

# PAPUA NEW GUINEA PORTRAITS

*The Expatriate Experience*



*James Griffin, editor*

The Europeans who went to the land that is now called Papua New Guinea went with many different motives: to serve God or mammon, to satisfy their curiosity, to win fame and find adventure. Their lives illustrate that Papua New Guinea was a frontier where men who elsewhere might have led ordinary lives could accomplish the extraordinary.

They faced an astonishing range of physical and mental challenges in this, to them, new, formidable and beautiful country. Some walked where no white man had ever trodden; some taught; some preached; some exploited.

Inevitably, over time they faced problems of adaptation, none perhaps greater than the change from *masta-boi* relationship to that where Papua New Guineans rule their own nation, a situation that Hahl or Monckton, for example, would have greeted with total incredulity.

Some, like Chalmers, lost their lives there; some, like Mason, fought there; some, like the Leahy family, still live out their lives there.

Individually these pen portraits sketch men who were adventurous, physically tough, and mentally flexible; together they vividly portray the way of life of the white man in Prospero's other island.

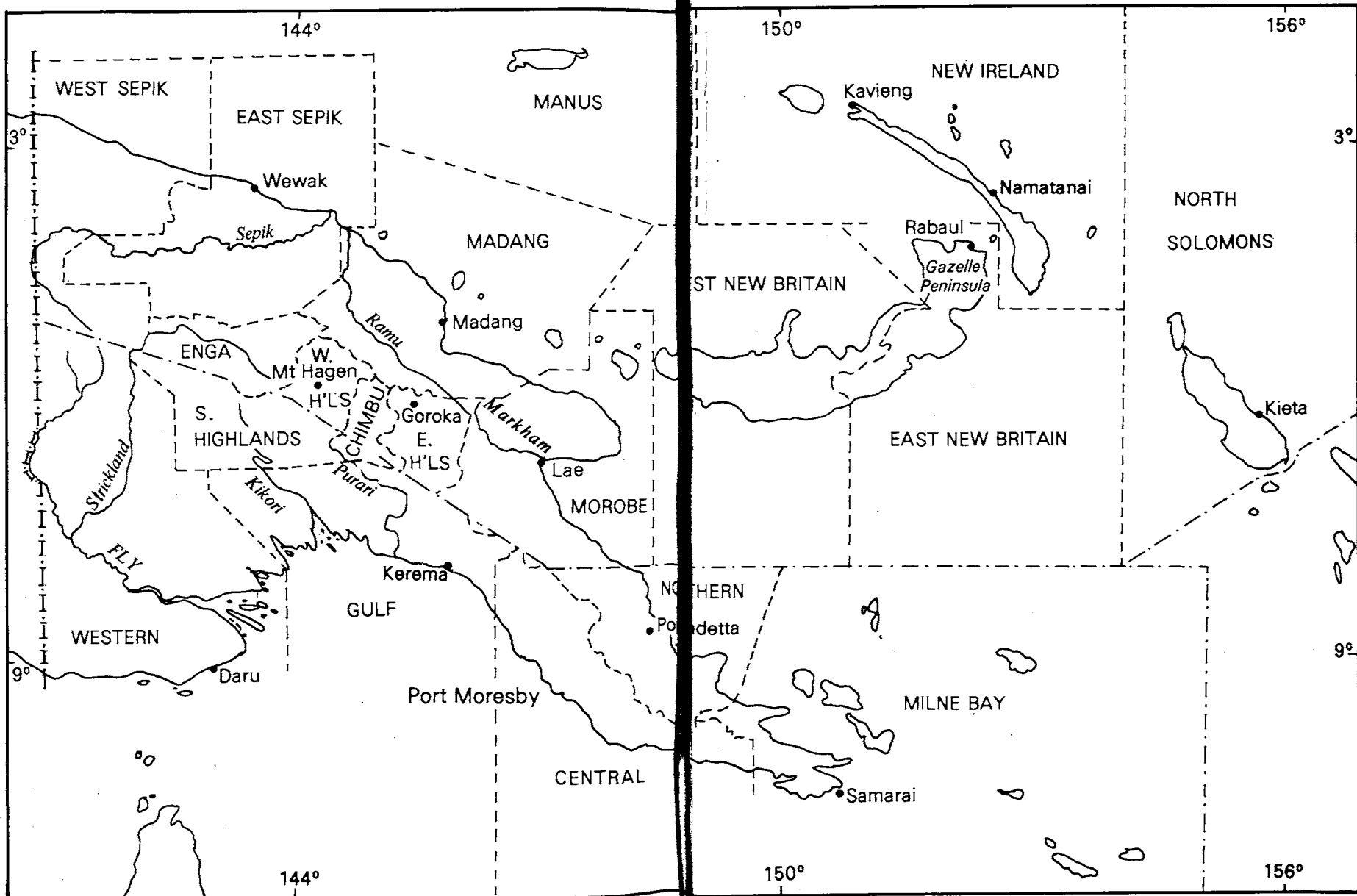
**Contributors**

Christopher Ashton  
Don Dickson  
Ian Downs  
Stewart Firth  
James Griffin  
Diane Langmore  
Nancy Lutton  
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## Introduction

*Gospel, Glory, Gold* — that triad of motives which is said to make up the distinguishing key of European expansion into the *New* and the ancient Asian worlds during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — seems too resonant a chord to describe the colonisation of Melanesia. Something rather more blurred, less striking, perhaps something banal even is needed to motivate those men and women who brought what is variously seen as modernisation, imperialism and ‘the coming of the Light’.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps something like *Concern, Careerism, Cupidity* or *Didacticism, Dominion, Dividends* — or both. *Concern* and *Didacticism* allow that not all purveyors of *Light* were evangelists and that there were irreligious humanitarians who wanted to disperse darkness. *Careerism* and *Dominion* embrace those opportunities for mobility and achievement at both the individual and patriotic levels which did not always exist at home even for gifted people. *Cupidity* and *Dividends* run a gamut from rapacity to what is known as legitimate profit. With the social differentiation that had taken place by the late nineteenth century it is doubtful that any expatriate could have expressed himself as

'ingenuously' as Bernal Diaz de Castillo who said that he went to New Spain 'to serve God and His Majesty, to give light to those who were in darkness and to grow rich as all men desire to do'.<sup>2</sup>

The recorded history of Melanesia, however, begins with conquistadors, friars and freebooters who as early as the sixteenth century sailed into the region of 'black people' (Greek, *melos* = black) which can be said to stretch west of Fiji to the Vogelkopf<sup>3</sup> or head of the 'archaic bird-reptile shape'<sup>4</sup> of what is geographically known as New Guinea. No doubt Malays, perhaps Chinese and even Indians<sup>5</sup> may have landed in the west of New Guinea centuries before (as they may have in northern Australia) but the first European record is a chart of 1513-20 which traces an island near the Halmaheras and inscribes the group as 'Islands of *papoia* and the people of them are *cafres*' (i.e. black).<sup>6</sup> It is possible that the honour of *discovering* (for Europeans, that is) New Guinea rightly belongs to the Portuguese Captain-designate of the Moluccas, Jorge de Meneses, who in 1526 was blown to an island inhabited by *Papuas*, people of dark complexion and frizzled hair. Perhaps de Meneses landed on Vogelkopf. In two expeditions in 1528-9 the Spaniard, Alvaro de Saavedra, trying to get back to America from the Spice Islands, may have come along the northern New Guinea coastline and discovered the Admiralty Islands, including Manus in what is known politically today as Papua New Guinea. The name, New Guinea (*Nueva Guinea*) was applied in 1545 when Inigo Ortiz de Retes was forced off route to New Spain and saw the coast of present-day Irian Jaya as similar to Guinea in Africa. He seems also to have seen the Schouten, Hermit and Ninigo Islands. The clerical joint commandant of the Legazpi expedition which occupied the Philippines for Spain in 1567, Fray Andres de Urdaneta, *believed*, when he set sail, that he was destined for the conversion of *Papuas or Nueva Guinea*.<sup>7</sup>

It was, however, Alvara de Mendaña who was despatched from Peru to search for rich islands which had allegedly been visited by Marco Polo and had been known by the Incas and which might be the gateway to the Great South Land. Mendaña reached the archipelago, later known as the Solomon Islands, and named some of its discrete parts, Santa Ysabel, San Cristoval and Guadalcanal. Nearly thirty years later in what can be aptly called an arrogant and quixotic venture Mendaña returned with his wife, settlers and proselytisers and began a colony at Santa Cruz. Mendaña, among

others, died and the survivors were driven out by hunger, by the hostility of villagers whom they were unable to exploit or convert and whom they brutally slaughtered, and by malarial fever which Fr André Dupeyrat in the twentieth century was to describe as 'Cet-te chienne maudite qui garde si ferocelement les abords de la Papouasie'.<sup>8</sup> The survivors limped home under the extravagant tyranny of Senora de Mendaña,<sup>9</sup> 'une chienne maudite' of a different kind, who washed her clothes in scarce drinking water and was the first of those white colonial women who are said to have ruined the prospects of interracial intermarriage and, thus, assimilative colonisation.<sup>10</sup>

The lack of ophirean gold did not, however, deter Mendaña's pilot, Petro Fernandez de Quiros, from wanting to discover Terra Australis and save the souls of the natives from Satan. In 1606 he discovered the New Hebrides but not his Land of the Holy Spirit. His second-in-command, Luis Vaez de Torres, almost had better luck. Becoming separated from Quiros, Torres sailed to the Louisiade Archipelago off south-east New Guinea, used his muskets and cannon against the men of Mailu Island, 'took possession of the country for the King of Spain and abducted fourteen children who apparently spent the remainder of their days in Manila'.<sup>11</sup> Sailing west, Torres picked his way through the shoals of Torres Strait to the Moluccas, probably without sighting Australia. His discovery that New Guinea was an island was hardly to be known outside Spanish circles until the later eighteenth century. With Quiros and Torres the threat to Melanesia of Gospel, Glory, Gold was virtually at an end. The colonial resources of Portugal were absorbed until the 1970s in Africa and a few outposts like East Timor; the Spanish friars held down the Philippines and occasionally dreamt of converting China.

In the two centuries that followed, the Dutch, English and French virtually completed the map of the global seaways and defined Melanesia with little interest in settling there. In 1606, a few months before Torres, Willem Jansz in the *Duyfken* had sailed eastwards along the south coast of New Guinea and discovered the west coast of Cape York peninsula on what came to be known as New Holland. In 1616 Willem Schouten and Jacob Le Maire, sailing west from Cape Horn to the Spice Islands, sighted Ontong Java, an outlying Polynesian atoll of the Solomon Islands, the Mortlock and Nissan atolls belonging today to the province of North



Solomons (Bougainville) in Papua New Guinea, St John's Island off New Ireland, the Schouten Islands off Wewak and the north coast of Irian Jaya. Trying to follow their route Abel Tasman in 1643 made landfalls at small islands of New Ireland (Tanga, Lihir, Tabar) and can be regarded as the *discoverer* of New Britain although he assumed the Bismarck Archipelago to be part of the New Guinea mainland. This mistake was corrected by the English buccaneer, William Dampier, in the *Roebuck* in 1699, although he thought New Britain and New Ireland to be a continuous landmass, named them Nova Britannia and called the apparent gap between them St George's Bay. Suggestions were made in the 1740-50s in both Britain and France that Nova Britannia be colonised. In 1767 Philip Carteret in the *Swallow* reached the Carteret atoll (Kilinailu) and Buka Island in the North Solomons and changed St George's Bay to a channel. Louis de Bougainville in the following year sailed along the east coast of Bougainville and Buka; Lieutenant John Shortland established the existence of the Bougainville Strait that now separates Papua New Guinea from the Solomon Islands; and Fleurieu and D'Entrecasteaux by the early 1790s could give the broad outline of the Solomons Archipelago. 'By the second quarter of the nineteenth century', says Colin Jac-Hinton, 'it is perhaps true to say that the general outline of New Guinea was fairly well known, the major islands offshore had been discovered, re-discovered and reasonably well charted, and most of the small islands worthy of note within the area had been discovered'.<sup>12</sup>

Settlement in the region bounded by present-day Irian Jaya, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands was attempted again in 1793 when Lieutenant John Hayes of the British East India Company built a wooden fort near Manokwari, raised the flag over 'New Albion' (the whole north coast of New Guinea), proclaimed himself Governor and attempted to start a nutmeg industry. He was disowned. A rumour that Great Britain intended to found an outpost in south-west New Guinea led the Dutch to begin a settlement at Triton Bay, build Fort du Bas and in 1828 begin the formal annexation of West New Guinea as far as the 141st meridian east longitude.<sup>13</sup> This border was modified to take in more 'natural' boundaries, the Bensbach River and the Fly River west of 141st meridian in 1895.<sup>14</sup> Fort du Bas lasted only until 1836 and, in spite of a further formal annexation in 1848, no administrative posts were set up until Manokwari and Fakfak were founded in 1908 and

Merauki in 1902. Although there were some effective scientific expeditions, Dutch interest in West New Guinea before World War II was slight. By 1937 there were mineral prospects and some production of oil and gas, but there were only fifteen Dutch officials and sixty-four European missionaries (including eighteen wives).

There were four attempts to plant the British flag in East New Guinea before any proclamations became official. From 1842 to 1845 Lieutenant Charles Yule in H.M.S. *Bramble* surveyed Torres Strait and the south-east coast together with Captain Blackwood in the *Fly* (after which the great river was named). Yule raised the British flag but the British Government was uninterested. In 1873 Captain John Moresby, on an offshore island,

had a coconut tree turned into a flag pole, arranged his officers and men around it, and claimed possession by right of discovery of islands just to the east of the New Guinea mainland . . . in the name and on behalf of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs and successors. 'The natives present had watched our proceedings with amazement, little guessing how much their own future was involved, but the firing and cheering sent them off in a frightened scurry to the bush'. He named the place of the ceremony Possession Bay. He climbed a hill and imagined the region he had just claimed as an outpost of empire to be compared with Singapore or the Cape of Good Hope. 'The more I gazed on all this grandeur and beauty, the more persuaded was I that these islands will someday become English homes . . .'<sup>15</sup>

Moresby, after whom the capital of Papua New Guinea is still named, was a man of sensibility as well as a man of destiny. While he could not resist comparing 'the squalid poverty' of the lower classes in England with the simple 'Garden of Eden' he saw on the Papuan coast, his conscience struggled with his duty:

What have these people to gain from civilisation? Pondering on the fate of other aboriginal races when brought into contact with the white, I was ready to wish that their happy homes had never been seen by us; but considerations of this kind cannot be entertained by those who see a simple duty before them, and have means to execute it; we were not responsible for the issues, and Providence may surely be trusted to work out its own ends.<sup>16</sup>

In spite of the annexation of Fiji in the same year, Moresby's flag-raising was disowned when he returned to London in 1874. Commodore Goodenough, whose name is on one of Papua New Guinea's grandest offshore islands and who was later killed by poisoned arrows at Santa Cruz, told Moresby bluntly:

Have we not enough tropical possessions without requiring more? enough issues to sap the strength of our Englishmen without giving Government patronage to the infliction of new wounds on our body? enough circumstances in which there must be a subject race alongside our English proprietors, without putting the Government stamp on a new scheme, which will help to demoralise us, and weaken our moral sense as a nation?<sup>17</sup>

Such moralising, however, reckoned without the dynamics of manifest destiny. The young Australian colony of Queensland had established a station on the tip of Cape York in 1862-4 (i.e. within five years of the colony's foundation) which it was hoped would become the 'Singapore of the South Pacific'.<sup>18</sup> By 1872 it had annexed the Torres Strait islands within sixty miles of the coast and agitation was growing for the annexation of Papua New Guinea in all the eastern states of Australia. In the 1870s pastors of the London Missionary Society together with Rarotongan helpers were already taking up posts on the Papuan coast, men of science like Nicolai Mikluho-Maclay and Luigi D'Albertis were exploring on the north and south coasts, there were traders in *bêche-de-mer* and shell in the Louisiades, and gold diggers in the Port Moresby area. The establishment in 1877 of the British High Commission for the Western Pacific with headquarters in Fiji was intended to bring protection to British subjects and to supervise their behaviour and so obviate further annexation. In 1879 the Queensland boundary was extended to 'within a bowshot' of the Papuan coast to fend off more chauvinist demands. These gestures failed because, among other things, Germany was extending her influence into the Bismarck Archipelago and the northern mainland coast. The Australian colonies, which had previously been alarmed by French and Russian expansionism, now became alarmed about Germany and the sea-routes to China. In 1883 the Queensland Premier, Sir Thomas McIlwraith, instructed his magistrate at Thursday Island, H. M. Chester, to claim south-east New Guinea on behalf of the British Crown. Suspecting that what Queensland mainly wanted were black labourers for its sugar farms, London repudiated the move. An Intercolonial Conference followed after which the Victorian Premier, James Service, reported not only that 'the whole of the delegates were at one with respect to the immediate annexation of New Guinea', but that the southern states

could never remain contented — could never remain safe — if it were possible for a powerful foreign nation to take up their quarters on any

of those islands [viz. from New Britain and New Ireland to the New Hebrides] . . . our object was to get possession of other islands either in our possession or under our control, so that we should never repeat in the southern hemisphere the battles and fightings and jealousies and the wars that have convulsed the whole northern hemisphere from time immemorial (Cheers).<sup>19</sup>

Eventually the following year Germany forced the issue by intimating that it might annex lands in the South Seas where it had trading interests.<sup>20</sup> These had existed on the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain since 1873, 'Queen Emma' Forsayth had established successful plantations there in 1882 and a particular concern was the demand for cheap labour for Germany's plantation colonies.

After a fourth repudiated flag-raising in October 1884, Commodore James Erskine of the Royal Navy officially raised the Union Jack at Port Moresby on 6 November. The previous day he assured the local 'chiefs' that

Your lands will be secured to you, your wives and children will be protected. Should any injury be done to you, you will immediately inform Her Majesty's officers, who will reside amongst you and they will hear your complaints and do justice. The Queen will permit nobody to reside here who does you injury . . . Always keep in mind that the Queen guards and watches over you, and will soon send her trusted officers to carry out her gracious intention in the establishment of this Protectorate.<sup>21</sup>

The British New Guinea Protectorate was, however, also more concerned with the lives and property of Europeans than indigenes and there was some 'commodore justice', 'burning or bombardment of villages whose inhabitants were believed to be implicated in attacks on non-natives'.<sup>22</sup> A basic problem was the lack of understanding of Melanesian societies whose governance, in the general absence of ascriptive chiefs,<sup>23</sup> seemed anarchic and where, in any case, immemorial means of maintaining authority through prowess at war, sorcery and polygamy were abhorrent to white officials and missionaries and so were marked down for suppression. When the crown colony of British New Guinea was established in 1888 the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William MacGregor, tried to prevent rather than simply punish aggression, but the lack of capable staff and the failure to establish effective consultative institutions with villagers made Erskine's promise of protection seem hollow. MacGregor's punitive expeditions were severe and daunting but not irresponsible. When he left in 1898, however, some expeditions

became almost wanton, culminating in a public outcry in Australia in 1904 against the young Acting Administrator, C. S. Robinson, for taking excessive revenge against the killers of the famous missionary, James Chalmers. Threatened with disgrace Robinson shot himself under the flagstaff at Government House but he had his supporters among the mining community and traders at Samarai where an inscribed monument still reads: 'In memory of Christopher Robinson, able Governor, upright man, honest judge. His aim was to make New Guinea a country for white men.' One further sentence hitting at the missionary, Charles Abel, who had denounced him to the Sydney press, was suppressed under official pressure: 'Contributing causes of his death were the enmity of minority and the malice of alleged Christians who could not understand the first Christian virtue which is charity.'<sup>24</sup> By the time the Commonwealth of Australia assumed control of British New Guinea under a new name, Papua, in 1906, the expatriate population was less than 700.

a mixed collection of people: administrative officials recruited often from the local white community, missionaries, traders and store-keepers, small planters who formed the beginning of a settled white community, and the more transient prospecting population, hard-drinking and often disorderly, but facing with courage extraordinary hardships in fields such as the Yodda Valley.<sup>25</sup>

Land could be acquired by expatriates but only indirectly through the government, which tried to ensure that the 'natives' did not need it. The government, however, in trying at the same time to encourage expatriate agriculture, might have formulated a disastrously ambivalent policy if it had not been for lack of takers. In 1904-5 total exports for British New Guinea were £76,435 but of this three-quarters came from gold rather than agricultural products like copra and rubber.<sup>26</sup>

From 1906 to 1940 Papua was associated with the long, benign but rather torpid rule of Sir Hubert Murray. Although Murray told the Royal Commission of 1906-7 that natives 'had been placed on a pedestal for too long, with absolutely no result' and past policy had been hostile to white settlement,<sup>27</sup> his policy became a by-word for zealous paternalism. The use of fire-arms and violence against indigenes was curbed; only some 64,000 acres were alienated for plantation land; the upper limit of 10 per cent of the population that might be recruited for employment was never reached; and the

expatriate population in 1940 was still less than 2000.<sup>28</sup> Port Moresby at the end of 1941 had

only 400 Europeans, a handful of Asians and mixed-race people and some three or four thousand Papuans living in the . . . area.

Port Moresby was in appearance and character an Australian town. Its residents were almost entirely European and they enjoyed standards of service and amenities similar to those available in a small country town of the same period.<sup>29</sup>

The lack of development was attributed by some critics to Murray's 'pro-native' policy but was really the result of ineligible economic conditions in Papua, the Great Depression and the lack of subsidy from Australia whose grant-in-aid never amounted to more than £50,000 a year.<sup>30</sup> Copra production reached a peak of £176,485 in 1930 and fell to £46,000 in 1940; rubber rose from £50,640 to £152,000 in the same period; gold recovered to £136,000 by 1940.<sup>31</sup> There were fewer rich men in Papua even than in New Guinea from where at least one exceptional group managed to charter a Lockheed Electra in 1936 to see the Melbourne Cup.<sup>32</sup>

The Germans were more frankly exploitative in their objectives. The annexation in November 1884 of the north-east New Guinea mainland (Kaiser Wilhelmsland) and the Bismarck Archipelago was an exercise of naked power designed to protect traders and planters who would create 'a second Java' rich in crops like tobacco, coffee and cocoa as well as copra.<sup>33</sup> Government was handed over to a chartered New Guinea Company. Only incidentally was it charged with *civilising* the indigenes. In 1886 an Anglo-German Declaration halved the Solomons Archipelago, giving Ysabel, Choiseul and Bougainville to Germany but in 1899, in a package deal involving other Pacific territories, Germany withdrew from all islands south-east of Bougainville thus virtually defining the border of the future nations of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Great Britain did not officially declare the Solomon Islands a protectorate until 1893, although attempts had been made to establish a Catholic mission at Santa Ysabel in 1845, the Anglican bishop, George Selwyn, had begun his mission in 1856, and a diocese of Melanesia had been created in 1861. Whalers, blackbirders, and beachcombers had been in the area for decades and the first traders dated back to the early 1870s. Compared with Papua and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, German New Guinea, after initial mismanagement by the New Guinea Company and the subsequent assertion of direct rule through an Imperial



Governor in 1899, was characterised by vigorous development as well as ruthless pacification, and by some remarkable scientific research and exploration. German New Guinea was also marked by extensive land alienation (over 30 per cent of the rich Gazelle Peninsula), impressment of labour so as to lead to almost disastrous depopulation in places like New Ireland, forced labour, brutal treatment of labourers (flogging was allowed and wages were half the Papuan level), and the introduction of Chinese and Malays of whom there were 1,377 and 163 respectively in 1914. The white population was 1,137, there were some 30,000 hectares under prosperous expatriate cultivation (all but 3,000 under coconuts)<sup>34</sup> and Germany was anticipating substantial oil and gold finds when the first world war broke out and, within two months, her Melanesian colony was almost bloodlessly taken over by Australian forces. The proclamation read to the 'natives' stated:

All boys belongina one place, you savvy big master he come now, he new feller master, he strong feller too much, you look him all ship stop place; he small feller ship belongina him. Plenty more big feller he stop place belongina him, now he come here he take all place. He look out good you feller. Now he like you fella look out good alongina him. Suppose other feller masta, he been speak you, 'You no work alonga new feller masta', he gammon. Suppose you work good with this new feller masta he look out good alonga you, he look out you get plenty good feller kai-kai; he no fighting black boy alonga nothing . . . ' Me been talk with you now, now you give three good feller cheers belongina new feller masta.

NO MORE UM KAISER,  
GOD SAVE UM KING<sup>35</sup>

As part of the peace settlement of 1919 Australia gained a 'C' class mandate over German New Guinea. This meant virtual sovereignty except for the requirement to report annually to the League of Nations, to avoid slavery and arms and liquor traffic with natives, and to ban military installations and training in arms for natives except for police purposes. In 1919 a Royal Commission was set up to recommend on the future of the territory. It consisted of Hubert Murray, Atlee Hunt, Secretary of the Australian Department of Home and Territories and Walter Lucas, the Islands Inspector of the most powerful Islands trading company, Burns, Philp and Co. Murray recommended the administrative fusion of Papua, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands under Australian (and, undoubtedly, his own) governance. Australia, however, had

shown such parsimony in Papua that she was unlikely to consider taking on responsibilities already shouldered by Great Britain and the planters in the Solomons Protectorate feared the allegedly 'pro-native' policies of Murray and petitioned Whitehall against annexation.<sup>36</sup> The idea was not officially raised again until after the second world war and then only as an occasional velleity rather than as a territorial thrust. Commercial interests in New Guinea felt the same way about Murray as the Solomons planters. Lucas and Hunt recommended against fusing Papua and New Guinea and although the logic of such an event meant that it was raised again in the 1930s, Murray on such occasions dissented because he then maintained the two territories had acquired incompatible characteristics of their own. In reality Murray knew he was by then too old for the supreme post in a new political entity as well as fearing for the maintenance of his own policies. Australia did modify some of the worst German practices in New Guinea but relations between whites and blacks were less congenial than in Papua. There was, however, a significant continuity through German control, the military occupation of 1914-21 and the Mandate's administration. In fact, all three administrators between the two world wars were ex-military officers. New Guineans were deterred from speaking English to whites; in Papua there was least an annual game of social cricket. After the 'natives' had gone on a sudden and unexpectedly well-planned strike in Rabaul in 1929, the white citizens prevented seven of them from going to Australia for further education; Papuan medical students were allowed to go to Sydney University in 1933 and two seminarians had been allowed to go to France and Madagascar in the 1920s. The differences were reflected in the hostility of the *kiaps* of both territories towards each other and was apparent even in the bar of the *M.V. Montoro* as it took them to and fro on appointment, repatriation or leave.

The New Guinea mandate was meant to be, and managed to be, self-sufficient and it was meant to benefit Australian citizens. The German settlers had their plantations ruthlessly expropriated and, in acts of astonishing callousness, even, in a number of cases, intimate household and personal possessions. In particular the Australian ex-serviceman was expected to be the beneficiary. Only German missionaries, in the main, were allowed to stay, some of them to pray (as did some black people) for the return of the Reich in better days. The transferred properties, however, had not been

paid for before, in the late 1920s, copra prices began to fall, ultimately to disastrous levels. Solvency was maintained, however, by the discovery of gold at Edie Creek inland from Salamaua in 1926. It brought in some 80 per cent of the export earnings in the later 1930s.<sup>37</sup> It attracted Australian companies to the territory and helped to develop air transport for which New Guinea was a pioneering field.

Gold also led to further explorations and hastened the opening of the Highlands in the 1930s. Until the journeys of Michael Leahy and James Taylor no one seems to have envisaged the 'new Kenya' of opulent intermontane valleys and dense populations that existed there, although the Dutch explorers in West New Guinea who got to the snowline of Mt Wilhelmina in 1909 and of the Carstenz range in 1913 may have seen the potential of the lower reaches of that terrain. Lutheran missionaries had sought converts in the eastern highlands and prospectors had used Markham and Sepik tributaries to enter the highlands, but their reports did not result in the interest of the later dramatic trans-highlands expeditions.

The straight lines on the map drawn in 1885 by Germany and Great Britain to demarcate their mainland border presumed a 'natural boundary' and not what ultimately became four Highland provinces supporting 40 per cent of the emerging nation's population. The Papuan Highlands, the last major area of Papua New Guinea to be exposed to the world, were contacted by J. G. Hides and L. J. O'Malley in 1935 and in 1937 a camp was established at Lake Kutubu. The westernmost area, Tari, was visited once only before the second world war and then by a New Guinean not a Papuan patrol. The Administration left its foothold altogether at the beginning of the war, did not return to Lake Kutubu until 1949, did not begin 'detailed contact and pacification' until the mid-1950s and did not complete it until 1965.<sup>38</sup> The recency of her recorded history is one of the astonishing facts about Papua New Guinea. Even on the island of Bougainville, never more than forty miles wide and once famous as a recruiting ground, a traversal of the island was not made by white men until Albert Hahl led a scientific expedition across 'native' tracks in 1908; its highest mountain (9000 ft) was not scaled until 1928, and its villagers not fully contacted until Paul Mason fled from the Japanese in 1943. Paul Mason died only in 1972, L. J. O'Malley in 1975. Mick Leahy and Jim Taylor are still alive.

During the Second World War the Japanese occupied the New Guinea Islands and the north coast of New Guinea, established a temporary beachhead at Milne Bay and penetrated across the Kokoda Trail in Papua to within forty miles of a bomb-damaged Port Moresby. A fragment of the expatriate and indigenous response to the war is related in the portrait of Paul Mason in Bougainville but more catastrophic than the collapse of civil administration in such places was the failure to evacuate 300 white civilians, including the Deputy Administrator, from Rabaul — or to do anything for the Chinese. In June 1942 almost all the white civilians together with 700 other prisoners from New Britain and New Ireland were shipped to Japan on the *Montevideo Maru*. They all died when the ship was sunk off Luzon by an American submarine. But the war had an impact beyond the shattering of lives and property. After his near-defeat by small yellow men the white man could hardly be held again in such awe. He had been seen scurrying for his life as well as fighting courageously; he had been seen doing labourer's work; he had been seen fighting alongside black troops from his own country; sometimes he had fraternised with Melanesians in a way unknown to *kiap*, planter or priest. Moreover, the Australian whiteman, in respect of worldly goods, was almost a 'rubbish man' compared to the American.

The 'new deal' which was proposed after the war was not the result of indigenous pressure, however. There were too few educated people for that and no government secondary school was to exist until 1957. In Australia there was an element of gratitude to the 'Fuzzy-Wuzzy Angels' who had carried for Australian troops, and for local soldiers who had fought heroically. However, the world ideological climate was turning against the notion of colonies. Therefore the post-war Labor Government accepted greater accountability for its actions and, in spite of the apparent strategic importance of its overseas territories, began to envisage a long-term devolution of power. The formal amalgamation of the administrations of the two territories finally took place in 1949, advancing the concept of only one future nation. The 'new deal' involved more humane labour laws, compensation for war damage and general reconstruction, as well as jettisoning the notion of self-sufficiency and beginning a process by which Australia subsidised Papua New Guinea by nearly two billion dollars between 1945 and Independence. Nevertheless Papua New Guinea remained almost

an economic region of Australia with competitive growth industries being suppressed. When the Liberal-Country Party came to power in Australia a greater impetus was given to private enterprise, the fruits of which remained mainly with expatriates, although indigenes did profit from a welfare policy which emphasised health, primary education and public order and from the development of an economic infrastructure. As late as 1970 there was little indigenous capital formation; expatriates owned two-thirds of the copra production, three-quarters of the cocoa, a quarter of the coffee (the three major export crops), all the rubber and tea and over 80 per cent of the cattle turnoff. Secondary industry employed only 10 per cent of a wage-earning force of 120,000; wholesaling was dominated by an oligopoly of four Australian firms; small-scale retailing was dominated by Chinese; 97 per cent of professional and managerial manpower and 75 per cent of technical, sub-professional and middle-level managerial personnel were expatriate.<sup>39</sup> The number of expatriates had grown from some 5000 in 1950 to 50,000 in 1970.

Australia had too many doubts about indigenous abilities and too many vested interests to push determinedly towards Independence. In 1951 the new Minister for Territories Mr (now Sir) Paul Hasluck, could say that Independence might be a century ahead, but events in Africa and, close to home, in Dutch New Guinea made Hasluck's policy of uniform development (giving the Highlanders, in particular, a chance to catch up to Coastals and Islanders) seem like delaying tactics and excessive paternalism. In 1959 the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, could say, 'Here we are and here we stay'; in 1960 he thought, after a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on Africa, that it was better to go 'sooner, not later'.<sup>40</sup> He did not envisage, as some tory radicals of the 1950s did, the incorporation of Papua and New Guinea into 'white' Australia.<sup>41</sup> In 1962, Dutch New Guinea was acquired by Indonesia although the Australian Country Party had a policy that it was not 'to fall into potentially hostile hands'.<sup>42</sup> Australia now had an unwanted land border with an Asian power. In spite of the inauguration of a democratically elected House of Assembly with an indigenous majority in 1964 and accelerated economic development as a result of a World Bank Report (1964), Australia dithered through the 1960s without setting target dates until indigenous opposition in Bougainville and on the Gazelle Peninsula to Ad-

ministration policies caused Gough Whitlam, Labor Leader of the Opposition, to declare Papua New Guinea an international liability to Australia. He promised (or threatened) that if (or rather, when) he became Prime Minister in 1972, he would bring about instant self-government, and independence would follow (if necessary, unilaterally) by 1975. In 1972 as much by good luck as adroit management and certainly not through popular assent, Michael Somare of the radical Pangu Pati became Chief Minister with a personal commitment to follow the Whitlam schedule, if possible. Triumphant over dilatory tactics particularly by conservative Highlanders and even, in the end, by more radical elements, Somare managed to keep close to the Whitlam timetable.

Before sunset on 15 September 1975, colonialism came to an end in Papua New Guinea. 'It is important', said the first Governor-General, Sir John Guise, 'that the people of Papua New Guinea and the rest of the world realise the spirit in which we are lowering the flag of our colonisers. We are lowering it, not tearing it down'. The combined Papua New Guinea Defence Force, Police and Royal Australian Navy bands played Auld Lang Syne. Charles, Prince of Wales, dressed as a full colonel of the Welsh Guards, inspected the troops who then gave a *feu de joie*. The Australian Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, received the folded flag and said that 'both Papua New Guinea and Australia have been fortunate in that during the long period of colonisation we managed to avoid policies and relationships which have proved tragic elsewhere'.<sup>43</sup> In early October when Papua New Guinea was admitted as the 142nd member of the United Nations, Mr Somare, while calling himself 'the leader of a new Third World government', commended Australia for not inflicting 'an authoritarian colonialist policy upon my country' so that '90 per cent of the land still remains under traditional ownership'.<sup>44</sup>

Within such a chronological and broad political framework, what was the expatriate experience like? It would be pleasant to think that the nine portraits in the book (one of which is a family group, another a self-study) add up to some representative sample. Unfortunately it would have been beyond the editor's capacity to provide that, at least at the time the book was conceived in 1972. The particular subjects were chosen in a rather arbitrary way. One obvious consideration was the particular interest of potential authors, all of whom were living in Papua New Guinea at the time

or had recently done so. It was decided not to condense or reinterpret work already done on major figures like Sir William MacGregor or Sir Hubert Murray or, for example, to further 'expose' Michael Leahy to the neglect of the rest of his family. One aim was to make material available on personalities who, with the exception of James Chalmers,<sup>45</sup> were not likely to have major books written on them in the foreseeable future. (In the case of Chalmers not only was Diane Langmore available to write on him but he seemed to make an important counterweight to Albert Hahl and C. A. W. Monckton.) There was, however, a tenuous theme and plan insofar as something of the progress of the white man from the paramountcy of conquest to official abdication might be conveyed and there was to be some spread of regional and occupational interest. Papua, the Islands and the Highlands, in particular, provide the *mise en scène*. A German governor, a British Protestant missionary, a *kiap*-explorer and a popular gold-seeker were selected from the first phase of European settlement; an educational administrator, a planter-war hero, another London Missionary Society worker, an exploring-pioneering-entrepreneurial family, and a *kiap*-planter-politician-novelist were to take us from the inter-war through to the post-war period almost to Independence. It was thought in the case of Ian Downs that he should write a self-portrait not just because he is an accomplished writer but because he seems to have been motivated by most of the drives mentioned in the first paragraph (Concern, Didacticism, Careerism, Destiny, Dividends) and because he passed from editing a journal in the mid-fifties, the Highland settlers' *Bulletin*, with the slogan 'We are here to stay' to a dominating position in the 'loyal opposition of the First House of Assembly and from there to a realisation that settlement in Papua New Guinea inexorably meant, to use the title of his novel, *Stolen Land*, and that Papua New Guineans should be left to their own affairs as soon as possible. So in 1968 he did not re-contest a seat he had won in 1964 by nearly 90,000 votes. Critics may, very understandably, want to know why the British evangelical leap from Chalmers to Chatterton is made when at least two French Catholic bishops, Henri Verjus and Alain de Boismenu, seemed to be available for portraiture.<sup>46</sup> The short answer is the lack of ready access to archives, and the problems of interpreting hagiographs and getting oral testimony. There is no portrait of a scientist such as Luigi D'Albertis or Nicolai Mikluho-

Maclay although the inclusion of the malariologist, Robert Koch, was considered in spite of the brevity of his stay in German New Guinea.<sup>47</sup> There is no anthropologist, neither Bronislaw Malinowski, nor Richard Thurnwald, nor Margaret Mead, nor Beatrice Blackwood. And the last two names remind us that it will hardly go unnoticed that there are no women although Senora Mendaña and 'Queen Emma' Forsayth suggest that colourful female settlers did exist. Similarly, if expatriates were not all male, neither were they all European. In extenuation it can only be said that a Chinese like Wong You of Bougainville (see Paul Mason) has not been encouraged during his life to be scrutably garrulous and it was part of the original intention to include a portrait of the Raratongan missionary, Ruatoka, but this fell through.

Moreover, just as our 'expatriate experience' lacks some vocational, sexual and racial breadth, it may also be asserted that our personages have too many admirable characteristics and that, in particular there has been a failure to establish the overweening context of colonial expatriate life: an ethos of arrant racism (not only European, but Chinese and Polynesian) and indigenous subordination. This could be just and perhaps an Introduction is the place to correct any imbalance in this matter. Archbishop Alain de Boismenu, whose stature is unquestionable, can be a case in point. James McAuley, poet and anthropologist, wrote of him:

I would nominate him as the person in my experience who most completely exemplified 'greatness' — an inspiring force of mind and will, large views, courage, intense affections and complete self-abnegation, cheerfulness, candour, a noble simplicity utterly devoid of pretension. And behind these qualities something more: a rare sanctity and unerring spiritual discernment.<sup>48</sup>

What McAuley, and other writers,<sup>49</sup> have not read or thought worthy of mention is Boismenu's statement to the Australasian Catholic Congress of 1904 which was obviously repeated in different ways elsewhere:

Though the Papuan is physically far superior to many other coloured races, and is not so corrupt in morals as is commonly believed, nevertheless, for the want of manliness and firmness of character, he must be classed near to the lowest types. He is as whimsical and fickle as a child; he must be watched, coaxed, led like a child; his mind must often be made up for him . . .

. . . May we reckon on the Catholic church taking root amongst the Papuan nation, and so raising their conduct to her own ideal, and in-



fusing into them the Christian spirit, as to bring their supernatural life within measurable distance of spiritual life in Christian countries?

Such a miracle God may, no doubt, choose to perform, but it remains his own secret. But to judge by the ordinary course of Divine Providence, we fear the Papuan race will share the fate of most coloured races. What a far-seeing missionary, Father J. B. Aubry, wrote with regard to another, and a better endowed, race appears only too true of the Papuans: 'There is wanting in this people the raw material that was found in the ancestral tribes of Christian Europe. Whoever knows them well will find it impossible to conceive that faith will ever raise them to as high a degree of Christian life, of spiritual fruitfulness, of true civilisation, as the former attained; nor is it to be hoped they will ever be able to fill the missionary ranks with recruits from their own midst, far less to provide apostles for other countries'.

The Papuan race is unquestionably of an inferior nature. It has lived too long a prey to original sin. And though it certainly can be Christianised, yet the most we can expect is a Christianity of limited vigour and perfection, that must always depend for its existence on the charity of those nations to whom God has reserved the honour and burden of the apostleship.<sup>50</sup>

Boismenu's Eurocentric, if not exquisitely Gallic, provincialism (is there another word for it?) was shared by many missionaries of all denominations and it must also be said of him that in spite of what he said in 1904, he sent the first Papuan Catholic priest, the present Bishop Louis Vangeke, overseas to study and is revered by Vangeke as a saint.

A less exalted case in point and, in some ways, the man who would have best fitted into the middle of this volume was Edward Llewellyn Gordon Thomas (1890-1966). Thomas, though born in Chicago, U.S.A., was the son of Major T. B. Thomas of Vancouver, Canada. He was educated at St Paul's School of London and then in Germany and Switzerland. From 1906 to 1910 he was a journalist in Alberta and Vancouver where his father was evidently a publisher. In 1910 he went to Australia, became a printer and in 1911 signed up for a year as a lay missionary printer for the Methodist Mission in the Duke of York Islands off New Britain. There he met Katherine Nickle (1875-1961) who in 1905 was the first Methodist Mission nursing sister in the area. In spite of fifteen years difference in age, Thomas was married to her in Kieta, Bougainville, by the German Commissioner Captain Doellinger, who was married to one of 'Queen Emma' Forsayth's nieces.<sup>51</sup> Thomas had a versatile career in New Guinea as a planter, trader, oil driller, journalist, amateur anthropologist and eventually

prisoner-of-war and one of a handful who survived the occupation of Rabaul because he was found too useful as a refrigeration plant mechanic to be put on the *Montevideo Maru* with the other prisoners. In the literature on New Guinea he is best known as a fulsome editor of the *Rabaul Times* in 1925-27 and 1933-42, and as a more subdued columnist ('Tolala') for the *Pacific Islands Monthly* in 1946-66. In an editorial headed THEN AND NOW (16 September 1938) Thomas pleaded for more intensive recruitment of labour:

Well do I remember the day in 1911 when I stepped off the N.D.I. liner *Coblentz* on to the old wharf where Chinese coolies were busily engaged unloading the cargo and native house-servants stood respectfully aside, ready to do any task they might be called upon. Their lava-lavas were of shortened length — not as today, long draping yards of calico revealing a long leg. When spoken to these natives stood upright, if not 'to attention', and evinced a certain amount of respect to the white man or woman who addressed them; not as it is in these days when they lounge about and too often treat an instruction from a 'Master' or a 'Missus' as if it were 'something nothing'.

There are few people in this country at present who appreciate, or realise, the attitude of the native in the olden days. On the one hand there is the section which says the native has been educated out of his servile position in which he found himself twenty-odd years ago, and that his evolution is a fair indication of his natural intelligence. Those same people say this is his country and that he is free to work out his own destiny, quite irrespective of white influence, which has been responsible for giving him many of the doubtful luxuries of civilised life.

As against this there is the person who expects a certain service from a black race — a subservient race who, in return for the inculcation of civilised methods and customs, are expected to pay a certain respect to the dominant race.

This may sound arrogant to those who are inclined to make a fetish of the League of Nations. It may seem sacrilegious to those who deem this country must be solely and wholly governed for the welfare of the native . . .

As Australians we are the most tolerant people in the world where coloured races are concerned (more's the pity); but some line must be drawn somewhere, otherwise the whites will find it impossible to carry on. And where will the revenue come from then?<sup>52</sup>

A third and final case in point is taken from the post-war period and is mentioned not just for reasons of chronology — or for archness — but because no account of the expatriate experience should leave out a reference to the Returned Soldiers League. In

1953 the Papua New Guinea State President, George Whittaker, opposed sending 'a contingent of native constabulary' to the Coronation of Elizabeth II. He was reported as saying 'that the money could be better spent in providing hospitals; and that unnecessary jaunts of natives overseas does not improve their morals. He cites the prevalence of sex crimes in the Territory at the present time'.<sup>53</sup>

It may also be necessary to say that a *portrait* is not quite the same as a short *biography* so that, depending on the school of portraiture, there may be distortions because of the need for sharp selectivity and there may be distortion in principle because the portraitist is more interested in some aspects of a character than another. While that may seem too glib an excuse for inadequacies, it must be stressed that there are problems in dealing with personalities still alive or recently deceased, even more so when one is dependent on the persons themselves or their close friends and relatives for information. In the portrait of Paul Mason, for example, it occurred to the writer that, as he did not know of any other literary portrait of a planter, an inquiry into the actual running of a plantation and the relations between boss and so-called *bois* would be instructive, particularly in a district where physical violence against labourers was notorious. He felt ultimately that it would be as improper to try to probe this area as to rely on hearsay or, for that matter, to speculate on the pre-marital (or marital) felicities of a good and interesting man. Christopher Ashton had a more difficult problem in being a family friend of the Leahys, who generously provided him with information. No keen reader of the Port Moresby *Post-Courier* from 1969 to 1975 would be unaware of the vehemence of Michael Leahy's views on decolonisation — less so anyone who has met him. Even to quote one of his splendidly vituperative letters at length seemed to Ashton under present circumstances to get the important aspect of Leahy out of focus, and to be hurtful. Of course the portrait is thinner for that as it is for its inability to discuss the mixed race progeny of the family. In the case of Ian Downs certain guidelines were suggested and less than 10,000 words were allotted for a self-study which will provoke as many questions about the issues that it raises as about those it avoids. Downs, quite properly, selected those cues which satisfied him at the time and it would be the editor's guess that Downs will eventually produce something more comprehensive.

Finally, there is perhaps one aspect of the background of these portraits that needs to be articulated together with the chiaroscuro of disparate personalities: the invigorating joy that most expatriates have felt in the lines of Papua New Guinea's majestic landscape and the palette of its coral seas. No account of the expatriate experience would be complete without that. In his reminiscence, *My New Guinea*,<sup>54</sup> James McAuley compresses the auguries and the omens:

There the great island lies with its archaic bird-reptile shape. The smoking mountains speak low thunder, the earth shakes lightly, the sun glares down on the impenetrable dark-green mantle of forest with its baroque folds, the cloud-shadows pass over the green, a white cockatoo rises off the tree-tops like a torn scrap of paper, like an unread message . . .

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- <sup>1</sup> This term is still used for the advent of Christianity on the Papuan coast and in Torres Strait.
- <sup>2</sup> Quoted J.H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance: Discovery, Exploration and Settlement 1450 to 1650* (London, 1963), p. 19.
- <sup>3</sup> There is no consensus on the exact boundaries of Melanesia. See entry, 'Melanesia' in Peter Ryan (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea*, 2 vols. (Melbourne, 1972), pp. 758-9.
- <sup>4</sup> James McAuley, 'My New Guinea', *Quadrant*, Vol. 19, Winter 1961, p. 27.
- <sup>5</sup> It has been claimed that New Guinea is referred to in the Indian *Ramayana* (c. 300 B.C.). See 'Discovery', *Encyclopaedia*, p. 247.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 246-7.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.
- <sup>8</sup> 'Malaria', *ibid.*, p. 679.
- <sup>9</sup> See G. Arnold Wood, revised by J.C. Beaglehole, *The Discovery of Australia* (Melbourne, 1969), pp. 99-101.
- <sup>10</sup> James McAuley, 'My New Guinea' p. 26 claims that 'The great enterprise of European colonialism, which now turns out to have been fairly short-lived for most of the world, bred rejection in the hearts of its subjects, in spite of so much of incomparable value that it brought. Why? Perhaps the simple answer is: the white women'.
- <sup>11</sup> 'Central District', *Encyclopaedia*, p. 145.
- <sup>12</sup> 'Discovery', *ibid.*, p. 256.
- <sup>13</sup> 'Dutch New Guinea', *ibid.*, p. 277.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.
- <sup>15</sup> K.S. Inglis and N.D. Oram, *John Moresby and Port Moresby. A Centenary View* (Port Moresby, 1974), p. 36.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>18</sup> Farnfield, Jean, 'The Moving Frontier: Queensland and the Torres Strait' in *Lectures in North Queensland History* (Townsville, 1974), p. 65.
- <sup>19</sup> C.M.H. Clark (ed.), *Select Documents in Australian History* (Sydney, 1955), p. 454.
- <sup>20</sup> Jacobs, Marjorie, 'Bismarck and the Annexation of New Guinea', *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 5, No. 17, November 1951, pp. 14-26.
- <sup>21</sup> J.L. Whittaker *et al.* *Documents and Readings in New Guinea History, Pre-history to 1889* (Milton, Queensland, 1975), p. 462.
- <sup>22</sup> 'British New Guinea' *Encyclopaedia*, p. 118.
- <sup>23</sup> Notable exceptions to this in Papua New Guinea were the Roro, Mekeo and Trobriand Island peoples of Papua and the peoples of Buka and Buin in Bougainville but as a generalisation it holds true.
- <sup>24</sup> 'Robinson, Christopher Stansfield (1871-1904)', *Encyclopaedia*, p. 1016.
- <sup>25</sup> 'British New Guinea', *Encyclopaedia*, p. 120.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

- 27 'Papua – European Enterprise to 1942', *ibid.*, p. 881.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 N.D. Oram, *Colonial Town to Melanesian City* (Canberra, 1976).
- 30 The Commonwealth reduced the subsidy during the depression. It was only 34,000 in 1932/33. Figures given in *Annual Reports*.
- 31 'Papua – European Enterprise to 1942', *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 881-2.
- 32 Hank Nelson, *Papua New Guinea, Black Unity or Black Chaos?* (Ringwood, 1972), p. 73.
- 33 'German New Guinea' *Encyclopaedia*, p. 487.
- 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 496-8.
- 35 British Administration of German New Guinea *Government Gazette*, 1 November 1914.
- 36 James Griffin, 'Papua New Guinea and the British Solomon Island Protectorate: Fusion or Transfusion', *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 27, No. 3, December 1973, pp. 319-21.
- 37 Hank Nelson, *Black, White and Gold* (Canberra, 1976), p. 258.
- 38 'Southern Highlands', *Encyclopaedia* p. 1089.
- 39 John V. Langmore, 'A Critical Assessment of Australian Economic Policy for Papua New Guinea between 1945 and 1970', Discussion Paper, No. 1, Economics Department, University of Papua New Guinea, August 1972.
- 40 D. Bettison, C. Hughes and P. van der Veur, *The Papua New Guinea Elections 1964* (Canberra, 1965), p. 12.
- 41 Jan McAuley, 'Australia's Future in New Guinea', *Pacific Affairs*, March 1953.
- 42 James Griffin, 'Political Chronicle, Papua New Guinea, July-December 1975', *Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, April 1976, pp. 115-17.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 121.
- 44 See Diane Langmore, *Tamate, A King: James Chalmers in New Guinea 1877-1901* (Melbourne, 1974).
- 45 See James Griffin, 'Henri Stanislas Verjus', *Australian Dictionary of Biography 1850-90*, Vol. VI (Melbourne, 1976), p. 332, and 'Alain Marie Guynot de Boismenu 1890-1938', *ibid.*, Vol. VII (forthcoming).
- 46 See W.H. Ewers, 'Robert Kich, His Work in New Guinea and His Contribution to Malariology', *Papua New Guinea Medical Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 2, June 1972, pp. 117-24.
- 47 James McAuley, 'My New Guinea', p. 22.
- 48 E.g. 'Boismenu, Alain Marie Guynot de (1870-1953)', *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 89-91.
- 49 'The Catholic Church in British New Guinea', in *Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress* (Melbourne, 1905), pp. 270-3.
- 50 See Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, 600, Australian National University, 1973.
- 51 *Rabaul Times*, 16 September 1938.
- 52 *Pacific Island Monthly*, March 1953, p. 7.
- 53 *Loc. cit.*, p. 27.
- 54 P. 27.

# 1

## James Chalmers: Missionary

Diane Langmore

'How I should rejoice to stand in the centre of Papua, and tell of infinite love', wrote London Missionary Society missionary James Chalmers from Rarotonga in 1875. 'The nearer I get to Christ and His cross, the more do I long for direct contact with the heathen'.<sup>1</sup> As a missionary student Chalmers had dreamed of following Livingstone to Africa and had been disappointed to be sent instead to Rarotonga where he found the people already 'so much civilised and Christianised'.<sup>2</sup> Reluctantly he turned to the supervision of the island's missionary training institution, breaking the routine occasionally by tramps to Rarotonga's mountain tops or confrontations in its forests with clandestine orange-beer drinking parties. When in 1871 the L.M.S. decided to begin work in New Guinea, he had begged to be sent, seeing in the unknown, unconverted and dangerous island fertile ground on which to preach and prove his faith. Pressure from his colleagues and flock delayed his transfer but on 10 May 1877, just ten years after his appointment to Rarotonga, he left it for New Guinea. For almost a quarter of a century, until his death in 1901, he served as a missionary on its south-eastern coast.

Chalmers's evangelistic zeal was the outcome of a conversion which, in conventionally dramatic terms, he described himself as having experienced at the age of eighteen. Born in Ardrishaig, a small fishing village on the west coast of Scotland, he spent most of his youth in the nearby town of Inveraray where, at fourteen, he was apprenticed to a firm of lawyers. As a youth he grew away from most of the Calvinist beliefs of his stone-mason father and his devout highlander mother. All that remained of a boyhood association with the United Presbyterian Church was an unwavering respect for its pastor, Gilbert Meikle, whose gentle Arminianism challenged the grim Calvinism of his congregation. 'It was a time of sowing of wild oats', Chalmers recalled of that period. When in 1859 two Irish evangelists visited the town, Chalmers, with a gang of youths, decided to attend and disrupt their meetings. Entering the first meeting to the singing of the Doxology, Chalmers was moved, in spite of himself. The address that followed, with its text from Revelations XXII.17, seemed directed especially at him and feeling 'deeply impressed' he hurried away. The next Sunday, he wrote,

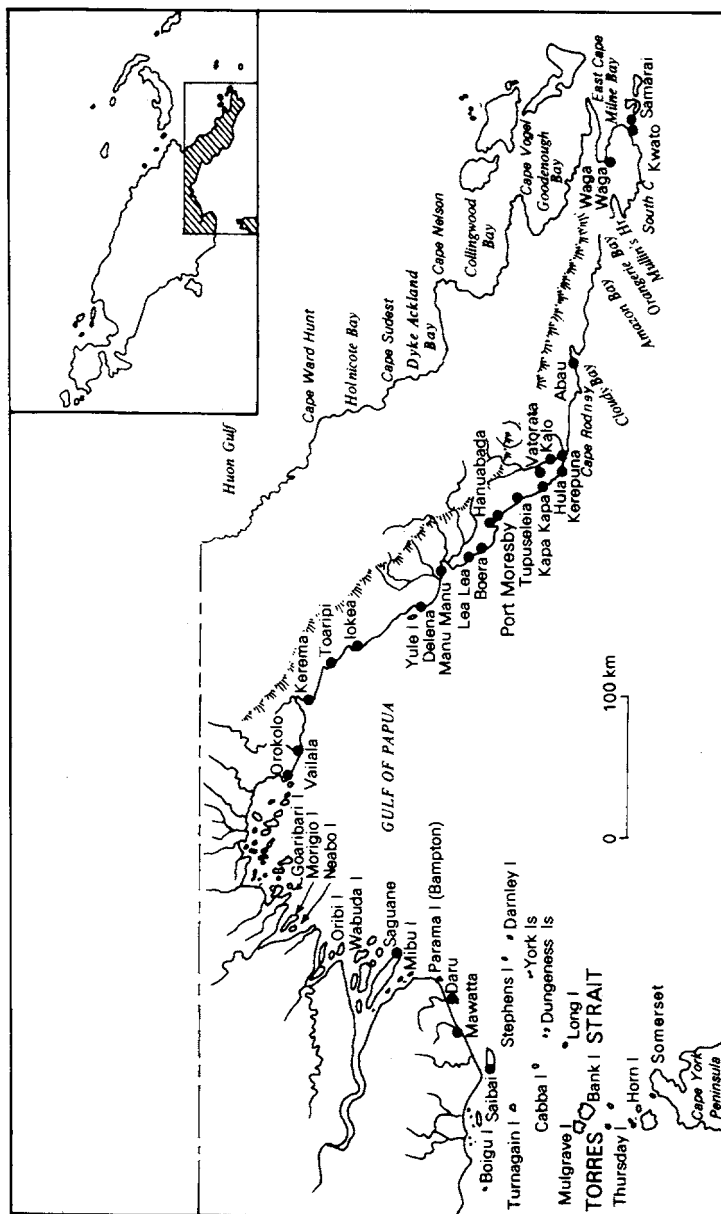
I was pierced through and through with conviction of sin, and felt lost beyond all hope of salvation. On the Monday, Mr Meikle came to my help and . . . as he quoted 'The blood of Jesus Christ . . . cleanseth us from all sin' I felt that this salvation was possible for me and some gladness came into my heart. After a time light increased and I felt that God was speaking to me in His Word, and I believed unto salvation.

After his conversion, Chalmers, oppressed by his conviction that so many were dying unsaved, joined the Glasgow City Mission. He planned at first to seek ordination as a Presbyterian minister but conversations with a Samoan missionary, Dr Turner, convinced him that 'the heathen's' needs outweighed even those ofm that 'the heathen's' needs outweighed even those of the Glasgow poor. He applied to the L.M.S., explaining:

I consider there are plenty of labourers at home while thousands of my heathen brethren are perishing for want of knowledge concerning that Saviour by which alone they can be saved; and therefore while few respond to the cry 'Come over and help us', I am constrained to say . . . 'Lord, send me'.

Chalmers, who was never to become a well read man, underwent the minimum training necessary for an L.M.S. missionary, at





Map 2 General map of L.M.S. area in British New Guinea, 1871-1901

Cheshunt and Highgate Colleges. In October 1865 he married Jane Hercus, school-teacher daughter of a devout Scottish Congregationalist family, and was ordained into the Congregational church. In January 1866 he set out with his wife on the long and eventful journey to Rarotonga. The Chalmers who arrived in Rarotonga in May 1867 was a slim, wiry, young man with dark, wavy hair, pale freckled skin, fine features and intense hazel eyes which seemed to some contemporaries to have almost hypnotic power. The Chalmers who left Rarotonga for New Guinea ten years later was a sturdy, deep-chested man of fourteen stone with a broad, bearded, suntanned face and small, watchful eyes set deep between high cheekbones and wide forehead. He had rejected the traditional sombre missionary garb for a light, cotton outfit, which he enlivened with a coloured cummerbund. A 'stout, bronzed, unclerical being' was how he saw himself as he travelled to New Guinea.<sup>3</sup>

At first Chalmers found New Guinea unprepossessing. Instead of lusty, powerful savages, he found a subdued and 'indolent' people. Instead of towering mountains and mysterious jungles, he saw a vast, dull coastline studded with grey-green twisted mangroves. Port Moresby, home of William Lawes, the only white missionary on the mainland of eastern New Guinea, was, at the end of the long dry season, unattractive. The low slopes on which the mission house stood were arid and dusty and even the impressive range of hills that encircled them was covered only with sun-scorched grass or fire-blackened stubble. 'I cannot say I was much charmed with the place', he commented, 'It had such a burnt-up, barren appearance'. Nor was there much to show for the presence of the mission. The most obvious testimony to the four years of hard toil was the row of carefully tended graves bearing the bodies of Polynesian teachers, their wives and children, and the Lawes's own baby son. Chalmers visited the school but was disappointed, 'a few children could repeat the letters but no-one could read'.

After a short inland expedition, Chalmers set out with his wife, the four Rarotongan teachers who were to assist them, Lawes and Samuel MacFarlane, a missionary who hoped to evangelise New Guinea from an island retreat in the Torres Strait on a voyage to the south-east. As Chalmers travelled eastward he became more enthusiastic. The lush greenness of Hula pleased him, especially after the desiccated barrenness of Port Moresby. The people he found

more impressive too: 'really pretty boys and girls, more altogether like our eastern South Sea Islanders'.

Chalmers, who had agreed to work in the south-east, leaving Lawes in Port Moresby and MacFarlane in the west, chose for his headstation the small island of Suau off the south cape of New Guinea. The islanders had apparently had no contact with Europeans before and, although Chalmers's initial welcome was friendly, the early days of station building were filled with tension and uncertainty. Pilfering by the Suau, their incessant demands for trade goods and the ready resort by teachers and crew to the use of firearms, all threatened the precarious harmony. Tension burst into violence in December 1877, a month after their arrival, when one of the Suau was shot during a pilfering raid on the mission boat. The captain, who was wounded during the clash, sailed away leaving Chalmers and his party virtually under siege by the Suau until the large mission ship, *Ellengowan*, arrived three weeks later to strengthen their position.

Once Chalmers found his presence tolerated by the Suau, he turned to the building of a mission. Because of the Congregational traditions of the L.M.S., he was virtually autonomous in his district. A measure of influence was exerted from London by the Directors' control of finance and, within New Guinea, 'common consultations'<sup>4</sup> between the missionaries were supposed to be held regularly. However the distances between MacFarlane in the Torres Strait, Lawes at Port Moresby and Chalmers at Suau, as well as a strong antipathy between Chalmers and Lawes on the one hand and MacFarlane on the other, meant that the three earliest missionaries worked more or less independently of one another.

The two years Chalmers spent at Suau saw the evolution of his distinctive missionary style. His concept of mission work was broad and attractive. Its purpose, he believed, was 'not only to preach the Gospel of Divine Love but also to live it'. Much of his time therefore was spent simply in participating in the daily routine of the Suau. In the same letter he wrote:<sup>5</sup>

Day after day in duty's routine, not in hymn-singing, praying or preaching in public . . . the work was ever going on. The Gospel was working its way in bush-clearing, fencing, planting, house-building and many other forms of work, through fun, play, feasting, travelling, joking, laughing and along the ordinary experiences of everyday life.

Nevertheless the preaching of the Gospel was, from the first, an important part of his work. Chalmers had been brought up on remorseless Calvinist preaching. 'The God of the Highlands at that time was a terror and we knew more of Him as such than of love', he recalled.<sup>6</sup>

I have heard preaching in which I have shuddered as the bottomless pit of fire and brimstone has been shown. I have heard preachers say that saved parents would . . . should hallelujah as they saw their children who were unbelievers cast forth on the day of judgement to everlasting punishment in the lake of fire. My flesh has crept until I got rid of the fearful nightmare.

Chalmers's natural revulsion against such doctrines had been reinforced by the liberal teachings of pastor Meikle and Dr Reynolds, the principal of Cheshunt College. As a missionary candidate he had acknowledged all the tenets of an evangelical faith: belief in the Trinity, the universality of man's depravity, the atonement and justification by faith through grace. But preaching in broken Suau under a leafy *tamano* tree, he was more inclined to remember the goodness of God than the depravity of man. He believed that the chief qualification for a missionary was to have 'the love of God in his heart'<sup>7</sup> and it was of that he spoke.

For Chalmers, as for many of his generation, Christianity and civilisation went hand-in-hand. In fact the two were almost synonymous: for 'nowhere have I seen our boasted civilisation civilising, but everywhere have I seen Christianity acting as the true civiliser', he claimed.<sup>8</sup> Much of his preaching was concerned therefore not with abstract theological propositions but with practical instruction as to how the life of the Suau would be changed. 'Retain native customs as far as possible'<sup>9</sup> he was to urge, but he never doubted his right, or rather his duty, to attack those customs which he interpreted as incompatible with Christianity.

Chalmers had no idealistic vision of the noble savage to inhibit his confident attempts to remould Suau society. Life for the Suau seen through his Victorian eyes was repellent.<sup>10</sup> The people were puny and unattractive compared with those further west to Hula or Kerepuna. They suffered from a 'very nasty disease like leprosy', probably yaws, and were subject to an extremely high infant mortality rate. They were 'cannibals pure and simple' whose chief idea of ornamentation was a necklace of human bones. He believed that they had 'no gods, no sacrifice and no forms of worship' but that

they were often troubled by visits from the spirits of the dead. Even more were they troubled by visits from the living, for they lived at enmity with the people of the mainland coast. They had no form of amusement, Chalmers believed, except a primitive, monotonous dance. 'It is often said, Why not leave the savages alone in their virgin glory', Chalmers wrote a few years later and answered, 'How little those who . . . write know what savage life is!'<sup>11</sup>

In a narrowly religious sense, Chalmers's work at Suau did not meet with quick success. When he left the island in 1879 there were no converts. Services were attended by a restless, unruly congregation dressed, to Chalmers's regret, in ill-assorted European clothes. Christian teachings seemed to many incomprehensible, even ridiculous. Chalmers was depressed rather than encouraged when he heard fishing parties shouting hymns with gusto but little comprehension: 'When listening to them I used to think of a broken home, of comforts given up . . . for what? For savages, singing, shouting and ridiculing the little they had learned'. 'Were they worth it?' he wondered.<sup>12</sup>

The overall effect of the mission's presence on the life of the Suau was, however, considerable. The amount of inter-tribal warfare was reduced as Chalmers encouraged peace negotiations between the Suau and the mainland peoples. More remarkably, it is claimed that Chalmers put an end to cannibalism among the Suau. Charles Abel, who later followed Chalmers in mission work in the south-east, questioned the Suau about their renunciation of this custom and was told simply: 'Tamate said, "You must give up cannibalism" and we did'.<sup>13</sup>

Despite his religious fervour, Chalmers never deluded himself about his measure of achievement. He was realistically sceptical about the motives that lay behind an acceptance of Christianity. 'Today's gospel with the natives is one of tomahawks and tobacco', he wrote, but without despair for he saw them as 'the door' through which he could 'enter to preach the Gospel of Love'.<sup>14</sup> His realism made him cautious about easy conversion. He was prepared to baptise individuals only after a long period of training and a public profession of faith. It was therefore no modest achievement that in 1879 he left on Suau a class of eight catechumens who, after baptism, became the nucleus of the Suau church.

Building a station on Suau was only one of Chalmers's concerns. As missionary-in-charge he was responsible not only for estab-

lishing a headstation but also for initiating missionary activity in the surrounding district. The inevitable tension between consolidation and extension inherent in this situation was exacerbated in Chalmers's case by his love of exploration. Most of his journeys could be justified as the first step in the process of evangelisation, but exploration for its own sake was to him a constant temptation. Invitations to lead expeditions, which came periodically from geographical societies or individuals, were, he confessed, 'a temptation and . . . a weakness'.<sup>15</sup> If he never actually submerged the missionary in the explorer, he stretched the definition of missionary to the limit.

During his two years at Suau Chalmers explored all the coastline between Kerepuna, previously the easternmost point of mission influence, and the south-eastern tip of New Guinea. On one journey alone, he claimed, he visited 105 villages, ninety of which had never before been visited by a white man. During these journeys Chalmers evolved a technique of contact which recognised the importance of not forcing a relationship but of building it up cautiously, with a liberal proffering of trade goods. 'I threw on the beach a piece of red cloth and a few beads; walked away quite carelessly . . . apparently not noticing what was taking place',<sup>16</sup> he wrote in a typical description of a first visit. Cultural differences, previous contact experiences and immediate perceptions of Chalmers ensured that his reception varied from place to place, but he always remained sensitive to the mood of the crowd. He had 'this rare faculty of opportuneness' wrote his colleague, Charles Abel. He knew exactly when and how to act and 'what is quite as essential in the pioneer, he knew precisely when to . . . get away'.<sup>17</sup> Always unarmed, Chalmers built up an impressive repertoire of techniques for getting away from a hostile situation without precipitating violence.

After selecting certain villages as possible stations, Chalmers would ask the inhabitants if they would like to have a teacher live amongst them and if they would promise to care for him. Four teachers were placed in villages close to Suau soon after his arrival and at the beginning of 1878 fourteen more Polynesians were placed in villages with which friendly relations had been established. Much of Chalmers's work at this time was visiting the old and new stations to encourage, advise and, frequently, console. In this situation Chalmers was fortunate in his mission colleagues

on Suau: four able Rarotongans and his wife, Jane. From the first he insisted on the Polynesian teachers being treated as partners; 'I decidedly object to their being treated as servants',<sup>18</sup> he had written after seeing MacFarlane's authoritarian relationship with them. In practice his powerful personality led him to adopt a paternalistic attitude towards them, but where the mission was concerned they were partners with the same rights and obligations as himself.

Chalmers was specially fortunate in his wife. A quiet, resourceful, rather staid woman, she had a missionary fervour to match his own and a sense of responsibility to the work at least as great as his. It was she, with the teachers, who maintained the daily routine of the mission station and carefully nurtured the Suau's confidence in them. But her physical strength could not match the strength of her convictions. Anxiety, physical discomfort and an oppressive climate all wrought havoc with a constitution already feeling the effects of undiagnosed tuberculosis. Despite an attempt to save her with medical care and a change of climate, she died in Sydney in February 1879. 'She was whole-heartedly a missionary', wrote Chalmers in one of the few references he made to her after her death.<sup>19</sup> After his wife's death, Chalmers moved to Port Moresby, which had become the central station of the Eastern Branch. The years which he spent there saw the closest phase of his life-long partnership with William Lawes. They complemented each other perfectly. Lawes's competence in the work of teaching, translation, and administration left Chalmers free to follow his inclination to pioneer. Each gained inspiration and support from the other. Lawes's cautious and reflective nature was vitalised by Chalmers's energy and enthusiasm. Chalmers's impetuosity was tempered by Lawes's wisdom, and his mercurial spirits steadied by Lawes's calmness. It was Lawes too who contributed a much-needed sense of humour to the partnership. Chalmers was jovial, hearty and sometimes playful but his intensity and zeal often made him humourless about himself and his work.

With Samuel MacFarlane, the other founding father of the L.M.S. in New Guinea, their relationship was not harmonious. There was a fundamental difference of approach between them. Chalmers and Lawes, believing that 'directly preaching the Gospel to the people and living in their midst' was the only successful mode of evangelism, were scornful of MacFarlane's cautious 'stepping stone' technique, which drew villagers from the mainland to his

island retreat for training and then sent them back to convert their own people.<sup>20</sup> 'You know that Mac. stands at the portals and only occasionally looks in',<sup>21</sup> Chalmers wrote to a colleague on Rarotonga. MacFarlane, in turn, was contemptuous of the eastern missionaries' use of tobacco for gifts and payment. His opposition towards Chalmers was reinforced by an intense personal dislike. Chalmers tarnished the mission's name, he claimed, by his friendship with such 'godless, whisky-loving men' as Henry Chester, the police magistrate from Thursday Island. 'It would be better for him and the mission if he were not so "hail brother well met" with everyone',<sup>22</sup> he reported sourly, adding as a final thrust that even the godless Chester referred to Chalmers as 'the wild missionary'. The result of this personal feud was that, until MacFarlane's departure in 1886, the eastern and western branches of the mission functioned independently of each other.

Within the eastern branch, relationships were generally harmonious. Missionaries and teachers alike loved Chalmers for his enthusiasm, exuberance and unshakeable faith, and they tolerated his occasional moodiness, irascibility or hot temper. *Tamate ena Kara* ('It's Tamate's way') the Polynesian teachers would say indulgently.<sup>23</sup> To the group of younger missionaries — Dauncey, Hunt, Walker, Abel and Holmes — who arrived during the eighties and nineties, Chalmers was like a father.

Through his constant travelling in those years, Chalmers built up a relationship with the Papuan people closer and more sympathetic than that of any other white man. With a few he had almost egalitarian relationships, but amongst most Papuans his status was one of authority. 'He is regarded as a "mighty sorcerer" in many districts',<sup>24</sup> one observer reported. 'Whatever might be its origin, "Tamate" meant a great deal', remarked another:<sup>25</sup>

If I went to the natives and said 'Who is the King?' 'Tamate' was the reply. If I said to them 'Who is like a father unto you?' they would say 'Tamate'. If I said 'What is "maino" [peace]?' . . . they would say 'Tamate'.

Because he believed endemic warfare to be the main problem along the coast of Papua, the Gospel Chalmers preached at this time was pre-eminently a Gospel of peace.<sup>26</sup> Visitors to New Guinea in 1885 marvelled at the influence he wielded over the coast tribes. 'Mr. Chalmers went amongst them everywhere with a walking-



stick preaching always "maino" . . .', wrote one, and 'his influence . . . now is paramount along the coast and far inland'.<sup>27</sup> Chalmers's easy success in persuading the coastal Papuans to forgo warfare suggests that they may not have been reluctant to do so. Possibly all that was needed was an outsider with sufficient courage, tact and skill to break the relentless chain of attack and payback without causing any loss of face.

