For John Barker
with best wishes
Nancy Lutton

C. A. W. MONCKTON'S

TRIOLOGY OF HIS ADVENTURES IN NEW GUINEA :

FACT OR FICTION ?

BY

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FOREWORD

The research for this sub-thesis was done mostly at the National Archives of Papua New Guinea. I wish to thank archivist Kevin Green for much help in finding relevant material, and for cheerful assistance.

Following conversations with John Waiko, who was also working on an Honours sub-thesis by gathering oral traditions from the Northern District, I paid a visit to Popondetta early in July 1972. I had previously intended to spend this week at Tufi (Cape Nelson) but it was flattened by a cyclone in May. At Popondetta I called on the District Commissioner Mr. D. Marsh who gave me some advice and insisted that I take one of his staff from the Land Titles Commission, Mackenzie (his surname I did not get) as interpreter. We went to Garara Village, Capp Killerton, to see Ijibae, whom John Waiko had already interviewed. Next day we went to Dobodura, but there was nobody there sufficiently old to recall the events of the 1900's. They directed us however to Garuro Village where we found Humboroba, with whom we had a very good interview. The third day we took the Kokoda road, but the old people that Mackenzie knew of in several villages had all recently died. At Papaki Village however, a man about 40, Peter Wusi, told us a well known story of unprovoked shooting of sixteen men.[1] My thanks to Mr. Marsh and Mackenzie for their help.

1. See also Hank Nelson, The Strange Case of Joe O'Brien, p. 18.

The evenings on this trip, I spent talking to Stephen Ta
M.H.A. for Sohe. Stephen Tago is himself the author of an
article "How my grandfathers killed Mr. J. Green"[2] I played
the tapes I had taken, back to him and he was able to explain
to me allusions that I did not understand, and added a lot of
other relevant information. I wish to express thanks for his
help.

Special thanks are due to John Waiko, who allowed me to
have copies of a number of his interviews before his own work
was finished. He in turn found my interview with Humboroba c
use, and with my permission included it in his own sub-thesis
one of his appendices. It is more appropriate there, and I h
not included the full interview here, but have referred to th
as well as to the other interviews whenever necessary in John
Waiko's sub-thesis.

Thanks are also due to Hank Nelson, my supervisor, who r
my first dfaft, and made many helpful comments and suggestion
for further research.

2. South Pacific, May-June, 1959, p. 129-132

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

a/	Acting
Admr	Administrator
A.N.C.	Armed Native Constabulary
A.R.	Annual Report
A.R.M.	Assistant Resident Magistrate
C.D.	Central Division
C.J.O.	Chief Judicial Officer
E.D.	Eastern Division
G.S.	Government Secretary
Lt-G	Lieutenant Governor
N.D.	Northern Division
N.E.D.	North Eastern Division
R.M.	Resident Magistrate
S.E.D.	South Eastern Division

Monckton's published books are abbreviated in the footnotes and sometimes in the text, thus:

Some Experiences	Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate. London, Bodley Head, 1921.
Last Days	Last Days in New Guinea. London Bodley Head, 1922.
Recollections	New Guinea Recollections. London, Bodley Head, 1934.

Introduction

Charles Arthur Whitmore Monckton arrived in British New Guinea in 1895 at the age of 23 and left in 1907 aged 35. He later published three books about this period. The first of Monckton's books, Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate, was published in 1920, but apparently written before the war in 1914.[1] It is a broadly chronological account of his experiences from the time of his arrival in British New Guinea, his freelancing as a gold prospector and pearl sheller, his early relieving government appointments, his first permanent appointment as Resident Magistrate North Eastern Division, up to about the middle of 1903, just before he was given the Northern Division to administer as well. The second book Last Days in New Guinea published in 1922, takes up the story from there. He took over the Northern Division and the responsibility for building a road to the Yodda goldfields. In this book his major expeditions are described, a trip up Mount Albert Edward, and one to the Waria River, over the range and down the Lakekamu River to the Gulf of Papua. A considerable portion of the book is also devoted to his escorting the Royal Commissioners through his Division, but this is mostly quoted from Kenneth Mackay's Across Papua. Finally he gives a catalogue of the reasons why he left British New Guinea. The third book New Guinea Recollections is an afterthought. It was published in 1934, only two years before Monckton's death. It is mainly a series of unconnected anecdotes,

1. Some Experiences, p. 324

and in some ways, it is a pity he did not leave it at that, as much of the additional material is inaccurate or special pleading.

All three books contain many well told anecdotes. The people Monckton describes come alive through his fine pen portraits. However the background is noticed only in relation to the hindrances it presents to patrolling, cliffs that must be scaled, mountain tops that freeze unclad carriers, swamps that are infested by crocodiles, and rivers that have to be crossed. One has to go to other people's descriptions to complete the picture.

Monckton described what a Resident Magistrate was expected to do in one of his Annual Reports.

> Such officers must have a working knowledge of the Justices Act of Queensland (adopted), the various small Debts Acts, an exceedingly complicated Mining Act, the New Guinea Laws and Ordinances, the Criminal Code, the Intestacy Act, the Native Regulations, the Postal Regulations, bookkeeping, infantry drill, bone-setting and simple surgery, medicine, roadmaking, surveying, building, boat sailing, and the Motuan language. He must learn the attitude of the different tribes towards the Government and to one another, and their peculiarities; he must be physically capable of resisting malaria and dysentery and of keeping pace with the constabulary in long, rough marches, also of maintaining discipline in the gaols and station, as well as among two or three hundred crude savages employed as carriers or labourers. He must also be prepared to spend weeks alone with natives, to spend most of his pay in living expenses, at the end of a few years to have his health shattered and to be useless for any other occupation, and to be the recipient of a constant stream of abuse, both locally and in the public press, with the prospect that, unless he is lucky enough to get killed or die before he is incapable of any longer doing his work, he can starve in Australia or New Guinea at the end. [2]

2. A.R. N.D. 1905-1906 published in A.R. 1905-1906, p. 37-8.

He described the duties of a Resident Magistrate in more practical terms when he took up his first relieving post at Samarai, an oft quoted passage.[3] There is no doubt he was a man very well fitted for most of these duties, but his impatience with some drove him away in the end. Administrators invariably praised his work, the smart appearance of the station and the constabulary, the rapid pacification of warlike tribes, but when it came to examining the station books, all was not well. F.R. Barton, his personal friend reported:

> Mr. Monckton is to blame for not having given sufficient scrutiny to the Station books. As an administrative officer of a large and difficult division I have every reason to be satisfied with him; indeed he has performed invaluable work in the N.D. in the past, and it is only in dealing with figures and accounts that he shows inability, with the result that he is disposed to rely unduly upon the probable correctness of such matters. 4

And while Monckton, could and did put up with all sorts of physical hardships, he could not take criticism from the public and the press.

I have been unable to unearth any serious review of Monckton's books at the time they were published. There is a cutting from the Bodleian dated February 1921, inside a copy of the first book in the University of Papua and New Guinea Library, but this amounts to little more than a notice of its publication. Those extracts of reviews published to advertise books indicate that reviewers had at

3. Some Experiences, p. 73
4. Barton, Despatch No. 6 of 1906, 17/1/06, G.54.

least some moments of enthusiasm for his work. The Pacific Islands Monthly did not commence publication till 1930, it might otherwise have had some comments from readers. This magazine did however accord Monckton an obituary when he died in London on 1 March 1936. It was as an explorer in Papua that he distinguished himself, and his books, said Pacific Islands Monthly,

> have enjoyed a constantly increasing sale.... Every one of these books has been praised by literary folk the world over. They give intimate glimpses of life in New Guinea; describe the experiences of administrative officers with rare dramatic skill; and withal they are written with a delightful sense of humour. 5

That the books were popular is shown by the number of they were reprinted, sometimes with different titles and by different publishers. The first book, Some Experiences of a Resident Magistrate was published in England in the following forms:

First published in 1 volume	1920
Reprinted	1921
Reprinted	1921
Reprinted	1922
Cheaper edition published	1925
First published in Weekend library in 2 volumes	1927
Reprinted	1933
First published Penguin Books	1936
Reprinted March	1937
Reprinted October	1937 (6)

The reprints of 1921 and 1922 are listed in the volumes themselves as editions but this is incorrect. The cheaper

5. Pacific Islands Monthly, March 19, 1936, p. 54.
6. List on verso of title page of Penguin edition.

probably refers to a two volume edition published by Newnes entitled Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate and Further Adventures of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate. The textual matter covers only that in Some Experiences and unwary readers have often picked up the second of these volumes thinking it to be the continuation of Some Experiences. No date whatever is shown on this edition.[7] The two volume Weekend Library edition was also published by Bodley Head. Both volumes were called Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate, and distinguished as 1st Series and 2nd Series. The Penguin edition was also in two volumes and entitled exactly the same way.

