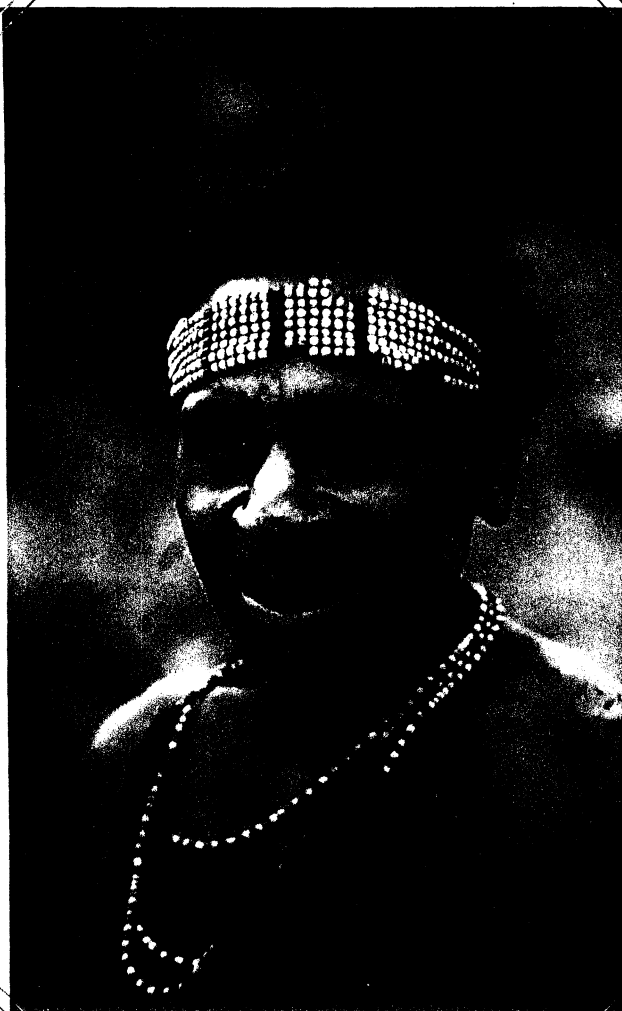


Recovery of Airdrop Supplies (above)

..... and below

Work continues on the Airstrip .....

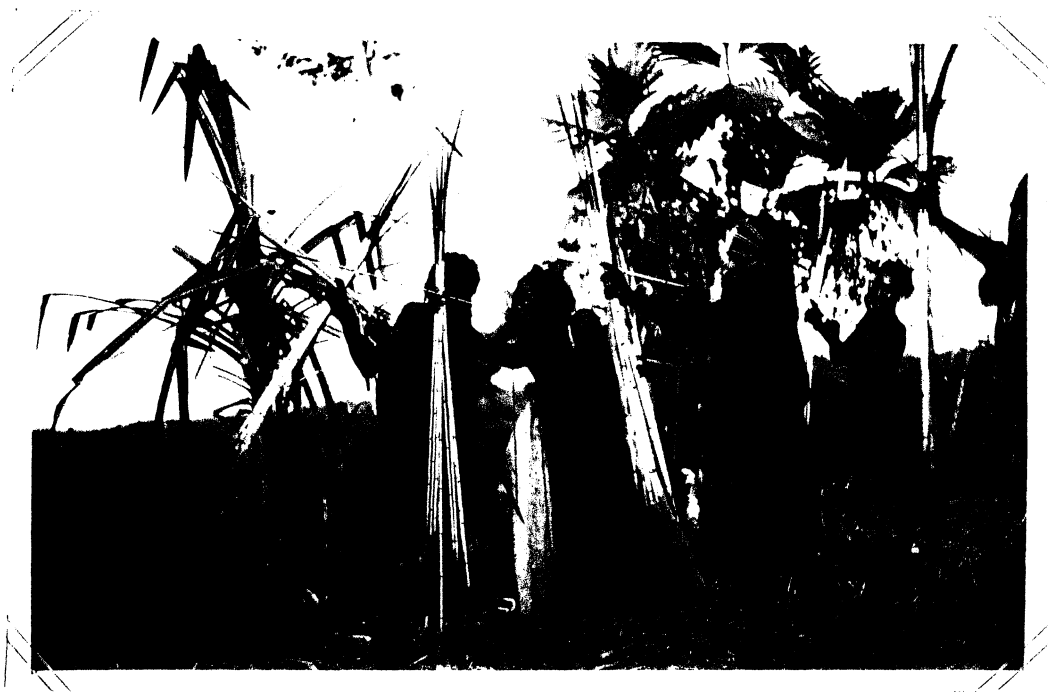




Studies of the SUPEI ..... Bamboo nose pieces,  
bands of beads, ear lobes plugged with bone,  
bamboo or beads, ropes of cowrie shell and  
woven bands worn baldric-fashion - the men  
present quite a handsome picture.