At the same time as Chalmers was establishing peaceful relationships with and amongst the coastal Papuans, he was disturbed by another factor that threatened the delicate harmony. 'The troubles of the missionaries now begin', he wrote in 1883. 'Unscrupulous white men have already appeared'.<sup>28</sup> As the numbers of explorers, prospectors and traders entering New Guinea increased, Chalmers often found himself in the position of mediator between them and the Papuan people or, as in a series of clashes along the coast, conciliator intent on preventing further reprisals. He was hostile towards the newcomers. Commiserating with J. J. K. Hutchin, his successor at Rarotonga, on the effects of white settlement, he wrote in 1883: 'I sometimes think the serpent in the garden must have been a white devil for no devil can be worse than white ones. If I had my way I would keep all whites from the natives . . .'<sup>29</sup> G. E. Morrison, who was rash enough to challenge Chalmers's pioneering reputation with grandiose plans for an inland expedition sponsored by the *Age*, felt the missionary's opposition. When Morrison returned prematurely, wounded during a clash with villagers not far from Port Moresby, Chalmers with ill concealed self-righteousness sent the *Brisbane Courier* a long report entitled: 'Making peace after the "Age" party broke it'.<sup>30</sup>

Chalmers's fears that white settlement would lead to exploitation as well as violence were realised in 1883. Although New Guinea was spared the worst of the labour traffic by the passing of the Pacific Islanders' Protection Act just as the country was opening up, it was not completely untouched. 'We have had the manstealers at the East End', Chalmers reported.

They abuse me villainously for which I am glad. One paper says I teach the natives that white men are cannibals. I could truthfully teach them that they are fiends incarnate. I shall keep at it with home and the colonies until the horrible traffic is stopped.<sup>31</sup>

Chalmers was true to his word. He launched himself into an energetic campaign, which included public meetings in Queensland,

an interview with its Premier, letters to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Derby, and a well informed, reasoned letter to the *Brisbane Courier*, which drew a supportive editorial concluding that 'The Pacific labour trade is doomed'.<sup>32</sup> Probably it was doomed before Chalmers intervened but he may have helped hasten its death.

When Chalmers found the Papuans of Redscar Bay threatened by a land swindle in the form of the purchase by three Europeans of 15,000 acres of land at 1d. per acre from a villager who had no land rights, he rushed to their defence and protested until the sale was disallowed by the British and colonial governments. But his concern went beyond that due to the illegality of this one particular sale. He knew enough about land-hungry colonists to be alarmed about its implications for the future. 'When will the Anglo-Saxon learn that the world was not made for him alone?' he demanded. With paternalistic but passionate concern, he pleaded 'let us for once in our history act righteously by the weaker race, recognise their rights; remember they are not only savages but children, and cannot deal for themselves with a superior race'.<sup>33</sup>

Although Chalmers's concern for Papuan rights was sincere, his correspondence also suggests that he enjoyed the fight for its own sake. 'I like opposition and I like hard knocks', he confided, and reported, one suspects unblushingly: 'I am a "Tyrant Missionary"'. I try to make myself King of New Guinea, the natives are afraid of me. I must be put down . . . Capital, I like the fight and know that right must eventually win the day'.<sup>34</sup>

Concern for the protection of Papuan life and property led Chalmers in 1883 to add his voice to the colonial clamour for annexation. But he was anxious that political control should be given to Britain, not to the Australian colonies from whom, he believed, 'the natives would have no mercy'.<sup>35</sup> Nor were Chalmers's reasons for wanting the establishment of political control the same as those of the colonial spokesmen for annexation. He was sceptical about the hopes of those who saw in New Guinea a second Java and was equally sceptical about theories of hidden mineral wealth. Towards those with dreams of a Pacific empire, Chalmers was quite unsympathetic. His eagerness for political control lay in his belief that it provided the opportunity for a new style of colonial rule: that 'for once' Britain would 'attempt to govern a savage race in such a way as best meets their needs'.<sup>36</sup> Chalmers believed that the only

Australian argument for annexation with any validity was the one based on defence.

Because Chalmers's main concern was for the welfare of Papuans, he thought much about how New Guinea should be governed. 'New Guinea for the New Guineans and the New Guineans for New Guinea'<sup>37</sup> was his constant plea. It had been reflected in his demands for the cessation of the labour trade and the prohibition of land sales, and it continued to be a persistent theme of his writings and speeches. 'Let us begin by recognising all native rights,' he urged in *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (p. 13). Land should not be sold but only leased, and always through the government. A system of laws should be established: 'not the laws of the British nation but the laws suited for them'. Officers should be appointed in every district to rule through native chiefs and to encourage the cultivation of plantations. This, Chalmers felt, would encourage the independence of Papuans. 'Teach our natives, encourage them in trade and they will never want your charity'.<sup>38</sup> To protect them from exploitation, trade should be permitted only through the government, and trade in liquor and firearms should be forbidden.

Chalmers made two major contributions to the activities associated with the proclamation of the Protectorate in November 1884. The first was to persuade the coastal Papuans to put their trust in the large, foreign warships and their occupants, the second was to ensure that the proceedings were, as far as possible, intelligible to them. It was due to Chalmers's 'wonderful influence' alone, reported Commodore Erskine, that the 'principal and influential chiefs . . . were induced . . . to take an interested and intelligent part in the ceremonies'.<sup>39</sup> How much they understood is difficult to judge but it seems that Chalmers left them with a clear idea at least of the promises made to them. Chalmers, in *Pioneering in New Guinea* (p. 2), was complacent about his efforts:

I accompanied all the Government Expeditions along the coast and may fairly claim to have done a good part of the work of making thoroughly clear to the natives the meaning of what would otherwise have been to them a dumb show. They now comprehend what the hoisting of the flag and the reading of the Proclamation meant.

Much of his blueprint for government was embodied in the Protectorate proclamation but, realising that the declaration of high-sounding promises was no guarantee of their fulfilment, he

continued in his self-appointed role of protector of Papuan interests. In August 1885 General Sir Peter Scratchley arrived in British New Guinea to be its special commissioner. He and his party responded readily to Chalmers's air of confidence and authority. George Seymour Fort, Scratchley's private secretary, described the impression that he made on them:

Rather short, thickset and powerfully built, his pale, untanned complexion, high cheekbones and small, ever-watchful brown eyes were surmounted by a massive, leonine head; his was a face and a presence that at once arrested attention and interest.<sup>40</sup>

Almost immediately they turned to him for assistance and advice. 'Whatever had to be done from the Special Commissioner downwards, the first question was, "Where is Tamate?"' <sup>41</sup> reported Scratchley's surgeon. Scratchley requested that Chalmers accompany him on all his tours from Port Moresby: 'I feel that without him I could do nothing', <sup>42</sup> he confessed to his wife.

The traders bitterly resented Chalmers's influence with government men. They passed among themselves his alleged boast (reported by Bevan): 'in another six months there will not be another trader left in the island'. Theodore Bevan, a young, ambitious and excitable explorer-trader, who had good reason to resent Chalmers, wrote scathingly of 'mission rule' and recorded, with probably only a degree of exaggeration, an occasion on which Chalmers gave unwitting evidence of it while strenuously denying its existence:<sup>43</sup>

Chalmers immediately took me to task in the most brusque manner possible for my writings, taking particular exception to the term 'mission rule' . . . The more control I retained over my temper, the more fiery-eyed and passionate Chalmers became until, after hurling every abusive epithet he could lay his tongue to, he would up with, 'I shall ask General Scratchley to send you back to Cooktown'.

Scratchley's sudden death in November 1885 was sincerely regretted by Chalmers. From that time, his influence on government affairs was less direct. The neutrality of Scratchley's successor, John Douglas, towards the mission, the hostility of his deputy, Anthony Musgrave, and the employment of a small group of government men, themselves often anti-missionary, all contributed to the decline in the influence exerted by Chalmers and his colleagues after 1886. Chalmers had expressed his reluctance to see the protectorate become a colony, for he felt that, whereas a

protectorate should and could exist primarily for the benefit of its inhabitants, a colony existed almost invariably for the imperial power. But his qualms must have been allayed by the appointment of the colony's first administrator. Sir William MacGregor was exactly the kind of person whom Chalmers had prescribed for the job in 'New Guinea, Past, Present and Future' (p. 105): 'a man of firmness and commonsense, who will choose his own subordinates and who can act independently of missionaries or beach-men'. It may have been his confidence in MacGregor, as well as his absorption in remoter parts of Papua, that accounted for his readiness to abdicate from his position of political power.

There is no doubt that Chalmers did enjoy his power and prestige. Contemporaries marvelled at the dedication which led him to refuse furlough for over a decade. But to a fellow missionary Chalmers confessed: 'I know well in England I am nobody — lost, unknown — here I am Tamate — a king with great power — far more than any other'.<sup>44</sup>

When Chalmers returned from his long-postponed furlough in November 1887, he became absorbed in a new area: the vast and little-known Gulf of Papua. It was an area that had long challenged him. In 1879 he had sailed around it as far west as Vailala and in the following years had made frequent visits to the villages on its eastern side. In 1883 he made his most enterprising Gulf voyage, as a member of the *hiri*, the annual trading expedition undertaken by the Motu. Sailing under the pandanus sail of the triple-hulled *Kevaubada*, surrounded by the familiar Motu and their fire-baked pots, he received a friendly welcome. Communication in the trade language of *hiri motu* helped avert the suspicion and misunderstanding he had encountered elsewhere.

During these visits to the Gulf, Chalmers was confronted with evidence of cultures richer and more complex than any he had seen in New Guinea. His reactions to them were sometimes ambivalent or inconsistent as if he were trying to reconcile his observations with his preconceptions. The most impressive and visible symbol of these cultures was the *eravo* of Elema or the *dubu* of Namau: a long graceful temple with an upswept roof tapering from eighty to nine feet. Seeing for the first time the interior of a *dubu*, with its intricately carved floor, glazed to a high polish by blood; its silky curtains of sago-palm fronds and its sacred place adorned with fan-

tastically carved skulls, Chalmers was alive to its bizarre but rich beauty. It was evidence, he felt, that its builders were 'something beyond the mere wild savage' and he suggested in *Pioneering in New Guinea* (p. 60) 'cannibal semi-civilised savages'. He saw in the carefully tended flower gardens surrounding the *dubu* further evidence of a 'kind of civilisation amongst these people' (p. 67).

Like many of his generation in unfamiliar environments, Chalmers seemed caught between two worlds. He was more successful than most in shaking himself free of Victorian Britain and entering imaginatively the world of the Papuan. He resisted, for example, the eagerness of many of his colleagues to clothe their flocks. Faced with the near nakedness of the women of the Gulf, he wrote also in *Pioneering in New Guinea* (p. 68): 'The women certainly do not wear much, and I am not astonished at it. They are very modest and think themselves respectable and wellclothed'. He believed that European clothing mocked the fine physique of the Papuan men, and encouraged disease. Neither polygamy nor cannibalism aroused in him the shocked abhorrence felt by many of his generation. Although he forbade Christian converts to take additional wives after baptism, he baptised polygamists, recognising the suffering which repudiation of a wife or wives would cause. Of cannibalism, Chalmers admitted to the anthropologist A. C. Hadson that, while he did not think it a 'desirable custom', he nevertheless found its practitioners to have 'many engaging qualities'.<sup>45</sup>

Intellectually, at least, Chalmers could see that what was different was not necessarily immoral. 'Why savages should be always spoken of as immoral I fail to see', he wrote, and added, 'I am sorry to say that it is contact with the civilised whites that demoralises and they become loose and immoral'.<sup>46</sup> But occasionally, shocked by an action or gesture, he retreated to a conventional Victorian morality. After watching the people of Maipua dancing 'wildly and obscenely'<sup>47</sup> in the flickering firelight, he commented sweepingly in *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (p. 157): 'Some people think these meetings mere innocent amusement, but it is because they know nothing of natives. Purity is unknown. There are no moral natives, unless very young children and even they have their minds stored with filth'. Chalmers, like many of his generation, held a mental scale of civilisation. He never questioned that it was his duty to 'civilise' or 'raise' the Papuans. Although he rejected the caricature of the Papuans as uncultured

and ignorant, he saw them as other than and inferior to his own people. Even if the term 'savage' had not, for Chalmers, the pejorative overtones that it has today, it was still a label for a distinctive phenomenon. The Papuans were not simply people, they were savages. The people of Elema and Namau by Papuan standards were cultured and sophisticated, but they were still savages.

However, Chalmers was no theoretician and, no matter how unsympathetic, inconsistent or ambivalent his ideas were, they did not prevent his having friendships with the Gulf peoples as affectionate and spontaneous as those with members of his own culture. Little awareness of racial distance is apparent in a fellow missionary's description of Chalmers's return visit to a Gulf village in 1886:

The name 'Tamate' was shouted to the people and in joy they took up the name and danced on the beach in delight . . . The reception which Tamate received was beyond description. He was squeezed, hugged and even some of the old men would have kissed and rubbed noses with him.<sup>48</sup>

There was no resistance to the placing of teachers in the Gulf villages. 'They all like teachers because of the worldly gospel they bring',<sup>49</sup> the experienced Chalmers commented. He found however that despite their eagerness, and despite the readiness of Motu Christians to act as evangelists, the Christian gospel encountered, in the Gulf, the same indifference and incomprehension as elsewhere. Old Testament stories were liked well enough but New Testament doctrines were less readily received. The greatest stumbling block was the resurrection: 'they say they could believe all but that'.<sup>50</sup>

The Gulf people soon learned that to accept Chalmers was to accept him on his terms. Wherever he went he expected a *dubu* for his personal use and at least once ordered its owners from it to ensure a peaceful night's sleep. 'The idea of ordering them from the "dubu" and being left alone will not soon be forgotten', he commented unrepentantly in *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (p. 176). He tolerated no obstruction to the work of the mission and when the young bloods of Maiva conspired to harass its newly placed teacher he 'spoke straight'<sup>51</sup> to them and the opposition crumpled. Frederick Walker, who joined the mission in 1888, described another occasion when Chalmers spoke straight to recalcitrant leaders: 'It was a scene for a picture. The native chiefs squatting on the floor looking as frightened as possible and Tamate

laying down the law and blowing them up in fine style. They evidently regarded him with great fear and reverence'.<sup>52</sup>

In January 1888 Chalmers moved his headquarters from Port Moresby to Toaripi, a large village in the centre of the Gulf at the mouth of the Lakekamu River. Strangers had already been there: Edelfelt, the government agent and trader, and Tauraki, a very able Polynesian teacher, whose murder by enemies of the Toaripi the year before had brought a punitive expedition into the area. With Chalmers went his new wife, Lizzie, a widowed friend whose acquaintance he had renewed in England in 1886. Lizzie Chalmers's introduction to Toaripi was a nightmarish contrast to the gracious welcome she had received a few weeks earlier at Port Moresby. She arrived, ill and exhausted after a twenty-six hour tossing in a whaleboat and, too weak to walk ashore, was carried through the darkness to the house. 'I wanted to go to bed but there was none; no furniture, only just a mat or two on the floor'.<sup>53</sup> Closer inspection in the daylight gave little encouragement. The house which Chalmers had described proudly as 'a splendid bungalow built of cedar'<sup>54</sup> was built on the bare sand with the surf crashing in fifty yards away. The interior, with open partitions and overlapping planks, provided unlimited accommodation for rats, mice and insects. 'I do wish you could see this house', Lizzie Chalmers wrote to a friend. 'Tamate thinks it a delightful place. I am not quite so much in love with it'.<sup>55</sup>

During the three years that followed the arrival of Chalmers and his wife at Toaripi, there was little formal response to the mission. Not a single Toaripi was baptised and, in the early days at least, Chalmers had to bully and cajole even to get a congregation. Services were noisy and disorderly and occasionally were abandoned midway for settlement of a village dispute. There was little more response to the school. Opposition to it originated, Chalmers believed, with the old people, who resented the loss of labour and the rival source of authority that it presented. The Semese festival, a long and complex series of ceremonies, was celebrated 'in all its wild savagery'<sup>56</sup> in 1889. Fights between the two sections of the village continued to break out with all their raucous intensity. Sexual mores remained unaffected by mission teaching. 'Until marriage the relations between the sexes are very mixed and free', Chalmers reported. 'The old people encourage them. They only laugh at what we call fornication'.<sup>57</sup>



But although there was no formal response, both Chalmers and his wife felt that their presence was not resented. They therefore responded resiliently and the mission house was a happy place, frequently filled with laughter as Chalmers struggled unsuccessfully to learn the language from his student-instructors. The gaiety of the mission house vanished temporarily, however, when Chalmers was away visiting outstations. 'I only feel half-alive when he is not here', Lizzie Chalmers confessed in a letter to a friend and added ruefully: 'Isn't it ridiculous in a woman of my years to feel like a romantic love-sick girl, only more so'. Without Chalmers, life at Toaripi was almost intolerable: 'if I ever stop to think I feel as if I can't live another day in this loneliness'. The experience was probably harder for her than it had been for Chalmers's first wife. Although a committed Christian, she did not share the evangelistic fervour of her husband or Jane Chalmers. It was devotion to her husband that made her a loyal missionary. 'It is a curious feeling, but he seems to have completely absorbed my life and will into his own', she wrote in the same letter, two years after marriage.<sup>58</sup>

Recurrent attacks of fever between 1889 and 1892 debilitated Lizzie Chalmers so severely that Chalmers decided that she should return to England to recuperate. When she reluctantly left in March 1892 it was with the comforting assurance that fruits of their labour were beginning to appear. Sunday was now observed as a day of rest; services were well attended and there was a class of eight catechumens. Numbers of children attended school regularly; many could read and a few could spell. The Gospel of peace was having some effect too; observers remarked on the change that had come over the Toaripi, hitherto 'the terror of all the other tribes . . . to Kerepuna'.<sup>59</sup> Throughout the twelve stations of the Gulf there were the same signs of hope. The only real uneasiness Chalmers felt was over the coming and expansion of the Mission of the Sacred Heart. Chalmers displayed a bigoted opposition to Catholicism, which did not mellow with time. 'It is a hateful, pagan system', he wrote to a friend shortly before his death. However, with Catholics, as with 'savages', his prejudices were betrayed by his humanity. 'I like a man like that on the other side', he admitted after visiting their Superior, 'As long as Christ is glorified, I don't care who are the instruments.'<sup>60</sup> Sir William MacGregor, who visited the Gulf in 1893, commented, in the *British New Guinea*

*Annual Report* for 1892/93, the progress wrought there under Chalmers's supervision:

His labours among the tribes have reduced warfare, diminished the number of murders and have greatly promoted peaceful intercourse among the people. He has had the whole field to himself and is really the Apostle of the Gulf of Papua.

The pioneering phase in the Gulf was over. Once more Chalmers's attention shifted. Reports had reached him that since MacFarlane's departure in 1886 the western branch of the mission had degenerated almost to the point of collapse. Churches were deserted and the few teachers who had remained at their posts were demoralised. The challenge in such a gloomy situation was irresistible to Chalmers. The Western Division of British New Guinea, where sea, mud, river and scrub merged together to form one vast, desolate landscape, had always held a strange fascination for him. He seemed to sense in it a challenge that the gentler terrain of the east did not hold. He bullied his colleagues into extending his responsibilities to include it as well as the Gulf.

Chalmers dealt with the crisis in the west in his usual autocratic fashion, ordering 'a thorough change everywhere' of mission personnel. For the next two years he was constantly on the move supervising his immense district, which sprawled over an area equal in size to the rest of the New Guinea mission. His work was organised completely on the Pauline model, which he had always admired. As he sailed from station to station in his small boat, to visit, pray, preach, baptise, exhort and advise, he reminded more than one observer of the apostle Paul. But his work had many other aspects beside the conventional missionary tasks. It included urging the enforcement of the Torres Strait Liquor Laws; attacking the practice of taking Murray Islanders on twelve-month fishing contracts which left them footloose on Thursday Island; organising a relief expedition for hungry and sick Roman Catholic missionaries on Yule Island; visiting the islands of the Strait with the Governor of Queensland during the revived debate on ownership of them and struggling with a mighty tidal bore in a successful effort to place teachers up-river on the Fly.

When Chalmers took up the western work he was strong, vigorous and high-spirited. On his fiftieth birthday, 4 August 1891, he testified to his love of life: 'steady work, rough work, pioneering

or settled, a prank, a joke, a feast, a famine, all come as well as of old'.<sup>61</sup> At first the challenge the new work presented only increased his exuberance. But as the months passed, the life of constant travel, of drenching in soaking rain, of struggling through endless miles of mud, began to affect his health and his spirits. Characteristically he refused to let illness interfere with his work. Godet, captain of the mission boat, expressed the mixture of admiration and exasperation that his stubbornness inspired: 'I pity the man sometimes but he must go, sick or well . . . he must have the constitution of a horse'.<sup>62</sup> Until July 1894, when he left for furlough in England, Chalmers continued his constant travelling, but the effort almost cost him his life. His reports describe arduous journeys punctuated by delirious attacks of fever and rheumatism.

Lawes had been watching apprehensively as Chalmers struggled with his vast district. No man, 'not even Chalmers', he told the directors of the L.M.S., could manage a district stretching from Cape Suckling to the Torres Strait.<sup>63</sup> By the time Chalmers left for England it seemed that Lawes's concern was justified. Not only had Chalmers himself come close to death, but the western branch too, was struggling for life. The Resident Magistrate of the Western Division, Bingham Hely, regretted that he could say 'nothing in praise of it' in the B.N.G. *Annual Report* for 1893/94 (p. 53). During Chalmers's absence the state of the mission deteriorated still further through lack of supervision and conflicts amongst the mission staff, but on his return in 1896 he threw himself into an energetic program of visitation and supervision and, in MacGregor's words, from the 1895/96 *Annual Report*, 'the mission forthwith set about gaining lost ground', (p. xxxv).

Chalmers then turned reluctantly to the building of a headstation at Saguane, on Kiwai Island, a flat, mud island in the middle of the vast mouth of the Fly River. In 1896 as much as in his younger years, a settled life was irksome to him but the directors had insisted that he build a permanent home in the west before his wife joined him. His letters and reports, and those of his wife after her arrival in August 1897, describe the same struggle for acceptance as they had experienced at Toaripi. But the note of joy and optimism is absent. 'The people here are so queer', Lizzie Chalmers wrote to a friend. 'They do not want us'. Unlike her 'bold, daring savages' of the Gulf, she found the Kiwai 'mean and treacherous'.<sup>64</sup>

At Saguane too, Chalmers ran into more violent conflict with

local custom than elsewhere. Accepted sexual practices soon provoked his opposition. 'Fornication is rife, rife here and the old men are the greatest sinners', he wrote to a government official on Rarotonga. 'A few will have to be hung before there is a change. They are low, very low, a man will rape his own daughters. Their festival season is just a rotten old time for the old rakes'.<sup>65</sup> The festival which so incensed him was the *moguru*: the series of ceremonies which initiated the young Kiwai men. Chalmers opposed it partly because it emptied his classrooms for four months every year, but more fundamentally because of its nature. It was 'abominably filthy' he wrote. 'The lads are prostituted by the men for quite a long time and some become so diseased that they never recover'.<sup>66</sup>

Paradoxically it was, according to the Kiwai people today, the *moguru* that eventually prompted their acceptance of Chalmers. Chalmers claimed to have heard its mysteries from an old trader who had spied on the ceremonies, but the Kiwai claim that his knowledge of it was more intimate: 'He was taken into a long house at Saguane . . . They took him to the ceremonies. They actually stripped him off and put on him what Papuans were wearing according to tradition. He obeyed them'. That was why 'Tamate won Kiwai island', they claim. 'Tamate became one with them'.<sup>67</sup>

Whatever the reasons, a responsiveness, which Chalmers described as 'a great wave of blessing',<sup>68</sup> rose at Saguane early in 1898 and washed over the surrounding district. Even the hitherto critical Hely remarked in the 1897/98 *Annual Report* that 'what amounts to a religious revival has taken place'. Chalmers and his wife responded with joy but also with effort, for during that year the health of both completely failed. In January 1898 Chalmers fell heavily from the verandah of his house and the anthropologist A. C. Haddon, visiting him in June, found him still 'much shaken'<sup>69</sup> by the fall. A fortnight's battering in a Torres Strait gale forced Chalmers to bed with rheumatic and malarial fever. His own report of his illness was characteristically laconic: 'I have had a fortnight's wetting and knocking . . . and have got rheumatics bad'.<sup>70</sup> But Mrs Chalmers who, herself unwell, nursed him through his illness, described more forcefully his ten days of delirium, concluding in her forthright way that he still looked 'a great wreck'.<sup>71</sup> Two months later, despite the excitement of 'the awakening', Chalmers

wrote despondently that he still felt 'out of sorts' and lacked 'real zest in the work'.<sup>72</sup>

Chalmers continued to work steadily throughout 1899 and 1900 despite the failing health of his wife and his own declining strength. As a concession to his increasing frailty he spent more time meeting the now insistent demands of the Kiwai for education. In February 1900, after nine years' waiting, his pleas for a colleague were answered. Oliver Fellowes Tomkins, a tall, dark twenty-six year old Cheshunt graduate, quickly became an able and enthusiastic partner. Soon after his arrival he wrote of 'the great privilege of working with Mr. Chalmers'.<sup>73</sup> Chalmers's comment was more off-hand but no less appreciative: 'He will do, send us two more of the same sort'.<sup>74</sup> Although Mrs Chalmers found him 'a bit too straight-laced',<sup>75</sup> she too became fond of the solemn, idealistic young man.

Tomkins's arrival was timely, for during 1900 Chalmers needed all his remaining strength to nurse his wife. In July 1900 she collapsed and was sent to bed. By October it was clear that she would not recover. As she dreaded being buried in the sea-battered swamp-land of Saguane Chalmers carried her on to the mission boat when there was a lull in the squally weather. She died as the boat reached Daru Island on 25 October 1900 and was buried that evening in Daru village. Throughout Chalmers's second marriage his colleagues had made veiled criticisms of his treatment of his wife. Lizzie Chalmers herself, too sane and practical to be an unnecessary martyr, had sometimes attacked her husband's spartan existence. But Chalmers was incorrigible. To her rueful query: 'Why can't you be like other people?' he had replied complacently that she 'would not care for him half so much if he was'.<sup>76</sup> Revelling in a rough, unsettled and physically demanding life himself, he could not or would not see that it was not suitable for all, especially a middle-aged and ailing wife.

Chalmers, badly hurt by his wife's death, plummeted into a period of depression that lasted till the end of his life. Some of his emotion was absorbed into the task of pulling down the Saguane station, which was being washed away by the sea, and rebuilding on higher ground at Daru Island. But the lonely life he led there only intensified his depression. He suffered from the weather, which alternated between oppressively hot, still spells and violent outbursts of thunder and lightning. The persistent annoyance of mosquitoes, which a younger Chalmers would have scorned to

mention, formed a continuous theme in his diary. He continued to suffer from the death of his wife and each letter of condolence seemed to 're-open the wound'.<sup>77</sup> Physically he was unwell. Mrs Chalmers, before her death, had written of the 'frequent headaches' from which he suffered. 'I am anxious for my darling husband', she had confessed, 'he won't hear of it but his health is breaking — he has never got over the effects of that fall'.<sup>78</sup> Thoughts of death were frequently in Chalmers's mind. He not only thought of it; he longed for it: 'How grand it would be to sit down in the middle of the work and just hear the Master say: "Your part is finished, come"'.<sup>79</sup> An uncharacteristic feeling of spiritual lassitude engulfed him. He confessed to a tendency 'to get so formal and lukewarm' and 'to need occasional stimulus'.<sup>80</sup>

In a final attempt to shake off his lethargy and depression Chalmers decided on what had always been an effective remedy in the past: a sea voyage. On 4 April 1901 he left Daru with Tomkins, ten mission students and Naragi, a Kiwai chief,<sup>81</sup> in the mission boat *Niue*. On 7 April, they anchored off Goaribari, a large, low, densely-wooded island at the mouth of the Omati river, on the western side of the Gulf of Papua. Within minutes they were surrounded by canoes filled with armed and painted Goaribari who boarded the ship and clamoured for the mission party to go ashore, which Chalmers promised to do the following morning. At dawn, the Goaribari returned to the *Niue* and Chalmers, with Tomkins, Naragi, and the students followed them in the whaleboat to the shore. As he stepped into the boat Chalmers called that they would be back in half an hour. The captain and crew watched them disappear from sight up a mangrove-fringed creek but their attention was then diverted by a party of Goaribari who boarded and looted the ship. The captain waited all day for the mission party, but they did not return. After circumnavigating the island the following morning, he sailed away to report their disappearance at Daru. It was not till several weeks later, when a government punitive expedition captured one Goaribari prisoner, that the first information as to the fate of the party became available. The prisoner reported that the missionaries, entering the *dubu*, had been knocked on the head and stabbed with cassowary daggers. They had been beheaded; their bodies had been cut up, mixed with sago and eaten the same day.

Shock and incredulity followed news of the deaths of the missionaries, especially Chalmers. 'He seemed to live a charmed life',<sup>82</sup> Charles Abel commented. Only the missionaries who had known him best felt that Chalmers's death had been timely. Thompson, secretary of the L.M.S., on hearing of Chalmers's death, wrote: 'I cannot mourn for him as I would for some men because he had aged so much of late that there was little prospect of being able to do much more of a pioneering kind'.<sup>83</sup> The results of his death was disastrous. The Goaribari suffered from three government expeditions, two of which were excessively violent, and from the long-standing hostility of all other coastal Papuans towards them. The western branch of the mission, with which Chalmers had struggled for the last decade of his life, lapsed into chaos, and the response of the turbulent Kiwai towards the mission was temporarily withdrawn.

Contemporaries sought for an explanation of the deaths. Some suggested that it was retaliation for an attack MacGregor had made a few years earlier at a point that was, however, at least thirty miles from Goaribari. Others hypothesised that the mission party were sacrificial victims, killed to provide a blood offering for a new *dubu* that was to be consecrated on Goaribari. Many accepted the explanation of customary cannibalism. When Lieutenant-Governor Le Hunte later questioned the Goaribari as to why they had killed Chalmers, they replied simply that it was their custom to kill strangers.<sup>84</sup> The hundreds of skulls Le Hunte and his party found piled up inside the *dubus* must have lent support to their statement.

Behind the search for an explanation of his death lay their uneasy conviction that Chalmers's journey to Goaribari had been unnecessary. 'I cannot but feel', wrote Le Hunte with restrained annoyance in the 1900/01 *Annual Report* (p. 25), 'that even with Mr. Chalmers's marvellous personality and control of savage natives, it was a great risk and not humanly speaking a necessary one for an unarmed party to go there until the Government had some better knowledge of the people'. Chalmers's colleagues knew that he had had more than enough work on the Fly River to occupy him for some time. Only a few days before his departure for Goaribari, he had written of his intention to spend six weeks up-river. They were therefore disturbed by his sudden and apparently illogical decision to abandon his present work for a visit to the distant and un-

controlled island of Goaribari. Was Chalmers deliberately courting death?

Kiwai oral tradition (as reported to this writer in 1971) provides a fascinating explanation of Chalmers's visit to Goaribari. A few days before his departure, the Kiwai claim, his collie dog had been shot by the Assistant Resident Magistrate for the Western Division, Arthur Jiear. Chalmers had lost his temper and abused Jiear, upon which the latter had replied by taunting Chalmers that he was 'sheltering behind the government rock'. No insult could be so calculated to arouse Chalmers, who had always been so harmlessly proud of his pioneering reputation, as the insinuation that he was dependent on the government. To prove himself, the Kiwai suggest, Chalmers chose to visit the wildest, least touched part of the Papuan coast, Goaribari. Chalmers's diary shows that his dog was indeed shot by Jiear on 2 April 1901, just three days before his departure. The following day he gave, in letters, the first intimation of his planned visit to Goaribari. What happened there may have been the result of a subconscious search for death or it may have been simply the result of an impetuous and ill considered decision by a tired, depressed, sixty year old man.

During Chalmers's quarter-century in New Guinea, he contributed much. He was the first to bring Christianity to many. He baptised the first Papuan Christians and helped train the first Papuan pastors. He spread the Gospel of peace and mediated between black and white, and black and black. He fought to protect the Papuans from 'man-stealers' and land-stealers, and worked to make their first contacts with the government beneficial. He opened up, peacefully, many miles of New Guinea to outsiders and forged relationships of trust upon which others could build. He brought literacy and rudimentary education to hundreds, and some knowledge of western ways to many thousands more. At the same time he resisted the wholesale anglicising of the Papuans.

Chalmers gave but he also took away. He brought knowledge of the Christian God, but he failed to recognise the coherence or significance of traditional cosmologies. He went with an interest in Papuan culture but with a complacent belief in the superiority of his own. He preached Papuan initiative but asserted an autocratic influence. Judged by the standards of today, he was ethnocentric,



paternalistic and authoritarian. But these were the faults of his age, and probably less his than his contemporaries'.

His contribution to New Guinea was more than the sum of his words and actions. His influence was intensely personal. It lay in the quality of the relationships he established with all kinds of people. Contemporaries spoke of his 'hypnotic' or 'magnetic' influence. His was not a complex personality but it contained contradictory elements: humility and arrogance; sensitivity and brashness; tolerance and bigotry; considerateness and thoughtlessness; patience and hastiness. Yet at the centre of his being was a strong, single-minded christocentric faith that gave authority to his personality and integrity to his words and actions. It was this, his colleague William Lawes believed, that was 'the secret of his greatness'.<sup>85</sup> Amongst Papuans today he is accorded almost supernatural status. Throughout the Papuan Gulf it is believed that the sky darkened on the afternoon of his death.

## 2

# Albert Hahl: Governor of German New Guinea

Stewart Firth

Albert Hahl was born and died in the lower Bavarian village of Gern near Eggenfelden, twenty-five kilometres from the Austrian border. The Hahls were Protestants, but in pragmatic fashion were buried in the local Catholic churchyard. His father owned a brewery. From school at Freising Hahl went to the University of Würzburg, set in a valley of steep vine-covered slopes. It was 1887 and he was nineteen. He studied law and entered the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior in 1894, working at Bayreuth. His early life was spent in a part of Germany remarkably untouched by industry, a Bavaria still dominated by traditional peasant culture. He applied for a post in the Colonial Department of the German Foreign Office in 1895, and spent six months in Berlin preparing for service in German East Africa. He was sent instead to the German Protectorate of the New Guinea Company.

Hahl was twenty-seven when he stepped off the boat at Kokopo (Herbertshöhe) in January 1896. The task before him sounded imposing. It was to take charge of the Protectorate's 'eastern jurisdictional and administrative district', that is, the Bismarck Archipelago and the German Solomon Islands, which then included

Choiseul, Ysabel and the Shortlands as well as Buka and Bougainville.<sup>1</sup> The reality was different. The 'Protectorate' was one in name only, a paper colony in which the Germans claimed influence but were unable to exert it. The population of foreigners in the New Guinea islands numbered 166, of whom only forty-four were Germans.<sup>2</sup> Since 1885 the administration of the German possessions in Melanesia had been in the hands of the New Guinea Company of Berlin, whose hopes of making money out of New Guinea had been disappointed. A grandiose scheme to found a colony of white settlers on the mainland failed and so did the tobacco planting venture that followed it in the 1890s. The Company soon wanted to be relieved of its administrative responsibilities, especially in the islands, where it had clashed with other firms and with the Catholic Sacred Heart Mission in New Britain. Hahl came as the independent imperial magistrate and administrator.<sup>3</sup>

Real authority was held almost everywhere in the Protectorate by New Guineans, who permitted foreign traders, planters and missionaries to stay only if they did not cause trouble. Foreigners who offended New Guineans by breaking taboos, shooting pigs, taking village women, failing to bring back labour recruits, and in many less obvious ways, could expect swift and deadly retribution. The New Guineans killed them with axes, spears or guns and burnt their houses to the ground. In the case of traders, who were most subject to attack, stores of copra were ransacked. The Germans' reply to these offensives, though it involved more sophisticated weapons, took a similar form. Naval vessels battered suspect villages with shells and police troops assailed them with guns and fire-torches. The object on both sides was to punish and deter by killing and burning, and though the Germans killed more people the New Guineans remained unsubdued.

The Kokopo to which Hahl went in 1896 was no more than a few scattered sheds and houses, a true outpost of empire. More substantial were the nearby plantation homes of Emma Forsayth, the part-American, part-Samoan settler, and of the numerous relatives who had joined her from Samoa during the 1880s. The principal plantation was Queen Emma's Ralum, west of Kokopo, and the centre of expatriate social life was her spacious bungalow at Gunantambu overlooking the sea. Facilities for Hahl were meagre by contrast. His living quarters consisted of a two-roomed hut on the beach, shared with a doctor. For sea journeys all he had was an

open boat, and the horse on which he explored the Gazelle Peninsula was borrowed from a planter. The twenty-four police troops who were supposed to be at his disposal were employed by the New Guinea Company as plantation labourers and carried rifles which the Company refused to keep in good order because of the expense. Elaborate ordinances drawn up by the Company, those, for example, concerning the employment of labourers and quarantine for the sick, were unenforceable. The security of foreign settlements in the Gazelle Peninsula and northern New Ireland was always in question. 'Attacks, plunder, even murders of Europeans', Hahl later recalled, 'were the order of the day'.<sup>4</sup>

Hahl had no doubts about the aim of German colonisation. It was to open up the country to European planters and traders. 'I see the value of the archipelago', he wrote in 1896, 'above all in the fact that its natural resources — copra, galip nuts [*Steinnüsse*], trepang, turtleshell — make it possible to exploit the region by means of trading even at places where a plantation undertaking is initially or permanently excluded'.<sup>5</sup> The profits of trading, he explained, could be used to finance planting. And he was soon confident that he knew what must be done to achieve European development. First, communications had to be vastly improved on both land and sea by roads and regular shipping. Ideally, the administration should have a steamer to protect endangered trading posts. Second, the issue of land ownership had to be settled and 'native reserves' set aside. Third, and most important, the government had to be able to fulfil its primary task of protecting life and property; until this happened it was 'useless to encourage the merchant to be enterprising'.

A few small stretches of road already existed near Kokopo, joining the plantations along the coast and the Sacred Heart Mission station inland at Takabur near Ulaulatava. Hahl organised road building on a much greater scale in co-operation with the coastal Tolai. By 1898 roads and bridle paths stretched from Kokopo halfway around the bay to Malaguna and inland towards Mt Vunakoko; from Matupit to Rabaul farm; from Malaguna to Rataful; and along the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula as well. Later they were to be joined to form a comprehensive network. The Tolai were fed and paid as they worked and, once roads were built, were required to maintain them. One of the first to get iron tools for road maintenance was the Raluana clan leader Tokinkin, who

had visited Berlin in 1896. Shell-money taken from the Tolai in the form of fines became their wages for roadwork: in 1897 the people of Tingenavudu were receiving a fathom of shell-money per man per month plus food for their work on the road to Vunakoko. At little cost, about 1100 marks or \$55 in 1898, the Germans won great advantages. 'The making of roads', the New Guinea Company's gazette reported, 'improves communication and trade, secures peace [and] makes possible access to the country and the realisation of all the administration's future tasks, especially the taxation of the natives'.<sup>7</sup>

Conflict between Tolai and foreigner over land had already caused bloody wars before Hahl arrived, most notably the attack on Herbertshöhe by Tolai covered in 'bullet-proof' ointment, in 1893. The threat of further hostilities persisted. Some people near Kokopo were living on land claimed by Queen Emma, others were being driven inland by the spread of plantations, and they complained to Hahl when he visited the villages. Hahl, who learnt the Kuanua language, listened sympathetically to their grievances. He acted swiftly to set aside reserves of land for the Tolai by persuading foreign planters to part with some of their claims. The precedent was to be a useful one — twelve New Guinean reserves, all in the Gazelle, had been created by 1901 — but it had no firm basis in law. Technically, the reserves remained foreign property.<sup>8</sup>

Hahl wanted a more dependable way of safeguarding the expatriates than the temporary expedient of reprisal. He decided upon permanent intervention in local New Guinean politics through the appointment of officially recognised intermediaries, who had to answer for villagers' behaviour. They came to be known as *luluais*. The first were chosen in the Gazelle Peninsula and the Duke of York group in the latter half of 1896. In January 1897 Hahl extended the system to the Shortland Islands, the site of vigorous expatriate trade centred on Faisi Island. He met Maik, a son and successor of the big man Gorai. Maik had been in Cooktown and Sydney and spoke English fluently. 'I explained to him and to the people of Morgusaia', Hahl reported,

that they had to give unquestioning obedience to the orders which went out to them from the authorities in Herbertshöhe. Their first duty, of which they had already been made aware, was to protect the settlement of whites and to put an end to head-hunting on Bougainville . . . any breach of the order or prohibition would lead to strict punishment. But

they might also be assured of the strong protection of the German authorities. I gave Maik a document which stated that he is recognised as the chief of his people and place, but that in return he is obliged to settle disputes among his people and their disputes with third parties, and to obey the authorities. Maik fully understood what was explained to him.

The *luluai* system worked better at the centre of German settlement than on the periphery. In the Gazelle Peninsula it was backed by the personal influence of Hahl, who studied Tolai customs and sat down with the people on his frequent visits to villages. Many coastal Tolai appear to have decided that they could only gain from accommodating to the new order and that Hahl was likely to deal with their grievances sympathetically. It was 'astounding' what Hahl had achieved, a naval commander wrote in September 1897: at his command New Guineans were planting palms and building roads at both Matupit and Kokopo.<sup>10</sup> Further inland, by contrast, Hahl struck a determined opponent in Tovagira of Tomanairik near Mt Vunakoko. When asked to work with his people on road building, Tovagira sent Hahl a thread with nine knots, signifying that Hahl would be eaten in nine days' time. Hahl tried to surprise him with a dawn raid, but he escaped and continued to oppose the Germans for another five years until killed by them in 1902.<sup>11</sup>

On the edge of the colony, in the Solomons, northern New Ireland, and New Hanover, German rule meant little. In the space of a few months in 1897 the traders Anat and Clark, employees of Queen Emma on Simberi Island, were killed by the islanders after Anat shot one of them in a drunken rage; Lundir and Leonhardt, trading for HERNSHEIM & CO. in northern New Ireland, met their deaths at the hands of the Medina people; villagers on an island north of Bougainville murdered the trader Ah Wing; seven labourers going home to New Hanover, who were dropped en route at a trading post on Kung Island off the north-west coast, were robbed of their trade goods and killed by a party of men who sailed across from the main island; and the trader Beavis was put to death by one of his labourers in the Nissan group.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time New Guineans continued to fight each other. The people of Kabien in northern New Ireland carried out regular forays of plunder against communities to the east, especially that of Lemusmus, which was weakened by loss of men to the labour

recruiters. In the fights between the Medina people and their enemies on the opposite coastline of New Ireland both sides were led by men who had served with the German police.<sup>13</sup> The rifles used in this kind of warfare had often hung originally in some European trader's hut. It was the custom for traders to send all New Guinean crews on voyages to buy copra and to give them arms for protection; and often, on the landing of the boat at a coastal village, the arms were seized by villagers. Hahl tried to legislate against this spread of weapons in September 1897 by prohibiting the arming of such trading parties when they consisted entirely of New Guineans. But the Germans could not enforce the prohibitions and traders outside the Gazelle Peninsula remained wholly in the power of New Guineans.<sup>14</sup>

The helplessness of the government in Kokopo was well known to northern New Irelanders through the reports of repatriated police troops. A German trader from Lauan wrote to Hahl in October 1898:<sup>15</sup>

On month August the Natives of the village Livitau came and asked me for boats to go on the crash and buy Copra as usual, I gave them the boats and on condition that they should return in four or five days, but instead of doing so they went over to Fischer and Gardener Islands [that is, the Tabar Islands] and purchased some Guns the number of which I dont exactly know some people says 2 some says 5. They staid away for nearly two months at last when they return they did not come to me with the guns but went to there places with them, next day I sent down five Bags with word for them to get filled as payment for the damage and wear and tear to the boats. One of the chiefs acceded to it but the rest revolted, and told my messengers that they did not care for me and that I go down myself they were ready to fight me, then again I send down word that I did not want to fight I only want the payment and then we will continue friendships but they wont adhere to that, they say its a made-up yarn of my Natives and they wont do it, so then I went myself, and to my surprise I saw hundreds of Natives gathered together and all armed, I was warned on the road that they were going to attack me, so to make sure I went closer to see for myself, so to avoid any fighting I turned back and since that time I am continually threatened of my life . . . I Beg of You Sir to take some steps and give this people a warning above all the guns . . .

No government official went to north-east New Ireland in the two years to October 1898. Government visits to such areas, when they occurred, took the form of punitive expeditions. In an early letter Hahl expressed doubts about killing and burning as a means

of exercising influence over the New Guineans.<sup>16</sup> But he could see no alternative, given the lack of European resources, and he participated in numerous punitive expeditions during his time as imperial magistrate. He not only avenged wrongs done to expatriates but also, on occasion, restrained inter-New Guinean fighting; the motive in both cases was to protect European colonisation. As he wrote later of his intervention in the New Guinean politics of central New Ireland, he had led the expedition mainly because he feared that New Guinean feuds would destroy the coastal trade, labour recruitment and the Methodist Mission.<sup>17</sup>

Punitive expeditions were destructive and were sometimes followed by confiscation. After the people of Ali Island near Aitape attacked a survey party in March 1897, wounding four sailors, German landing parties shot seven islanders, destroyed ninety-six canoes, burnt eight villages, including 'some very large tambu houses' and cut down coconut palms. The naval commander in charge hoped it was a 'salutary lesson' for the New Guineans, though he thought the punishment was less than they deserved.<sup>18</sup> The people fled from their island home, which was declared to be the property of the New Guinea Company, and Hahl advised against allowing the refugees to return:<sup>19</sup>

Possession has been taken of the island for the Company; it has a good landing-place for boats and is of value should Berlinhafen [Aitape] be developed. And it would not be good to reverse so quickly a forceful measure which had become necessary.

Hahl's uncompromising views on punishment and his personal daring won him praise from the expatriates. He was with the Company Governor Curt von Hagen when Hagen was shot dead in 1897 by Ranga, a Buka police-soldier. Hahl at once proposed an expedition with himself in command and, Captain Wallmann of S.M.S. *Falke* reported, without thought for his own safety. The whites expected action from him, Hahl said. After the *Falke* had pounded the coast south of Madang with 10.5 centimetre shells in order to discourage villagers from harbouring Ranga, Hahl went ashore with his corps of forty-three men. Ranga was not captured but 'all villages of the district, seven in number, were burnt down' and in the two most suspect villages all coconut palms and banana trees were hacked to the ground. Gardens in the other villages were left untouched 'for lack of time'. The New Guinea Company was



grateful to Hahl and commended him to the German government for the courage and talent he displayed on this expedition 'as on previous punitive forays against natives in the Bismarck Archipelago'.<sup>20</sup>

The New Guinea Company's support of Hahl did not extend to finance. Burdened by endless loss of money, the Company ran an impecunious colonial administration. Hahl therefore trained a voluntary reserve of young New Guineans to supplement the twenty-four permanent police in the archipelago, and made use of the Navy. On expeditions involving naval assistance, German officers and men frequently went ashore alongside New Guinean police. But by 1898 the Navy, drawn away by the crisis in Samoa, had temporarily stopped cruising in New Guinea waters, and Hahl was confined to the Gazelle Peninsula and the Duke of Yorks, for he had no steamer of his own. What happened elsewhere was more than ever beyond his control. In May 1898 Bougainvilleans, believed to be from Kovanis in the Teop-Tinputz area of North Bougainville, plundered and burnt the cutter *Sea Ghost*, killing the captain and one of the crew and taking three prisoners. Hahl thought punishment was 'urgently desirable in the interest of the security of recruiting and the coastal trade' and he appealed to the New Guinea Company for means to inflict it: a ship cruising off the coast for a long period; a landing with at least 100 trained troops; and, if possible, official contact with hill peoples in order to bar the coastal villagers' escape route inland. Hahl's concept of reprisal was ambitious. Later, as governor, he was to see it fulfilled, but in 1898 the only response of the New Guinea Company was to pass on his suggestion to the German government.<sup>21</sup>

Hahl left New Guinea in the dying days of Company rule at the end of 1898. By the time the German government assumed full responsibility for the colonial administration of New Guinea in April 1899 he was in Berlin, working as an adviser in the Colonial Department. He wrote an essay on New Guinea dealing with geology, climate, the location of different New Guinean peoples, natural resources, and European development. In it Hahl reveals himself not as a theoriser — he says nothing abstract about colonisation — but as a man-of-affairs, whose interest in New Guinea is in its copra, trepang, pearlshell and turtleshell, and in how expatriate plantations can be helped. He writes of the New Guineans:<sup>22</sup>

The people are warlike, cruel, covetous, enemies to the stranger. But they do not lack good characteristics as well, they are industrious and loyal to friends and relatives. Teaching them to work and to be obedient seems possible.

To Hahl the New Guineans were one of the colony's most valued natural resources. His hope was that they could be harnessed for its economic advancement.

Apart from a brief visit to Kokopo in September 1899 Hahl was away from New Guinea for two and a half years. Under Rudolf von Bennigsen, first imperial governor of German New Guinea, Hahl served as vice-governor in charge of the 'island territory' acquired from Spain. He lived in Ponape and oversaw the administration of the German Caroline, Mariana and Palau Islands, which had become part of the colony of German New Guinea. When he returned to New Britain in June 1901 it was as acting governor of the whole colony.

He now had vastly more to spend on administration than in Company days, on average ten times as much per year up to 1912. Copra prices were rising and encouraging rapid growth of plantations. And from 1903 the government had a seaworthy vessel of its own, the *Seestern*, which was always available to transport police for punitive expeditions.

More money meant more control of New Guineans by the foreigners; and the best way to impose that control, Hahl thought, was by setting up permanent government stations with resident district officers and police. The example that inspired the Germans was northern New Ireland, where the first government station on Nusa Island opposite Kavieng in 1900 quickly produced 'perfect security'.<sup>23</sup> After a visit in 1902 Acting Governor Knake reported:<sup>24</sup>

The successes of the officer-in-charge of the station Boluminski are amazing. The road on the north-east coast of New Mecklenburg [New Ireland] is already finished by the natives for more than 100 kilometres. The full pacification of the country will keep pace with the rapid extension of the road.

Hahl was eager to repeat Boluminski's work elsewhere. Where to go next depended in his view on a district's potential economic value to expatriates. He thought the Admiralty Islands worth a government station in 1901, for example, if exploitable pearl-fisheries were found on their reefs, and he would have put a strong detachment of police on the St Matthias Islands (Emira and

Mussau Islands) had the group been valuable commercially.<sup>25</sup> But central New Ireland was more useful to the Germans for its labourers and trade copra than either of these two groups and so the second new government station was placed in 1904 at Namatanai.

Severe bouts of blackwater fever forced Hahl to return home to Germany in mid 1902. He was appointed governor in November and received by the Kaiser, who insisted excitedly that New Guinea must be developed quickly. The Kaiser repeated the word 'quickly' several times and finally grabbed Hahl by the uniform to press home his argument. He almost broke off the interview when Hahl said rapid development was impossible.<sup>26</sup> At Christmas Hahl became engaged to Baroness Luise von Seckendorff-Aberdar, the daughter of family friends, and they married in Genoa in February 1903, a few days before embarking for the Pacific.

Hahl was reinvigorated, full of plans for the colony. During 1903 he called traders, planters, and missionaries together to discuss development; clarified his views on forced labour and taxation of New Guineans; formulated his policy on labour recruiting; and drew up new land regulations. The plans were typical of Hahl, a mixture of the harsh, the humane, and the expedient. A head-tax was to be introduced, but not immediately, because Hahl thought New Guineans already did enough in building roads. In any case, Hahl told settlers, a tax of three marks per man would raise only 30,000 marks in the Gazelle and the Duke of Yorks, bloodshed would accompany its imposition, and 30,000 marks, though a large sum, was not great enough to justify that risk.<sup>27</sup>

A long-term solution to New Guinea's chronic shortage of labour, Hahl believed, lay in a systematic policy to preserve the New Guinean population. Eight measures were required: the government must keep a close watch on where recruits were employed so that their work did not expose them to unfamiliar disease; check labourers' health during their contracts; 'create civil order among the natives over the widest area' by means of police posts and a coastal police force; open new districts and spread the burden of toil widely over different peoples; 'close particularly exhausted regions'; promote marriages within the labour force; encourage more day labour; and import labourers from abroad.<sup>28</sup> It was a program of labour conservation, in which the New Guineans were to be carefully husbanded for the ultimate benefit of their employers.

A similar calculation determined Hahl's views on land. 'If we want to preserve a healthy and growing native population, fit to work', he had written in 1901, 'we have to secure . . . that they have sufficient land on which they can live and propagate according to their own customs'.<sup>29</sup> He required the New Guinea Company to set aside reserves for New Guineans in the new land it was obtaining from the government and, following his representations, the German government passed a law giving it the right to repossess Europeans' land in the colonies and give it back to the earlier inhabitants. His aim was not actually to expropriate Europeans but to be in a stronger position to create New Guinean reserves as more and more of the colony's land passed into foreign hands.<sup>30</sup>

Hahl's efforts to shield New Guineans from the consequences of colonisation met with indignation from most settlers. They saw him as threatening their natural right to the land and labour of New Guinea and thought he should stand behind them unreservedly, by recapturing escaped workers, adding to the employer's armoury of discipline, and confirming expatriate claims to land. In September 1903 Queen Emma's husband, Paul Kolbe, complained openly that Hahl was inciting New Guineans to contest Emma's land claims and a rumour was circulated that Hahl would be recalled. Hahl decided to overlook Kolbe's behaviour. He could not afford to do otherwise in the small world of expatriate society. Years earlier he had recommended that Kolbe be pardoned for another offence 'above all for the sake of his wife and of social peace, in the interest of the undisturbed progress of the work of civilisation in the small colony. Constant mutual encounters are unavoidable, given the small number of settlers'.<sup>31</sup>

Expatriate views mattered to Hahl. With the formation in April 1904 of the Government Council the trading and plantation companies were given a permanent voice of advice in administration policy. The 'Planters' Association in the Bismarck Archipelago', convened a few months later, sought to safeguard specifically planter interests. And beyond these local pressures on Hahl lay the influence which big companies, above all the New Guinea Company, wielded in Berlin. Faced with this opposition, Hahl was forced to settle for less than he would have liked as a safeguard against the deleterious social effects of rapid foreign development. The benevolence spelt out in his early plans began to be delayed in favour of the pressing task of conquest.

Just as settler opinion stood in his way, so too did the actual practice of the man-on-the-spot, the planter, district officer, naval commander, recruiter, police-soldier, *luluai*. Planters flogged labourers without going through official channels. District officers sometimes set themselves up as petty tyrants, and so did some *luluais*. Naval commanders carried out expeditions at Hahl's request but in their own style. Black recruiters and police produced results for their white employers, but often by the crudest terrorism. After the St. Matthias islanders killed two German explorers in 1901, for example, the accompanying police troops under the leadership of Topitan shot seventeen people even before the naval expedition arrived. The results of the expedition, undertaken by S.M.S. *Cormoran*, were summarised in a telegram from the captain to Berlin: 'Investigation in the St. Matthias Islands completed with support of the police troops. 81 killed. No loss on our side. Grapow'.<sup>32</sup> To protect local traders for a few months Captain Grapow left behind fifteen New Guinean police, the majority of whom later reported on their activities:<sup>33</sup>

At first the natives behaved peacefully. One day two natives came to us from the main island, we arrested them. One escaped again, the other was shot by us trying to escape. We buried him. One day six natives from the main island appeared and wanted to attack us, we shot all of them. Later we undertook trips to the neighbouring islands to get food and one day on one of these trips, when we were attacked five natives were shot by us . . .

This was German 'pacification' for many New Guineans: being shot at by other New Guineans. In the panic which followed the murder of a planter's wife and child at Papatava in 1902, thousands of labourers were let loose from the plantations of the *Gazelle* to join police in wreaking vengeance on the inland Tolai. Gardens were destroyed wholesale and police estimated loss of life among resisting New Guineans at eighty to ninety.<sup>34</sup> Papatavans in the 1970s say at least that many died and claim that, far from dying in battle as German reports indicate, a number of men who sued for peace were summarily executed.<sup>35</sup> The Sacred Heart missionary Father Johann Eberlein criticised the government's handling of the affair. The police, he said, were told to shoot down everything that moved and had killed innocents.<sup>36</sup> Hahl's response to the criticism shows that he reserved his benevolence for obedient New Guineans:<sup>37</sup>

The Father speaks of undisciplined troops and the shooting of innocent people. He should first have made clear whom he regards as innocents. All the natives who did not strike down Frau Wolff, perhaps? And those with weapons in their hands when they encountered the soldiers? All natives who participated in the armed resistance which followed the murder were 'guilty'.

All these deserved punishment, in Hahl's view. The Papatavans, like other New Guineans who resisted the Germans, had some of their land confiscated.

The Germans made little effort to seek out individual culprits. 'Experience has taught', a colonial official in Berlin wrote of New Guinea in 1902,<sup>38</sup>

that determining which individual is guilty of a deed is totally impossible. When an act of force is perpetrated in a district, the officer cannot reach the natives. All natives flee deep into the bush at his approach; they appear again only when the coast is clear. Under these circumstances all that remains is to punish the tribe to which the guilty belong, which it will almost always be possible to ascertain.

Judged by expatriate standards Hahl's conquest for development was a continuing success. Three new government stations arose on the frontier of control from 1904 to 1907, Namatanai in 1904, Kieta in 1905, and Aitape in 1906, and another at the centre of settlement (Simpsonhafen or Rabaul in 1905). Each imposed rule through *luluais*, conscripted villagers for roadwork, and offered protection to labour recruiters. The number of people working for the expatriates increased from about 2700 in 1899 to 8000 in 1907. Labourers built a shipping pier at Rabaul, which from October 1905 connected Norddeutscher Lloyd's new island service with their steamers to Europe and made it easier for planters to sell copra profitably. Foreign plantations grew so fast that in 1906 only 18 per cent in the archipelago and 11 per cent on the mainland were old enough to bear crops. And in 1906 the administration began collecting a head-tax of five marks for every able bodied adult male New Guinean in 'controlled' areas. The aim was to compel New Guineans to work for the expatriates by requiring them to find a cash income. Hahl wanted New Guineans who could not pay tax to be able to work it off as labourers for private planters, but the colonial authorities in Berlin vetoed his proposal and tax defaulters were restricted to building roads for the government.<sup>39</sup> Hahl

devised a ten-year plan for German New Guinea early in 1907, at the request of Germany's new Colonial Director Dernburg. It is the most comprehensive policy document Hahl ever compiled as governor, a résumé of what he saw as existing achievements and a statement of intent. He surveyed the spread of European influence. The Neuendettelsau Lutheran Mission, he wrote, had brought peace to the coast of the Huon Gulf and awakened the people's desire to work and learn. Aitape government station would discourage fighting along the western coast of the mainland. The German Solomons, Buka and Bougainville, were 'the most important region for recruiting for the Bismarck Archipelago and Samoa' and Kieta station's 'special task' was to increase the number of Solomon Islanders signing on. The peoples of the northern Gazelle, the Duke of Yorks and northern New Ireland had been brought higher in civilisation, he thought, and peace seemed assured in these districts. But the Admiralty group still suffered from constant fighting. The construction of roads had so far been of less use in helping trade than in serving 'military purposes and above all drawing inhabitants into recruiting'.

He recommended that New Guinea, 'essentially a plantation colony with decentralised settlement', be better served by shipping. Exploration, especially of the country's forest and mineral resources, was to be encouraged. As for land, Hahl thought Europeans should continue to be able to buy it outright and reservations should be made for New Guineans if the government were to succeed in 'attracting capital to this distant, little developed country and maintaining the original population in its character and so keeping it rooted in the soil and capable of enduring'. The administration's primary job as Hahl saw it was to prevent New Guineans from becoming extinct, indeed to add to their numbers and 'improve' them. The way to do this was to extend government control by conquest so that fighting could be stopped, absorption suppressed, disease alleviated, and simple education imparted; more precisely, Hahl planned 'communes' of local government, financed by the head-tax and the profits of government plantations, which would teach New Guineans about agriculture and supervise road building, cattle raising, veterinary care and experimental cultivation. Above all, Hahl wanted more government stations: on the border with Papua, in the Admiralties, and later

possibly at Bogia (Potsdamhafen) and Wewak ((Dallmannhafen). They were to serve another vital purpose, that of opening new parts of the colony to the labour recruiter.

With the wise help of an active administration, in other words, the essential harmony of interest between foreign developers and New Guinean villagers would be realised. It was the vision of an optimistic paternalist. When Hahl spoke of solving the 'native question' he meant not only stopping depopulation but also supplying New Guinean labourers to plantations. These two could, he believed, go together, especially if indentured labourers were imported from Asia to relieve the burden on New Guineans. And by 'improving' the New Guineans he meant teaching them to work in the European fashion. He envisaged making the Micronesians under German rule good consumers and the New Guineans good workers: 'if raising a people capable of buying goods seems an aim worth striving for in the island territory, it should become for New Guinea raising a people capable of working'.<sup>40</sup> Hahl's optimism was misplaced. His comprehensive design for New Guinea was never put into effect because he did not allow for the political strength of the plantation companies and the parsimony of the German government. In practice the harsh elements of his plan were emphasised at the expense of the rest. The 'elevation' of New Guineans to 'civilisations' turned out to be a sordid conquest.

As his government's influence spread, Hahl also met unexpected complications that made the extension of control slow and expensive. The Germans found themselves drawn into multiplying conflict as their New Guinean protégés asked for protection, involved them in local politics and on occasion deserted them when the government's aims no longer coincided with the villagers. In 1911, Hahl wrote that<sup>41</sup>

The pacification of the natives on the coast gave rise to a movement not previously reckoned with; the wild tribes of the interior, lusting after booty, now fell upon the former who, weakened in numbers by recruitment, suffered severely: so it was in the Huon Gulf, the north coast of New Pomerania [New Britain] on Manus, in southern New Mecklenburg [New Ireland].

He could also have included the Rai coast, where mountain peoples from the Finisterre range attacked controlled coastal villages such as Singor and provoked two unsuccessful government expeditions in October and November 1910.<sup>42</sup>



How far the New Guineans manipulated the Germans for their own political ends is unknown. The subject awaits the oral historian. In the meantime it is worth recording as an example that, when a European bird-of-paradise hunter died in the Herzog Mountains of the Huon Gulf in 1911, the news of his death was brought to the Germans by the Buang people who said he had been killed by their enemies, whom the Germans called the Wamba. In the ensuing punitive expedition the Germans were offered help by more than 400 Buang armed with spears, bows and arrows, wooden swords and shields, who accompanied them into Wamba territory and eagerly joined battle. Germans, police soldiers and Buang fought for nearly three hours before the Wamba were driven back and their largest village reduced to ashes. 'Despite my prohibition', the German officer reported, 'some of the bodies of the Wamba people were consumed by the Buang people'. Since the European hunter's body was not found on the expedition it seems possible that he was in fact murdered by the Buang and the blame placed upon their enemies in order to attract government support to their side. In recording the incident the German annual report did not mention the Buang; yet the two German officers and forty-six police may have in fact been helping to effect Buang political ambitions.<sup>43</sup>

A further problem for the Germans was choosing suitable *luluais*. In September 1906, for example, the Germans chose Nalon, the man who had brought them the first news of the 1904 Madang uprising, as *luluai* of the village of Biliau. Two weeks later Nalon asked to be relieved of his post. 'I do not know how to have my orders obeyed by the natives', he said in an official deposition, 'I am afraid to speak'.<sup>44</sup> The German officer concluded that Nalon, because of his easy familiarity with whites, had been overrated and replaced him. Great care was needed in appointing *luluais* on the coast near Bogia, the acting governor warned in 1910, 'as they will probably have a very difficult task, given the [S.V.D.] mission's vigorous campaign against all customs dear to the natives'.<sup>45</sup> And to take a third instance, the captain in charge of the first foray by the expeditionary troops up the Ramu river valley in 1912 reported that all coastal villages between Awar and Sisimagum and the mouth of the Ramu had refused to provide carriers for his 114 troops. He promised to punish and replace the *luluais* involved.<sup>46</sup>

Establishing control was rarely as simple for the Germans elsewhere in New Guinea as it had been in the Gazelle Peninsula and northern New Ireland. It became so expensive that Hahl wanted Berlin to establish a separate military budget for German New Guinea paid for by the Reich, on the model of Germany's African colonies, but he had no success. Because the imperial grant to New Guinea was almost halved between 1906 and 1911 Hahl was forced to resort to an unpopular export duty on copra to raise money. His administration's financial dependence on the expatriate community led to growing bitterness between them and in the last years of his governorship there were stormy scenes in the Government Council as planters fought for more conquest and more labour. Hahl resisted the planters' repeated demands for universal forced labour, but he finally introduced conscription of New Guineans for military service in the police force; and district officers were instructed to experiment with conscripting New Guineans who had not worked for the expatriates, in accordance with a suggestion of the Government Council.<sup>47</sup>

Hahl left New Guinea on furlough in April 1914. At the farewell given to him at the Rabaul club the influential planter H. R. Wahlen congratulated Hahl on his achievements in the 1890s in bringing New Guineans 'to a realisation of the master viewpoint of the European race' and on his subsequent success in encouraging economic development, but he did not miss the chance to mention differences of opinion between the settlers and Hahl 'above all in recent times because of the labour question, on which the settlers take a different stand from Your Excellency . . . ' Hahl revived the matter in his speech of reply, admitting the conflict between government and settlers and reiterating his belief that all progress depended on the expatriates' relationship with the New Guineans. This was so for two reasons: because the country's economy depended 'solely on the diligence of their hands' and because building for a distant future was possible only by bringing them under orderly administration and raising them in 'health and civilisation'.<sup>48</sup> Soon after reaching Germany Hahl was abruptly relieved of his post as governor, ostensibly because of ill-health. Though the facts are still unclear, he was almost certainly forced to resign, probably as a result of pressure on the German government from dissatisfied plantation companies or perhaps because the Kaiser was displeased at his failure to develop the Waria goldfields. Whatever the reason,

German New Guinea was set on a path of unrestrained foreign enterprise when World War I broke out.

Hahl's grand design for New Guinea had suffered gross distortion at the hands of the settlers and the Colonial Office. Conquest, forced labour, the use of the head-tax to compel New Guineans on to the plantations, the mobilisation of New Guineans as labourers (41,938 signed on from 1908 to the beginning of 1914), the expansion of plantations (from 4470 planted hectares in 1900 to 34,190 in 1913), the encouragement of copra exports (up in value by eight times between 1903 and 1913); these measures to bolster the expatriate economy were all carried out. But the thousands of Asian indentured labourers whom Hahl had meant to take the load off New Guineans never came; planters found them too expensive. Hahl's policy of stopping the recruiting of women was delayed for years by planter opposition. Working conditions on the plantations improved only marginally. The accepted figure of 10 per cent of a population away at work as the upper limit of recruiting was normally exceeded in New Ireland and New Hanover and frequently elsewhere. The population of New Ireland was declining by 1914. An early stipulation that New Guinean land reserves have at least one hectare per person was given the rider in 1914 'if at all possible'.<sup>49</sup> And nothing came of Hahl's projected communes of New Guinean local government. The best of the Hahl colonial policy, including a large medical service and a reduction of labour contracts to two years, was still no more than an intention when he left in 1914 and would probably have been discarded under a successor to him as governor. Planters in German New Guinea were talking of universal forced labour in 1914, not of making things easier for New Guineans. Hahl was an efficient, energetic and personally likeable colonial administrator. But there is a vast gap between what he intended to do and what he actually did.

He served during the latter part of World War I as a civil servant in Turkey and retired from government service in 1918. He immediately began urging the return of the Pacific colonies to Germany, arguing for a system of collective security: the Powers would mutually guarantee their colonial possessions in the Pacific and disengage their military forces so that all energies could be devoted to economic development. Phosphate and copra from the Pacific would once again flow to the Fatherland.<sup>50</sup> It was an optimistic view but not an unusual one among the ruling class of Germany in

late 1918. Few Germans yet conceived how uncompromising the Allied peace terms would be. By 1920, when it was clear that the Australians would take New Guinea and expropriate German planters as well, Hahl was reduced to 'hoping' that a campaign to keep alive the colonial idea in Germany would be of value in getting back the colonies. Germany should appeal unceasingly to the League of Nations to be granted Mandates, he argued, setting forth its reasons clearly and openly.<sup>51</sup> Hahl wrote bitterly in 1921 of the Australian expropriation, seeing behind it the influence of Burns, Philp & Co.:<sup>52</sup>

We know that Mr Lucas was a director of Burns, Philp & Co. until his appointment as chairman of the expropriation board in Rabaul. The aim of this firm's commercial policy is to attain a position of monopoly in the island trade. And this aim will be realised with the acquisition of the flourishing German undertakings in New Guinea. Given the close fusion of business and politics in Australia we would not be wrong to expect . . . that Mr Hughes and Mr Lucas will retire from the scene of their disastrous activity only when the booty is firmly in their pockets. We must therefore prepare to receive in the homeland the 680 German colonists of New Guinea as poor refugees during the summer, probably the last who had to endure persecution and banishment for the sake of their German name.

Hahl himself went into business at this time as a director of the expropriated New Guinea Company, which by 1922 was active in Venezuela and Fernando Po, part of the colony of Spanish Guinea.

Like other ex-governors of the German colonial empire Hahl worked for the colonial cause in the inter-war years. His major publications appeared after 1933, including *Gouverneursjahre in Neuguinea*, an apologia of his governorship published in 1937. He became chairman of the Native and Labour Problems sub-committee of the Colonial Council of the *Reichskolonialbund*, a Nazi organisation that controlled all colonial agitation in the Third Reich. But the Colonial Council was in reality a place to put old colonial enthusiasts out of the way rather than an instrument of Nazi indoctrination and, though Hahl was a fellow traveller used by the régime for his respectability, he was not a vocal supporter of the new order.<sup>53</sup> His life continued to be lived in retrospect, looking back to the time when he had governed a small seaborne empire. He came to believe that the wounds inflicted on New Guinea by the expulsion of experienced German settlers in the early 1920s had healed, and that Germany's success as a colonial power was shown

by the fact that in Nauru and New Guinea Australia had not adopted new methods of native administration, but retained the old German methods.<sup>54</sup> Given Germany's record as it was in fact rather than on paper, nothing could have been a greater indictment of Australian mandate rule.

Hahl died in 1945, the year of defeat both for the Nazis and for the older Germany, which had always claimed his loyalty. He was not a butcher of men, as some German governors were in Africa; but he willingly shed blood for the sake of colonial order. He was not an exploiter; but he could do little to stop exploitation. To dwell on Hahl in attempting to explain German colonialism in New Guinea is to miss the point, for it was the German colonial system that mattered. Hahl was merely its instrument.

## C. A. W. Monckton: Reprobate Magistrate

Nancy Lutton

To have been a resident magistrate at the turn of the century in British New Guinea would have spelt untold hardship for some men, but for others like Charles Arthur Monckton it meant a life of challenging adventure. Appointed to relieve M. H. Moreton, resident magistrate of the Eastern Division, Monckton wrote:<sup>1</sup>

I asked Moreton to give me a sketch of my duties as a Resident Magistrate, and he said everything was a Resident Magistrate's duty: in the absence of a surveyor, he had to survey any land purchased; in the absence of a doctor, he had to set and amputate limbs; he had also to drill his own police, act as a gaoler and undertaker, sail the *Siai*, marry people, in fact do any job of any description from a blacksmith's upwards, not expressly allotted to some one else. If a job were allotted to some one else, and that some one else failed to do it, the Resident Magistrate must do it; Sir William MacGregor, in fact, expected his Resident Magistrates to know everything and to do everything.

Monckton was born in Invercargill, New Zealand in 1872, the son of a doctor, and was educated at Wanganui Grammar School. He arrived in British New Guinea in 1895, hoping to get an appointment with the government. Armed with a letter of introduction from the Governor of New Zealand, he presented himself to Sir William MacGregor, the Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea. 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.<sup>2</sup> However, MacGregor assisted Monckton and a 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 he lacked for government employment.