The book was also published in America at least twice. The New York office of Bodley Head, John Lane published it under the title Taming New Guinea in 1921. It was published again in New York by Dodd Mead in 1922 with the same title. These last two editions plus the four original printings of the English edition all came from the same printing plates.

Last Days and Recollections only appear to have been published once. Some Experiences was quite likely the most read book ever written on New Guinea.[8] They appear to be factual, and have been accepted as genuine history by uncritical readers. In the following pages I hope to test

7. Australian National University. Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology. An Ethnographic Bibliography of New Guinea. Vol. 1, p. 183, lists Further Adventures of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate, Newnes, and giving the date as 1914, but this is obviously incorrect.
8. I owe this idea to Hank Nelson.

this assumption by checking the account of selected incidents in the books against Monckton's official reports and other sources.

Early experiences

Monckton was born in Invercargill, New Zealand in 1872, the son of a doctor. He was educated at Wanganui Grammar School.[9] Monckton arrived in British New Guinea in 1895, hoping to get an appointment with the Government. He was armed with a letter of introduction from the Governor of New Zealand for Sir William MacGregor, the Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea. However, Sir William was not able to offer an appointment, partly because he had no vacancy and on his meagre budget he could make no extra appointments, and partly because he preferred to employ only those with experience of native customs.[10] However, MacGregor assisted Monckton and his friend to go to Woodlark Island where gold had recently been found, and for the next two years, Monckton set out to gain the experience which he lacked for Government employment.

Life on the goldfields was rough and ready, and one had to be prepared to rub shoulders with blatant scoundrels as well as the best of men, and Monckton seemed to fit in well with either. He was immensely interested in the diverse characters and personalities of the people he met, both black and white.

9. Encyclopedia of Papua and New Guinea, Melbourne, 1972.
10. Some Experiences, p. 12

At least two short articles on native customs were published by him at this time.[11] Besides gold prospecting, Monckton and his various partners tried pearl fishing, but neither occupation proved very remunerative for him. Having met a number of officials besides MacGregor, he was occasionally given some government work. Apparently though, he had some independent means, or a family willing to give him some support, as after two years he was able to afford a holiday in New Zealand with money remitted to him.[12] After an adventurous journey back to New Guinea, sailing a yacht from Sydney, and nearly getting wrecked several times, he received his first official appointment from Sir William MacGregor. Monckton's first appointments were relieving ones. He relieved M.H. Moreton, the Resident Magistrate at Samarai for several months in 1897,[13] and here he learnt what would arouse MacGregor's displeasure. He had taken some trouble to arrest and bring to trial, Enamakala, a paramount chief in the Trobriands. The Methodist missionary Mr. Fellows had complained that Enamakala had been causing him some trouble. The circumstances of the arrest taught the chief a lesson in that he could not defy the government, and realising this, Mr. Fellows asked Monckton to remit the sentence he was given, and Monckton agreed, believing that this would ensure better relations in the future. However, on reporting this action

11. Monckton, C.A.W. "Some Recollections of New Guinea Customs" Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 5, 1896, p. 184-6; "Goodenough Island, New Guinea" Ibid. Vol. 6, 1897, p.89-90.
12. Some Experiences, p. 59
13. a/R.M.E.D. to G.S. August 25, 1897. G91. Item 648B.

to MacGregor, he was reprimanded. As MacGregor explained, only the Crown could pardon, not the Resident Magistrate or the Mission.[14]

A good example of the way the Governor had to do the best he could with the staff he had occurred when Moreton resumed duty at Samarai and Monckton was sent to Port Moresby to relieve the Treasurer. However, this was quite beyond Monckton's capabilities, he not only said so, but it was very evident to other officials too, so they contrived to swap him with the Government Agent for the Mekeo district, B.W. Bramell, who was an accountant, and Monckton relieved him on 31 May, 1898.[15] He thereupon spent several months in that troublesome district, being mostly occupied dealing with sorcerers, who had a great hold over the people, outbreaks of sickness, and in turning a lax detachment of constabulary into a disciplined one.

Following his term at Mekeo he spent a relieving period in the South-Eastern Division when A.M. Campbell went on leave. He described Campbell as a man who "possessed a perfect mania for office work, tidiness and writing reports".[16] He found his constabulary perfectly clean and tidy with smart salutes, but no idea of drill or how to look after arms, or to use them. Monckton twice ridiculed Campbell in his books with a story

14. Some Experiences, p. 44
15. a/A.R.M.C.D. to G.S. 2/6/98, G91. Item 291A.
16. Some Experiences, p. 144

of how he had been an officer in the King of Tonga's guard and brought from there a gaudy uniform which he occasionally wore. This initial antipathy was to turn into bitter rivalry.

The patrol vessel for this division was at this time up for repairs and Monckton could see no way of getting about the island division. Fortunately, his friend Moreton in the neighbouring Eastern Division, had some cases to attend to that needed extra men, so the two joined forces and tackled their work together, to the benefit of both, as Moreton had his own patrol boat.[17] Monckton always remained firm friends with Moreton, who was later demoted for mishandling a case, and forced to change places with Campbell, which Monckton always considered unjust.

Sir William MacGregor concluded his ten year term as Lt. Governor of British New Guinea in 1898 while Monckton was at Mekeo. Monckton was one of his most fervent admirers and his description of his first meeting with him has often been quoted.[18]

> I had not been three minutes in his cabin before I realized that I was in the presence of a master of men - a Cromwell, a Drake, a Caesar or Napoleon - his keen grey eyes looking clean through me, and I knew that I was being summed and weighed. Once, and only once in my life, have I felt that a man was my master in every way, a person to be blindly obeyed and one who must be right and infallible, and that was when I met Sir William MacGregor. [19]

From that day, MacGregor became for Monckton the model of

17. Ibid, p. 146-8
18. Souter, G. New Guinea, the last unknown, p. 60; and Joyce, R.B. Sir William MacGregor, p. 158-9
19. Some Experiences, p. 91.

[redacted]

what an Administrator and a Resident Magistrate should be. To Monckton, MacGregor was always right. He instituted the Village Constable system for which Monckton only had praise. In the argument over whether Enamakala was indeed paramount chief in the Trobriands, Monckton considered MacGregor right in stating he was, against the opinion of the eminent anthropologist C.G. Seligman.[20]

Monckton was a confident and independent man, from no one else would he take a reprimand without protest. When ticked off because he flagged some prisoners for rioting he wrote:

> In five minutes I was reduced to a very dismal state, though I don't believe that any other man other than Sir William MacGregor could have done it.[21]

But MacGregor was human after all, and before Monckton left he was invited to meet Lady MacGregor and to have wine in Sir William's cabin.

Monckton tried to live up to MacGregor's expectations of a Resident Magistrate, which was to "know everything and do everything".[22] When Monckton expressed doubt about being able to carry out the duties of an R.M. properly MacGregor said "he had the same doubts himself, but that I seemed to be the best that offered".[23] If MacGregor piled more work upon a man, that had to be taken as praise.

The shadow of MacGregor remained over Monckton for the

20. Ibid, p. 91
21. Ibid, p. 100
22. Ibid, p. 72
23. Ibid, p. 70

rest of his stay in New Guinea, and affected his attitude to his work and to his brother officers. Monckton, like MacGregor, relished the confrontation with new lands and new peoples, when physical toughness and readiness to make quick decisions were virtues. The times changed, but Monckton and his memories of MacGregor did not.

Cape Nelson

In 1900, Mr. George Le Hunte (later Sir George), who had replaced MacGregor as Lt. Governor in 1898, set up a new Government station at Cape Nelson, on the North East coast. The stations at Tamata on the Mambare River in the Northern Division and at Samarai in the Eastern Division were too far apart for effective control of the area. Accordingly, the Governor in the Merrie England, visited Cape Nelson on 31 December 1899 to select a site, and described what was to become Monckton's home for several years, a description that Monckton in all his writings, never gave.

Monckton - impressions to native beauty

> The beauty of these 'sounds', as they would be called in New Zealand... would take too long - and a better pen than mine to describe. The deep blue of the unruffled water reflecting the high overhanging vegetation, the pretty conical points of islets crowned with cocoanut palms and half-hidden huts, the high, sharp ridges of the mountain spurs beyond, and behind all, half-veiled in mist, the dark volcanic peaks of Mount Trafalgar and Mount Victory, which from here are nearly in a line, for a picture which only an artist's brush could give a true conception. (24)

24. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 1 of 12/1/00, published in A.R. 1899-1900, p. 15.