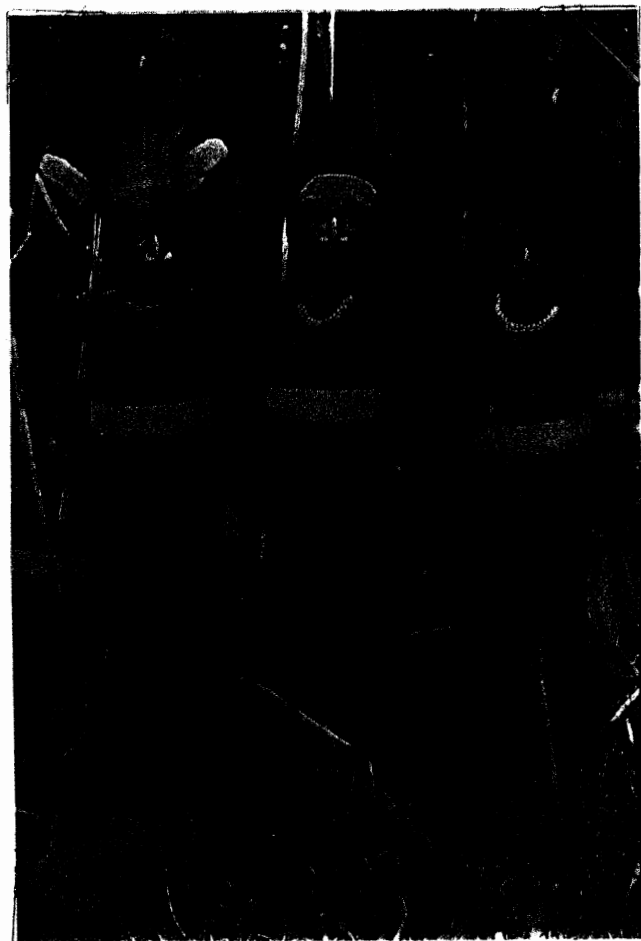
More photographs of the SUPEI people ..... (1962)



The arrows ..... Arrow-making provides one of the best opportunities for the people of this region to practice their rather inferior art; but it never appears that the care lavished on the carving of the hardwood points or bone, or their delicate painting, had any but an aesthetic purpose. The common arrow, narrow and needled or wide bamboo blade was for hunting game; but the carved, painted, or barbed arrow was expressly for the human victim.



