

POLICE MOTU:

IENA SIVARAI (its story)

by
Tom Dutton

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To Corinne, Brett and Anna

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FOREWORD

It is with very great pleasure that I write this short foreword to Dr Dutton's book on the history of Police Motu (now Hiri Motu). I do so because this book makes an outstanding contribution not only to what is known about this colourful and extraordinary language that is today the second major lingua franca in Papua New Guinea, but also to the study of pidgin and creole languages in general. This book is an excellent example of how the study of the origin and development of languages of this kind needs to be interdisciplinary in approach and to take into account social conditions that give rise to them and determine their nature. It is very clearly and convincingly demonstrated in this book how important the study of social factors is in understanding the story of Police (now Hiri) Motu. Undoubtedly, as Dr Dutton rightly points out, this language is one of the most important languages in the history of Papua New Guinea and his book constitutes a very much needed major extension of our knowledge of it.

Having been associated with this work in an earlier form I am fully aware of the enormous amount of solid research work that has gone into the preparation of it over a long period of time, and the findings in the book bear testimony to the meticulous care and untiring devotion which Dr Dutton has put into the preparation of this important publication. The detailed story of Police (now Hiri) Motu has long needed telling, not only because it is a very interesting one, but also because, as Dr Dutton points out, some myths have grown up about it concerning its origin, true nature and source of its elements. In this book Dr Dutton attempts to set down the story as he sees it based upon the linguistic and other findings that have emerged from his long research into this interesting and important language.

Professor S. A. Wurm,
Department of Linguistics,
Research School of Pacific Studies,
The Australian National University

PREFACE

This book is about Police Motu, one of the largest and most important languages in the history of Papua New Guinea. It is the story of how and why this language came into being, of how and why it came to be known as Police Motu, and how and why it spread and developed to become one of two unofficial national languages of modern Papua New Guinea. Today this language is known officially as Hiri Motu but as most of this book is about the history of the language up until its name was changed in the early 1970s the old name is used in the title of this volume. The subtitle *iena sivarai* (lit. its story) is the Police Motu and Hiri Motu for 'its history'.

In a sense this study can be said to have had its beginnings back in 1957 when I first went to Papua New Guinea to work as an Education Officer and was sent to the intermediate school at Rigo, a government outpost about eighty kilometres east of Port Moresby, in that part of the country that was then called Papua. My task there was to teach English, but I soon found that English, even though it was the official language, was of restricted value when it came to trying to communicate with local villagers, at least in the 'correct' form which I was expected to use. I therefore began learning Police Motu, which at that time was the most widely used lingua franca in Papua and the unofficial language of administration. To my amazement and amusement, for I was never much good at French and Latin at school, I found that this language was not only easy to learn, but was, despite its apparent simplicity, a very effective means of communication which opened up a whole new view of life in Papua to me that I would probably have completely missed out on had I stuck rigidly to a 'proper English' only policy. As a result, I became involved in linguistics and eventually began to take a more professional interest in this language.

However, it was not until the early 1970s when there was a debate in Papua New Guinea about the name of the language and a recommendation that it be changed to Hiri Motu that I began to question the accepted view that it was a continuation of one of the trade languages used by the Motu on their *hiri* expeditions to the Gulf of Papua, and to ask for the supporting linguistic evidence. As it turned out I could not find any. But the Motu did have another trade language which they apparently used for local trading and which they certainly taught to the first European missionary to settle in the Port Moresby area. This was a Foreigner Talk or simplified variety of their own language, referred to as Simplified Motu, that was most likely what was being referred to in the received tradition, and therefore the most likely source of Police Motu.

Even so this did not explain why this variety of Motu became Police Motu, a language which, as the title indicates, became associated with the police force in British New Guinea (as Papua was called then), or how it happened, if it did. Nor did it explain why this language became the unofficial language of administration in view of the fact that various forms of English were spoken in the country, and were more widespread for many years, before the establishment, in 1890, of the first official police force from which the language took its name. Herein lies an interesting story — the story of how an indigenous pidginized language arose from very restricted beginnings to

become (with a name change) one of the most important languages in Papua New Guinea today, indeed, one of its recognized national languages. It is the purpose of this volume to attempt to tell this story, at least as far as it is possible given the generally poor quality of the surviving records.