They found the native people there "wild and shy" but managed to get into friendly relations with them and purchased land for a government station, explaining to them that soon a European magistrate and some police would settle there. The people demurred, but Le Hunte was firm.

> I shall not be in the least surprised if they turn out to be perfectly friendly, and give us no trouble; of if they are quite the opposite and bring severe punishment on themselves. I have no intention of having any half-measures with them either way, or to leave them in doubt as to the power of the Government to befriend and protect them or to put them down if they resist it. (25)

This attitude was no doubt impressed on Monckton, who thereby received his first permanent appointment as Resident Magistrate of the new division. Le Hunte could justify the appointment in that Monckton had by then been five years in the possession, had twice acted as Resident Magistrate, and had experience in dealing with Papuans.[26] The nearest missionary, William Abbot at Collingwood Bay, also gave qualified approval. He wrote to Le Hunte saying how pleased he was that Monckton was going to the North-Eastern Division, but that Monckton allowed his police to gamble. He did not mean this to be a criticism, but he would like His Excellency to bring the matter to Mr. Monckton's attention.[27]

Abbot had a house built for Monckton, ready for him when he arrived with the Governor in the Merrie England on 4 April

25. Ibid.
26. Le Hunte, Despatch no 24 of 1900, 28/3/00. G32, Vol. 5.
27. Abbot to Le Hunte, 19/1/00. G. 121 Item 86.

1900.[28] The Governor had intended to formally "open" the station, but illness prevented him from doing so, so he continued with the Merrie England to a visit of the Northern Division, returning a few days later to find that Monckton had found a better site for a permanent station and had done a lot of clearing. The flag was officially raised, but only about twenty Papuans were present, and as the Governor could not wait another day, he left a written address for Monckton to deliver to the tribes when they should appear again.[29]

The Governor visited Cape Nelson again on 9 July 1900 and found that Monckton

> has experienced some critical situations with the wild natives around him, but by patience and firmness was able to deal with them without having to exert force or resort to extremes; at one time matters assumed rather a serious aspect: his constables were drugged with some kind of narcotic, and the natives swarmed round the Station, canoes were discovered prowling underneath at night, and on being challenged glided into the darkness of the overhanging rocks; a shot was fired in their direction - but purposely wide of them - on which they disappeared. (30)

A trader named Patton had been molested and robbed by Papuans not far away about a week before, and his life had only been spared because they knew the police would fight them if they killed him. Monckton, together with Captain F.R. Barton and Captain Harvey of the Merrie England, went to arrest the Papuans concerned, and after some fighting secured the principal offenders.[31]

28. R.M.N.E.D. to G.S. Cape Nelson Reports. 30/4/00. G91. Item 1118.
29. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 28 of 1900, 14/4/00, published in A.R. 1899-1900, p. 19.
30. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 51 of 1900, 11/8/00, published in A.R. 1899-1900, p. 51
31. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 51, op. cit. p. 51-2.

The slight inaccuracy of the date of arrival at Cape Nelson given by Monckton in his book as 1 June 1900,[32] is not serious. Abbot could not have made any impression on Monckton, as he is never mentioned. On the other hand in this chapter and throughout the trilogy, Monckton writes a lot about Bishop Stone-Wigg, emphasising their close friendship.[33] It is difficult to asses the truth of this, as Bishop Stone-Wigg 's diaries[34] only ever mention Monckton in passing and very seldom at that. Otherwise Monckton's account of this period seems a fair one.

The Doriri Expedition

The tribe living at Cape Nelson was known as the Kaili Kaili, and their "big man" was Giwi. To the north of Cape Nelson lived the Okein and to the south at Collingwood Bay were the Maisina. Inland from Collingwood Bay were the Doriri. The Okein used to attack both the Kaili Kaili and the Maisina from the sea until outwitted by Giwi "who had an uncommonly fine head and exceptional reasoning power".[35] The Okein had also been punished by one of MacGregor's expeditions.[36] The Maisina were also constantly under attack from the Doriri, but a previous expedition under Sir Francis Winter had failed to bring the Doriri under control because the Maisina carriers had deserted the first night.[37]

32. Some Experiences, p. 166
33. Ibid. p. 169-173
34. Bishop Stone-Wigg. Diary 1898-1908. 7 vols. unpublished.
35. Some Experiences, p. 173-4
36. Ibid. p. 175
37. Ibid. p. 176

The Maisina had by this time, April 1901, been brought under the control of the government but retained a fear of the Doriri. Monckton expressed the feelings of the Maisina in this way.

> You have broken us and prevented us from fighting other people, but we have lost over thirty men by attacks from the Doriri in the last few months, and very many people by them before that; if others are to be protected from us, surely we should be defended from our enemies. (38)

Monckton did not have the resources or the men to make such a trip unaided, so he put the matter to the Governor, Sir George Le Hunte when the Merrie England called on one of its visits of inspection. After discussing the matter with Sir Francis Winter, Le Hunte ordered Captain Barton, who was also on board, together with a detachment of Armed Native Constabulary, to accompany the expedition. In his instructions dated 28 March 1901 to Monckton and Barton, Le Hunte told Monckton to "generally direct the expedition" except in the detail of police operations, and stated:

> In the event of your finding the natives and their opposing you, you will take such steps as may be necessary to bring them into submission. If they do show opposition you will use your best efforts to bring them into friendly intercourse; but in any case you will arrest or require the delivery to you of the principals immediately concerned in the recent murder of the Wanigela natives I have referred to, and you will take measures to enforce this. I have carefully considered the views I have heard expressed as to this, and I am satisfied that under the circumstances, the right course is to exercise the power of the Government by doing its duty to

38. Ibid, p. 207

> to bring them to trial if possible whatever views may subsequently be taken of their having been always accustomed to make their murderous raids without knowing that they are breaking the laws of a Power of which they as yet have no knowledge, and I am also satisfied that in the end... it will produce a more lasting effect for good and peace than merely explaining to the natives concerned that they are not to do it again, and returning without any immediate visible results. (39)

Monckton took this statement to be approval of his methods. He described his difference of opinion with Barton.

> 'What are you going to do when you find the Doriri, Monckton?' asked Barton. 'Demand the surrender of the men responsible for the more recent murders,' I replied.... 'If you don't get them, what then?' asked Barton. 'Shoot and loot,' I answered laconically. 'I don't think we should do anything of the sort,' said Barton. 'I think we should warn the people that they must not raid the coastal tribes.' 'Rats!' I said 'They would regard us then as fools, and promptly come and butcher a score or more of people living under my protection. The only way you can stop these beggars hunting their neighbours with a club, is to bang them with a club. (40)

This conversation was not mentioned in either Monckton's or Barton's reports, but Monckton claimed that Le Hunte listened to it before writing the above instruction.

The party gathered with 125 carriers and twenty police. A fair proportion of the carriers were Cape Nelson people. Although the Maisina were freely offering, their previous desertion and obvious fear of the Doriri made them unreliable. Together with sundry guides and private "boys", there were

39. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 21 of 1901, 27/4/01. Enclosure No. 1 28/1/01. Published in A.R. 1900-1901, p. 23.
40. Some Experiences, p. 208

159 in all. A large quantity of rice was purchased from some miners about to leave the area.[41]

Monckton was obviously using his own and Barton's official reports when he wrote his book. The book account tallies in every respect to the report, even using many of the sentences in the same way, or simply rearranged for effect. The book however does contain many personal comments not included in the report.

Briefly, the expedition soon came upon the tracks of a party, surmised to be Doriri who kept just ahead of them. They also suspected there were Doriri behind them and therefore could not send the Maisina carriers back as previously planned, as they would have been cut to pieces. The Maisina showed great fear throughout the expedition, while the Kaili Kaili were brave. When the Doriri tried to ambush the party, the police opened fire, and a Doriri was shot dead while the others ran, but two prisoners were taken. The villages they entered were deserted but evidence of Doriri raids on the coast were found in the form of artifacts and other goods. Again they met a party of hostile natives, two of whom were shot dead. Crossing a river, they cleared a hostile group on the opposite bank by shooting into them, and another man was killed. Prisoners who were captured admitted to taking part in raids on the

41. Report by R.M.N.E.D. on Doriri Expedition, 1 April to 24 April 1901, 6/5/01, published in A.R. 1900-1901, Appendix N. p. 64.