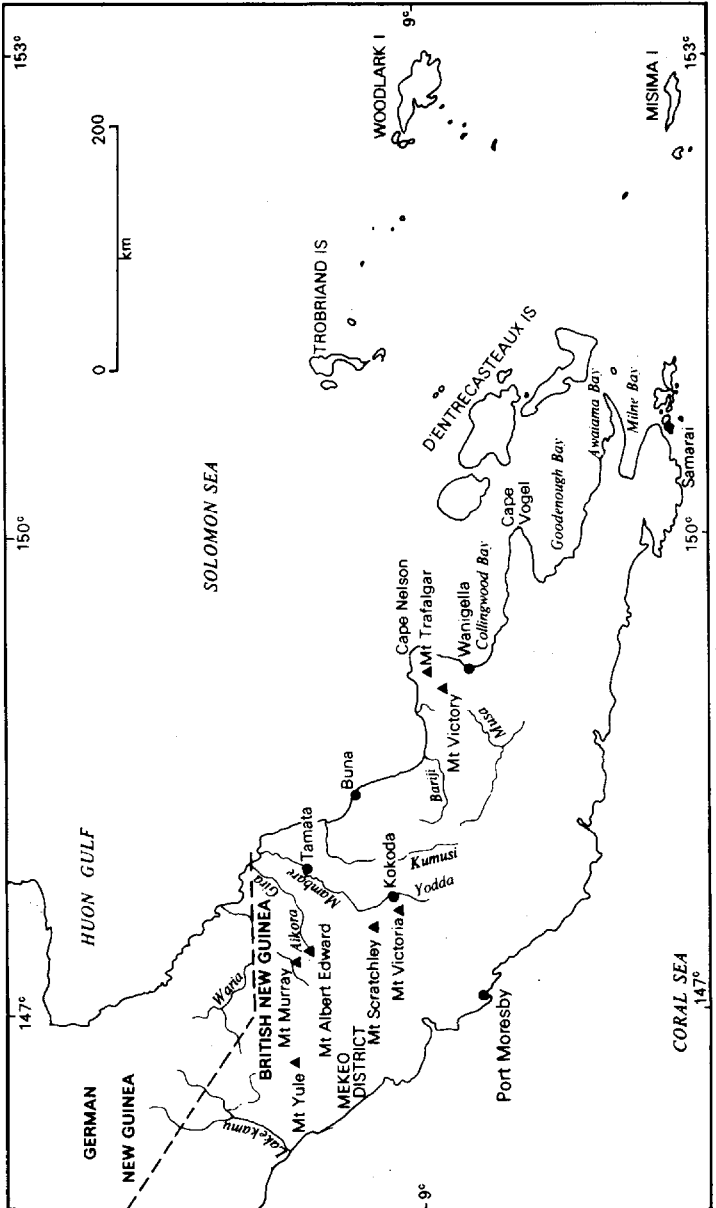
Life on the gold fields was rough and ready and one had to be prepared to rub shoulders with blatant scoundrels as well as the best of men; Monckton seemed to fit in well with either. He was immensely interested in the diverse characters and personalities of the people he met, both black and white. At least two short articles on native customs were published by him at this time.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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, the relief of Moreton at Samarai.

Moreton gave Monckton a list of jobs for immediate attention:

There is a murder at Avaiama, a man cut his mother-in-law's throat, catch him; there is to be a new Mission Station at Cape Vogel, survey and buy the land from the natives; Fellows is in trouble at the Trobriands, go and put him right. (*Some Experiences*, p. 73)

When Monckton investigated the trouble in the Trobriands, he found that, owing to an epidemic, many Papuans had died and been buried in the villages just below the surface of the ground, according to native custom, but against government health regulations. Monckton and the police stood over the villagers while they were made to disinter the remains and bury them properly in the cemetery. Such a job would have deterred any man less determined than Monckton.

The exhuming of bodies was altogether a sickening and disgusting business, for matter and beastliness dripped the whole time from the baskets, and carriers, police and myself were seized by periodical fits of vomiting. (*Some Experiences*, p. 88)



Map 3 South-east British New Guinea, c.1905



The villagers' disobedience was due to the influence of the paramount chief, Enamakala, who was openly defiant, and who urged his men to steal from the mission. Monckton decided to deal directly with Enamakala, who lived inland about ten miles. Knowing that the chief would disappear into the bush if he attempted to arrest him with a large force of police, Monckton decided to go with only two police, sending ahead a message that he wished to interview the chief. Having gained admission to Enamakala's presence in this manner, he then revealed his hidden guns and, after some pleasantries, asked Enamakala to give up the guilty men for trial. When the chief refused, he covered him with his gun, and ordered that Enamakala walk with him to the coast. Now Enamakala was elderly and very fat, and was usually carried around by his followers in a palanquin, but Monckton insisted. They proceeded back to the coast accompanied by hundreds of yelling and wailing villagers. By the time they got there, the six wanted men had turned up, and Enamakala, unaccustomed to walking, was extremely discomfited.

'Good Heavens!' called out Mrs. Fellows to her husband as I entered the Mission grounds, 'here comes the great Enamakala, following Mr. Monckton like a little dog!' 'Mrs. Fellows', I remarked, 'if you want to make a lifelong friend of the old fellow, you will give him some sugary tea at once, for he has walked further and faster than ever in his life before'. (*Some Experiences*, p. 90)

The chief was made to witness the trial of the six offenders, and was then allowed to go, promising to be more co-operative with the mission in future.

Monckton's next appointment was to relieve the Government Agent for the Mekeo District, B. W. Bramell. Sorcery was the great problem there, the people being more fearful of sorcerers than the government. Once again, Monckton was faced with an epidemic and the burying of bodies in the villages, but when he forced the villagers to remove remains to the cemeteries, they would return the bodies to the villages as soon as his back was turned. At last, Monckton called together the worst offenders and had them sit in line in front of him. Passing in front of the line, he asked them what they noticed about his eyes. His eyes were different in colour from each other.

'Now tell them to look at my mouth', and I grinned, showing an excellent set of false teeth. They looked. 'Well?' 'They see strong white

teeth', . . . Turning my back for a second, I dropped my false teeth into my handkerchief and, swinging round again, exposed a row of toothless gums. A yell of horror and amazement went up, and fearful glances were cast behind for somewhere whither to bolt. I swept my handkerchief before my mouth, and again grinned a glistening toothful grin . . . 'Ask them . . . whether . . . there is a sorcerer that can do such a thing as that?' 'No', was the answer, 'the white chief is greater than them all'. (*Some Experiences*, pp. 122-3)

Sir William MacGregor concluded his ten-year term as Lieutenant-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.

I had not been three minutes in his cabin before I realised 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. (*Some Experiences*, pp. 9-10)

From that day, MacGregor became for Monckton the model of what an administrator and a resident magistrate should be. To Monckton, MacGregor was always right. He instituted the village constable system, for which Monckton had only 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.<sup>5</sup> Monckton was a confident and independent man; from no one except MacGregor would he take a reprimand without protest. When ticked off because he flogged 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' (*Some Experiences*, p. 100). 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. The shadow of MacGregor remained over Monckton for the 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.

In 1900, Mr (later Sir) George Le Hunte, who had replaced MacGregor as Lieutenant-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:<sup>6</sup>

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 or 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, form a picture which only an artist's brush could give a true conception.

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; or 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.

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 in the position, and had experience in dealing with Papuans.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

Abbot had a house built for Monckton, ready for him when he arrived with the Governor in the *Merrie England* on 4 April 1900.<sup>9</sup> The Governor had intended to 'open' the station, but as illness prevented him from doing 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.<sup>10</sup> The Governor visited Cape Nelson again on 9 July 1900 and found that Monckton<sup>11</sup>

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.

A trader named Patton had been molested and robbed by Papuans not far away a week before, and his life had been spared only because they knew the police would fight them if they killed him. Monckton, 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.

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'. The Okein had also been punished by one of MacGregor's expeditions. The Maisina were also constantly under attack from the Doriri; a previous expedition under Sir Francis Winter had failed to bring the Doriri under control because the Maisina carriers had deserted the first night.<sup>12</sup> 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. (*Some Experiences*, p. 207)

Monckton did not have the resources or the men to make such a trip unaided, so he put the matter to 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 of 28 March 1901 to Monckton and Barton, Le Hunte told Monckton he should 'generally direct the expedition' except in the detail of police operations, and stated:<sup>13</sup>

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 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.

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 that 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'. (*Some Experiences*, p. 208)

Monckton claimed that Le Hunte listened to his conversation 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. With sundry guides and private 'boys', there were 159 in all. A large quantity of rice was purchased from some miners about to leave the area.<sup>14</sup> 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 people, 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 Maisina as if it were the most natural thing to do. A man with his 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. 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 (*Some Experiences*, p. 231) that, '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'.

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

Monckton's expeditions were not always punitive. He was the first white man to see the Agaiambu, a 'strange and curious tribe of Morass Dwellers'.<sup>15</sup> The Baruga tribe of the Bariji River area, and their government chief Oiogoba Sara, led Monckton and his friends, L. Dyke Acland and Wilfred Walker, to the swamp occupied by the Agaiambu. The Baruga gave the extent 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 canoes to take the party to the village. Some Agaiambu 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 through women, but the Agaiambu had seized some of the Baruga women and they could not be rescued from the village.<sup>16</sup>

The meaning of Agaiambu is explained as 'ambu' being the Binandere word for man, and 'agai' for duck, thus 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"'.<sup>17</sup> Their hip joints were, however, on the average about three or four inches lower than that of Baruga men of the same height, and both chest and chest expansion measurements on average three inches greater. Their legs had no calves, their knee joints were wrinkly and scaly and their feet were as flat as pancakes. They were so slippery and at home in the water, that they could not be held even when induced to come closer. After warning them of the noise of the gun, Monckton demonstrated it by shooting ducks and their hunting instinct came

to the fore as they retrieved the game for him. There is no fake modesty in Monckton's 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'. (*Some Experiences*, p. 278)

A few weeks after this first visit to the Agaiambu, Monckton returned with Sir Francis Winter, the Acting Administrator, on a visit of inspection. Winter did not get out to the village as one of their native followers had demanded a pig from the Agaiambu 'in our name', the Agaiambu had become alarmed, retreated and could not be induced to return.<sup>18</sup>

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

The Agaiambu . . . have been the victims of a bloodthirsty and treacherous attack by a previously unknown hill tribe from the upper waters of the Bariji River, and six of the male 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.

Apparently the Baruga had prepared a warm reception for this tribe, knowing it was about to attack; the tribe had turned off and then decoyed the Agaiambu by calling in the Baruga language:<sup>19</sup>

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 Agaiambu have ventured on shore, and their confidence has cost them their lives.

Monckton later took Acting Administrator Barton there when he was on a visit of inspection in September 1904. Barton wrote:<sup>20</sup>

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.

The Agaiambu have not died out.<sup>21</sup> In 1922 the Assistant Resident Magistrate of the Northern Division, Leo Flint, reported a



population of sixty-seven in two villages, but commented that a lot of people were away. In a third village further into the swamp there were about forty people.<sup>22</sup>

Monckton had a reputation as an explorer, chiefly on account of his two major expeditions, both carried out, as he claimed, in the course of his duties, though later he was criticised by others as exceeding his instructions. His expedition to the summit of Mt Albert Edward had been planned for some time, as Judge Murray pointed out in his evidence to the Royal Commission of 1906:<sup>23</sup>

He was away for several weeks, taking with him a number of police. He left the station insufficiently defended, with the result that two of Mr. Meek's carriers were murdered. It is described, I believe officially, as a patrol to look after the interests of the miners on the Upper Gira. As a matter of fact, it was an exploring expedition for the express purpose of going to see the top of Mount Albert Edward . . . to my knowledge the expedition was planned as long ago as last December . . . I do not blame Mr. Monckton for going there, because any man would be glad of the opportunity to make such a trip; but I cannot think it was consistent with the performance of his duties as R.M. to allow him to go there.

Once Monckton had got away, nothing would persuade him to turn back. He received a report from his officers that a white man had been killed in his division, and was asked to return to deal with it, but excused himself on the grounds that there was no confirmation. 'On Mount Albert Edward I was doing a lot of most interesting survey work: I had reached the king pin of New Guinea, the spot that Sir William MacGregor had tried to reach . . .'<sup>24</sup> Later, when no water could be found with which to make breakfast, his concern for the empty stomachs of his carriers was in the sure knowledge that 'unless I could soon feed my men, the cold and starvation would cause them to fall in heaps under their loads and go sick, with consequent disaster to my attempt at Mount Albert Edward'. The party did reach the summit, and did do a lot of survey work. Monckton measured the highest point as 13,230 feet above sea level, thirty feet higher than the measurement made on Mt Victoria by MacGregor. However, on the 1958 Commonwealth Department of National Development map, Mt Albert Edward is shown as 13,100 feet, and Mt Victoria as 13,363 feet. Monckton named another mountain of 11,000 feet after Bishop Stone-Wigg and recorded this in his report.<sup>25</sup> By the time his book was written the name of the latter had been changed to Mt Murray. Monckton

commented sarcastically in *Last Days* (p. 70): 'Doubtless Mr. Murray wishes to leave his name on the cartography of Papua, but why take the mountain of a great pioneer churchman? Surely there are plenty of unnamed mountains in New Guinea!'

The expedition is most remembered, however, for the description of the 'devil pig' that one of the constables and a carrier saw, while alone, and were nearly frightened out of their wits:<sup>26</sup>

The description of the beast — which I beg to remark, is that of the police, not mine, culled from a mass of statements, is about 5 ft. long, 3 ft. 6 in. high, a tail like a horse, and cloven feet, black or dark skin, with pattern-like markings, a long snout . . . and calls with a long shrill note . . . The description of Ogi and the carrier, owing to the 'funk' they fell into, is not of much value . . . The fright of the men appears to bear out their story of a strange beast, as either of the men in question would assail the largest wild boar with no better weapon than a spear.

He went on in the report to maintain that he was not supporting the story.

I don't wish to have any more fanciful stories of marvels in New Guinea fathered on to me. The only statement that I personally make is that the tracks of a cloven-footed graminiverous animal are to be found on Mount Albert Edward.

He commented that MacGregor had alluded to a 'long-snouted' animal seen on the Mt Scratchly expedition. A spoor had also been measured at four inches by four and a half inches.

Monckton in his book mentioned that he followed this up by sending the report to MacGregor for comment. He quoted MacGregor's reply:

. . . if I remember aright in my dispatch reporting my first ascent of the Owen Stanley Range there is mention of the track of a large animal being seen at about 9000 feet on Mount Knutsford, the animal I never saw, but it was there, and not a small one either (*Last Days*, pp. 55-6)

To Monckton this made the 'evidence of the existence of the beast . . . incontestable, even though neither Sir William MacGregor nor myself personally saw the animal'. However, MacGregor's evidence is just as inconclusive as Monckton's first statement, and it would have been better to have left it that way instead of making the subsequent categorical remark. As he had foreseen for himself, such a description very soon joined the annals of the Loch Ness Monster and the Abominable Snowman of more recent years. Murray commented in his book published in 1912 that

the explorer D'Albertis had believed that large tracks are sometimes formed when the ground is soft; it spreads as it dries.<sup>27</sup> Obviously Murray had no time for the story. The matter was still being discussed in 1935. The *Pacific Islands Monthly* reported that an expedition was being formed to try and prove the existence of the 'devil pig' but the myth was exploded by the first Archbold Expedition.<sup>28</sup>

Monckton's report was well illustrated by sketches of native artifacts seen, and a map of the summit of Mt Albert Edward with survey bearings of other peaks. The report included a recipe for pea soup, which he said did wonders for the spirits of his men, and advised future expeditions to take plenty of salt as the party had consumed 40 pounds in six weeks owing to the high altitude. He also advised giving each man two ounces of solid chocolate a day. With regard to the latter, he added later:

In case the reader imagines that such luxuries were provided at Government expense, I may say that they were paid for out of my personal pay. In fact, a heavy expedition frequently left me in debt for months! (*Last Days*, p. 68)

Monckton's expedition to the Waria River and the German frontier, and subsequent trip down the Lakekamu River on the other side of the ranges, thus crossing the island, was possibly his greatest exploratory trip. But the controversy engendered over it, its unfortunate timing, and the lack of any official report, would seem to detract from its success, and Monckton immediately afterwards left the country disgusted. The reasons for the expedition were in reality a matter for official concern. Barton's despatches from October to December 1906 mentioned the matter several times. Two miners had left the Yodda to cross the country to the upper Aikora River, and then north-west to the upper Waria, where they found rich alluvial gold. They came into contact, and sometimes conflict, with many Papuans. They also prospected another river in German territory. All this Monckton had reported to Barton when he saw him at Buna Bay on 18 September. Monckton thought the gold bearing district lay in British territory. The question was whether there should be an amendment to the Native Labour Ordinance, so that Europeans taking Papuans into German territory to reach the gold fields more easily would not be breaking the law. Barton recommended that the matter be left until Monckton had time to survey the area and make a report:<sup>29</sup>

As far as the protection of British Papuans by their employers while temporarily outside of the jurisdiction of this Government is concerned, I have no reason to suppose that there is any cause for apprehension, but the act remains that as long as they are in German Territory this government is powerless to afford them protection of any kind.

Barton went on to say that he had directed Monckton on no account to give permission for miners to take Papuans across the border, but not forcibly to prevent miners from going themselves. As he pointed out, a survey of the boundary was a difficult undertaking, and should in fact be a joint British and German venture.

In conclusion, I may state that Mr. Beaver, Assistant Resident Magistrate, has already proceeded to the Upper Waria District, and that the Resident Magistrate — Mr. Monckton — will hasten there as soon as the Royal Commissioners have concluded their enquiries in the Northern Division.

A later despatch centred on whether an agreement should be entered into with Germany for free navigation of all rivers so that miners could approach the goldfields on the Waria from all directions. Monckton observed that this would seem to be an advantage to the Germans. The route from the Gulf via the Lakekamu was discussed, but the country between was thought to be extremely rugged:<sup>30</sup>

It will undoubtedly be the best solution to the difficulty if miners can be induced to go overland from Tamata to the Upper Waria . . . The Resident Magistrate Northern Division is at present engaged in visiting the district, and until I receive his report it will not be possible to form an opinion in this regard.

Nevertheless Barton still considered it to be expedient to conclude an agreement about the navigation of the rivers.

Barton's official instructions to Monckton do not appear to be extant but, despite the mention of a possible access from the Lakekamu, it seems unlikely that a return that way was ordered or even suggested. The fact that Barton did not later support Monckton over the criticism of this matter would seem to bear this out. However, it is quite evident that Monckton always intended to cross the island and made no secret of it. He had discussed the matter with Colonel K. Mackay, one of the Royal Commissioners, in relation to what he had seen from the top of Mount Albert Edward:<sup>31</sup>

. . . and from its summit Monckton saw a land of forests, and plains, and lakes, and tumbled peaks, and winding from behind Mount Yule a track leading towards the Waria. He told me he was going to try to get back that way from the river to the sea. Since, I have been told, he did, wallowing for days in morasses and deadly swamps.

Monckton's official report of the expedition does not appear to have ever reached Port Moresby,<sup>32</sup> and perhaps in view of his subsequent treatment he never intended it should. At any rate, the administration apparently never made any use of any such report. When Monckton wrote about it some years later, it was a catalogue of hardship, efforts to feed and control 120 men with no other white officer present, tribes trying to prevent them passing, and his own resourcefulness in dealing with these problems. Monckton, never one to mute his own trumpet, could not be contradicted about this expedition. Although he mentioned the reason for his being there several times, he never stated whether the gold fields were found to be in German or British territory.

After crossing the divide and reaching the upper reaches of the Lakekamu River, they had attempted to journey down on rafts, but pretty soon, the river had become too swift for rafts, and they had spilled into a barrier of debris, losing many of their stores and two men by drowning. Monckton had managed to retrieve the situation, fished many of the stores out of the river, had canoes built, and they had pressed on, only to lose two more by drowning. When they had reached the coast, Monckton and the sicker men had sailed in a chartered cutter to Port Moresby, while the rest walked along the beaches. At Port Moresby he had received a very cool reception and been ordered to march his party overland straight back to Kokoda, even though he had arranged to have them taken back by sea at five shillings a head, less than the cost of the overland trip. But the order had to be obeyed and walk back they had. 'Really about twenty hale men dragged our party across the mountains to Kokoda, which we finally reached without losing a man' (*Last Days*, pp. 251-2).

Monckton made no secret of his pride in his police. He trained them hard and he expected and, according to him, received unquestioning obedience. They called him 'The Man', and Monckton frequently described with delight how the police would check on his safety at inconvenient times.

On one occasion a formal dinner party was in progress, when Privates Ogi and Maione marched in, in spite of objecting servants and the glare of the Governor . . . Both men were fully equipped and paid not the slightest attention to the protests their presence aroused; instead, to me they blandly remarked: 'Sergeant Barigi sent us to see whether you were all right or needed anything'. 'Clear out!' I remarked. Whereupon they gravely saluted me, ignoring everyone else, and retired outside. (*Last Days*, pp. 5-6)

Whenever there was a night alarm, Monckton always tripped over the policeman asleep on the floor by his bed as he leapt up, and never omitted to mention the fact.

Monckton also made much of his relationship with Bousimae,<sup>33</sup> a chief of the Binandere tribe in the Northern Division, which Monckton took over in addition to the North-Eastern Division in September 1903. When Monckton was Acting Resident Magistrate at Samarai, Bousimae had been in gaol there for his part in the slaughter of John Green and had been flogged by Monckton for unruly behaviour. Later, Bousimae had been returned home, but had got into trouble again. He escaped and would give himself up only to Monckton, then in charge of the North-Eastern Division, and not to R. E. Armit of the Northern Division. The Governor had taken a hand in the matter, persuaded Bousimae to surrender, and sentenced him to six months' detention at Cape Nelson. Le Hunte explained this as a tactful move to avoid imprisoning a chief like a common criminal in his own district.<sup>34</sup> At any rate, Bousimae received praise from Monckton for his services. Indeed, Monckton spoke more kindly of Papuans than most of his compatriots, though it was necessary for the Papuans to acknowledge him as a master.

What did the Papuans think of Monckton? John Waiko has recently done some research into this matter.<sup>35</sup> At the time of government penetration into the area there were many payback killings unsettled. When the various tribes saw the superior fighting power of the rifles, they submitted to the government, and then complained about a rival tribe continuing to raid them. Monckton would then take his superior force and punish the raiders. The oral evidence collected by John Waiko points out (p. 98) that 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 com-

plexities 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.

A story is then told (p. 99) to show how one big man sent the police with a lime gourd as a sign of peace to a group that was showing fierce resistance. As Waiko has summed up, 'It seems from Monckton's writing that he was completely ignorant of all these things'.

And so he may have been. In any case even if he knew that he was being manipulated he would not have been able to say so in his official reports, and such a picture would not have fitted the self-glorifying theme of his books. Nevertheless Monckton's relationships with other Europeans revealed a side of his character that may well be applied to his relationships with Papuans. To those who allowed him to do things his own way, he gave support in return. He may well have realised that if he wanted support from his police he had to do something for them too. John Waiko admits (p. 53) 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 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.

There is no reason, however, why both parties would not have consented to the manipulation so long as the manipulation was not obvious to others with stricter views. J. H. P. Murray would have been one of these and, when he became Administrator, Monckton's position must have become untenable.

Monckton's relationships with the miners were less happy. The Northern Division contained two gold fields, on the Yodda and the Gira, and the presence of the miners tended to strain relations between black and white. Crimes committed by the white population tended to be out of all proportion to their small numbers:<sup>36</sup>

The small white population has been responsible for two murders and one shooting with intent, while one individual who broke gaol had several of the most serious charges against him. Unfortunately, among the white community, there is a section by whom a native is regarded as a 'nigger' who has no right of redress against a European for any injury

sustained, even though it is a case of life itself. Lamentable though such bias is, it is there, and with that section, however atrocious a European's crime may be, he is certain of sympathy and assistance in evading the law.

The gaol break referred to was that of J. O'Brien, whose escape polarised opinion amongst the white population. It became the subject of questions in the Australian parliament, and was further examined at the Royal Commission of 1906. It was a good illustration of the attitudes that Monckton had to deal with from the miners.

There was strong feeling amongst the white men that even a criminal, if white, should not be arrested by a black policeman. Up to the time of O'Brien's arrest, there seemed to have been no particular sympathy for him, and Monckton was careful to respect the miners' views in the matter, though he did not agree with them, by personally arresting O'Brien. 'The miners cannot mean that the native armed constabulary are black savages!' he exclaimed in a report.<sup>37</sup> O'Brien was found guilty of attempted rape of a native woman and two cases of assault on native men and was gaoled at Kokoda.<sup>38</sup> He was placed in the charge of H. L. Griffin, who was instructed to have two native policemen guarding O'Brien at all times. However, after a few days, when O'Brien seemed to be of good behaviour, Griffin left only one guard, and O'Brien 'took the opportunity to strike the other guard . . . on the head with his axe', and escaped. Griffin then made another mistake, though acting in good faith. Reading through the Queensland Criminal Code, which officials in British New Guinea had to make do with, it seemed to Griffin that he 'was authorised to direct that anyone who met O'Brien might order the latter to go with him to the station; should O'Brien refuse to do so he might be shot'.<sup>39</sup> Accordingly he posted a notice to this effect on the Yodda gold fields.

This notice electrified the miners. They complained to the Commonwealth Parliament. Led by a miner called F. A. Rochfort, they called a meeting criticising the energy displayed by the government in hunting down a white man while there were still some unsolved murders of white men.<sup>40</sup> This feeling was not, however, unanimous. A group of seventeen, led by W. J. Little, wrote to Monckton disassociating themselves from Rochfort's actions, supporting law and order, and not condoning O'Brien.<sup>41</sup> Griffin's action in posting the notice was called for explanation and examined



by Judge Murray, who considered that an Assistant Resident Magistrate had insufficient authority to put up such a notice. A miner could not lawfully shoot the man.<sup>42</sup> Rochfort was a thorn in Monckton's side. Monckton admitted Rochfort was honest enough, but he was forever complaining to the government or writing letters to parliament about the incompetence and corruption of Monckton and his officers. He would try to trip up Monckton's inexperienced assistants on legal matters, but Monckton emphasised that he could always outwit Rochfort. Rochfort tried to have himself made a justice of the peace so that petitions signed by miners might seem to have some legality, but Monckton thwarted this as far as his power allowed.<sup>43</sup>

There was another difference with Rochfort and some of the miners over a miner nomination for a seat on the Legislative Council. At the Administrator's request Monckton suggested W. J. Little, who had been on several expeditions with him and was apparently a good friend of his. Monckton occasionally supported a prospecting trip in order to avoid a clash between prospectors and warlike Papuans.<sup>44</sup> Confirmation of Little's nomination was needed from the miners, and Monckton called meetings at Tamata, Buna Bay and the Yodda. There were no seconders for Little or any other of the names suggested. Everyone was more concerned whether any expenses or remunerations would be paid, a question Monckton could not answer. By the time he could advise Barton of these proceedings, the Commonwealth government had insisted on the matter being finalised and Barton had acted on the earlier suggestion.<sup>45</sup>

At the 1906 Royal Commission hearing into present conditions in and methods of government for Papua, several miners complained about the manner of Little's nomination, saying he was Monckton's not the miners' nominee, though they personally had nothing against him.<sup>46</sup> Rochfort, meanwhile, had obtained the signatures of thirty-eight people from the Yodda gold field nominating him.<sup>47</sup> The evidence suggests that Monckton, determined that Rochfort would not get the nomination, used his position to thwart Rochfort and to get his own nominee, a less critical man, the seat.

A portrait of Monckton, as Monckton saw himself, came from the pen of Colonel K. Mackay, who was Chairman of the Royal Commission. He saw more of Monckton than most officers. After visiting the south coast of Papua and the islands in the *Merrie*

*England* the Royal Commissioners landed at Buna Bay in Monckton's division and from there walked overland via Kokoda and Yodda to Port Moresby. Presumably the reason for putting the Commissioners to such a strenuous hike was to enable them to take evidence from the miners on the Yodda, and perhaps also to give them a chance to understand the conditions under which the outside men of the service really worked. For the first half of the journey, Monckton was detailed to be their official escort, and apparently impressed the Commissioners with his efficiency, as they recommended him for a promotion and transfer to a less arduous division. Colonel Mackay later described the journeyings of the Royal Commission in a book called *Across Papua*. Mackay had a game leg and considering the nature of the terrain, one must agree with Monckton's sarcastic comment about officialdom on the matter:

Of course, as the tracks in Papua are rough and hilly, and sometimes very bad, a cavalry colonel with a game leg had been selected for the job; but his pluck and grit and cheerful nature made up for the game leg. (*Last Days*, p. 127)

Mackay completed the journey without having to be carried.

Monckton devoted nearly three chapters of his second book *Last Days in New Guinea* to that part of the journey in which he took part, but instead of giving us his own story he quoted almost entirely from Mackay's account. The device of quoting from another is a good way of recording praise for oneself, without appearing to blow one's own trumpet too much. As Mackay said, it was Monckton who was ill with fever but 'he was as plucky as they are made, and thanks to him we got away at eight', and Monckton who had to go back to attend two sick carriers, and Monckton again who had to go out at night after a very tiring day to look for some missing carriers: 'At 10.30 he returned, and we knew of his coming by some earnest, simple words he let drop as he picked himself out of the bottom of the creek'.<sup>48</sup>

Mackay was full of praise for the Papuan carriers and police, and gave full credit to Monckton for their training. As they parted company,<sup>49</sup>

Our old escort presented arms and so I parted with that good soldier, Sergeant Beregi, Oya the magnificent, Dambia, Ogi of pig fame, and the rest, one and all smart men, fit to go anywhere, and well led to do

anything . . . Then we clasped Monckton's hand, and up into the heart of the hills he marched with his face set to a two months' tramp over unknown and possibly hostile country, there to bear alone the white man's burden . . .

It is small wonder Monckton approved of Mackay and quoted him. Mackay at least went into print with an opinion on Monckton, which is more than can be said of other prominent names dropped by Monckton in his writings. MacGregor, whom Monckton so admired, does not seem to have expressed any opinion. Monckton continually referred to his friendship with Bishop Stone-Wigg, but Stone-Wigg's diaries, covering almost the same period, mention Monckton only casually in passing.

Judge C. S. Robinson, who took over as Acting Administrator from Le Hunte in June 1903, seems to have been singularly impressed by Monckton, and wrote in his diary:<sup>50</sup>

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

It is fairly evident, however, that Robinson was greatly influenced by Monckton's bravado and swashbuckling ways, and may even have attempted to imitate him when he led a punitive expedition against the 'Goaribari after the murder of James Chalmers'.<sup>51</sup> Monckton was loyal, and greatly deplored the hounding to death of Robinson over the incident.<sup>52</sup>

Monckton, and Captain F. R. Barton, who succeeded Robinson as Acting Administrator, do seem to have had a long lasting friendship, though one wonders if it was a friendship of convenience, so disparate were their characters. Barton, sickened by Monckton's methods on the expedition to punish the Doriri, said: 'I hate scientifically slaughtering unfortunate savages, who are quite ignorant of a sense of wrongdoing' (*Some Experiences*, p. 216). And Monckton was at pains to point out the weak side of Barton's character:

Now the then Governor, Captain Barton, was and still is a great friend of mine, but a more unsuitable man to govern a Crown colony it was impossible to conceive. He was a man fitted to adorn a court . . . He, when for a short time he acted as R.M., did not like sleeping in mangrove swamps with crabs crawling over him and a stink so thick that you could see it . . . he did not like examining his fingers for

scabies, or getting his orderly to inspect his back for ringworm or his hair for crawlers. He was a most particular and fastidious man. (*Recollections*, pp. 124-5)

Nevertheless, Barton as Acting Administrator was very useful to Monckton. Barton's was a character that needed loyal support from his officers, and he was prepared to give them, in exchange for such support, a free hand to operate as they wished.<sup>53</sup> He could not be too obviously biased, however, and has gone on record as saying:<sup>54</sup>

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 Northern Division 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 matter.

This description of Monckton also reinforces the portrait of him as a man of action, impatient with book work and form filling. Indeed, Monckton's own violent dislikes were mainly of those people who tied him up with red tape. He was forever at war with Government Stores. The storekeeper, H. W. Champion, deliberately cut down on the amount that Monckton ordered because he considered it over large.<sup>55</sup> Griffin fully supported Monckton about the stores:<sup>56</sup>

My sympathies are entirely with him. The storekeeper had never been out of Port Moresby, yet he took it upon himself to amend the requisitions of the men who had the experience, and who knew exactly what they wanted.

To a short-staffed field officer, the number of pen-pushers at headquarters always seemed to be more than ample.

The over-population of non-producers is appalling. No wonder that periodically the whole of the revenue is spent on paying salaries, or that the country now rejoices in a large public debt and the natives in a poll tax . . . (*Last Days*, p. 255)

And when A. M. Campbell was recommended by the Royal Commissioners as the best man to become Government Secretary in the newly reorganised Public Service, it was altogether too much for Monckton, who described Campbell in *Some Experiences* (p. 144) as a man who 'possessed a perfect mania for office work, tidiness and writing reports'.

Monckton has certainly left a reputation for shooting Papuans unnecessarily. Griffin considered himself a friend of Monckton's 'in spite of his propensity to shoot natives first and then talk to the survivors afterwards: but he got over this as time went on'.<sup>57</sup> Remarks such as Murray's<sup>58</sup>

I do not say for a moment that the shooting of these natives was not justified, as I do not know the facts. I am only pointing out that a great number are shot, and the two men who shoot nearly all of them are the two particular friends of His Excellency — Mr. Monckton and Mr. Bruce

are admittedly generalised and qualified by the speaker himself. Lett, the biographer of Murray wrote:<sup>59</sup>

As late as 1906 Monckton conducted a patrol to the summit of Mount Albert Edward, accompanied by one hundred carriers from the war-like Mambare tribes who, armed with axes were permitted to attack a mob of mountain people which hung annoyingly on the party's flanks.

This must be hearsay, as it does not appear in Monckton's report. It might be argued that since Monckton was on this occasion accompanied by an Anglican minister, it is unlikely to be true, but there is also evidence that the Anglicans, in their anxiety to keep on good terms with government officers, turned a blind eye to Monckton's sexual adventures with Papuan women.<sup>60</sup>

Today, oral evidence from the Northern District ascribes unprovoked shooting incidents to Monckton.<sup>61</sup> A patrol officer in a report as recently as 1970 comments: 'With people like Monckton [*sic*] running amock [*sic*] in this area in the 1900's these people haven't forgotten'.<sup>62</sup> Monckton encouraged this point of view with his own 'shoot and loot'<sup>63</sup> remark in his discussion with Barton on tactics before the Doriri expedition, but on most occasions, if there was a way of making friendly contact without his own men being killed, or of capturing the leaders in order to re-educate them to the ways of the government, he did so, in the latter case with considerable success. Oiogoba Sara of the Baruga tribe was a case in point. Winter commented on Monckton's handling of this case:<sup>64</sup>

The Barugi attacked Mr. Monckton and party some eighteen months ago at night . . . Mr. Monckton beat them off and then proceeded to their principal village and captured several of them, including the chief of the tribe . . . After being kept prisoners for some months at Cape Nelson, Oyogoba and his companions were sent home. Since then the Barugi have been on friendly terms with the Government. Oyogoba is a

well-made, intelligent looking man, with more vigour and energy than natives usually possess; and for a native his influence is widespread.

When Barton, after the findings of the Royal Commission, was relieved of the administratorship, and was replaced by Murray, Monckton was well aware that he had reached the end of the road. Here was a major personality clash, another strong character. Monckton affected to resign out of loyalty to Barton.<sup>65</sup>

Kokoda  
Northern Division  
British N.G.  
16 March 1907.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that in view of the fact this His Honour Judge Murray is assuming the Administratorship and in consequence of the scandalous treatment accorded to Your Excellency by a cabal of disloyal, jealous and intriguing officers under that gentleman's guidance, I have decided upon the termination of my forthcoming leave not to return to a service in which a gentleman cannot with honour serve. Furthermore in the light of recent events I have no hesitation in saying that I have no confidence in his Honour Judge Murray either as an Administrator or Judge. I have the honour to be Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

C. A. W. Monckton

At the same time, Monckton applied for a transfer to the Colonial Service, and Barton warmly supported it:<sup>66</sup>

Mr. Monckton has held responsible positions in this Territory for the past ten years. He has been unusually successful in bringing savage tribes under Government influence, and in winning and retaining their confidence. He is possessed of considerable administrative ability. As a leader he has shown himself to be most successful. The results accomplished by the several expeditions which he has led, sometimes under the circumstances of great difficulty and considerable peril, testify to his high qualities in this respect.

Monckton does not appear to have joined the Colonial Service after all. He became a farmer in New Zealand and married, but had no children. When the Great War broke out in 1914, he went to England to offer his services and was sent to India, an attack of malaria having prevented his going on active service in France.

Monckton died in London of blackwater fever on 1 March 1936. He had been elected a member of the Royal Central Asian Society in 1923 and had later been given fellowships in the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Zoological Society and the Royal Geographical Society. The first of his three books, *Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate*, had been written before the war, but was not published until 1920, when Monckton had settled in England. Its sequel, *Last Days in New Guinea*, followed in 1922 and in 1934 he published *New Guinea Recollections*. *Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate* is quite likely the most widely read book ever written on New Guinea. Its popularity for British armchair adventurers of the 1920s and 1930s can be judged by the fact that the first edition was reprinted four times, in 1921 (twice), 1922 and 1925. It was republished in two volumes in 1927, reprinted in 1933, published by Penguin in 1936 and reprinted twice in 1937. There is also a boy's edition in two volumes, and an American edition, reprinted once, entitled *Taming New Guinea*. *Last Days in New Guinea* was also reprinted at least once. In view of the wide circulation of these books, and the fact they painted such a memorable picture of life in Papua, an attempt was made recently to examine the books critically against official reports and other sources.<sup>67</sup> In the first two books, Monckton drew heavily on published reports, adding only those lively anecdotes that not only make the books so interesting, but that also emphasise Monckton's own self-importance. These two books cover the entire period in New Guinea but, unaccountably, some of the more controversial incidents are entirely omitted. For instance, there was an inquiry into the conduct of the police under Monckton's command on one expedition to bring law and order to a dissident people, the Paiwa, at Goodenough Bay.<sup>68</sup> Robinson exonerated Monckton and the police, but other Europeans were highly critical. It would seem that Monckton could not think of a way in which he might come out of it as a hero and, since the report had never been published, chose to forget it. Some years later, however, in *New Guinea Recollections* he wrote (pp. 73-85) an inaccurate, self-excusing version that pointed an accusing finger at A. M. Campbell, his arch-rival, who had instigated the inquiry. This book consists mostly of anecdotes in no specific order, and it also deals with some other controversial incidents in a self-justifying fashion.

Monckton's achievements as an explorer were considerable. If he had been less adventurous and stayed at his station more often, it is unlikely that he would have done his job any better, or saved the lives of Meek's carriers, notwithstanding Judge Murray's asperity. On the other hand, if he did fail to make a report on the results of his surveying of the Waria River region, he should indeed have been censured and reprimanded for exceeding his instructions and treating the expedition as one of pure exploration. He was successful as a pacifier of warlike tribes, but this success has to be weighed against the lasting resentment of his methods by the people concerned. Almost all shooting incidents in the Northern District are today attributed to Monckton, even when he could not have been there. The early contact situation may have had disastrous consequences for later relations, and it has been suggested that the 'treachery' of the Papuans against some Europeans, in turning them over to the Japanese during World War II, may have directly or indirectly resulted from the harsh impact of Monckton.



## 4

# Frank Pryke: Prospector

H. N. Nelson

By the time Frank Pryke's ashes were buried at Samarai in 1937 there was little of Papua New Guinea he had not seen in his search for gold. He, more than any other, could have confirmed the miners' lore: 'There's gold in New Guinea but there's a lot of New Guinea mixed with it'. Thoughtful, humane, energetic and tough, Pryke tried a number of occupations, tanner, publican, billiard saloon proprietor, fancy goods salesman and newsagent in a country town, and suburban storekeeper; but he always returned to prospecting, and it was as a prospector that his determination, restlessness and bushmanship gave him success. Among the small group of men who mined gold in British New Guinea, German New Guinea, Papua, and Australian New Guinea he alone made a candid record of what he saw, and much of his writing has survived.

Born in 1872 the son of a miner from near Sofala on the old Turon gold fields of New South Wales, Frank Pryke served his time as a tanner in Goulburn. Having failed to find work in his trade in Goulburn and New Zealand, Frank returned to Sydney where he met his brother Dan just back from prospecting on the Murchison and Coolgardie gold fields of Western Australia. Frank went back to Western Australia with Dan prospecting around Lake Darlot in

treacherously dry country 300 miles north of Kalgoorlie. After some success the brothers decided to try their luck in New Guinea.

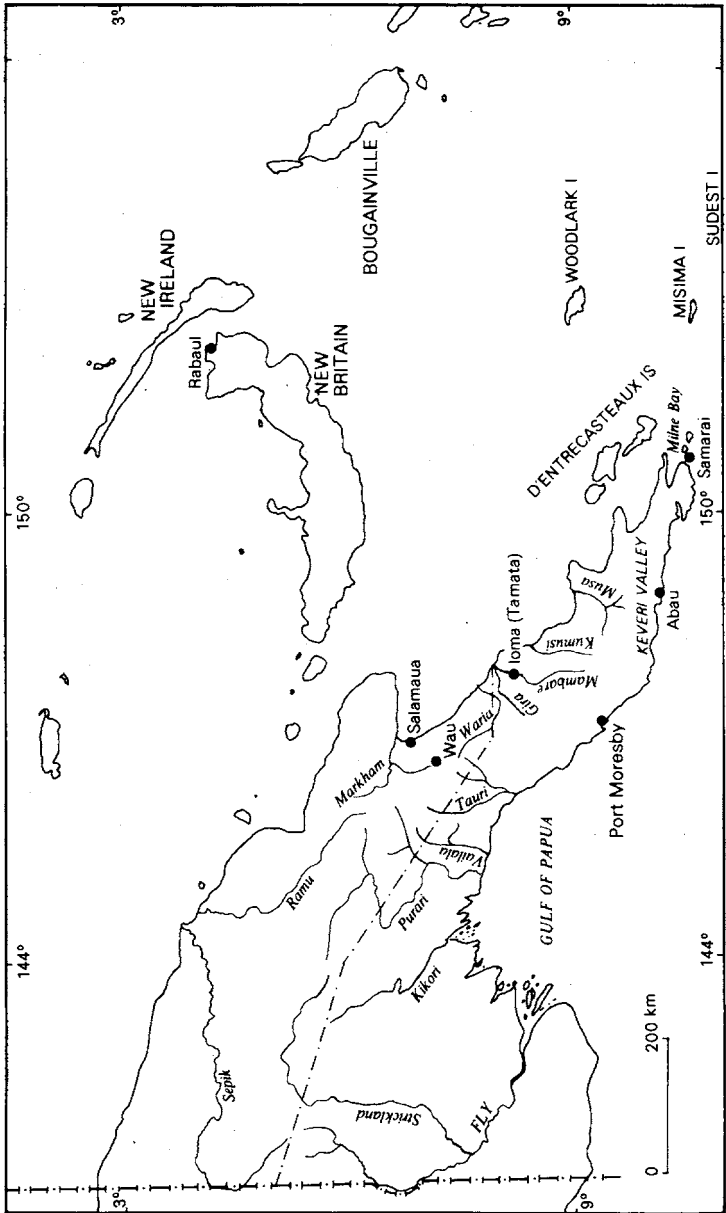
Gold had first been mined in New Guinea in 1888 when about 400 north Queensland diggers worked shallow alluvial deposits in Sudest Island in the Louisiade Archipelago. In 1889 the diggers moved to the neighbouring island of Misima. The island gold fields were kept alive by another strike at Woodlark in 1895, and in the next year gold was found on the mainland, in MacLaughlin's Creek on the upper Mambare. In spite of stories of savage blacks, poisoned arrows and lurking fevers, nearly 1000 miners sailed to New Guinea in 1896 and 1897. About 400 of them landed in Port Moresby.

Without money and stores most found it impossible to reach the gold fields of the Northern Division. Twelve of those who attempted to cross overland to MacLaughlin's Creek died either on the track or in Port Moresby. Only two parties reached the Mambare by land and they suffered terrible privations on what MacGregor thought should have been a fifteen day walk for those accustomed to travel in New Guinea. By the end of 1896 there were only about twelve men on MacLaughlin's Creek and they were getting little gold. But in 1895 MacGregor had ascended the Musa, taking with him six stranded prospectors. They had found traces of gold and MacGregor reported that the upper Musa would 'present a fine field for the prospector'.<sup>1</sup> On the Moni, a branch of the Musa, further signs of gold had been found towards the end of 1896.

By the time Dan and Frank Pryke arrived in Samarai it must have been known that those miners who went to MacLaughlin's Creek faced a difficult track and on reaching the upper Mambare had little chance of obtaining either gold or stores. The earlier fields on Misima and Sudest were almost deserted and, while there was gold on Woodlark, the area was overmanned. The Prykes and ten other prospectors therefore took the schooner *Ellengowan* to Normanby and Fergusson Islands where they recruited carriers for the Musa. It was, Frank wrote, 'a terrible job getting up, took seven weeks' and when they were about seventy miles up the river the 'boys' ran away. Frank and four others pressed on up the Moni but found no gold. Trying to raft downstream Frank was caught in rapids, tossed into the water and washed downstream: 'I was three days and a half making my way back to main camp and all that

time without food of any kind and nearly pegged out'.<sup>2</sup> Frank recovered after a fortnight's rest in camp and joined the party for the trip to the coast where they found a letter left for them from Matthew Moreton, the Resident Magistrate, telling them that John Green and his police had been killed on the Mambare.<sup>3</sup> After an eighteen day wait on the beach they were picked up in March 1897 by a passing cutter. The expedition broke up, Dan and Frank going on to Bartle Bay, a small gold field opened in 1894, just to the east of Dogura. After three months on the Magavara River they made their way by canoe and cutter to Samarai where they boarded a schooner for Cooktown. Frank tried the alluvial field on the Starcke River in North Queensland for a month before going south to Cairns and the rain forests of the Russell Creek field. He 'stayed there about eight months. Done no good so then carried swag down to Jordan Creek rush'.

Having recovered his health in Sydney Frank was back in British New Guinea by 1899 or 1900. In partnership with George Klotz he recruited labourers and went up the Mambare, disembarking at Tamata, a place known to all the miners for its government station, Whitten Brothers' store, bloody clashes with the Binandere people, and malaria. Crossing to the Gira, Pryke and Klotz had a look at Elliott's Creek where gold had been found in 1897 and then climbed the divide to the Chirima, a tributary of the Mambare. Pryke noted that the people 'seemed very glad that we had come amongst them as they appeared to have lived in great dread of one another'.<sup>4</sup> Confirming judgments made by others, Pryke wrote that the Chirima people were 'most friendly' and he contrasted them with the Orokaivas who, he said, were 'known and dreaded' because they had murdered and eaten a great many carriers since MacLaughlin's Creek had been found. Accompanied by thirty men from Beda village in the Chirima Valley carrying sweet potato, Pryke and Klotz went down the Chirima and then up the Mambare to join a new rush to Finnigan's Creek on the Yodda gold field. About thirty men were already camped on the field 'nearly starving as the last lot of tucker which came out only ran to one and a half pounds of flour, two tins of meat per man'. During the first year it was worked, 6000 ounces were taken from Finnigan's and neighbouring creeks, but one-third of the miners and their labourers died.<sup>5</sup> Pryke and Klotz 'did fairly well' on the Yodda 'getting 85



Map 4 New Britain, New Ireland and Bougainville

ounces per man' and only left when their labourers' contracts ran out.<sup>6</sup> Returning, they came down the old MacLaughlin's Creek track to Tamata. 'It is a terrible road for boys to carry loads on', Frank wrote, 'I am not surprised that boys who have been there dread to hear the name of Mambare mentioned'. After they paid off their labourers in front of the resident magistrate in Samarai, Klotz bought a cutter which they used to return their men home. At Gabagabuna on Milne Bay Klotz and Pryke recruited their health on 'fowl and fish and occasional blowouts on pig'.

With six carriers Pryke and Klotz left Gabagabuna in March 1901 and went overland to Bartle Bay. Sick with malaria, hampered by rain and able to obtain little food from local villagers, they prospected the rivers at the back of Topura and Wedau before crossing the divide back to Milne Bay. In April they left Samarai for Cloudy Bay where a party of prospectors had reported a small find. Six days after anchoring the cutter in one of the streams flowing into the bay, Frank washed two and a half penny-weights in a ravine. Deciding it was worth working, they shifted camp onto the gully and put in a sluice-box. For the rest of May and June they washed up to twelve ounces a day. Adding to their stores by dynamiting streams for fish and sending the labourers out to trade with local villagers for potatoes, taros and yams, Pryke and Klotz worked the ravine until the middle of July, when they left with 370 ounces.

In Samarai another experienced miner, George Arnold,<sup>7</sup> joined the partners for their return to Cloudy Bay. On their second trip they found the anchorage crowded with cutters, a store established on the shore and about thirty men on the field. They found little gold. The ravine had sheltered a concentrated patch and it was soon worked out. Klotz, Arnold and Pryke stayed only two weeks, getting about twenty ounces before they left to prospect to the north-east of Robinson River. But after a fortnight they returned to the cutter and, using it as a base, tested the creeks between Cloudy Bay and Samarai.

Dan Pryke, who had an interest in a reefing lease on Woodlark, joined Frank and Klotz for another attempt to find gold at the head of the Musa in 1902. Klotz decided to go trading in his cutter and left the prospectors before they struck gold in the Keveri Valley.<sup>8</sup> Ironically the new field was just over the Owen Stanley Range from Cloudy Bay, not far from where the Prykes had prospected on the

upper tributaries of the Musa on their first trip to British New Guinea in 1897. After a 'sweet climb' over the range the miners looked down on about forty square miles of rolling grasslands cut by sharp spurs and swift flowing streams. At an altitude of 2000 feet Keveri was cool, healthy and remote. It was 'happy valley'.<sup>9</sup> Frank returned to Keveri with Dan in 1903 and 1904 and with Jim, a younger brother, in 1905. Each year they left Samarai in a small boat and recruited around Normanby and Fergusson Islands and Milne Bay. Often they returned to villages where they were known and signed on men who had worked for them before. If the villagers were engaged in a 'Christmas' the Prykes might take three to four weeks to find men willing to recruit. In Samarai the labourers were examined by the medical officer and then the resident magistrate witnessed the signing on, each man having a cross put next to his name on the form, which noted his home village and that he had agreed to work for £1 a month carrying and mining at Cloudy Bay. Jim was so impressed with the work of Dr R. Fleming Jones, who occasionally rejected one of their recruits, that he paid him tribute in verse:<sup>10</sup>

When you've been on holiday  
 To the Trobriands or the bay  
 Call and see Jones M.D.  
 Buxom, bright New Guinea ladies  
 Give your constitution Hades  
 If you want to seem a saint  
 Clear of syphilitic taint  
 Don't be a dunce — consult at once  
 Jones M.D.

With their 'team' of twelve or twenty labourers and basic stores for twelve months, the Prykes took a boat down to Cloudy Bay and established a base at Ganai.<sup>11</sup> From Ganai, the labourers made frequent trips carrying supplies into Keveri Valley where the Prykes panned or boxed wherever they found payable alluvial. Frank, who was unable to 'suffer setting in on five or six dwts a day',<sup>12</sup> was often out prospecting. In December 1905 he spent a month with Fred Kruger testing the country along the Adau, Domora and Moni Rivers. The greatest number of white miners at Keveri at any one time was about fifteen and they employed 100 labourers.<sup>13</sup> During 1905 there were only four other miners in the valley.

At the end of 1903 Dan went to Cooktown and deposited 256 ounces of gold with the Bank of North Queensland. Frank stayed in Samarai where the complete entry in his diary for 8 November was 'imbibing'. He recovered to play cricket at Kwato next day. The Prykes took 190 ounces to Samarai in 1904 and 213 in May 1906. Both Frank and Dan were able to take trips to southern Australia at the end of 1904 and, when Dan decided to leave New Guinea to become a husband and the proprietor of the Royal Exchange Hotel, Armidale, he was able to declare to his fiancée that his total assets after five years in New Guinea were £400 in a bank in Cooktown, a £250 share in a Cairns ice-works and a Woodlark lease, which he eventually sold for £130. He also admitted: 'I have thrown away a lot of money in my life'.<sup>14</sup>

In 1901 people speaking the Bauwaki language lived in small fortified villages on ridge tops near the Mori to the west of Cloudy Bay, along the headwaters of the Gadoguina River and across the ranges into the Keveri Valley and to Mt Suckling in the north-east.<sup>15</sup> When the Prykes entered the area they employed people from the coast as carriers and used Keveri men as guides on prospecting trips. They encouraged the Keveri to bring in food for sale: if food was scarce in the gardens all suffered. In addition, the 'gun boys' combed the surrounding country shooting wallabies, cassowaries, birds and wild pigs. On a Sunday Frank Pryke often 'shot' (dynamited) fish.

Generally the Keveri peoples offered little resistance to the miners who occupied their lands. But they continued their own feuds, which were complicated by the movement of local men employed by miners and by the arrival of labourers from distant areas. The violence reached its height in 1903-4, when fifteen indentured labourers who had absconded from the Keveri gold field were killed either as they left the valley or along the coast.<sup>16</sup> In their diaries the Prykes record no desertions of their men, but they could not avoid some involvement in the conflicts around them. Their carriers, particularly those from Ganai village near the head of Cloudy Bay, were in danger when they took stores into Keveri. Not long before the Prykes left the area in 1906 a Ganai man was speared and tomahawked to death.<sup>17</sup> One of the Prykes' Milne Bay labourers said that the Keveri people had previously threatened the man when he carried a swag into Keveri: they accused him of having been on a

raid to Keveri and killing one of their 'chiefs'. Two months later the Prykes were told that the Barua people had attempted to spear the carriers as they crossed the ranges and their 'gun boys' had killed three of them. One man employed by the Prykes and another employed by Kruger were arrested and taken for trial to Port Moresby. Kruger, angry with the government's interference, wanted to go to Port Moresby to defend them, but Frank opposed the idea, contenting himself with making a statement to Hubert Murray, then chief judicial officer, in Samarai that the Barua had been 'causing a lot of trouble down that way for some time past'.<sup>18</sup> In Port Moresby the two arrested men said that no spears had been thrown at them and they were sentenced to death, then reprieved.

While at Keveri Frank Pryke had seen little of the government. Officially proclaimed a gold field in 1904 only, Keveri had no resident warden. Albert English, the Government Agent and later Assistant Resident Magistrate at Rigo, divided his time between his private trading, planting and government business and could do little about the distant Abau area. In any case the government parties were usually unwelcome, partly because they forced the people out of the valley and cut off the miners' source of fresh food. Frank also thought they did little to keep the peace. He wrote to Dan on 13 October 1905, while English was in the valley attempting to arrest some Keveri men responsible for a raid on a village close to Cloudy Bay:

We have had a bit of excitement here this last week. English is here with a detachment of police and a mob of carriers chivvying these people around. He has captured six prisoners and shot ten pigs and has been feeding his mob on the gardens.

In his report English admitted that the miners would have been happier if the government had stayed away. In another letter to Dan (5 March 1906), Frank made a more general comment on the government's infrequent attempts to change the way of life of the Keveri:

. . . I think that their way of civilizing the niggers is all at sea, and an impossible kind of way of doing it. I think that they should either leave them alone to settle their own feuds or else when they start out to give them a lesson they should give them a proper one, and not make a farce of it by taking a few harmless ones who are either too old or too young to be in the mischief and giving them a few months or a few years while the real culprits almost invariably escape.



Besides this the white officials are greatly handicapped by the crude material with which they have to do their civilizing. Fancy starting out to civilize a tribe of natives with a tribe of Kiwai and Mambare police boys, people who a couple of years ago were howling cannibals themselves.

But Frank was more conciliatory when he heard a false rumour that the Royal Commission of 1906 had recommended the dismissal of all Papuan police. The 'native police boy', he admitted, 'is one of my pet antipathies, but still the work he has to do might come in a bit awkward for a white man'.<sup>19</sup>

When he shifted from Keveri to the Gira and the Waria in 1906 Frank became more involved in the events exciting the conversation and the politics of the miners. In 1905 Joe O'Brien was arrested and sentenced to two months' hard labour for assault. Charges that O'Brien had committed rape, murder and arson in the villages and had robbed Whittens were to be heard at the next sitting of the Central Court. Before any further hearings were held O'Brien smashed the skull of his guard, a member of the armed native constabulary, with an axe and escaped. Henry Griffin, the Assistant Resident Magistrate at Kokoda, instructed the Orokaiva people that if O'Brien shot at them they could spear him and he told the miners they were 'perfectly justified' in shooting him if he refused to surrender. The miners were divided by the case. Some believed that under no circumstances should any white man be made to work under a black guard: it would, said Staniforth Smith, then a Senator for Western Australia (later second-in-command to Sir Hubert Murray), 'revolutionize the views of natives in regard to the power and prestige of the white man [and make him] an object of contempt rather than of respect . . . as he should be'.<sup>20</sup> Some miners also strongly opposed the practice of Europeans being convicted on evidence given by Papuans, but seventeen Northern Division miners, including Billy Little and Matt Crowe, signed a letter saying they did not condone the actions of 'escaped prisoner O'Brien'. When Frank Pryke reached the Northern Division he found that Little was intensely disliked for taking a lead in defending the actions of the officials but, he wrote to Dan on 8 December 1906, his own views were close to Little's:

O'Brien left himself open for it and in fact had been looking for it for some time previous to the affair and I don't think that I could manage

to bring myself to sympathize very much with a man of the O'Brien stamp under any circumstances.

Little was also in disfavour over his nomination to the Legislative Council created by the Papua Act of 1905. At miners' meetings William Whitten had been chosen but, before the results of the meetings were known in Port Moresby, Little was appointed. Pryke believed that both Little and C. A. W. Monckton (who had first suggested Little's name to Acting Administrator F. R. Barton and then held ballots) had acted in good faith; Monckton did not know his earlier casual proposal had been accepted. While believing that one nominated miner would have slight influence on the government, Pryke thought Little might 'make a better member than any of the crowd who are doing most of the snorting'.<sup>21</sup>

Most of the miners were given the opportunity to express their grievances before the Royal Commission of 1906. The secretary of the Commission wrote to Pryke inviting him to give evidence and the letter was forwarded to Monckton at Kokoda who sent it on to Tamata. It reached Pryke at Waterfall Creek on 11 October, the same day the Commissioners heard evidence at Mambare beach. Waterfall Creek, a tributary of the Gira, was several days' walk and boat trip away from the beach, but that was the closest the Commissioners were coming. Pryke thought it was somehow typical of New Guinea affairs.<sup>22</sup>

Frank worked at Waterfall for a few months only, then he and Jim took the long trek across to the Waria where Matt Crowe and Arthur Darling had found gold. When the Prykes left the Waria for the first time in July 1907 they had 300 ounces, more than enough to pay their expenses and give them a spell in Australia.

Back in Samarai from Cooktown in 1908 Pryke took a cutter he had bought in 1906 for two months' recruiting through the old ground around the islands and Milne Bay. While ashore he tried a dish in likely creeks and had a look at what was supposed to be a sheelite prospect on Fergusson Island. In March Frank and Jim took the cutter into German New Guinea to enter the Waria River. When the miners had first crossed overland to the headwaters of the Waria they believed that they were liable to be penalised by German officials. Their entry into German territory was certainly illegal, but in 1908 Dr Albert Hahl, on a visit to the Waria, told the miners that they could take their stores up the river in order to mine

in either Australian or German territory. Hahl's advice made access to the Waria field easier and ended the fears of those miners who were already working inside the German border.<sup>23</sup>

Realising the importance of the local people as a source of food and labour, Frank had cultivated the friendship of the villagers during his first year on the Waria. But in their second year the Prykes were involved in at least two bloody encounters. In October 1908 one of Edward Driscoll's labourers was killed by people from Wakaia.<sup>24</sup> Driscoll, Frank, Jim, twenty-one Milne Bay labourers and fifteen Waria men from other areas, immediately set out for Wakaia. In his diary of the next few days Frank is more laconic than usual. Although the aim of the expedition was to punish there is no indication of what happened. But their employment of Waria men on the trip was significant. It was possible for miners to employ and trade with some peoples while fighting others. In fact, in some places it was difficult to maintain friendly relations with all groups. When miners participated in local conflicts they changed old balances of power and, free of concern about compensation payments or the need for future alliances, may have increased the degree of violence.

If Frank was restrained in his diary, he wrote without reserve to Dan on 9 February 1909 of another incident. After one of Darling's labourers was speared, then axed to death when he left the camp to get water, Frank and Darling immediately assumed it was their task to punish:

It was too late that night to do anything, but next morning Darling and I were among them just at daylight and gave them a bit of a shock, but I think by the way they got to cover they are used to being surprised or else they train for it, something like (alarm and rush) in fire practice. Anyhow they suffered heavily in pigs and would also have to build fresh houses. . . . They<sup>25</sup> are a rather unsociable lot and are armed with the bow and arrow or skewer as Darling calls it. The weapons are much better than the spear as a native can send them over a hundred yards on level ground, and in that open grass country they must be able to send them long distances down the sides of the steep hills. Of course there was no chance of the nigs making a stand against us in a fair go as we were well armed, I had a Lee Enfield, Automatic Winchester, and two ordinary Winchesters and a shot gun and Darling was even better fitted out, but there are places about there where a large rock rolled with a bit of judgement, could wipe out an army.

In the same letter Frank noted that Murray had decided not to proceed against Charlie Ericksen and Joe Sloane, two miners charged with shooting a man on the Aikora.<sup>26</sup>

When Frank and Jim left the Waria in 1909 they were uncertain where they would go. The bird of paradise feathers they had sent to Tamata had been thrown away by the storekeeper worried by the government's arrest of other offenders; but they had enough gold to keep their 'noses in front of Bill Whitten's books'.<sup>27</sup> As for the Waria, Frank thought 'she [was] done'. Les Joubert, prospector and Buna storekeeper, suggested that they take his launch and try the rivers in German New Guinea. Although prepared to 'turn squarehead' Frank thought they might go back to Keveri if nothing came of the proposal to send a government prospecting expedition into new country.

Hoping to find a new field to support the one hundred alluvial miners then struggling to make a living in the Territory, the Papuan government in 1909 had agreed to pay £800 to meet the costs of a prospecting expedition. In a ballot to elect a leader the Waria and Gira miners voted for Frank Pryke and the Yodda for Matt Crowe. Frank believed that had the Woodlark miners been given a vote he would have won.<sup>28</sup> When they met in Samarai Matt suggested that they toss for it, but eventually the composition of the party was resolved: Matt with the greater number of votes became the nominal leader and he selected Frank and Jim to accompany him.

Matt Crowe was about forty-seven years old, his thin frame could be straightened to 6ft 4in, and his tongue was caustic. Few miners and government officials had escaped Old Matt's 'keen sarcastic wit',<sup>29</sup> but all respected his skills as a prospector and bushman. He had first met Frank and Dan in Western Australia, tried the Klondike gold fields in Canada, and had gone back to British New Guinea, where he had opened the Yodda in 1899. Frank was then thirty-seven, strongly built and just above medium height. He was no longer the young man who ran at athletic meetings, competed in fire brigade demonstrations, and played rugby as one of Baxter's boys in Goulburn; but he was tough and tireless in the bush, genial and patient as a companion.

With thirty-five labourers and stores for three months the Prykes and Crowe left Port Moresby in June 1909 on the *Merrie England*. From a base on the Tauri River they prospected the northern head-

waters and then went east to the upper Lakekamu. In September they made canoes, went down the Lakekamu, met Hubert Murray, replenished their stores and returned up the Lakekamu where they had found indications of gold. By foot, raft and canoe the expedition tested the gullies from the Tiveri to near Mt Lawson. On Ironstone Creek, a tributary of the Tiveri, they found good prospects and when they put in a box it returned two ounces a day.<sup>30</sup>

Small sturdy men wearing bark capes and armed with bows contested the right of the expedition to move through the area. They were Kapau speakers, the most south-eastern group of the Anga peoples: to the miners and government officials they were the Kukukukus. There were not many of them, wrote Frank, but they were tough and showered the prospectors with arrows every time they approached a village. The Prykes' head labourer, Waga Waga Dick, was killed instantly by an arrow through the heart. 'They set us again next morning', said Frank, 'but we had the best of that argument as we had got up before daylight and had gone to meet them'.<sup>31</sup> In a cryptic reference to the same encounter Jim, in an undated letter from Ironstone Creek, recalled his days as a footballer: 'we ran into a couple of them coming down to have another pot at us, and the Goulburn scrum always was solid'. For the life of the gold field relations between miners and villagers did not improve. The Kukukuku would sometimes exchange food for steel axes and plane blades, but generally they avoided the intruders. Even where miners worked within half a day's walk of a village they rarely saw the inhabitants. A few isolated miners' camps and the government store were looted, some labourers who wandered into the bush were killed, and arrows were fired at prospectors. The violence was much less than it had been at Keveri or in the Northern Division, but because of the reputation of the Kukukuku as fearless and unpredictable warriors and their rejection of attempts by government officers and miners to change their way of life, the Kukukuku fascinated and disturbed the miners and their labourers. The Kukukuku on a peaceful mission was more likely to be shot at or have the dogs set on him than any other Papua New Guinean.

By the middle of December 1909 the prospectors were back in Port Moresby where they applied for a reward claim equal in area to forty men's claims. By confidential despatch and coded telegram from Thursday Island, Murray advised the Minister to caution impetuous Australians against joining the rush. Miners abandoned

the Gira and the Yodda to try the new field; the stores at Tamata and Buna closed. Murray appointed three field officers to open a station at Nepa overlooking Ironstone Creek and he asked Dr Colin Simson to take a temporary position as government medical officer on the field. Frank and Jim Pryke recruited labourers in the south-east and were back on the Lakekamu by the end of January. While Jim and Matt worked the reward claim Frank prospected neighbouring gullies, hoping to pick up a rich patch, but the best returns came from the reward claim where they recovered up to five ounces a day.

In spite of attempts by Frank Pryke and the government to warn miners that the field was of limited extent, the find was 'boomed'.<sup>32</sup> By the end of June over 1100 labourers and 200 white miners had gone to the field; 677 labourers and sixty-one miners were still there.<sup>33</sup> About 120 men crossed from Australia to Papua, but some did not reach the Tiveri and many of those who did had no labourers and no stores. The government repatriated the destitute. After six months the miners had recovered a total of about 3000 ounces of gold. The labourers were less fortunate: 258 of them were dead, most from dysentery. Over 400 had been admitted to the government's special dysentery hospital and 160 died there; the rest had died in the camps. Murray closed the field to further recruiting and while he was on leave Staniforth Smith considered moving all labourers to hospitals or quarantine areas away from the gold field.<sup>34</sup>

The field was 'a little hell', said Frank Pryke. Seven of Crowe's and the Prykes' forty-one labourers died. Frank wrote to Dan:<sup>35</sup>

Living here is very expensive as you have to buy a lot of medicines and luxuries for the nigs to keep them alive at all and then you cannot get much work out of them as it is not safe to drive them and I tell you it grieves a man to lose one of them especially if he is a good boy. I have several of our old boys here. Bese and Gelua amongst them. I had a big contest to save Gelua as he was laid up for a month . . .

Frank was bitter about the death rate at the hospital and he told one story of a labourer asking his employer to hit him on the head with a tomahawk rather than send him to that place of death. Frank thought that Simson's replacement, Dr Julius Streeter, having lost 200 cases in less than six months, 'must have put up a record'.<sup>36</sup> After the dysentery epidemic declined the labourers began to suffer from beriberi, a disease caused by a dietary

deficiency; but with neither dysentery nor beriberi did the medical officers have the means or the knowledge to do much to arrest the debilitation and death of many men. In 1910-11 fifty-seven labourers died and in 1911-12 twenty-six died.

After travelling by foot, launch and government whaleboat Frank Pryke arrived in Port Moresby at the end of 1910 where he dined with Murray at Government House.<sup>37</sup> The Prykes had 'done fairly well' out of the reward claim although they had been paying £100 a month to the Tiveri store.<sup>38</sup> In Samarai the Lakekamu miners paid £1000 to their time-expired labourers and then led by the Prykes and Bob Bunting 'enlivened the town and danced the light fantastic'.<sup>39</sup> Recruiting for the return to the Lakekamu was difficult because of the many death notices which had been sent to Samarai the previous year. Patrol officers attempting to pay wages due to the relatives of dead men were besieged by villagers worried about men who had left as labourers, but by April Frank and Dan were back at the mouth of the Lakekamu with thirty-six recruits waiting for the *Bulldog* to take them upstream.<sup>40</sup> They had contracted to pay the men fifteen shillings a month, the same amount as they had paid the previous year.

During its second year the Lakekamu supported a population of about forty miners and 400 labourers spread from Cassowary Creek in the east to Olipai and Fish Creek thirty miles to the west. The centre of the field was Whittens' store at Tiveri landing. There, one day's walk from Ironstone Creek, Frank Pryke heard the local news, did a bit of 'jubilating' and bought the butchers bacon, dried apricots, dynamite, Winchester cartridges, pick handles, Dewar's whisky, quinine, Irish Moss Gum Jubes, rice, salmon, turkey red, dripping, rolled oats, golden syrup, flour, tin openers and Nestles milk which the labourers carried back to camp. When Frank sent a labourer down with a note to collect supplies Arthur Lumley attached the 'news' to the account: he listed who was in Tiveri 'on the shicker', invited Frank to come in and 'blow the froth off one' or listen to 'Melba at her best on the Phony graph', and added such important information as that the government medical officer had been drunk and 'tried to do it to Kruger's gin'. When the *Bulldog* failed to arrive and there was neither food nor news at the store Frank took a group of labourers out to make sago. The Prykes could have their own entertainment at Ironstone Creek with Jim's

gramophone, although a musical evening could be disturbed by goats copulating under the floorboards. For 'literature' they had, Frank wrote to Dan on 2 September 1910, 'the [*North Queensland Register*] and the *Bulletin* with an occasional Novel or Magazine'.

In September 1911 the miners elected Frank Pryke to lead a prospecting expedition to be financed equally by miners and the government.<sup>41</sup> Pryke selected Robert Elliott and Charlie Priddle to go with him. In December the prospectors and forty-one labourers established a base 120 miles up the Vailala. Finding that the Iova, a turbulent north-western tributary flowing through narrow gorges, was impossible to prospect Pryke, Priddle and thirty carriers turned east and crossed a series of gullies where they found fine 'colours'. Although they saw gardens they met no people until 20 December when, at a point Frank thought was close to the German New Guinea border, they came to a village of twenty or thirty houses. The people accepted tobacco and appeared friendly, but as Pryke led the party on a track away from the village he was suddenly confronted by five or six men standing on a rock. He walked forward making signs to them to put their bows down; but one man released an arrow. Pryke shot and killed his attacker and the prospecting party 'shook tribe up generally'. The arrow had entered Pryke's chest 'just below left nipple and travelled down towards left kidney'. Frank pulled the arrow out then became 'pretty ill'.<sup>42</sup> Fearing he might die he dictated a note to Priddle describing what had happened and largely absolving the villagers from blame.<sup>43</sup> After camping for two days the party started back for the base camp carrying Pryke on a stretcher. The return journey took nine days. While Pryke recovered Priddle and Elliott tested the Ivori, another branch of the Vailala. By their return Pryke had recovered sufficiently to accompany Priddle up the Lohiki then south across country to the government station at Kerema. While waiting for a boat back to the Lakekamu the prospectors tried the Murua, but found only 'colours'. In March the Lakekamu miners learnt that the expedition had opened no new field. In spite of a second clash with villagers on the Lohiki and much tough travelling, all the carriers completed the return passage on the *Bulldog*.