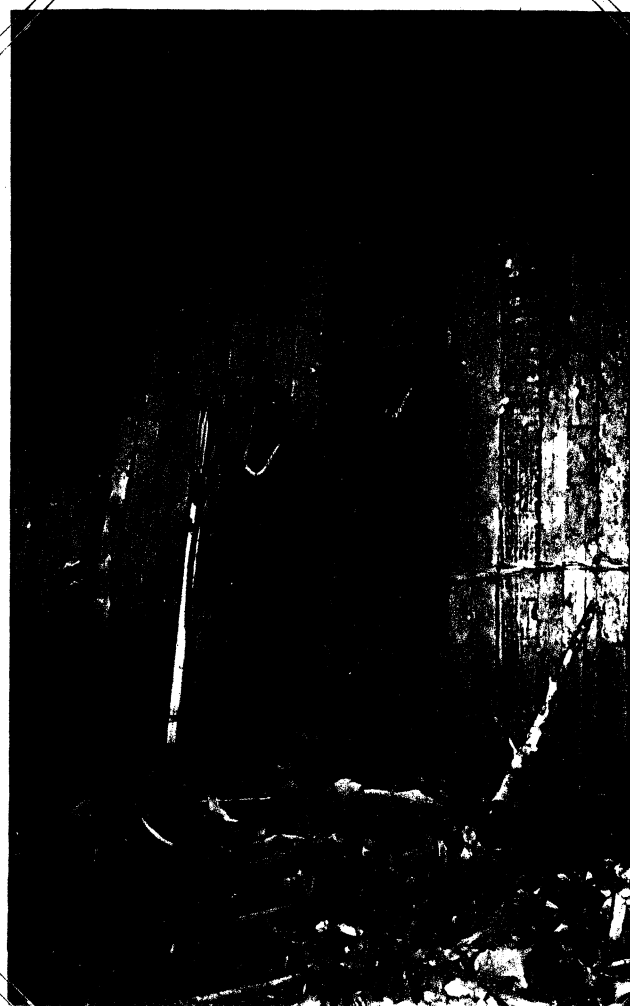
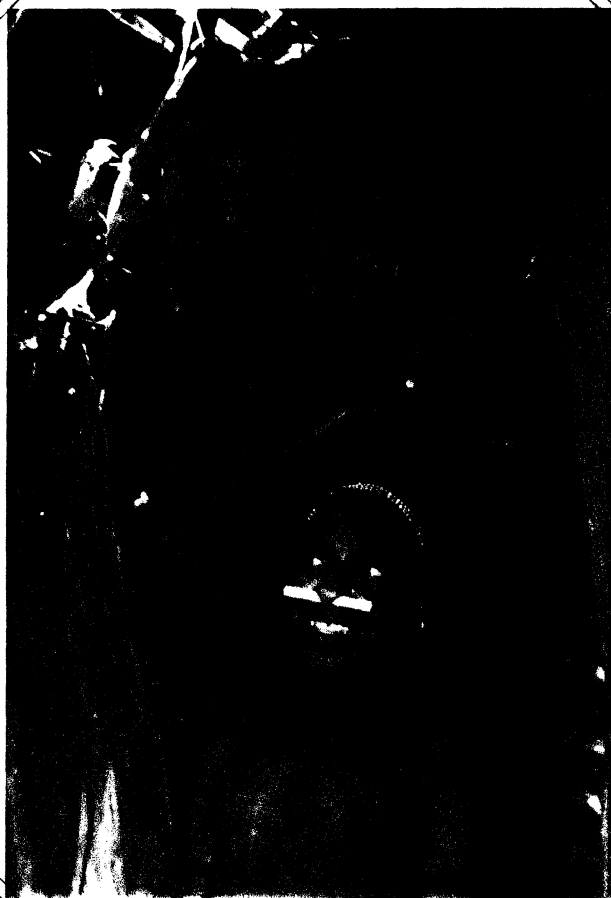
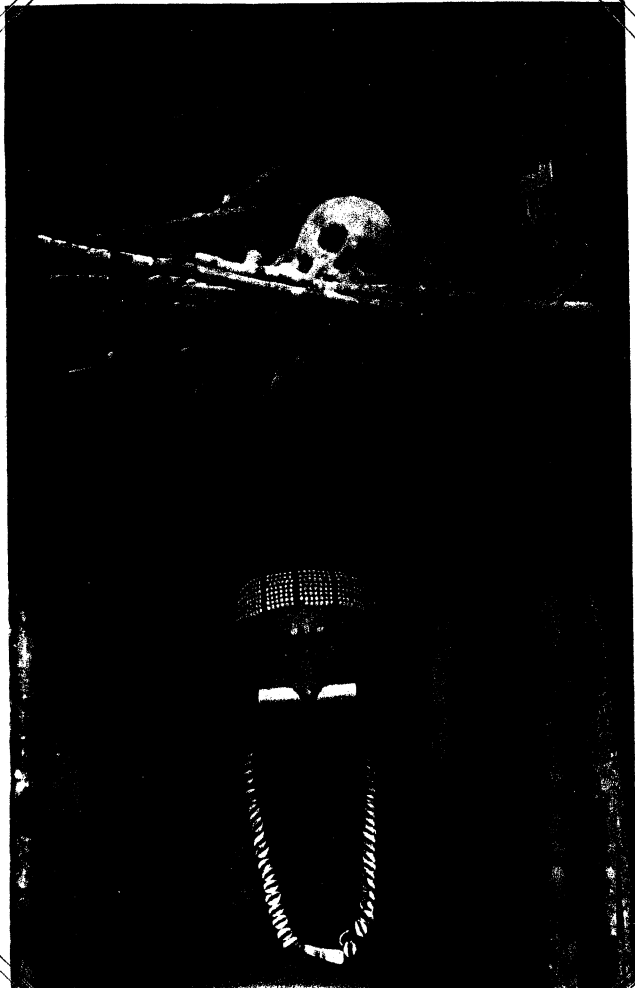
The men (and boys) make the most of their appearance on ceremonial occasions; they dress very handsomely. They are most partial to red, the red stain of a particular berry or red clay orcher. They paint the whole body, almost. Zig-zagging stripes of black and white on red across the chest, back and thighs. Sometimes the face is painted a deep dingey black with soot and if he has been eating the berry of the goru tree then his lips will be very, very red. The whole effect is quite satanic.



The Weapons .....