Normally an account of the history of a language should involve two aspects: a) an account of its internal history or the actual stages or changes that the language has gone through in its structure and vocabulary over time, and b) an account of its external history or its origin and spread. In the present case it is not possible to fulfil these ideal requirements because there are no surviving records of the language (e.g. letters, descriptions, recordings) at any stage of its development up until the Second World War. Isolated words and phrases do occur in the journals, diaries and books of some early missionaries, government officials, visitors and travellers, but these are so few and of such a kind that it is not possible to reconstruct the internal history of the language from them. That is, it is not possible to say what was in the language at different times and to compare these stages with one another, and in particular, with the present form of the language. The best that can be done is to attempt to reconcile the relatively few and mostly imprecise comments about the language and its use at different times with other observations, and with the general socio-historical record, to reconstruct its external history, or to say what *most probably* happened at different times. Thus the task becomes one of using socio-historical data to get some insight into what happened linguistically rather than the much to be preferred one of studying socio-linguistic data to say what actually happened to the language.

In what follows then there will be particular emphasis on the social conditions operating at particularly crucial times, for it is social conditions, but especially needs, that give rise to new languages and guarantee their survival (or death). But here a further difficulty arises, notably that it is generally the case that those most actively involved in events that had the most important effect on linguistic developments kept no records, or if they did, they were not able to preserve them.

Histories as we know them are usually concerned with 'big men', the major public figures, because they were the ones who were in positions of power and influence and who kept records or who had records kept about them. Yet these figures were the very ones who were furthest from the frontiers of contact in which languages like Police Motu develop. Thus although this study has benefited greatly from the excellent studies that are available of such influential public figures as Sir William MacGregor and Sir Hubert Murray, as well as of the British and Australian administrations of Papua, of Port Moresby and of the various missions, nothing much is in them about the 'little men' — the Papuan villager, the European beachcombers, bums, traders and other foreigners of all kinds who flocked to the Port Moresby area when news of its discovery and of the establishment of a mission station there began to filter down through the Australian colonies — who played the crucial role in the development and spread of the language. Fortunately, however, many of the descendants of these 'little men' are still living in the Port Moresby area and are a valuable source of information about otherwise undocumented events of earlier times.

So this volume is the culmination of many years of research into all sorts of questions that at times seemed to be far removed from the history of Police Motu itself, e.g., such questions as the mechanics of Motu trading, the

occurrence of Motu words in a language of the Gulf of Papua where, for other reasons, they should not have been; the origin of Port Moresby's non-indigenous community; the nature of early police forces in Papua, etc. But the study has profited greatly by this activity, and, as it developed, has covered most aspects of the social history of Port Moresby and Papua from the time immediately before European settlement up until the present, although it has not been possible for various reasons to treat these in the depth and accuracy that they deserve and that some will perhaps want. Still, every attempt has been made to justify claims made on the basis of both oral and written evidence that has so far been obtained, and I am reasonably confident that no more major 'discoveries' will be made that will alter the general picture outlined here, although others may be made which will provide finer details.

This story falls quite naturally into a number of episodes that correspond with the major periods of economic and social change in Papua, from the time of the arrival of the first European settlers up to the present time. The volume is therefore divided into a number of chapters reflecting these episodes, although, for presentation purposes, additional chapters have been added giving an overview of the language in its present form and one outlining what the linguistic situation in the Port Moresby area was like before the coming of Europeans. These are designed to give suitable and necessary frames of reference for what is to come for those who are unfamiliar with the language and the linguistic setting in which it originated. A concluding chapter attempts to draw together the main argument briefly and to make some observations on issues that are relevant to the story but do not fit in conveniently elsewhere. For various reasons this history does not include accounts of other aspects of the language which ought to be covered somewhere at some time. Thus, for example, it does not include any consideration of the role of women in the development of the language. Nor does it describe creolization of the language or discuss language planning issues. I hope, however, that the account as it is does at least help to clear up certain myths about the language even though it probably raises more questions than it answers, and that it will be of interest and use to those interested in the birth, life and death of languages and in socio-linguistics generally. Above all, I hope that it will stimulate Papua New Guineans to take a greater interest in a language that has served Papua well in the past and should continue to serve Papua New Guinea well in the future, provided social conditions remain much the same.

The information upon which this volume is based was obtained from both published and unpublished sources, primary and secondary, supplemented by oral interviews (recorded and unrecorded) with those who could be expected (by virtue of having lived, worked and/or fought in the country over the years) to contribute to the solution of the different questions raised by the investigation.

Most of the reading research on unpublished materials was done at the various archives and libraries in eastern Australia and Papua New Guinea at which material on British New Guinea/Papua is held, and the rest at the Menzies and Chifley libraries of the Australian National University in Canberra. Although as I have already indicated, nothing much was ever written down in the language or about its nature and structure — not until 1942, in fact, when war came to Papua and the Australian Army obtained descriptions of it and materials in it for teaching to Army personnel of different kinds who had to work with Papuans, and that was *over fifty years*

after the language first became associated with the police force — the materials investigated have provided sufficient comments about the use and distribution of the language over time to be able to use this in association with other evidence to reconstruct the story presented in the body of this volume. I have, as a matter of course, also used my own knowledge of Police Motu and of conditions in Papua, in the late 1950s and since, to help interpret the available records and data for this reconstruction.