Maisina as if it were the most natural thing to do. A man with wife and three children was captured. The man was taken away, the wife released after her confidence had been won by allowing her to identify Kaili Kaili carriers who had looted her house. Another man, Gabadi, was captured, but as he belonged to a tribe lower down the river, through whose country the party had to proceed, he was released. He acted as a guide and the rest of the tribes were friendly, particularly when they heard the Doriri had been punished.

In some instances Monckton the author was more frank than the government official. Barton continually remonstrated with Monckton over the shooting of defenceless Papuans, according to Monckton's account in the book, but neither mentioned this in their reports.

> 'I hate scientifically slaughtering unfortunate savages, who are quite ignorant of a sense of wrongdoing,' said Barton. 'By every code in the world,' I said,' civilized or savage, the people who commit wanton and unprovoked murder can expect nothing else than to be killed themselves.'[42]

A shooting scene was graphically described:

> Never have I known a man so tenacious of life as that Doriri. I myself sent four '303 solid bullets through him as he bolted, and yet he ran on. We found him afterwards dead in the scrub, quite half a mile away. (43)

This incident was certainly not mentioned in either report. It would appear to be an entirely unnecessary act of killing

42. Some Experiences, p. 216-7
43. Ibid. p. 218

but presumably it was to prevent his bringing up a large attacking force.

On one occasion an evening camp was disturbed by a shot heard some little distance away. The sentries in that direction had disappeared by the time Monckton got there. It turned out they had gone in the direction of the shot, caused by a constable who had left the camp without permission and run into some Doriri. When they all got back the sentries were "reprimanded" and the constable "punished". Both Monckton and Barton reported this incident, but Monckton added in his book

> he was soundly walloped on the bare stern by his sergeant with a belt, a highly illegal but most efficacious means of inducing him to see the error of his ways. [44]

Despite Monckton's apparent harshness to the Papuans and Barton's apparent sympathy, it was Barton who was the more easily irritated by them. The carriers were noisy at night and Barton expected Monckton to keep his "infernal savages"[45] quiet. His opinion of them in his report was hardly complimentary.

> This large body of carriers, which under any conditions on an extensive expedition into unknown territory would have been unwieldy enough, was rendered still more so by the fact that they were all crude savages of the wildest kind, and that the Maisina, Wanigela and Koia-Koia tribes are in mortal dread of the Doriri - a condition of mind which might at any moment lead to panic and scuttle. (46)

44. Ibid. p. 220-1
45. Ibid. p. 217
46. a/Commandant A.N.C. (Barton) Special Report - Doriri Expedition 27/4/01, published in A.R. 1900-1901, Appendix U, p. 95.

When the party arrived at the friendly village of Dove and were warmly welcomed by villagers pleased that the Doriri had been dealt with, Monckton commented that they were "received... with every sign of pleased welcome that natives can show". [47] In his book he laconically added,

> Some of the manifestations of joy we could well have dispensed with... we submitted, as perforce we must, with but ill grace to being violently embraced, hugged, stroked and handled. (48)

Barton's fastidiousness showed through is report.

> They have a habit of squeezing one's hands and chucking one under the chin. Hand-squeezing by an excited and vigorous native is not pleasant when one's hands are painful with festering sores, more especially when every other man who comes to pay his friendly attentions is covered with scaly ringworm. (49)

Except that Barton's report emphasises different aspects of the expedition, it bears out in every respect Monckton's report. The expedition did not take as long as expected, and Barton explained that such a large party tended to strip native gardens as they passed through, thus leaving the inhabitants to much suffering. At any rate, the Doriri fled and it would have taken much extra time to make contact. [50]

Monckton felt the expedition had been a success. Several of the murderers had been captured, the people warned that the

47. Report by R.M.N.E.D. on Doriri Expedition, op. cit. p. 69
48. Some Experiences, p. 231
49. a/Commandant A.N.C. Special Report - Doriri Expedition, op. cit, p. 99.
50. Ibid. p. 100

Government would come down heavily on raiding, and friendly relations established with at least one tribe. Furthermore, a better way of reaching the area (by way of the Musa River) had been established. The identity of the Doriri was established and the prisoners caught would be educated in the ways of the Government.

The Dobodura Expedition.

Monckton conducted an expedition against the Dobodura tribe during September and October 1902. A complaint from another tribe, the Notu, that they were being consistently attacked prompted Monckton to do something about it. The Notu themselves were described by Monckton as "a set of murdering blackguards... and a curse to the coast".[51] However Monckton's enquiries revealed that the drought that had affected the countryside had been particularly hard on the Dobodura, whereas the Notu had had a little rain. The Dobodura thereupon accused the Notu sorcerers of preventing the rain from falling on their gardens and attacked the Notu savagely, subjecting the prisoners they caught to dreadful tortures, and the Notu became panic stricken.[52]

Living at Hanau, a village near Dobodura, at the time was Humboroba,[53] now an old man, who was five or six years old

51. Some Experiences, p. 282
52. Report on affairs of N.E.D. 1902-1903, published in A.R. 1902-1903, p. 33.
53. Humboroba. Waiko, John, History of the Binandere People, Appendix K.

at the time, and his testimony may serve to balance the story of this expedition a little. He says that one of Monckton's Mambare police, Bia, was married to a Notu girl, and therefore the police were friendly with that tribe. The Notu showed Monckton the way to Dobodura.

Another account is given by an elderly man now living at Garara Village. Ijibae Kiwia, Kotopu's son, says his father who was living near Buna at the time, asked the police, Barigi, Bia, Barai, Kove and Bunduwa to avenge the death of his (Kotopu's) mother, who had been killed by the people of Dobodura village. Kove was Kotopu's daughter's husband, and a member of the Dawari tribe, who were in some debt to Kotopu's people. The latter had given the Dawari tribe refuge when they had been chased out of their homeland by the Binandere.[54]

John Waiko in his thesis points out further that oral tradition says Monckton was being so manipulated by the police and Kaili Kaili, that first the Kaili Kaili persuaded him to attack the Notu, then the police in turn persuaded him to attack the Saua (Dobodura).[55]

54. Ijibae. Waiko, op. cit. Appendix I.
55. Monckton never mentioned the tribal name of Saua. Dobodura was the chief village of the Saua people, but the people themselves seem to refer more often to the place other people are from than to tribal names, so he probably never heard it. Humboroba referred to the Eroro people and the Mambare police, these are place names not tribal names.

> There were sixty Kaili Kaili who volunteered to carry for Monckton. Probably they were anxious to seize the opportunity for payback. No doubt they must have been disgusted when the plan had been changed and diverted against Saua by Barigi. (56)

But why did the Kaili Kaili not complain? Monckton was accompanied on this expedition by two friends, L.G. Dyke Acland and Wilfred Walker. The latter also wrote an account of the expedition[57] and he and Monckton both continually refer to the "funk" of the Notu and the bravery of the Kaili Kaili. If the Kaili Kaili had no reason to go to war with the Saua, they nevertheless seem to have been very willing fighters. The "funk" of the Notu could have been put on for Monckton's benefit in order to convince him of the truth of the reasons put forward for the necessity of the expedition, but if they wanted the payback, and not the Kaili Kaili, they showed little enthusiasm for the fight.

Fourteen police, fifty carriers and seventy Notu are reported to have accompanied the expedition.[58] As they came to the first of the Dobodura villages they could see small groups of men taking positions. There was not the usual clamour as on previous occasions. Monckton sent scouts out to try to capture a man, but the Kaili Kaili brought back

56. Waiko, op. cit. p. 97
57. Walker, Wilfred, Wanderings among South Sea Savages, p. 107-159
58. R.M.N.E.D. to G.S. Cape Nelson Reports, 20/10/02, G.91. Item 115/A

a woman who was in fact a Notu, married to a Saua man. She said the Saua meant to fight. Some of them took up a position in a tree. Monckton ordered a volley to be fired, which cleared the tree, and nobody was hurt. At a village called Kanau (Hanau?), they found many skulls, some of them with flesh still hanging to them. All of them had holes punched in the side of the head. The Notu said they were Notu heads, describing the torture the men had undergone. The hole was the culminating act of torture as the victim was dying.

Other villages were entered, all being deserted as the party approached, and there were skulls in every village. The Saua neither came close to attack, nor did they flee. Monckton described in his book:

> As we continued our march, we found that we were surrounded by a thin ring of Dobodura, who were now quite silent. They gave one a funny feeling - the feeling of being surrounded by a thin invisible net which always gave when pressed, only to close again when we relaxed our pressure. (59)

One constable, Kani, was attacked, but he shot two men and returned safely. Oia was attacked while on his own, but his agility saved him and it was his assailant who was killed. A man and woman who had been captured were released to tell the Saua that they must stop the raids on the Notu or they would have to fight the police. The man returned later, saying that the chief wished to come in. The police were suspicious of the

59. Some Experiences, p. 284

intent of the Saua, so Monckton told the messenger that they must wait till the morning. The guard was doubled for the night, but nevertheless, there were men passing between the sentries unseen, until one sentry fired a shot. The Notu set up a wailing of fear, and such was the pandemonium, it was impossible to tell if they were really being attacked or not. Just before dawn, rain fell, and Monckton was informed that there would be no attack while it lasted.