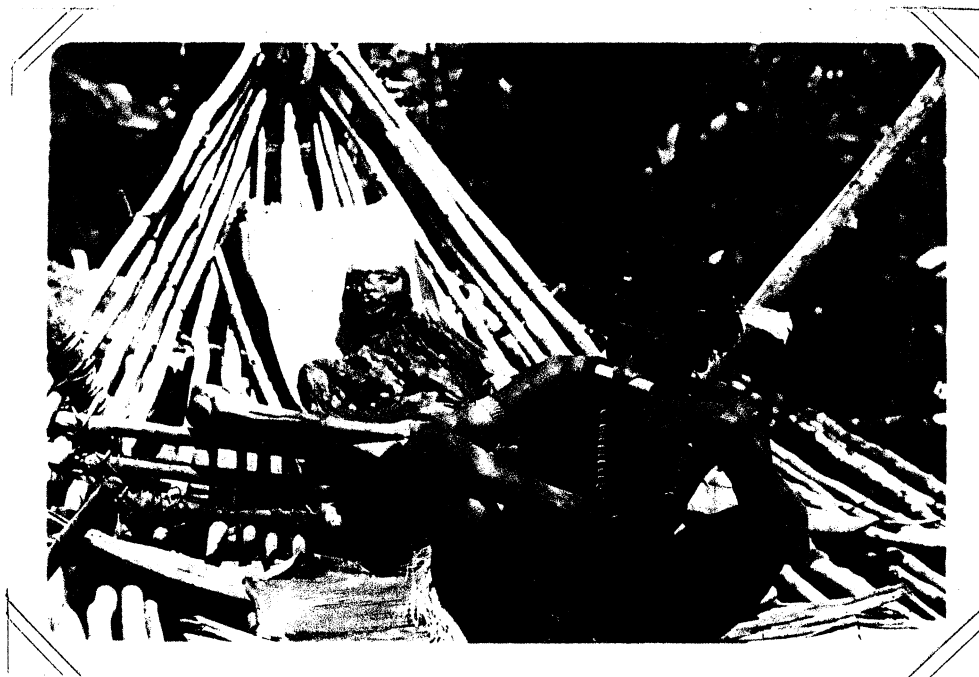
the club, the weapon par excellence,  
(star shaped, pineapple, disk or  
elongated, they are many and  
varied)

or the arrows, bone tipped or barbed.



At the front entrance to the houses hang the occasional trophies ..... either the skull of a human taken during a raid or more often the bones of animals of the bush or fish. Top right: the bones of fish over the doorway, a jaw bone at left, the spines of snakes etc. Top left: the skull of a relative outside the communal house. Note the narrow entrance to the communal house and fortified front - bottom left.