Finally, in writing up this history, I have attempted to make it as intelligible as possible to the non-specialist, while at the same time preserving its scholarly base by including detailed references and supporting material. In the process, I have tried to avoid the use of technical terms or other kinds of linguistic jargon as far as possible except where (as in the first chapter) the technical nature of the description requires some of it. Explanations of other common technical terms are given in the glossary at the front of the volume.

Tom Dutton
October, 1984

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During the research into and writing up of this book I have been generously assisted by so many individuals, groups and organisations that it is not possible for me to thank them all personally adequately here. Some I have had an opportunity to thank individually in those publications that have appeared previously relating to this topic, but there are others whose assistance I have not previously had the opportunity to acknowledge publicly but which I should like to do so now.

First and foremost amongst these are all those Papuans who first helped me to learn Police Motu and who have talked to me in it ever since. Without their cooperation and assistance in this and other ways over the years I should never have become a speaker of the language and consequently would never have become interested in it or in linguistics. Nor would I have been able to travel around the country as easily as I have been able to do. I am also very much indebted to the many descendants, of MacGregor's first official policemen and other, mostly non-European, foreigners in the Port Moresby area who not only talked to me openly and freely about their family histories and personal lives that helped me fill in some of the gaps of the social history of Port Moresby, but also willingly assisted in whatever way they could. I hope they can see some of the value of their contribution in this story, although of course none is to be held responsible for the interpretation of the material supplied. One day I hope to be able to do better justice to the whole of what I have been told by them. In this connection I should also like to thank Mr Edgar Kaua and other people of Ada Gege and other villages on Malaita, Solomon Islands, who assisted me in my investigation there into the origin of MacGregor's first official policemen.

Over the years I have also benefitted from the knowledge, experience, and/or advice of many others who have lived and worked in Papua and/or who have worked on aspects of Papuan history in the past. In these categories I should particularly like to thank:

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East Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Mr N. D. Oram, Division of Prehistory, Department of History, La Trobe University, Victoria, and Canon I. Stuart, of Port Moresby, for answering other questions or supplying other information.

In my search for written evidence and materials I have also been generously assisted by the staff of the following libraries and archives in Australia and Papua New Guinea, at different times: the National Archives of Papua New Guinea, the Australian Archives, the Australian Archives and the National Library of Australia, the State Library of New South Wales, the National Library Service of Papua New Guinea, the Menzies and Chifley Libraries of the Australian National University, the Library of the University of Papua New Guinea, the Queensland State Archives and the Oxley Memorial Library, Queensland, and the Australian Museum. I am also grateful to Ms Lois Carrington of the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University, for helping to locate and read some materials for me and for assisting in other practical ways with technical aspects of producing the manuscript upon which this volume is based. Here too I should like to thank Dr B. Shaw for assisting with the reproduction of some photographs and cartographer Mr T. Bauman of the Linguistics Department, Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University, for drawing the maps and charts used to illustrate this volume. I am also grateful to Mau Ilave and Timothy Akia of N. B. C. Radio Gulf, Kerema, for helping with Toaripi and Koriki language material respectively, the Agonia family, Joe Ah Wong, John and Unea Gorogo, Jimmy Kalagalas, John Suria, Joe Davanicura, Joe Mararos, David Belem, and Sam Domara for permission to reproduce photographs of themselves or relatives, and to the following for permission to reproduce other photographs used: The Australian Archives and the Australian War Memorial, Canberra, the publishers Blackie and John Lane (The Bodley Head) of London, and Angus and Robertson of Sydney.

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Finally, I should like to take this opportunity of thanking my wife Corinne, and children Brett and Anna, most sincerely for their patience in putting up with my many, sometimes longish, periods of absence from home which the research work upon which this study is based often required, as well as for putting up with my demands on their time and energy in getting the results of that research work written up. I hope they will think that some, if not all, of the effort has been worth it.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

In this volume the terms British New Guinea and Papua are used throughout for that part of present-day Papua New Guinea that came under British control in 1884, was transferred to Australian control in 1906, and subsequently united with the Territory of New Guinea to become present-day Papua New Guinea in 1975. For convenience, the indigenous inhabitants of this territory will be referred to generally as Papuans unless a different or more accurate distinction is required by the context.

For administrative purposes, British New Guinea/Papua was divided up into a number of Divisions or Districts, the number and size of which were progressively modified by subdivision as Government control was extended over the area — see Appendix K. Sometimes the word ‘district’ is used synonymously with ‘division’ in the early literature, but in this account both are spelled with a capital ‘D’ to distinguish them from the general term ‘district’ which is used to refer to an indefinite but restricted area around a particular geographical feature or administrative centre. At Independence Districts were changed to Provinces. Each Division or District had a head station and, as time went on, one or more outstations or patrol posts — see Appendix J.