A stalemate had been reached, and Monckton realised he would have to return for re-inforcements. As they left, the villages were re-occupied behind them. Monckton estimated there were 600 to 1000 men. All the way back they were followed quietly. He sent for police detachments from Tamata and Papangi. The Assistant Resident Magistrate A.W. Walsh from Papangi (also known as Papaki) joined the expedition.

They set off again for Dobodura on 4 October 1902 and met a large body all ready for fighting about five miles inland. The police engaged them, some remained defiant, others fled; some prisoners were caught and a few were killed. The prisoners said that since a man had been killed last time by a shot from a sentry, and the sentry had not even seen the man, they were now afraid. The Saua were now breaking up as the police advanced, though they would not give in as they had no gardens to be destroyed. The prisoners led them on a wild goose chase and some of them escaped in handcuffs. They

eventually retreated into a sago swamp where the Notu said, they would not give any trouble.

Monckton's and Walker's accounts are consistent. In his report, however, Monckton omits to mention incidents that could give rise to censure from Port Moresby. Again he is more frank in his book, while Walker quite openly writes of a number of incidents that would have been severely censured. The looting of villages and gardens is a case in point. Monckton has nothing to say about this in his report and in the book only casually admits that: "The village was full of pigs and fowls, which the police and carriers killed."[60] Walker on the other hand gives a graphic description:

> The Notu were great looters, and as we passed through the various villages they took everything they could lay their hands on, and our entrance into a village was marked by a scene of great confusion. Pigs and chickens were speared, betel-nut palms cut down, and hunting nets, bowls, spears and foods hauled out of the houses... (61)

Monckton only ever had praise for his police, and if he knew they treated the prisoners harshly, he probably turned a blind eye. Perhaps this was the only way he could retain their support and get results. Humboroba testified that the

60. Ibid, p. 284
61. Walker, op. cit. p. 132. This habit of looting has been confirmed by Stephen Tago, whose grandfather was Monckton's interpreter. Stephen's family still have two beautiful pineapple clubs stolen on one of these expeditions, though not this particular one.

police from Mambare were cruel to the villagers, and Stephen Tago that the police definitely distinguished between their friends and their enemies on these expeditions. Walker describes one incident:

> I suddenly came across about a dozen of the ... police pelting the old man with darts made out of a peculiar kind of grass, which grew around here. The old man, who was handcuffed, hopped high in the air, uttering loud yells every time a dart hit him, so I imagined they hurt.... I had to put a stop to this cruel sport. (62)

The number of people killed on this expedition must have been quite high. Monckton reported that many were killed because they simply would not give in, and that before they had time to recover from the punitive expedition, they were set upon by the Sangara tribe and more were slaughtered.[63] Walker said:

> we had killed a good many of these people, and it ought to be a lesson to leave the Notus alone in future. (64)

Commenting on Monckton's report, Judge Winter said:

> With respect to the number of natives shot the Magistrate probably had to rely on statements of the native police, who naturally do not wish to cast discredit on their skill as marksmen. (65)

Winter obviously had great faith in Monckton! Seen from the receiving side, Humboroba reported that there were so many killed there were not enough people to bury the bodies and

62. Walker, op. cit. p. 152
63. Some Experiences, p. 292-3
64. Walker, op. cit. p. 152
65. Winter, Despatch No. 80a, 6/12/02. G 32. Vol. 5.

the dogs ate them. He also said the expedition was followed shortly afterwards by an earthquake, and the people became very short of food.[66]

The attack by the Sangara is mentioned in Monckton's book and also in his annual report, but not by Humboroba or Walker. I think Humboroba may be mistaken about the timing of the earthquake. Monckton would surely have mentioned it; the annual report for that year is quite detailed.

When the expedition returned the second time, Bousimai (Monckton's Bushimae) together with his armed fighting men, went with it. Monckton does not mention this in his report, but does in the book,[67] as does Walker in his account.[68] and Stephen Tago says his grandfather told him Bousimae did go. The question is, would armed (ie. with spears, clubs and arrows) fighting men be allowed to accompany a government punitive expedition even on the government's side? Monckton does report that the Basabua people wanted to accompany the expedition in order to take revenge on the Saua, but that he refused to allow them.[69] This seems to suggest that the government would frown on the practice. It seems to me that Bousimae and his men fall into the same category, being from Binandere tribe. The Kaili Kaili went as carriers. Undoubtedly they joined in the fighting

66. Humboroba, op. cit.
67. Some Experiences, p. 290
68. Walker, op. cit. p. 142
69. R.M.N.E.D. to G.S. Cape Nelson Reports, 20/10/02. G.91, Item 115/A.

on occasions but were not traditional enemies. Monckton often praised the fighting qualities of men not in the police in his books, but not in official reports.

Monckton's story is told with a slight variation to the ending.

> I began to feel very sorry for the Dobudura, their resistance to me was so courageous and so hopeless. The Cape Nelson constabulary, at that time were far and away the best detachment in New Guinea, and the Mambare and Kaili Kaili with me among the very best fighters.... Prisoner after prisoner I released to carry messages to them, telling them I did not wish to fight or kill any more of them, and pointing out the futility of resistance to my force.... To my request that their chiefs should meet me in a neutral spot and discuss their killing of the Notu, they turned a deaf ear. (70)

In this account he quite omits the retreat to the sago swamp and the escape of prisoners. And in spite of feeling sorry for the Saua, as they returned and the villages were occupied again behind them, he left ten policemen in one of the houses in the last village, and these "made things very hot indeed for them when they attempted to enter the apparently vacated village".[71]

John Waiko comments, that because Monckton retreated a second time, the Saua were never defeated.[72] This does not tie in with the following official report. In February 1903, the

70. Some Experiences, p. 292
71. Ibid.
72. Waiko, op. cit. p. 84

chief of the Saua came to the coast to see the Acting Administrator, Anthony Musgrave, promising in future to obey the government's laws, and these promises were apparently kept.[73]

Musgrave described the peace ceremony in a despatch.

> The two tribes who had lately settled friendly terms with each other since their difficulties, arising from hostilities to the Government had been overcome by the determination evinced by Mr. Monckton. This Officer has had charge of an exceptionally barbarous district for many months past. By this I mean he has been obliged to deal with aborigines in a purely primitive stage of existence and whom in this benighted condition persist in forcing measure of coercion on Government parties travelling in their country. Quite unconscious of the superiority of firearms over their own wooden spears and stone clubs, it is almost impossible to convince natives at first contact with them that they will seriously repent any armed opposition. (74)

The Agaiambo

> A strange and curious tribe of Morass Dwellers was discovered by me in the country behind Ketakerua Bay. Report No. 79, 1902. (75)

In this laconic manner, Monckton made his only reference to the discovery of the Agaiambo tribe in his annual report for the North Eastern Division for 1902-03. It does not even appear in the section under native affairs, but in the General section. It is part of Sir Francis Winter's later description that is reprinted in the report.

73. Report on affairs of N.E.D. 1902-03. op. cit. p. 33
74. Musgrave, Despatch No. 12 of 1903, 24/3/03, G.32 Vol. 5.
75. Report on affairs of N.E.D. 1902-03, op. cit. p. 34.

The following is a summary of Monckton's official report. The Baruga tribe of the Bariji River area, and their government chief Oiogoba Sara, led Monckton, Acland and Walker to the swamp occupied by the Agaiambo. The Baruga gave the extension of the swamp as approximately ten by thirty miles. From the shore of the swamp they could see two small villages built on poles in the middle of open water. A man was induced to come close and it was seen he was normal except for having the legs of a child. His feet were shorter and broader and he had no instep. He could not walk properly on dry land. Monckton sent the man back to get some canoes to take the party to the village. Some men would not land because their feet would bleed. They believed they had always lived in the swamp. Their language was similar to that of the Baruga, but they had no kinship ties. Their dead were tied to poles six feet above the water, and pigs were slung in cradles above water under the houses. There were plenty of fish in the swamp and they caught fowl by hiding in reeds and pulling the fowl down by the legs. Earlier they had conducted trade with the Baruga by women, but the Agaiambo had seized some of the Baruga women and they could not be rescued from the village.[76]

The official report is considerably enlarged and illustrated in Monckton's book. The meaning of Agaiambu is explained as "ambu" being the Binandere word for man, and "agai" for duck, thus

76. R.M.N.E.D. to G.S. Cape Nelson Reports 24/11/02. G.91, Item 115/A

the "duck or web-footed people". This, Monckton pointed out was an exaggeration.