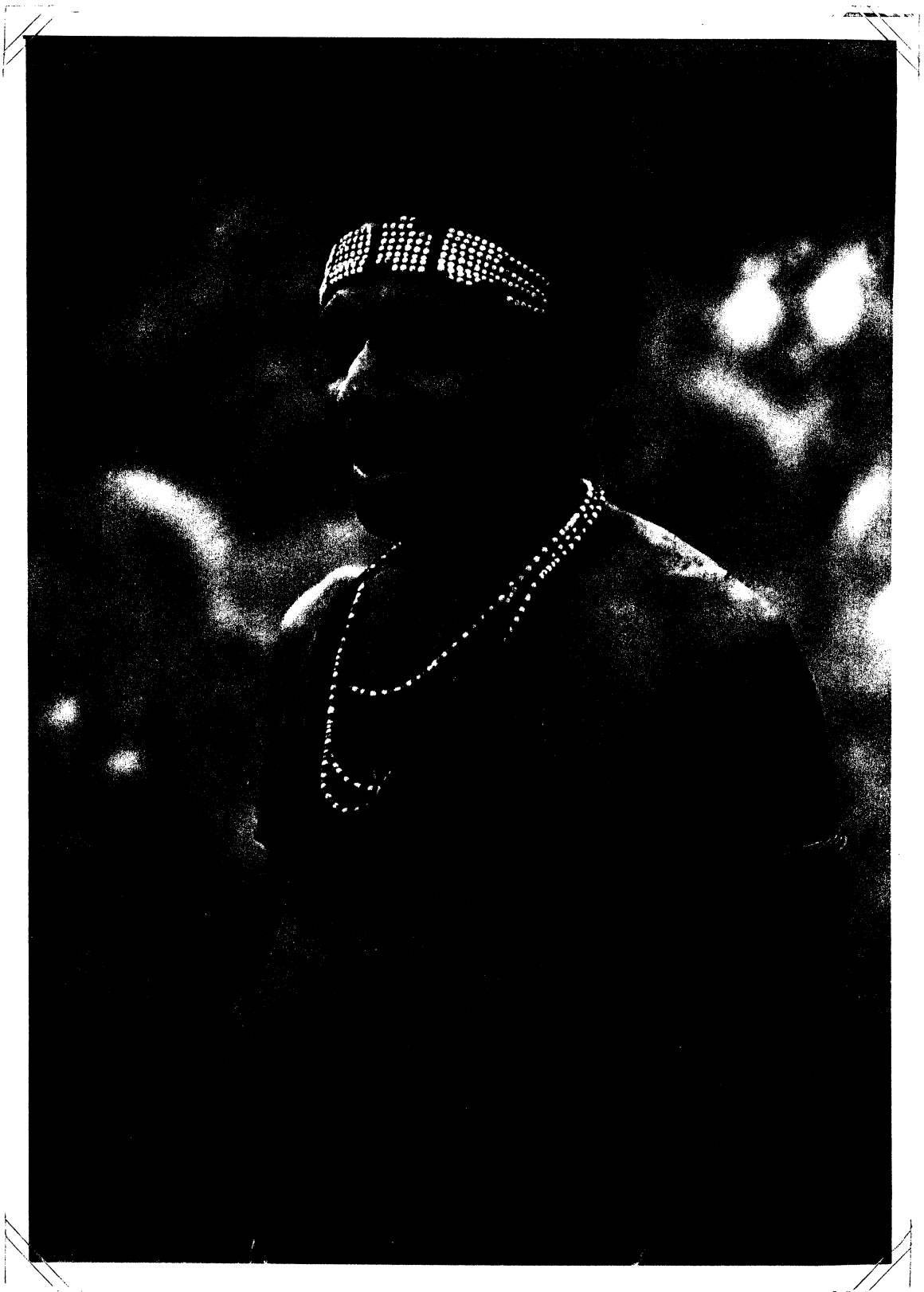


Death and the corpse : ..... When a person dies, and especially adult male, he is laid out on the floor of the communal house. The women mourners gather around it shrouded in their dismal tapa capes. For the next week or longer they keep up formless wail whilst the corpse swells and the body fluids and greases seep out. The women occasionally caress the body and transfer some of the grease to their own skin.

After the seventh day approximately the men prepare the mortuary platform. It is slightly troughed and elevated about six feet above the ground. A further wide platform is built around it so that after the body is placed in state the women may climb up to it and continue to weep over it. The body is left to decompose under the weather.