Soon after the Vailala trip Frank and Jim left Papua to invest their Lakekamu gold in New South Wales. Frank purchased a share in a



business in Moree. At the 'old curiosity shop' customers could buy tobacco, fancy goods, stationery, toys and newspapers, have a haircut or a game of billiards. But there were not many people in Moree in urgent need of these things and Frank soon decided that 'selling penny and half penny articles seems to be a mighty slow way of accumulating a fortune'. Worse still, he learnt that his partner, given to ill-founded optimism, was 'as mad as a dingo'.<sup>44</sup> While wondering how to escape from Moree while he still had a little capital left, Frank was receiving letters about what was happening in Papua. Jim too was 'talking Papua' when the Prykes were given the chance to return as members of Sir Rupert Clarke's expedition up the Fly.<sup>45</sup>

In January 1914 Frank Pryke celebrated the end of his career as a country businessman by going to two race meetings and a fight in Sydney before boarding the *Matunga* for Papua. In Port Moresby Crowe, Priddle and 'other old acquaintances' assisted in the celebration of his arrival, then all attended a wedding where Frank 'got tight' and recited the 'Gippsland Girl'.<sup>46</sup> Six days later Frank was best man at Priddle's wedding. After his ageing liver had recovered Frank visited Archie MacAlpine, the manager of Clarke's plantation at Kanosia, and spent a week examining the country at the back of Galley Reach. Not finding anything of interest he sailed to Samarai, enlisted the assistance of ex-labourers, and recruited for the Fly trip. In Daru Frank and nineteen labourers joined the other members of the expedition, Clarke, MacAlpine, Jim and MacKay, an engineer. After a month exploring near the head of the Black and Palmer rivers, Clarke and MacAlpine returned to Daru, leaving MacKay and the Prykes with the launch *Kismet* to continue prospecting. For a further two months the Prykes dragged canoes and scrambled up the steep valleys of the Tully and Alice (Ok-Tedi). They had gone further up the Fly than any government expedition, and although they saw some 'likely looking country' and washed a few 'colours', they found nothing worth working.

On the Alice the Prykes had faced a crowd of about two hundred people who had attempted to persuade them to turn back. Many of the carriers thought this wise advice and Frank accepted that on a wage of one pound a month no man could be expected to take risks. By showing an apparent indifference to threats, the expedition passed without using force. In other areas the Prykes saw

few people and they regretted the limited opportunities to trade. Frank collected a fifty word vocabulary of the people of the 'Tully, Fly and Upper Alice Watersheds'<sup>47</sup> to add to the word-lists he had compiled for various other parts of Papua.

As the Prykes came downstream in September they met an apparently friendly group of about 100 men and women just below D'Albertis's Attack Point. After 'a good deal of trading' the river people invited those on the *Kismet* to come ashore and have a smoke. When the Prykes declined they were offered women, the women themselves beckoning and making 'immodest gestures and signs'. Just as the Prykes decided it would be prudent to move the *Kismet* into deeper water an old woman threw a burning stick onto the awning. More fire sticks and a flight of arrows followed. Those on the *Kismet* opened fire driving the attackers off. When calm was restored, five of the Prykes' labourers were wounded, Frank had an arrow through his forearm and Jim had a scratch on his stomach. On shore they found one man dead and they destroyed canoes and houses and cut down coconut trees. The Fly River warriors 'lined up as if they were going to give us battle, but unfortunately they thought better of it and bolted before we could get one'.<sup>48</sup> All the expedition members recovered quickly except Frank, who suffered intense pain and 'did some pretty rough penance' until his arm was attended by the Reverend Baxter Riley from the London Mission Society station in Daru.<sup>49</sup>

In November 1914 the Prykes returned to the Lakekamu, a field still supporting over twenty miners and 300 labourers. From a camp near Twisty Creek to the west of the Tiveri store they tested a few creeks, but getting only 'flyshits' they shifted back to work a claim not far from Ironstone Creek.<sup>50</sup> During the early months of 1915 they were more than covering their expenses, but either because the gold was worked out or because he was in need of medical treatment Frank left to try again to earn his living as a businessman. In August 1915 he became the proprietor of a billiard saloon in Burwood, Sydney. Dan, at various times newsagent, manager of a laundry, manufacturer of confectionery and owner of a hardware store, was also struggling to make a living in Sydney. Jim went down from the Lakekamu with F. G. Chisholm, the patrol officer from Nepa, enlisted in the A.I.F., and after training in the snow and mud of Salisbury was killed at Broodseinde in 1917. Chisholm had been killed in France two weeks earlier.

Private James Alexander Pryke was forty-four when he died. In a tribute to 'a mate and brother' written nearly twenty years later Frank said that he too would have gone to the war but at the time Jim enlisted he had entered hospital 'to face the surgeon's knife'.<sup>51</sup>

From the early days of the Lakekamu field there had been attempts to promote dredging. In 1919 Frank Pryke took the *Bulldog* up the Lakekamu for the last time to re-examine some dredging leases. The store, serving only six miners and their teams, was still at the landing; one government officer was at Nepa, but as he had received no supplies of rice or peas for over seven months he was unable to go on patrol. Pryke's interest in dredging came to nothing, although following the development of Bulolo the Tiveri Gold Dredging Company was able to raise the capital to operate a small dredge on the Lakekamu from 1934 to 1939.

When Frank Pryke left Papua in 1919 the era of the independent alluvial miner had ended. The miners were no longer the most important export earners, the planters employed far more labourers, and Samarai and Port Moresby no longer boomed and slumped as the miners bought up stores to try a new field or paid off after twelve months on good dirt.

The miners had certainly opened up new country. They were more numerous, more inclined to go inland, and employed more people than any other group in British New Guinea. They formed closer relationships with the people than did the white missionaries or government officials. But they may not have been the 'best class' to be the carriers of a cultural revolution.<sup>52</sup> The miners, in changing relations between groups, increasing movement, and modifying the economy by introducing new materials, new crops and greatly reducing the numbers of birds, fish and animals in the area, may have intensified the warfare among the Keveri. But there was one important restraining and humanising influence on the miners; they needed New Guineans.

Generally European miners did not travel or work claims in New Guinea without New Guinean labourers. Several who tried to do so died. In the main recruiting grounds of the south-east the labourers made their choice freely and knowingly. When Frank Pryke went ashore at Wadei village on Fergusson Island in 1908 and found some of his old labourers, they told him they had just been working in Woodlark and were not interested in recruiting. Pryke could

only move on. By 1908 many men had recruited several times and the area had been recruited long enough for some labourers to be the sons of earlier recruits. They knew the skills of the alluvial miners and a few had become independent miners working gold on old fields in the islands. Frank normally left a group working a box while he prospected neighbouring country. Often he sent the labourers to nearby villages to trade for food. Other miners equipped labourers with a pick and pan and sent them out to look for new ground. In fact 'Most of the prospecting on the Waria appear[ed] to be done by boys'.<sup>53</sup> The independent movement of labourers meant that the white miners sometimes had no influence on and no knowledge of encounters between labourers and villagers.

On the Gira, Yodda, Keveri, Waria and Lakekamu the miners armed some of their labourers. The handing of the gun to the labourer demonstrated the interdependence of miner and labourer in the bush, and in that act the miner gave up much of his advantage in power over the labourer. In fact after 1900 a miner was as likely to be killed by his own labourers as he was by hostile villagers. In the field it was in the interests of the miners to maintain friendly relations with local peoples: they needed them as guides, carriers and suppliers of food. Without the numerous peoples and gardens on the upper Waria it would have been impossible for the miners to have worked an area so far from a store. While critical of any government official or miner who needlessly disturbed relations with local villagers most miners believed it was necessary to use a ruthless punitive raid when a carrier or miner was killed. On the Mambare, Gira and the Waria some raids drove people from their home areas and ended their relations with the miners. On the Lakekamu, where the Anga were hostile to foreigners and had little desire to trade with the miners and the miners did not need them, one side normally avoided the other, and when they did meet there was violence.

On his return to Australia in 1919 Pryke leased a hotel in Maryborough, Queensland, but the working men of the area failed to drink as much as he expected. Back in Sydney he 'had more luck with his business speculations'.<sup>54</sup> In 1925 he married Ina Cruickshank, a thirty-nine year old divorcee, and they moved into the rooms above his store in Rushcutters Bay. But running a sub-

urban business was not Frank Pryke's first choice of occupation. From letters, newspapers and the talk in Usher's Bar he kept informed about events in New Guinea. By 1925 the talk was that 'on the Bulolo old Sharkeye's getting gold'.<sup>55</sup>

By 1915 the south-east of Papua had been prospected intensively and most of the southward flowing rivers had been tested. In the north the miners had been up the Kumusi, Mambare, Gira and Waria. Obviously the next step was to try those rivers taking their rise not far from the headwaters of the Lakekamu and the Waria: the Bulolo and the Watut. Sharkeye Park and Jack Nettleton began working gold on Koranga Creek in 1922. At first there was no rush to Koranga. Park and Nettleton said little, the field was difficult to reach, the people of the area were known to be hostile, and the cost of stores landed at Salamaua and carried to the field were so high that only those on rich ground could afford to stay there. In January 1926 William Royal and one labourer climbed a series of rock faces to reach a spur above the point where the upper Edie cascades into the lower Edie. Finding good prospects, he returned to test the area more thoroughly and washed up to seven pennyweights in a dish. Royal's worries about feeding his labourers and paying off his £700 debt to Burns Philp were almost over.<sup>56</sup>

Frank Pryke, knowing the importance of being early to a new strike and realising this was probably his last chance to be there when they found the big one, was among the first of those who arrived from Australia.<sup>57</sup> By May he had recruited labourers and made the walk up the Gadugadu track from Salamaua to Edie. It was, he said, 'the worst road I had ever seen food packed over to a goldfield'. Edie, at an altitude of over 6000 feet, was 'very cold and wet — a miserable kind of place'.<sup>58</sup> Les Joubert, delayed when his carriers deserted, arrived to work in partnership with Pryke. In September the main rush began and by November there were 219 miners and 1324 indentured labourers on the field.

At first handicapped by the confusion over whether New Guinea mining laws permitted men intending to work with box and pan to take up large dredging and sluicing leases, Pryke and Joubert eventually worked several small claims on the Merri, a tributary of the Edie. For Pryke the events of 1926 followed a familiar pattern. The villagers raided the carriers on the track from Salamaua and government officials, miners and labourers combined in punitive expeditions. In September dysentery broke out at Salamaua. While

the death rate was much less than at the Lakekamu forty-eight men had died of the disease by early 1927.<sup>59</sup> Four of Pryke's thirty-one labourers died, two at Salamaua, one on the track and one at Edie. But there were differences. Firstly Frank was fifty-four years old: he found Komiatum hill a tough climb and he knew that twenty years earlier he would have made the crest with ease. Less able to prospect new areas, he made only one trip from the main field; in June he went back to old ground in the hope that beaches on the Waria would be worth taking up as dredging leases. At the end of the year he had lost three stone in weight and he spent some time in the Rabaul hospital.<sup>60</sup> In his 1928 diary he recorded a lament for his passing vigour:

My roving days are over,  
 My naughty nights are out,  
 What was once my sex appeal,  
 Is now a water spout.

Secondly he had to recruit his labourers in New Guinea and he had to speak to them in the Pidgin of the New Guinea employers. Thirdly there was more gold than the old Papuan prospectors had ever seen. From one claim 100 feet by 200 feet Pryke and Joubert obtained over 2000 ounces.<sup>61</sup> Where a good strike in Papua had supported two or three stores, the Morobe gold fields stimulated the growth of towns at Salamaua, Wau and Lae. After the first year on the Lakekamu Jack Murphy's fifty pound shout at Tommy McCrann's in Port Moresby became a legend; at Salamaua the champagne shouts were frequent. At the end of 1929 the manager of the Bank of New South Wales recorded that the 'record single shout' resulted in the consumption of eighty-four bottles purchased at thirty shillings each. The corks had been nailed to the ceiling as evidence. Few of the 'old crowd' were there to see the new wealth. Many of those who had followed the strikes from Woodlark to the Gira, Yodda, Milne Bay, Aikora, Keveri, Waria and Lakekamu were dead. Matt Crowe, perhaps the best known of the pioneer prospectors, died in Samarai just six months before Royal washed gold at Edie. Frank thought only one in ten of those on the Morobe gold field in 1927 could be classed as experienced miners.

When Pryke returned to the gold field in 1928 there were further changes. He flew from Lae to Wau by Junkers in 35 minutes; and in July his wife 'with about half ton of impedimenta' arrived for a



Plate I James Chalmers (standing at right) with L.M.S. colleagues W. G. Lawes and (seated left to right) Watson, Sharpe and E. B. Savage. L.M.S. Archives, London. Reproduced by courtesy of the London Missionary Society.



Plate II James Chalmers in the early 1880s. From R. Lovett, *James Chalmers: His Autobiography and Letters*.



Plate III The District Committee, governing body of the L.M.S. in Papua, 1889-90. L.M.S. Archives, London. Reproduced by courtesy of the London Missionary Society.



Plate IV Albert Hahl on the Gazelle Peninsula, March 1896. United Church Papers, New Guinea Collection.



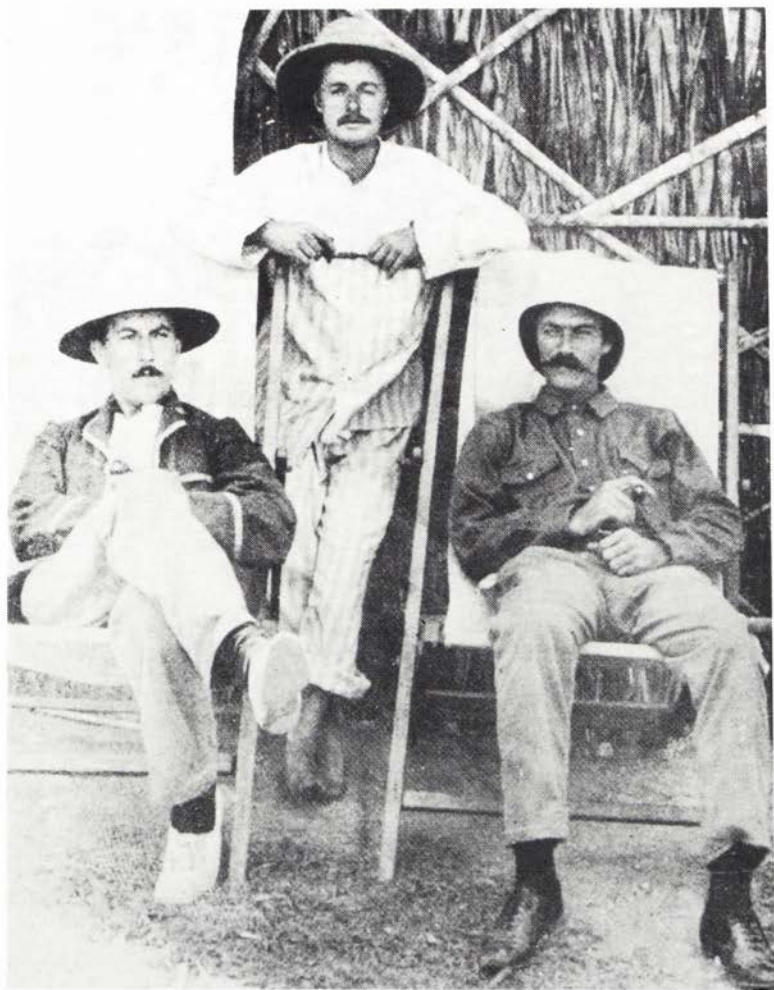


Plate V C. A. W. Monckton (at right) with H. W. Walker and (standing) L. Dyke-Acland on the Agaianbu expedition, 1902. From H. Wilfred Walker, *Wanderings among South Seas*.

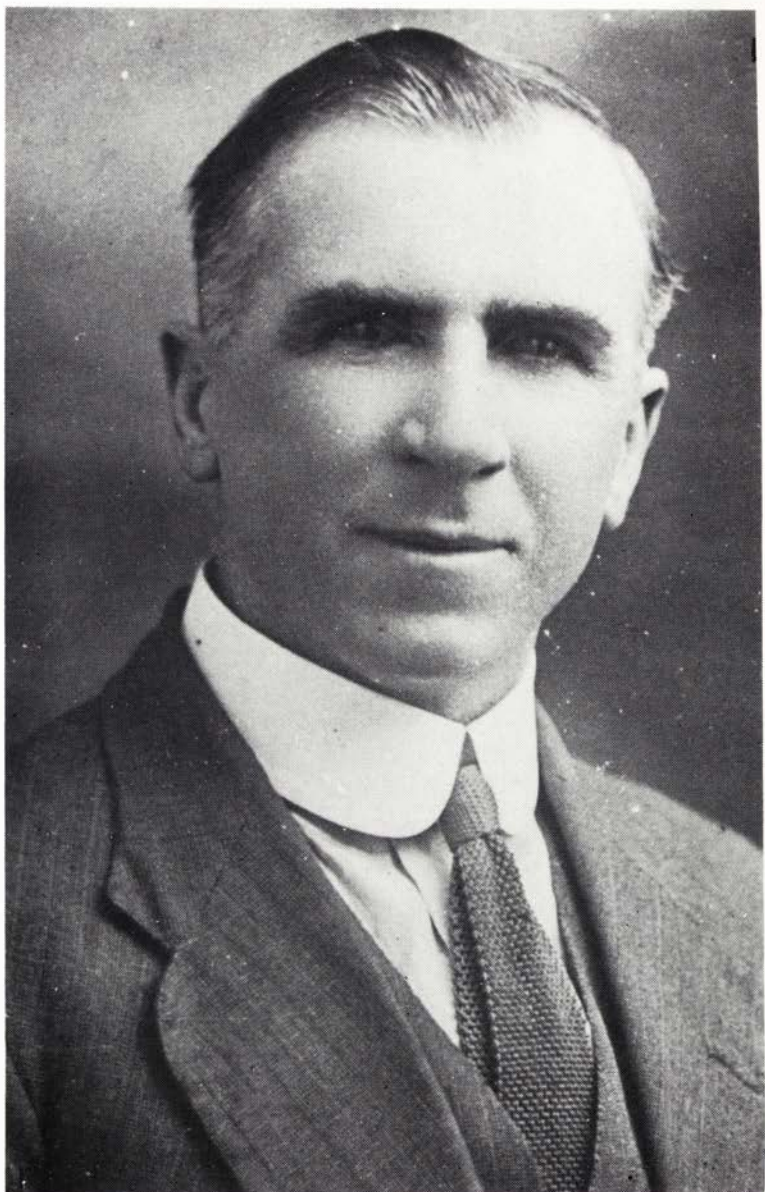


Plate VI Frank Pryke photographed in Sydney. Reproduced by courtesy of Mr F. Pryke.



Plate VII W. C. Groves in New Ireland during his anthropological studies in 1932. Reproduced by courtesy of Mrs Doris Groves.



Plate VIII Paul Mason. Reproduced by courtesy of the Australian War Memorial.



Plate IX Paul Mason's grave on Bougainville. Reproduced by courtesy of Mrs Noelle Mason.





Plate X The Leahy brothers at Bena Bena aerodrome, Goroka Valley, in 1933. Reproduced by courtesy of Mr Michael Leahy.

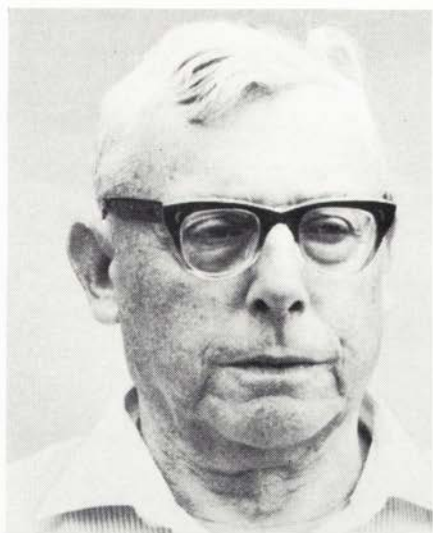


Plate XI Percy Chatterton. Reproduced by courtesy of Pacific Publications.

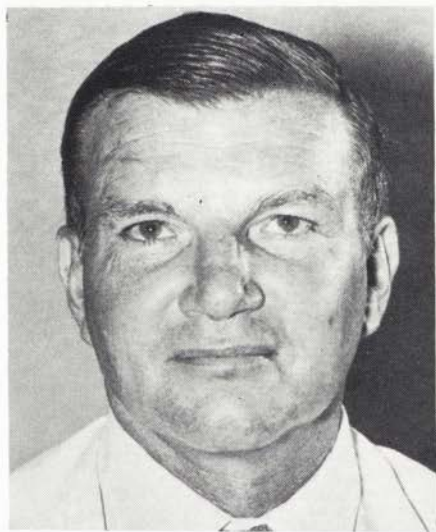


Plate XII Ian Downs. Reproduced by courtesy of the Office of Information, Department of the Prime Minister and Development Administration, Papua New Guinea.

three month stay. But there were still picks to sharpen, gardens to plant for fresh food, floods that swept down breaking dams and carrying away flumes, and miners who dropped in for a yarn. The gold yield remained high; when they weighed up on Fridays they recorded totals of up to 100 ounces of fine gold and specimens.<sup>62</sup>

On all the Papuan fields the alluvial miners had dreamed of promoting a big dredging company or finding the mother lode. Dredges and reefs were worked in Papua but generally long after those who had opened the field had left. On the Morobe gold fields gold-bearing quartz veins were found on Edie in 1927 and even before Royal climbed to Upper Edie some men had realised the vast potential of the Bulolo Valley for dredging. Companies with a greater nominal capital than on any Australian gold field were formed to work reefs, sluice and dredge on the Morobe. Pryke and Joubert were able to sell 'one of the best private leases' to the Koranga Gold Sluicing Company.<sup>63</sup> Frank retired to live in Coogee, Sydney. One New Guinea gold field had fulfilled all the promises.

In retirement Frank Pryke was often ill with arthritis, hydatids and finally heart disease; but he kept travelling by car through the country around Bathurst and Goulburn which he had known as a young man, and by ship to the islands, Japan and England where he poked around Bury St Edmunds looking for traces of his father's family. In 1932 he went with Fred Kruger to have a look at a gold prospect in Milne Bay (and found the thirteen mile walk exhausted his sixteen stone body), considered pegging sulphur springs on Fergusson Island, and with the help of an old villager relocated a mica deposit he and Dan had found thirty years before. The waiting on beaches reminded him of former days when they complained that they spent half their lives waiting for boats. In many villages he met 'old boys'. Some brought gifts and Pryke realised they were making investments as well as giving presents for he was expected to give something in return. He was pleased to hear that one man, Lolo, had taken twenty ounces of gold into Samarai explaining that he had been able to find it because he had once worked for Frank Pryke. Having an affection for Samarai which he never felt for Port Moresby or Rabaul, Pryke was disappointed on his return to the island. Samarai was neater, it had electric light and an ice-works, but it had<sup>64</sup>

grown quite slack and respectable and even the government officers seem[ed] to have reduced considerably their average daily consumption of booze. One missed the wild doings and boisterous nights when the miners from the Yodda and Ikora gambled, fought and drank . . .

One 'very old . . . acquaintance, malaria' affected him in exactly the same way as it had in the past.

Within a context which gave power and prestige to the employer and attempted to ensure only the survival of the labourer, Frank Pryke had shown concern for the welfare of his labourers. He rarely used 'physical argument' and he provided better conditions for his men than the minimum prescribed in the Native Labour Ordinance. Having spent many months in the Milne Bay area, sometimes sleeping in the villages, he knew the way of life of his labourers and he felt affection for some who went with him on several trips. He maintained a close relationship with peoples in the recruiting area for thirty years: when he saw some of his ex-labourers on his last voyage through the islands they were old men. Curious about the peoples he met on prospecting trips, he made brief notes about their houses, weapons, gardens and physical appearance; and he collected vocabularies. In distinguishing groups by their reactions to the miners he was inclined to use simplistic generalisations: the Kukukuku were fearless and treacherous, the Keveri were friendly. By comparison other less perceptive and knowledgeable miners gathered all New Guineans under one sweeping condemnation. While he was aware that people seeing miners for the first time could not know whether they were weak or strong, friendly or hostile, he was critical of the missionaries who, he said, too frequently assumed that the New Guineans were blameless. Pryke argued that he had been in situations where he had had to shoot to survive, but that he had never killed wantonly.<sup>65</sup> While it was true that Pryke had avoided needless bloodshed, he had participated in punitive raids when the immediate risk to himself and others had passed. The punitive raid was carried out either for vengeance or to prevent further attacks and thereby reduce the total number of deaths: it was not an act of desperate self-preservation. Against this it must be said that Pryke had also been in situations where he had endangered himself by showing extraordinary restraint. Hubert Murray who found little in most men to justify public praise said Pryke was 'known throughout the



Territory for his kind and tactful treatment of natives'; he was of 'humane disposition'.<sup>66</sup>

Writing openly of most events in his letters and diaries, Pryke never mentioned his relations with Papuan women. Lumley, whose letters were neither inhibited nor serious, accused Frank of 'acolyting virgins up and down the coast', and in another letter he said that Jim should have married one of the Papuan women 'amongst whom he laboured so laboriously and so long'.<sup>67</sup> It is difficult to see a man of Pryke's temperament raising hell in all the villages along the coast, but on his leisurely trips around Milne Bay and the islands he was probably not solely concerned with getting the team home and arranging for new recruits. Around 1910 Pryke seems to have formed a longer relationship with a Milne Bay woman, Dadawe, who bore him a son. When Dadawe died, the son, still an infant, was brought up as a member of another family resulting from inter-racial marriage. Many other miners and traders who lived in the south-east from the 1890s formed relationships of varying types and for varying lengths of time with women of the area.

His poems are about people and places near Bathurst and Goulburn in New South Wales and on the gold fields of Papua and New Guinea. The places are praised and Pryke is always generous to his fellow men; but the poems still express the frustrations of the wanderer, whose achievements have been in the bush, now old, ill, instructed in what he can eat and drink by doctors and bored at bridge parties attended to please a wife. Collected in a privately printed edition after Pryke's death, they are likely to be read only by those interested in the writer and his times. Most of the poems are slight, lack detail and the language is derivative: the ocean is blue, the palms tall, the breeze gentle and the morning bright and early. The rare arresting line occurs when Pryke adapts the language of the diggers to write of a personal experience; when he 'swamped it to Coolgardie' or 'fattened up the leeches Away along the Bida track'.<sup>68</sup> Diffident about displaying his verses, Pryke had no illusions about their merit: they were 'crude and halt and lame'.<sup>69</sup> Able to write a sharp and interesting letter, Frank Pryke made a mistake when he chose to put in verse his memories of football matches against the cockies of Collector, of old mining fields, mates, prospecting trips, and conflicts on the Vailala and the Fly.

During his first year on the Lakekamu Frank wrote to Dan that a priest from the Sacred Heart Mission on Yule Island had visited the

field: 'He came and hunted me up but I was not taking any. Old Matt soolled him on to me'.<sup>70</sup> Instructed in Roman Catholicism as a child, Frank was married and cremated in ceremonies directed by Anglican clergymen. He had come to believe that no man could be certain what happened after death, and if men were to be judged in an after-life then the decision was not to be altered by performing ritual or 'putting shillings in the plate'.<sup>71</sup> When he was rich, sick and old, he frequently thought about men he had known, men who had battled on to die in old men's homes, who were killed in the war, who made fortunes and lost it in bookmakers' bags. A man, he concluded, could determine his fate to only 'a very limited extent'.<sup>72</sup> All men, constantly subjected to a variety of forces, were given some opportunities for self-advancement, and those with more ability, luck or determination used their chances. The good man was the trier who did not squeal in bad times nor get 'uppish' in good. He chose his friends carefully and never let a comrade down. He judged other men not by their nationality, or their breeding (some men of fine pedigree were hanged), or their talk, or their possessions, but by their actions.<sup>73</sup> The good times to be remembered were when pearlers, traders and miners met in a bar in Samarai, undivided by poverty or wealth or petty disputes; the money of six men on the bar ready to pay for the next round of drinks. The men to be admired were those who did not turn back at a shower of arrows or when the stores were short, they conquered their environment; in the past they had been sailors and bushmen, by the time Frank Pryke left New Guinea they were aviators. Other men followed and profited on their tracks. Frank Pryke hoped, but did not say, that he had gone a bit further and others had benefited.

Frank Pryke died at his home in Coogee 5 August 1937. His ashes were buried on the hill at Samarai. A plaque was placed on the wall of the War Memorial and Library Institute in memory of 'this British Gentleman', but a phrase he may have appreciated more appeared in an obituary: he possessed 'all the finest qualities of mateship'.<sup>74</sup>

## 5

# W. C. Groves: Educationist

D. J. Dickson

'Dear Miss Wedgwood', he wrote, 'I have just returned from New Guinea where in *ten days* I completed a plan for education in the Territory. Imagine it, after waiting 20 years for the opportunity! My dreams have come true at last. And now at 48 I have some continuity and security for the future'.<sup>1</sup> The signature, Will. C. Groves, was penned with a flourish.

Groves's plan for education in the newly combined Territories of Papua and New Guinea, his ebullience, and his sense of fulfilment and of security, were the product of a long, varied and unsettled experience in education, much of it on Pacific islands. He was the son of W. C. Groves of Mount Egerton, Victoria, where he was born on 18 August 1898. He matriculated at Melbourne University from Ballarat High School in 1913 and began teaching with the Victorian Department of Education the next year. Though well under age, he enlisted with the A.I.F. early in 1915 and served in the 14th Infantry Battalion in Egypt and France. He played a meritorious part in the Bullecourt offensive of 1917 and was taken prisoner of war. Much later, and too late to gain the wider audience it deserved, Groves published a vivid account of his experiences as a prisoner

of war in serial form in *Reveille* from January 1932. After the armistice, Groves acted as an interpreter assisting in the repatriation of prisoners of war. He returned to Victoria in 1919.

There he returned to teaching for two years (1920 and 1921), combining this with studies in arts at the University of Melbourne. But Groves could not remain content with suburbia. He was familiar with danger and privation, he had been enriched by alien cultures, and now, through his membership of Anglican Church Youth Clubs, his idealism was fired by the needs of Pacific peoples. In August 1922 he took up the position of teacher in the Mandate Administration's first government school at Kokopo, about 20 miles from Rabaul.

These first years in New Guinea, from 1922 to 1925, were rich in experience and emotional involvement for Groves. He became deeply attached to the frightened, estranged boys sent to him from every area in New Guinea. He gradually gained their confidence, recording their personal histories and the customs and myths of their people. There is compassion and respect in his writing about them and there are also the first signs of protest against the un-wisdom of imposing an Australian curriculum upon people who were part of a culturally different environment. Groves also became committed in these years to the cause of church and state co-operation in the education of native people.

Groves had always been a churchman. As secretary of the Church Young Peoples Club in Ballarat before the war, he had argued that education was more effective than evangelisation as a means of civilising the native people of the Pacific. Now, living in New Guinea and teaching, he believed that there was no argument: 'evangelisation is education and education in a lesser degree is a large part of evangelisation'.<sup>2</sup> Groves read widely in educational and missionary magazines and noted and preserved cuttings that interested him. In a note on an article on state and church in education he gave a succinct statement of the role of the teacher as he saw it at this time: 'School-teacher to be Government's missionary'.<sup>3</sup> The degree of his commitment so affected the tone of his writing that an answer to a letter he had written on a formal academic matter was addressed to 'The Reverend W. C. Groves, Native Training School'.<sup>4</sup>

Groves co-operated cordially with both Roman Catholic and Methodist Missions in the area and accompanied his boys to ser-

vices in the churches of both denominations so that they would not be confused by sectarian issues. A section of his Diploma of Education thesis discussed relations between state schools and missions, asserting his belief in 'a religious education for these people, without which the State's effort of education would be next to useless . . . and of the futility of my work without the co-operation and religious influence of the mission'.<sup>5</sup> As evidence of the possibility of co-operation Groves appended to his thesis twenty-seven letters from various missionaries in the district. All are couched in terms of friendliness and of gratitude for Groves's assistance. There is no criticism of the work of the missions in any of his work at this time. He appeared to assume that their humanitarianism was noble, and the Western Christian evangel a sufficient message for 'the pitiful plight of the native who has not yet been reached by the influence of the holy word'.<sup>6</sup>

The school at Kokopo was closed after twelve months and the boys and their teacher transferred to Malaguna, just outside Rabaul township. Groves's elementary school became part of a complex that included also a kindergarten, a technical school, and briefly, a 'School of Domestic Economy' — a euphemism for an institution to produce black *hausbois* and cooks for white masters. In the elementary school, in Pidgin and in English, the traditional skills of reading, writing and number were taught and the common Australian games of cricket and football were played. It was only later that Groves became concerned at the narrowness of the curriculum.

Two other interests occupied these years. During 1924 Groves assisted the Anglican priest, Rev. F. R. Bishop, formerly of Rockhampton, to raise funds to build the church house of what was to become the Anglican Church of St George in Rabaul; Groves became secretary of the church. Towards the end of that year Doris K. Smith came to teach the kindergarten children at Malaguna. Doris Smith was the first non-missionary teacher employed by the London Missionary Society in Papua and had been since 1922 in charge of a school of 300 young children at Hanuabada, Port Moresby. Groves had met her there while he was travelling to Rabaul on appointment. In this school Doris Smith had taught a combination of Motuan and European games, songs and handcrafts. She employed the same principle at Malaguna. Groves and Miss Smith found in each other compatible pro-

fessional attitudes, their affections blossomed and they were married on 7 November 1925. In 1926 Mrs Groves was advised to travel to Australia for the birth of their first child and was told that she ought not live in tropical areas again. Groves himself was by then dissatisfied with the curriculum he was expected to follow and so they returned to Melbourne, where Groves went back to urban primary schools.

During 1927 Groves completed his studies at Melbourne University and graduated B.A. with first class honours. In his last year he was able to gain academic background for his developing interest in anthropology and he formed with Professor A. P. Elkin of the University of Sydney an association that was to last for years. Towards the end of 1927 Groves gained a position as temporary lecturer at Melbourne Teachers' College, remaining there until he was retrenched in 1931 because of the forced economies of the depression. He was bitterly disappointed because the position had given him the academic status he believed he had earned and made possible a range of associated interests such as writing articles for Melbourne newspapers and giving broadcasts through national stations on educational and New Guinea affairs. The Australian National Research Council revived his hopes with the award of a Rockefeller Fellowship in anthropology applied to education and he returned to New Guinea in February 1932 for field research.

This was a period of great happiness and intellectual development for Groves. His wife accompanied him and found the earlier medical warning unsound. He travelled widely in New Ireland and its nearby islands, in New Britain and on the New Guinea mainland. He published in *Oceania* accounts of his research that are still considered of value by anthropologists. In 1933 he was admitted as a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute (London). Towards the end of his field research period, in 1934, unexpected financial problems of the A.N.R.C. almost forced his return but an extension of four months was made possible by a research grant from the Australian Council for Educational Research. At the end of this, Groves returned to Australia and taught at Yarra Park Secondary School until the A.N.R.C., its finances reconstituted, gave him a further grant for six months to write up his research. This was published in 1936 by the Australian Council for Educational Research and Melbourne University Press as *Native Education and Culture Contact in New Guinea*.

His theme was cultural adaptation in the education of the people of New Guinea. He admitted that 'Few of the ideas make claim to originality; many of the problem-situations have long been recognised by all who have any connection with native education'.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the principle of cultural adaptation in education — specifically, providing a program of education suited to the needs of the individual and community served — was so frequently stated that it became an axiom of educational theory. Groves made it his familiar ground. One of the earliest and most influential writings on the theme was the 1922 American missions-sponsored Phelps-Stokes report of T. Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa*. Just as influential was a slim British pamphlet, the 1925 memorandum of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*.<sup>8</sup> Groves used two passages frequently, both in his book and later:

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitude, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution . . .

The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people . . .

Groves quotes with approval from another of the popular works of the period on culture conflict, E. W. Smith's enlightened *The Golden Stool* of 1926. He also highly recommended *Oversea Education*, a quarterly launched in October 1929. This journal was supported by the Advisory Committee on Native Education and owed much of its progressive ideas to Sir Percy Nunn, whose *Education, its Data and First Principles*, was then, and remained for years, a standard reference in education. Nunn, and many others who contributed to the journal, were also members of the 'progressive' New Education Fellowship. Articles in *Oversea Education* discussed the choice of language of instruction, invariably making a case for the greater use of the vernacular in the early years of schooling — a view maintained by Groves until the mid-1950s. There were also articles on the importance of the rural school as 'the real centre of rural corporate life'; this too Groves advocated and was later to apply to his area schools. There was also advocacy of the special needs and problems of the education of

women in native society and on the interest value and moral worth of the support to scouting and guiding groups. Above all the emphasis, as in the other works, was upon the adaptation of Western European education to the realities of native community life. Electrifying this emphasis was a spirit of moral eagerness; the educator was to be Christian in values and venturesome in methods.

Applying these principles to New Guinea, Groves saw a need for education on European lines for those living in areas close to European settlement but believed that 'the mass of natives . . . must be directed into new channels of interest and activity within their natural village environment'.<sup>9</sup> To do this it was necessary to train people to observe the culture of an area and, with the aid of the villagers themselves, fit an educational program to that specific culture. Mission training institutions and a central government institution would provide necessary stages in the training of native teachers for village schools so that the religious, village-cultural, and secular-educational strands could blend to improve and not destroy the life of the village.

Groves's thinking was related to the New Guinea of his experience. Europeans were few, those who were not officials were usually missionaries, planters or traders. Large areas were only sparsely settled by Europeans and the Highlands not at all. The great bulk of native men who worked outside their villages were unskilled indentured labourers on plantations; there was by comparison only a handful of artisans and clerks. Education was almost everywhere rudimentary, theocentric and available to only a small fraction of the population. European attitudes to New Guineans varied from the excited gush of travellers and journalists in the presence of the primitive to the cynical disdain of many traders, planters, recruiters and some administration officers, all of whom exploited the labour they denigrated. In between were the well meaning but generally helpless administration officers who saw native welfare as a responsibility they were too ill-equipped, too few and too impoverished to discharge. And the overall sense of the times was that these conditions would not change, except gradually. As late as 1936 it was possible for F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist in Papua and a liberal man, to write of the political future of Papua (which had a more enlightened government than New Guinea): 'the notion of eventual native representation is so remote as hardly to claim our attention'.<sup>10</sup> It was to-



wards the improvement of the life of villagers in a largely static society threatened by an alien culture that Groves's thinking was directed.

In the presentation of his ideas Groves was frequently verbose, often tendentious, and occasionally unrealistic. In his theoretical exposition he was content with the undefined aim of preserving 'the good' in native society. From this practice, it is evident that 'the good' consisted of elements of native society that would be approved by Western Christian society. There is no suggestion that native people themselves should determine what constituted 'the good' in their society. Better defined, but unrealistic, was his proposal for a body of teachers capable of mastering and applying the principles and techniques of anthropological research so that a locally appropriate curriculum could be devised. It is difficult to believe that he thought this idea through in terms of the quality and dedication of the teachers who might reasonably be expected to enter a teaching service in New Guinea. All the same, Groves had applied Colonial Office educational principles and the current precepts of functional anthropology to a specific culture contact situation and had done so with earnestness, imagination and frequent good sense. It is doubtful if there was another man in Australia at the time who was thinking seriously about the need for relevance in a native educational system. Such education as was provided for Australian Aborigines was beggarly and inappropriate. Australian government and mission efforts in Papua and New Guinea repeated Australian patterns, which themselves still retained many quite inappropriate borrowings from England and Scotland. Groves's work was certainly an original contribution to education for native communities.

Some blemishes did not detract from the acceptance of the book by his peers. F. E. Williams praised Groves's understanding of the problem; A. P. Elkin wrote a most favourable review of the book in *Oceania*, and Raymond Firth of London University reviewed the book with approval in *Oversea Education*, though he drew attention to some weaknesses in anthropological method. Ralph Piddington, then in charge of the Anthropological Museum at the University of Aberdeen, both reviewed the book enthusiastically and in a private letter said: 'Quite seriously, I think it is impossible to exaggerate the scientific and humanitarian importance of your work.'<sup>11</sup>

Groves was making his name known also by papers delivered at conferences. He addressed the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, and read several papers to A.N.Z.A.A.S. conferences. In 1936 he was asked to attend the Honolulu Seminar-Conference on Education in Pacific Countries. The three other representatives chosen by A.C.E.R. were A. P. Elkin, F. E. Williams and Norman Tindale, then Ethnologist of Adelaide University. Groves's paper was highly critical of the lack of any planned system of government education or of control of mission education in New Guinea and he scorned the slight modifications of the 'Western' curriculum as 'a feeble and ineffectual attempt at adaptation to local conditions and needs',<sup>12</sup> pressing the case for regional educational programs developed by men trained in social anthropology so that the needs of 'the mass of the people' could be effectively met.

As far as one can discover, Groves had to be content with the praise of his peers; the Australian administration in New Guinea ignored his work. A report of his Honolulu Conference paper appeared in the *Rabaul Times* and the Australian representative appearing before the Permanent Mandates Commission in 1937 was questioned on the administration's reaction to it, but he side-stepped the issue.<sup>13</sup> Although the administration had been trying for years to develop an educational policy, Groves was not approached as a consultant, let alone asked to take charge and develop a satisfactory educational system. In the face of the strong desire of the missions for educational autonomy and the equally strong (at times strident) opposition of the non-official white population to native education at all, the Mandate administration could not find the courage to support the radical changes Groves proposed — nor would the Australian government have approved the financing of Groves's proposals.<sup>14</sup> But his eminence was recognised elsewhere and in 1937 he was appointed Director of Education on Nauru Island.

In 1937 the tiny island, only four-and-a-half miles long and three-and-a-half miles wide, half a degree south of the equator and hundreds of miles from any other island, was almost unknown in Australia and elsewhere. Formerly a German possession, it had been assigned by the League of Nations to the stewardship of Great Britain, New Zealand and Australia as mandatory powers with Australia as the administering authority.

Groves went to Nauru, in his own words, 'full of zest and enthusiasm'<sup>15</sup> and believing that he had been specially selected to develop an educational system in keeping with the realities of native life on the island. With the assistance of Pastor Aroi and the Head Chief Detudamo, he began a Nauruan-English dictionary. With the aid of schoolchildren and adults he compiled and duplicated a collection of 'Folk Stories and Legends of Nauru', for use in social studies classes, and with the assistance of Detudamo and other leading adults he compiled a collection of stories on the origins and history of current social customs. Groves supported the scouting movement and played host to H. E. Hurst, a District Commissioner from Geelong, when he visited Nauru in 1938.

But all was not well in Eden. In a long letter to Hurst, Groves poured out his bitter resentment of the small group of officials whom he described as 'the old army entrenched here in their safe deep dugouts'.<sup>16</sup> He was unable to gain support for many of his plans from the Administrator, Captain Rupert C. Garsiag (R.A.N. ret.), whom Groves accused of caring more for the social prestige and status of his position than for its responsibilities, of using underhand methods to thwart him, of victimising him socially and of handing favours to sycophantic officials. For some months in 1938 petty vindictiveness was rife. Fortunately for Groves's peace of mind and freedom to complete his work as he wished, a new Administrator, Colonel F. R. Chalmers, arrived in October, and he proved to be fair-minded, sympathetic and strong. By December Groves was able to complete a detailed description of the educational system he had refashioned and to claim that between the Nauruan people and the Education Department there was an understanding 'that Education pursues a clear social purpose; and that the influence of the schools flows into the wider community life'.<sup>17</sup>

During 1938 Groves was becoming concerned about his future. He was then forty years old. His interest in and attachment to the Victorian Department of Education was becoming increasingly tenuous — of the twenty years since his return from the war he had spent fewer than seven in Victorian schools and three in a teachers' college. His interest, indeed passion, was in native education and yet he had no assured position in this field. His family, a son and three daughters, was growing up and Groves felt keenly that he had very little economic security. He had hoped that an opportunity

might be offered in New Guinea or, if that proved impossible, that he might get a Colonial Office appointment. In the event, another temporary task was begun.

The British Solomon Islands Protectorate had many of the educational problems of New Guinea and Papua. Government education was meagre and little control over mission education was attempted. Groves was asked to investigate and report. During 1939 and early 1940 he travelled widely among mission stations and then produced a suggested organisation and curriculum for native education and development under government control. Both missions and government officials found Groves's work inspiring and practical. Continuing work in the area was prevented by the refusal of the Victorian Department of Education to grant further secondment and by the approach of war in the Pacific.

Groves re-enlisted in the A.I.F. in August 1941. He became a Captain (later Major) in the Army Education Service and in December 1942 transferred to Allied Land Force Headquarters in Melbourne. His four years of service included fifteen months in New Guinea at the time of the Japanese advance along the Kokoda Trail where he produced the Army news sheet and acted as liaison officer with war correspondents. Although his main tasks were to provide lectures and literature of general educational and interest value to support the morale of Australian troops, his eyes were open to the opportunities for change and reconstruction in New Guinea. He was party to the discussions leading to the development of the Army School of Civil Affairs (out of which grew the Australian School of Pacific Administration), which planned to train cadets for service in the Territories after the war, and he saw himself as playing some part in a Territories reconstruction advisory committee and in other similar roles. His opportunity did not come immediately. He worked with the Victorian Department of Education as an inspector of schools for a few months in 1945 and then applied for the position of Director of Education in the provisional administration of Papua-New Guinea. He was appointed on 17 June 1946.

Groves returned to New Guinea on the eve of his forty-eighth birthday. Over the years he had achieved respect among those who worked in the fields of anthropology and the education of the people in the Pacific. J. K. Murray, the first Administrator of the combined Territories and formerly Professor of Agriculture in the

University of Queensland, said later of the appointment: 'Groves was incomparably better than any I had hoped to get'.<sup>18</sup> Anthropologists such as Ian Hogbin and Camilla Wedgwood were delighted that such a man should have been appointed. The first post-war Director of Health, Dr J. T. Gunther, later Assistant Administrator and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Papua and New Guinea, recalled that when the first conference of the administration and the missions was assembled in Sydney, Groves and he and W. Cottrell-Dormer, the Director of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries, were present but it was Groves whom the Minister, E. J. Ward, highlighted: 'we were also-rans', said Gunther.<sup>19</sup>

While Groves came to the task with a firm theory of the kind of education that was needed, he had few clear ideas on the means of implementing them. He was content to spend time in research into means: curriculum, language of instruction, organisation, co-operation with the missions. Discussing the content and method of education in his book, Groves had said that the development of appropriate reading texts would require 'years of experience and experiment', and G. T. Roscoe, his deputy from 1947, recalled that Groves 'used to talk about the necessity for ten years of intensive social research before we started to do anything'.<sup>20</sup> At heart Groves remained a research student, familiar with and excited by the world of ideas. He posed questions, searched for evidence, argued cases on matters of principle, but only reluctantly committed himself to answers. Like many idealists, he was sensitive to the imperfections of reality.

The prophetic side of the idealist is the visionary. Early in his career he confessed to 'a veritable paternal love' for the people of New Guinea and a vision of 'the great future of the Kanaka, through education'.<sup>21</sup> When Groves addressed the first missions conference in Port Moresby in 1946 the underlying fervour had only slightly abated. He presented a long statement of educational aims and principles, concluding:<sup>22</sup>

For years I have dreamed of such an occasion as this; perhaps you also have dreamed! May I conclude by quoting what I wrote in a work I published ten years ago out of my dreams? I think it is equally appropriate to the present situation:

'The way will be a long and difficult one; progress will often appear discouragingly slow. But to those with the necessary vision the task will be there to do, and the goal will remain unobscured.'

'For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain;  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main!'

The speech was true to his style in length as well as sentiment. He was a compulsive talker, often controlled and informative, at times repetitious and tedious. Charles Rowley, the first Professor of Political Studies at the University of Papua and New Guinea, once worked with him in Army Education. He recalls an incident when Groves had in ten minutes persuaded his officer colleagues that his approach to a problem was right; thirty minutes later, and still talking, Groves had lost them all. When Roscoe was interviewed by Groves for a senior position he primed himself with answers to possible questions but was called upon to say nothing. 'Bill didn't ask me a single question!' Roscoe recalls. 'But mind you, he told me a lot of things that were very interesting'.<sup>23</sup>

For much of his working life to 1946 Groves had been alone or in charge of affairs. He was convinced that his approach to problems was the only approach. On Nauru, for example, he worked with knowledgeable Nauruans and, although in theory he supported the principle of allowing native people to provide 'spontaneously' the ideas of change, what the group produced were myths, legends and the history of the native customs — precisely the kinds of things Groves believed should be produced. After his appointment to New Guinea in 1946 but before he began his permanent work there, he visited the Territory to consult with J. K. Murray and others and draw up an educational program. With Murray were several detailed and thoughtful memoranda on educational problems and needs compiled by Camilla Wedgwood, who was an educationist of distinction as well as an anthropologist.

With an insensitivity only his excited egocentricity could explain, Groves confessed to Wedgwood that he had 'no opportunity' to 'browse through' her reports and exulted in his achievement in drawing up an educational plan for the Territory in ten days. Echoes of this strong self-centredness may be seen in many of his public speeches, most strikingly in his mistaken belief that he was the innovator of the conferences between the missions and the administration. The Anglican Bishop of New Guinea, P. N. W. Strong, the Chairman of the Australian Board of Missions, Bishop Cranswick, and Camilla Wedgwood all had something to do with

this proposal, and in 1945 E. J. Ward specifically mentioned his wish to talk to Groves about it at an interview with him early in 1946.<sup>24</sup> Groves was later to claim that he 'suggested to the Minister' at this interview that such conferences be held.<sup>25</sup> The error was a fusion of his belief in the need for co-operation and of his belief in himself.

Groves inherited almost no educational legacy. There had been no government school for Papuan children and only three very small schools for Europeans in Papua. In New Guinea the administration had gradually created six primary schools and one technical school for New Guineans before the war. In neither area were there secondary schools or proper teacher training. Missions in Papua had been supported by subsidies that involved some slight control of their educational systems. In New Guinea the missions neither wanted nor were given either assistance or control. In both areas the long period of government neglect, the largely separated areas of mission activity, and the long-established sectarian differences had all contributed to the missions' operating independent educational systems, and, varying among missions, a distrust of government intrusion in education. Schooling had been disrupted either completely or largely in all areas during the war and senior pupils (that is, those in the higher primary grades) had been dispersed to villages or urban occupations. The new Director of Education had to create an organisation, build schools and staff houses, recruit and train staff, design curricula and find books and equipment to teach them. The single educational institution existing was the Central Training School at Sogeri established by A.N.G.A.U. in 1944.

Groves developed comprehensive plans for the Department of Education: one, rudimentary, in 1946, and a more detailed expansion of the same ideas in a five-year plan for the years 1948-53. Groves drew his general line of policy — in the absence of ministerial direction — from Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations; he said that 'educational advancement' would be 'integrated with development in the social, economic and political spheres'.<sup>26</sup> He planned a variety of institutions to meet the wide diversity of culture, both native and non-native, stating that it was 'essential' that the educational institutions 'be regarded by the people as theirs — provided for them and having their full understanding and support', a point of policy second only to the prin-

ciple that the 'ultimate purpose' of education in the Territory was 'the all sided development of its people'.<sup>27</sup>

The general structure of administration schools was to be built upon the base of mission vernacular schools in which English would be introduced in the fourth year. This was in line with the general principle of early vernacular instruction Groves had always advocated, but it was also a matter of expediency as the missions already had such schools functioning and the Department would have been hard put to staff them. The Department would run village higher schools or area schools covering the next four years, with district central schools available for those with academic potential. An additional two years of secondary schooling would include general academic, technical and teacher training. Groves believed that tertiary training could be included in the next five-year plan. A separate system of primary and post-primary schooling was created for European and Asian children. A special services division of the Department provided library, broadcasting, publications and research services. The statistical projections for the period envisaged 168 native schools of all types plus twenty auxiliary technical training units attached to district central schools. Groves expected at the end of the period to have 46,000 pupils enrolled in government schools and a possible 100,000 pupils in mission<sup>r</sup> schools. There were to be 511 European, Asiatic or mixed-race teachers and 396 native teachers.

Educational growth fell far short of these expectations. At the end of the period there were only 105 schools for children of all races, only 5566 pupils and 306 teachers. Groves admitted in 1954 that 'only a small part of the overall Five Year Plan has, even at this date, been put into operation'.<sup>28</sup> The slow progress was noted by others. In May 1952 the then Australian Public Service Commissioner, E. A. F. Head, proposed an investigation into the functions of the Department of Education because he believed that too many highly paid men were performing inadequately and that too little had been achieved in education.<sup>29</sup> The Deputy Administrator, D. M. (later Sir Donald) Cleland, supported the request for the investigation and added his view that 'there was a lack of direction arising primarily from no definite objectives in the policy of the Department'.<sup>30</sup> The Minister for Territories, P. M. C. (later Sir Paul) Hasluck, approved, and an investigating committee consisting of the new Public Service Commissioner in the Territory, T.



A. Huxley, and two officers of the Department of Territories, R. Marsh and D. McCarthy, began inquiries in mid-1953. Their report was presented in December of that year.<sup>31</sup>

The main criticisms of the report were that there was no long-range policy and no short-term objectives related to the present situation; that the organisation of the Department contained elements to match those of the mainland states but that its imposing quality was more apparent than real; that the Department embraced too many extraneous functions and that the Director did not concentrate upon essentials. Other criticisms of detail included the failure to provide more secondary schools, the failure to train sufficient native teachers, inadequate technical education, the persistence of vernacular schooling in the early years and the misdirection of effort in the education of women and girls. There were other criticisms and many suggestions for change. The overall tenor of the report was severely critical of the aims, organisation and leadership of the Department of Education.

Groves was incensed and wounded; angry because he believed that the committee was inexpert, inadequately informed and prejudiced, and hurt because his expertise in native education had so long been recognised by his peers that such wholesale criticism was intolerable. Throughout 1954 he prepared a lengthy justification of the work of the Department and a comment on or rebuttal of each paragraph of the committee's report. His 'Observations and Comments' ran to two volumes and over 80,000 words. This was in some ways a great mistake. The reply was so wordy, so frequently repetitious and so often angry that, however much his reaction was understandable or believed justified, there must have been few who read it all and fewer still who read it with sympathy. Current opinion in the administration was that if the response had been clear and concise, and decisive, especially on the language issue, it would have been welcomed by Hasluck and used as the basis of policy.<sup>32</sup>

Did Groves have good cause for anger? Although members of the committee had had experience in Australian primary schools before the war they were not practising educationists and none matched Groves's wide knowledge of the literature of native education nor his experience as an anthropologist, teacher and administrator in education among Pacific communities. Groves was not judged by his peers. He claims<sup>33</sup> that there were lapses in

procedure; that the committee talked with him for two hours at the outset of the investigation but not again together or independently; that he did not discover until later that the two officers of the Department of Territories were part of the investigating team; and that the itinerary of the committee was not arranged by his Department so that the committee arrived unheralded at all establishments. Further, important documentary detail on the plans and programs of the Department were not asked for and, by inference from the report, were not consulted elsewhere. These inadequacies would have been accepted by few men.

And what of the judgments made? There was perhaps need for a statement of government policy and a clarification of objectives. Groves admitted this himself. But in the light of the statement of policy and objectives later given there was only little wrong with those of Groves. One very important consequent change was that relating to language policy and this could well have lacked clarification for years if the committee had not spoken strongly about it. There was value, too, in drawing attention to the need for rapid expansion in secondary education, teacher training and technical education. But these were hardly new ideas and Groves was both well aware of them and had spoken of them. There were other statements of the obvious such as that teachers needed more helpful supervision. The criticism of the absence of precise planning appears to have been made in ignorance of Groves's approved five-year plan. Some judgments suggest that the committee was incapable of appreciating the meaning of the evidence before them; they appear to have expected results that, given the same objectives and material resources, could not have been produced by any man. This is especially true of the criticisms of inadequate secondary schooling and teacher training. The Department of Education had been functioning for six and a half years (1947 to mid-1953) when the investigation was being made. It was impossible to build from a base of almost complete illiteracy to a viable secondary and teacher training system in that time. The committee does not appear to have considered that it takes at least thirteen years to produce a primary school teacher in Australia and that Groves had pared to a minimum by planning for eight years beyond vernacular schooling to produce student-teachers ready for appointment to schools. Other judgments of the committee were based on errors of fact.

The Department of Education was blamed for not co-operating with other departments and yet there is a wealth of evidence to show the opposite, from the missions' conferences in which, and arising from which, Groves and other departmental heads were called to work together to solve problems, to Groves's membership of various administration planning committees (some of which he initiated) along with other heads of departments. A specific criticism of the committee that the Department of Education made the recruitment of students for medical training difficult was categorically denied by the then Director of Health, Dr J. T. Gunther. In fact, Dr Gunther has subsequently recalled his uneasiness in his ability to get recruits so simply from Sogeri senior school by the offer of medical training at Suva and said that he urged Groves to offer the carrot of overseas training for teachers.<sup>34</sup>

In another important judgment the committee's lack of expertise in native education led them to oppose the continuing use of vernacular schooling in the early years on the grounds that it was, among other things, educationally unsound.<sup>35</sup> Yet educational experts before the war and those reporting through U.N.E.S.C.O. after it were strong and virtually unanimous in their support of the necessity for early vernacular instruction. There were then and there remain political, economic and educational arguments opposed to this view, but the committee did not acknowledge the great weight of expert opinion in support of the system Groves maintained.

Perhaps the most important error of judgment, one that influenced so much of the report, was to pay lipservice only to the problems of starting an educational system from a base of illiteracy and with inadequate material resources. They are the fundamental conditions against which educational progress must be measured then as now. Groves never had a staff of permanent officers at the level of approved establishment; in 1947 only thirty-two of 106 positions were filled; in 1950, 124 of 171; and in 1954, 114 of 189. During 1951 and 1952 there had been no recruitment at all as part of a Commonwealth-wide economy measure, and there were frequent resignations, partly because of inadequate accommodation. The failure of the building program affected not only recruitment but also the provision of schools. Groves was able to document in 1954 the discrepancy between approved building projects and those actually built. He gives details of 110 projects

approved over the preceding five years, only ten of which were completed by the Department of Works. An additional sixteen were completed by the Department of Education using technical trainees and their teachers. Other departments hampered by the Department of Works might further their own interests by making gifts of cases of liquor, but Groves was incapable of this.<sup>36</sup>

A rectitude that would not permit him to stoop to unethical means to secure good ends was only one of Groves's limitations. Although the approach and judgment of the committee of inquiry have been questioned in some respects, it must also be said that the report drew attention to the greatest of his weaknesses, his lack of administrative drive and decision. There was a constant war between his vision and practicality. Because his vision of native education demanded a program adapted to community needs, for years he sent off his teachers with no curriculum and told them to devise one appropriate to their area. Naturally enough, very few of his teachers had his breadth of mind or experience and, in desperation, used whatever Australian state's curriculum they knew. As a consequence, piles of unused books accumulated in schools, discarded by teachers unfamiliar or unhappy with a predecessor's approach. The tension between vision and practicality was part of Groves's demand for research before making decisions of importance; thus he postponed a decision on the controversial issue of language of instruction. He was intellectually convinced of the need both for vernacular instruction in the early years and for English language competence as the only practicable solution to the problem of language diversity, higher education and the administration of a teaching service. Yet he postponed decisions on what sort of emphasis should be placed on each language, on the place of Pidgin, on whether a number of vernaculars could be developed regionally and, if so, which ones. While Groves hesitated and called for further research, Hasluck acted; in 1955 he took the decision that English was to be made officially the language of instruction in administration schools and the only language in mission schools supported by government subsidy.

There was even greater procrastination in the preparation of the means of legal control of education. This involved the control of mission education and was announced by Ward in his introduction of the Papua-New Guinea Provisional Administration Bill in 1945.

Groves later referred frequently to the preparation of legislation and conferred at length with missions' representatives about its content, but he did not pilot it through the Legislative Council until October 1952. Because the Department did not have the staff to implement its provisions adequately, the Ordinance was not gazetted until March 1955 and, because there was continued haggling between the administration and the missions on details of its implementation, the regulations giving effect to it were not promulgated until April 1958. In other words, Groves had spent a few months short of the whole twelve years of his career as Director in getting a system of legal control operating.

If the committee of inquiry of 1953 had possessed a collective wisdom rarely given to such committees it could have recommended one change of value. Had Groves been made free to research and plan and inspire a teaching service from a position of leadership and had been given a competent decision making executive head, the kernel of the problem would have been reached, much unjust criticism avoided, and a good man saved humiliating exposure.

A curious, almost Galsworthyian, postscript to the report of the committee was given many years later. Dudley McCarthy recalled<sup>37</sup> that it fell to him to write the report and, while doing so, he mused about the problem of Groves's leadership. The evidence before him, he believed, revealed serious weaknesses, but he felt that any judgment on Groves should have regard also to the whole life and quality of the man. He then reflected on Groves's career and remembered that during the first world war he had been a member of the famous 'Jacka's mob' — after Captain Albert Jacka, V.C., M.C., Intelligence Officer of the 14th Infantry Battalion, A.I.F. — and had taken part in the attack on the Hindenburg Line at Bullecourt on 11 April 1917. This offensive was described by C. E. W. Bean as a 'disaster', opposed from the beginning by Generals Birdwood and Brand, yet carried through by General Gough with 'an almost childish impetuosity'. Losses in dead, wounded and captured in the 4th Brigade, of which the 14th Battalion was a part, were 2339 out of 'some 3000' engaged. Bean commented that the troops were 'a magnificent instrument recklessly shattered in the performance of an impracticable task . . . One gain they secured, not without value — respect for themselves and their countrymen among all who knew the true story'.<sup>38</sup> McCarthy, himself a highly respected war historian, admired Bean and acknowledged the

stature of his judgments. Moved by the memory of this engagement and the judgment of Bean upon it, McCarthy decided that it was not for him to pronounce severe judgment on a man who had taken part in it.

The response of Hasluck was temporarily to ignore both the criticism of the Department of Education and Groves's justification of his record — except that the committee was rebuked for its dismissal of the blending of cultures principle as 'completely indefinite'.<sup>39</sup> In Hasluck's view the prior need was to determine the objectives of government, the means to achieve these objectives and thus the responsibilities that objectives and means gave to the Department of Education. Hasluck's statement of objectives (political, economic, social and educational advancement; the blending of cultures; the voluntary acceptance of Christianity and of the consequent administrative tasks) did not break new ground. The ideas had been current and publicly stated since 1945. What was new was the precise and succinct statement of ideas and the drive and authority of the man expressing them. Groves welcomed the interest, the energy and especially the gradually increasing flow of money to the Department.

Although an extension of schooling became increasingly possible, Groves continued to press for a much bolder spending on the basic material source the Department lacked — buildings. In the debate on the Appropriation Bill 1957-8 Groves expressed gratitude for the 25 per cent increase in the Department's estimate but nevertheless referred later to its inadequacy. He called the amount available for technical education 'almost hopelessly inadequate' and illustrated the need by the disclosure that of the many buildings in the three technical training complexes only two workshops at Iduabada had been built by agents other than the technical students and staff. He claimed that appointments officers had been advised that year not to accept married men for recruitment because accommodation for them was not available. In spite of the great need for native teachers, he said, 'we cannot train teachers mainly because there are no buildings in which to train them . . . Buildings; buildings; and still more buildings — this is our one and all-inclusive present need!'<sup>40</sup> He declared that when he compared what was spent on buildings in other departments with the demands for new buildings in his own and the 'decrepit state' of most of those existing, it brought on 'black despair'. The present

educational needs and the demands of future economic development would never be met, he asserted, unless £10,000,000 could be provided, 'most of which would be applied to the provision of buildings'.

Groves was not to enjoy the use of money like this, but his vision was caught. His successor, Roscoe, spent £9.8 million in four years compared to the £6.5 million spent in his own twelve years of office. The increased finance available appears more obvious if the average annual rates of expenditure are compared. Groves spent £0.5 million per year, Roscoe £2.4 million, and his successor, L. W. Johnson, £6.2 million. The explanation of this very great change in financial provision is beyond the scope of this account, except to say that it appears to have had little to do with any failure of confidence in Groves's capacity to spend it fruitfully. Expenditure was increasing during Groves's period, and his last year and Roscoe's first show no more than the usual increase.

Although Groves was required to spend much time planning and administering a *system* of education, he was also much concerned about the *people* whose needs he tried to meet. While this is apparent in his concern for the preservation of their culture as much as possible, it was also shown in more practical ways. For several years after his first spell in New Guinea, he had living in his house two New Guinean boys who attended a local secondary school, and Nauruans were welcome in his home in later years. He was entertaining Hanuabadans in his home in the late 1940s at the same time that J. K. Murray, doing the same at Government House, earned the epithet 'Kanaka Jack', and wore it as a garland. He earned the reproach and opposition of the Territory R.S.L. — an outspoken champion of reaction — for advocating multi-racial schools. Above all, his central principle of education adapted to the real needs of the native people stemmed from his concern for the development of the full life of the individual. Among the many public tributes to Groves on his retirement was the statement of Mahuru Rarua-Rarua, a highly respected leader among the Motuans of Hanuabada, that 'his name will not be forgotten by those who have known him for his service rendered to the native people of this Territory'.<sup>41</sup>

Groves's greatest contribution to Territory education was to fashion a workable alliance between the two interested and potentially antagonistic parties, the missions and the administration. His

intellectual opinions and religious beliefs supported him and he worked on the problem with patience, persistence and hope. He was an advocate for the missions if he felt that their educational contributions were being underrated, yet he had no illusions about the very poor quality of much mission education and spoke strongly against their more extravagant demands. He supported their requests for higher grants for teachers and for boarding school subsidies, helped them to improve the quality of their teachers' colleges and devised a special correspondence course in teacher training for educated missionaries with no professional qualifications. The Education Ordinance was designed not only to control mission education but also to raise its standards by linking grants-in-aid with the classifications of schools. Part of the reason for its delayed implementation was Groves's concern that missionary opinion should be sufficiently considered. He was determined that the missions should be helped so long as their efforts were directed towards an improved quality of education. Groves worked through the missions and administration conferences and its committees and working parties until it became too large and unwieldy for effective action and its purposes were better served by the Education Advisory Board. The function of the Board was to advise the Administrator, and thus its influence depended upon the quality of its advice. It is largely to the credit of the sympathy and wisdom of Groves that the extremes of mission representatives' attitudes and demands were tempered, their defensible arguments supported and their initiatives encouraged. Most importantly, Groves was able to demonstrate that action followed the Board's resolutions and that, though all requests were not met, there were more than enough that were to justify their efforts. The role Groves played called out a dormant talent. There is a lessening of his wordy egocentricity; he gave prominence to others, especially the missions' representatives. The fiery and determined Father James Dwyer figured largely in the debates; so also did the sharp mind and incisive phrases of Percy Chatterton.

The general argument of the missions' representatives was that the missions were doing most of the work and so the administration should pay larger subsidies to assist them. Groves supported this argument consistently by official action<sup>42</sup> yet a residue of tension remained because privately he is said to have believed that some of the missions' supporting arguments were 'downright dishonest', or



revealed 'unwarranted opportunism'.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless Groves used the Board as an instrument to reduce tensions between the missions and the administration, partly by allowing frank discussions and partly by using its resolutions in the formation and modification of policy for the administration. The growth towards the present national teaching service embracing both mission and administration teachers would not have been possible had not Groves, with the support of Hasluck, assisted the missions to improve the quality of their systems, helped them to adjust to secular control, and lessened the prejudices of non-mission educationists about their educational efforts.

Groves reached sixty in August 1958. It was customary for those who wished to continue service to make known their wishes and expect to remain. Although he wished to continue in office, Groves was informed that he was obliged to retire. Heads of departments who, in the opinion of Dr J. T. Gunther, were men of lesser qualifications and experience, were allowed to continue beyond the age of sixty;<sup>44</sup> why was Groves refused? Uncertainty surrounds this decision just as it does the more notorious removal of J. K. Murray in 1952. The report of the investigating committee of 1953 gave an overall impression of failure and later events did not remove the impression of administrative weakness. Whether this was a sufficient reason to refuse continued service is another matter.

Groves had been an official member of the Legislative Council since its inception. The tributes of fellow members on the eve of his retirement were glowing. He was called by some a 'very courageous man' and 'very loyal', a 'fine resident', a man who brought 'logic and reasonableness' to the Council's debates. His constant thought for the welfare of 'his fellow man' or 'the common man' or 'the native people' was praised by others. To a missionary member he was the man who placed administration and mission co-operation in education on 'a foundation . . . well and truly laid'. Another missionary member, Father James Dwyer, with whom Groves was often locked in controversy, paid a lengthy tribute to a range of Groves's achievements in education. He believed that European as well as native parents had much to thank him for and praised his efforts in promoting indigenous teacher training — 'the apple of Mr. Groves's eye'. He got to the core of Groves's work when he referred to his 'vision and idealism' in the education of native people and said, with no ambiguity intended, that had he been able

to implement his policy, education would be much further advanced.

Groves found it difficult to adjust to life away from the centre of the stage. He had high blood pressure and, to some people who talked with him then, he appeared to have lost flexibility and receptivity of mind. He gave lectures in social studies at Burwood Teachers' College from 1959 to 1964 and again in 1966. During 1965, while on a fellowship at the Australian National University, he worked on early anthropological material he had not previously published. But this was an unhappy time for him. He was not able to complete any writing of value and spent much of his time searching out scholars he knew for discussion on education, anthropology and Pacific affairs. They could not afford the time his long conversations demanded; he could not understand their gradual withdrawal and was much hurt by it.

The most important scholarly work Groves undertook after retirement was his Tate Memorial Lecture delivered at the University of Melbourne in 1959. It was both a description of the progress of education in the Territory since 1945 and an affirmation of his own principles and faith. All the old themes were there: cooperation with the missions, educational centres adapted to the needs of the local community, the blending of cultures, and faith in the capacity for educational attainment of the native people. He foresaw the possibility 'not many years ahead' when a university college would be established in the Territory. Earlier and more accurately than most, he predicted the general advancement of the indigenous people towards self-government in

a partnership of Australian with Papuan and New Guinean, a partnership based upon social and political equality and mutual respect and understanding, and upon a sense of belonging to Papua and New Guinea on the part of the members of all racial groups living and working together in the Territory.

Groves believed that this 'could be achieved by 1975'.<sup>45</sup> Against the advice of most of his family, Groves travelled with his wife to England and Europe for a holiday in 1967. He could not stand the strain of travel and the new environment and, after a brief illness, died in a London hospital on 11 July 1967. It is difficult to sum up the life of a man so close to the events in which he was involved. As a personality he has left a legacy of affectionate remembrance as 'a

good man': large, cheerful, courteous, 'a Christian gentleman'. He passed on to his children an enthusiasm for the life of the mind: his son has occupied professorial chairs in sociology in two universities; one of his surviving daughters (one died in 1945) is a tutor at the Australian National University and has published several books; the other daughter is a teacher in Melbourne. Groves developed a secular educational system upon a base of government neglect and mission private interest and successfully moved the two potentially antagonistic parties upon the road to partnership. Above all, he formulated educational principles and plans upon an understanding of anthropology and thus, before it became popular to do so, his efforts were directed towards the real welfare of the Papuan and New Guinean people.