> They had a slight epidermal growth between the toes, but nothing resembling webbing as alleged by the Baruga; the term "duck footed", therefore had only meant tender footed, or more literally, "water-bird footed". (77)

Their hip joints, were however on average about three or four inches lower than that of Baruga men of the same height, and chest measurements on average three inches greater as well as chest expansion. The legs had no calves, the knee joints were wrinkly and scaly and the feet were as flat as pancakes. John Waiko, however, says Monckton was mistaken in the meaning of Agaiambu. He says "agai" means heel and "ambu" nothing, thus the word means "no heel". The word for man is "embo".[78]

Monckton's book account of course emphasises his own tact in winning their confidence. They were so slippery and at home in the water, they could not be held even when induced to come closer. After warning them of the noise of the gun, he demonstrated it by shooting ducks and their hunting instinct came to the fore as they retrieved the game for him. Neither is there any fake modesty in his account of their wonder at being confronted with white men.

> 'What is this strange-coloured being?' they asked Oiogoba, 'a man or a devil?' 'A man, whom I now serve,' he answered; 'he is very wise and very powerful, and, if you don't offend him, very kind; if you wish to please him, bring fish and sago for his people, and he will pay you most generously!. (79)

77. Some Experiences, p. 279
78. John Waiko, personal communication.
79. Some Experiences, p. 278

Obviously, Monckton enjoyed this aspect of his work tremendously. Walker's account[80] did not mention this incident which may or may not be significant.

Presumably to lend authenticity to his books, Monckton often quoted verbatim from what others had written about the same events he was describing. A few weeks after this first visit to the Agaiambo, he returned with Sir Francis Winter, the acting administrator on a visit of inspection. Winter described them in a Despatch and this is reprinted in the annual report, as well as in Monckton's book, but only repeats what Monckton has already written. Walker also quoted extensively from Winter's account[81] so perhaps this practice was a courtesy to a senior official. It was also Winter's account that was published in the Geographical Record in 1904.[82] Winter did not even get out to the village as one of their native followers had demanded a pig from the Agaiambu "in our name", and they had become alarmed, retreated and could not be induced to return.[83]

The following year, Monckton reported on the Agaiambo again in his Annual Report for the North Eastern Division.

> The Agaiambo... have been the victims of a bloodthirsty and treacherous attack by a previously unknown Hill tribe from the Upper water of the Bariji River, and six of the male

80. Walker, op. cit. p. 163-183
81. Ibid. p. 173-176
82. Geographical Record, Vol. 36, 1904, p. 691-2
83. Winter, Despatch 80A, op. cit.

> members of this most interesting people were killed. The circumstance was the more regrettable as it occurred just after the passage of His Excellency the Acting Administrator and myself with a strong force through the district, and therefore, had I only seen the danger it might have been avoided. (84)

Apparently the Baruga had prepared a warm reception for this tribe, knowing it was about to attack, and the tribe turned off, then decoyed the Agaiambo by calling in the Baruga language.

> The affair was the more unhappy as it is only since the Bariji Baruga have been under the settled control of village constables that the Agaiambo have ventured on shore, and their confidence has cost them their lives. (85)

Monckton later took Acting Administrator Barton there when on a visit of inspection in September 1904. Barton wrote:

> A rumour having reached Cape Nelson that these interesting folk had all been massacred, it was gratifying to find a few of them still extant. six males and four females were seen and examined. They averred that they have no children living, and it seems likely that in a few years the tribe will have wholly died out. (86)

It was Barton who took the photographs reprinted in Monckton's book, and sent them and others to Melbourne, commenting,

> These it is hoped, will dissipate the absurdly exaggerated reports to which the former official description (Winter's) unaccountably gave rise. (87)

The Agaiambo have not died out.[88] In 1922 the A.R.M.N.D. Leo Flint reported a population of sixty seven in two villages,

84. A.R.N.E.D. 1903-04, published in A.R. 1903-04. Appendix D, p.3
85. Ibid.
86. Barton. A.R. 1904-05, p. 6.
87. Ibid.
88. Mr. D. Marsh, District Commissioner, N.D. Personal Communication July 1972.

but commented that a lot of people were away. In a third village further into the swamp there were about forty people.[89] The following year, Frank Macdonnell, R.M. described the swamp as being"about ten miles in length and an average breadth of half a mile" and said it is actually the area where the Legaga Creek loses itself. His map showed the extension of the area.[90]

Monckton was proud of his reputation as an explorer and very interested in natural history and archaeological finds. He included at the end of Last Days a detailed account of his natural history finds described by Oldfield Thomas.FRS, of the British Museum.[91] The inaccuracies in Monckton's report on the size of the swamp would be unintentional. The Baruga were probably referring to the whole area between the Bariji and Musa Rivers much of which is swampy and low lying. Monckton's visits were very brief, and further exploration and pacification has increased the knowledge of the area as well as given the Agaiambo people the chance to multiply once more.

Relations with Papuans

Some of the most enjoyable parts of Monckton's books are the anecdotes in which he described the activities of the police and other Papuans. There is no reason to doubt the truth of the

89. Papua. A.R. 1921-22, p. 156
90. Papua. A.R. 1922-23, p. 23
91. Last Days, p. 263-276

actual incidents, but Monckton's emphasis of his own importance in them and his interpretation of the motives of the Papuans was erroneous. Hank Nelson has already summed up the way Monckton saw this relationship.

> He formed close relationships with New Guineans and he spoke more generously of their abilities than most Europeans of his time. At all times Monckton cast himself as the master with absolute powers; just, firm and terrible in righteous anger. To his police and to the Kaili Kaili and Binandere people he was 'The Man'; they gave him their unquestioning loyalty, they would die for him.... Monckton enjoyed the fact that his police would interrupt receptions at mission stations and Government House to check that The Man was safe. Several times he reminds his readers that a Kaili Kaili or Binandere attendant slept close to his door. (92)

John Waiko's thesis examines the Papuan motives in many of their dealings with Monckton, in particular that of Bousimae and the Binandere. At the time of government penetration into the area there were many payback killings unsettled and as the tribes saw the superior fighting power of the rifles, they would submit to the government, then complain about another tribe continuing to raid them. Monckton would then take his superior force and punish the raiders. John Waiko's oral evidence points out how the police in particular manipulated Monckton so that they fought only their enemies and not their friends.

> The people felt that the traditional factions were more important than the white man's law. The colonial officers were not aware of the complexities of the relationships between clans and clans and between tribes and tribes; nor did they realise that in the early period of contact it was often the police who determined whether relations between groups were to be hostile or peaceful. (93)

92. Nelson, Hank, op. cit. p. 7-8
93. Waiko, John, op. cit. p. 98

A story is then told to show how one "big man" sent the police with a lime gourd as a sign of peace to a group which was showing fierce resistance.[94] As John Waiko has summed up, "It seems from Monckton's writing that he was completely ignorant of all these things".[95]

And so he may have been. In any case he certainly could not write that he was being manipulated if he knew of it in his official reports, and such a picture would not fit into the theme of his books. Nevertheless Monckton's relationships with other Europeans revealed a side of his character that may well be applied also to his relationships with Papuans. To those who allowed him to do things his own way, he gave support in return. This applied particularly to Administrators such as Barton and Robinson, and with his relationships with those miners who supported him as against those who questioned his authority.[96] Monckton would surely realise that if he wanted support from his police he had to support them in turn.

John Waiko admits that officials also tried to manipulate the "big men":

> The officials intended to make use of the influence of the 'big men' in contacting the more remote tribes in order to bring them under control. The 'big men' seized the opportunity to make use of the colonial administration in the conflicts in which

94. Ibid. p. 99
95. Ibid.
96. I will deal with these in later sections.

> they were involved with their neighbours.... Neither group realised that the other group attempted to manipulate it for self-interest because the policy suited both parties. (97)

It is with the last sentence I disagree. It seems to me that both parties realised the manipulation, but both went along with it so long as some of their own aims were being achieved, and so long as the manipulation was not obvious to others with stricter views. J.H.P. Murray would have been one of the latter, and when he became Administrator, Monckton's position became untenable as this method would no longer have been tolerated.