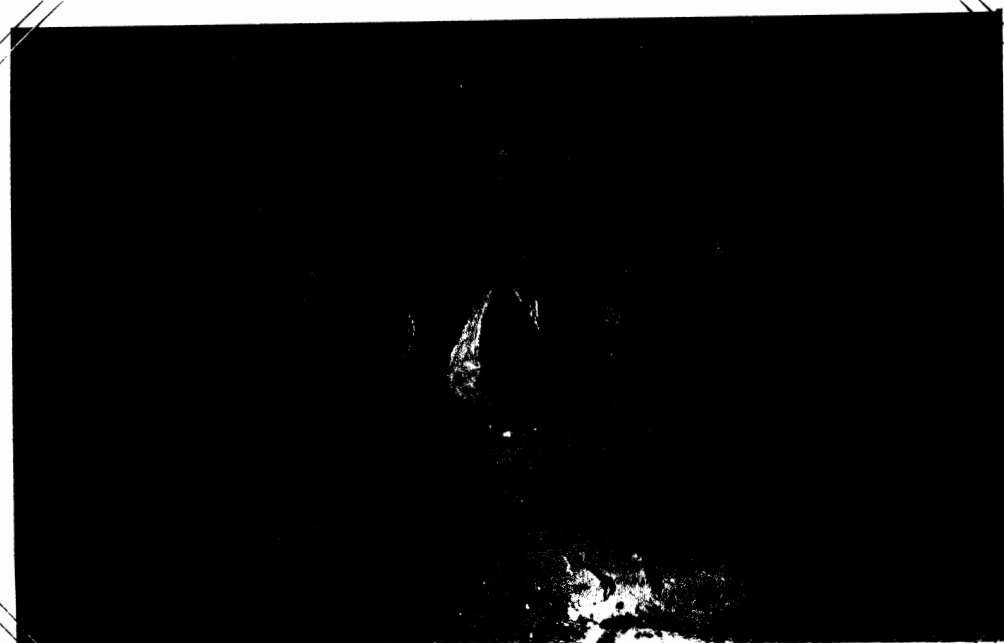
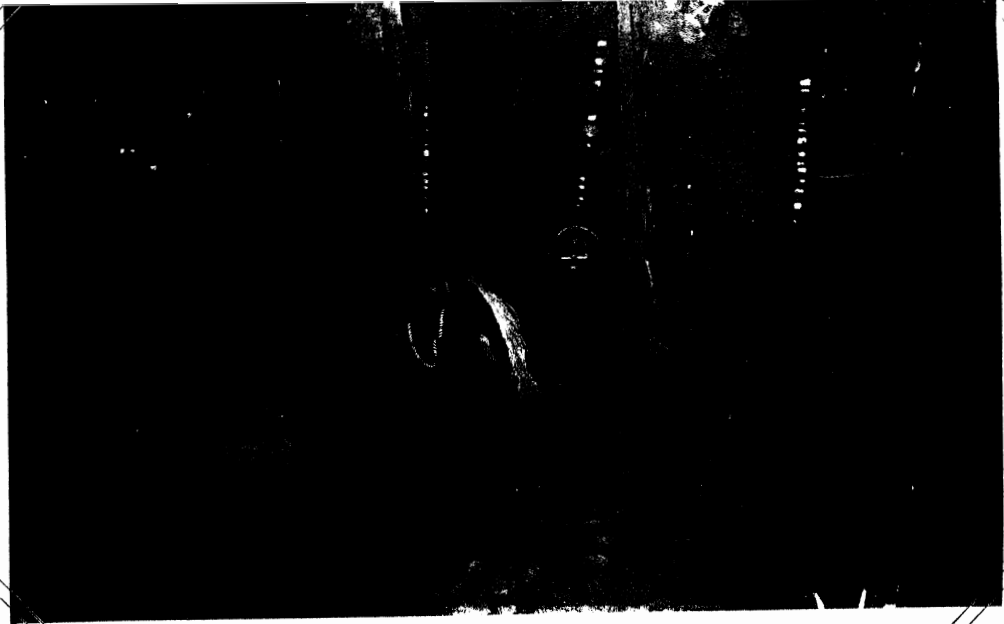
The mortuary platform is situated immediately outside the communal house and so for the next few weeks the bereaved ones are more or less permanently reminded of his indisposed state. His wearing apparel, ornaments, and other personal items are tied to the platform on which he rests. Bundles of food, banana or taro, are regularly brought and laid at his feet.

As the body decays and the bones become bleached by the sun they are stacked into smaller heaps. Still the women climb up on the platform and weep over him until finally only a shiny white skull remains.



The above person is a clan member of the SUPEI/KUBOR who provided many interesting tales of the raids of the BIAMI and of his own personal ventures into the GEBUST; and of the inevitable cannibalistic feast which followed. It is not hard to picture him standing over his victim with head caved in by the stone club and the people eager to carry the body down to the stream there to cut it into segments.

But who are we to blame them, those who were born with the taste of flesh in their mouth. It was the life that they were brought up into, and not something they made themselves.



The Communal House ..... where people spend so much of their idle lives. The first two photographs show the "living rooms" with low benches around the side and indented sections for fire places. It is an informal, social, community room.

The third room (photograph above) is the men's den (women definitely not allowed). Here the men sit around their open verandah gazing out over their forested horizon which reaches to the mountains on a clear day. Pinned to the walls are the various hunting trophies and bundles of arrows rest within easy reach.



SAGO Making ..... (the task is usually considered as a domestic chore for the women, but our friend here found it necessary for his own survival).

The sago palm is felled, a section of the bark removed, and the pith is hammered out. Shredded into small pieces it is loaded into the trough of a frond stem. Across the constriction a close mesh bag is tied and the pith, with a constant supply of fresh water, is worked into here. The sago is carried away in solution to a receptacle tank where it settles out. The dross is contained by the mesh bag (strainer) and thrown away.

The sago settles into a paste, the water is drained off, and the paste is then hardened to a lump by warming over a fire. Sometimes it is then packed into goru fronds and returned, buried into the sago swamp, where it may be quietly recovered if the need arises to vacate the normal domicile premises - fear of a raid or reprisal.



Amongst the GEBUSI people .....

in April 1963



Across the NOMAD RIVER



People in contrast .....

above, two of the BIAMIs.

below, the HURIs of MARENDIA  
behind the KARIUS Range.

The difference in appearance starts right at the base of the escarpment. The HURIs are characteristic for their colourful wigs decorated with yellow & blue everlasting daises; the BIAMIs and other low-land people curl their hair into dozens of greasy ringlets. The Mother-of-Pearl shell is nowhere to be found (where did it originally come from?) and ornamentation consists of ropes of plaited vine, nose piece, and fringe of cassowary plumes or shredded grass.