## 6

# Paul Mason: Planter and Coastwatcher

James Griffin

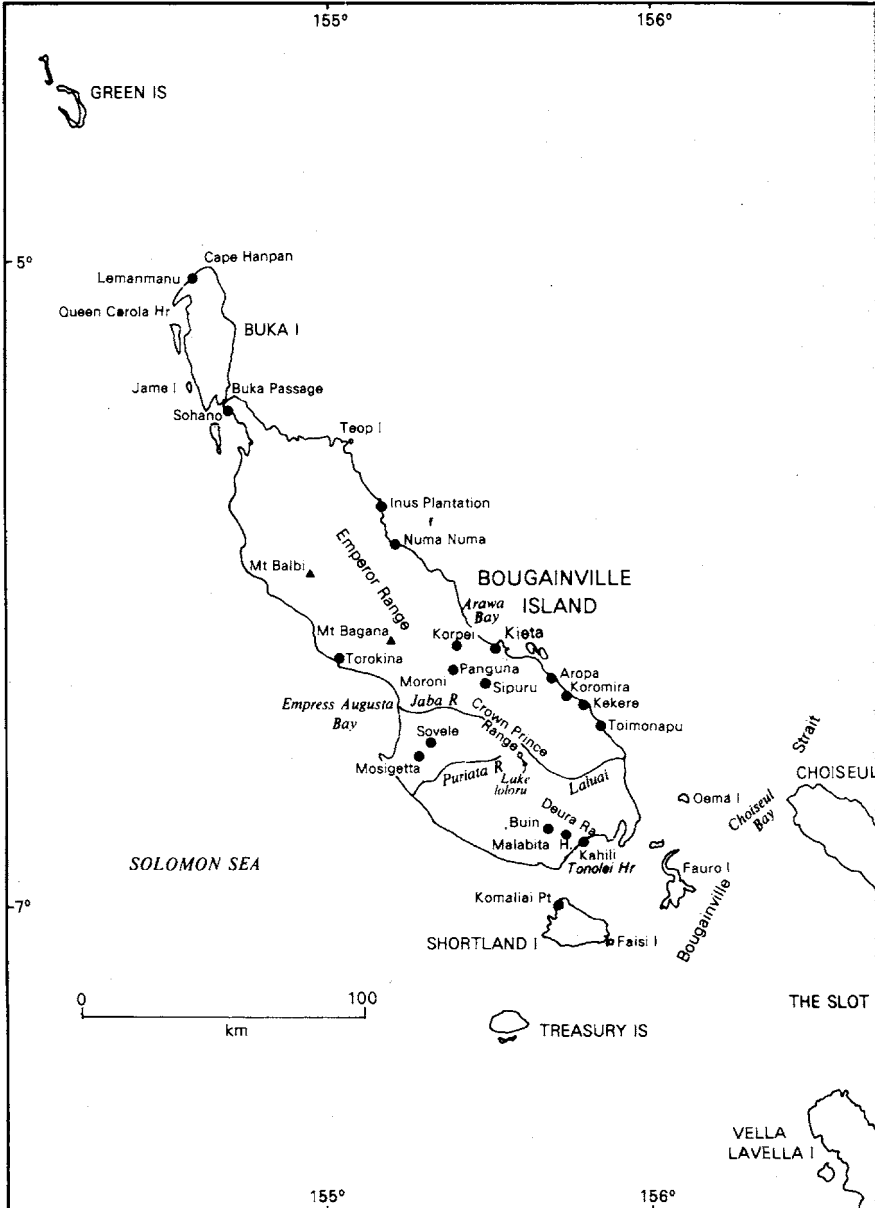
People who met Paul Mason in his later years were invariably surprised that this reticent man had been the most famous coastwatcher and the most damaging guerrilla fighter in the Australian services during the Second World War. For the Catalina pilots Mason 'represented the upper limit of continuous bravery and . . . [was] their No. 1 hero of the World War II'.<sup>1</sup> Admiral William Halsey of the U.S. Navy said categorically that the intelligence signalled from Bougainville by Mason and his fellow coastwatcher, W. J. 'Jack' Read, had saved Guadalcanal in 1942 and that Guadalcanal had saved the South Pacific. In the later stages of the war the 'body count' of Japanese troops slain by Mason's partisans more than doubled that of any other band.<sup>2</sup> Yet, without too much irony he could justly refer to himself as 'Peaceful Paul'.

When war broke out with Japan on 7 December 1941, Mason was a forty year old plantation manager who had been rejected for military service as 'over-aged, undersized, slightly deaf, a bit shortsighted'. He had worn glasses since childhood to correct a congenital astigmatism and he had a faint impediment of speech

'owing to a paralytic attack of malaria'. He was spare as well as short in build, with thick fair hair, somewhat prominent teeth and a red leathery complexion. He was an unkempt bachelor, but neither a misogynist nor a debonair 'lady's man'. Mason was popular because he was decent, courteous and reliable, if rather eccentric. Far from seeming intrepid and dynamic, he appeared to have an almost sacerdotally meek disposition with a habit of listening intently, and apparently respectfully, to others, with his eyes half-closed and hands often clasped on his breast. He was not even an independently successful planter but a manager and inspector for a rather undistinguished copra company which, for a period of three years during the Depression, had been unable to pay him a salary. He was accepted, says an old friend, as 'an Islands' man who did Islands' jobs . . . He did his own recruiting, he cut the bush, he planted coconuts but there was nothing exceptional about him', other than his ability to sail boats and fix a wireless.

Adventure, adaptability and practicality were in Mason's blood. Paul's father, Frederick Mikkelsen who, before his marriage, changed his name to Mason, was a Dane whose mother had died in childbirth. He had been reared in an adopted home and had 'run away to sea' at the age of thirteen. He eventually jumped ship in Sydney where he was to run the first motorised 'launch and lighter business' in the harbour. Paul's identity must have been significantly forged by his great affection for his father who 'although brought up in a hard school . . . was a most unselfish man, asking nothing in life for himself'. On his Australian mother's side too there was seafaring blood. Paul's mother had been sent to a Catholic school though her own mother was an Anglican. She was confirmed in both religions and this easy approach to religion persisted in the family. Paul himself was christened in the Congregational Church, while his father remained an agnostic. It seems to have been an indifferent rather than an ecumenical household, yet one which stressed moral obligations and 'duty'.

Paul Edward Allen Mason was born on 30 April 1901 at Milson's Point where Sydney Harbour Bridge now stands. He was fifth in a family of nine, his mother having had one son by a previous marriage. Paul's wife describes her husband's family as 'close, happy and domesticated' and one in which 'a high store was set on practical skills and achievement'. Aside from emphasising a fearless, even reckless, streak, Paul's sisters remember him as



Map 5 North Solomon Islands

'always a serious-minded, quiet, shy boy', the terms in which he described himself. He attended government schools and was briefly at Fort Street Secondary School, which has produced so many notable Australians. His lack of education was to be a concern throughout his life. More important than his reasonable performances in class was his ability to handle a small boat on Sydney Harbour before he 'knew his *abc*' and to break in his first horse without supervision. He was encouraged to be self-reliant, persevering and inventive. This was crucial for a lad who had to leave school at fourteen.

Paul had wanted to study air navigation and radio, both then in their infancy. However, at the beginning of World War I, his father had a disabling accident, which caused his business to fail. Subsequently Paul's ambitions 'met with some discouragement'. He agreed 'to relieve the burden of . . . [his] keep on . . . [his] parents' by going to the Shortland Islands in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate to help his step-brother, Tommy Mason-Robinson, who had set up business there as a trader, and who wrote back home glowing letters of life in the tropics.

It was typical of Mason that, forty years later, he would remember the 'light North-East breeze' into which the single-screw 1618 ton *Matunga* steamed as it left Sydney Harbour in New Year 1916. Owned by Burns Philp ('B.P.' for 'Bloody Pirate' said the small entrepreneur), it called at Newcastle to pick up coal for Australia's 'Coconut Lancers' who had recently conquered Rabaul. It then called at Brisbane, and afterwards there were five days at sea before sighting Lion's Head on Guadalcanal. On board were traders, planters and officials in their white ducks and solar topees who 'made much of' young Paul and kept him 'filled with Schweppes' lemonade in the ship's bar'. It is more than reasonable to assume that he also imbibed some of the prejudices and delusions of his day about 'coons' and 'kanakas' and about the historical necessity of continued white domination in the islands. The *Matunga* meandered from one obscure plantation to another on its six-weekly service, landing stores and loading copra, bringing the only communication in those days 'to the lonely planter and trader'. All whites, Mason recalled, counted time by the last steamer: 'It was before [or after] the last steamer'; 'We are due to leave in three steamers' time', etc.

Mason's destination lay at the north-west end of the 'Slot' between the double chain of the Solomon Islands. Although they rise to 600 feet, the Shortlands are inconspicuous as they crouch below the mass of Bougainville, five miles across the Strait and the largest island in the archipelago. From Kamaliai on the north Shortland Cape volcanic Mt Bagana (5700 ft) can be seen pluming fifty miles away in the deep blue backdrop of the Crown Prince Range before the morning cumulus smothers its maw. However, the dividing line between the Solomons and what was soon to be Australia's Mandated Territory lay in these Straits, and this would later help to stifle the lively commerce that lasted until the copra slump of the 1920s.

Tommy Mason was at Faisi to greet Paul together with almost the whole white population of the Straits and Choiseul, all eager to share in the gaiety of 'steamer time'. From Mason's brief descriptions it is not difficult to envisage a small community of escapists, romantics and eccentrics rather than one of hard-headed entrepreneurs. None of them made any lasting profit in the Straits and, in spite of passages of exotic joy, some of their lives were marred by tragedy. 'I would like', said Mason cryptically, 'to see their stories and love affairs set down on paper but I am not capable of doing it justice'. After World War II only his life-long friend, Clara Scott, remained there of those who met Mason in 1916, and she, a granddaughter of the original white settler, Captain John McDonald, lived out her life most sparsely until her death in 1972 at over ninety years of age. In retrospect, however, they seemed carefree days to Mason as well as to an older contemporary who wrote: 'Yes, they were happy days. No radios, no League of Nations, no racial consciousness [*sic*]. A happy, low standard of living when, if you wanted cold beer, you put it in the wash tub and swirled it around with washing soda. God bless 'em all'.<sup>3</sup>

Paul was almost immediately taken to Tommy Mason's minute island of Teulu 'to get used to conditions and learn the trade'. It was only a few feet above sea level. The house was on piles and spring high tides rose underneath, but fortunately there was no sizeable swell in its sheltered position or 'it would have been only what it really was — a reef just above sea level'. As yet Paul's apprenticeship was not too arduous; there was time for sailing *à la tropique*:



I got me a canoe with a sail. These dugouts had catamarans or outrigger floats on. They had a deep dead wood or fixed centre-board forward and were flat midships to keel. Under sail one had an almost unbelievable control with big oar or sweep over the gunnel on the windward quarter. When the catamaran went to windward one could balance, sitting out on a removable outrigger, keeping it 45 degrees out of the water. More care had to be taken with the catamaran in the lee as, once it stopped skimming the water, the drag would tend to broach the canoe and over I went.

At night Paul's life often seemed less healthy. Tom's house became a sort of local club where skippers and various salts rendezvoused and caroused while waiting for the steamer to come in. War-time delays and strikes kept ships off their schedules and the lack of wireless meant long waits for prospective passengers and crew. So there were all-night poker games at Teulu with Paul playing barman till dawn. Naturally

a lot of the men and all of the women were shocked at the life I was at this time leading. It was predicted that the end would be sticky. Strangely it must have had the opposite effect on me. I have never smoked, games of chance never had any attraction for me and for many years I never drank alcohol. Even today [1959] I am a very moderate drinker.

There were also other 'temptations': 'Once a native offered to bring me a young girl to sleep with me. I was shocked. When he saw my horror, he assured me she would be a virgin. I was still a child and it took me time to get over the shock'.

This was, however, only a prelude; the real 'bleeding' came when Paul was barely fifteen. Tom Mason had taken up a ninety-nine year lease on Piedu, a small volcanic island in the Fauros, where sailing was perilous and where Paul was expected to continue the establishment of a plantation. This included recruiting in Choiseul, then unpacified. Not many years before a sailing ship there had been cut out, ratted and sunk and a notorious war chief, Liliboi, was currently on the rampage. As a sideline there was shelling on the reefs for trochus and green snail shell; there was also collecting *bêche-de-mer*, which was bringing £120 a ton.

Even heavier responsibilities followed. Sam Atkinson, an enterprising planter, wanted to go to Sydney to see his wife and his three daughters who were at school. He expected to be away for only three months. The stolid but intrepid Mason could look after his trading, buy and supply rations for his labourers, and generally

supervise them at Awa and the other properties while he was away. At first Atkinson stayed away longer than expected because of illness but later, as the money kept coming in satisfactorily and as his fifteen year old manager was coping even with the twenty-two Malaita men who were tending the young palms at Balalai, he reclined in Sydney until November 1917. The Malaitas were the most feared warriors in the South Seas. Many Europeans had been killed on their island and the people were alleged to require a payback life for every labourer who died abroad. 'Are you not afraid of living alone?' even a Malaita would ask Mason. 'Where is your father?' strangers would ask when they landed. Paul, whose voice had not yet broken, would try 'to answer naturally without being pompous, "I am the manager here" '. It was an incredible life for a Sydney boy. 'No Walter Mitty could have wished more', he wrote, 'I must have had a feeling of adventure but all I remember is the satisfaction of doing what I had to do . . . I was proud of Achieving'.

When Sam Atkinson returned, Paul went home on the *Mindini*. His voice now broke and he shaved for the first time in his homeland in 1918. He returned to Awa after leave and, one day in December 1918, on a visit to Faisi, he was incredulous to hear that the Armistice had been signed a month before. By this time wireless telegraphy had been fitted to some island schooners, because of German raiders like the *Wolf*, which had sunk the old *Matunga*, but no one had bothered to cross the ten miles of water to tell Paul. When he went home on leave again in 1919, he allowed his father to prevail on him this time to stay. He took up a small orchard at Penrith on which he was assisted by his father and where his mother and younger brothers and sisters lived with him — or, as he self-effacingly preferred to put it, 'I lived with them'. He was according to himself 'a poor farmer', but life was obviously dull as well as rather meagre. In 1923 he handed over the farm to his father and took the opportunity of relieving in the Shortlands for six months.

The Straits were much changed. Most people were in financial difficulties. In the immediate post-war period copra had boomed from £16 to £45 per ton, expenditure had risen to match income and, when copra fell, commitments were too heavy. Sam Atkinson had had to move from his mansion in Sydney, he was trying to lease

Balalai and had given all his minor island properties, but not Awa, back to the villagers. Tommy Mason was struggling.

There was also a more personally embarrassing development although, in his autobiographical notes, Mason mentions neither the fact nor the feeling. Tommy Mason, wrote a supercilious English visitor two years later, 'with the intention of settling down, has married a native girl. The dusky pledge of their mutual affection was scampering about on the verandah when we arrived'.<sup>4</sup> This, as well as the dubious reputation of Solomon traders, was, according to one old friend, a cause of some of Paul's reticence pre-war. Inter-racial marriage was a deeply sensitive issue even among enlightened men of the time. It was forbidden in New Guinea, though not in B.S.I.P.

After one more trip home Mason decided to settle in the tropics permanently. B.P.'s *Marsina* took him to Rabaul en route to Faisi in May 1925. New Guinea's capital had just heard the news of the killing of 'Wee Bobbie' Scott, the one-armed manager of Inus plantation on eastern Bougainville. Scott had been hacked to death with thirteen blows, most of which individually would have been fatal. The first was supposed to have severed his good arm below the shoulder. However, when the *Marsina* called at Inus to drop off a bull, Mason did not hesitate to offer to take over the management and he was given the job by Captain Hamilton of Associated Plantations Limited. Inus was in bad condition: 'the scrub was higher than the palms, shutting out the light from the coconuts; the labourers turned up for rations and pay but not for work'. Mason did manage, more or less, to clean up Inus, although it did not become an outstanding plantation before the war. Among his helpers was Wong You, a Chinese who had migrated to New Ireland as a cook-boy for the wireless station in 1915 and who was eventually to become Bougainville's wealthiest trader. Mason encouraged him to set up a store at Inus. Wong said in later life that Mason had given him his first real start — a tribute Mason characteristically disclaimed. He was obviously an unusual *masta*. One of his well educated and somewhat unsympathetic contemporaries, who became himself a successful planter and a war hero, remembers Mason as very eccentric: 'going around in a daze', often unshaven, wearing trousers he had made himself out of trade materials, bicycling between plantations with only one sock on.

More demeaning still, he cut copra with the *bois*. When he had to write business letters, he kept Webster's Dictionary by his side because he was allegedly 'illiterate'.

Mason was also a vigorous recruiter. He regularly tramped Bougainville, particularly over the central mountains and down through the Nagovisi and into the fan-like plain of the Siwai and Buin. He got his own labour and acquired his peerless knowledge of the local terrain. It was not as dangerous as Choiseul or Malaita but in 1927 an attack could still be made on a patrol.<sup>5</sup> Mason was both observant and mentally opportunistic and he could claim, more truly than most expatriates, that he knew 'how the native mind worked', or, to put it less condescendingly (which he did not), he knew better than most which white stimulus, under then current conditions, would get what black response. His sparing use of physical force and his determination to be 'just' (predictable?) must have been an asset. During the Japanese war he seems to have exacted co-operation and respect from Buins and Siwais and he thought he owed his survival to his sense of the 'correct courtesies' and to his knowledge of 'what taboos to observe'. Certainly the locals had the chance to pay back any grievances while he was on the run. His adage was 'Courtesy can be observed in any language'.

His rapport with the villagers, however, was not due to observing the letter of the regulations of the Mandate. Among thirty prosecutions for illegal recruiting of labour in 1928-9, it was reported to the League of Nations, 'that at Buin and Siwai between the second and tenth days of January 1928, Paul Mason, an employee of Associated Plantations Ltd., did recruit nineteen natives with native shell money contrary to the provisions of section 45A of the Native Labour Ordinance of 1922-1928'.<sup>6</sup> For this Mason was fined £10 and the nineteen contracts were cancelled. His defence no doubt would have been that he recruited in the manner and with the means that villagers understood. It did not seem to have harmed him in their eyes, as it undoubtedly did not harm him among his fellow planters.

Mason would have had few qualms about the historical necessity, or the efficacy, of plantation life. Plantations were enclaves of pacification and progress in a primitive world. Benevolently run, they benefited New Guineans by their 'demonstration effects', their course of regular labour and diet, their medical super-

vision, the provision of purchasing power for trade goods, bride price and prestige, and their satisfaction of some of the craving for a less parochial life.

In 1971 Mason was not visibly impressed when it was suggested to him that plantation land had been improperly acquired as freehold and that at most the expatriate owned 'the skin of the land', the trees, crops and buildings he had created. But Mason did not become dyspeptic about it. He knew well that villagers did not, on the one hand, understand fluctuations in land values or, on the other, see land as having a definite cash value. It was part of a continuous inheritance and was controlled, he said, like the entail system in England. Yet while he conceded that where individuals did not own, they had no right to sell, and that there were cases where people who 'sold land' did not know what they were doing, he felt that in many instances villagers had understood the conception of individual title and had fully consented to alienation. A Darwinian focus of mind seems to have resolved any implicit moral dilemma here. From his rich experience of life and his potpourri of reading he could say, in his last years, that man was 'the most ruthless animal in the world' and 'that is why we have the missing link'. As he told the T.P.N.G. Legislative Council:<sup>7</sup>

Since Cain killed Abel, or ever since the world began, might has been right. Man has had considerable success controlling his destiny with codes, laws, religions, treaties and alliances, to prevent himself being annihilated by his fellow man. Not only man, but all forms of life have developed their own methods of protecting themselves from their own kind. Let us not live in a fool's paradise.

Mason was obviously not a political philosopher, but what he seemed to be saying was that one had to ride with the irresistible forces in life and try to palliate their harsher consequences. The indigenous people had themselves been conquerors and predators. His view of the 'native' was neither sentimental nor contemptuous at root. He saw the 'native' as a being dignified within his own value system, but he does not seem to have been aware that colonialism, however benevolent, becomes — in fact always subliminally *is* — a rankling indignity, and there were no spectacular developments around Inus to suggest that Mason was anything more imaginative than a *gutpela masta*.<sup>8</sup> The peculiar features of Bougainville may have helped to repress this consciousness: 'the primitive affluence' of the people; the lack of land

hunger and pressure from the villagers; the relatively inconspicuous scatter of plantations along the north and central coasts. Bougainville was ideal for a system of plantation enclaves. As a radical indigenous leader was eventually to say: the planters 'could be living in Madison Avenue and Piccadilly for that matter and it would change things very little' for the villagers.<sup>9</sup>

Mason eventually became relieving manager of A.P.L.'s plantations at Choiseul Bay and Mundi Mundi (Vella Lavella, New Georgia), filling in between times as Inspector for the whole group. Oddly enough the forty foot launch, *Parama*, which Captain Hamilton gave him to use, had been driven as the *Doris* by his father in Sydney Harbour from 1904 to 1906. A.P.L. was not a streamlined organisation and the *Parama* became a by-word for ricketiness, being seemingly held together with wire, rope and bitsy caulking. But Mason made it work. He made round recruiting/repatriating trips especially to Malaita. He would try to arrange with a Chinese trader to be 'at a certain place at a certain time' where he would put down his 'boys'. As they had two years' pay to spend, there was the opportunity for brisk business with a commission for Mason in the process. He does not, however, give the impression of having been good at making money. Recruits were attracted by firing off a cannon 'that would echo through the hills and inform the natives that work was offering'. The cannons were muzzle-loaders: powder was poured down the muzzle and then rammed with as much newspaper 'as one judged the charge of gunpowder and the cannon would stand'. Sometimes they could not stand it.

On one such trip in late 1927 Mason was astonished to hear from a news broadcast 'that the H.M.A.S. *Adelaide* was steaming at full speed to the relief of the Solomons'. Mason could not get to Tulagi Administration HQ quickly enough. There he found the settlement 'picketed with bluejackets' and the residents in a panic over the massacre on Malaita of District Officer W. R. Bell, his assistant, K. C. Lillies, his clerk, Marcus, and twelve black policemen. This had been provoked not just by a routine tax collection but by a law requiring villagers to hand in old Snider rifles which they and their fathers had bought with plantation wages.<sup>10</sup> Characteristically Mason thought it 'a foolish law'. After all the rifles 'were obsolete and for them to be given up without compensation was most un-

fair'. He was contemptuous of those on Tulagi who 'were so ignorant of the natives thirty miles away that they really thought these people would combine to attack' although they

were at that time ready to cut one another's throats . . . had no canoes, and would get horribly seasick if they could cross the water because only the bush people were involved. Army-type rifles were taken from the police and given to people who would mostly not know how to use them in any case.

Mason nevertheless believed in law and order — and in adventure. He offered his services to the navy and to the civilian force of planters, traders and nondescripts who rallied to the punitive colours but who were at least droll enough to call themselves 'The Breathless Army'. The expedition to Malaita turned out farcically, except for the villagers who were brought to justice and publicly hanged. The naval ratings were terrified in the bush, the commandant of the constabulary was scared, the general organisation chaotic. It was an opportunity for Mason to test both his skills and his courage. He was obviously gratified to find that his head was shrewder, his heart cooler and his lore more apposite than those of the specially trained members of His Majesty's Services. This experience gave him a foretaste of what he might do in the event of war.

Until 1942 Mason worked most of his time with A.P.L. except for a term with Levers Plantations (1930-2) and a brief period as a private trader (1928-30) in his own boat, the *Neui*, which saw him sailing alone to the Polynesian outliers, even the Tasmans, 250 miles away in open sea. By 1936 he was once again based at Inus where his sister, Helen, later to marry another coastwatcher, John Stokie, kept house for him. His trips to the Solomons were becoming sufficiently noteworthy to be mentioned in the *Rabaul Times*<sup>11</sup> and, as he checked through at Kieta, he took a marginal part in social life. Occasionally he would dine with Wong You, who now had a flourishing store in Chinatown, or even take a glass of 'communion wine' (said by the non-clerical residents to be the choicest import in the district) with the 'Poppey' (i.e. Papist) fathers at St Michael's. The wife of the medico of that time remembers his affection for children and his coming to a New Year's fancy dress party as a bandit and acting it up fearsomely. He was, however,

still a reticent man, more interested in his hobbies than in seeking gregarious self-assurance. He devised modifications of plantation machinery and, after the war, attracted some attention with his inventions. His 'Chula' hot-air copra dryer and his combustion husker, when used in tandem, made economies in fuel and time but had 'bad design features'. Other of his devices seem to have been as notable for contraptive inelegance as for effectiveness.

His passionate hobby, however, was still radio. Mason seems to have built his first receiver towards the end of World War I. Certainly by 1942 he could with rare ingenuity service his own and other coastwatchers' sets in the most exiguous circumstances. In person he must have fleshed out the caricature of the 'Mr Fixit' of the magic-crystal era, tinkering pertinaciously, fiddling wires, peering myopically into cathodes and condensers, listening intently, trying to catch speech from the crackles of the ether. In later years he both alarmed and then amused his family by the temerity with which he tasted the contents of unlabelled jars and applied moistened fingers to dubious leads to pronounce them alive or dead. In 1936 'when great strides had been made in the radio world' he 'acquired a transmitter'. Then in 1939 when Lieutenant-Commander Eric Feldt of the R.A.N. was making an intelligence survey of the Solomons, Mason made a point of meeting him at Faisi. He had known Feldt when the latter was A.D.O., Buka in 1926. Although Mason's immediate objective was to get a dispensation from the Admiralty's rule silencing all private ships' radios, he immediately accepted Feldt's invitation to set up a volunteer civilian coastwatching station at Inus. Other stations were set up at Kessa, Sohano, Numa Numa and Toimanapu, all of which would co-ordinate with the administrative station at Kieta. Feldt's scheme was to appoint seasoned 'islanders', living on or near the coast line of Australian territory, as intelligence officers who would instantly report any untoward or hostile events in their area of any significance for national defence.<sup>12</sup>

In April 1940, returning from leave in Sydney, where, John Stokie said, 'they had laughed at him'<sup>13</sup> for trying to enlist, Mason again saw Feldt, this time in Port Moresby. Feldt now gave him the 'Playfair' code. Because of Feldt's easy personal rapport and concern for his 'men', he entrenched in Mason a confidence in his leadership that was to sustain the coastwatcher in the years ahead.



Soon after 7 December 1941, with the Japanese only 300 miles to the north in Micronesia, the Australian government decided to evacuate white women and children from the islands. The twenty-four nuns on Bougainville were, however, given the option of staying if Bishop Wade approved. On the ground that not even shepheresses should desert their flocks, he decided they should stay. Two elderly plantation-owning widows and the wife of one planter also refused to go, although the *kiap* at Buka, Jack Read, could foresee that they would be not only an incubus but a danger to the men left behind. The white males remained with varying attitudes of fecklessness, fear, fortitude and, it would seem, cautious optimism. Some planters not only wanted to protect their properties and feared to lose face in front of the 'natives', but seemed to think that, in the event of a Japanese takeover, they might fare no worse than the German planters did during the Australian occupation in World War I. No arrangements were made for the Chinese residents but the three Japanese traders were arrested and sent to Rabaul pending internment in Australia. In mid-January the District Officer, J. I. Merrylees, officially visited Buka Passage from Kieta and gave Jack Read to understand that he would simply wait on instructions from the Government Secretary. He had taken the precaution of making a food dump behind the hills in Kieta and digging pits in the new and unused airstrip at Aropa nearby.

Merrylees, however, did not wait. Rabaul was invaded on 21 January and captured on the 23rd. VIJ Rabaul was no sooner off the air than Merrylees, fearing an imminent invasion, signalled a proposal to the various coastwatchers that they all evacuate. A meeting of Kieta residents had already unanimously agreed to do so. The coastwatchers refused to go with them. The radio operator in Kieta now failed to keep his schedules, although he maintained the pretence of trying to control the network of outstations formerly controlled from Rabaul. Then suddenly at 1 p.m. on the 23rd Mason at Inus heard VIU Kieta say, 'A plane is coming. I'm getting out'. In fact Kieta was abandoned by the white civilians at the sight of a solitary Japanese float-plane, which circled the harbour and flew over the town. No occupation of any part of Bougainville was to occur until 30 March. This not only almost demoralised the indigenous police, who had been recruited from outside Bougainville, but also bewildered the local villagers, who naturally enough invaded the town to loot the stores. Order had to

be restored by a former German medical officer who lived nearby and who then raised the white flag and set up what Mason and Read saw as a 'puppet government'. Read had to rush from Kieta to reassume control but damage had been done to relationships with the local people. Fear of punishment for their actions helped to predispose them to collaborate with the Japanese. The 'Black Dogs' who harried the coastwatchers in the next eighteen months came from along the Kieta coast.

In early March Mason was asked to leave Inus and set up a radio control station at Kieta. Mason complied but the scenic heights and the configurations of the harbour made it impossible to see anything but aircraft immediately overhead. There was also the problem of rank. Mason had been made a sergeant in the army to enhance his authority but his spotters had been put into the charge of L/Cpl. Warner, not into his. On one occasion a report that a warship had steamed into the harbour at night did not reach him till 9 a.m. Mason complained to Feldt in Townsville. Feldt told him to shift from Kieta and choose his own observation post. Mason had to do this unarmed and without even a policeman to help him because the police were too busy guarding the imprisoned looters at Kieta. 'At this time', he wrote, 'I was the only person in Kieta who took coastwatching seriously'.

On the morning of 8 March six Japanese cruisers and two destroyers sailed surely through the reefs of Queen Carola Haven in north Buka. They had an excellent chart and pilot. He was almost certainly Tashiro, the son of a Japanese schooner master, who had been born in New Guinea. He had lived in Bougainville for many years employing villagers on Pok Pok as shell divers. He knew most of the *kukurais* (headmen) along the central east and northern coasts and knew a little of their *plestok*. He had obviously been engaged in espionage as many Japanese traders were. In 1941 he had prudently gone to Rabaul where he became an agent for the merchant company, Nanyo Boyeki Kaisha, and he had left there for Truk in the Carolines just one month before hostilities began. Masan knew him well; on a rare occasion he had got drunk with Tashiro on whisky. Tashiro had been 'a smart young man, very intelligent and virile'. He had also shelled off Fred Archer's plantation on Jame Island ten miles south of Queen Carola. They used to share the proceeds over a bottle of Red, White and Blue Whisky. 'Most satisfactory to deal with', says Archer. He was to shield

many old acquaintances from the full rigour of Japanese martial law.

The fleet dropped anchor off Kessa for two days. The officers treated Percy Good, an elderly planter and coastwatcher, and Fr John Hennessy of Lemanmanu with courtesy and put them on parole not to take any hostile action or leave their posts. A detachment of four soldiers had already taken Good's telradio to Cape Hanpan, 200 feet above Kessa, but one room in his bungalow was 'like a radio junk shop'. Similarly the careless and panicky soldiers had left a power-charge in one of Hennessy's outbuildings. These things were noticed. Archer sent a courier to Read who, in his long-headed way, was already well entrenched at Aravia in the mountains of Bougainville Island overlooking Buka Passage. Read informed Port Moresby about the fleet and from there the news was carelessly broadcast. There were groans of dismay on Bougainville. Read was on the verge of sending a few men to take Good away by force but before he could act the warships returned on 15 March to Kessa. Good was interrogated, brutally handled and killed. Fr Hennessy was taken prisoner to Rabaul and later died on the torpedoed prison ship, *Montevideo Maru*, en route to Japan.

Good's death, however, showed up the precariousness of the coastwatchers' status, unprotected by international law, if indeed this meant anything to the Japanese. (Of course, it also showed up the insensitivity of newsmen to the danger they were in.) Within three weeks Read was appointed a Lieutenant and Mason a Petty Officer in the R.A.N. Volunteer Reserve. 'In our isolated circumstances', wrote Read, 'these appointments meant far more to us than will be generally realised, as we could not authorise financial provision for our dependents back in Australia; but unfortunately a long period elapsed before those authorities were acted upon'. Mason, however, 'was not altogether pleased at the rank and pay given me and I then believed my chances of advancement to be fewer than in the Army. I wanted to be in the Navy but should have been mobilised as a Sub-Lieutenant'. For an unambitious and somewhat unworldly man, Mason was precise about rank and his own deserts. It was for him a marker of Achievement.

On 30 March the Japanese occupied Buka and, in general, were received there by villagers as liberators and harbingers of cargo. Faisi in the Shortlands was also occupied the same day. Expecting a

raiding party in Kieta on 1 April, Mason sent a warning from his lookout to the four A.I.F. soldiers in Kieta but 'these lads, with their radio, electrolux and luxuries scrounged from the deserted town, had been taking life too easily'. When the Japanese did arrive, the soldiers barely escaped, two of them taking cover in a creek as enemy troops stalked the road below. Mason also warned the soldiers at Buin in the south but they 'did not leave their comfortable quarters in Kangu House' on the beach. On 5 April a party of Japanese surprised them while they were shaving before breakfast. 'They at once dumped the wireless set on the floor of their house and raced up the hill. They heard the Japs screaming and shouting as they charged up the hill and entered the house'. The soldiers may have owed their lives to a Queensland priest, Fr Richard O'Sullivan, who had just come from saying Easter Sunday mass. According to Mason, O'Sullivan 'told the Japs so many lies [asserting, it appears, that he was a Dutchman] endeavouring to conceal the A.I.F.'s movements and activities that on future occasions he was scared stiff the Japs would take severe action against him. He was never in contact with them again'. The soldiers fled to the Siwai from where they had vague ideas of getting to Vella Lavella via Treasury Island. However, according to Mason, when they were told by blacks that there was 'twist tobacco at my dump at Daratui' and, when they remembered his hospitality at Inus, they crossed the range to join him. It is also likely that they felt Mason would know what to do: they were courageous, if inexperienced and appetitive men.

Tashiro was now clearly at Kieta as interpreter and political officer. He took the Japanese officers to see the missionaries and his old friend, Wong You. Although Bishop Wade had ordered his missionaries to avoid contact with the Japanese, Fr Tonjes (German), Fr Seiller (French), Br Xavierius (German) and Br Henry (New Zealander) remained at St Michael's nearby. Henry had previously sent Mason a note telling him to move and not let Henry know where he had gone. However, when examined by the Japanese Henry 'began blabbering' and they apparently found out from him where Bishop Wade was, where the A.I.F. in Buin were, where Mason was and what he was doing. Henry went on to report 'to all the missions' that Bishop Wade had been made a prisoner and had been sent to Rabaul. This was then reported for months in the Australasian secular and religious press. Mason knew better:

the Bishop was at Asitave near Numa Numa. Mason was also worried that Tonjes, who had served in the German army in the Great War, and Henry 'were repeating the Japanese propaganda that the Nipponese had occupied the District and that the war in Bougainville was over. This was having a bad effect on the natives'. It also made Mason more reliant than ever on Seventh Day Adventist and Methodist villages for refuge and support.

Tashiro did not find his old friend, the prudent Wong, at Kieta. Wong had taken to the hills the night before. Tashiro left a letter for him telling him to go to Faisia and work for the Japanese. His store was then plundered. The presence of his wife and children made Wong vulnerable and he had to appeal to Mason to ask the Kieta missionaries to desist from advising him to put his family's interests first and co-operate with the Japanese. Eventually Bishop Wade came to Wong's aid. He also moved Fr Tonjes back to Sovele in the Nagovisi, 'well away from Kieta'.<sup>14</sup>

It was now obvious that the Solomons was to become a major theatre of the war. Mason realised that the Buin-Tonolei-Shortlands area was the one in most need of surveillance because of its excellent scope for naval and air bases. He assembled a small coastwatching party (himself, Cpl Harry Wigley and Sapper Doug Otton) and set off south, calling into Tom Ebery's hideout in the hills behind Toimonapou. In his mid-fifties, Ebery had been in Bougainville since 1915. An accident which had broken his collarbone and shoulderblades had made him unfit for military service in World War I; he was unable to raise his right arm to his face. Persistent abscesses in his shoulders had made him very stout but this had not prevented him from volunteering for coastwatching or Feldt, who knew him well, from employing him. He was popular with whites (whom, in 1927, he had provided with the first refrigerated beer in Bougainville),<sup>15</sup> a good friend of Bishop Wade's and a 'father' to the villagers whom he nursed through sicknesses and 'troubles'. He had refused to scuttle even when Merrylees had commandeered his radio set. He later paid for this with his life but at this stage he was very ill in his hideout and Bishop Wade was attending to him. Wade was 'obviously a very worried man, having the responsibility of keeping his mission going with a staff of mixed nationalities, while his own country was at war with Japan. He was especially anxious about the safety of the sisters in the Mission'.

On his forty-second birthday Mason led his men from Toimonapou over the pass between the Crown Prince (7000 ft) and Deuro Ranges (3000 ft) into the broad and populous Buin plain. The dormant volcanoes of Takuan and Taroka rose to the north-west while on his left was the comfortable slot of Tonolei Harbour. Mason chose Malabita Hill some three miles from the Buin coast for his observation post, shrewdly locating his transmitter as far as practicable from his O.P. but in a position where observations could also be made if necessary. Now he had to worry about stores where previously he had been able to supply his own. He had to rely on friendly villagers to help locate the airdrops which Feldt organised for him. The first, however, in early May was to take place near Empress Augusta Bay, seventy miles away by road. Mason borrowed a bicycle, eventually reached Empress Augusta Bay, searched unsuccessfully for his stores for two days and returned empty-handed within four days altogether. The night of his return from this strenuous journey there was an alarm; he had to cache his wireless gear and sleep in the open bush. The next Catalina came in on 2 June at 1 a.m., dropping its 'storepedoes' closer to hand. It took three weeks to recover all the chutes, most of which went into the Molika River, but Mason at least had the satisfaction of collecting his Petty Officer's cap and sleeve badges, which might have preserved his life if he had been captured.

The 'loyalty' of the villagers was also problematical. Mason's approach was schoolmasterly and decisive rather than crudely punitive:

The people of Lamuai had contacted the Japs. As they needed to be taught a lesson we secured the tul-tul . . . hauled him before the assembled villagers and, carefully explaining that the tul-tul was taking the punishment for the whole village, we publicly gave him ten strokes on his seat. In the difficult months ahead we had no trouble from him and only praise for the people of this village.

Mason's party soon realised that the 'morale' of the villagers improved if he and his men set themselves up as D.O.s as Tashiro had done in Kieta. Wigley and Otton adjudicated disputes and found their bench-work diverting. They came to trust villagers who brought their disputes to them and were wary when they did not. As propaganda Mason would declare: 'We are here to let the U.S. forces know where the Japanese are and where the friendly natives are situated. Unless we are allowed to remain, the U.S. forces will

not know friend from foe'. In general the Buins remained 'loyal'; when asked by Japanese where Mason was they had the habit of pointing south and saying 'Sydney, Sydney'.

Tension built up from June when Mason was given a new call sign, STO (after the first three letters of Stokie, his married sister's name), but he was told to keep silent except for major enemy moves and dire personal emergencies. On one occasion he was reprimanded for unnecessarily breaking this silence. Early in August he was ordered to report in plain language all enemy aircraft proceeding to the south-east. To Mason it was obvious that the Americans were about to attack Guadalcanal although, erroneously, he also thought their troops would drive as far north as Buka Passage. As things stood air strikes could only come from Rabaul and Kavieng (New Ireland). The air routes to Guadalcanal lay over Buin and Buka Passage respectively. If planes detoured from these routes they needed 'better navigation than the Japs were normally capable of' and 'if fighters took that route, the additional distance would seriously restrict their fighting time over the target'.<sup>16</sup> The warnings of Mason and Read enabled vital time to be gained while, for example, American fighters of inferior manoeuvrability to the Japanese Zeros climbed to high altitudes and waited to pounce on the attackers. On 7 August, four hours after U.S. troops attacked Tulagi and Guadalcanal, Mason made a dramatic entrée with a brief signal from the scrub of Malabita. It went to Port Moresby, was relayed to Townsville and Canberra, thence to Honolulu and from there, twenty-five minutes later, to all U.S. ships and forces: 'From STO. Twenty-four torpedo bombers headed yours'. Disaster awaited the Japanese:<sup>17</sup>

The torpedo-bombers arrived, met by fighters and guns at the ready, ships dispersed to offer no good target, all other activities suspended to meet the attack. The Japs who escaped the fighters were shot down by gunfire, only one aircraft surviving to return to Rabaul. No damage was done to the ships.

From about 18 August Mason's (and later Read's) signals were picked up directly by KEN (Lieut.-Col. Mackenzie) at Guadalcanal. From his eyrie Mason had the satisfaction of listening to 'the plain language reports of the fighting given by the U.S. observation aircraft to U.S. Headquarters'. He 'had almost as good an idea as U.S. Control of what was going on . . .'. This was the only satisfaction he recorded. There was no chauvinist gloating as he

overheard Yankee exultations like this: 'Boys, they're shooting 'em down like flies, one, two, three . . . I can see eight of them coming down in the sea now.'<sup>18</sup>

Mason's job, however, was not simply counting objects. There were technical problems in describing the various classes of ship mobilising in the Bougainville Straits. Sixty-one vessels were sighted on 10 November. Mason had to ask for silhouettes and sketches to be sent but, even before they arrived, he sent signals like this (30 September):

Following from Mason. Begins: 1 Nati, 1 Kako, 1 Tatuta Class, 11 Destroyers, 7 Supply Ships at Buin; others not sighted at Tonolei; at Faisi 1 Supply Ship, 1 Destroyer. Ends. 2020Z/30th.

Also 1 Japanese Cruiser (Sendai Class) and 1 Tanker at Buin. 2120Z/30th. Ends.

Feldt's pencilled silhouettes arrived in October and in November photographs taken from *Jane's Fighting Ships* were dropped with supplies. These, said Mason, 'enabled us to perfect our identification'. It was not an empty boast. Feldt says that only once was Mason baffled, yet his description was so accurate it was pinned down as a seaplane tender.<sup>19</sup>

It was not until September that the Japanese invaded Buin with permanent troops, tractors, lorries and armaments and began to construct Kahili airstrip. Mason was pushed back to the saddle joining the Crown Prince and Deuro Ranges, a superb site for overlooking his beloved Shortlands and studying movements as far as Choiseul, even if the approach of aircraft from the north-west was somewhat obscured by the peaks of the volcanoes. One of his men, Lukabai of Kogomaru, took his sixteen inch bush knife down to help the Japanese build their strip and then reported to Mason twice a week in detail. As yet, no attempt was made to flush Mason out. Did the Japanese fail to make a connection between their losses at Guadalcanal and the presence of the coastwatchers? Jack Read believed that there was simply no co-ordination between their military and aerial forces. Perhaps Tashiro was reluctant at first to pursue an old friend who seemed to have little capacity to harm the triumphant Japanese army. There was also the calibre of the Japanese troops to be considered. D. C. Horton who led the Americans into Guadalcanal probably expressed the opinion of most coastwatchers when he wrote that, while the Japanese soldier was 'of a stoical and phlegmatic temperament', prepared to 'fight



to the death . . . [and] imbued with a fanatical faith', yet he was afraid to work by himself, was terrified of the bush and showed 'no initiative . . . in searching for enemy agents'. 'This is probably because . . . [he was] largely recruited from fishing villages — especially for amphibious work in the South Seas'.<sup>20</sup> It was reported in September that dogs had been brought to Kieta to sniff the coastwatchers out and, when they were allegedly transferred in cages to Buin, Mason's capture seemed inevitable. A Catalina was alleged to have scored a direct hit on the cages in October and killed the lot.<sup>21</sup> Jack Read, however, thinks there were never any such dogs.

Reports like these are unlikely to have terrified Mason, but he was no automaton. He admits in his *Report* to strains and staleness, to being encouraged by Feldt's occasional personal letters and to hearing the results of his work. He was delighted to have a *Sydney Bulletin* dropped to him after eight months without a newspaper. He worried about his sister, Helen Stokie, whose civilian husband had been posted missing in New Britain and he pestered the heedless Naval authorities to allot her 5/- per day from his pay. He was gratified to be advised in November of his promotion to Sub-Lieutenant and to hear over the A.B.C. that he and Jack Read had been given the U.S. Distinguished Service Medal and that Wigley and Otton had won the Silver Star.

Probably the reversals in the Solomons made it necessary for Tashiro to take Mason seriously. On 21 December Mason was ordered out of Buin and told to keep silence for a week, but he was not told why. This endangered his safety. Tom Ebery sent the *boss-boi* from Kekere plantation to Mason under escort. He said the *boss-boi* had contacted the Japanese and told them that he (Ebery) had a transmitter and knew where Mason was. Mason interrogated the *boss-boi* but as he could not prove the charges, he dismissed him 'with dire threats'. Baros of Sirovai, an S.D.A. who was paramount chief of the Luluai area, sent the *boss-boi* into the hills but he almost certainly contacted the Japanese again when he went down to the Christmas festivities at Koromira Mission which the Japanese were raiding at the time. Mason was at Ebery's hideout on Christmas Day when Baros 'called and told us that the Japs had threatened him with death if he refused to join the hunt against us. He assured us he would die rather than give us away. He told us the

paramount chief at Toberoi [near Kieta] and his *tul-tul* were urging the Japs to come after us'. Mason shifted quickly; the 'Black Dogs' (as they called themselves) were loose, some of them for the first time in long trousers, no doubt of Japanese issue. 'I have a poor opinion of the Nips', wrote Mason, 'but a great respect for natives when their quarry is on the run and there are women and loot and blood in the air'. Tashiro's method appeared 'to be to excite the natives to plunder or kill or rape so as to get them outlawed to us and they are afraid to come our way for fear of punishment'.<sup>22</sup>

Mason got out just in time. Baros did not. He lived up to his promise to Mason 'that he would die rather than give us away', he was taken to Kieta and beheaded after a 'deathbed conversion' to Catholicism at the hands of a French priest. Mason saw to it that a small monument to Baros, the 'loyal native', was placed in Kieta after the war.

Mason could not save Tom Ebery. Nor could Eroni Kotosuma, a Fijian Methodist teacher, who was with Ebery when he was surrounded by 'Black Dogs' in the bush. Ebery was too fat and infirm to get far in the scrub. He was handed over to the Japanese, his hands were tied and he was prodded at bayonet point and beaten over the coastal ranges into the Luluai Valley and through the gorges of the Pirias and Abia Rivers. Eventually he collapsed fording the flooded upper reaches of the Mailal. 'Sikin bilong mi leis pinis' — 'My body can't stand any more', said Ebery to his own 'boys'. 'With that', wrote Jack Read, 'he slipped into the swirling current and was taken downstream. It is alleged that the Japanese prevented natives from trying to rescue him. Other natives recovered the body next day; and they buried Tom Ebery beside the Mailal River'.

The Japanese moved south-west after Mason. They were now moving to corral all expatriates in Bougainville. A force of forty troops and sixty 'Black Dogs' converged on Orimai, having cut off Daratui to the north and the coastal plain to the south. They shot up the house in which Mason had slept three nights before but he and his party were now across the range fleeing towards the Siwai. At Siuru on 12 January they seemed to be caught in a pocket, having been on the run and off the air for a fortnight. Mason signalled KEN who ordered him to close his station, abandon equipment and go north to Jack Read. Meticulously Mason hid the valves and other precious parts of his radio and left the bulk of his

equipment in a *sac-sac* hut. In the Siwai the *garamuts* were beating to warn Fr Schlieker that the Japanese were coming. Mason's party moved on to the Puriata separating the Siwai from the then hostile Nagovisi who had been listening to the propaganda from Kieta. They slept in the bush above Sovele Mission and then moved north to the Jaba River where they met Fr Grisward, also in flight. Tashiro was in the Siwai. The Japanese were waiting for them on the west coast, said Grisward. Mason camped on the river and then moved north-east on a direct but unused path to Mainuki in the centre of the island. They scrambled up the slopes of the Crown Prince Range and then down to the Panguna Valley (2400 ft) where the great copper mine is today. Orni, a leader of Moroni village, which was perched dizzily on a knoll in the valley, was thought to be disaffected. Mason's party arrived exhausted at Mainuki just a few hours after four soldiers, whom Read had sent to meet them, had left the village on another track south. A runner was sent after them.

Mason himself, however, did not let up. Wong You was hiding at Korpe on the other side of the range overlooking the broad crescent of Arawa Bay, five miles directly west of the Kieta isthmus. Mason had only a two hour rest, and it was a five hour walk, but Wong You would know what was going on in Kieta. Mason entered the Chinese camp barefoot and unarmed at 10 p.m., talked to Wong for two hours and, so as not to incriminate him, left at midnight to sleep in the bush. At 2 a.m. he was woken and told that the Japanese were on their way from Rorovana. Wong and the other Chinese were captured that morning. Taken before the Officer-in-Charge Wong denied knowledge of Mason's whereabouts and was only saved from death by Tashiro who, while not believing him, told the Commandant, 'This man has known Mason twenty years. You, he has only known a day. You cannot expect him to betray a life-long friend'. Wong was lucky. When the Chinese community behind Numa Numa was routed and forced to scabble nomadically in the hills for food, one trader, Mack Lee, was taken prisoner. He died following torture in which his tongue was cut out and his eyes burnt from their sockets. In one village two Chinese women, a mother and her notably beautiful daughter, were allegedly tied to village posts and raped and defiled until they died.

To avoid being tracked, Mason left his boots off and rushed off into the darkness. He had wanted to see what the Japanese were

doing but he was distrustful of his soldiers. By daylight he was limping badly, having cut his foot on a lawyer vine. He overshot Mainuki at first and then, when he arrived, he found that Read's soldiers had returned, decided not to wait and set off on the Korpe-Atamo track. Wigley and Otton had gone too, expecting to meet Mason. Then, finding the Japanese at Korpe, they had branched off to Atamo. Mason painfully put his boots on and followed. By nightfall he was near Korpe again; he had had nothing to eat and he had scarcely slept in two days. His foot was now so septic that he was frightened to take his boot off. He shivered in the damp, mountain air but, covering himself with banana leaves, he slept soundly, as usual. Next afternoon he reached Atamo. Only a carrier, Kiabi, was there with his rifle and pack. The soldiers and police had gone on with the stores. Mason thought their conduct tantamount to desertion but remarked resignedly in his report that 'their relation to me as a Naval officer had never been properly settled'.

It took Mason three days to cross the range to Asitavi near Numa Numa where he found Fr O'Sullivan with other religious. He had been rescuing nuns from the south before sending them off by American submarine. Bishop Wade now realised how precarious and futile it was for them to stay. Mason skirted Inus plantation where friendly villagers placed him in a canoe and ceremoniously conveyed him to Teop. From there he walked to the comfortable A.I.F. camp at Namatoa where he was welcomed and pressed to stay. He censured the soldiers for clearing out at Atamo.

In fact Mason thought the soldiers were useless and said so. He did not appreciate that, in spite of their inefficiency, they could have been a deterrent to Japanese search parties. Mason did not stay with them but made the two days westward climb to Read's camp. 'He arrived', writes Read, 'only in what he stood up in — shorts and singlet — plus haversack and revolver at belt; and barefooted!'<sup>23</sup> Read's camp was so well concealed that not even Mason had been able to find it unaided. In contrast to the soldiers' outfit, Mason was also impressed by its 'austerity': 'a couple of thatched lean-to shelters: bedding down was on a litter of sticks raised a few inches clear of the damp ground, and somewhat softened by layers of leaves; the bare furnishings of table and seating similarly improvised from bush material'.<sup>24</sup> Mason settled in to get to know Read, whom he had only met briefly a year before, and to heal his wounds.

Mason was now under Read's command. In late March and April 1943 he supervised the evacuation of Bishop Wade and a number of priests and nuns. The original A.I.F. detachment left too but reinforcements arrived. Mason himself was supposed to leave but arrangements had been cancelled at the last moment. Read and he had to blood the new arrivals. Then fresh instructions came. Mason was instructed to try to re-establish another post in the south. Read had to insist, however, that he take soldiers with him. Lieut. George Stevenson, who had been a cheery young *kiap* in Buin before the war, was in charge of them and to stiffen their fibre Read had also allotted to them the dauntless Fijian Methodist, Usaia Sotutu, who had once translated *A Hundred Short Stories of the Life of Jesus Christ* into the Petats language.<sup>25</sup> Sotutu had been of inestimable value to Read, maintaining an espionage system with villagers of West Buka and 'in the course of his religious duties among the natives he preached sermons the text of which was loyalty to the British Empire'. He had risked his own life and that of his family until their evacuation in March 1943, refusing a personal offer of safety from the Japanese C.O. in return for support, and rescuing on his own initiative a party of A.I.F. coastwatchers cut off by the enemy on east Buka in April. In spite of Read's efforts he still had no military status.

Once again the A.I.F. caused problems. At the first staging post they interfered with, of all things, the new radio which Mason had personally packed. He found out later that the vibrator had been blown and the spare one was missing. At Aita there was 'some jealousy and the troops showed some reluctance to hand over stores'. They split up into two groups: Mason, Stevenson, Sotutu, ten black policemen and William McNicol (a mixed-race man from Buin) went ahead with wireless and rations; the eight commandos were to follow. As it was impossible to move secretly on land with such a large force, they struck arduously across the north shoulder (5000 ft) of Mt Balbi in the direction of Korai on the west coast and then travelled south in canoes which Sotutu had resourcefully maintained further north. Because of reconnaissance planes they could travel only at night, using sails to catch the land breezes down to Puriata. By then their food was almost gone and the Japanese were only a few miles away. They went inland to a hill called Mom,

surrounded by a mosquito-ridden swamp where they waited for the commandos and a new vibrator. Instead a whole unwieldy transmitter arrived by carrier followed by the commandos, and then the supplies. Mason was exasperated by their conduct:

These soldiers had been playing ducks and drakes with our supplies and having a glorious time along the coast. Under the eyes of the Jap pilots these raw troops had been joyriding in native canoes, shooting up fish with hand grenades, and firing off their rifles without need.

Only one of the three signallers' '208' sets had been kept dry and workable. A month's supply of rations had been consumed by these hand-picked men in ten days. They had broken every rule in the book. They had to be 'dressed down' — by Stevenson and himself — and they were put 'on short commons for a while' but

we never trusted them out of our sight again. To give the lads their due, they were later to stand up well under fire so long as they had a leader in sight, but there was not a leader amongst them. They were a perpetual worry to Stevenson and after his death to me.

For a month they foraged (McNicol particularly) and lived on taro and vegetables, a little fish, an occasional pig and salt made from sea-water. They injected some villagers for yaws. Then a Catalina dropped supplies from 2000 not 500 ft and only two chutes were recovered (but they would be luckier next time). The Japanese knew they were there, were only a night behind them and harried them with continuous patrols. At their Mosigetta HQ in the Nagovisi the Japanese lined up the 'big men' of Siwai, Nagovisi and Baitsi and forced them to witness the execution of villagers who had helped Stevenson during his plunge inland to find a camp. The locals were now fully aroused against Mason's party. Mason planned to cross the watershed of the Crown Prince Range near Mt Takuan and make for the upper reaches of the Luluai Valley. He also knew of a reserve base there for, in his resourceful way, he had made several trips the previous year to the crater-lake of Lololu, 6000 ft above sea level. It was desolate and cold but there was enough hardwood to make a raft if the 'Cat' could drop in floating stores. Mason found a highly defensible ridge on 24 June for Stevenson and his party and, crossing the range at 6000 ft, camped south-west of Moru.

On Saturday 26 June while they were taking an after-dinner nap, Stevenson's party was unexpectedly attacked. One of three tracks,

the one where the villagers had hidden their women, had been left unguarded. Stevenson was nearest in an open shelter of banana leaves. He was roused by a shot, reached for his Austen gun but was shot through the heart. Sotutu immediately rushed to cover Stevenson until his gun jammed. Then in a hail of fire he tried to drag Stevenson free until he realised his officer was dead. In the mêlée five Japanese were killed, three by the black policeman, two by soldiers, but the party had to flee with nothing but its arms.

Mason was now in acute danger. He felt he could have kept moving, foraging and eluding the Japanese but the cumbersome '3B' teleradio impeded his progress. KEN advised him that the next supplies would be dropped in Keriaka on the north-west coast, three weeks march away, back from whence they had come! The whole situation was impossible. He was instructed to turn back then and take his radio to Keriaka. He would have preferred to cache it and concentrate on saving the eight soldiers and the rest of the party but he obeyed instructions. On 29 June they set out. On the 30th they were ambushed at Meridau.

Mason had given explicit instructions on how to get the radio away in such an emergency. With part of the troop (particularly Sotutu and the black police) he held off the enemy, but those behind became a rabble. As he retired he came across first the abandoned battery charger lying on the track, and then the foodbox with their only rations and the tobacco needed for buying food. Mason collapsed 'with rage and exhaustion'. He found the carriers an hour later huddled in a gorge. One commando NCO who bore a skull-and-crossbones tattoo on his chest had dropped his pack and bolted. 'This pack', noted Mason, 'contained many bloodthirsty props, including a famous Commando combination of knuckle duster and knife'. This chap was also in the habit of scrounging extra food from Sotutu and the police, throwing his white weight about in the process.

More carelessness and further ambushes followed. On 2 July Mason just managed to extricate his party by hiding in a small watercourse until dark. He attached some phosphorescent fungus to each person to keep the party together and steered them by his luminous compass through the rain. By 3 July only Mason had kept his pack and, as they had had no food for twenty-four hours, he eked out his last emergency ration among them. Fortunately they found taro in a village garden that afternoon and 'robbed' it. That

night they climbed through lacerating bamboo and lawyer vine to a precipice where each man scooped out a step to prevent himself rolling down towards the fires of the Japanese below. On 5 July they passed through Tobruata and on the 6th shot a one-eyed pig, caught another alive and had their first meat for a week. While they were feasting, a missing carrier came in with a lost pack and a note:

My dear Ansacs: We all admire your bravery. You have done your best for Great Britain. You are advised to give yourselves up. The Japanese are not cruel people, as the lying propaganda of the United States would tell you. You will die of hunger in the jungle. You will never reach your friends in Buka, as all the jungle trails are watched by the Japanese soldiers and the sharper eyes of the natives.

Commander of the Japanese Army.

This note actually raised morale: at least 'the friends in Buka' were still free. They needed this boost for the long march ahead. This time they could not avoid Keriaka's limestone plateau. 'Appalling', wrote Mason in a rare complaint.

Every day the going was hard and monotonous. Despite weariness we had to climb again and again to a height of 5,000 feet, every now and then plunging downwards to the dry watercourses between and far below the peaks. Having no blankets we slept at night alongside the fires, the smoke drying our wet clothes.

At least the hill men were co-operative. Some of these villagers had never before seen a white man, though they had fortunately heard of the war, the Japanese and his 'atrocities'. While they dared not *give* food, they let Mason *take* it on hearing he was 'English'. By now Mason was 'very thin but, apart from festering sores and scratches, fairly fit', but seven of the eight soldiers were in bad shape with fevers, abscesses and ulcers. The tattooed commando, however, 'who had always been a bother to us travelling was as fit, if not fitter' than Mason. On 19 July Mason reached the Keriaka camp alone. The others were guided in next day. On 20 July KEN completed arrangements for evacuation and on the 24th U.S.S. *Guardfish* slid into the coast after dark: rubber boats took off sixty persons in all. The priorities as determined first by Mason and then supplemented by Sub-Lieut. Keenan were:

... first Keenan, the sick soldiers and the Chinese whom we had picked up; next the fit soldiers and the police-boys and last of all Sgt. Day and myself. Keenan, on reaching the submarine, arranged for eleven additional loyal natives to be taken aboard and a boat was sent back to the beach for them.



The submarine dropped Mason at Gaudalcanal where he and Read 'were given a cordial and embarrassingly warm reception by the United States Forces'. Mason's first report ends with succinct pride:

From Lunga I travelled by air to Noumea, where I was summoned to the presence of Admiral Halsey and his senior staff officers. Admiral Halsey praised highly the work of RAN coastwatchers and said that the intelligence forwarded from Bougainville Island by Lieut. Read and myself had saved Guadalcanal and that Guadalcanal had saved the South Pacific.

Mason went home to Sydney on leave. Fred Archer, who was there to meet him, writes:<sup>26</sup>

Helen and one other sister were there also and we all went back to Lane Cove where the family lived. He greeted his Mother as though he had just come back after a weekend somewhere, instead of having returned from a job of having taken a hand in re-shaping history in the Pacific!

He reported again for duty on 26 November 1943 'feeling very fit'. He was 'overjoyed' to learn from the Supervising Intelligence Officer at Brisbane that he was to return to Bougainville where the Americans had recently opened a bridgehead at Torokina. This second term of warfare, however, proved intensely frustrating. He was told explicitly by Lieut.-Comdr Pryce Jones that 'he was not his choice for Torokina' and he was obviously regarded as an unorthodox 'irregular'.

Eventually he took an expedition of black scouts to the Siwai via the Treasury Islands. It turned out to be only a partial success. The preliminaries were a mess; the transmitter failed; the scouts who were bushmen fell ill in the rough Siwai surf. When he got to the offshore islands he was astonished to find that another man had been given a posting he had wanted on Treasury. With the introspection that always stopped short of false outrage and bluster, he admitted to being 'a bit envious':

I had begun to think I owned Bougainville Straits . . . and believed if I was not wanted at Torokina, at least I could have been given . . . [this] post. Had I not lived in the vicinity for 29 years and roamed its waters constantly . . . ? Had I not — on my own advice — been sent to overlook these straits in April 1942 and reported all enemy ships in this area from the Coral Sea Battle onwards? Had I not given KEN on request from U.S. submarine commanders the routes taken by enemy

ships in this area, which resulted, I am told, in the torpedoing of four large A.K. off Oema Island?

Mason's account of this sortie is utterly matter-of-fact. It is surprising then to read the judgment of an original Guadalcanal coast-watcher, Lieut.-Cmdr F. A. Rhoades: 'This was a most hazardous operation and I consider that Paul was probably the only man who could have done the job. He was lucky ever to be picked up again'.<sup>27</sup> The immediate outcome for Mason, however, was a bout of 'primary atypical pneumonia' from which he nearly died and after which he was invalided back to Australia in March 1944. The rumour spread among Bougainvilleans that he was dead.

Mason spent 'six happy months' at H.M.A.S. *Kuttubul* in Sydney and then joined H.M.A.S. *Moreton* in early October for Allied Intelligence Bureau duties. He went to training camps in Queensland to prepare for his next posting which he thought would be in Buin.

He left Brisbane for Torokina on 30 October 1944. At this time A.N.Z.A.C. troops were relieving the Americans, who were needed for MacArthur's inexorable drive towards Japan. At their peak in November 1943 Japanese troops on Bougainville probably numbered 65,000; by October 1944 they had been reduced to fewer than 40,000 through battles, bombings, disease and starvation.<sup>28</sup> The bulk of these were in the south where they had to rely on their own base gardens and on local labour and supplies for sustenance. They were cut off and could have been safely left to torpid attrition until the inevitable defeat of Japan. However, the Australian government, seeking some honour in conquest and wanting to ensure post-war control, decided to push the Japanese to the last ditch of their conquered soil.<sup>29</sup> Mason expressed no opinion in his report about the sagacity of this decision, though it was controversial at the time and put him in danger. Would Peaceful Paul have been let down by victory through attrition? Did he feel that events should somehow be rounded out, that he personally had some unfinished business in Bougainville? He hoped Wong You was still alive in the Chinese compound and there were others, white, black and yellow, needing reassurance and release. And there was the relish, not for bloodshed, but for intrepid adventure.

Mason's new D.S.I.O., Flt-Lieut. 'Robbie' Robinson, R.A.A.F., sent him on 29 November on a patrol to Kieta, the home of the 'Black Dogs' who had chased him from the Luluai Valley eighteen

months before and caused the death of Tom Ebery. The fact that Mason was not dead, as rumoured, seems to have impressed many locals with his indestructibility. With him now was Roubai, a Nasioi Adventist from Rumba behind Arawa Plantation. Roubai had taken charge of and hidden a box belonging to Mason when he was chased from Daratui in April 1942. Roubai became a daring and deadly partisan, fighting, it was said, with his bush knife in one hand and his Bible in the other. They passed through villages where Mason had earlier been betrayed and ambushed. Now the locals were friendly because they felt they could trust the Australians to win the war, while the Japanese had become desperate and dangerous. At no stage in his reports did Mason moralise about village pragmatism; he accepted it as natural even when it put his life in jeopardy. Roubai, returning from a forward patrol in the Aropa Valley, reported a battle being fought between villagers and Japanese and urged Mason to hurry to Sipuru on the east side of the Crown Prince to give the locals encouragement and advice. Mason camped on the ridge 800 ft above the village. Two village leaders came to him seeking permission to kill fifty Japanese who were living off their gardens. They could do it easily enough if they could do it treacherously. Mason said they could do it if they gave the Japanese a chance to surrender first. This must have been incomprehensible, as Mason came to realise. On one occasion he scolded a villager for not bringing in a Japanese alive. 'He was no good; he had a broken leg', was the reply.

The Japanese were particularly exasperated by the black guerrillas. During one battle at Orami (17 December) they taunted the scouts: 'Why don't you come out and fight like Americans instead of fighting from cover'. The scouts shouted back: 'We are not Americans; we are hunters of opossums'. The normally brave Japanese were now in an agony of fear. Mason reported on Christmas Day:<sup>30</sup>

Already the Jap has to go digging food and carrying it with a rifle in his hands . . . that is just what the kanakas want. The Nip puts the rifle down and gets a few feet away from it and he is a dead Nip . . . The natives are certainly giving the Nips the shits. They are more frightened of the natives than they are of our troops.

However, Mason took no revenge on those locals who had led the 'Black Dogs'. On capture he sent them to Torokina for their

own safety and because the 'natives . . . are likely to believe we will forgive anything if I keep . . . [them]'. He sent in

the Jap native 'Number One'. He was to be King of Bougainville . . . This bloke 'bears a charmed life' so they say. He has committed every crime known to justify the Sons of Heaven's pleasure. Does not look so bad but the coons here blame the deaths of their wives (sometimes by his hands), besides many betrayals to him. They will lynch him with pleasure.

He had a thoughtful grasp of guerrilla tactics and was modest enough to believe that 'given supplies and elbow room' this sort of fighting was not as dangerous as being in the front line. 'We worked on the same principle with the natives. He who lives to run away lives to run another day . . . I believed that the harder we hit the enemy now the harder it would be for him to attack us'.

One deft task for Roubai was to blow up an enemy dump and, at the same time, abduct a German priest who was, Mason thought, not so much 'anti-British as naively pro-Japanese'. The priest was 'pacifying' villagers so that they would not support the guerrillas. Mason had no doubt that the Adventist Roubai 'had personal reasons for getting the priest away'. The dump was behind Arawa Plantation in 'thickly infested enemy country', but not far from Roubai's own village. He found the priest sitting on a log outside the dump guarded by nine soldiers. He got some locals to engage their attention and then, telling his men to leave their rifles behind, rushed in with them armed with knives and axes. Eight soldiers were killed instantly; the ninth was shot, while escaping, with a bow and arrow. 'Then we made him savvy', said one scout, 'In spite of sixteen guards, the dump was also successfully exploded. When, on the way back to Mason, three more unsuspecting Japanese were killed, the priest expostulated with his captors 'that they must cease this practice' and hand him over to Mason first or take him back to the Japs. Obviously he retained the habit of command. He later expressed disapproval of the Americans to Mason. Did Mason know that they 'were short of pilots and that they were using women pilots?' These females had actually been shot down! He would not hear of Japanese atrocities against the villagers. He had other concerns: 'Some natives would have to be dealt with after the Japanese had gone'. In particular there was a Buin man who, after having been put in charge of some 'native nuns', had married one of them and was still living with her. Mason did not deride the priest; he had

a genuine feeling for the 'old hands', the island eccentrics. He sent the priest off to Torokina with a little advice not to tell the authorities there that he could have left the enemy any time he had wanted to. Mason radioed Torokina that he had 'rescued' him.

More satisfying had been the liberation of the Chinese in December. Mason sent Wong You an undated, unaddressed, unsigned note telling him to escape. Wong knew the handwriting and replied with only the signature, 'Inus Store'. On the night of the 18th he dug up his cache of kerosene and lanterns, succeeded in breaking the compound fence and lit the path of his refugees along a shallow stream to freedom. All night and next day without food eleven men, five women and eighteen children 'all in a pitiful condition through overwork and starvation' (their ration had been 12 lbs of *kaukau* per week), climbed the range with Wong in front intoning, 'The Jap take the hindmost'. The one Chinese who did not escape was killed by the Japanese. On the second day out Mason had food waiting for them. One elderly Kieta merchant, Ah Hang, had to be left by the road when he could not keep up. His wife, however, did so in spite of her tiny bare stunted feet which, as was the custom of her class and generation, had been bound in infancy. Ah Hang had to be left behind and, in defiance of the Confucian rule of filial piety, Wong advised Ah Hang's eighteen year old son not to stay behind. 'I told Ah Hang', said Wong later, 'you are an old man; your life is behind you; your son's life lies ahead. Let him look after his old mother'. Wong's brother also lagged behind. Wong arrived in Mason's camp at 2 p.m. on 23 December, carrying his baby son. His face was drawn and covered with tinea, but he was as genial and humorous as ever. Mason sent some men back for Wong's brother and Ah Hang. The old man arrived on Christmas Day. He is said to have lived till he was well over ninety, dying in Hong Kong in 1971.

A Wirraway flew over on Christmas Eve with a 'storepedo' laden 'with turkey, ham and Christmas Cheer of all kinds' but Mason, practical as ever, had been having trouble with supplies and remarked tartly: 'We were very grateful for the thought but would have appreciated it better if loaded with rice and meat for our starving Chinese and natives'. Still he had Wong to Christmas dinner. Refugees, however, were a grave problem. Mason sent off 200 Bougainvilleans with the Chinese to Torokina, to the embarrassment of A.N.G.A.U. who already had as many as they

could handle. The Japanese had reduced their gardens; in some areas there was general starvation. 'Some black people died on the road; others left their children to die in the bush. One little naked emaciated girl we found was given to natives to care for'.

In spite of the constant danger and adventure of guerrilla fighting, the war in Bougainville was declining into an agony of attrition in which the villagers as well as the Japanese were victims. Mason continued to curse the brash and inexperienced soldiers sent to help him, to complain of inaccurate, even 'indiscriminate' bombers, and to wrangle with the D.S.I.O. over the dropping of supplies which were either too sparse or very occasionally came in a gargantuan glut. And he was never sent to Buin despite his requests. Perhaps it was not altogether surprising that at the end of May 1945, without notice, Mason was told that he was going on leave and that his replacement would be on his way from Torokina next day. He was 'very disappointed that now the place was safe and our forces well-organised, it should be given to someone else'. Peaceful Paul had, however, more than done his job. His guerrilla operations have been described as 'without parallel'. With never more than seven, and generally only three Europeans, he had built up a partisan force which terrorised the Japanese and scored an official body count of 2288 enemy troops, twice as many as any similar force. And Mason was not one to boast about killing people. It was characteristic of him to end his report not with a hint of his own indestructibility (in which, however, he is alleged to have believed) nor with any rodomontade about the justice of the Allied cause. On the contrary, he paid simple tributes to his commandos, his black partisans, and the telegraphist at the receiving end of his reports, and he concluded: 'It goes without saying we could hardly have had a better D.S.I.O. than Squadron Leader R. A. Robinson, R.A.A.F., in spite of our many differences'.

Fred Archer recalled Mason's attitude to his decorations:

One day in Sydney — at his home in Lane Cove — he showed me his medals and his citations. He remarked 'These were given to me for doing a job I liked and was happy to do. They don't mean much to me but it has pleased my Mother that I was given them — and they do show that I did my best on the job!' The citation from General McArthur[sic] was generous and cordial — as from one fighting man to another — but that from the British Navy was poor, I thought. The stiff white paper was headed 'The Admiralty, Whitehall', plainly lettered in black, and the citation read (as I recall), 'I am commanded by the Lords of the Ad-

miralty to inform you that His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to award you the Distinguished Service Cross for good work in the Far East. Signed: J. Dupez Secretary.' In the left lower corner there was the name of Chief Petty Officer [*sic*] P. Mason. The signature could well have been 'J. Dopey' as it was not very plain to read. Helen told me that Paul was so disgusted with it and 'the Far East' that he tore the citation in halves and dropped it — 'but Helen retrieved it and put Scotch tape to bind the halves'.<sup>31</sup>

On 31 December 1951 Paul Mason, D.S.C., was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Commander R.A.N.V.R. (Special Branch). That did please him.

It was 1947 before Mason began to clear Inus plantation again. The coconuts were choked by years of undergrowth. He was now a celebrity; this helped to restabilise his life and mend his fortune. Associated Plantations gave him shares. He was now a man of achievement, one to be consulted by those who sought knowledge of the islands. He became a member of the district advisory council. In his mid-forties he now thought of marriage. Perhaps it was a lack of finesse with women which prevented his marrying earlier. Whatever it was he made an unorthodox if frontal attack on the problem after meeting Noelle Taylor, an Arts graduate in psychology and a journalist with the *Daily Telegraph*, in a Sydney restaurant. After a few meetings he gave her an engagement ring and told her she could decide in her own time whether to wear it or not. 'He had a constructive attitude to everything', she said. They were married in November 1947 and had a daughter, Ingrid (1952) who became an actress, and a son, Paul (1954). He was extremely devoted to his children.