The Hydrographer's Range Expedition with Judge Robinson

On 25 January 1903, the Honorable A. Musgrave, who was acting Administrator, arrived at Cape Nelson with a surveyor, Mr. Tooth, and instructed Monckton to accompany Mr. Tooth to explore a route for a possible road from the coast to the Yodda goldfields. The road and the goldfields were strictly speaking in the Northern Division, and Monckton did not take over that Division till later the same year, but Musgrave knew what he was doing when he chose Monckton for the work.

> Mr. Monckton really deserves to be an 'Honarary' member at least of our Survey Department as he is practiced in the use of the 'Prismatic Compass' and where it is quite impracticable to measure distances, can estimate them with very fair

97. Waiko, op. cit. p. 53

> approximate accuracy. In the general map of the coastline we traversed, which is accompanying this despatch, Mr. Monckton's work is incorporated with that of Mr. Tooth. (98)

Accordingly, the party set out on 4 February, and were able to report "that a road may, at comparatively moderate cost, be quite practicable".[99]

Judge Christopher Stansfield Robinson became Administrator in June 1903 on the departure of Sir George Le Hunte for South Australia, and one of his first expeditions was to the North Eastern Division, to examine the possibility of an alternate route for the road through some country shown as a blank on the map. This country, behind the Hydrographer's range had never been surveyed, though apparently Sir William MacGregor, seeing the area from the mountains in the distance, thought it was a long valley.[100]

Robinson wished to get first hand experience of patrol work, and the conditions under which his officers worked. This expedition turned out to be a difficult one, and achieved nothing except the knowledge that the route was not suitable for a road, but Robinson did get his experience. Robinson wrote full accounts of the expedition in both his despatch and his diary. If Monckton wrote a report it is not to be found, but he gives his version in Some Experiences. The Commandant of the Armed

98. Musgrave. Despatch No. 12 of 1903, 24/3/03. G.32 Vol. 5.
99. A.R. 1903-04, p. 13
100. Some Experiences, p. 304-5

Native Constabulary, W.C. Bruce, also accompanied the expedition. He does not appear to have submitted a separate report, but summed up the expedition in his annual report:

> the Hydrographer range of hills was crossed, and the right-hand branch of the Kumusi River struck and followed to Papangi, the Government station, which was at that time nearest to the Yodda gold-field. Measles broke out amongst the carriers, which increased the difficulties of the trip, and we had the misfortune to come into collision with one of the hill tribes, thereby getting a policeman speared in the thigh. This man had to be carried on a stretcher through broken and precipitous country for 64 miles. (1)

The accounts written by Robinson and by Monckton, differ only in minor detail. Monckton as usual includes a fair sprinkling of anecdotes, many of which concerned the activities of the police. He may also be guilty of exaggerating the part played by himself, as Robinson while praising Monckton's work, fails to even mention several incidents in which Monckton claims to be involved. For instance, after Corporal Bia had shot a fleeing Papuan, Robinson ordered the Armed Native Constabulary not to shoot, but to take prisoners in order to get information.[2] Monckton says of this same incident that Robinson relieved him of command of the expedition and gave it to Bruce.[3] Almost immediately, another policeman, Maione was speared, and that night it was found that a measles epidemic

1. Report Commandant Armed Native Constabulary, 1903-04, William C. Bruce. Published in A.R. 1903-04, p. 45.
2. Robinson, Despatch No. 31 of 1903, 10/8/03. G.32 Vol. 5.
3. Some Experiences, p. 310

had broken out amongst the carriers. Robinson then simply says that he retracted the no shooting order,

> although I was anxious to avoid shedding blood the safety of the police and carriers was to be considered first. (4)

Monckton however, draws a picture of Robinson's complete capitulation to him. Worried as to whether the expedition could continue in the circumstances, he consulted with Monckton, who recommended abandoning the expedition. Robinson of course would not want to confess failure on his first expedition, and according to Monckton, said so, at which Monckton offered to get them all to Papaki, provided Robinson let him do it his own way: Robinson agreed and returned the command to him.[5] If true it is understandable that Robinson did not mention this version in his Despatch, if he later decided Monckton was right and himself wrong. However he placed the same emphasis on what happened in his diary, as in the despatch.

When the expedition arrived at Papaki Robinson commented in his despatch that it was a bad site and that he proposed to remove it to a better one closer to the road.[6] Later, when Monckton became Resident Magistrate of the Northern Division he claimed it was his own idea,[7] and the new Administrator, Barton, also attributed the idea to Monckton.[8] Of course,

4. Robinson's Diary, 10 July 1903, G. 52 Vol. 1.
5. Some Experiences, p. 311
6. Despatch No. 31 of 1903, op. cit. p. 13
7. Last Days, p. 158
8. A.R. 1904-05, p. 5.

Monckton could have put the idea into Robinson's head.

When the expedition proceeded from Papaki to Bogi, there was an incident when the party was separated, and Walsh the A.R.M. at Papaki who had joined them, led Robinson along the wrong side of the river. Rather than walk back three miles, they swam the river. Monckton claims that he and A. Elliott, the A.R.M. at Bogi, swam from the right side to fetch the governor and accompany him on the swim back.[9] Robinson does not mention this incident in his despatch, but he did mention it in his diary. The difference with Monckton's account is that Monckton is not mentioned at all, let alone that he swam the river twice in order to ensure the governor's safety. Neither does Robinson appear unduly annoyed with Walsh who took the wrong track[10], while Monckton said Walsh was in deep disgrace.

At least half of Monckton's account is taken verbatim from Robinson's despatch with acknowledgement, that is from the time they decided to continue on to Papaki despite the sick carriers on 10 July, until they reached Papaki on 19 July. At this point the despatch deals at length with the affairs of the Northern Division and the shortcomings of the Resident Magistrate Hislop. Among other matters, there was an accusation by Hislop that Monckton had raped a native woman. Robinson investigated

9. Some Experiences, p. 318-9
10. Robinson's Diary, July 22, 1903. G. 52. Vol. 1.

the matter and found it to be false.[11] Monckton ceased to quote the despatch when they reached Papaki and he never mentioned this charge here or in any of his books, which is surprising when he so enjoyed proving others wrong and himself right. The fact is, Monckton's sexual adventures had also been noted by the Anglican mission, and they found themselves in an awkward position because their policy was to co-operate with the government officers, as it was Monckton's to co-operate with the mission.[12] Copland King wrote to H. Newton at Dogura about one affair of Monckton's, expressing the dilemma of the mission. The information had come to him by chance, and the question was, should the mission make further enquiries? "I did not think the missionary should hunt for stories against the magistrate."[13] And so for lack of anyone in authority to censure him, Monckton got away with it.

Monckton did not forget to quote that part of the despatch that recorded Robinson's appreciation of his own work.

> I should like here to record my high appreciation of the good work performed by Mr. Monckton upon this somewhat trying journey inland. His knowledge of bushwork and experience with natives made it possible for me to successfully make the inland expedition and see for myself the real condition of affairs in the interior. (14)

Monckton and Robinson were on very cordial terms. Robinson seemed to come second only to MacGregor in Monckton's estimation

11. Despatch No. 31 of 1903, op. cit. p. 17.
12. Wetherell, David F. A History of the Anglican Mission in Papua 1891-1914. A.N.U. Thesis 1970, p. 220-224
13. Copland King to H. Newton, Mamba, 17 March 1903. Dogura Papers.
14. Despatch No. 31 of 1903, op. cit; Some Experiences, p. 318

of a real "man". Although Monckton was far away from the scene of the Goaribari massacre, which eventually brought disgrace to Robinson and then his suicide, Monckton wrote of the events and considered that Robinson was unjustly accused. He blamed an interfering missionary Charles Abel and sensation seeking politicians for the death of a fine man.[15]

Robinson's initial description of Monckton was mutually full of admiration.

> Monckton, a N.Z. man struck me as being a fine fellow, and he is evidently fearless and a good fighting man. His life as R.M. is a most arduous and adventurous one, and he seems well adapted to the work.... His police are a very fine body of men and make splendid soldiers. Their physique and carriage won my admiration. (16)

The Paiwa Affair

> for many years I suffered from abuse and misrepresentation over what became known as 'The Paiwa Affair.' A massacre, according to the opinion of my critics, who were thousands of miles away. 'Muddy-minded magistrate,' 'Blood-bathing butcher,' 'Brutal beast with raw savages,' and 'Bayonet-armed myrmidons,' were some of the endearments applied to me. (17)

The official records of this affair are reasonably complete. For some reason Monckton left it out of its proper sequence in his first book, but included it, as if an afterthought in the last book. His rewriting put an entirely different interpretation on the matter.