Not river people ..... but the feeder streams flowing into the STRICKLAND are large and have to be crossed one way or another. Small dugout canoes are traditional; they have been hollowed out from logs with primitive stone adzes. But their use is limited for the rivers are fast and in the upper reaches there are dangerous rapids. In other places light bamboo rafts are used for ferrying traffic from one side to the other.



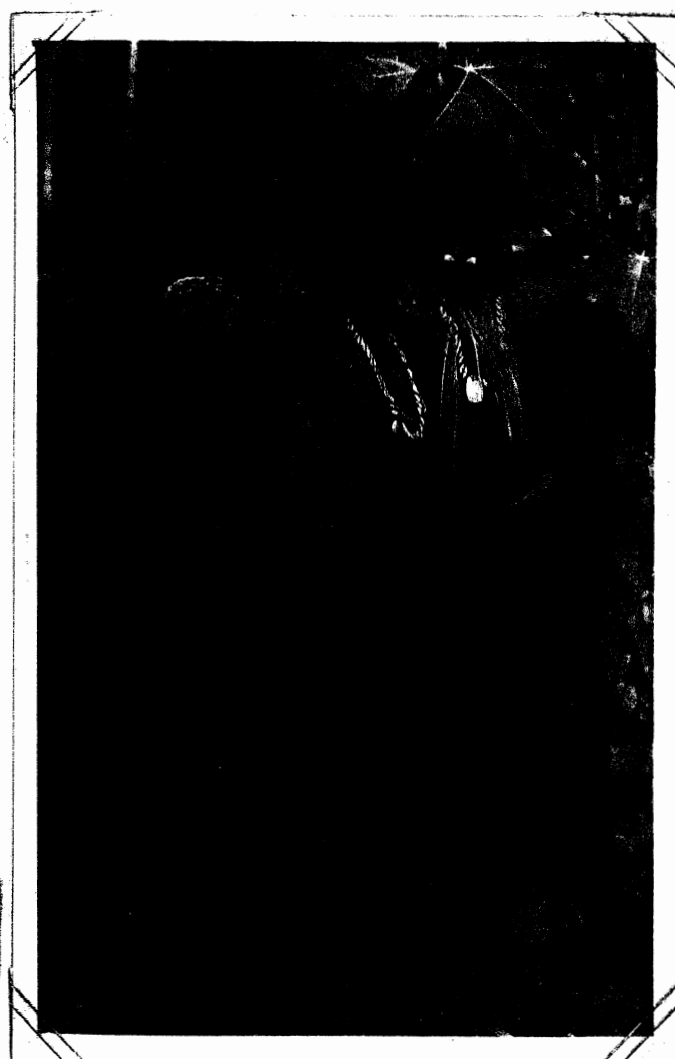
THE APPAREL OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN ..... can only be described as wretched in comparison with the lot of the men. They dress without gay attraction and are so often dirty and untidy and even the very thought of cleanliness seems repugnant to them. Their ornaments are few - a few bands of common plaited sashes, beads or occasional ropes of cowrie shell which may still remain the property of the husband. Their appearance is a faithful reflection of their wealth and low status.





At first the women were shy and covered themselves with drapes of beaten bark, or kosaka capes, which hang from their shoulders to below their knees. I suppose it is to be assumed that the women possess their average share of good looks, but for those accustomed to the potential of the Twentieth Century it is certainly difficult to appreciate here. The people are quite indifferent to feminine grace and beauty for long ago in the beginning they learned the lesson that this counts for naught in subsistence farming.

Beneath the cape women wear a wide full length hip-to-hip grass skirt.



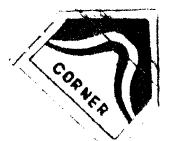
Photographs of women of the EAST STRICKLAND DIVISION

On the RENTOUL River ..... in June 1963. Now returning  
from the TOMU River after failing to  
contact the legendary KABASI people  
west of Mount BOSAVI.

Five canoes were made but shortly after  
capsizing in dangerous rapids the canoes  
were abandoned .....

Shortly below these rapids ....