Bougainville reverted to being the 'Cinderella district', luxuriant but 'forgotten'.<sup>32</sup> For some time the map on the wall of the Administrator, J. K. Murray, omitted Bougainville. The Administration was tardy in restoring services. Until the early fifties, there were not enough ships for the copra;<sup>33</sup> roads fell into disrepair; it was impossible to produce to capacity; there was no regular plane service; in 1947-8 an airmail letter posted in Australia in November could arrive in March; radio services often broke down in the new district headquarters on Sohano Island in Buka Passage;<sup>34</sup> by 1953 the only new European industry to have been started since the war was a sawmill at Mabiri. The M.V. *Malaita* was reported as 'edging her way through unlighted and unmarked

reefs to precarious anchorages off isolated plantations where she laboriously loads — with the aid of one decrepit launch and maybe four surf boats — perhaps 100 tons of copra at each place'.<sup>35</sup> Mason became one of a group of planters who launched themselves as the Bougainville Shipping Company.

More ominously, the indigenous population was disaffected. In many places their gardens had been devastated and their numbers reduced by disease and starvation. A severe taro blight had added to their sufferings and the substitution of *kaukau* had modified the traditional rhythm of village life. War compensation moneys were paid even along the Kieta coast (as Mason wryly observed) but too often it quickly found its way into the tills of Chinese trade stores. Cargo cults persisted; one man constituted himself a Central Bank and secured some credulous depositors.<sup>36</sup> The war had destroyed much of the white man's prestige and expectations of a new deal went unfulfilled. Roubai, with his hard-earned Military Medal and his faultlessly clean village,<sup>37</sup> took the advice of agricultural officers (and the example of the Japanese) and tried to grow rice. He reaped and bagged it in time but the white man's promised winnowing and husking machine failed to arrive. A year later it was still there rotting in the bags.<sup>38</sup> Villagers were urged to grow peanuts to improve their diet but they wanted a cash crop; the peanuts could not be marketed. Cabbages grew 'like weeds' in Kongara; Qantas Airways struck a special rate for them; but they were eventually left on the airstrip. The Moresby stores could make money faster by marking up vegetables from Australia.<sup>39</sup> However, what the planters found most disturbing was that 'Bukas' became more and more reluctant to work for them, except on the most casual basis. The reputation of 'Bukas' as the 'trusties' of P.N.G., was changing to one of non-co-operation.

Because of their esteem for him, Mason was one of the last planters to lose his 'Buka' labourers but he was so preoccupied with the problem that he wrote two articles on it for the *Pacific Islands Monthly*. They show him as a man of independent, perhaps 'tory radical' views, but he failed to be incisive or to challenge the status quo:<sup>40</sup>

What have we done to these people? . . . it is their morale that mostly has gone. That enthusiasm for things that really make life worth living: pride in achievement; pride of possession; pride in things and position honestly won in the strife of life . . . Few villages are better off than



they were thirty years ago . . . In the main they have outdone their mentors in seeking security and leisure without work.

Although he was not one of those who denigrated J. K. Murray — in fact, Mason said, he had been ‘a Chifley supporter’ — he thought that ‘great harm’ had been done during the ‘raw inexperienced early days’ of the post-war administration and that the Department of District Services and Native Affairs had failed to provide leadership and involvement. He referred to the ‘smugness’ of the *kiaps* ‘in their own achievements’:<sup>41</sup>

Few [*kiaps*] will even believe that the conditions that I refer to prevailed 15 years ago. Some even believe their own reports. It is not words on paper sent to Moresby that will put heart back into the people . . . Young cadets should get out on patrol instead of doing clerical work in District Office. They are meant to learn about villagers not about the Europeans around a District Office. Rushed patrols teach little and learn less in the rush from village to village — apparently to collect data to include in the report of the patrol.

Mason was against doles and handouts, except for essential welfare services such as education and health. He thought young single, but not married men should be placed on work contracts. He favoured a direct tax to foster a sense of responsibility in villagers and make them work. Today his ideas seem self-interested and ‘paternalistic’ but he genuinely feared that the ‘Bukas’, ‘a moral people’, would deteriorate both in numbers and self-respect, like the Australian Aborigines over whom Australia ‘should hang its head in shame’.<sup>42</sup> Twenty years after these articles he thought that, in view of their relative affluence, ‘Bukas’ ‘would be foolish’ to take on external work. In 1951 he spoke of himself as a ‘Territorian’ and of the ‘Bukas’ as ‘our people’ who, he felt, should be ‘taught to adapt themselves to their changing life . . . to keep their own or our moral laws as may suit their condition; so that, with the loss of their own culture, they can take on another that works for the good of themselves and their land’.<sup>43</sup>

In 1958 Mason was asked by the District Commissioner, K. C. Atkinson, for his views on Native Land Ownership, Native Land Settlement and Soldier Settlement. His three short statements, riddled with bad spelling, carry no scent of the ‘winds of change’ which were gathering impetus in the Third World and would eventually breeze through Papua New Guinea. He supported Soldier Settlement: ‘The small Australian settler is of much more value to

the country than the big foreign companies, whose only concern is to drain dividends out of the country . . . The settler: the Territories become their country and its welfare is their welfare and the welfare of its native inhabitants'.

He was against segregated holdings: 'What has U.S.A. done for their Indians by segregation? What has Australia done for its Aborigines by its policy of segregation?' He rejected the 'communal state' and the 'ruling, of a subject people by a master race' in favour of 'a free way of life'.

Let's be frank. Most of the progress natives have made in the territories has been done with a not-so-well padded big stick behind them. But it is doubtful if we can continue to do this. That is if the aim is to give them freedom and self-government, as is said to be the goal. They cannot be protected people and have freedom at the same time . . . Most of the coconut groves owned by the natives of New Guinea were planted by natives, because they were forced to plant them or go to jail . . .

It is not a simple problem . . . to get free people to develop their country it is necessary to develop a competitive spirit. Every native community, that I have known, has had the 'keeping up with the Jones' trait more developed than ours. In different communities it takes different twists, such as giving bigger and better feasts than your neighbour. Communities have the urge to do something bigger and better than the other neighbouring communities. I see no reason why this virtue, or failing, cannot be used for their own advancement. If they had for neighbours European plantations or other progressive people in their midst, with good leaders, they would copy and emulate them. Therefore, give encouragement to those who will develop their own land, and land to those who are prepared to develop land given them.

In old age Social Darwinism still obscured the lesson of his own contemporary history: that under Bougainville's plantation system no local villager had conspicuously made good. So he could write with both hope and resignation: 'Natives do not differ fundamentally from ourselves except by the environment of culture and climate. Therefore only a small number can be expected to make good. How many of us given land, have the self-discipline to make good? Many of us would prefer to work for a wage. This work would be available, if plantations of non-indigenes were established nearby'.<sup>44</sup> In 1961 Mason contested the New Guinea election for the reconstructed Legislative Council. His basic motive was to oppose the United Progress Party, P.N.G.'s first political party, 'although he had no argument with the party's specific policy'.<sup>45</sup> He simply opposed parties in principle, thinking them un-

democratic and likely to favour dictation from Port Moresby.<sup>46</sup> His program included: improvement in conditions and rights of naturalisation for Chinese and 'Mixed Bloods'; better communications linking all plantations and outposts; fairer distribution of funds to more productive districts; formation of a civil defence corps of Europeans, Chinese and 'Mixed Bloods'; encouragement of all to take up land (even government officers still in administration employment) and government loans for this purpose. He praised Australia for its achievements 'but said it would be wasted effort if nothing else was accelerated but education. Education without the other necessary requirements would only ruin the country'.<sup>47</sup> He defeated W. J. Meehan 194 votes to 125. Only 18 per cent of eligible Europeans voted throughout P.N.G. but in his electorate 333 out of 422 did so.<sup>48</sup> His personal popularity was one key to success. However, at the end of the first session of 'Legco' it was reported that 'he was still wondering how he got himself into it'.<sup>49</sup>

Mason was not a success as a legislator. He spoke infrequently and then briefly, although his relations with other M.L.C.s (particularly indigenous ones) were cordial. He congratulated the government on the arrest of the Hahalis Welfare rioters on Buka Island in 1961 and harked back to the murder of 'Wee Bobbie' Scott. In fact he had resigned from the district advisory council because the government took no notice of the planters' warnings.<sup>50</sup> He was appalled by the release of the Hahalis rioters on their appeals and said that 'the people outside Hahalis had lost faith in the Department of Native Affairs and think it biased in favour of Hahalis'.<sup>51</sup> A poet expressed the problem. He said, ' . . . "and the wildest dreams of Kew are the facts of Katmandu and the crimes of Clapham are chaste in Martaban" . . . in Port Moresby there are many lawyers who looked up statutory books and believed that justice was codified there'.<sup>52</sup> There would be more trouble 'unless the people have material progress and are mentally occupied'.<sup>53</sup> He opposed the 'host of protective laws which are not only discriminating but are hindering' the freedom of the local people. 'Do we want them to be free', he asked, 'or do we want them to be tied to an Australian Administration's imposed apron strings?'<sup>54</sup> He welcomed the coming of the House of Assembly in 1964 with indigenes 'having a bigger voice in their affairs'.<sup>55</sup> His was, however, a respected not a persuasive voice.

He accepted the intrusion of Conzinc Rio Tinto of Australia into the Panguna Valley but not without regret that such destructive progress was 'necessary'. He tackled Percy Chatterton in the pages of *Pacific Islands Monthly* after the forthright columnist had declared that in the early days of colonisation Papua New Guineans did not understand they were selling the freehold rather than the usufruct of the land. If this was so, what on earth was the London Missionary Society doing at the time? Keeping out of politics, replied Chatterton, as they were always being told to do. Mason, however, had the last word as he referred learnedly to a disagreement between Lawes and Romilly in the 1880s.<sup>56</sup> Mason also objected to Chatterton's support of Paul Lapun, the South Bougainville leader, in his fight for mining royalties for local landholders.<sup>57</sup>

Rental of \$2 per acre per year for land (that is not arable) used for prospecting seems good rent to me. The few people involved will not need to work for a living while the prospecting goes on. Oh, for a good leader who could bind these people together, and lead them safely through shoals that lie ahead, and not divide them.

On the other hand he was, like other planters, alarmed at the acquisition of 'Kip' McKillop's Arawa Plantation for the new mining town. Perhaps the success of the Rorovanas and Arawas in fighting for higher compensation<sup>58</sup> seemed more sensible after that for, in 1971, he conceded that the administration had been 'too mean on compensation'.

Mason's last twenty years were obviously contented and prosperous. In general until the late 1960s copra and cocoa (in which industry he was a pioneer in Bougainville) yielded profitably. He eventually recruited Highland labourers and became an admirer of the Chimbus, whom he employed on his plantation and in his house. He and his wife initiated Buka Stores, a Highlands enterprise, which included a chalet, Chimbu Lodge. He continued to alarm and amuse his family by his improvisations. When horses or pigs could not be unloaded from a ship, he would swim with the horses and carry the pigs. When his boat caught fire near home, he insisted on sailing into shore in a cloud of smoke and flame. When a labourer's wife had her arm almost severed in a domestic fight, he stuck it together with moulding plaster. He was a member of the Imperial Services Club and the Returned Soldiers League but was not a frequenter of clubs or a waver of banners. He turned up at the

Anzac march and kept contact with friends in the U.S. Marines. His life style was generous but not flamboyant. It was his wife, no doubt, who gave their house its almost rococo air: the thatched patio, bamboo arches, the woven *sac-sac* walls, white floor tiles, the high fan-backed cane chairs and the white colonnade along the wing of bedrooms. The garden, which is bright with crotons, orchids and hibiscus, seems to extend from the house rather than merely surround it. It was a contrast to the dour circumstances of Mason's earlier days but Mason realised that this symbiotic European enclave life was passing.

On the day of his disabling heart attack he wrote this note:

As all no doubt know, Papua New Guinea is on the verge of self-government. We do not expect the pattern will be any different to any other emerging nation. Changing their dependence on the small colonist and accepting the dominance of the big world companies [*sic*]. But we all have to learn the hard way in life.

It will not be long before the public servants and missionaries, many of whom have dedicated their lives to the people of this country, are no longer wanted but the grants from the Australian taxpayer will still be needed unless handouts are available from elsewhere.

It was the same month as the new Somare government was formulating its Eight-Point Plan for self-reliance and indigenous control. Later that day Mason went out to the airstrip with his daughter to exercise the horses. He came back and said, 'I think I overdid it'. He insisted on sitting up in the plane which took him to Arawa hospital so that he could see the Bougainville coast. Eventually he was transferred to Australia, where he died some weeks later on 31 December 1972 with a tropical flower in his hand. His funeral service was performed firstly by the Methodist Naval chaplain in Brisbane, the panegyric being given by the Catholic Father Lestrangle. At Kieta another service was held at St Michael's. Roubai and other black comrades were there. His remains lie under a cairn in an arbour in the garden at Inus.

A year later Roubai sat on a log in his village on the outskirts of the graceless new town of Arawa as he gave an interview. He was lean and alert but seemed very grey as he recalled, as a boy of perhaps ten 'Christmases', the Australian detachment steaming into Kieta in 1914. There were a number of Adventist Highlanders working for him and living in his village. There was no evident feeling against 'redskins' here. Roubai had been 'loyal' to the ad-

ministration even when most Nasioi were adamant against the copper mine, the land acquisitions and integration with P.N.G. He was hardly concerned that a 'loyal native' would seem, to many *évolué*, to be an 'Uncle Tom'. Only gradually did he realise that he was being tempted to express some reservation about Mason. Yes, he had visited Inus but, no, he had never been invited to sit down to dinner there. It was unimportant; he had other things to do at the nearby Adventist Mission anyway. What Roubai insisted on emphasising, however, was that during the war Mason had always been the last to eat after sharing his food with his black comrades, that he had never shirked a risk or squandered a local life, that he had cared for their wounds and diseases and taken particular care of their women and hungry children. He did not mention that Mason had sought no vengeance on collaborators. Roubai might have been saying that you cannot judge one generation by the standards of the next and, as he looked thoughtfully at the lustral stream nearby, he insisted that Mason had been a *gutpela masta tru*.

## The Leahy Family

Christopher Ashton

From the time when white men first walked into the Central Highland valleys of New Guinea, the area's history has been linked with the Leahy or, since World War II, Collins and Leahy clan. From Kainantu to Goroka to Chimbu and west to Mount Hagen the first generation of Leahy brothers and their Collins and Leahy nephews have made their mark upon the Highlands in plantations, trade stores, taverns, trucking, coffee factories, butcher shops and timber mills. So many members does the clan involve and so complex are its kinship ties, that outsiders regard it with a mixture of awe and bafflement, while the combined holdings of its members inevitably invite envy and resentment. Speaking at the 1972 Waigani seminar on the subject of expatriate domination of the economies of developing countries, the French agronomist René Dumont singled out the clan as 'exploiters of highland peasants'.

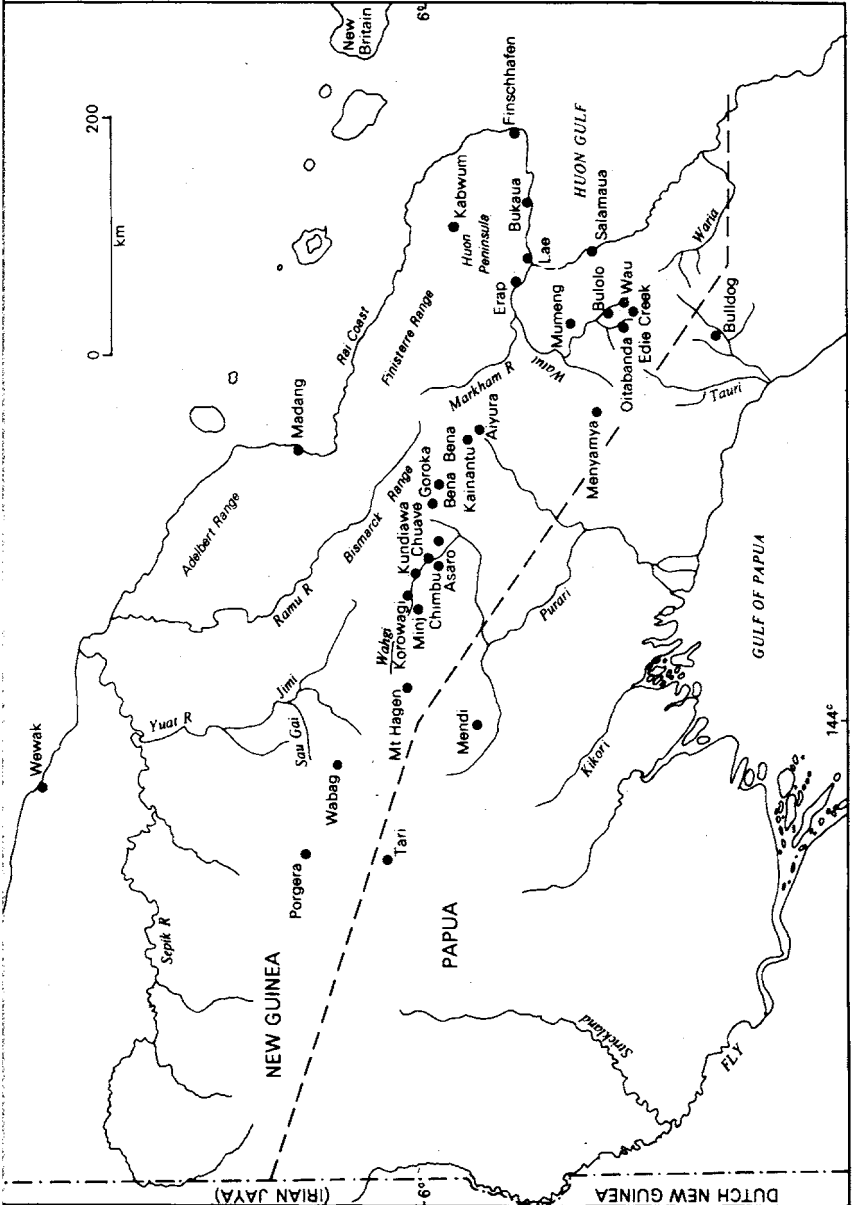
Here we are concerned with the first Leahy generation, Dan, Mick, Jim and Pat, brothers who came to the Australian Mandated Territory of New Guinea in the depression years, seeking their fortune. They prospected for gold themselves and later undertook native labour contracts for the big mining companies that followed the small miners into Bulolo. They seized the advantage offered by the introduction of aircraft to New Guinea to prospect the remote Central Highlands. They discovered wide, densely populated grassland valleys in what were thought to be sparsely inhabited, entirely mountainous ranges. They brought their knowledge of the country and its people to the service of the allies in the New Guinea campaign. In the post-war years they laid the foundations of the

New Guinea coffee industry. This is the sum of their contribution. Their individual contributions reflect the fact that the four brothers, so very alike in some respects, were so different in others.

Of the four of them, Pat alone has died. The others remain on the farms or plantations they settled after World War II, each managing the daily work program: Jim on Erinvale plantation, the first in the Eastern Highlands; Danny on his mixed farm and plantation in the range west of Mount Hagen in the Western Highlands; and Mick on his mixed farm and cattle station half way up the road between Lae and Wau, on the steep slopes of mountains looking south towards the Buang Range. Recording the lives of the living, the writer has the advantage of direct access to his subject, his subject's recollections and those who know him. He also faces the difficulty of being too close to the subject to admit facts that are bound to give offence but can be ignored only at the cost of the fully rounded portrait. If the subject is a personal friend, he also risks descending to hagiography. I have known Mick and Jim Leahy since 1960; I have worked for them and enjoyed their hospitality. I met Pat several times before his death in 1963, and know Dan slightly. What is recorded here does not purport to be an objective biography of the Leahy brothers. It is rather an account of the events of their lives as they have themselves described them to me: in the case of Mick's prospecting period from 1926-34, through his diaries and an unpublished account he wrote of those years, and otherwise from personal correspondence; in the case of Dan and Jim, from tape recorded interviews. The task of writing a scrupulously objective evaluation of their role in opening the Highlands must be left to some future historian.

Paddy, Mick, Jim and Danny were four of nine children born to Daniel and Ellen Leahy. Daniel was born in County Waterford in 1856, migrated in the 1880s and worked until he retired as a guard for the Queensland Railways. His future wife, Ellen Stone, migrated from County Kilkenny in the 1890s with her aunt and uncle, who owned a coal mine near Ipswich, Queensland. They married in the west Queensland town of Roma. Two daughters, Aileen and Molly, were born to them, then Paddy in 1899, Mick in 1901 and Tom in 1902. The family moved to Toowoomba where Kathleen, Jim (1909), Danny (1912) and Erin were born. As Jim recalls it their childhood was 'pretty rough and ready'.<sup>1</sup> Each of the sons left school as soon as he was old enough to find a job. There





Map 6 Papua New Guinea Highlands

was no pension then for a retired guard, and it was their responsibility to support the rest of the family.

When Mick left school he joined the Queensland Railways as a clerk. He applied for a transfer north to Cairns, and then resigned to work as a timber cutter, supplying bridge girders, fence posts and sleepers for the railway then being built north from Townsville to Cairns. In 1926 came news of a fabulous gold strike in New Guinea. 'I left my T-model Ford on the side of the road', he recalls, 'teamed up with a group of men who like myself had no idea how to mine gold or of the country into which we were so impetuously heading, and caught the first steamer to New Guinea'.<sup>2</sup> Jim, Pat and Dan each worked at a variety of menial ill-paid jobs until Mick sent word that they should join him in New Guinea. When Jim left school his first job was to work on a dairy farm which the family had bought after his father's retirement. 'It was something we were entirely unsuited for', he recalls, 'but it was something we'd been keen to do all our life. That was a bit of a flop'. He went north to where Mick was cutting timber and joined a newly opened sugar mill as an apprentice fitter. In 1928 Pat left Australia to join Mick and, in July the following year, Jim went also. Two years later they were joined by Danny, who since school had been working on farms. To the other brother, Tom, Papua New Guinea never held any attraction. Australia, he felt, offered more to the man who was willing to go out and work for it. He became a prosperous wheat farmer on the Darling Downs and died in 1967. But as each of his five sons, Tom, Danny, Fred, Paddy and John left school they followed their uncles to New Guinea where they have made their home. The eldest, Tom, was spokesman for the Administrator's Executive Council in the second Papua New Guinea House of Assembly.

Mick Leahy landed first at Rabaul, where prospective miners were required to show proof of self-sufficiency before proceeding to the gold field. The Administrator had warned that Edie Creek was not a poor man's field, and the *Rabaul Times* calculated that a miner would need £750 to satisfy the administration's requirements. By pooling their meagre resources all members of Mick's party were able to satisfy the administration, and they went to Salamaua, at that time a rough, makeshift settlement and the port for Edie Creek. The trek overland took eight days on rain-sodden tracks

over mountains 7000 feet above sea level. Carriers in general were scarce, even at £20 to £25 per head from labour recruiters. When Mick arrived at Salamaua they were unprocurable and after a fruitless wait of several days he and his party shouldered their packs and set off into the Buang Range. One man had brought four donkeys, but they soon showed themselves unable to cope with the steep slopes, and were abandoned.

Mick's first sortie into the gold field was almost disastrous. Half way up the track a miner coming down with provisions told the party that a number of mining claims would be balloted in two days' time. With another man Mick was chosen to go ahead; they almost ran the rest of the way to be in time for the ballot. They arrived in time to win a claim, after which Mick collapsed with malaria. Without provisions or tools to work his claim he had no option but to forfeit it. It has been a costly lesson and still weak with malaria, he decided to return to Salamaua and to equip himself properly to try again. On the track he met Helmut Baum, a German prospector who had been a planter and trader during the German rule. He befriended Mick, nursed him during his fever, lent him carriers and stores and later employed him to occupy or work several of his mining and prospecting leases. While working with Baum Mick learned about prospecting and mining, and about the art of survival in a country which was wild, inhospitable and inhabited by a people whose world was very different from his own.

Mick was not destined to make his fortune at Edie Creek. By 1930 the gold rush had spent itself. A few profitable claims were still being worked by individual miners but most had given way to large public mining companies. Bulolo Gold Dredging was preparing to extract gold from the Bulolo River flats with huge hydroelectric-powered dredges, which had to be flown in, piece by piece, from an airstrip recently built in Lae. New Guinea Goldfields Co. Ltd was sinking a mineshaft at Golden Ridge below Edie Creek. For anyone who had failed there but wanted to stay, there was work to be had with the mining and construction companies. Anyone who had the enterprise to recruit a couple of hundred villagers as labourers, and who could provide them with food, clothing and shelter according to standards laid down in the Native Labour Ordinance, could make money building roads, dredges and slipways.

For the Leahy brothers this kind of work was to be their mainstay, supporting them during the years of prospecting and mining that followed. Paddy joined Mick in 1926 and undertook a contract to build a mule track between Wau and Edie Creek. Jim joined Paddy the following year and ultimately established the family contract business on a permanent and businesslike footing. 'The idea was that Mick and Dan were looking for the millions and I'd keep the pot boiling', Jim recalls of the period of prospecting in the Highlands in the early 1930s. 'Periodically when they were out there I'd come out and spend a week or two with them and then return. I would organise their plane loads'. The choice of Jim as anchorman of the family was not only for his undoubted business flair. He did not share his brothers' passion for prospecting and exploration.

I wasn't terribly impressed with climbing mountains. I didn't like Papua New Guinea very much. You had to go up hill and down dale in all weather. The food was hard and the country was tough and you'd look across the gully and there'd be a tremendous depth. Mick would say: 'Well, that's where we're going to sleep tonight'. You'd feel you were never going to get there. And of course Mick was a great walker. He thrived on this and I didn't. But I'd always get there somehow . . . and then the misery of the next day would be facing me.

As the gold of Edie Creek petered out miners turned to prospecting the surrounding country, panning along the streams that coursed out of the central mountain ranges, which at that time were thought to be entirely mountainous and sparsely inhabited. In 1930 a lone prospector called Ned Rowlands discovered workable gold in the headwaters of the Ramu River. A meeting of miners at Edie Creek elected Mick Leahy and another miner, Mick Dwyer, to prospect for a feeder stream above Rowland's claim. Two hundred pounds were pooled to defray their expenses. This was to be in many ways Mick Leahy's most remarkable journey, and certainly it was more foolhardy than any of the expeditions in the years that followed. With sixteen carriers, two 12-bore shotguns, two .22 calibre rifles, and .45 and .32 calibre revolvers, Dwyer and Leahy walked up Markham Valley from Lae to a village called Kaigulen, 120 miles away. The idea was to climb into the Bismarck Range and descend to the tributaries of the Ramu. As the expedition made its way into the Bismarck Range it was met by thousands of villagers quite unlike those of the coastal villagers in dress, ornament, weapons

and physical appearance. Tribal hostilities were suspended as the party was ushered from one warring group to the next:<sup>3</sup>

We realised we had so far escaped unpleasant incidents because the natives we had met had been astonished at seeing white men for the first time and had endowed us with supernatural powers. We had no illusions about their reactions once they recovered from their first shock and realised the value of the shell and other treasures we carried.

But the bluff continued and they passed on without a single threatening incident, and without firing a shot.

For two weeks they followed a river the local people called the Dunatina. It ran strong and fast through narrow gorges and at one point came out into open heavily populated grassland country. Once they caught a glimpse of a valley to the west which they were later able to identify as the Goroka Valley, but limited supplies forced them to stay by the river, in the hope that it would turn east into the headwaters of the Ramu as they had originally thought, or west into the Sepik. But it went on south. They followed it, not knowing where they were, comforting themselves with the thought that somewhere, sometime, it must descend to the sea. Then quite abruptly at the village of Knoo they came upon a large river called the Marki (the Wahgi), which flowed strongly into the Dunatina from the west:<sup>4</sup>

Below the junction of the Marki we saw the bloated bodies of natives floating past in the current and, in the bends, where the river had thrown up an acre or so of sand together with its flotsam and jetsam, giant goannas were picking over the bodies thrown up on the beaches. From the skulls and bones which littered the sands we concluded there must have been an even larger valley or valleys, densely populated and drained by the Marki.

Eventually the Dunatina began to widen and descend. By now survival depended on building a raft and reaching a coastal settlement as quickly as possible. Supplies were almost exhausted, everyone was weary with travelling, and Dwyer had developed a tropical ulcer. At last they reached a village whose inhabitants fled as they approached, and the party took several canoes, leaving all that was left of their trade goods as payment. For three days they drifted downstream, deducing from the bird life, sago swamps and occasional crocodile that they were once again in the lowlands. Motu-speaking villagers confirmed that they were in Papua, but it was only when they reached the Port Romilly sawmill on the coast that they learnt that they had come down the Purari, the second largest

river in Papua, all the way from its source in the Bismarck Range, where it rises only a mile from the headwaters of the Ramu. From Port Romilly the expedition returned by coastal steamer to Port Moresby, walked from there over the Kokoda Trail to Morobe and returned to its starting point, Salamaua, by pinnace.

For a time Mick Leahy returned to the family business of contract construction on the gold fields, but in 1931 New Guinea Goldfields approached him, his brother Pat and Mick Dwyer, with a proposal to prospect the country at the headwaters of the goldbearing Watut River. For the first time the Leahys used a plane to reconnoitre the country over which they meant to walk. In this way they were able to get an idea of the population, the distances between the villages (on which they would depend to replenish their food supplies) and the best spots on which to build bush airstrips. It was these two factors — the large mining companies being prepared to back the small prospectors in exploring for mining and dredging sites and the introduction of air transport to New Guinea — that enabled men to unlock the Highlands to the outside world. Those who had tried to penetrate the central mountain ranges in the past had been restricted by what their carriers could take on their backs and by the cost and difficulty of maintaining supply lines to the coast. Now it was possible to stay in the interior for months at a time, supplied by planes landing at the strips the expeditions built as they travelled.

In their 1931 expedition Mick and Pat Leahy and Mick Dwyer were prospecting in the country of the Kukukuku, a small but ferocious warrior people who won notoriety in the 1930s for the number of prospectors and government patrols they ambushed. The first of the two trips were uneventful and they returned after nineteen days to their base camp on the Watut. Ten days later Mick and Pat, this time without Dwyer, set off again to prospect further north-west. Everywhere they had been their contacts with the villagers had been friendly and they had become sceptical of tales of prospectors and patrol officers being attacked. 'We believed Sir Hubert Murray's boast of some years before', wrote Mick, 'that nothing more lethal than a walking stick was needed to patrol or prospect the Papuan inland'. This time, however, they were attacked. Twelve days out of base camp they had a skirmish with a raiding party, which was sent quickly on its way with a few shots.

But two days later their camp was attacked as they slept just before dawn. In fierce hand-to-hand fighting the Kukukuku were driven off, but not without loss to the expedition. Mick suffered a blow on the side of the head from a pineapple-shaped stone club which left him permanently deaf in one ear, Pat was struck by arrows in his arm and chest, and two carriers suffered severe arrow wounds.

The position of the party was grave. None of the wounded was really fit to travel but with the possibility of another attack and the danger of the wounds turning septic without proper medical treatment there was no choice but to leave at once. As fast as they could they made their way painfully towards Lae. After five days' march across mountainous country they reached the lowlands and, at a village near the Watut, met a patrol officer called Ted Sanson. From him they learnt that Mick's old friend and mentor, Helmut Baum, who had been prospecting in the Kukukuku country, had been killed. On top of their own narrow escape it came as a terrible shock, and Mick resolved that he would never again be caught off guard. After a day's rest those of the carriers who were fit to walk returned to Lae by foot while the wounded took rafts, which took three days. With hospital care they all recovered quickly.

When Mick and Pat reached Lae one of the first people they saw was their younger brother, Dan, who had just arrived and was working as a truck driver for Guinea Airways. Just eighteen and bursting with enthusiasm to go prospecting with his elder brothers, he was undeterred by their account of what had happened. However, to mount an expedition properly required financial backing, and there did not seem to be any backers about. Mick and Danny returned to Bulolo to help Jim in building a water race that would supply hydroelectric power to the huge dredges of Bulolo Gold Dredging Company while Pat sailed to Australia to recuperate from his arrow wounds, not to return until 1936.

Not until October 1932 was Mick Leahy again approached by New Guinea Goldfields. This time it was to mount an expedition to take the company's principal geologist, Charles Kingsbury, into the Eastern Highlands, country that Leahy and Dwyer had seen and in small part prospected on their 1930 expedition down the Purari. The purpose this time was to prospect for suitable dredging sites along the rivers that drain the Eastern Highlands. As Dwyer was at that time committed elsewhere, Mick invited his brother Danny to

go in his place. It was a partnership that continued for as long as they still had streams in the Central Highlands to prospect. In those two years Mick and Dan Leahy made a series of prospecting expeditions, first from their base camp in the Bena Bena country, and later from two camps in the Mount Hagen area, establishing a place for themselves among the foremost explorers of the Highlands. Mick and Dan Leahy were the first white men to see the Wahgi Valley.

On the first prospecting expedition of this period they made their way from the Markham Valley into the Eastern Highlands, prospecting each river as they crossed it, until they reached the Bena Bena. Here they established a base camp and built an airstrip. By March 1933 they had finished their original assignment of prospecting all the streams in the surrounding country for New Guinea Goldfields. The company had decided to test drill a possible dredging site. The Leahy brothers, accompanied by a company geologist, Charles Marshall, took advantage of the lull in activity to make a preliminary sortie into the range to the north-west. From the Bena Bena base camp as the cloud lifted above the mountains to the north-west they had often seen a patch of blue sky that suggested open country beyond. Three days out from base camp they reached a knoll on one of the highest points in the Central Highlands, Mount Erimbari, and glimpsed for the first time the flat, open grassland of the Wahgi Valley. They went on, almost to Chuave, and returned within a week, elated by the promise of the country to the west.

New Guinea Goldfields readily agreed to mount an expedition to prospect the new country to the west. It was to be a joint enterprise with the administration, which was to be represented by Jim Taylor, a young patrol officer nominally based at Kainantu. He had met the Leahy brothers soon after they had set up their base camp; he shared their enthusiasm for the Highlands and persuaded the administration to give its very reluctant support. 'Jim was one of the very few officials who shared our views about the country over the ranges to the north-west of Bena Bena', Mick recalls.<sup>5</sup> They made two reconnaissance flights over the Wahgi and the expedition left at first light on 28 March 1933. Private enterprise was represented by the Leahy brothers and a New Guinea Goldfields surveyor, Ken Spinks. There was also a line of thirty Warias, twenty of them armed, who had come with the Leahys from the Morobe



District and carriers recruited from Eastern Highlands' villages through which they passed. Jim Taylor led a detachment of a dozen armed native constabulary as well as his own carrier line. All told the expedition numbered nearly a hundred. Three weeks later and without serious incident it reached the Mount Hagen area, where another base was established. In the six months that followed a number of prospecting expeditions, each of two or three weeks, were made to the north, south and west.

The exploration of the Wahgi Valley and beyond represents one of the last major encounters between modern man and peoples untouched by the twentieth century. The white men in the party realised they were taking part in a unique experience. 'It was fascinating, every bit of it', Dan recalls. 'When we left from Bena Bena we were all wondering what it would be like on the other side, what the people would be like, would there be food and would we have any trouble'. Each day as the expedition went forward it was surrounded and followed by thousands of curious excited villagers.

They were all painted and dressed up. They weren't hostile but they were inquisitive. If you spat they'd want to get it and you could have bought anything with a hair out of your head. A hair out of the dog's tail they'd wrap up as though it were gold. They'd bring up sweet potato leaves for you to touch and then wrap them up as if you were working miracles. They treated us as if we were gods or spirits. In some places local women thought they recognised the Warias as kinsmen returned from the dead, and it was all we could do to get them away.

The first encounter was generally friendly. Curiosity overcame fear or hostility towards the strange intruders. In this first expedition to the west there were no clashes, although there were several close moments.

It was very hard leaving one tribe and coming into the enemies of that tribe because they'd all be waiting for us, all armed. But we had an old dog called Snowy, a cross between a cattle dog and a bull dog. He was a ferocious-looking animal, not that vicious but intelligent. He saved us from more trouble than enough. If they got on the warpath and you let him go, they'd be terrified and go for their life. Usually they'd all climb onto their houses so you'd come in behind the dog, get them down off the house and shake their hands and give them a few beads and let them have a look at you. They'd realise then that you weren't their enemies and that you were a different kind of person altogether.

An armed clash was more likely at the second or third encounter. The villagers, coveting the huge quantity of shell and other trade

goods the expedition carried, would provoke a test of strength. For the Leahy brothers, as for Jim Taylor, firearms were used only as a last resort. The expedition depended upon the local people for food, firewood, carriers and guides, and its interests were best served by peaceful contact. But its leaders were nevertheless adamant that, if challenged, they had no choice but to retaliate with a greater show of strength. Any show of weakness such as retreat or an attempt to buy off the attackers could only invite further attack.

Under their agreement with New Guinea Goldfields the Leahy brothers were to prospect for possible dredging and mine sites. In return they were paid a modest wage and their expenses (the largest of these was the plane, which was chartered to replenish their supplies every few weeks), a reward of £10,000 for every dredge established, and 10 per cent interest in any mine opened. In the end they found nothing in the Highlands rich enough to interest the company. But in a short trip south of the Wahgi Valley in July 1933 they found a prospect that was to yield the Leahy brothers a modest livelihood when they severed their connection with the company. They worked the Kuta prospect, as it was called, from 1934 until the 1950s, when it began to peter out. While the Leahy brothers were prospecting from their Mount Hagen base camp the test drillings made along the Bena Bena flats had yielded negative results, and the company had decided to withdraw altogether from the Highlands. On 3 October Jim Taylor and the Leahy brothers started back to Bena Bena, which they reached in twelve days. 'So ends the chances of Bena Bena ever seeing a dredge ploughing up its gravel', wrote Mick. 'However, it's done a lot towards letting the locals see that the white man does not get hostile just to show their superiority over their weapons, and that they would much prefer to sit down and trade useful articles for native goods'.<sup>6</sup>

In 1933, for the first time since they had been in New Guinea, Jim, Mick and Dan returned to Australia to spend Christmas with the family. By the end of January, however, Mick and Dan were back in New Guinea, this time with the backing of a Melbourne syndicate, to resume prospecting in the Western Highlands. On this expedition, in 1934, their record of peaceful contact was frequently blotted. As they crossed the Ramu/Purari divide on their way into the Eastern Highlands, the Leahy brothers came across the body, still warm, of a lone prospector, Captain Bernard McGrath. Just

before they reached his camp he had been killed by local villagers in a dispute over stolen property. When Mick and Dan reached the base camp in the Mount Hagen area, it was to find that the huts they had left behind had been razed, the tools were missing, and their provisions were destroyed. They took no retaliatory action and requested no compensation, but moved their new base camp to the Mogai area, near the Kuta prospect, an action the Jiga people with whom they had lived before took as punishment for their own misdeeds.

In 1934 the Leahy brothers were joined in the Mount Hagen area by others who had come, like themselves, in search of gold or for the salvation of souls. When Mick and Dan settled at their new base camp they gave their old one to the Catholic Mission led by an American, Father William Ross. In the year that followed they made a number of prospecting trips: to the south, along the Nabilyer; to the west and north-west, where they were attacked several times by the Wabag people and were finally forced to return when Dan contracted cerebral malaria; and along the southern wall of the Wahgi Valley.

In one trip after another they eliminated the possibility of gold from the streams of the Western Highlands until all that remained was the country west of Wabag from which they had been forced back on the previous trip. While they were waiting for a plane to bring in provisions for the expedition, the Fox brothers, Jack and Tom, also prospectors, went out ahead of them, and when the Leahy brothers set out on 15 December they met them returning. They had walked to the Dutch border and back without a trace of gold all the way. 'That buggers the country for another Edie Creek', wrote Mick:<sup>7</sup>

I feel as if we have been robbed of our principal interest in life. There is nowhere we can go to prospect, unless the low-lying fever-stricken swamps along the rivers, which would be one long nightmare. So it looks as if we will have to try and settle down to some sort of occupation and forget about the gold which obviously doesn't exist in the heart of New Guinea.

Days later he wrote: 'I have been feeling very depressed since the Fox's came back and never found anything. It is a bugger having nowhere to go. I don't know if I can settle down to a steady job'.

The carriers recruited from the Eastern Highlands were returned to their villages, the agreement with the Melbourne syndicate was

wound up and the Leahy brothers settled down to mining instead of prospecting. In 1935 Dan worked the Kuta prospect while Mick and Jim took a world trip and, when they returned, Dan went abroad for nearly a year while Mick took over Kuta. In 1936 Paddy returned from Australia for the first time since 1931 and began a dairy and mixed farm outside Wau in the Morobe District. When Dan returned from his own world trip he joined the gold rush to Wewak where, as he says, he lost much more than he won. By now all construction work for Bulolo Gold Dredging, the mainstay of the brothers' fortunes during the prospecting years, was at an end. While Dan returned to run the Kuta prospect, Mick and Jim settled down to working a lease they had long ago acquired on the Upper Watut, and had saved against the day when nothing else was offering. In the time that followed both married, Jim in 1939 and Mick in 1940, and they stayed on the lease with their wives until the outbreak of the Pacific War.

Throughout the years of exploration, 1926-35, Mick Leahy kept a daily record of events and personal impressions of the country through which his party was passing. The collected diaries, now held by the National Library in Canberra, are remarkable documents, not only for what they reveal about the Highland peoples' first encounters with white men, but for what they show of Mick Leahy himself: an exceptional stubbornness and determination, a prickly pride, a readiness to respond to situations with generosity or fury as circumstances dictated. He had a passionate and romantic temperament and a meticulous sense of order that was expressed in the military precision with which his camp was run. A double armed guard was posted each night and the camp was woken two hours before dawn, so that by first light everything was packed and everyone had eaten and was ready to march. 'Each member knew by now what was expected of him when we were on the march', wrote Mick:<sup>8</sup>

We formed our followers into small gangs, each supervised by one of our boys, each with specific duties in pulling down and setting camp. They became expert at this and in time enjoyed camp life as much as we did. When a site was chosen, a fish fence would be strung up and each carrier as he came in would drop his pack inside it. One gang would go into a pantomimed act of hungry bellies with the locals, offering shell currency to fill them. The cook would pick up pieces of firewood and before we could get our wet boots off would be ready with a cup of tea.

As far as possible we travelled in comfort. There was a bush shower — a tin with a perforated shower rose screwed into a base. Filled with warm water and suspended from a ridgepole in the tent it made a wonderful reviver after a hard day's toil. There was a collapsible table and chairs, china cups and saucers and sometimes even yeast bread.

In a 1967 radio broadcast Jim Taylor paid generous tribute to Mick Leahy's leadership in their first expedition into the Wahgi Valley:<sup>9</sup>

His attitude to the native people was one of his outstanding qualities of those days. I always remember the first time I went into a camp of his, and it was like coming out of an office into fresh air. In discussion with his boys, the giving of an order was done in a manner which wasn't customary in the country in those days. He might want to find something he'd misplaced, and I can hear him saying: 'Ewunga, I wonder where I put that saw and chisel, would you have a look?' 'Yes, Master Mick', he'd say, 'I think you left it over there behind the wheelbarrow, I'll go and have a look'. And that wasn't the normal speech between master and servant in those days. There were very many good employers in New Guinea who looked after their people well, but none who created this attitude in the camp in which it was like a brotherhood.

The thoroughness and the attention to order and detail is equally evident in Mick's diary, in the thousands of pictures taken and developed in the field, and in the way in which he mapped the course of his expeditions through previously uncharted country by means of a prismatic compass. From 1930 to 1935, the diaries display a dramatic development in the author, from someone whose early interest was in recording in matter-of-fact style details about the gold-bearing prospects of the country to one who became an explorer and homespun philosopher. Mick became excited as much by the promise of new country as of gold. His fascination with the peoples he encountered shows itself in occasional flashes of speculation on the differences between modern and primitive man. He displays an ambivalence, shared by so many Europeans who have lived closely and at length among non-Western peoples, about how colonisation was changing them. On the one hand he felt disgust at the endless chain of killings that flowed from the payback system:<sup>10</sup>

In the Bena Bena country if a man dies naturally, at the eating of his pigs and accompanying singing the names of his known enemies are called and one of them is decided upon as the person who caused the death of their tribal mate. Then it's the duty of his relatives to get this

joker and, although he is possibly unaware of their decision, he will surely get an arrow in his back if the opportunity presents itself. In the event of plain murder the whole village of the murderer is then placed on the black list and parties of natives are always on the lookout to avenge the killing, hiding alongside pathways in the long grass and springing out on any party, much smaller than themselves, a couple of defenceless old women or young children, so much the better, and filling them with arrows.

As World War II reached New Guinea, Jim, Paddy and Dan joined the New Guinea Volunteer Rifles. On the basis of their experience of New Guinea and its peoples, Jim and Paddy spent the war years serving in the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit's (A.N.G.A.U.) labour battalion where they had charge of New Guinean labourers and carriers. For Danny the war ended in 1943 when he was discharged as medically unfit, suffering from partial blindness caused by a protein deficiency that began when he was serving in the Owen Stanley Range. What he had done during his brief period of active service was by any standards remarkable. When the Japanese bombed Madang for the first time he was at Kuta, equipped with a two-way radio. He was ordered from Goroka to report there, bringing his radio with him.

So I packed up my radio and walked to Goroka. And when I got to Goroka they said: 'You'll have to go to Kainantu' — that was their headquarters. But when I got there they said 'You'll have to go back to Hagen and keep your eye on things'. So I walked back to Hagen and was here for a couple of weeks. Then they told me: 'You go down the valley as far as Minj and make a couple of rest houses for the old people being evacuated from Madang'. Well, I got back to Hagen after completing the houses and then I got a radio that I had to go back to Kainantu and when I got to Kainantu they said 'You've got to go to Bulolo'. So I walked to Bulolo and when I got to Bulolo they said: 'There's a lot of cattle up the Madang coast, so you can go with a fellow named Harry Lumb and bring them back to Kainantu'.

So Danny and Harry Lumb crossed the range, walked up the Madang coast and brought back about 700 head of cattle to Bulolo: 'Then they sent me to the Owen Stanleys and there I was on the location of the road from Bulldog to Wau'. Then he was sent back to Bena Bena, on a walk up to Kerowagi and finally to the Sepik:

There were eight missionaries in difficulties. Joe Searson [a patrol officer serving with A.N.G.A.U.] was with them, but he had no carriers or supplies. Anyway I set off from Kerowagi and walked down to the Sepik. They dropped us some supplies from a plane and we got to the

missionaries. There were five nuns and some of them were over 16 stone. It took me nineteen days from Kerowagi to walk down and two and a half months to get back. I got the nuns to Goroka. We rigged up a few chairs and carried them in from Kerowagi. They were flown out on the same day.

The day after I got back from the Sepik trip they said we wanted someone to go to Tari because there's a lot of fighter planes and bombers going down there and none of the natives can talk Pidgin. Only two patrols — Hides' and Taylor's — had been through there. They hadn't seen any other white men. So they said we want you to get as many young men as possible — a hundred if you can get them — and bring them in, and we'll teach them to talk Pidgin, and then we'll send them back in again.

So that was my next trip. Two days after I got back I set off for Tari, which was over 250 miles away — 250 miles out, 250 miles back. Well, I went out there and I got about ninety, but we struck a terrible epidemic on the way back just past Wabag, and I had to carry fifty of them in to Hagen. There was about seventeen of them died. It was disastrous, really. Anyway, I got them all and took them up to Kuta. I'd had a lot of goats before the war so I killed them and made some soup. The natives that weren't delirious when we got up here we got back to good health.

Then I was radioed to walk to Goroka so I walked back to Goroka again and they sent me out on leave. I had already had a doctor's certificate to go, but with these trips I was about six months behind.

In Sydney he was given a medical discharge. The protein deficiency had affected his vision and eye specialists told him that nothing could be done, that his eyesight would worsen, and that he would be blind within two years. He was advised that he was eligible for 25 per cent of the disabled servicemen's pension, and could apply for the full pension. He remained in Sydney, working on the wharves. At the war's end Jim and Mick came to his rescue. Jim had discovered that the Mayo Clinic of the United States offered specialist treatment for Danny's particular type of eye trouble, and his two brothers despatched him there. He was treated by the clinic for almost a year and made a partial recovery that has left him with channel vision.

Mick's war was quite another story. When he discovered that the highest rank that A.N.G.A.U. was willing to offer him was sergeant and that young patrol officers with a fraction of his experience were being commissioned, he made up his mind to serve elsewhere. In Melbourne he was introduced to a United States army engineer, Colonel L. J. Sverdrup, who was looking for someone

with a New Guinea background. Following their meeting arrangements were made for Mick to do an officers' training course with the R.A.A.F. He was commissioned, eventually became a squadron leader and was immediately assigned to the U.S. Engineers Corps at headquarters. His first task was to compile intelligence reports on New Guinea; subsequently he was posted back there to advise the Engineers Corps on building and upgrading roads and airstrips all over the country. At the end of the war the U.S. Army awarded him the Medal of Freedom for his services.<sup>11</sup>

Mick's first venture in peacetime New Guinea was to buy up a large quantity of war surplus army trucks in Lae and establish the first trucking business along the Wau-Lae road. At the same time he acquired war surplus barges and operated a barge service between the Lae wharf and Labu. By this time Jim had settled in the Eastern Highlands and Danny in the Western Highlands. Mick too applied for agricultural leases in the Highlands:

As something in the nature of reward claims for the discovery of a new goldfield, in 1939 I asked for 6,000 acres of what was at that time waste and vacant land near today's Karapulkumanki Village at Arona on the headwaters of the Ramu River before it drops over the range onto the Markham Ramu Rift Valley, and 6,000 acres on the Leron River — today's Placer Grant cattle station.

He had wanted to grow coffee and breed cattle but his applications were quashed. The Leron and Arona leases were granted to other applicants and the Kapukamariki (Bena Bena) area was resettled by the local people. Finally Mick settled in the Morobe District where he had first come in search of gold. In 1946 he applied for a 500 acre farming lease on the Wau-Lae road, and in 1970 acquired a further grazing lease on country adjacent to his farm, Zenag: 'It took the Administration six years to grant me Zenag after they had cut over 140 acres from the 640 acres of waste and vacant land originally pegged and it took another seven years to acquire the Beowapu grazing area of 1200 acres' (also on the Wau-Lae road). Throughout the 1950s and 1960s he applied for agricultural leases in the Western Highlands, but in vain: 'There were many instances of nepotism when the newly discovered highland plantation and cattle land was being leased out after the war but none for the original discoverers of the highlands. All prewar applications were conveniently ignored'.<sup>12</sup>



To Mick the administration's opposition to his applications for agricultural leases in the Highlands is only one instance of a relentless vendetta he feels it has waged against him. Another was the Porgera gold rush of 1948. Mick, Jim, Dan and five other prospectors formed a syndicate to investigate reports of a rich ore body in country west of Wabag. They complied with all the government's stipulations for prospecting parties going into restricted areas, obtained the necessary permits and set off, only to be followed by a patrol officer with an order that approval had been rescinded. They ignored the order, went on to Porgera and satisfied themselves that the reports of riches had been wildly exaggerated. When they returned the government took no action against them and they never did discover why it had tried to stop them going in.<sup>13</sup>

There was also, in 1958, Mick's compensation claim for cattle he had imported, tick-free, from New South Wales. The Department of Agriculture was responsible for spraying them regularly against tick, and neglected to do so. Mick recalls:<sup>14</sup>

I lost £10,000 of cattle from tick-carried disease, due principally to drunken Agricultural Department operators. Chief Justice Mann awarded me £4,800 damages. The Administration, with its building full of barristers behind them, appealed against the findings of their Chief Justice and I lost the lot as I could not afford to go any farther with the legal side of things.

Of all that Mick Leahy has accomplished he values most highly his part in the discovery and exploration of the Highlands and he jealously guards his record against anyone who might try to share the honours which belong to him and his brother Dan. In 1935 when a dashing young officer of the Papuan administration, Jack Hides, was being fêted round the English-speaking world for leading a patrol into country between the Purari and Strickland Rivers, Mick Leahy challenged the extent of his claim to have penetrated new country. According to Leahy, Hides had not reached the Papuan-New Guinean border as he has claimed, while Mick himself and his brother Dan had the previous year walked through part of the country Hides was now claiming to have found. In support of his claims Mick produced panoramic photographs and records of compass bearings taken from mountain tops, together with his diaries. He offered his challenge first in Sydney and then in London, where the Lieutenant-Governor of Papua, Sir Hubert Murray, had submitted the Hides claim to the Royal

Geographical Society in the hope of securing recognition. The Leahy brothers' claim was so much more fully and accurately documented that the society had little difficulty in rejecting that of Hides.<sup>15</sup> Colin Simpson's book about the exploration and discovery of the Highlands, *Adam in Plumes*,<sup>16</sup> has made legendary the story of the Leahy brothers' journeys. Official recognition has also come: the Australian government awarded Mick the M.B.E. for his services in developing the resources of the country. (Mick promptly returned it when he was refused a £25,000 war service loan, but he has since agreed to accept it back.) The honour of which he is proudest is the Explorer's Medal, awarded by the Explorers' Club of New York (of which he has been an honorary member since 1959) for outstanding services in exploration. Other medallists include Sir Edmund Hillary and the astronauts who landed on the moon.

Of the four Leahy brothers who settled in New Guinea, Pat stood most apart from the others. Physically and temperamentally he embodied more than any of them the qualities of the fighting Irish: a giant of a man who fought, worked and drank with reckless disregard for his own well being; generous to a fault and with a ferocious temper when roused. Jim remembers this side of him:

From 1936 when he returned to New Guinea he went his own way. He was always an individual. We never worked much with him — he was too much of a rugged Irishman. His being the eldest brother was too much of a disadvantage to anyone under him. He was a big powerful bloke. You wouldn't bother arguing with him.

In the New Guinea campaign his farm at Wau was utterly destroyed in a battle when the Japanese advance was repelled. When he was demobilised in Sydney he had nothing in New Guinea to return to (he had never married) and for several years he lived on his savings, roaming first about Australia and then the world. Jim says:

He had joined Alcoholics Anonymous during the war, but he'd started to drink a bit again and felt that if he didn't get stuck into something he'd bugger himself up. So Mick said: 'Why don't you come back? You've still got your land at Wau and if you don't come back you'll have to forfeit it'. So he came back. He planted coffee and grew sweet potatoes. He had fowls and he was selling eggs, just in a small way, leading a retired life. But he worked all day. He'd be up at four o'clock, work till dark and he'd go to bed then.

Paddy died in 1963 at sixty-four years of age. He had become by then a man of enormous girth, living in the shadow of a heart attack. To keep his weight down he became a chain smoker, but it did not work, as Jim remembers:

But he wouldn't knock off the food. I went to see him and he said come and have some lunch. So we went in and here he had this great roast pork swimming in about eight potatoes full of grease. I said to him: 'Oh, hell, Paddy, you're supposed to have a heart. This is the quickest way to kill yourself'. And he said: 'I'm sick of this bloody nonsense that you can't have this and can't do that and you can't have something else. If it kills me it kills me but it's not going to stop me eating'. And I said to him: 'This chain smoking, you know. That won't get you thin. You may as well not smoke'. Because he'd cough and tears would come into his eyes. He took up drink again just before he died. It was more or less a send-off to himself. He knew he wasn't going to live and he went into the club and said: 'Come and have a drink with me, I haven't got long to go'. He went out the same way as he lived: full of fight and didn't give a hooley.

When Dan returned from the Mayo Clinic it was to settle once and for all in the Western Highlands. He took over the Kuta alluvial workings, which Jim had managed in his absence, but by the early 1950s they were starting to peter out. 'You could see it wouldn't last long', he recalls, 'so I decided to look round for a crop. The Agricultural Department people said coffee looked good. No one knew much about it then but it was in big demand'. So he planted coffee. With his brother Jim he was the first to grow it commercially in the Highlands and, apart from a German planter called Wilde who had grown it near Wau in the 1930s, first in New Guinea. At the same time he became the agent for Vacuum Oil and native labour recruitment in Mount Hagen, which was then no more than a patrol post. 'But I sold that out when the coffee got going', he says. 'It wasn't my line'. But the coffee at Kuta never flourished, for the soil had a high clay content and would not drain. 'I spent a lot of money up there', Dan recalls, 'I spent £40,000 or £50,000 in terracing about 200 acres for coffee. It was just useless: the coffee wouldn't grow there. And I put up a permanent house, cement piggeries, cow yards and cow bails. Well, I just had to walk out and leave all that and start afresh'. In 1961 he settled again at a place called Korgua, not far from Kuta, but lower and with better drained soil. Today he has 80 acres of fully grown coffee, a piggery and runs 280 head of cattle. More than either of

his brothers, he lives close to the people among whom he has settled. From each of the two clans who border on his own land he has taken a wife and they have borne him nine children.

While for Mick the years of greatest achievement were the exploration of the Highlands in the 1930s, for Jim they have been since World War II because of his part in establishing the coffee industry in the Highlands. While Mick's flair was for penetrating new country and making first contact, Jim, with his flair for recognising and exploiting business opportunities, really came into his element only when the development and white settlement of the Highlands began in the late 1940s. 'I don't think anyone could have come into their own much before World War II', he says. 'It was a poverty-stricken country; there was no great wealth. The lucky few got gold but what else was there? Copra was dead, there was no coffee and practically no cocoa'. His commitment to coffee began by chance rather than design when he was posted to Aiura Agricultural Station in the last year of the war. His task was to supervise Highland labourers in planting and tending quinine plants that had been imported from the Philippines as an anti-malarial drug for allied troops:

I was mad about agriculture and particularly about planting tea. All through the war you're dreaming about what you want to do after and I'd come to the conclusion that I didn't want to be a gold miner any more. Mark Twain's definition of a gold mine was a hole in the ground owned by a liar. Most gold miners are liars. They say they're making a fortune and they never are. Life was too up and down and too uncertain. You'd get onto a run and then you'd get all these bills and you'd wonder whether you'd ever be able to pay them. I wanted to settle down after all the miseries of war. I didn't want to be a millionaire then. I just wanted to lead a peaceful existence and rear a family.

At Aiura Jim became friends with an Indonesian agricultural officer, Ratismah, of whom Jim says:

He was dead against tea. He said you need big areas and a factory plant that costs the earth. He showed me the coffee and how to plant it. I didn't know where I wanted to settle but I decided then I would grow coffee — I was determined I would grow coffee. I knew there'd be plenty of labour here [in the Highlands] and I thought there'd be troubles on the coast. Here the people were raring to go. You could employ a thousand of them just by lifting your finger, all wanting work. And I wanted to live here because the climate was better. I didn't like the Watut climate.

For nearly a year, in 1947, he managed the Kuta workings while Dan was in America. Then there was the abortive gold rush to Porgera: 'When that was over I decided Goroka was the place because I'd been stuck in Wabag for about a week waiting for a plane and stuck in Mount Hagen for another fortnight. But in Goroka you could almost get a plane going somewhere everyday. It seemed like the hub of the Highlands — and I consider it still is'.

Goroka then was just a patrol post manned by Jim Taylor, District Officer, and Joe Searson, his assistant. The Lutherans and Seventh Day Adventists had established missions in the area, and Jim was the first private settler:

I couldn't get land overnight. There was no government assistance. The people were still using shell. They had money from the war and Jim Taylor was trying to teach them what a pound note was worth, so I decided to open a trade store in Goroka and I settled in there for a start. I took on the Vacuum Oil agency and Mandated Airlines agency while I was waiting for the land to be bought.

At last a village 5 miles west of the township offered him 150 acres and the administration, though still with misgivings about encouraging white settlement in the Highlands, granted him residency and finally an agricultural lease.

He planted a coffee nursery and started a mixed farm: Aberdeen Angus cattle, Romney Marsh sheep, Saddleback and Berkshire pigs and a variety of poultry, all imported from Australia:

Then I started a sawmill, but the thing I came here for, a peaceful existence, was galloping away from me and I was building up an empire. The store grew bigger, the Vacuum agency grew bigger and the airline grew bigger. I had temperamental sawmillers and temperamental truckdrivers. The whole thing was getting too big and I was getting a large European staff, which was something I wanted to avoid.

Coffee supplied the means of escape from other business interests. The 16 acres he had originally planted had its first full crop in 1953, a year of world shortage, and the price he was paid, seven and ninepence a pound, has never been equalled in Papua New Guinea since. 'Then everyone started to plant it'. The following year he sold his sawmill and the year after his store. But his business interests in coffee grew with the industry; he bought out other plantations, in a number of instances in partnership with his Collins and Leahy nephews. There was a short-lived partnership with the late Sir Edward Hallstrom to convert the pastures of Nondugl Fauna

and Flora Trust into a coffee plantation. In 1960 he led a syndicate of three in buying Asaro plantation from Jim Taylor, who by then had retired from the administration. In 1964, in partnership with two of Tom Leahy's sons, Dan and Pat, he bought out Joe Searson's plantation Obihaka on behalf of his daughter. In 1965 with several of his nephews and other business partners he acquired Jascar, a property outside Kainantu, comprising a 250 acre cattle and coffee complex, a butcher's shop and a couple of trade stores in Kainantu, a petrol agency and Kainantu's first coffee processing factory. Since then the company has also acquired Mick Leahy's Markham Valley property.

On the surface it all sounds like the conventional story of the self-made empire building businessman. Where Jim Leahy went beyond this was in recognising that his own best interests would be served by assisting the Highlands people to a share in the wealth coffee had brought to the white settlers of the Highlands. One example was Hi-Buy, a coffee buying, processing and marketing business that he and his nephews established at Kundiawa in the Central Highlands in 1962, when the Chimbu, the most numerous people of Papua New Guinea, were starting to produce coffee in some quantity. They lacked the means to process or sell it and, with the funds then at its disposal, the Department of Agriculture could buy only a fraction of what they were growing. Jim saw this, saw the opportunity it offered, and persuaded his nephews to form a syndicate. They approached the Chimbu people and the administration for land, and a coffee processing factory was built at Kundiawa, a fleet of buying trucks was purchased and one of the nephews, Mike Collins, was appointed manager. 'We put the price up from sixpence to two shillings a pound and of course coffee swarmed in after that', he recalls. 'Then everyone started to buy'.

In 1964 the Chimbu people, with the assistance of the administration, formed themselves into a co-operative and bought out Hi-Buy for £35,000. Mike Collins remained as manager for a further nine months ('to show them we hadn't sold them a dud') and in that time netted the co-operative a profit of £40,000. In 1970, when a chain of bad managers had reduced the co-operative to the verge of bankruptcy, Jim released Mike Collins from Jascar, which he was then managing, to return, on a salary, to salvage the co-operative. No one, least of all Jim, would claim that Hi-Buy was established primarily for the welfare of the Chimbu people. It was a

highly profitable business venture with the additional value, which he recognised, of assisting the Chimbu people to a share in the coffee industry, thereby reducing the political vulnerability of expatriate business interests.

His commercial interests in the coffee industry apart, Jim has played a part in community activities of the Eastern Highlands. With Jim Taylor and the Eastern Highlands District Commissioner of 1953, George Greathead, he founded the Highlands Farmers' and Settlers' Association and has been president or vice-president ever since; he was foundation president of the Goroka Returned Servicemen's League and the Eastern Highlands Football Club and was vice-president of the first six Goroka shows. He has given financial support to the United Party but vehemently denies ever having had any influence upon it.

Like the Highlanders of their own generation, the three surviving Leahy brothers view the prospect of an independent Papua New Guinea in the near future with misgivings. Their reactions to the changed scheme of things vary from one to another, reflecting their different temperaments. All three are very much family men, devoted to their children and proud of their achievements. For 'Kuta' Dan, the most equable in temperament of the three, despite poor eyesight and failing health, the paramount concern is to provide his nine children with the best education he can afford and to ensure that they acquire trades or professions sufficient to earn them a decent livelihood if they should want to leave Papua New Guinea to live in Australia.

Jim has only one child, a daughter, who is married and living in Sydney, the mother of four children. Today her father divides his year between his sister's flat in Sydney and his plantation, Erinvale, where he lives alone, 'lining' the labourers each morning and supervising the picking, pruning, weeding and fertilising of his 120 acres of coffee and its processing in the plantation factory. Apart from Jascar, of which he remains managing director, he has resigned his directorships and sold his other interests in the coffee industry. Freed now from these responsibilities he declares he has not felt so well for years and is able to face the future with equanimity. He does not regret the passing of the old order, the time when Papua New Guinea was 'a white man's country':

I've seen so many eras and they all seem like different worlds. This next one that's coming up fascinates me most of all. It must be about my fourth, I suppose. I've had a great time since the war. It was dull before. To me when you look out here and see every tree that's grown that you've planted and every blade of grass that you've improved, and there's the foundation of the coffee industry sitting down there, you look back and you say, well, it's been a good life.

Mick also attaches great importance to ties of blood, especially to his own family. His wife, Jeanette, keeps the books for Zenag's various enterprises. Of his four sons, Richard is a trader, artifact retailer and owner-operator in light aircraft charter work; Tim is a real estate agent and, like Richard, lives with his own family in Lae; Christopher, a former head prefect of Cranbrook School, Sydney, is a solicitor in that city; Philip is studying veterinary science. Megan, the only daughter, is a pharmacist; she is married and lives in Sydney. Mick lives in a large rambling homestead with verandahs opening onto a panoramic view across his land. It overlooks a complex of workshops, a poultry farm, labour compound, piggery, slaughterhouse and vegetable garden with steep grazing lands in the middle distance and beyond the timbered ridges of the Buang Range. He rises each day before dawn, makes himself a pot of tea and listens to the first news bulletin from Radio Australia.

A heart attack which relegated him to walking up and down his front verandah overlooking the acres on which he has spent so much time and effort in the post-war years pioneering and developing the farming potential of the district has prohibited him from ever again climbing the steep grass hill to an old terrace a couple of hundred feet above the Watut River where he has opened up a patch of alluvial gold. It has resigned him to the inevitable and he leaves his son Philip, to carry on the farm.

[This chapter was completed in 1974.]



## 8

# Percy Chatterton: Pastor and Statesman

Ian Stuart

Teacher and educationalist, youth worker, pastor, linguist and Bible translator, public speaker and politician, Percy Chatterton can look back on a remarkably varied career. The foundations were laid in a lower middle class London home before World War I and it was there that his interest in a wide range of subjects was originally stimulated and his particular talents sympathetically encouraged. Percy was born at Sale on the outskirts of Manchester on 8 October 1898. He was the younger child of Henry and Alice Chatterton whose first child, a daughter, had been born seven years earlier. The family moved to London while Percy was still a baby and he was educated first at the Stationers' Company School, an establishment of the ancient livery company, and later at the City of London School, which was run by the City Corporation. Henry Chatterton was a Freeman of the City and consequently was eligible for certain privileges such as a scholarship for his son at the Corporation's school. Without this assistance the Chattertons would not have been able to afford the fees.

Percy's people were nonconformist in religion, radical in politics and liberal in their social attitudes. They were fairly typical of that English class of Free Churchmen of the time who were passionately committed to the cause of education and self-improvement and were enthusiastic workers for social reform. Henry Chatterton was employed as a salesman by the publishing firm of Nelson and the perquisites of his job enabled him to fill his house with books

dealing with a wide range of subjects. His enthusiasm was infectious and Percy and his sister grew up to share their father's love of books and thirst for knowledge. In 1915 Percy entered the University College of London to take a degree course in physical science. Twice during the next two years he tried to enlist in the army but was rejected because of his poor sight. A third attempt, however, was successful, the standard of physical fitness required in recruits having apparently been lowered and, in 1917, at the age of nineteen, he was sent to Chatham barracks in Kent for his initial training. Early in 1918 he was posted to France where, by this time, trench warfare had come to an end and the Germans had begun to retreat. The young soldier was in Belgium when the Armistice was declared.

On his return home Percy decided against resuming his interrupted university studies. This decision was partly due to the restlessness felt by many returned soldiers but also to the fact that physical science no longer appealed to him. He found that he had lost interest in things and had gained instead a new interest in people. This prompted him to look for and find a job as a teacher and to begin studying privately for a teaching diploma from the College of Preceptors, the oldest teachers' organisation in the country. It was not a teachers' training college in the modern sense; it prescribed a course of studies and awarded diplomas by examination. Percy gained his Associateship while teaching in London and soon afterwards obtained a position with a Quaker school in Lancashire. The Society of Friends was progressive in its educational attitudes and it ran what were probably the only co-educational boarding schools in England at the time. Chatterton found himself in sympathy with the Quaker viewpoint and life style. He shared the Quakers' liberal approach to theology and the love of quiet simplicity in their forms of worship and he appreciated their compassionate Christian humanism. Working also at the school was Christian Finlayson, a young woman with attitudes and ideals very similar to his own. A friendship developed and deepened, Percy proposed and was accepted, and the two were married in 1923.

Percy's parents had strong church affiliations and he and his sister had been exposed frequently to visiting missionary deputationists. The resident minister often preached sermons containing strong

calls for the faithful to offer themselves for service in the Lord's vineyard and the Chatterton children learnt much about missionary lands in their weekly Sunday School lessons. Percy's sister had obtained a secretarial job at the headquarters office of the London Missionary Society on leaving school and, when the L.M.S. appealed for teachers to volunteer for service overseas, Percy and Christian were among those who responded. In Percy's Sunday School room there was a picture of a Papuan house and child, which had captured and held his interest. Consequently, when he and his wife were offered a choice between Samoa and Papua, Percy at once opted for Papua. The Chattertons were accepted for missionary service about the middle of 1923 and the remainder of the year was spent at various London institutions in a crash course to prepare them for their new work. Percy also continued his studies under the direction of the College of Preceptors; he was later to gain his Licentiate'ship at an examination for which he sat in Port Moresby under the supervision of the local resident magistrate.

The young missionaries arrived in Papua early in 1924 and found Port Moresby to be a small, dusty, Australian-type country town. It was a white enclave of about 500 Europeans on New Guinea's shores and was surrounded and served by Papuan villagers who were tolerated in the town proper only at certain times and for purposes of work. Following alarm over sexual attacks upon white women by Papuan men in this period, a White Women's Protection Ordinance had been introduced. It provided draconian punishments for Papuan offenders. A curfew on natives in the town from nine o'clock at night until dawn the following morning was also imposed. The Lieutenant-Governor, Hubert Murray, had bowed to the residents' demands in this matter but many were still suspicious of his native policy, which they considered too favourable to Papuans. The more extreme residents strongly opposed his administration.

The Chattertons were not very interested in or concerned about the turbulent currents running through the little white community. Their vocation as missionaries immediately set them apart from the other white residents, who tended to regard missionary activity with, at best, rather patronising tolerance or, at worst, open contempt and hostility. They were also removed from the town proper and occupied a quite different world on the opposite shores of the

harbour. The new teachers lived in a house at the mission station at Metoreia very near to the spot where Dr and Mrs Lawes had lived some fifty years earlier when they arrived in New Guinea as the first white missionaries and first white residents of the country. The Chattertons' house was on the site of the first church built by Dr Lawes (the area today has been occupied again by the Poreporena Church). The people of the group of villages known as Hanuabada on the shores of Port Moresby had given the first missionaries the ridge above the beach for their station and from this elevated position the Chattertons looked down on a scene little changed from that of fifty years earlier. The village houses were still built of native materials on stilts out over the water and life went on in a traditional way. The Hanuabadans were not as yet much affected by the presence of the white town, the corrugated roofs of which they could see glaring across the harbour. There was little contact between the two communities and the possibility of closer relations seems not to have occurred to residents of either town nor village.

Chatterton discovered the school founded by Lawes holding its classes on house verandahs and in the shade of nearby trees. Until a full-time kindergarten teacher, Doris Smith, was appointed in 1921, the school had been supervised by missionaries whose educational work was only a part of their wider activities and responsibilities. Chatterton became the first headmaster whose sole task was the running of the school but, even so, his work involved not only the instruction of the pupils but also the training and guidance of its Papuan teaching staff. The Chattertons did not have to endure for long the makeshift classroom arrangements. J. H. P. Murray, the Lieutenant-Governor, had noted that the new Australian administration of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea had announced that it would establish government schools in the former German colony. In Papua all the schools were run by missions but, with the introduction of native taxation in 1918, funds became available to the administration to enable it to subsidise this work with an annual grant-in-aid. The L.M.S. was already receiving this help and Murray, who wanted an effective and impressive school for Papuan children in his capital, was prepared to assist further. Soon after the Chattertons' arrival the government financed the building of classrooms superior to any others in the country at the time. It also provided the mission with a grant to help meet the cost of maintaining the school's overseas

staff, which included Christian Chatterton as well as Doris Smith and Percy. Indeed, it was this promise of help that had enabled the L.M.S. to offer the position to the Chattertons.