15. Some Experiences, p. 236-249
16. Robinson's Dairy, 2 May 1903. G 52, Vol. 1.
17. Recollections, p. 80

The Paiwa were a tribe in the Goodenough Bay area, originally assigned to the Eastern Division under Moreton. They had a long record of rebelliousness, and Monckton, whose District bordered the Eastern at this point, apparently went to Moreton's assistance on several occasions to keep them in order, but without any lasting effect. Furthermore, the Paiwa people's murdering ways were preventing the Anglican Mission from connecting their stations and they were pushing Moreton to do something about it. Moreton did not get on well with the Anglicans, whereas Monckton claimed Bishop Stone-Wigg as a friend. Moreton requested that the Paiwa district be transferred to the North Eastern Division and as this was backed by the Mission, the Governor, Sir George Le Hunte agreed to it.[18]

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy this far in Monckton's account of the affair. In the Annual Report 1902-03 for the North Eastern Division, he said:

> These people who, while in the Eastern Division, were a constant source of trouble to the Government, have, until quite recently, well upheld their ancient reputation for crime. From murdering one another and the weaker 'bush' people... and endeavouring... to incite every tribe in their vicinity to similar courses, they went on from bad to worse, until in March last, when, under the leadership of an ex-prisoner and murderer, they boarded a small cutter belonging to a crippled coloured trader, grievously and without the slightest cause, assaulted the trader, left him, as they thought, dead, looted the cutter, and then turned it adrift. This last action was followed by sending away to a place of safety the women and

18. Ibid. p. 73-76

children, and a message of defiance to me through the nearest village constable. (19)

Monckton received a letter from Rev. Samuel Tomlinson dated 12 February 1903, stating that the Matagara Village Constable had reported that a coloured man had been murdered at Paiwa by Wokubero, Dararuga and Toata, all of Paiwa.[20]

Monckton's official report dated 11 March 1903, gave a complete account of his expedition that left Cape Nelson on 23 February to arrest the murderers. At Matagara, Monckton was informed that only the villages Giwa and Mapansuma were implicated and that the trader, Jackson, was dead. The body had been left in the cutter which had drifted away. This was seen by the Matagara policeman Topai, who had remonstrated with the Giwa people, but they had threatened him. The Cape Vogel police heard that Jackson was only wounded, but Topai was certain. Since Paiwa wanted to fight, Monckton decided to catch one and make him show him the houses of the murderers in the dark as otherwise they would all run away. The villages in which the murderers lived were several miles apart. They caught two men, not from the hostile villages but these would do to point out the houses. The women and valuables had been sent away ready for the fight. The Paiwas were defiant because they considered that prisoners were well treated anyway, they were not made to work, and the warders were not allowed to beat the

19. Report on affairs of N.E.D. 1902-03. op. cit. p. 33 ≠ 12.
20. Tomlinson to Monckton, 12/2/03. G.91 Item 35/117, Exhibit A.

prisoners. They also laughed at the notion that Paiwa people would run away.

The party went to the village and the houses of the murderers were pointed out. Monckton left police on guard at each house. Going back to the first, he found Constable Agara dancing around the house prodding his bayonet at the inmates as one had already escaped from it. They were allowed out and secured. Most of the others came out of the other houses and were secured. Agara and Kovi bayonetted some other men in another house. They got a light by burning a house and saw that they had caught four of the wanted men. Another of the murderers was caught on the road to Giwa.

By now, Monckton was shaking with fever. He sent Sergeant Kimai and Corporal Barigi to capture two men at Giwa, and Toata was caught. The Paiwa got spears and attacked the police, getting killed in the act, as the police charged with bayonets. There were many killed in hand to hand duels. The Paiwa fled as the sun rose.

Monckton and the police slept all day then cleaned up the village dead in the evening. Monckton interrogated the prisoners, who said they had assaulted a "white? man" but he was not dead and was reported alive three days later. It had been Toata's idea. They believed that the Government was soft and that they would gain by going to jail anyway. The others wanted Toata to be killed, as they had not realised it would

be so bad. Bayonets were worse to fight against than guns.

It was too difficult to bury the dead in the village, so Monckton asked if there was any objection to putting the dead in the sea, and this was agreed to. The Paiwa Village Constable came in with a prisoner, but he himself was arrested as he had been in the fight and had escaped with Dararuga. He had seen the body of Jackson, but had not actually been there at the killing. Dararuga also gave himself up, and advised that Toata be killed. Giwa village agreed to submit to the Government.[21]

The prisoners were tried by Judge Robinson sitting at Cape Nelson 30 June 1903. Toata, Boiedi, Iarva, Wakubiri and Borokwaiakwaia were committed for trial on charge of murder of one Jackson, a coloured trader, at Paiwa on 19 January 1903. Each defendant, after being charged, was warned through the interpreter of the nature of the charge and that they could plead guilty or not guilty.

> They all severally pleaded guilty, saying yes 'I went to kill him' we wanted to get the trader's trade. When they struck the trader, they left him for dead, they thought they had 'killed him finish'. (22)

Toata was given fourteen years penal servitude in Samarai prison, later recuded to five years. Boiedi, Iarua, Wakubiri and Borokwaikwaia were given seven years penal servitude at Samarai, and this was later reduced to three years.

21. Report of Patrol to Paiwa 11/3/03. G.91. Item 35/117
22. Judge Robinson's Notes. Criminal Sitting Cape Nelson, 30/6/03. G. 40. Vol. 1

On 24 September, 1903, A.M. Campbell, now the Resident Magistrate of the Eastern Division wrote to the Government Secretary asking to see the report on the Paiwa Affair.[23] In his official journal for September 1903, Campbell wrote:

> Owing to certain statements made to me by the Boianai people I sent for some of the Piawa(sic) natives to come here to see me and tell me their side of the late trouble there. If what I hear about the action of the police during their visit to Piwa (sic) in March last is true, it would seem that some awful crimes had been committed by them. (24)

On 8 October 1903, Musgrave, the Government Secretary replied to Campbell's letter in the course of which he expressed his own opinion on the said killings, and wanted to have bayonets taken from the police.

> In the 10 (ten) years term of Sir W. MacGregor's administration no such case occurred and I look personally, upon the issue of bayonets as a very retrogressive step in native policy. (25)

Musgrave sent the report to Robinson, the acting administrator on 16 October, and on the 17 October, Robinson commented on the file, taking exception to Musgrave expressing his personal opinion when the Lieut. Governor (Le Hunte) had already made his comments to Monckton.[26]

Campbell's accusations were supported by others at Samarai. O. Ballantyne wrote to C.W. Abel 7 October 1903 commenting on the lack of action by the Anglican mission over

23. Campbell to G.S. 24/9/03. G 91. Item 35/117
24. Campbell. Official Jnl. R.M.E.D. Sept. 1903. G 91. Item 6528
25. G.S. to Campbell 8/10/03. G 91. Item 35/117
26. a/Admr to G.S. 17/10/03. G.91 Item 35/117

the Paiwa massacre and on Judge Roninson's fitness to be acting Administrator.

> Between ourselves I do not think we are fortunate in our acting administrator.... The Judge is singularly apathetic about the bayonetting of helpless innocent natives of PAIWA. I cannot understand the reticence of the Anglican Mission about this massacre.... However Campbell has taken the matter up vigorously. The Judge.... is a nervous man without much character or pluck. He sentenced a PAIWA man to 14 years for 'attempted murder'. You must use your influence to give the PAIWA matter publicity with a view that an enquiry may be held into the matter by disinterested officers. (27)

Robinson, when visiting Samarai, was given a report by Campbell, with evidence collected from the Paiwa people, to the effect that the punishment given to them by Monckton was excessively severe. Robinson reported:

> I have remitted a copy of the evidence to the officer concerned with instructions to forward me his report without delay, and I refrain from further comment pending receipt of his reply. (28)

On his next visit of inspection to the area, in December, Robinson called at Cape Nelson.

> 2nd Dec. 1903.... Arrived at Cape Nelson about 10.30am. Found to my surprise Monckton there. He came aboard and informed me that Oelrichs had been making inquiry into conduct of Police at Paiwa and as a result had sent a message for him to come down. Some of the police it had transfired had committed rape at Paiwa and Mr. Oelrichs was inquiring into the matter. Engaged some time discussing matter with Monckton until lunch time. (29)

He sent to Samarai for the Paiwa prisoners, and asked

27. O. Ballantyne to C.W. Abel, 7 October 1903. Abel Papers Box 3.
28. Robinson. Despatch No. 52 of 1903, 21/10/03. G32. Vol. 5.
29. Robinson's Diary, 2/12/03. G52, Vol. 1.