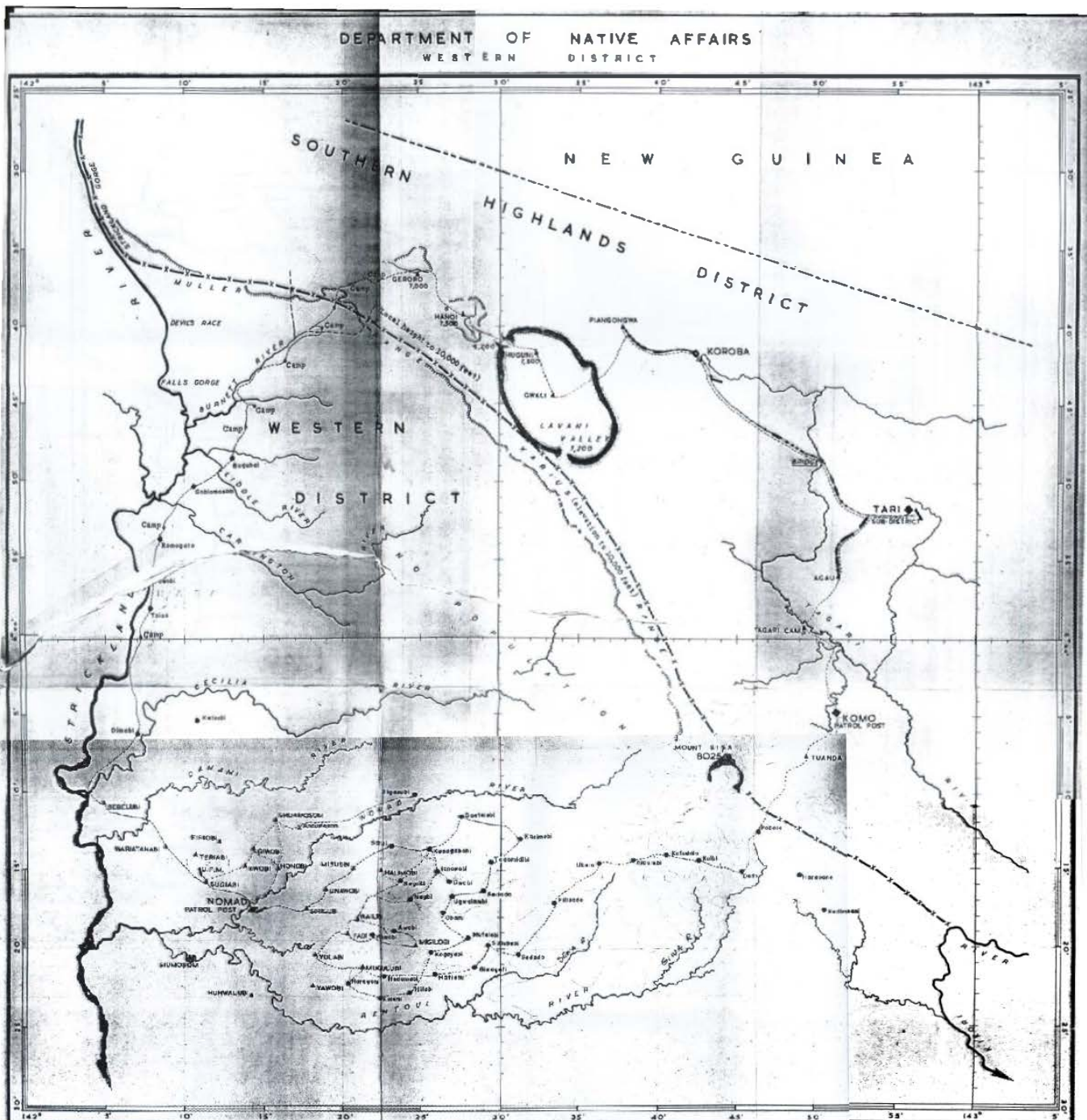




Patrols crossing the SEWA and GIWA Rivers in 1963



DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS  
WESTERN DISTRICT



MAP OF THE  
**EAST STRICKLAND DIVISION**

SHOWING COMMUNITIES OF THE **SIAMI** AND PATROL ROUTE TO **TARI** IN 1952/53

SCALE OF MILES



1 TO 250,000

ORIGIN OF CO-ORDINATES 2° 28' SOUTH  
142° 00' EAST

ORIGIN 1942 GEODATICAL APPROACH CHART TUGERI 088/1  
MAGNETIC VARIATION APPROXIMATELY 4° 25' E

1954

**LEGEND**

- REST HOUSES
- COMMUNITY CENTRES
- RUSH CAMPS
- PATROL ROUTE
- PERIPHERAL ROUTE
- ROADS/STRAIPS
- DISTRICT BOUNDARY
- CONTOUR LINES IN 300 FEET

Map to accompany **NOMAD** Patrol Report No. 1 - dated  
2. 1. 1953. Patrol Officer  
**NOMAD** Patrol Team  
27th March, 1954