The young English teachers quickly won the affection of their pupils. The older missionaries were respected and considered to be good men and women but the Chattertons' relaxed, friendly and good-humoured approach was something new in the students' experience. Former pupils of the school during the fifteen years of Percy's regime still remember their old teacher with enthusiasm. The school had an enrolment of about 500 pupils and Chatterton believes that, in this area, there are probably more children without education today than there were then. Classes ranged from Standard 1 through to 5, a sixth class being added towards the end of the thirties. The staff, apart from the European missionaries, consisted of young Papuans of both sexes who received their training on the job. Their abilities were limited and their numbers inadequate but Chatterton considers that they did surprisingly well in coping with classes of forty to sixty children in poorly equipped classrooms. School was held on four days a week — the headmaster bowed to opposition by the parents to classes on Fridays on the grounds that there was much that the children needed to learn from them. The girls were expected to perform many home and garden chores before school and during the midday break and they sometimes slept soundly through the last lessons of the day on hot afternoons. The parents did not object to their daughters going to school but could not see much point in their doing so. One father commented to Chatterton: 'What's the good of teaching girls to read and write. They only use it to write naughty notes to boys'. The headmaster occasionally confiscated one of these notes in transit and had to agree that 'naughty' was certainly a suitable word to apply to them.

The school's curriculum was based on vernacular literacy and the teaching of social studies. English was also taught and this won for the school a government grant assessed on the basis of the number of children who passed an annual examination conducted by an external examiner, usually a retired Queensland teacher. Pupils who obtained a pass earned for their mission a per capita grant with a base of 5/- for children in Standard 1. A maximum of £250 a year was placed on the grant given to any one mission. Percy has dubbed this system of grants as 'a bob a nob' scheme. The teaching of

English was a hard struggle for both the teachers and the taught. Modern methods of dealing with the subject as a foreign language were still in their infancy but Chatterton had had the good fortune to be in touch with one of the pioneers in the field when doing part of his missionary training course at the London School of Oriental Studies. There were no suitable primers and readers available at first and supplementary reading material tended to be either to infantile in content or difficult in language. The government recognised this difficulty and got together a small team of people, of whom Percy was one, to prepare a series of Papuan readers in English that were related to the children's needs and experience. In spite of lack of materials and the fact that there were few opportunities for the children to practise their English outside the classroom, the school laid a foundation on which those pupils who later obtained employment with Europeans were able to build.

The missions have been criticised for limiting their pre-war educational efforts to a primary level of schooling but Chatterton believes that such condemnation is unfair. At the time there were no opportunities of employment for students with post-primary schooling. The prevailing sentiment among Europeans in both the administration and the private sector was hostile to the idea of Papuans aspiring to any but the most lowly jobs. There were exceptions — some young men were trained as carpenters, mechanics and medical orderlies and others manned the fleet of small ships plying the Papuan coast — but the number of these positions was limited. Thus higher education at the time could lead only to frustration and bitterness. Chatterton thinks that he and his colleagues did a sensible and practical job in the situation in which they found themselves: 'If we produced no potential university graduates, we also touched off no drop-out problems'.<sup>1</sup> In 1927 Percy purchased a second-hand Buick car of 1916 vintage and, when the people were living in temporary homes in their gardens on the Laloki, he established a camp school for the children and held classes for them two days a week during the gardening season. He went out as well on Sundays to conduct services and also used his car to visit and supervise the work of the Papuan teachers in the smaller schools of the villages around the town.

Percy's interest in the children extended beyond school hours and also beyond school years. He and Mrs Chatterton founded the boy scout and girl guide movements in Papua to provide worth-

while activities for the youngsters' leisure time and, when they came to the end of their school days, he helped those who wanted jobs to find positions with the administration or the business firms in the town. However, most of the children were happy to be absorbed into the ordinary life of the village. Percy encouraged his pupils to keep up their traditional games as well as introducing them to cricket, football and hockey. The mission, at Percy's prompting, built a small clubroom in the village with a billiards table and other recreational facilities and he assisted the committee of young men who were appointed to manage it. While Chatterton was at Hanuabada two tribal institutions that had formerly occupied much of the people's time were given up. These were the ritual feast dances such as the *turia* and the *tabu* and the annual trading expedition called the *hiri*. The church had always opposed the dances, forbidding its members to take part in them. But when they were dropped in the mid-thirties only about one-third of the villagers were church members and the others could have continued the ceremonies had they wished to do so. The *hiri* had been condemned by early European and Polynesian missionaries because of the nature of the preparatory rituals but this opposition had faded so completely that Chatterton himself was unaware that it had ever existed. He conducted prayers on board the last *lagatoi* to leave Hanuabada on the eve of its departure and the captain, Frank Rei of Elevala village, a personal friend and pillar of the church, invited him to join the crew at Gemo Island on its return for the last stage of the journey home. Chatterton believes that the *hiri* and the feast dances were finally abandoned, not because of mission opposition, but because the drift of more and more of the young men of the villages into wage earning employment left the community without the manpower necessary to stage these great tribal events. When the *hiri* was given up the people established extensive food gardens on the banks of the Laloki River, which could now be reached by motor vehicle. Their economy was still based on subsistence agriculture, fishing and trade, and they looked on cash as an optional extra for the purchase of luxuries rather than the necessities of life.

Chatterton has described the 1930s in Hanuabada in rather idyllic terms:<sup>2</sup>

In retrospect, it is clear that the decade we have been considering was an interlude in the passage of Hanuabada from one world to another. The

people of Hanuabada had emerged from their stone-age world. They had abandoned the worst of their own bad habits and had not yet adopted the worst of ours. They had effected an, at any rate, temporarily successful synthesis of their subsistence and our cash economics, and they had carried over the essence of their own basically democratic village organization into their relations with the new religion and the new state. Furthermore, they had not yet developed a sensitivity to racial discrimination, partly because they were satisfied with their own society and had no desire to be integrated into a European one, and partly because, while recognizing that many of the skills of the white men were, for the present at any rate, beyond their reach, they were quietly proud of the fact that they possessed some skills in which the white men were notably deficient. It was perhaps a rather simple-minded, but essentially a happy, interlude.

Percy saw this old Hanuabada for the last time in 1942. A few weeks later the Pacific War had swept it away. The village was burned down by labourers living in it and of the pleasant, grass-thatched, palm-leaved walled houses, only the blackened stumps remained, sticking out of the water like betel-nut stained teeth.

During Chatterton's early years at Hanuabada his particular talents for leadership found expression in his own educational field. His missionary colleagues found him rather reserved and with a strong tendency to mind his own business and get on with his own job. He never offered gratuitous advice but was always willing and generally able to help when requested. It is possible that he was sensitive to the fact that he was a lay missionary without the status and prestige of his ordained fellow workers. The Congregational Church, of which the London Missionary Society was the missionary arm, is the least hierarchically oriented of churches and has a highly democratic system of organisation, but the South Sea Island pastors had brought with them to Papua a rather different view of the ordained ministry from that of the English home church. It is said that the Tongans regarded pastors as equal in rank to high chiefs, while the Samoans considered them to be gods. Chatterton was a layman in Papua for eighteen years before he was ordained and there may have been times towards the end of this period when he felt that his lay status denied him the respect his experience and ability deserved. Certainly, he was not inclined to suffer fools gladly and, when he was chairman of the local district assembly, some of the delegates were stung by his impatience with their obtuseness and bewildered by the business-like efficiency with which he conducted the proceedings of the church conferences.



The Chattertons did not have much contact with the residents of the town. It was an era in which the only expatriates expected to have close relationships with the Papuans were the missionaries and government officers whose work made it necessary for them to have dealings with native people. Other expatriates who showed interest in the Papuans were immediately suspected of being eccentrics or, even worse, 'coon lovers' and so it was not possible, for example, for Percy to enlist the help of young white men and women in the town to assist him in developing the scouting and guiding movements. His efforts to find employment for school leavers brought him in touch with some of the leading citizens and a closer association was cultivated when he joined the local debating society, proving to be one of its most effective speakers. However, his strongest links with the settlement across the harbour were forged through the Ela Protestant Church in the town. It was the custom for the missionaries at Metoreia to go across, at first by boat and later, when the road was extended to Hanuabada, by motor car on Sunday evenings to conduct the service for the townspeople in the little Douglas Street chapel. This provided the best opportunity to make friends with members of the white community most likely to be sympathetic.

In 1939 the L.M.S. transferred the Chattertons to Delena, a village on the south side of Hall Sound, which is to the west of Port Moresby. The station was the headquarters of a large mission district, which included a number of smaller centres, each with its own teacher-pastor. The pioneer missionary, James Chalmers, had settled a Polynesian pastor at Delena in 1882 and the Reverend H. M. Dauncey, the district's first European missionary, had been appointed in 1894. Dauncey stayed for thirty-four years and it was his successor, the Reverend R. L. Turner, who handed over the station to Chatterton in 1939. Despite, or perhaps because of, this remarkable length of service by the first two European missionaries, the district had not greatly prospered in the growth of church membership. Turner believed the reasons for this to have been an overdependence for too long on Polynesian pastors, the failure to use the local vernacular as the language of church and school, and the church's rule prohibiting traditional dancing.

Chatterton at once set about to complete the work, initiated by Turner, in training Papuans to replace the remaining two

Polynesian pastors. He used his predecessor's notes on the grammar and vocabulary of the Roro language to master it quickly and to introduce it into church services and school classrooms in place of the Motu that had previously been used. The dancing issue was a difficult one. Turner had, with great opposition from the local church leaders, managed to lift the ban (it is interesting to note that the Papuans were more conservative in upholding the traditional missionary attitude than the missionaries themselves). Percy found by experience that the final result was much the same whether the church banned the practice or not. If there was a rule forbidding it, those who wanted to dance broke the rule and were dismissed from church membership. If there was no rule the people who danced were so carried away by the activity that they had little time, interest or energy left for church affairs anyway. Chatterton himself had too much respect for the Papuans and their ways to seek to impose his will in the matter and was temperamentally unable to adopt an intolerant attitude towards Papuan customs.

Along with notes on the Roro language, Turner had left Chatterton the first draft of a translation of St Luke's Gospel; Percy at once took up the task of completing this work. He claims that he has no special linguistic skills, but his Hanuabadan friends recall that he was preaching in their language within six months of his arrival in Port Moresby. With or without special talents, he always had the perseverance to master new languages and, while he finds it hard work, it is an activity he enjoys. When St Luke was completed, he went on to translate the other three Gospels into the Roro language and had the satisfaction of seeing his work accepted and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Even more satisfying was the response of the Papuans when he introduced their language into the church and school. He recalls the initial mystification of the children and then their growing delight when he first wrote a sentence in Roro on the school blackboard. Though they were literate in Motu, it had not occurred to them that their own language could be written and read.

Opposite Delena, across Hall Sound, is Yule Island, on which were situated the headquarters of the Catholic Mission in Papua. The Missionary Fathers of the Sacred Heart had come to the island in 1885 to the consternation and resentment of the L.M.S., who looked upon them as intruders upon their own domain. In the bitter dispute that followed, the government at first supported the

L.M.S. but eventually allowed the Catholics to stay. However, they were confined to the island, a narrow stretch of the mainland coast and the mountainous hinterland. Relations between the two missions had been poor for many years, but when the Chattertons arrived at Delena much of the old rancour had gone and they were able to make friends with at least some of the Catholic Mission staff. This would probably have been easier had the Catholics been Australian, English or American, but most were from France, Spain and Italy. Thus to the difference of religion were added differences of language and culture. It was a period in which an ecumenical spirit between the churches was beginning to be fostered overseas, but the Papuan missionaries, remote from the centres of church affairs, were unlikely as yet to be much affected by it. As with the attitude towards dancing, the local church members tended to be more conservative than the expatriates and to harbour the old animosities for longer. It was often the Papuan adherents who were involved in disputes rather than the leaders of the two missions. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that hamlets traditionally hostile towards one another had tended to embrace the mission not supported by their enemies. This enabled them, under the cloak of religion, to prolong age-old differences that really had nothing to do with Catholic/Protestant issues. During the early years of both missions the people had cleverly exploited the two groups of missionaries for their own ends and to their own advantage, but by the time the Chattertons went to the area a more Christian spirit prevailed; the newcomers did their best to foster and encourage it. Percy and Mrs Chatterton consider the eighteen years they spent at Delena the happiest of their lives; this indicates the degree of their acceptance by the people of the district and the affection in which they were held. They would hardly have been so happy had their own offer of friendship not been met with a warm response on the part of both the Papuans and their European neighbours.

On his appointment to Delena, the L.M.S. had suggested to Chatterton the possibility of ordination. Percy accepted this call and, after some theological studies, was ordained to the ministry of the Congregational Church in Australia in 1943. This enabled him to exercise the full functions of a pastor, but it is characteristic of him that he did not use his new authority to set up his own little spiritual kingdom. Instead he strengthened the L.M.S. system of

village congregational meetings and established a central district church council made up of lay members and pastors representing the village congregations. The effect of this organisation was to involve the ordinary members more closely in the affairs of their church and, during Chatterton's last years at Delena, the council took an increasingly greater responsibility for the management of the church in the district. Percy's own role was that of adviser, consultant and conciliator when requested by the councillors. This exercise in localisation was well under way at a time when the word was unheard of in the land and the concept, if thought of at all, was paid little more than lip service. The scheme of church government also helped to prepare the people for the later introduction of local government councils.

The Japanese invaders did not reach the south coast of Papua during the Pacific campaigns of World War II and the work of the mission went on, although under new difficulties. The L.M.S. authorities insisted that all European women missionaries be evacuated from the country and Mrs Chatterton was separated from Percy from the beginning of 1942 until mid-1944 when she was allowed to return. They were reunited for a brief period in 1943 when Percy went to Sydney for medical treatment and to prepare for his ordination. The rest of the war period he got on with his job and managed to cope with the isolation brought about by the cessation of all normal forms of communication and the lack of almost all kinds of supplies that could not be obtained locally. In the villages life was disrupted as the authorities took away all the able-bodied men to work as labourers for the allied troops. In place of the menfolk some of the villages in the district received Papuan evacuees from the Port Moresby area. There were hardships involved in accommodating and feeding the new population, mostly composed of old men, women and children, and the evacuees were grateful to find their former teacher and friend in the same district as their temporary homes and anxious to help them to adjust to their new situation. Despite the difficulties the missionaries managed to keep their sense of humour and, when a colleague sent him a proposal concerning the transfer of certain pastors, and the censor removed all personal and place names, Chatterton sent back the mutilated letter, which read: 'I propose that . . . be transferred from . . . to . . . and that . . . be transferred from . . . to . . .', with the comment 'I could not agree more!'

In the immediate post-war years, the Director of the newly established Department of Education, W. C. Groves, who had earlier married Doris Smith, Chatterton's fellow staff member at the Hanuabada School, enlisted his aid in initiating a program of teacher training under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme. From this work eventually developed the church's Ruatoka Teachers' College at Kwikila, some 70 miles to the east of Port Moresby.

In the early fifties, numbers of Papuans and New Guineans began to migrate to Port Moresby for the advantages they believed town life offered them. The L.M.S. was concerned for the spiritual welfare and pastoral care of the newcomers. Many of them belonged to its mission but did not fit easily into the established congregations of the villages around the town. When they did not drift away from church membership entirely, they tended to set up their own informal congregations along tribal or linguistic lines. The old church structure was inadequate to meet the new situation and in 1958 the L.M.S. asked Chatterton to pioneer a new type of ministry in the town. When Percy and Christian went back to Port Moresby that year they found it to be a very different place from the little township they had left nearly twenty years before. During the war it had become a huge army base and in 1945 it had been made the capital of the combined Territories of Papua and New Guinea. The Australian government's new policy of development involved it in the expenditure of very much more money than had been available before the war and this in turn encouraged the growth of many new industries in the private sector. Many more jobs became available for local people and there were much greater opportunities for their advancement than had been possible before the war. Nevertheless, old racial attitudes and discriminatory practices tended to linger on. The native curfew had been abolished in 1955, but prohibition was still in force for native people and they were forbidden by law to attend the expatriate cinemas as a special film censorship was applied to them. Social separation was almost as complete as it had been before the war, but some bridges were being built between the races: the missions were establishing welfare centres, youth programs, adult education classes and sports clubs and some of the town's expatriate residents were drawn in to assist with these activities.

The Chattertons settled at Koki and the difference between their quiet Delena home and the noisy, busy, boisterous and smelly bayside suburb could hardly have been greater. The church authorities had recognised that the influx of Papuans and New Guineans to the town posed problems but they could hardly have realised the immensity of the task to which they had appointed the now experienced missionary. It was thought at first that he would have time to engage, in addition to his pastoral duties, in biblical translation work; the combination of these tasks would have taxed the resources of a much younger man. The translation work, which involved the preparation of the whole of the Old Testament in Motu for publication, demanded careful concentration. At the same time, the gathering together of church members scattered around the town necessarily meant constant visiting to seek them out and then to win their friendship and confidence, assist them with the painful process of adapting to urban life and to offer them advice on a multitude of problems. The choice of the hillside above Koki for his house, and, later, a large church, was a happy one as it is near Koki Market, a popular meeting place for Papuans. Chatterton was able to gather for worship on Sunday mornings a large congregation, which then divided and organised itself into smaller ethnic groups for other meetings, conducted by their members in a variety of languages later in the day. In 1962 the Bible Society asked that Chatterton be released to devote his whole time to the translation work and his last two years with the L.M.S. were spent in completing the Motu Old Testament. The Chattertons moved from Koki to a cottage on the main road through Kaugere, a suburb of low-cost government housing fringed by migrant settlements. The situation was hardly an ideal one for a scholar, with the almost constant roar of traffic a few yards away, the clouds of dust raised on the unsealed road and the frequent calls for assistance from his Papuan neighbours. Nevertheless, the Scratchley Road cottage was to be the Chattertons' home for the next ten years.

Chatterton is sceptical that the course his life has taken was the result of chance. He is convinced that underlying it there has been a meaning, a purpose and a spiritual grace at work giving guidance and direction. Fortuitously or providentially, the time for his retirement from the L.M.S. at the age of sixty-five years coincided, in 1964, with the elections for the first House of Assembly in Papua

and New Guinea. He and Mrs Chatterton had no wish to leave Papua but he needed some worthwhile employment if they were to be able to stay. At the same time Percy wanted very much to see the missionary representation in the old Legislative Council maintained in the new Assembly. He determined to stand for election in the Central Special Electorate, one of those in the first House reserved for expatriates. Percy believed that he was in a position to make an effective and useful contribution in the new parliament. He had long been interested in the skills of debate and public speaking, of which he is an accomplished, witty and persuasive exponent. The forty years of close involvement in Papuan affairs, together with his mastery of native vernaculars, gave him, as an expatriate, an almost unique authority and ability to represent local interests. His church affiliations and ecumenical spirit meant that the missions would have in him a clear and sympathetic voice. Chatterton was not worried by the traditional stand taken by English Dissenters with regard to the separation of church and state. There was no established church in Papua and New Guinea and he did not believe there was a conflict between the roles of churchman and politician. His six years of residence in the town had given him an intimate knowledge of the needs of his Papuan constituents, while his respect for all men, regardless of race, promised that the expatriates in his electorate would not be neglected or ignored.

Apart from these obvious qualifications, Chatterton perhaps had more personal reasons for seeking election. He had admired and respected Sir Hubert Murray and his senior officers in pre-war Papua, but he was less impressed by many of the post-war administration officials, whom he considered to be overinfluenced by the attitudes and policies of the old Mandated Territory. There has always been some tension between government and mission. Government officers have sometimes been suspicious and perhaps resentful of the missionaries' influence over the people, an influence strengthened by their tendency to stay for long periods in the one place and to become fluent in the local vernacular. This was in contrast to the frequent transferring from one station to another of the *kiaps*. In turn, the missionaries were often critical of what they believed to be a lack of real interest, sympathy and understanding on the part of the *kiaps* towards the people under their administration. For a linguist such as Chatterton, one manifestation of the superficial nature of many officers' contact

with the people was their seeming inability to master the simple rules of phonetic spelling and their apparently wilful insistence on mispronouncing most native names and words. His conviction that many of the administration's policies were wrong must have enhanced the attractiveness of a position in which he might be able to bring about a change in these policies and actions.

Chatterton could have had other reasons for seeking election. He had devoted his working life and special talents and skills to a quiet ministry which, while it had brought him happiness and personal satisfaction, had not perhaps won him the acclaim which was his due. Papuans are not demonstrative in showing appreciation and most men need assurance that their work has been recognised and their talents valued for their true worth. To the indifference or ridicule of the conventional worldly attitude towards the missionary vocation had more recently been added the criticism of scholars assessing the contribution of missions to the development of Papua New Guinea. Chatterton believed that much of this criticism was unfairly hostile and it was natural for him to resent the disparagement of a lifetime's work as not simply irrelevant but positively harmful. As a member of the House of Assembly, he would have the status that would make his views more likely to be listened to. Whatever his motives, conscious or not, the majority of electors recognised his impressive array of qualifications and chose him as their member from a field of five other candidates.

Chatterton enjoyed the first House. It was not then divided along party lines and there was a friendly atmosphere; members were prepared to listen to and be influenced by well prepared speeches and skilful debate. But the member for Moresby Open was less happy in the second House, to which he was returned with a comfortable majority over his formidable opponent, J. K. McCarthy, a former Director of the Division of District Administration and an official member of the first House. Increasingly, Pidgin became the language of debate and its use almost obligatory if the attention and support of the majority of the New Guinean members were to be won. Chatterton, who almost certainly understands the language well, refuses to speak it and is prejudiced against it. He resents its growing acceptance in Papua at the expense of Hiri Motu, the old Papuan lingua franca. He also regretted the growth of political parties in place of the flexible and informal groupings of the first House. On issues about which the parties held deter-



mined and opposing views, members tended to substitute derision, abuse and personal attacks for reasoned argument and debate. Chatterton deplored deterioration in the standard of the speeches and the manifestations of bitter hostility between the members. He believed that the parliament of a country with little or no sense of national unity could not afford the luxury of shouting matches and the ridiculing of opponents. Despite the many protestations of national unity, he feared that there was in fact, less real unity at the end of the second House than at its beginning. Chatterton did not join a political party during his years as a politician but he was, perhaps, most in sympathy with the aims and objects of Pangu Pati, and his position was well to the left of centre.

In his maiden speech on 10 June 1964, the member for Central Special raised the subject of school leavers in the towns, their difficulty in obtaining employment and the need for more diversity in the type of education offered in the country's high schools. He was thus one of the first to draw attention to a problem to which no satisfactory solution has yet been found. A few days later he took up a subject to which he was to return again and again during the next eight years. This was the provision of low-cost housing in the town. In a hard-hitting speech, he castigated those responsible for the design and building of the terrible little concrete boxes recently erected at Hohola. He urged that the office of Housing Commissioner be abolished and that, instead, a Housing Commission be set up. He drew attention to the fact that, in its efforts to build cheap houses, the administration had made no attempt to find out what the people who would have to live in them thought about their design. As a result, as well as being small, the Hohola concrete boxes were repugnant to the occupiers. Percy hoped that these houses would eventually be demolished and replaced with others of a better design. In this he was disappointed but the residents of the 'dog boxes', as they are popularly called, have since taken matters into their own hands and have added to and altered them with scrap materials and constructions of their own devising. While the effect is hardly aesthetic, they have been made more habitable. This practical solution was not permitted until recently — earlier the administration stuck strictly to its building regulations and swept away any improvements the occupiers tried to make.

The Central Special Electorate included the Port Moresby and Goilala Sub-districts of the Central District. Percy had already met

many of the Goilala people living in the town and, after the first meeting of the House, he visited their home area, which he believed the administration had neglected. He took up the cause of the area and made strong appeals for government assistance in constructing a road down to the coast so that the people would have the opportunity to develop a cash economy by selling the food crops and beef cattle that flourished in the mountain valleys. This concern for minority groups became a pattern running through his speeches and his work. He took up the causes of mental patients at the Laloki Mental Hospital, increased wages for young female trainees, migrant settlers in Port Moresby, accommodation for married students undertaking long courses of studies and the welfare of Irian Jaya refugees. To help these refugees, he learnt Bahasa Indonesia. The ordinary people of the town were his special care and he continued to worry about the things which affected them most — housing, employment, schooling, taxation, local government and co-operatives, law enforcement, food costs and marketing, trading practices and public transport. Any matter involving civil liberties was certain to bring him to his feet and he was involved in debates on an independent judiciary, discriminatory practices, the Public Order Bill of 1970 (which he opposed) and the Human Rights Bill of 1971 (which he introduced and was successful in having accepted). He failed, however, in his attempt to have an office of ombudsman created. Radio broadcasting especially interested him and at first he welcomed the setting up of administration stations with programs designed to meet local needs. Later he became disillusioned with their administering authority, the Department of Information and Extension Services, which he nicknamed 'Propaganda and Sweet Talk' and threatened to blow up its headquarters on Guy Fawkes Day 1971 if it did not provide a service for Motu-speaking people in the Port Moresby area. He would then, he declared, establish a pirate station to be called Radio Hiri on Fisherman's Island in the bay off Port Moresby. The department eventually opened a Central District station in 1974. Percy, of course, had not kept his Guy Fawkes or pirate station threats. However, he had turned his fire on the Australian Broadcasting Commission's Papua New Guinea Service, which, he believed, was promoting the Pidgin language and neglecting Hiri Motu. From this arose his successful efforts to have a national broadcasting commission established.

Chatterton's championship of the underdog and his vigilant defence of all citizens' rights and freedoms is consistent with his background and upbringing. These had also been the concerns of his Nonconformist forefathers and Percy carried on in Papua New Guinea the causes of the English reforming Dissenters. Looking back over his time as a politician, he believes his efforts to raise local wages, the setting up of the national broadcasting commission and the promotion of the Bill of Human Rights to have been his most important achievements. With regard to the last he says: 'Just how many of the rights set out in the ordinance will survive remains to be seen, but at least it ensures that, if the people of Papua New Guinea decide to throw them away, or allow them to be taken away, they will know what they are losing'. His biggest disappointments were the rejection of the ombudsman and the suggestion that a national capital district be created. The latter was an attempt to benefit both the city of Port Moresby and the rural areas of the Central District as well as Papua as a whole. If expenditure on the national capital were to be subtracted from the amount allowed in the budget for Papua, he believed that a true picture of Papua's comparative neglect in relation to New Guinea would be revealed.

In the last of the regular monthly features he wrote from 1966 to 1973 for the *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Chatterton acknowledged that he had expended most of his energy in the Assembly fighting what appeared to be lost causes and that his only substantial success was the passing of the Human Rights Bill. But he points out that many of the ideas he put forward between 1964 and 1971, which were ignored or ridiculed at the time, have since been taken up by others with more success. His plea that development plans should recognise the importance of social and political as well as economic factors was repeated many times during his time in politics and as early as September 1965, he said in the House:<sup>4</sup>

The World Bank Report lays great stress on the concentration of effort in areas of high economic potential and up to a point this is no doubt sound. But if it leads to complete neglect of the areas of low economic potential, it could be very dangerous indeed. We cannot, of course, hope to have an equal level of prosperity all over the Territory but if we allow the disparity between the most prosperous and the least prosperous areas to become too great, we shall create social and political problems which may well destroy the value of our economic advances and bring the Territory into a state of disunity from which

nothing will be able to save it. Nothing, not even a national anthem written for us by the Beatles.

These prophetic views were ignored at the time, but the concept of balanced development is now basic to the Somare government's Eight Point Plan.

Another of Percy's favourite themes that was ahead of its time was the warning that, in allowing and encouraging massive overseas investment by big corporations without careful restrictions and control, the country was in danger of exchanging political for economic colonialism. This has since become a subject for worldwide discussion and concern and the Papua New Guinea government is now well aware of the problems involved. Chatterton also had the satisfaction in 1971 of seeing certain jobs in the private sector, as well as in the public service, reserved for local workers. He had proposed this in November 1968 in the face of outraged opposition from many fellow members. In 1974, the government was also proposing to set up a national capital district and an ombudsman's commission.

A system of regional government is another idea Chatterton has promoted successfully. He is intensely loyal to Papua and resents very much the domination, as he sees it, of the former Australian Territory by the richer and more populous Trust Territory of New Guinea. He calls himself 'a colonial relic of the Hubert Murray era' and believes that some of the principles of Murray's administration that gave Papua its pre-war distinctiveness were swept away by New Guinea-oriented officers in the post-war period. He thinks that Papua has been forced into playing Cinderella to New Guinea's ugly sister, and fears for the future of the Papuans under the domination of the New Guineans, especially the Highlanders. Consequently, in May 1971, he supported the Member for Western and Gulf Regional Electorate, V. B. Counsel, in his call for an impartial inquiry into the future relationship between the two territories. He made clear his own views on the matter: he had accepted the Administrator's invitation to act as Chairman of the National Day Committee because he wanted to promote national unity. But this he saw as 'the unity of people who come together because they want to come together and stay together because they want to stay together'. He believed that 'a unity imposed by the arrogant upon the unwilling can only end in disaster and misery for the people of this country'.<sup>5</sup> Pointing out that it was untrue that, as

some had suggested, there were no alternatives other than a single nation within the old colonial boundaries or a collection of tiny, hostile fragments, he went on to spell out some other possibilities. These included semi-autonomous provinces united within a federal state or small, independent states linked by such bonds as a common market, customs union and defence pacts. He outlined his own suggestions for strong regional government in a paper read at the Fourth Waigani Seminar on the Politics of Melanesia in 1970.<sup>6</sup> This scheme would set up provincial assemblies composed of members of the House of Assembly representing electorates within the province along with an equal number of delegates from the province's local government councils. An independent president could be elected or appointed. The powers and responsibilities of national, provincial and local government respectively, would be worked out by agreement; decision making and implementation would be decentralised as much as possible to provincial and local levels, leaving the national government with mainly enabling, co-ordinating and regulative functions. The paper concluded:<sup>7</sup>

We are faced with the task of creating national unity where there is no national unity. We are asked to accept the end product of a series of colonial accidents as a fait accompli, and to transform it into an independent nation. Frankly, I am not optimistic about our chances of success. But I do believe that we have a somewhat better chance of success if we adopt a decentralised governmental structure of the kind I have suggested than if we persist in our present policy of centralism. In Niugini, centralist government has little hope of success. Centralist government based on Port Moresby has no hope of success at all.

There has been speculation as to the role, if any, Chatterton has played in the development of the Papua Besena Movement. He sponsored Miss Josephine Abaijah, the founder of the movement, when she sought election to his old seat in 1972 and he considered her qualifications made her worthy of his support, although he hardly knew her before she asked him for his help. As a champion of women's rights he was glad to assist a woman candidate, especially a personable, intelligent and well educated one, who also shared his pro-Papua sympathies. Whether he would have helped Miss Abaijah to success if she had already formulated her secessionist policies is not known,<sup>8</sup> but Chatterton is certainly in sympathy with many of the Besena aims and believes that it expresses some of the legitimate hopes, fears and grievances of the

Papuan people. He does not, however, support the idea of complete secession from New Guinea, not because he would not like to see this happen, but because he believes that such separation is now no longer practical or possible. The most he feels can be hoped for at this stage is strong regional government for the Papuans, with a real measure of autonomy within the united nation. He confesses to a temperamental liking for small things and simple people, by which he no doubt means people with a simple life style, and he deplores the cult of bigness. By inference he would thus prefer a small independent Papua to a large, united Papua New Guinea. He watches old friends and colleagues busily engaged in such 'dinosaurian activities' as nation building and the creating of a national identity and neither condemns nor applauds. Of these activities he simply says, 'they are not my cup of tea'. With regard to the Papua Besena Movement he adopts a stance of strict neutrality: he does not support the movement, neither does he condemn it. This attitude does not satisfy some of those who deplore the effects of Besena on national unity and fear that it may provoke violence between Papuans and New Guineans. With his influence he could no doubt persuade many who now support the movement to accept union with New Guinea and the loss of a separate Papuan identity, but such persuasion would surely involve assurances to Miss Abaijah's followers that they, in his opinion, had nothing to fear from New Guinea and that they would be less well off if they separated. This Chatterton is unable to do: he does fear for Papua under New Guinea domination and he is not convinced that it is to Papua's advantage to be united to New Guinea.

He believes the people of the Highland Districts pose the greatest threat to the Papuans. He has made it clear that he resents the presence of the Highlanders in such large numbers in Port Moresby and would like to see most of them depart, along with the Pidgin language, for their homes. This antipathy is perhaps prompted in part by their very numbers. However, the characteristics generally attributed to the mountain people are precisely those he finds least attractive in his fellow men. Their big man system, their materialism and love of ostentation and the trappings of power, their arrogance, aggressiveness and urge to dominate are all distasteful to him.<sup>9</sup> He has also, perhaps, reacted defensively to the tendency, apparent until recently, of many expatriates to compare the coastal Papuans unfavourably with the Highlanders and to

predict confidently that the mountain tribes would leave their lowland neighbours far behind in future achievement. Chatterton might bear some personal resentment towards the Highlanders for their opposition to his most cherished proposals in the House of Assembly. At least some Highland support was necessary if any bill was to be approved and official members often denied him this by using what he called the roads and bridges tactic. The cry that the cost of social legislation proposed by Percy would mean less money for physical development was usually enough to turn the Highlanders against him. Despite their many problems and disadvantages, the mountain people seem to be the one group in the country that has failed to win his ready sympathy and to have strained his usually warm charity and tolerance. The tone of some of his letters to the editor of the *Post-Courier* on the problems caused by the Highlanders in Port Moresby has been, on occasions, less than kind and perhaps unfairly critical.

Chatterton's work for the underprivileged inevitably involved him in much prodding and pricking of the Australian administration. When Michael Somare and he, on 25 November 1968, attacked it for its treatment of Irianese refugees in Manus Island camps, Assistant Administrator Frank Henderson was stung to retort: 'I think it unfortunate that Mr Somare and Mr Chatterton should have besmirched the good name of Papua and New Guinea as they have done today . . . Mr Chatterton and Mr Somare are always only too willing to think the worst of the Administration'.<sup>10</sup> Percy has been accused of being not only anti-administration but also anti-Australian. He denies this, though he once expressed regret in the House that Great Britain had ever handed over her New Guinean possession to Australia and declared that Papua would have fared better if it had enjoyed the same status as the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Percy claims that these were tongue-in-cheek comments and a manifestation of his delight in leg pulling. What he does resent is the Australian tendency to believe that its administration of Papua New Guinea is the best of all possible governments simply by virtue of the fact that it is Australian. He is also irritated by the administration's refusal to consider the possibility of being able to learn anything useful from other colonial powers and its automatic conviction that anything good for Australia must necessarily be also good for Papua New Guinea. There must have been many times when the official mem-

bers of the House felt Chatterton to be a thorn in the flesh, but despite many wide differences of opinion and disagreements over policy he retained the respect and even the affection of many of those he opposed. It is to the Australian government's credit that it recommended him for an award in recognition of his services to Papua New Guinea: He received an O.B.E. in the New Year's Honours of 1972. No doubt he was grateful for this official recognition of his efforts on behalf of the people of Papua and derived a deep sense of satisfaction for the honour bestowed on him and, indirectly, through him on his missionary colleagues. But perhaps a distinction that gave him more pleasure was the honorary Doctorate of Laws conferred upon him in March the same year by the University of Papua New Guinea. He had been the constant, if not uncritical, friend and supporter of the university since its foundation and had defended it in the House when its autonomy seemed threatened.

Chatterton was provided with a very useful platform from which to express his views when the editor of the *Pacific Islands Monthly* invited him, in 1966, to contribute a regular feature article called 'To The Point'. It is interesting that Percy took the place, as monthly columnist, of the late Gordon Thomas who had gone to New Guinea to work for the Methodist Mission in 1911.<sup>11</sup> Thomas later became editor of the *Rabaul Times* and while, in the thirties, Chatterton was writing to the *Papuan Courier* urging a more sympathetic attitude from white motorists towards Papuan pedestrians, Thomas was advising his readers that the maintenance of white supremacy demanded that, when natives were to be carried in a motor car, it should be on the running board rather than inside.<sup>12</sup> Both writers showed a tendency to look back nostalgically on the between-wars period in Papua and New Guinea, respectively, but Thomas's view was tinged with a bias in favour of white privilege while Chatterton's interest was in the life of the Papuan villagers. Another difference was their attitude towards events of more recent times. Thomas's stance tended to be reactionary; he almost invariably compared current developments unfavourably with the practices of the 'time before'. He was, in fact, a classic exemplar of the 'before' generation. Chatterton could never be thought of as 'before' in this sense. All contemporary trends, affairs and attitudes were grist to his mill, to be examined carefully,



and criticised or commended according to his judgment of their merits. The range of topics he has discussed in his column is as wide as Papua New Guinea itself and it is doubtful if a single institution, activity or development has escaped the discerning glance behind those pebble-lensed spectacles. At the beginning of 1970 'To The Point' was altered in format and the name changed to 'Footnotes — With Percy Chatterton in Port Moresby'. The editor, perhaps because of the popularity of the feature, added similar columns from writers in other Pacific centres.

Chatterton's relaxed, easy style of writing is deceptive in that it does not indicate the amount of care and hard work he gives to it. Through it runs a thread of compassionate concern for others, even when he is gently mocking the follies and the foibles of those involved in Papua New Guinea affairs. His quick ability to laugh at himself makes it difficult for others to feel offended when he laughs at them. During his years as a politician Percy frequently wrote letters to the editor of the *Post-Courier*. They showed the same clarity of thought as his *P.I.M.* feature and were always interesting and relevant, with often the added bonus of being amusing as well. He was the rarest of birds: a parson and a politician who was never boring. While many of his readers disagreed with his opinions or were exasperated by his attitudes, few were hostile to him personally. It was a remarkable achievement to be outspoken and controversial, sometimes in situations which were emotionally highly charged, and yet avoid producing a backlash of anger and hatred.

Percy's decision not to stand for the third House of Assembly in February 1972 was perhaps a wise one. Had he stood successfully, he would certainly have supported the coalition government on most issues; one wonders if he would have been temperamentally comfortable on the government benches. His scrutiny of proposed legislation, based on his own strongly held views regardless of party politics, could have been embarrassing to the coalition at times. Papua New Guineans, he wrote:<sup>13</sup>

are not by tradition tolerant people. In the small vulnerable communities in which they lived before the coming of the white man they could not afford to be tolerant of dissenters. Moreover, it was their belief, as it has been the belief of many peoples throughout the ages, that the failure of a single individual to conform to traditional customs and rituals could bring down the vengeance of gods or spirits on the whole community.

In the settlement of disputes tribal solidarity was more important than an abstract idea of justice being done. Chatterton doubts that nearly a century of contact with Western democracy has to any great extent produced an atmosphere of tolerance among Papua New Guineans and he suggests that the instant popularity of the slogan 'national unity' is a reflection of the old requirement of tribal life. With this awareness he could have found himself with the painful dilemma of choosing between giving the government the support it needed to function effectively and the dictates of his own conscience. There was some speculation at the time the new House met that Chatterton might be offered the Speakership under a provision whereby a small number of non-elected members could be co-opted to serve. He was, however, determined to retire from politics and settled down to enjoy the view from the verandah of his new cottage on a hill-top site in Sabama. The Chattertons' Papuan neighbours had helped them to obtain this house, near their old one, but away from the main road and in a more attractive location.

In retirement Chatterton can look back on fifty years of service to his adopted country. As an educator Percy can wryly reflect that the wheel has taken a full turn and what was previously despised and disparaged has now come to be recognised as sensible, sensitive and effective educational practice. In recent times there has been a widespread disillusionment with the kind of schooling introduced after World War II, which, in effect, assumed that every child should be prepared for admission to secondary and tertiary training institutions. In fact, only the brightest children can find places in high school and the country is faced with the problem of what to do with large numbers of young people who are unable to continue their schooling beyond Standard 6. The effect of their education has been to make them dissatisfied with traditional life in the villages without equipping them with the skills necessary to find the kind of employment they imagined their education would provide. Percy has pointed out that education has been regarded by many as a kind of cargo cult which would open the road to the material prosperity and all the trappings of Western affluent society. For most this has been a vain hope. Against the wishes of many missionary teachers, the post-war educators rejected vernacular teaching and demanded that English be the sole medium of instruction. Chatterton believes that the effect of this policy has been

to produce a generation that knows no language at all in depth. He considers that his pre-war Hanuabadan pupils were able to think more clearly, reason more effectively and grasp language skills better than today's youngsters who have learnt some English, but imperfectly. Meanwhile they have failed to master fully their parents' vernacular and, in the towns at least, are often confined to the use of Hiri Motu or Pidgin for communication and thought. As they have never been formally taught these languages, they are not usually literate in them or even very effective speakers of them. By contrast Hanuabada, surrounded though it is by a modern, Western-style city, has retained its identity, dignity and distinctive way of life. The Hanuabadans seem to have adjusted remarkably well to the revolutionary changes that have taken place around them<sup>14</sup> and for this the young missionary teacher who spent fifteen years with them must take some of the credit.

As a missionary Chatterton's linguistic skills, warm humanitarianism and deeply rooted democratic spirit have perhaps contributed most to the effectiveness of his work. A man's most profound thoughts, feelings and aspirations are best expressed in his mother tongue and Chatterton's language work made it possible for those to whom he ministered to hear the Gospel not only in their own tongue but also in their own familiar thought forms and within the context of their own world view. He provided those who accepted the Gospel with tools of prayer and worship in the form of his vernacular liturgies. Of course he was not an originator in this field but was following the established L.M.S. tradition. Nevertheless, his patient translation of the Scriptures has benefited a much wider group than his own parishioners and has helped his fellow pastors and teachers also in their own work. At the end of 1973 he held in his hand the fruit of many years of hard labour in the handsome shape of his newly published version of the whole Bible in the Motuan language. It would be hard to imagine Chatterton involved in any organisation which was not thoroughly democratic in form and spirit. He believes and has convincingly pointed out how much the old L.M.S. and later the Papua Ekalesia, the church that evolved from the mission, prepared the people of Papua New Guinea for a democratic form of government. The church's system of congregational, district, regional and national councils, all made up of elected representatives of the ordinary church members, anticipated similar forms of government

in the state. No doubt it is from this experience of church organisation that Percy has developed his own ideas of regional administration. Underlying them is his conviction that the only government really understood and accepted by the people is one in which they are personally involved at village level. It becomes their government when they share in the decision making. Missionaries have been much blamed for the destruction of at least part of the old culture of the country. Chatterton has shown by his broad tolerance and his respect for individual conscience that the traditional image of the missionary as a bigoted and puritanical iconoclast of native cultures is by no means always true. He and missionaries like him have demonstrated that the Christian religion need not be the negative, destructive force condemned by nationalistic critics. In Papua New Guinea, it has been a powerful instrument for worthwhile change and progress.

In the political sphere his influence has also been felt. He has lost individual battles, but if the war for good, just, democratic and humane government is won in Papua New Guinea, it will be due to the efforts of people like him. He was ahead of his time on many issues and it is not surprising that one hears Chattertonian echoes in speeches made in the House two years after he left its floor. It is too early to tell how much of his influence will survive, but there are indications that he has left a mark on some of the most effective politicians of the present time.

When, in March 1972, Percy was presented with his honorary Doctorate of Laws at the University of Papua New Guinea, Stuart Inder, editor of *P.I.M.*, was moved to commend his speech of acceptance 'for its brevity and the clarity of thought and the humanity that are so typical of the man himself'. It was a typical Chatterton speech, delivered in his unmistakable deep stentorian tones:<sup>15</sup>

There are three reasons why the honour which you have conferred on me tonight gives me very special satisfaction.

The first is that it is of this country, and, although I cannot claim to be either black or beautiful, I like to think of myself as of this country and I hope to end my days here.

The second is that it is of this university and I believe in this university. I believe it has a value for this country not to be measured in terms of dollars spent on it or even of degrees granted by it. It is my earnest hope that from this university will emerge leaders who are not only knowledgeable and highly skilled but also wise, tolerant and humane.

The third is that it is of the Faculty of Law. I am sceptical about the value to this country of some of the alleged blessings of civilisation which we of the west have brought to it. But I have no doubt at all that we have done Papua New Guinea a very great service by establishing in it a system of justice designed to ensure that not only the guilty are punished but also that the innocent are set free. I have no sympathy with those of my fellow parliamentarians who, if I understand them correctly, want to sweep this system away and replace it by some kind of instant justice-on-the-spot jurisdiction presided over by policemen. I must confess that as a parliamentarian I have sometimes been critical of the jargonisation of the English language by lawyers. They are not the only offenders, of course, but they are among the worst, and I would like to see established within the Faculty of Law of this university a lectureship in English usage, dedicated to restoring, in this field which so intimately affects the lives of ordinary people, the simplicity, brevity and clarity which were once the glory of the English tongue.

For these three reasons, therefore, the honour which you have conferred upon me gives me great satisfaction. Whether, in spite of the kind things said about me by the Vice-Chancellor, I deserve it is another matter.

I would find it difficult now to recapture the mood and motives which brought my wife and myself to this country in 1924. But I can tell you, and I would like to tell you, why we have stayed here for almost half a century.

We cannot, I am afraid, lay claim to a share of the splendid altruism of those who from time to time remind you that they are here at great personal inconvenience simply and solely in order to guide and assist the people of this country in their onward march towards nationhood, prosperity and the Australian Way of Life.

The reason we have stayed here for so long is a very simple and I am afraid a rather selfish one. We have stayed here because we like it here. We like the place, we like the people, and for some reason which I have never been able to understand, many of them seem to like us. The happiness which we have found among the people of this land has been, in itself, ample reward for anything which we may have been able to do for them.

You have very generously added to that happiness and that reward and I thank you most sincerely.

In a farewell tribute to the member for Moresby Open on his last day in the House of Assembly, the Speaker, Dr John Guise, said:<sup>16</sup>

I do not call him Mr Chatterton; we Papuans call him 'Taubada' Chatterton and 'Taubada' does not mean a white person. 'Taubada' happens to be a Milne Bay word, from where I come, and it means a great man and this is what Mr Chatterton is — 'Taubada' Chatterton — for his devotion to this country and for his unselfish service to this country; not alone, but also with his wife.

## ***Kiap, Planter and Politician:* a Self-portrait**

Ian Downs

My early recollections are of boarding schools and of holidays at my grandmother's place in the border country of Scotland. I disliked all schools but was not homesick because my parents were usually abroad. They treated me as an adult and fed me on a diet of books beginning with Kipling, Walter Scott, John Buchan and the romantic Irishman Donn Byrne. By 1928, when I was twelve, I had begun to make my own discoveries and read voraciously whenever I could escape from school routine. At thirteen, I entered the Royal Australian Naval College at Jervis Bay from Geelong Grammar and survived the four years' course sufficiently to gain matriculation, but was retrenched from the navy in the general reductions that took place in all the armed services as a result of the economic depression. I had been a dreamer, more fascinated by naval history than by integral calculus. The navy had made a proper decision, but my self-confidence was shocked by this rejection. That was early 1933; I think I have been running a little hard ever since.

The national climate of depression forced me into a variety of work in order to live. I shovelled coal, worked for a country road contractor, arranged shop windows and gradually came to journalism through regular sporting assignments for the old Sydney based *Referee* and casual work for the *Smith's Weekly* office in Melbourne. At the same time I produced a small engineering contractor's weekly news sheet called *Tenders*, which gradually at-

tracted advertising space, and by 1935 I was prosperous by the standards of those days for anyone under twenty-one. But money was not a consideration for me. I was still a romantic with an inspiration to serve my country. Meanwhile, the Naval Board had been kind enough to propose to the government that I would be suitable for selection as a cadet patrol officer in New Guinea and, when this opportunity came, I took it without hesitation. I arrived in New Guinea in the old *Montoro*, along with Frank Henderson, P. J. Mollison, Warner Shand and Ralph Mader, in the first week of January 1936.

Despite a period of recent expansion, there were fewer than 100 officers in the Department of District Services and Native Affairs. E. W. P. Chinnery, who had been government anthropologist, was at its head and the department was frankly and unashamedly pro-native. I was fortunate to be trained under compassionate and intelligent officers who were by no means committed to an indefinite colonial future for the people of the country. In the private sector, the planters were generally older men who had come from the army of World War I, and had been granted plantations by the Expropriation Board, which had taken them over from the German owners. Some were content to sit on what had come to them without effort at further development.

In those days, our recommended reading was pointed towards the great African administrators like Lugard and Cameron. A form of indirect rule through appointed village headmen in New Guinea was substituted for the more fortunate African situation of existing hereditary dynasties. A council system had been established on the Gazelle and I was impressed by the easy accessibility to their meetings provided by the old German roads. After two years' service, cadets became patrol officers and were given the opportunity of attending lectures in Law, Anthropology and Tropical Medicine at Sydney University. We had to enter into a bond to return, and not marry for another two years. We qualified by examination as members of the Court for Native Affairs and for all promotion. The influence of the League of Nations was strong in Mandated Territory policy and the Australian responsibility, then as later, was set out clearly in the New Guinea Act.

New Guinea was still dominated by the frenetic activity of the Morobe gold fields and proud of the fact that gold royalties now enabled the Territory administration to subsist without any annual

grant-in-aid from Australia. Nevertheless our budgets by post-war standards were miserable. Patrol officers were necessarily 'Pooh Bahs' representing every government department and with wide areas of executive authority. After brief service at Kokopo, where the planting community did not bother to disguise its hostility to native affairs' officers, I was sent to Manus, where D. J. Vertigan and later J. H. Jones were district officers and myself their only staff. This was a wonderful opportunity to learn from two particularly efficient men the mechanics of treasury procedure, stores, native labour, prisons and police. For those impatient for authority of their own there is no better experience than learning how to do the work of those to whom they will one day have to give direction.

Before the end of my first year I was fortunate to be transferred to the Morobe District, which in those days included not only its present boundaries but also the remote newly discovered Central Highlands. District headquarters was on the clean, beautiful isthmus of Salamaua. The Guinea Airways town of Lae was visible across the Huon Gulf. Salamaua, the port for the gold fields, was a busy town and the transient mining community was colourful and cosmopolitan. Ships coming to anchor in the harbour were surrounded by small boats soliciting passengers for the five separate airlines flying on the short mountain hop to Wau and Bulolo. Sometimes baggage arrived at Wau before passengers had reached the shore. Merchants like Burns Philp and Carpenters were willing to stake new arrivals with equipment and rations for the carriers they would require to reach the gold fields. Labour recruiters flourished. Their compounds were agencies from which men were placed under official contract, usually for three years, with employers bound to pay them wages and issue rations and then to repatriate them at the end of the contract.

Edward Taylor was our district officer (there were no district commissioners then) and the patrol officers were a talented brotherhood with a bright vision of the future. Taylor kept us constantly on patrol and managed to cover his huge district with a regular detailed administrative pattern. We were encouraged to be articulate and to write comprehensive reports. We could stay out as long as we liked, so long as we did not loaf. The attention file for each area had to be closed at the end of each patrol. The district officer liked to let us hope that, if an area could be shown as being sufficiently important, a new permanent patrol post might be



established if funds could be obtained. We envied those who had been given sub-districts to administer, like Buki on the Finschhafen coast, Otibanda on the fringe of the Kukukuku country on the Upper Watut, Tungu on the Lower Watut, where the last of the alluvial fields were then being worked, and Upper Ramu (later to be better known as Kainantu) on the edge of the Central Highlands. Every patrol was a census patrol, if only to ensure that every single person was seen and every hamlet visited. Edward Taylor was not above making his own checks from amongst police or villagers and he could smell a phony report before beginning to read it. He liked to see new names added to the census, all deserters from work contracts apprehended, and all illegal or improper forms of recruiting brought to court and punished. He delighted in accurate maps and factual information and much preferred a triangulation based on a properly fixed position to a mass of sketchy detail. Our most unpleasant duty was the apprehension of deserters from distant labour contracts. There was no such thing as a reasonable excuse. Deserters had to be taken into custody and transported back to their place of employment at government expense. The loss of faith that this sanction cost us was not recoverable.

Edward Taylor was necessarily a pragmatist: forced to compromise by small budgets, big companies, the powerful influence of the German Lutheran Mission and the fearful attitudes of those directing policy from Rabaul. Despite this, he managed to run his district in his own way and kept the interests of the native people uppermost. There was a minimum of land alienation outside the gold fields and a very sound political situation brought about by constant attention to all village complaints. He had, of course, the advantage of not being tied to a telephone. A slightly-built sandy-haired man with a limited academic background, he was fastidious in both dress and rational thought. He seemed to read with exceptional care, encouraged reading by his staff and made great use of personal discussion. His days in the Morobe District were his best. He returned briefly to the Territory after the Japanese war, reduced in both health and spirit. I like to think that he gained satisfaction from seeing those very few who survived that war maintain the tradition and force that he had taught them to give to the position of district commissioner.

I am still grateful for a long letter from him that reached me near the end of a ninety-day patrol through the Wain, Naba and

Momolili, which had been full of mishaps and interrupted by a dash to the Erap when Patrol Officer Tom Hough was killed. John Milligan, Tom Hough and I had all left on separate patrols from Salamaua within a few days of each other. Milligan, who had been patrolling in the Erap and who was nearest to Hough at the time, had just come back from taking Tom to Salamaua hospital. An arrow, septic from dirt, had penetrated Hough's lung and he had died in shocking agony. We were both unhappy about the loss of a close friend and bloody-minded that his death had been caused by the actions of inexperienced police recently sent to us on a new draft from Rabaul. Fatal patrol officer casualties averaged a little over one a year up to 1939. I was overdue for leave and Milligan was upset because his wife could not join him owing to lack of married accommodation. Then the runner arrived from Lae with letters for each of us from Edward Taylor. The letters answered our questions, soothed our doubts and gave us new encouragement. It was as if he knew exactly what had been worrying us. His writing, in fine clear longhand, had no literary grace, but was always orderly and lucid.

Less than a month later, Edward Taylor sent me on a mercy dash on Christmas Eve to take food to an old gold miner whose carriers had deserted, leaving him sick and mentally ill in the Hopoi rain-forest, inland from Salamaua. Careful interrogation of the carriers by Taylor saved his life. When we reached the camp, we were confronted by a sick man pointing a loaded revolver. He was dressed like a Cavalier and accused us of being agents of Oliver Cromwell. A starving Alsatian dog was straining at a leash. A reasonable knowledge of English history helped me to convince him otherwise and I joined him in bemoaning the misfortunes of the battle of Naseby before managing to get him on a stretcher for the trip to the coast. We sang royalist songs that gradually came under Tolai musical arrangement. The Tolai carriers were part of that unfortunate pattern of labour movement that has persisted since the first discovery of gold at Edie Creek. The planters took their local plantation labour to the gold fields from the islands of New Britain, Bougainville, New Ireland and Manus. The recruiters found replacement labour on the mainland and despatched them to the island plantations. From this has grown the dangerous separation between plantation employers and the village people of the island districts. Dependence upon 'foreign' labour discourages

local interdependence between expatriates and their New Guinean or Papuan neighbours.

This incident is easy for me to remember because I missed the boat south and stayed on to take charge briefly of Tungu on the Lower Watut and share the misery of gold miners now reduced to looking for 'flood' gold. It was the end of an era. I admired the alluvial gold miners of Morobe. Generally, they were good employers and New Guineans who worked for them were loyal to the end. Amongst them were men from all countries and all sections of society. They were natural explorers of the unknown and their knowledge of both the people and the country was carried forward into general agricultural development around Wau and the coffee plantations of the Central Highlands.

We had extraordinary air transport in those days. It was the boast of Guinea Airways that they carried more freight than the rest of the world's aircraft put together and they were not the only company flying. Communications were bad, planes could not be contacted from the ground and I recall spending five days playing poker with Lloyd Pursehouse at Kainantu while we waited for the weather to clear. I had been on my way from Madang to Chimbu. Lloyd was later killed by a sniper's bullet on the Rai coast. For a considerable time he was a coastwatcher in the Finschhafen area and his death came near the end of Japanese occupation.

There were no helicopters, no electricity, no household (or even hospital) refrigeration. There were no sulpha drugs and no penicillin. Typhoid was an obscure fatal disease confused by the name 'Japanese River Fever' and malaria was contained by taking five grains of quinine each day. If this did not work and you contracted fever, you swallowed an heroic dose of five or more capsules that took you on an unpleasant trip that turned you deaf, tore out your eyes and gave you acute nausea. With one notable exception, there was no such person as an overweight patrol officer. Malaria also slowed intelligence, undermined decision and contributed to lack of self-control.

Very few New Guineans outside the Highlands were free from some form of skin disease and all of them were carriers of malaria. Tropical ulcers had no racial preference, but New Guineans also had to contend from childhood with yaws, ringworm, hookworm,

and scabies. Elephantiasis was shockingly common but leprosy was coming under control. In the mountains behind Lae, goitre distortions were evident in every village. The health services did magnificent work, but they were spread too thinly and lacked the drugs they needed and the base hospitals essential to disease control. When medical staff were not available, patrol officers were authorised to treat the sick. The catch-all drug was an injection of Novarsenobillon (containing arsenic and valuable in the treatment of yaws) which we were trained to give intravenously. I once gave this injection to myself to convince a suspicious village. Someone had told me that there was a concurrent sensation of the taste of brass filings when the injection was given. There was certainly an after-taste of something. The comparative good health of Papuans and New Guineans today is a measure of what our medical services have accomplished.

I managed to get through plenty of other patrolling in the Morobe District; it took me to the Markham, to the Waria Valley, through to Wau and then to Otibanda. Then followed a few months at a temporary base camp established at Kobakini amongst the Kukukuku people, where I literally 'held the fort' with five police for John Milligan, who was collecting stores in Wau before returning to make a considerable impact on those nomads who used to amuse themselves turning our camp into a pin cushion for their arrows in dawn raids. They would return to sell us food later in the same day. They were fantastic thieves and could spit red betel juice for fifteen feet. They were wise enough never to linger and always exploited speed and surprise. One of the New Guinean police became insane as the result of a nightmare and ran away from the camp. He returned without his rifle and we took a hostage to recover it. It turned out that he had simply left the weapon on a river bank and had not even been seen by the people. The hostage then embarrassed us by staying on in the camp voluntarily. We had to chase him away to avoid further misunderstanding. Kobakini was a crazy place. The Kukukuku could look you straight in the eyes and tell lies with fearless conviction. Treachery is the word that comes to mind. Sons commonly murdered fathers and had intercourse with their own mothers. We dealt with them patiently until one morning when we found the head, arms and legs of a child interpreter impaled on separate stakes around our own camp.

There were other events on patrol and other patrol officers, of whom two became close friends. Like so many others of that time, both were killed in the Japanese war. I will never forget either of them: Leigh Grant Vial was a painstaking and efficient officer who carefully and methodically established the position of the administration on the Huon Peninsula and brought under control the huge populations of Timbe, Urawa and Selepet on the northern fall of the Huon Peninsula, now administered from Kabwum. On the slopes of the Finisterres, Vial discovered and reported the only New Guinea eucalypt, 'Kamarere', which attracted the attention of Doctor Lane Poole in Australia. Leigh also identified Kamarere in the Central Chimbu and later this beautiful tall fast-growing tree was found in less impressive stands in South New Britain. We shared an enthusiasm for accurate mapping, statistical methods and afforestation and, a few years later when I took over from him at Chimbu, I was able to build on the tribal delineation maps that he had completed for almost the whole of the Central Chimbu; this made a worthwhile census immediately possible. He was responsible for arousing my interest in the rapidly declining forest resources of the Highlands and in the need for drastic action to stop burning and to begin planting. Sixteen years later, I was able to enforce this.

Murray Edwards was an athletic, tall ex-schoolteacher with a passionate devotion to his job and a real flair for pioneer native administration. From Tungu, he had patrolled to the Papuan border and the Tauri headwaters. On the way, he was the first to put Menyamyia on the map. I think Edwards's work amongst the Kukukuku tribes had greater impact and more lasting results than those of any other officer in the pre-war period. He had the ability to learn languages quickly and the sincerity of his personality came through to the people. When he left Tungu to go on leave I took over that station from him. I know he was then looking forward to being allowed to bring his wife back. Instead, he was transferred to the uncontrolled area of Mount Hagen to prepare a base for the long heralded Hagen-Sepik Patrol that the Administrator, Sir Walter McNicoll, authorised J. L. Taylor and John Black to carry out in 1938. Never a diplomat, Murray Edwards protested to Rabaul that Hagen was safe enough for his wife. This view was rejected, if only because a precedent would have been established for a dozen other wives to go to similar places where the govern-

ment was not prepared to provide married accommodation. When I joined the Hagen-Sepik patrol after the attack on their Wabag base, Murray was transferred from Mt Hagen to New Ireland. His wife was able to join him there and be with him for the first time since he had come to New Guinea. Mrs Edwards was evacuated to Australia when the Japanese threat became obvious. Murray Edwards was executed by the Japanese. Leigh Vial and Murray Edwards were only two of more than a hundred of our service who were killed in that war.

At the University in Sydney, those of us down from New Guinea to do the course may have seemed a boisterous lot, rather more interested in enjoying ourselves than studying law or anthropology. This academic interlude gave us a much better understanding of the people. We became more aware of the dangers of our own paternal role. The lectures at law school increased respect for the rules of evidence and the importance of restrained police action. The change to a society where books were again important did most of us a lot of good. We now had more theory to bring back to what was essentially a practical life and could sustain this from the growing literature and increasing professionalism in administration of developing countries. Our lecturers included A. P. Elkin and Ian Hogbin. They would have been surprised to know the lasting value of their efforts to improve our tolerance and understanding of the people.

For some years, a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, supplemented by the Rhodes Trustees, had made possible a comprehensive study of what was taking place in Africa under the conflicting policies of various colonial powers in their application to political, social, educational, legal and administrative development in the several countries south of the Sahara. This study, carried out by a highly competent committee of experts under the direction of Lord Hailey, produced *An African Survey*, published by Oxford University Press in 1938. Our own problems were covered in this monumental work and some of our expectations for the future. It remains an objective study of significant facts of a scale and competence still unmatched. The book marked the beginning of a new era in political objectives. It exposed the limitations of the principles of indirect rule and their clear incompatibility with the ideal of elected self-government. It forecast the desirability for

Europeans and Asians to move out of agricultural enterprises and for the developing peoples to be included in commercial and trading activity. In 1938, these were ideas almost beyond the comprehension of some senior officers in Papua New Guinea. Unfortunately for the country, the omens of a second world war now pushed progressive thinking out of our minds.

When I came back from leave in Australia in 1938, the huge Hagen-Sepik exploration patrol had left Mount Hagen and had reached Wabag, some 70 miles to the west. The progress of the patrol attracted considerable attention and the regular teleradio conversations that the patrol maintained with no less a person than the Administrator, provided anyone with a short-wave radio with a new form of evening amusement. At the end of August 1938, Assistant District Officer J. L. Taylor and Patrol Officer J. R. Black decided to make two separate parallel drives to the Dutch New Guinea border with the object of covering a wider segment of exploration. They left Medical Assistant Walsh and most of their huge carrier line at Wabag, together with their wireless transceiver. It is reasonable to assume that they had grown tired of remote control from Rabaul and that in any case the wireless equipment with its battery charger and fuel required sixteen carriers that they would be happy to do without. Soon coastwatchers — their lives dependent on mobility — were to be handicapped by this same primitive gear.

With Walsh were seven New Guinea police. Walsh now had merely a stationary role and these seven should have been sufficient to maintain the safety of the camp and stores. The Enga people, who had become disenchanted with feeding such a large patrol, were glad to see Taylor and Black depart; but unhappy that so many carriers and camp followers were still at Wabag. It had been found necessary to send out parties of carriers with two or three police to buy native food at gradually increasing distances from the base. This routine was continued by Walsh. Unfortunately there was a misunderstanding on one of these excursions, two police were killed and the food-buying party chased back to Wabag. Encouraged by this easy success the Enga people decided that the base camp was vulnerable and they began gathering on all the ridges surrounding the camp for an attack. The number of Enga warriors probably reached a total of six thousand. Walsh got on the air with

his teleradio, the Administrator cabled Edward Taylor in Salamaua and the Australian press were alerted to their best New Guinea news story in years.

At the time, I was in the *Macdhui*, on the way to Madang. I had just picked up my personal gear and my personal servant, a young Manus lad, Salei, who had been waiting for me at Salamaua. The *Macdhui* had barely cleared the harbour and I was in the bar with a very personable young lady with whom I hoped to form a close acquaintance. The ship stopped and the Guinea Airways launch came alongside. We went over to the rail to have a look and there was Edward Taylor, using a loud hailer and asking the captain to find me and get me into the launch as I had to go to Lae to board a Guinea Airways plane that was waiting to take Taylor, Salei and myself to Wabag. The young lady had to be left behind.

Tommy O'Dea was the pilot. We called in at Madang to collect fifteen New Guinea police because Edward Taylor had none to spare and then at Mt Hagen to pick up Murray Edwards. There was plenty of room for us in the German Fokker and we landed on a makeshift field over old food gardens within a few hundred yards of the camp. Before this, O'Dea had buzzed the ridges to give us plenty of time to disembark. By the time the Enga had recovered, we had unloaded our gear. I had all my personal gear with me, including a bag of golf clubs that I had brought back from Australia by mistake. After a couple of days, Edward Taylor decided that he and Edwards could go home and that I would be able to sort things out. Meanwhile we had to improve the field so that heavy aircraft could take off and in the course of this I was able to use the stamping feet of a hundred carriers (badly in need of disciplinary exercise) to make two sand 'greens' at each end of the field.

During the next two weeks I made a series of short patrols that covered a full radius from the base camp to a depth of at least six miles. By design, these trips broke up the warriors on the ridges, who naturally became more concerned for the safety of their own hamlets than for an attack on Wabag. We were able to arrange settlements with the Enga people and for food trading to be resumed at the camp. A major confrontation was avoided. Safe passage was given by the Enga to those from more distant hamlets who wanted to trade. Meanwhile, we began to plant our own food gardens on the borders of the airfield which we 'leased' and I undertook to return most of the original carriers and camp followers who had ac-



accompanied Black and Taylor from places as far east as Chimbu and Bena Bena. I was glad to do this. They did not contribute to good relations with the people. Three return trips had to be made to Mount Hagen to return these carriers, who now became a problem for George Greathead, who had taken over the Hagen base from Murray Edwards. On each trip I was accompanied by a score of young Enga men. Their presence with me guaranteed the safety of our own people left at Wabag. We were attacked three times in the Gai Valley on the first outward trip, but on the return trip from Mount Hagen we had the same villagers carrying for us for payment on the whole of the journey.

I had now been officially added to the Hagen-Sepik patrol and with Walsh was authorised to carry out exploration across the western tributaries of the Yuat River and the watershed of the Maramuni. At the head of the Sau we found very promising alluvial gold and samples of this were eventually sent to Rabaul. Years later this find was worked with considerable commercial success when permits were issued to two gold miners. In the same area we had the necessary and important task of recovering a very bad situation caused by the ill famed Schmidt, Schultze and King group: they were gold miners, who had escaped on this route before being apprehended on the Sepik and conveyed to Rabaul for trial on charges of murder and manslaughter.

The situation at Wabag was now very good, but a decision had been taken that after the completion of exploration the base was to be closed and administration influence was to be withdrawn to a line ten miles west of the Mount Hagen patrol post. Any further interference by us with the lives of the people would in these circumstances do more harm than good. We were explorers and observers only. The airfield was close to the camp and it was common for this cleared ground to be used as a fighting field for the 'challenge' type of group fighting involving a few hundred men, sometimes with women screaming encouragement. I used to spend late afternoons practising golf or shooting quail with a .22 calibre rifle and was usually accompanied by a swarm of children who recovered golf balls but stole the birds. When fighting was 'on' we retired to one of the sand 'greens', which by arrangement were off-limits to fighters. We were as safe as spectators at Sydney Cricket Ground.

The fighting had its own conventional formality. Opposing groups gathered some distance from each other and began by

working themselves up to the necessary emotional pitch. Then they shouted insults and threats to the enemy. Whichever group first lost its collective temper would begin firing arrows, which their opponents would stop with their shields while still holding back their own fire until the aggressors had used most of their ammunition. Then the roles would be reversed; this time the action got closer and a few would be wounded, perhaps killed. The victors would chase the defeated group from the field. We began a routine of giving first-aid to the wounded and from this we progressed to general medical attention for any sick people brought in to the camp. Pat Walsh was able to recover his popularity and made a new reputation as a dentist. His tooth extractions were spectacular and heroic entertainment for the mobs of curious people who were always visiting our camp.

While at Wabag I had the misfortune to contract a virulent type of suppurating eczema, which gradually took all the skin from my arms and legs. Our scouts had brought news of both Taylor and Black, who were now expected within a few days. Unfortunately I could not wait to congratulate them and was flown out to Madang hospital after Lloyd Pursehouse arrived to take over from me. After eight weeks in hospital my normal weight of over ten stone recovered to nine stone and the eczema had almost gone. There was an acute staff shortage and some mission helpers had been attacked in the Bunabun and Josephstahl areas. My next patrols occupied over two months spent along the Ramu fall of the Adelbert mountains in the very unpleasant country between Josephstahl and the Madang hinterland. We were able to put an end to attacks on missions by the semi-nomads called Avisan who wore bark 'armour', in the form of tight tubes around the trunk of the body. This area had missed proper pacification and the situation had been aggravated by greedy recruiting. When I got back to Madang I was delighted to find that I had been appointed Officer-in-Charge at Chimbu, then by far the biggest sub-district in the Territory. The opportunity had come because Leigh Vial had been made Acting Assistant District Officer at Madang.

This was a wonderful appointment for me and I wanted to make the most of it because the German war was only months away and I had already been contacted by the navy. Although my application

for release had been formally refused by the administration, I was sure that it would not be long before this minor obstacle could be overcome. This explains the urgency with which I attacked the job at Chimbu. In the event, I was seventeen months at Chimbu before getting away to the war and in that period completed sixteen patrols and 250 patrol days. Pacification was an essential preliminary to administration of the Highlands and patrol officers were expected to achieve this by the application of British common law to situations having no parallel in that law. A variety of sanctions had met with only limited success in the face of frequently violent opposition to the law. I would like to emphasise that all my predecessors had brought pacification closer, but that time was not against us because the people were familiar with our self-imposed restraints and the actual weakness of our resources. Large dynamic groups increasingly became convinced that we did not have the ability to enforce the law and order that we preached. This was our dilemma: to establish viable authority without disturbing democratic obsessions. Those living in a civilised society could not understand our problem.

The funds at our disposal made it impossible to match the Chimbu people either with coercive gift giving, which was a valuable initial ploy, or by participation in food exchange ceremonials amongst people who regarded the slaughter of 400 pigs as normal. I recall with shame that the standard administration limit upon Christmas singings was an expenditure of under \$12. It was quite usual for patrol officers to spend their own money to subsidise the administration image on such occasions, although few could afford such zeal. In those days the Chimbu sub-district stretched to within 20 miles of Mount Hagen in the west and to the Daulo divide in the east. The population was in the vicinity of 300,000. We had seventeen police to advance the process of administration control.

Within a few weeks of my arrival, the Yongamugl group resumed violent activity by provocative pig stealing followed by a well planned and bloody ambush of the outraged owners. Something clicked in my mind to suggest that here was an opportunity to exploit this excuse to end most of our troubles. We mustered 2000 unarmed men from the Siambuga Waugwa and Kamanegu and advanced with considerable noise on the Yongamugl, who retired in their traditional fashion into the safety of their limestone caves above

the Chimbu Gorge. Our operation had been carefully organised and for two days we ignored people and concentrated entirely on rounding up and fencing what must have been very close to their entire resources of livestock. We then sat down with our screaming hostage of 1500 pigs and demanded that the Yongamugl give up all their fighting leaders. The result was devastating, because the people faced real economic and social ruin. We drove a hard bargain: from the proceeds we repaid those who had been plundered, paid our helpers and established a government pig farm. The farm became the first of three and was used as a basis for improving Chimbu livestock by the use of Berkshire boars given to me by Dan Leahy who was then at Mount Hagen. In quick succession we took similar action in four other troublesome locations. This was the end of serious fighting in the Chimbu and statistics prove it. The end justified what we had done and we took comfort from being able to persuade people by capturing pigs instead of men. I did not embarrass my superiors by seeking official support. The approval of tribal leaders was more important at that time.

Peace was maintained by the people themselves because they discovered the freedom of movement that this gave them. They also found great relief in their release from vendetta responsibilities. Indirect rule and the operation of the common law began with tremendous co-operation from less than a dozen really influential fighting leaders. They were not just helping us. They were helping to maintain their own economic and social position. These massive pig raids did not have to be repeated and our own financial problems were solved. For another thirty years the administration held the initiative in the Highlands, aided by constant work by patrol officers. Before I left Chimbu to go to the German war, the Native Administration Regulations were in effective use and a gaol had been officially gazetted. Meanwhile, George Greathead at Mount Hagen had extended his bridle path system eastwards and we completed a road link across the Wahgi Valley. The river was bridged with a cane bridge over which I was able to lead a horse. No nail, bolt, wire or any alien material was used, and labour was voluntary. I like to think that George Greathead and I were still conscious of the fact that we had too much power for young men remote from real authority. I know that I was glad to escape from so much blind submission when finally I got away to the war. Subjection to navy discipline was the kind of cure I needed.

I had very little experience in New Guinea during the war, being for the most part in command of small ships. In 1942 I was on loan to the Allied Intelligence Bureau for about seven months and carried out reconnaissance behind Lae and on the Bukaua coast in preparation for the allied return. For some weeks I was on the run from the Japanese. Some New Guineans were 'loyal', some 'treacherous', but — in the words of Judge Phillips — how were they to distinguish between a government 'de facto' and government 'de jure'?

The Japanese invasion made it obvious that the colonial era was over. Henceforward we would have to build a political and economic partnership so that lasting Australian influence could be maintained. I was not alone in this view, but many of those who shared my feelings had been killed and many more were about to die: Leigh Vial, Murray Edwards, Lloyd Pursehouse and John Benham were particular friends. Neville David McWilliam was killed when H.M.A.S. *Perth* went down in Sunda Strait on 1 March 1942. 'Sam' McWilliam and I had spent a great deal of our lives together, being of the same entry to the naval college at the age of thirteen. All these were men of considerable ability and character. The casualties of the Japanese war, and the scattering of the New Guinea service which followed, was a terrible waste, which we could not afford. I faced the post-war period with personal bitterness and was not encouraged by what I saw: an ageing group, who had been too old to enlist, had come back with an understandable compulsion to restore an outmoded status quo. They seemed to me to be untouched by the cyclone of the war, scarcely noticing those who were missing and unaware of the commitments of the San Francisco Trusteeship Conference. They returned to join those now transferring from the army's A.N.G.A.U. to civilian status. A.N.G.A.U. officers had to an extent been isolated by the progress of the war and were reluctant to abandon an acquired military style. In fact, the achievement of military government had been considerable. Recruited to join these incompatibles was a new band of lower case liberals, close to the new sources of power, impatient with tradition and inclined to academic arrogance. My friends were those few survivors of the more active phases of the war who had been trained under the pre-war university scheme. We had our own brand of intolerance for all the rest. Unification of

Papua with New Guinea had been one of the A.N.G.A.U. achievements; but now old jealousies flared again. This was the hodge-podge civilian administration that now faced a tremendous task of restoration without the unlimited funds and logistic resources of the military government.

The new Administrator was Colonel J. K. Murray, a man of great tolerance, high ideals and considerable perception. At the time, it seemed to me that he deserved more support than came his way from Canberra and less local criticism. Criticism stemmed from a failure of communication. Neither the Australian public nor Territorians had been properly prepared for change and were mostly not aware of what the San Francisco Conference meant in terms of government policy. There was no newspaper, no legislative council and no forum for the private and official sectors to meet. Years were to pass before the big merchants were able to understand the profit advantages of raising the economic status of the people. Some senior officials seemed to be less than brilliant. There were some shining exceptions: Dr J. T. Gunther had come in as Director of Health; he was later to become Assistant Administrator and then to establish the first university as Vice Chancellor. At the time, one could only have wished that he could be director of some other departments — starting with Education! S. A. Lonergan became Government Secretary and set an example of quiet efficiency and total integrity while he rebuilt a secretariat with the help of outstanding younger men like S. J. Pearsall and N. Rolfe. I cannot give too much praise to Lonergan. He was a rock of sanity.

After a short period as Director of the new Department of Labour, J. L. Taylor returned to his 'Middle Kingdom', the Central Highlands. I was given the opportunity of returning to the Highlands myself, but managed to resist the temptation. The old days were over and I needed experience amongst more advanced people and more sophisticated stages of administration. Nor did I wish to be caught up in what sometimes seemed a circus in Port Moresby. Attitudes appeared to be permissive, alcoholism was not uncommon, at least one district officer was allowed to run a registered trade store and two other officers were allowed to remain in the service after taking part in an abortive gold rush. Meanwhile, the salary structure was particularly severe under a 'provisional' administration that paid pre-war officers at levels barely above

starvation point and held them back in 'acting' appointments, possibly in the hope that they would resign. Gradually we all got to understand each other and joined in the common purpose to rebuild the broken country. The incompetents and the disenchanted weeded themselves out of the service. Morale improved after the arrival of D. M. Cleland as Assistant Administrator. I had the impression that conversation at headquarters was less brilliant, but that decisions were beginning to replace committees. The re-establishment of legislative and executive councils was probably the real reason for improvement. Significant for the private sector was the fact that a change in government in Australia brought no alteration in policy for Papua and New Guinea. The lines of development established by Australian adherence to the Trusteeship were now obviously irrevocable.

Before resuming my own personal story, I must record that the government was gradually establishing lines of progress within the overall policy: 'indirect rule', once the springboard to progress, was under review. The term was often grossly misunderstood; particularly in Papua, where the Hubert Murray administration — however enlightened it may have been — practised not indirect rule but a direct rule system beginning with its village policemen. Melanesia was not a suitable ground for the system, if only because there were no traditional dynasties that could be used to function as local rulers. Lord Lugard described the system in Africa as a 'duty to do everything in our power to develop the native on lines which will not Westernise him and turn him into a bad imitation of a European . . . We want to make him a good African'. Obviously Papuans and New Guineans were on the road to Western imitation and also on lines of progress that would not equip them for local and elective government. If there was to be progress to parliamentary government, changes had to come. This was the basis for the development of local government councils. Despite what Papuans and New Guineans might eventually decide for themselves, Australia had a clear duty to expose them to elections for a democratic system of local and central government. Indirect rule perpetuates tribalism. Tribalism divides people and we had a duty to give Papuans and New Guineans a chance to achieve unity. Government wage policies were never properly explained to the people. Low fixed wage rates act as a perpetual colour bar. In the years ahead the administration was to discover that fixed

discriminatory wage scales within the public service — however economically justified — would inevitably accelerate nationalism. By barely touching on these two aspects of administration I hope to convey some of the complex dilemmas that faced the Australian administration of Papua New Guinea.

In 1946 I was joined by my wife and infant son. We were barely able to live on my salary under the Provisional Administration. I recall that Judith made her own clothes from parachute nylon, that she raised vegetables to exchange for canned food and cigarettes then available only from the mining company in Bulolo and that our first home at Mumeng was a house built from salvaged materials and bush timber.

In quick succession I had been moved from Salamaua to the Wau/Bulolo area for the restoration of the road to Lae, then to New Ireland where I learned much from W. J. Read (of coast-watcher fame), a very efficient officer whom I succeeded in an acting capacity as district officer. In this period we reopened the Kavieng/Namatanai road without any significant assistance from anyone except the local people. Then came seven months in Rabaul as Stipendiary Magistrate where I was able to observe the rebirth of Tolai local government under the brilliant direction of D. M. Fenbury and the inimitable style of J. K. McCarthy as District Commissioner. Rabaul was in the difficult process of shaking off a dangerous association of planters and police who had been brought together by common opposition to progressive administration, which neither group was able to understand without a feeling of fear. At the same time, Tolai resentment of the Asian community, which had taken control of retail trading, was manifest. The inability of the administration and the planters to work together in the Gazelle was aggravated by the impression that the police were a third and superior authority who could make progressive policies ineffective. The feeling that Rabaul was a 'police state' gradually grew. In cases brought before the courts, police relied heavily on confessions of guilt and very little on the production of evidence. In fairness, I should say that this was an impression I did not gain in other districts. Police have a sensitive and difficult role in any situation of developing nationalism.

I was glad to be appointed as District Commissioner when this new status was introduced following the gazettal of a new seniority



list which, in December 1951, ended six years of acting appointments for all officers. I was posted to Wewak, but took over Madang instead and immediately explored the possibility of a road into the Highlands. Three patrols and considerable aerial reconnaissance were directed towards this purpose. With J. R. Keenan efficiently concentrating on the urban problems and T. W. Ellis leading the outside work, we began to wake up Madang with the support of a cheerful and very enthusiastic community. Meanwhile both H. L. R. Niall and J. K. McCarthy had refused invitations to join headquarters as Assistant Directors for Native Affairs and I was ordered to Port Moresby to serve in an acting capacity. As by far the youngest District Commissioner I had no illusions of this becoming a substantive appointment, but I was conscious of the chance to complete my training and use the experience to later advantage. Within eight months the opportunity came when George Greathead resigned from the service to become a coffee farmer.

I was aware of Greathead's impending decision and used my time at headquarters to prepare myself and the Highlands for a change. The Highlands had been deliberately starved of finance, kept in isolation and held back if for no other reason than that the area was so big, the populations so large and the consequent problems so great that there was reluctance to begin. The new Administrator of Papua New Guinea, D. M. Cleland, had a much better understanding with the federal government in Canberra than his predecessor. After an orientation period as Assistant Administrator, he was in a good position to push progress ahead. For him, as well as for me, the New Guinea Highlands were an attractive opportunity for a new kind of development because they were not yet significantly settled by Europeans, almost without any permanent housing, and had no hospital, only two schools and no usable road communication. Something had to be done to provide opportunities for a huge population which George Greathead reported as being in desperate need of some outlet to fill the vacuum which pacification had created. The Highland labour scheme, which now met the needs of nearly every coastal and island plantation, was not enough. Moreover, the time expired labourers were themselves a new problem. Repatriated men were frustrated by boredom when they came home and shared the unrest of people whose tribal activity had been castrated by missionaries and negative government.

In my headquarters capacity I toured a number of districts as an aide to the Administrator and used these occasions to suggest that land alienation problems could be reduced by roads permitting the spread of limited settlement instead of the usual pattern of concentrated blocks and to show how European settlers could be used to promote indigenous progress. New Ireland had convinced me that the people would build the roads at low labour cost if the roads rewarded them with health services, schools and economic opportunity. There were already some skilled Europeans in the Highlands waiting for settlement blocks, most of them with a mining, rather than a planting experience. They included four former native affairs officers and two retired district commissioners, all of them technically 'squatters' without land titles.

The problem uppermost in the mind of the Administrator was the harmful effect of land alienation — even limited land alienation — and the enormous development cost imposed by the size and population density of the area. The negative policy of maintaining an attractive 'people zoo' had to be measured against the risk of harmful disturbance at enormous cost. I went up to the Highlands, ostensibly to do another inspection, but really to measure the value of support people would give if confronted not so much with what the administration could do for them but what could be done if they participated in their own development. In the course of this, J. L. Leahy assured me that coffee could become a viable crop for the Highland people and the people convinced me that unless they could get their hearts and minds into something exciting they would revert to violent tribalism. Using the technique of reporting a crisis and then providing the solution, I managed to make progress when I next got to see the Administrator. I was aware that he understood what I was trying to do and that he would probably use the same method to convince Canberra. Cleland had a good sense of political 'timing' and understood Australian politics. Getting out of Port Moresby was something else. My natural abrasive attitudes were placed under less restraint and it was not long before several people were glad to be rid of me from the Moresby scene. Then I applied for the transfer within hours of George Greathead's resignation and made a formal request to see the Administrator. He had to make up his mind whether I could do what he wanted or not. The real gamble was for him. Within a week I was on my way back to the Highlands.

With the aid of an exceptional staff and an enlightened expatriate community, we built a vehicular road from Goroka to Kainantu, from Kainantu over the Kassam Pass then down into the Morobe District to Gusap, in a little under six months. In the same year, 1952, we turned west, crossed the Dualo Pass and built the road into the Western Highlands with a suspension bridge over the Wahgi River. The road from the lowlands of the Markham Valley to the plateau of the Wahgi and Mount Hagen linked 400,000 people, tied in a mass of lesser roads and made the establishment of the coffee industry possible. The road brought schools and hospitals to isolated communities and created new towns. It spread a thin settlement of expatriate Europeans throughout the Highlands, where they developed plantations in the midst of the Highland people, but were generally isolated from each other. Preferably they were located on the site of land under tribal dispute and became 'buffer states' that reduced reasons for fighting for land. The Highland people recolonised their own land because the roads brought them back to the empty valleys they had once burnt and abandoned under the hazard of continual tribal conflict. We used the roads to support a massive afforestation scheme. It is hard now to believe that once you could easily count the trees on the valley floor between the Asaro Valley and Kainantu, or that Goroka was once entirely without trees. We prosecuted illegal grass fires ruthlessly and at the same time carefully explained the objectives of tree planting.

The occupational therapy of road construction (some gangs exceeded 9000 men), coffee planting and all the other development that followed was intended to try and fill the vacuum imposed by pacification. The people developed great pride in their huge construction undertakings. For them, it became 'our road'. The expatriate population shared their enthusiasm and showed their respect for the New Guinean effort. The work was sometimes dangerous and the people often provoked landslides by burrowing into the road cuttings to make their own cave shelters. Whole sections of new work often collapsed and slithered away into nothing before we could provide protective drainage. Some of the first temporary bridges were obviously hazardous and inspection had to be constant. There were bad moments and some self-questioning but I always remained convinced that we had to complete what we had begun. We knew that success would one day force the Com-

monwealth Department of Works to build a highway and so we encouraged trucks to replace landrovers and jeeps. Strangely, we had to stress the side effects to encourage administration support; but for us the main objective was to replace human portorage. In Melanesia the beast of burden was human. This was what we were in such a hurry to change in the New Guinea Highlands.

In the course of all that followed and flowed on from the roads, we changed much else because we had to retain the initiative and constantly add some new scheme and expectation to the future horizon. A golf course and a swimming pool were added to amenities for expatriates. Fish farms, schools, hydro-electric power and coffee nurseries were more exciting for the people. The Health Department soon had a mobile infant welfare service and Agriculture provided extension services to the villages. Outstanding officers like F. P. Kaad, H. W. West, W. Kelly in district administration; S. Neilson in Education, W. J. Burns and B. J. Holloway in charge of police, Gerald McLaughlin as Chief Clerk and Norman Mullins in charge of the Highland labour scheme were part of our success. The private sector participated with us. It was a village community effort directed by expatriates and at the time there seemed no limit to what we might try to do. The physical works were an example of what can be done by dynamic people. We have been softened by the notion that manual labour is degrading hardship. It need not be if the effort is on behalf of a real community. Part of the frustration of developing countries is that we have taught them to think that there are no alternatives to money and machines. When the bulldozer breaks down it can seem to be hopeless to replace it with a shovel. Even Australians have forgotten that not so long ago their women carried water in square kerosene cans and men built with the broad axe.

By 1956, Goroka was a town and similar facilities had been extended to the sub-districts with clear lines for social and economic progress founded on the coffee industry. A general influx of public servants and private industry was in full flood. I decided to resign from the administration so that I could enter politics and promote this progress more effectively as a private citizen. I believed that I had already stretched the powers and duties of a District Commissioner to their elastic limit. I needed a change and so did the Highlands. With a feeling of relief I entered the private sector as a

beginner to join in the expansion of the coffee industry and face the marketing problems that would have to be overcome before coffee could make so much more possible for the Highland people. The Administrator had generously suggested that I should accept an appointment at headquarters but I preferred to gamble and stay in 'Gaul'.

For the next fourteen years I was concurrently engaged in establishing coffee plantations, processing factories and marketing coffee overseas. Later I participated as a foundation director of Macair Charters and Solomon Island Airlines. For the whole of this period I was President of the Highlands Farmers' and Settlers' Association, Managing Editor of *The New Guinea Bulletin*, an elected member of the Legislative Council and, later, of the House of Assembly. For the last seven years I was also a member of the Administrator's Council. With detailed submissions, we were able to secure and later improve a preferential situation for New Guinea coffee in Australia after two applications before the Australian Tariff Board. I was the advocate on behalf of all New Guinea growers with considerable support from W. L. Conroy in the Department of Agriculture, an outstanding public servant, and Frank Henderson, Director of Agriculture. I was foundation Chairman of the Coffee Marketing Board which was established with the support of Dr John Gunther, then Assistant Administrator. I resigned as Chairman because of conflict of interest when I established a marketing organisation of which I was Managing Director. The direction of the Marketing Board was capably taken over by Lloyd Hurrell, with whom I had shared so many administrative and political convictions. In 1960, J. L. Leahy and I made a world tour of nearly every coffee producing country for the purpose of applying our experience to improving New Guinea production and processing methods. In following years I made marketing tours for the purpose of financing and marketing production. Early in 1962 I accompanied Frank Henderson to the International Coffee Agreement meeting in Washington and we were able to secure an export quota for Papua New Guinea, aided by significant support from Brazil and United Nations agreement that as a Trust Territory we warranted special consideration.

On the local scene, the Farmers' and Settlers' Association was actively promoting a new kind of racial partnership along the lines of

the Capricorn Contract and the Salima Convention at Lake Nyasa in East Africa in 1956. With the aid of the late Peter Maxtone Graham, a settler in the Western Highlands, and James Lindsay Taylor, I prepared a Charter, which was ratified by our Association in 1956. In 1960, after our tour of East Africa, I became convinced that racial partnership could remain viable only if Papuans and New Guineans could look forward to becoming equal associates within an extended Australian federation. This required Australian acceptance. It was a naive view that ignored the realities of our international commitments and the certainty of nationalism. My political activity had naturally been concerned with the promotion of the Highlands region but now turned towards a permanent association between Australia and Papua New Guinea. The model I favoured was the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. Puerto Rico is an autonomous country and its citizens retain their own nationality while living in the United States. Similarly, Americans living in Puerto Rico do not have to renounce their nationality. Without going into details of this association, it seemed to me to relate fairly to both New Guineans and Australians. As a member of the first two Constitutional Committees I had the opportunity to study a variety of alternatives as well as the complication of the existing Australian relationship. My attitudes, however, underwent considerable change. I still believe that from a Papua New Guinea viewpoint a permanent relationship with Australia has overwhelming advantages; after 1967 I no longer held the opinion that the advantage was mutual.

Public opinion in Australia was clearly against incorporation of Papua New Guinea within an Australian federation. The press label of a 'seventh state' was confusing to Australians and not what I have ever had in mind. My recorded remarks in discussion at the 24th Summer School of the Australian Institute of Political Science, in January 1958, show that I was in full flight on this subject. Ten years later, when I addressed the Institute again in January 1968, it was obvious that I had acknowledged defeat. Australian immigration policy had overwhelming public support. I was also aware that both expatriates and New Guineans were drifting apart from parallel development and were rejecting racial partnership. I accepted the fact that I could not prevent a collision course and that racial partnership was an idealistic dream far too fragile for either Australians or Melanesians to sustain.

Formal rejection of Papua New Guinea by Australia first took place in 1967, when the Cabinet in Canberra met with the Constitutional Committee from the P.N.G. House of Assembly. The Prime Minister, Mr Holt, was unable to attend and the Australian government was led by Mr William McMahon, then Federal Treasurer. Our Committee was there to ask the Australian government if they would consider a future form of political union if Papuans and New Guineans expressed a wish to join an Australian federation extended to include them. We had to ask this question in Canberra before raising false hopes amongst the people of Papua New Guinea. At the time, such hopes were being frequently expressed. Mr McMahon made the rejection clear in terms that seemed to humiliate Mr John Guise, our Chairman, who being Papuan was technically Australian. An undertaking for indefinite future financial support did not heal the wound. Only the tact and sincerity of Mr Hubert Opperman (then Minister for Immigration) salvaged a difficult situation. The whole meeting had got off to a bad start owing to a seemingly trivial incident. The conference room in Parliament House was almost entirely filled by the conference table. There was barely room to pull chairs back in order to sit on them. Once seated, no one could get up without disturbing those on either side. Walking round was impossible. The press photographers arrived at the door and focused their attention on John Guise. McMahon was on the opposite side of the table and obviously anxious to be included. Suddenly he dived under the table, crawled underneath and bobbed up next to a startled John Guise to whom he thrust out an extended hand and demanded 'Shake', as the cameras clicked. To a dignified Papuan, it seemed as if McMahon was asking a strange dog to perform. Then he appeared about to push past Guise in order to climb over us all to get back to his own seat. I said to him: 'You had better crawl back the way you came'. This is what he did and in the discussion that followed he seemed impatient with our proposals for the future.

The meeting marked a turning point in my own political career. I was certain that Papuans and New Guineans would begin to embrace the emotional politics of nationalism and as this developed there would be a conflict of loyalty for me. Expatriates in New Guinea had a right to expect me to support their position. New Guineans believed that I might support them against an Australian administration of which I had been critical. Understandably, the

concept of 'loyal opposition' escaped their comprehension. They were not alone in this. At the time, the decision was easy for me to make. I had several times publicly stated that expatriates who took part in politics had to restrain personal ambition. I now believed that my presence in the House of Assembly obstructed the progress of others with a racial right to represent their own people properly. The politics of nationalism are irrevocably racial and I knew that I could never wish to be anything other than Australian. For more than twenty years my wife had put her own interests aside to help me carry out my work in New Guinea. It was time for a change in priorities and time to enable my son Graham to carve a career of his own in his own country.

My retirement from other activities in Papua New Guinea followed because my usefulness was handicapped by a long-delayed need to attend to private matters and medical advice accelerated a general withdrawal from public and then business life. I was influenced not by any lack of confidence in the future of the country, but by a conviction that my own contribution had come to a useful end. My novel, *The Stolen Land*, published in Brisbane in 1971, was an effort to try and explain the conflicts and difficulties facing the first Melanesian nationalists. The story is a fantasy, the characters entirely fictional and only the human problems are real. Papua New Guineans of today and tomorrow will never know the trials and difficulties of those of their race who had to make the adjustments from tribalism to nationalism. Men like Vin Tobaining, Sabumai Kofikai, Tei Abel, Simogun Peta, Aisoli Salin and all those others suddenly confronted with the need to live a public life (as exhibits of their country's progress) earned for Papua New Guineans real international respect.

I have no design for the future of Papua New Guinea. If I was Melanesian I would want all Melanesians to go on being themselves by retaining the quality of their own society, by rejecting Western materialism and by striving for unity under a presidential system of government. Australian initiatives and the pressure of politics have pushed Papua New Guineans to the edge of home rule and final independence. Once Papuans and New Guineans understood that Australia meant to withdraw it was inevitable that nationalism should suddenly appear; but the intention to withdraw has never been in doubt. The only conflict has been over time and now this no



longer matters. The future belongs to the people of the country. By any reasonable standards, Australian administration of Papua New Guinea has been generous and capable. Australians in the former Territories have generally been sensitive to the emotions that their relative prosperity has aroused. Expatriates are always the target of the first wave of emotional nationalism; but in Papua New Guinea the impact of their presence has been far from fatal. They have earned the right to remain as citizens of a country that has emerged, by their efforts, from the handicaps of pre-literacy, the decay of tropical disease and the deadly vendettas of tribal conflict. No one familiar with what these evils once meant could think otherwise.

[This chapter was written in 1972.]

## Notes

### *Chapter 1: James Chalmers*

The main archival source of material on Chalmers's missionary career is the Archives of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), the interdenominational but predominantly Congregationalist missionary body formed in London in 1795. These are at present being transferred to the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

1. R. Lovett, *James Chalmers: his Autobiography and Letters* (London, 1902), p. 119.
2. This, and subsequent information about Chalmers's background is taken from an autobiographical fragment he called 'Notes for Lizzie' (L.M.S. Archives). Much of it is reprinted *ibid*.
3. 'Report of Journey from Rarotonga . . . ' (L.M.S. Papua Journals). Subsequent information about Chalmers's first impressions of New Guinea is also taken from the same report, much of which is published in J. Chalmers and W. Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (London, 1885), pp. 22 ff.
4. L.M.S. Foreign Secretary to Chalmers, 8 November 1878 (L.M.S. Western Outgoing Letters).
5. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 28 October 1882 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 2).
6. 'Notes for Lizzie' (L.M.S. Archives).
7. L.M.S. Candidates Papers.
8. 'New Guinea, Past, Present and Future, *Royal Colonial Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 18, 1886-7, p. 93.

9. Ibid.
10. His assessment of the life of the Suau is best summarised in Chalmers to Daldy, 26 January 1878 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 2).
11. J. Chalmers, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (London, 1902), p. 300. Other references to this book are to this edition.
12. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 28 October 1882 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 2).
13. C. Abel, *Savage Life in New Guinea* (London, 1902), pp. 149-50.
14. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 25 August 1880 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 2).
15. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 13 November 1885 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 3).
16. Chalmers and Gill, *Work and Adventure*, p. 74.
17. Abel, *Savage Life*, p. 157.
18. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 16 October 1877 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 2).
19. 'Notes for Lizzie' (L.M.S. Archives).
20. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 11 December 1880 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 2).
21. Chalmers to Green, 29 March 1884 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
22. MacFarlane to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 31 September 1884 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 3).
23. Lovett, *James Chalmers*, p. 489.
24. Askwith in C. Kinloch-Cooke, *Australia's Defences and New Guinea* (London, 1887), p. 360.
25. Doyle Glanville, discussion on Chalmers's paper in *R.C.I. Proceedings*, Vol. 18, 1886-7, p. 108.
26. Lovett, *James Chalmers*, p. 227.
27. Askwith in Kinloch-Cooke, *Australia's Defences*, p. 360.
28. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 27 August 1883 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 3).
29. Chalmers to Hutchin, 18 May 1883 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
30. *Brisbane Courier*, 24 April 1884. Within days of his arrival in New Guinea Morrison was involved in a hostile feud with Chalmers and Lawes, ostensibly over the ownership of some horses running wild near the mission. Morrison denounced Lawes as half-witted and Chalmers as too addicted to alcohol. Chalmers therefore had no reason to be charitable towards him.
31. Chalmers to Hutchin, 27 July 1884 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
32. *Brisbane Courier*, 13 December 1883.
33. Ibid., 20 December 1883.
34. Chalmers to Hutchin, 22 December 1883 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
35. Chalmers to Hutchin, 18 May 1883 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
36. *Pioneering in New Guinea* (London, 1887), p.v. Future references are to this edition.
37. 'New Guinea, Past, Present and Future', p. 106.
38. Ibid., p. 105.
39. *The Times*, 20 May 1901. Obituary on Chalmers.
40. G. S. Fort, *Chance or Design?* (London, 1942), p. 49.
41. *R.C.I. Proceedings*, Vol. 18, p. 108.
42. Kinloch-Cooke, *Australia's Defences*, p. 315.
43. T. Bevan, *Toil, Travel and Discovery in British New Guinea* (London, 1890), pp. 135, 152.
44. Chalmers to Hutchin, 25 April 1885 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).

45. A. C. Haddon, introduction to J. H. Holmes, *In Primitive New Guinea* (London, 1924).
46. *Pioneering in New Guinea*, p. 68.
47. Chalmers, Report, 25 February 1888 (L.M.S. Papua Reports).
48. Sharpe to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 22 February 1886 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 4).
49. Chalmers, Report, 1884 (L.M.S. Papua Reports).
50. *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, p.227.
51. Chalmers, Report, 1884 (L.M.S. Papua Reports).
52. F. Walker, Circular Letter, 15 February 1889 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 4).
53. Lovett, *James Chalmers*, p. 322.
54. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 19 January 1889 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 4).
55. Lovett, *James Chalmers*, p. 327.
56. Lizzie Chalmers, quoted *ibid.*, p. 338. For details of the *semese* festival, and a general discussion of Toaripi life and culture, see H. A. Brown, 'The Eastern Elema' (M.A. thesis, University of London, 1957).
57. Chalmers, Report, 1892 (L.M.S. Papua Reports).
58. Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 15 March 1890 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
59. J. Chalmers, 'Toaripi', *Royal Anthropological Institute Journal*, Vol. 27, 1898, p. 326.
60. Chalmers, Report, 1893 (L.M.S. Papua Reports).
61. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 4 August 1891 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 5).
62. Godet to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 16 July 1892 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 5).
63. Lawes to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 22 May 1896 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 6).
64. Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 5 April 1898 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
65. Chalmers to Moss, n.d. [1896] (Moss Papers A/33, Auckland University Library).
66. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 31 May 1893 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 6).
67. Personal statements, Manuba Amura and Waguna Gibia, Daru, July 1971.
68. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 13 December 1898 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 8).
69. A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters Black, White and Brown* (London, 1901), p. 95.
70. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 8 June 1898 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 8).
71. Lizzie Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 11 July 1898 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 8).
72. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 20 August 1898 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 8).
73. Tomkins to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 25 May 1900 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 8).
74. Chalmers to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, 17 February 1900 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 8).
75. Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 27 March 1900 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
76. Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 15 March 1890 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
77. Chalmers, Journal, January-April 1901 (L.M.S. Papua Journals).

78. Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 27 March 1900 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
79. Chalmers to Rev. S. Rogers, 9 March 1901. Quoted in *Christian World*, May 1901.
80. Chalmers to Mrs Edwards, 3 April 1901 (L.M.S. Papua Personal, Box 1).
81. Chalmers used the term 'chief' loosely, not distinguishing between ascribed and acquired status. Frequently he used it of anyone who had, or appeared to have, authority amongst his own people.
82. Abel, *Savage Life*, p. 147.
83. Thompson to Dauncey, 26 April 1901 (L.M.S. Western Outgoing Letters).
84. British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1901/02*, Appendix C.
85. Lawes to L.M.S. Foreign Secretary, August, 1902 (L.M.S. Papua Letters, Box 9).

### Chapter 2: Albert Hahl

I am indebted to the help of Peter Biskup and Father John Tschauder in the preparation of this article though my views are my own. The most useful recent articles on Hahl are P. Biskup, 'Dr Albert Hahl — Sketch of a German Colonial Official', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 14 (3), 1968, pp. 342-57, and Marjorie Jacobs's 'German New Guinea' and 'Hahl' in P. Ryan (ed), *Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea* (Melbourne, 1972), Vol. 1, pp. 485-98 and pp. 516-17.

1. *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel 1898* (Berlin, 1898), p. 8.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
3. See S. G. Firth, 'The New Guinea Company, 1885-1899: a case of unprofitable imperialism', *Historical Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 59, 1972, pp. 361-77.
4. 'Achtzehn Jahre in Deutsch-Neuguinea', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, i, 1920, p. 14.
5. Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Potsdam, German Democratic Republic; records of the German Colonial Office, Volume 2985, leaf 141: Hahl to Colonial Department, 25 August 1896 [Hereafter cited in the form RKA 2985: 141, Hahl to KA, 25 August 1896].
6. RKA 2985: 100-03, 139-44, Hahl to KA, 5 March and 25 August 1896.
7. *Nachrichten* 1897, pp. 49-50; RKA 6512: 127, Hahl to *Landeshauptmann*, 1 December 1898, enclosed in New Guinea Company to KA, 31 March 1899.
8. P. G. Sack, *Land Between Two Laws: early European land acquisitions in New Guinea* (Canberra, 1973), pp. 146, 165.
9. *Nachrichten* 1897, pp. 55-6.
10. RKA 2986: 119, Wallmann to Ober-Kommando der Marine, 2 September 1897.
11. A. Hahl, *Gouverneursjahre in Neuguinea* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 61-2.
12. RKA 2986: 122-26, Hahl to Wallmann, 27 July 1897, enclosed in Wallmann to Ober-Kommando der Marine, 2 September 1897.
13. *Ibid.*
14. RKA 2550: 132, Hahl to New Guinea Company, 4 September 1897.
15. RKA 2987: 81-84, Schlüter to Hahl, 12 October 1898, enclosed in New Guinea Company to KA, 31 March 1899.
16. RKA 2985: 139, Hahl to KA, 25 August 1896.
17. Hahl, *Gouverneursjahre*, p. 88.
18. RKA 2986: 75-78, 93-96, Mertens to Ober-Kommando der Marine, 13 and 21 April 1897.

19. RKA 2986: 185, Hahl to New Guinea Company, 4 September 1897, enclosed in New Guinea Company to KA, 7 September 1898.
20. RKA 2986: 112-21, Wallmann to Ober-Kommando der Marine, 2 September 1897; RKA 2413: 158, New Guinea Company to KA, 13 November 1897.
21. RKA 2987: 7-9, Hahl to New Guinea Company, 24 June 1898, enclosed in New Guinea Company to KA, 14 October 1898.
22. RKA 2987: 62, from 'Der Bismarck Archipel und die Salomonsinseln' (RKA 2987: 31-71).
23. RKA 2989: 105, KA to Evangelischer Afrika-Verein, 1 July 1902.
24. RKA 2989: 140, Knake to KA, 24 September 1902.
25. RKA 2989: 23, 26, Hahl to KA, 18 and 26 July 1901.
26. H. Schnee, *Als letzter Gouverneur in Deutsch-Ostafrika. Erinnerungen* (Heidelberg, 1964), p. 117.
27. RKA 2946: 39, Hahl to KA, 10 August 1903.
28. RKA 2308: 157-58, Hahl to KA, 13 November 1903.
29. Quoted in longer form in Sack, *Land Between Two Laws*, p. 166.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 182-6.
31. RKA 2990: 12-15, Hahl to KA, 29 October 1903, and enclosure; RKA 2413: 160-162, Hahl to Hansemann, 13 September 1897, quoted in New Guinea Company to KA, 14 November 1897.
32. RKA 2651: 36, Schroder to KA, 8 August 1901.
33. RKA 2651: 88, statement made at Herbertshöhe, 12 September 1901, by Kaul, Kapinpin, Tiogai, Uwe, Marwan, Talonga, Weiwei, Gene, Wawa and Lames.
34. RKA 2989: 126-29, enclosure in Knake to KA, 11 August 1902.
35. Information supplied by Mr Paul Arnold.
36. *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 13 January 1903.
37. RKA 2989: 180, Hahl to KA, 22 January 1903.
38. RKA 2989: 103-04, KA to Evangelischer Afrika-Verein, 1 July 1902.
39. RKA 2763: 69-70, KA to governor, 5 January 1907.
40. Staatsarchiv Bremen, papers of Deutsche Südsee-Phosphat A.-G., first vol., Hahl to KA, 8 February 1907, enclosed in Hahl to Wiegand, 16 April 1908.
41. RKA 2994: 239, enclosure in Hahl to RKA, 27 October 1911.
42. RKA 2994: 68-70, 94-95, Berghausen to Hahl, 31 October 1910 and to RKA, 8 December 1910.
43. RKA 2994: 101-3, Berghausen to Osswald, 8 February 1911, enclosed in Osswald to RKA, 17 February 1911.
44. RKA 2992: 88-93, deposition at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen, 16 October 1906, enclosed in Krauss to KA, 28 November 1906.
45. RKA 2994: 24, Karlowa to district office, 12 May 1910, enclosed in Osswald to KA, 31 May 1910.
46. RKA 2995: 233, enclosure in Hahl to RKA, 14 May 1913.
47. *Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Deutsch-Neuguinea*, Rabaul, 1 December 1913.
48. *Amtsblatt* 15 April 1914.
49. Sack, *Land Between Two Laws*, pp. 181-2.
50. 'Der deutsche Besitz in der Südsee', *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, 20 December 1918.
51. 'Das deutsche Volk und die Kolonialfrage', *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, 20 September 1920.
52. 'Nachrichten aus den deutschen Südsee-Kolonien', *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, 20 February 1921.
53. W. W. Schmokel, *Dream of Empire. German colonialism, 1919-1945* (New Haven and London, 1964), p. 32.
54. A. Hahl, *Deutsch-Neuguinea* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1942), p. 101.

*Chapter 3: C. A. W. Monckton*

The following abbreviations are used in the notes: C.D. Central Division; E.D. Eastern Division; G.S. Government Secretary; N.D. Northern Division; N.E.D. North Eastern Division; R.M. Resident Magistrate; S.E.D. South Eastern Division. Files from the Papua New Guinea National Archives are identified by the letter G. Their descriptions are:

- G.32 Despatches to the Governor of Queensland and the Governor-General, 1888-1907.
- G.34 Index book to despatches to Queensland and to the Governor-General of Australia, 1896-1907 (1888-1907).
- G.44 Files of enclosures to despatches sent and office copies of despatches, 1901-6.
- G.54 Copies of outward despatches to the Governor-General and the Department of External Affairs, c. 1908 (1906-7).
- G.121 Correspondence and Papers filed by subject, c. 1897-1908 (1897-1908).
- G.64 Executive Council Minute Books, 1888-1942 (1888-1913).
- G.40 Office of the Chief Judicial Officer. Judge Robinson's Notes (Books) 19 May 1903-15, June 1904.
- G.52 (Private) Diary of Chris. S. Robinson, Chief Judicial Officer, British New Guinea 2 May 1903 to 11 February 1904.
- G.91 Government Secretary's Department. Files of Correspondence, Journals and Patrol Reports from Outstations 1890-1941.

1. *Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate* (London, 1921), p. 72.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
3. 'Some Recollections of New Guinea Customs', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 5, 1896, pp. 184-6; 'Goodenough Island, New Guinea', *ibid.*, Vol. 6, 1897, pp. 89-90.
4. *Some Experiences*, p. 59.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
6. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 1 of 12/1/00, British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1899-1900*, p. 15.
7. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 24 of 1900, 28/3/00 (G.32, Vol. 5).
8. Abbot to Le Hunte, 19/1/00 (G.121, Item 86).
9. R.M.N.E.D. to G.S., Cape Nelson Reports, 30/4/00 (G.91, Item 111B).
10. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 28 of 1900, 14/4/00, British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1899-1900*, p. 19.
11. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 51 of 1900, 11/8/00, *ibid.*, p. 51.
12. *Some Experiences*, pp. 173-6.
13. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 21 of 1901, 27/4/01, Enclosure No. 1, 28/1/01, British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1900-01*, p. 23.
14. Report by R.M.N.E.D. on Doriri Expedition, 1 April to 24 April 1901, 6/5/01, *ibid.*, Appendix N, p. 64.
15. Report on affairs of N.E.D. 1902-03, British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1902-03*, p. 34.
16. R.M.N.E.D. to G.S. Cape Nelson Reports 24/11/02 (G.91, Item 115/A).
17. *Some Experiences*, p. 279. John Waiko 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*.
18. Winter, Despatch 80A, 6/12/02, p. 15 (G.32, Vol. 5).
19. Annual Report N.E.D. 1903-04, British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1903-04*, Appendix D, p. 32.

20. Barton, British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1904-05*, p. 6.
21. Mr D. Marsh, District Commissioner, N.D., pers. comm., July 1972.
22. Papua, *Annual Report 1921-22*, p. 156.
23. *Report of the Royal Commission of inquiry into the present conditions, including the method of government, of the Territory of Papua, and the best means for their improvement; together with minutes of evidence* (Commonwealth of Australia, 1907), Minutes of Evidence #2064.
24. *Last Days in New Guinea* (London, 1922), pp. 40, 45.
25. Report by R.M.N.D. on Mt Albert Edward Expedition, 2/6/06, British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1905-06*, pp. 85-93.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
27. J. H. P. Murray, *Papua or British New Guinea* (London, 1912), p. 307.
28. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 5. No. 10, May 1935, p. 9; Vol. 5, No. 11, June 1935, p. 28.
29. Barton, Despatch No. 103 of 1906, 2/10/06 (G.54, Item 1), pp. 3-4.
30. Barton, Despatch No. 137 of 1906, 3/12/06 (G.54, Item 1), p. 3.
31. K. Mackay, *Across Papua* (London, 1909), p. 136.
32. J. H. P. Murray wrote in 1912 that 'there is no official record of it in existence' (*Papua or British New Guinea*, p. 309). See, however, 'Mr Monckton's Journey across New Guinea', *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 5, 1908, pp. 503-7, which contains frustratingly brief extracts from Monckton's official report, sent in by Dr C. G. Seligman.
33. Monckton calls him Bushimae, but John Waiko assures me the name was Bousimae, and indeed he seemed to find 'Bushimae' rather offensive, in that Monckton may have related it to 'Bushman'. In deference to this point of view, I use John Waiko's version.
34. Le Hunte, Despatch No. 51 of 1900, 11/8/00, British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1899-1900*, p. 53.
35. John Waiko, 'Oro Oro' (B.A. Honours sub-thesis, U.P.N.G., 1972).
36. Annual Report, N.D. 1904-05, British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1904-05*, Appendix G., p. 37.
37. Barton, Despatch No. 44 of 1905, 13/6/05, Enclosure No. 2, 30/5/05 (G.44, Item 5).
38. *Ibid.*, Enclosures Nos. 3A-D.
39. H. L. Griffin, *An Official in British New Guinea* (London, 1925), p. 110.
40. Barton, Despatch No. 44 of 1905, 13/6/05, Enclosure No. 6 (G.44, Item 5).
41. *Ibid.*, Enclosure No. 7.
42. Barton, Despatch No. 7 of 1906, 18/1/06, Enclosures Nos. 1-4 (G.44, Item 6).
43. Monckton, *New Guinea Recollections* (London, 1934), pp. 171-7.
44. Report on trip to Kumusi, N.D., 12 March 1906 (G.91, Item 415A).
45. *Report of the Royal Commission*, Minutes of Evidence, #1853.
46. *Ibid.*, #926-9, 1654-60, 1694-9.
47. Rochfort to Barton, 20/1/06 (G.121, Item 50).
48. *Across Papua*, pp. 128, 132.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-8.
50. Robinson's diary, 21 and 22 May 1903 (G.52, Vol. 1).
51. Diane Langmore, 'Goaribari 1904', *Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1972, p. 70.
52. *Some Experiences*, pp. 236-49.
53. Ian Stuart, *Port Moresby Yesterday and Today* (Sydney, 1970), pp. 75-6.
54. Barton, Despatch No. 6 of 1906, 17/1/06 (G.54, Item 1), p. 8.
55. Stuart, *Port Moresby*, p. 70.
56. Griffin, *An Official*, p. 117.



57. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
58. *Report of the Royal Commission*, Minutes of Evidence, #2062.
59. L. Lett, *Knights Errant of Papua* (Edinburgh, 1935), p. 9.
60. David F. Wetherell, 'A History of the Anglican Mission in Papua 1891-1914' (Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U., 1970), pp. 220-4.
61. Peter Wusi, Papaki Village, pers. comm., July 1972.
62. Patrol Report Ioma No. 10, 1969-70, 22/7/70, J. Kup-Ogut, Patrol Officer (Central Library, Govt Office Block, Waigani).
63. *Some Experiences*, p. 208.
64. Winter, Despatch No. 80A, 6/12/02 (G.32, Vol. 5), p. 10.
65. Barton, Despatch No. 34 of 1907, 5/4/07 (G.54, Item 2).
66. Despatch No. 31 of 1907, 3/4/07 (G.54, Item 2).
67. Nancy Lutton, 'C.A.W. Monckton's Trilogy of his Adventures in New Guinea: fact or fiction?' (B.A. Honours sub-thesis, U.P.N.G., 1972).
68. Report of Patrol to Paiwa, 11/3/03 (G.91, Item 35/117); Judge Robinson's notes, criminal sitting, Cape Nelson, 30/6/03 (G.40, Vol. 1); Robinson, Despatch No. 52 of 1903, 21/10/03 (G.32, Vol. 5); Judge Robinson's notes, criminal sessions, Giwa, Goodenough Bay, 15 and 16 December 1903 (G.40, Vol. 1); Robinson, Despatch No. 2 of 1904, 2/1/04 (G.32, Vol. 5).

#### *Chapter 4: Frank Pryke*

The main collection of Frank Pryke's extant writings is in the National Library of Australia, Canberra (N.L., MS. 1826), held in trust for the Papua New Guinea archives. This includes diaries for parts of most years between 1903 and 1915, a series of letters from Frank to Dan, 1905 to 1920, a few letters and two diaries by Jim, letters and notes by A. C. Lumley to Frank, labour contracts, accounts and bank books. The Mitchell Library, Sydney (M.L., A 2616 and A 2617) has Frank's diaries for 1928, 1932, and part of another year, perhaps 1929, a diary of the Vailala trip 1911-12, a typed report by Frank on the Fly expedition of 1914 and a collection of newspaper cuttings most of which are not identified.

The cover and title page of his 286 page volume of poems merely say 'Poems Frank Pryke New Guinea': there is no introduction, no date of publication and no printer. The Mitchell Library catalogue suggests that an edition of only about fifty copies was published in 1944. Mr Frank Pryke of Sydney (a nephew) suggests that Ina Pryke had the poems printed in Hong Kong in 1937. Mr Frank Pryke and his daughter Mrs L. Christopherson answered many questions about the family and let me look at papers in their possession. These included Les Joubert's diary of 1927, an album of Frank's photographs, newspaper cuttings, notes on the Fly expedition and other papers. Mr Leo Pryke, another nephew now living in Sydney, also provided information.

The *Papuan Times* (from 1911) and its successor, the *Papuan Courier*, reported the movements of the miners and published reports by Frank on his prospecting trips. Frank gave evidence to the Royal Commission on the Edie Creek (New Guinea) Leases, 1927, and the transcript of the evidence is in the Commonwealth Archives Office (C.A.O., CP 660 Series 25, Vol. 1). Diaries by C. S. Robinson (National Archives of Papua New Guinea), Bishop Montague Stone-Wigg (Library, University of Papua and New Guinea), and J. H. P. Murray (Mitchell Library), have comments on the Papuan gold fields. J. H. W. Johns (Letters, University of Melbourne Archives) made detailed observations on the Morobe gold fields from 1929 to 1932.

In the Papua New Guinea National Archives are the patrol reports and station journals kept by government officers administering the gold fields. They are very

full for Nepa from 1910 to 1920 because the government officers there were almost solely concerned with the administration of the Lakekamu gold field. The *Annual Reports* of British New Guinea, Papua, and Australian New Guinea reprint some Wardens' reports and provide other information.

Two detailed obituaries were published, by Fred Kruger in the *Papuan Courier* 22 October 1937 and by Mrs A. A. Innes in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 6, No. 1, August 1937. Dr T. Dutton, Linguistics Dept., R.S.P.S., A.N.U. helped sort out the languages of those people living close to the gold fields. Jim Gibbney, Australian Dictionary of Biography, helped trace documentary material.

1. British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1895-96*, p. 25.
2. Notes in a small coverless book probably written about five years after the events they describe (N.L., MS. 1826). See also Report on Musa expedition, *Sydney Mail*, 1 May 1897, p. 955.
3. The death of Green is discussed by John Waiko in 'A Payback Murder: the Green bloodbath', *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1970, pp. 27-35.
4. All quotes in this section are from Frank's diary of the trip (N.L., MS. 1826). Written in a small notebook, it gives no year, but Finnigan's was found early in 1899. I have changed Pryke's spelling of some place names, e.g. Mambari to Mambare.
5. British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1898-99*, p. 90.
6. Presumably 'per man' means just Pryke and Klotz and does not include their ten labourers. The gold was worth about seven dollars an ounce.
7. 'Little George' eventually found gold on the Morobe gold field. By the time he died in 1939, he had spent forty-six years chasing gold in New Guinea.
8. The Keveri find is not described by either Dan or Frank. See Fred Kruger's obituary of Frank in the *Papuan Courier*, 22 October 1937. Kruger was a close friend of Pryke.
9. F. E. Williams, 'Mission Influence among the Keveri of South-East Papua', *Oceania*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1944, pp. 90-1, has a map and description.
10. From Jim's diary for 1906, between pages 80 and 81 (N.L., MS. 1826).
11. Many of these villages have shifted since the days of the miners.
12. Frank to Dan, 13 October 1905 (N.L., MS. 1826).
13. British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1904-05*, p. 23 says twenty-four miners were on the field and 1906-07, p. 8 says fifteen was the maximum.
14. Dan to 'Minnie' Steenson, 11 March 1905 (N.L., MS. 1826).
15. This section is based on Williams, 'Mission Influence' and T. Dutton, *Languages of South-East Papua: a preliminary report* (Canberra, 1971).
16. British New Guinea, *Annual Report 1903-04*, p. 26.
17. Frank to Dan, 5 March 1906, and diary, 18 February 1906 (N.L., MS. 1826).
18. Frank, diary, 2 April 1906 (*ibid.*).
19. Frank to Dan, 18 December 1906 (*ibid.*).
20. *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 26, 1905, p. 1735.
21. Frank to Dan, 8 December 1906 (N.L., MS. 1826). On Monckton see Chapter 3.
22. *Ibid.*
23. A draft of a letter to the editor of the *North Queensland Register* is on the blotter pages of Frank's diary beginning opposite the entry for 27 August 1908 (N.L., MS. 1826). It sets out what Frank thought German policy was. The published letter is in the unidentified newspaper cuttings in the Mitchell Library. When the miners first crossed into German New Guinea they also

- violated the Native Labour Ordinance, which made it illegal to take labourers from British New Guinea. On Hahl see Chapter 2.
24. Frank's diary, 22 October 1908 (N.L., MS. 1826). Chinnery locates 'Wakai-ia' in the Morobe District between the Waria and the Papua-New Guinea border above the point where the Waria crosses the eighth parallel for the first time. Pryke traded with the Wakaia both before and after the punitive raid.
  25. Frank calls the people Gaswak(?); he probably refers to the Guswei to the north-west of Garaina. Chinnery reported finding one seven and a half foot bow on the Waria.
  26. Murray says that when he arrived at the Aikora he was talking to Erichsen [sic] who asked: ' "When do you expect the Yoodge?" ' I said, "I am the Judge"'. He said "Oh Christ!" ' Murray also recorded that the miners wanted 'to deal it out' to the Wagaia, who lived in German New Guinea. The Wagaia was presumably Frank Pryke's Wakaia. J. H. P. Murray, diary, 29 December 1908, and 2 January 1909 (M.L.).
  27. Frank to Dan, 9 February 1909 (N.L., MS. 1826). One man Murray decided to charge with the illegal shooting of birds was H. L. Griffin who immediately resigned from the government service.
  28. Frank to Dan, 4 April 1909. See also Australian Archives, Papua, Mines Papers, 1907-27, G.70, Item 1907/87.
  29. Frank, *Poems*, p. 46. The poem 'Matt Crowe' was also printed in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 4, No. 11, June 1935, p. 6.
  30. There is no diary of this trip, but it is described in letters by Jim and Frank (N.L., MS. 1826) and in Murray's despatches to the Minister, 24 September, 11 December 1909 (P.N.G. Archives).
  31. Frank to Dan, 17 December 1909 (N.L., MS. 1826).
  32. Jim to Dan, 4 January 1910 (ibid.).
  33. Papua, *Annual Report 1909-10*, pp. 124-5.
  34. Smith to Minister, 4 and 21 July 1910 (P.N.G. Archives).
  35. Frank to Dan, 20 May 1910 (N.L., MS. 1826). Gelua and Bete [sic] both survived to be paid off in Samarai (labour contracts, ibid.).
  36. Frank to Dan, 2 September 1910 (ibid.).
  37. Frank, diary, December 1910 (ibid.).
  38. Frank to Dan, 2 September 1910 (ibid.). Just how well the Prykes did on the Lakekamu is not clear. By September of 1910 Frank thought they would 'clear a thou' each' for the first year. The reward claim yielded over 1400 ounces in the first twelve months (Warden's Report, P.N.G. Archives).
  39. *Papuan Times*, 1 March 1911.
  40. Frank to Dan, 14 April 1911 (N.L., MS. 1826).
  41. *Papuan Times*, 20 March 1912. Account of Vailala trip by Pryke (rough notebook, N.L., MS. 1826). More carefully written diary in the Mitchell.
  42. The quotes are from the notebook in the National Library.
  43. 'Fat' Priddle may have been a fine prospector but he was a poor hand with the pencil. Priddle's writing is now difficult to read and his spelling was erratic.
  44. Frank to Dan, 28 July [1912?]; 19 August 1913 (N.L. MS. 1826).
  45. Ibid.
  46. Frank, diary, January 1914 (ibid.).
  47. Frank's rough diary of the trip is in the National Library and there is a typed report, which includes the word-list, in the Mitchell. Among the newspaper cuttings in the Mitchell Library is an exchange of letters between Leo Austin and Frank Pryke about how far the Prykes went up the Fly. No dates are given but the letters are from the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Further information about the Fly expedition is contained in papers obtained from Mr F. Pryke of

- Sydney (a nephew of Frank) and now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs L. Christopherson.
48. In the typed account Frank does not say they killed anyone. He did, however, report the killing to the government. Murray to Minister, 7 October 1914 (P.N.G. Archives) includes statement by Frank. The quote is from papers held by Mrs L. Christopherson.
  49. One carrier, Miki, from Normanby Island, died on the trip. Other men said it was because magic had been made against him for not building a garden for his mother. Frank thought that if this was so it may have been a record for long distance *pouri pouri*.
  50. Frank, diary (N.L., MS. 1826).
  51. Frank, *Poems*, p. 25. 'To a Mate and Brother'. Frank had an operation for the removal of hydatids. Bill Gammage checked the records at the Australian War Memorial to obtain information about Jim Pryke.
  52. Frank said that Hahl allowed the miners into German New Guinea because he knew they were 'the best class of people to open up new country' (letter to editor, *North Queensland Register*, see note 23).
  53. Frank, diary, 24 June 1908 (N.L., MS. 1826).
  54. Fred Kruger, obituary of Frank, *Papuan Courier* 22 October 1937.
  55. Frank, *Poems*, 'Usher's Bar', p. 116; 'Bulolo Gold', p. 140. The latter appeared also in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 4, No. 4, November 1934, p. 30.
  56. Royal described his discovery in evidence before the Royal Commission 1927, transcript of evidence, pp. 1294-7 (C.A.O., CP. 660, Series 25, Vol. 1).
  57. In 'Bulolo Gold' are the lines:  
Though disillusion greeted us on many a previous trip  
If may be our last and lucky chance, we must not let it slip.
  58. Royal Commission 1927, transcript of evidence, Frank Pryke's evidence, p. 156; Joubert's evidence, pp. 887-93 (C.A.O., CD. 660, Series 25, Vol. 1).
  59. Dr R. W. Cilento, Director of Public Health, argued at great length to show that all possible had been done to prevent the spread of disease on the Morobe gold field, and that there had been only 'trivial mortality'. Royal Commission 1927, transcript of evidence, p. 1102 (*ibid.*).
  60. *Ibid.*, p. 116. Pryke said that all who had been on Edie suffered in health.
  61. *Ibid.*, p. 892.
  62. Frank, diary, 1928 (M.L., A 2616). Ina arrived 20 July 1928. In 1927 Leo Pryke, Frank's nephew, now living in Sydney, went to work for Frank at Koranga.
  63. From an unidentified press cutting in the Pryke Papers (M.L.).
  64. Frank, diary, 2 August 1932 (M.L., A 2617). All this paragraph is based on the 1932 diary. In earlier times Frank had been about twelve stone.
  65. Two poems make interesting comments on violence between miners and villagers, 'Gone West' and 'The Yodda', *Poems*, pp. 49, 129.
  66. Papua, *Annual Report 1911-12*. There is a chance that Murray was anticipating criticism about letting miners enter territory not controlled by the government.
  67. Lumley to Frank, 21 June 1912 and 3 February 1913 (N.L., MS. 1826).
  68. Frank, *Poems*, 'The Gully Raking Days', p. 12 and 'To a Mate and Brother', p. 35. Bida (or Beda) is in the Chirima.
  69. *Ibid.*, 'The Goddess of Verse', p. 159.
  70. Frank to Dan, 20 May 1910 (N.L., MS. 1826).
  71. Frank, *Poems*, 'The Cemetery', p. 30. Jim told the army he was a Roman Catholic.
  72. *Ibid.*, 'The Winds of Fate', p. 27.

73. I. L. Idriess, who consulted Frank Pryke, says Pryke was a 'level-headed man . . . who always treats the savage as a man like himself'. (*Gold-Dust and Ashes*, Sydney, first printed in 1933 and reprinted twenty-three times before it was issued as a paperback in 1964), p. 9.
74. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 6, No. 1, August 1937, p. 74.

*Chapter 5: W. C. Groves*

The Groves Papers (G.P.) are held in the New Guinea Collection of the Library of the University of Papua New Guinea.

1. Groves to Wedgwood, 24 May 1946 (Camilla Wedgwood Papers, Australian School of Pacific Administration).
2. 'Evangelisation-Education', typescript (G.P.).
3. 'Missions and Education', foolscap fragment (G.P.).
4. John (?Singleton), Teachers College, Carlton, Victoria, to Groves, 23 March 1923 (5-6-G, G.P.). My italics.
5. 'Relation Between State School and Mission' (2-7-L, part II, G.P.).
6. Ibid.
7. *Native Education and Culture Contact in New Guinea* (Melbourne, 1936), p. 18.
8. H.M.S.O. Cmd. 2374.
9. *Native Education*, p. 11.
10. Williams's paper to the Honolulu Conference of 1936 (7-2-B, G.P.).
11. 2-1-C.11, G.P.
12. 7-2-C, G.P.
13. League of Nations. *Permanent Mandates Commission*, 31st Session 1937, pp. 170-2.
14. For financial constraints see Wisdom to Secretary, Department of Home and Territories, 3 November 1930; Griffiths to Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 8 September 1932; Secretary, to Administrator, radiogram 11 June 1934; McNicoll to Secretary, 7 May 1935 (C.A.O., A 518, C 818/1/3, Parts 1 and 2).
15. Groves Papers. 1-10-M. Groves to Pastor Theile, Lutheran missionary, 21 September 1938 (1-10-M, G.P.).
16. 4-3-12, G.P.
17. 'Native Education', December 1938, foolscap typescript, 19pp. (G.P.).
18. Interview, Col. J. K. Murray, Port Moresby, 1 June 1968.
19. Interview, Dr J. T. Gunther, Port Moresby, 3 February 1972.
20. Groves, *Native Education*, p. 114; interview, G. T. Roscoe, Brisbane, 31 January 1969.
21. 'Re. Native Education', n.d.-c. 1924? (2-7-G, G.P.).
22. 1-30-B, G.P.
23. Interview, 31 January 1969.
24. P. N. W. Strong, *Out of Great Tribulation* (East Cape, Papua, n.d.-1947?), p. 154; Camilla Wedgwood, 'Some Problems of Native Education in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea and Papua', July/August 1944, p. 20; Secretary, Department of External Territories, to Groves, 9 April 1946 (5-28-J, G.P.); Bishop Cranswick to E. J. Ward, 26 June 1944 (C.A.O. A 518, E.818/1/1).
25. 3-19-A, Vol. 1, G.P.
26. 'Five Year Plan, 1948-53', p. 6 (G.P.).
27. Ibid., p. 14.

28. 3-19-A, Vol. 1, G.P.
29. File 11-5, Head to D. M. Cleland, 30 May 1952 (P.N.G.A.O., A 245).
30. Cleland to Secretary, Department of Territories, 6 June 1952 (P.N.G.A.O., A 245).
31. 'Investigation under sections 10 and 12 of the Public Service Ordinance into the administration, organisation and methods of the Department of Education'. December 1953, duplicated typescript, 55pp.
32. Interview, Dr J. T. Gunther, 3 February 1972; letter to writer, Dr K. R. McKinnon, Director of Education, 10 April 1973.
33. 3-19-A, Vol. 1, G.P.
34. Interview, 3 February 1972.
35. 'Investigation . . . of the Department of Education', pp. 53-4.
36. Interview, Dr J. T. Gunther, 3 February 1972.
37. Discussion with History Department, University of Papua and New Guinea, 17 February 1971.
38. C. E. W. Bean, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, Vol. IV, *The A.I.F. in France: 1917* (Sydney, 1936), pp. 252-354.
39. Hasluck to Secretary, Department of Territories, 24 February 1955 (P.N.G.A.O, A 30, File CA 17/7/114).
40. Legislative Council, *Debates*, 8 October 1957, p. 127.
41. *ibid.*, 3 June 1958, p. 384.
42. See, for example, his report to Hasluck on the state of teaching by the missions in 1951: Groves to Secretary, Department of Territories, 24 December 1951 (P.N.G.A.O. CA 33/4/2).
43. Letters to writer: Dr K. R. McKinnon, 10 April 1973 (McKinnon worked in Groves's office in 1954); Dr Murray Groves, 7 April 1969 (then Professor of Sociology, University of Singapore). Murray lived at home in Port Moresby in the years 1947-9.
44. Interview, 3 February 1972.
45. 1-18-B, G.P.

#### Chapter 6: Paul Mason

The material for this portrait has come mainly from:

- (a) Autobiographical notes headed 'Paul Mason' covering his life till 1927 with an appendix dealing with events in Bougainville in January 1942. They were probably written in 1959. A photocopy was provided by Mrs Noelle Mason. There are numerous grammatical errors and typographical slips but the meaning is always clear. I have taken the liberty of correcting these errors for publication.
- (b) Three 'Reports' by Mason entitled: 'Report on Coastwatching Activity, Bougainville Island 1941-1943'; 'Report on Coastwatching Activities, Bougainville — December 1943 to March 1944'; 'Report, October 1944 to July 1945'. These Reports were written immediately on repatriation to Australia. A typescript was provided by Mr Mason.
- (c) 'Report by Lieutenant W. J. Read RANVR' (MP 1254, File 77, Dept. of Navy, Allied Intelligence Bureau and Coastwatchers, Commonwealth Archives Office).
- (d) Various files on coastwatching (MP 1254, Commonwealth Archives Office).
- (e) Personal interviews in P.N.G., B.S.I.P. and Australia 1969-74 notably with Mr Paul and Mrs Noelle Mason (Inus), Mr W. J. Read (Rabaul), Mrs H. Stokie and Miss A. Mason (Sydney), Mr Roubai (Arawa), Mr F. P. Archer (Rabaul), Mr Norman Sandford (Cairns), Dr A. and Mrs T. Price (Port

Moresby), Fr F. Miltrup, S.M. (Kieta), Fr G. LeBreton, S.M. (Tarlana), Fr J. McConville, S.M. (Chabai), Mr F. R. McKillop (Arawa and Port Moresby), Mr E. Palmer (Gizo), Mr B. Laure (Shortlands), Mr W. McNicol (Buin), Mr R. Stuart (Sydney), Mr D. Channing Pearce (Kieta).

Only occasionally has it seemed necessary or particularly appropriate to acknowledge any of the above sources directly in the footnotes. Both Mason's and Read's accounts agree closely on the major 'facts' presented. It would be tedious to try to document the source of every detail and nuance. There are also some issues on which people interviewed would not want to be directly cited.

1. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 23, No. 8, March 1953, p. 71.
2. Mason, 'Report on Coastwatching Activities, 1941-1943', p. 38; Eric Feldt, *The Coast Watchers* (Sydney, 1967), p. 291.
3. Edward Llewellyn Gordon Thomas 1890-1966; born Chicago; arrived New Guinea 1911; editor of *Rabaul Times*, 1925-7 and 1933-42; columnist in *Pacific Islands Monthly* as 'Tolala', 1946-66. Quotation from *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 28, No. 7, February 1958, p. 35.
4. Clifford Collinson, *Life and Laughter 'Midst the Cannibals* (London, 1926), p. 137.
5. 'Trouble in Bougainville', *Rabaul Times*, 6 January 1928, F. P. Archer, however, says the general impression at the time was that the Patrol Officer probably deserved it.
6. *Report on the Territory of New Guinea, 1928-1929*, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Papers, 1930, p. 121.
7. *T.P.N.G. Legislative Council Debates*, Fifth Council, Vol. 6, No. 4, 6 March 1962, p. 339.
8. E.g. Patrol Report 9 of 1949-50, Bougainville states: 'The natives of . . . [Inus area] are very backward and present so many problems to employers employing locally, that preference is given to non-local labour'.
9. Leo Hannett, 'Resuming Arawa', *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific and South-East Asia*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1969, p. 72.
10. There are accounts differing in detail in Jack McLaren, *Gentlemen of the Empire* (London, 1940), pp. 23-8 and Caroline Mytinger, *Headhunting in the Solomon Islands* (London, 1943), pp. 39-43.
11. 23 December 1938; 17 February, 3 March, 14 April, 28 July, 24 November, 15 December 1939.
12. Feldt, *Coast Watchers*, p. 2.
13. Quoted Mason obituary, *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 44, No. 2, February 1973, p. 129.
14. E.g. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 12, No. 8, March 1942; *Catholic Weekly*, 16 April 1942 (clippings from papers of Br Xavierius, by courtesy Fr F. Miltrup, S.M.).
15. *Rabaul Times*, 7 October 1927.
16. Feldt, *Coast Watchers*, p. 108.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
20. Lieut. D. C. Horton, R.A.N.V.R., 'Report on Coast Watching Organisation in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and Associated Matters' (Naval Intelligence Division 25, Rendora Operation, MP 1254, C.A.O.).
21. Feldt, *Coast Watchers*, p. 130.
22. Mason to Lieut.-Cmdr H. A. McKenzie, 26 March 1943 (File 37A, 508/7, MP 1254, C.A.O.).

23. W. J. Read, pers. comm., 24 May 1974.
24. Ibid.
25. C. T. J. Luxton, *Isles of Solomon, a Tale of Missionary Adventure* (Methodist Foreign Missionary Society of New Zealand, Auckland, 1955), p. 141.
26. F. P. Archer, pers. comm., 23 May 1974.
27. Letter, *Post-Courier*, 17 January 1973.
28. Gavin Long, *The Final Campaigns* (Canberra, 1963), pp. 102-3.
29. Ibid., pp. 25-6.
30. Letter to Flt-Lieut. R. A. Robinson, R.A.A.F., 25 December 1944 (MP 1254, Box 9, File 68, C.A.O.).
31. Pers. comm., 23 May 1974. Also related to writer by Mrs H. Stokie.
32. 'Cinderella of the New Guinea Territory', *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 19, No. 10, May 1949, pp. 59-62.
33. 'Not Enough Ships. Planters' Disabilities in Buka and Bougainville', *ibid.*, Vol. 20, No. 4, November 1949, pp. 97-8.
34. 'Buka-Bougainville has Radio and Labour Troubles', *ibid.*, Vol. 20, No. 7, February 1950, p. 101.
35. Judy Tudor, 'Transportation in Bougainville', *ibid.*, Vol. 23, No. 9, April 1953, p. 32.
36. 'Cinderella of the New Guinea Territory', *op. cit.*
37. Patrol Report 5 of 1947-8, Kieta Sub-District (Sohano). This report refers to Roubai's birthplace, Mongotoro, where he held land and was influential. Roubai's name is variously spelt: Roubai, Rovei, Dovai.
38. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 20, No. 7, February 1950, p. 102.
39. F. R. McKillop, pers. comm.
40. 'What Has Become of the "Buka Boy"? A Plea for a Better Deal for Bougainville Natives', *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 22, No. 2, September 1951, p. 81.
41. Ibid., p. 82.
42. 'What Shall We Do With Our New Guinea Natives?', *ibid.*, pp. 381-4.
43. 'What Has Become of the "Buka Boy"?', *ibid.*, p. 83.
44. Mason to K. C. Atkinson, D.C., Bougainville, 27 September 1958 (spelling corrected).
45. Ibid., Vol. 31, No. 6, January 1961, p. 16.
46. Ibid., Vol. 31, No. 5, December 1960, p. 21.
47. *South Pacific Post*, 24 February 1961.
48. Ibid., 21 March 1961.
49. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 21, No. 10, May 1961, p. 63.
50. *T.P.N.G. Legislative Council Debates*, Fifth Council, Vol. 4, 9 June 1962, p. 417.
51. Ibid., Vol. 9, 13 August 1963, p. 843.
52. Ibid., Vol. 5, 11 June 1962, p. 430.
53. Ibid., Vol. 1, 14 April 1961, p. 56.
54. Ibid., Vol. 7, 26 February 1963, p. 663.
55. Ibid., Vol. 7, 1 March 1963, p. 719.
56. 'To the Point: Some Thoughts on the Brave Words of Mr Romilly', *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 37, No. 11, November 1966, pp. 25-31; letter, Vol. 38, No. 1, January 1967, p. 37; letter, Vol. 38, No. 3, March 1967, p. 49; letter, Vol. 38, No. 4, April 1967, p. 27.
57. Letter, *ibid.*, Vol. 38, No. 1, January 1967, p. 37.
58. James Griffin, 'Bougainville', *Australia's Neighbours*, Fourth Series, No. 68, January-February 1970, pp. 7-12.



*Chapter 7: The Leahy Family*

1. All passages quoting Jim or Dan Leahy are from interviews in January 1973.
2. Unpublished manuscript, 1964 (National Library, Canberra).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Diary, 15 October 1933 (National Library, Canberra).
7. Ibid., 15 December 1934.
8. Unpublished manuscript; 1964 (National Library, Canberra).
9. 'I have lived in two ages', A.B.C. Talks Program, 1967.
10. Diary, 19 March 1934.
11. Ibid., September(?) 1934.
12. Pers. comm., 15 January 1973.
13. Ibid.
14. Jim Leahy, interview, January 1973.
15. Pers. comm., 15 January 1973.
16. James Sinclair, *The Outside Man: Jack Hides of Papua* (Melbourne, 1969), pp. 175-85.
17. Sydney, 1962.
18. See his letter to the *Brisbane Post Courier*, 16 February 1972.

*Chapter 8: Percy Chatterton*

Major sources for Percy Chatterton's opinions are *House of Assembly Debates (H.A.D.)*, Vols. I and II, 1964-71, Government Printer, Port Moresby; *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 1966-1973; and the letter pages of the *South Pacific Post* and *Post Courier*. In addition to the articles cited in the footnotes he has published 'A History of Delena', in the *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society*, pp. 51-6. Since this chapter was written he has published an autobiography entitled *Percy Chatterton's Papua: day that I have loved* (Sydney, 1974).

1. Percy Chatterton, 'Interlude between two worlds: Hanuabada in the 1930's', *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1970, p. 76.
2. Ibid., p. 79.
3. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 44, No. 12, December 1973, p. 36.
4. *H.A.D.* I, No. 6, 2 September 1965, p. 963. The 'World Bank Report' is *The Economic Development of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea* (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Baltimore, 1965).
5. *H.A.D.* II, No. 14, 31 May 1971, p. 4160.
6. 'The possible role of regional assemblies in Papua-New Guinea', in Marion W. Ward (ed.), *The Politics of Melanesia* (Canberra, 1970), pp. 239-45. [However, Dr Chatterton's suggestion was not quite in line with current developments where 'district' governments become 'provincial' governments. 'I would suggest', he wrote (p. 241), 'that the desirable number of provinces might lie somewhere between the four of the present administrative regions and the eighteen of the present administrative districts' — Ed.]
7. Ibid., pp. 244-5.
8. [However, Miss Abaijah's advertisements in the *Post Courier* were almost secessionist. For example, on 24 December 1971, she wrote: 'I am a Papuan. That makes me different from other people. I feel I have a nationality, a name and a common future with the Papuan people . . . In New Guinea I am a meri Papua. Except for a few foreigners with a vested interest in unity at

any cost, I am always treated as a Papuan. . . . There should be no talk of unity with any country while Papua is hopelessly undeveloped and ruthlessly economically suppressed' — Ed.]

9. [It must also be arguable whether these traits are not shared by many Papuans — Ed.]
10. *H.A.D.* II, No. 3, 25 November 1968, p. 673.
11. Obituary, *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 37, No. 8, August 1966, pp. 9-10. See also Chapter 6, No. 3.
12. *Rabaul Times*, 14 February 1936.
13. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 41, No. 7, July 1970, p. 48.
14. [There are observers of social change in Hanuabada who would want to modify this statement — Ed.]
15. *Pacific Islands Monthly*, Vol. 43, No. 4, April 1972, p. 22.
16. *H.A.D.* II, No. 21, 26 November 1971, p. 5459.