Finally, because the focus of this work is on the origin and development of the language that became known as Police Motu, this name is used throughout this text and in accordance with history, except in the modern context when the official name Hiri Motu is used.

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS and OTHER CONVENTIONS

The following abbreviations, symbols and other conventions are used throughout the body of this volume. Particular ones used for more limited purposes are described where and as needed:

AR	Annual Report for British New Guinea/Papua
AWM	Australia War Memorial
BNG	British New Guinea
c.	about, approximately
CA	Commonwealth Archives of Australia
est.	established
excl	exclusive
HTL(E)	Hiri Trading Language, Eleman variety
HTL(K)	Hiri Trading Language, Koriki variety
incl	inclusive
km	kilometre
lit.	literally
LMS	London Missionary Society
HM	Hiri Motu
para.	paragraph
pers.com.	personal communication
pl	plural number (in grammar)
PM	Police Motu
q.v.	see which, look, check
sg	singular number (in grammar)
SDA	Union Mission of the Seventh Day Adventist Church
v.	see, look at
WD	War Diary
()	encloses optional material in quoted language
[]	encloses explanation, comments by this author
/	separates alternatives (e.g. <i>bona/ma</i> means either <i>bona</i> or <i>ma</i>)
,	glottal stop
.	separates glosses corresponding to more than one Motu word (e.g. <i>asidibagu</i> without.knowledge.my)
...()	omissions in edited text
-	separates morphemes or meaningful parts of words

Villages are spelt according to my 1973 *Checklist of Languages and Present-Day Villages of Central and South-East Mainland Papua* except when quoted from other sources or when referring to earlier names.

GLOSSARY

aspect (of a verb)	The manner in which an action represented by the verb is performed or whether that action is perceived of as real or not.
'broken' English	Technically the form of English used by a learner of English, but used as a synonym for pidgin English in the early days in Australia, the Torres Straits and Papua. Also called simply 'English' in early Papua.
creole or creole language	Creole languages are pidgin languages that have become mother tongues or like mother tongues of a group of speakers. In the process these languages become more complicated and thus more like other indigenous languages.
<i>hiri</i>	Annual trading voyages of the Motu to the Gulf of Papua to obtain sago and canoe logs and other Gulf products in exchange for Motu pots and other items.
lingua franca (plural: lingue franche or lingua francas)	Any language used for communication between speakers of two or more languages. This may be a pidgin language or any other language.
pidgin or pidgin language	Pidgin languages are languages that are simplified in structure compared with the languages from which they draw most of their vocabulary. Typically these languages consist of an amalgamation of elements from two or more languages and have limited and generally mixed vocabularies. They are, moreover, languages that are not spoken as mother tongues by anyone but are used for communication between two or more groups of people who have no other language in common.
tense (of a verb)	The time at which the action represented by a verb is performed.
pidgin English	A pidginized form of English that is found in different forms in Australia and countries of the South-West Pacific but that is generally referred to in early Papua as 'broken' English or simply 'English'. Not to be confused with New Guinea Pidgin English, now officially called Tok Pisin.
Tok Pisin	One of the recognized national languages of Papua New Guinea. Formerly known as New Guinea Pidgin or Neo-Melanesian. Not to be confused with 'broken' or pidgin English used in Papua.
trade language	Any language that is used for trading. Generally this will be a pidgin language but need not be.
'true' Motu or 'pure' Motu	The name sometimes used for the mother tongue of the Motu to contrast it with Police or Hiri Motu. Also sometimes referred to as standard Motu, village Motu or simply Motu.

Chapter 1 THE LANGUAGE TODAY

1.1 Introduction

Police Motu is the name formerly used¹ to refer to the language that is today officially known as Hiri Motu. This language is the principal lingua franca and unofficial language of administration of much of the former political Territory of Papua, Papua New Guinea — see Map 1.² It is a pidgin language based on Motu, the mother tongue of one of two groups of original native inhabitants of the Port Moresby and surrounding area when Europeans first settled there, but now spoken by many others in the same area. For many years this language was given no official kind of recognition or status although it served a major role in the development of the former British and Australian colony-cum-Territory as the unofficial language of administration. Indeed, for most of this time it was despised and discredited by expatriate authorities as a corrupt form of 'pure' or 'true' Motu and attempts were even made to upgrade it to a higher standard. In 1970 the name of the language was officially changed to Hiri Motu but this name is not widely understood or used by speakers of the language outside of the Port Moresby area.³

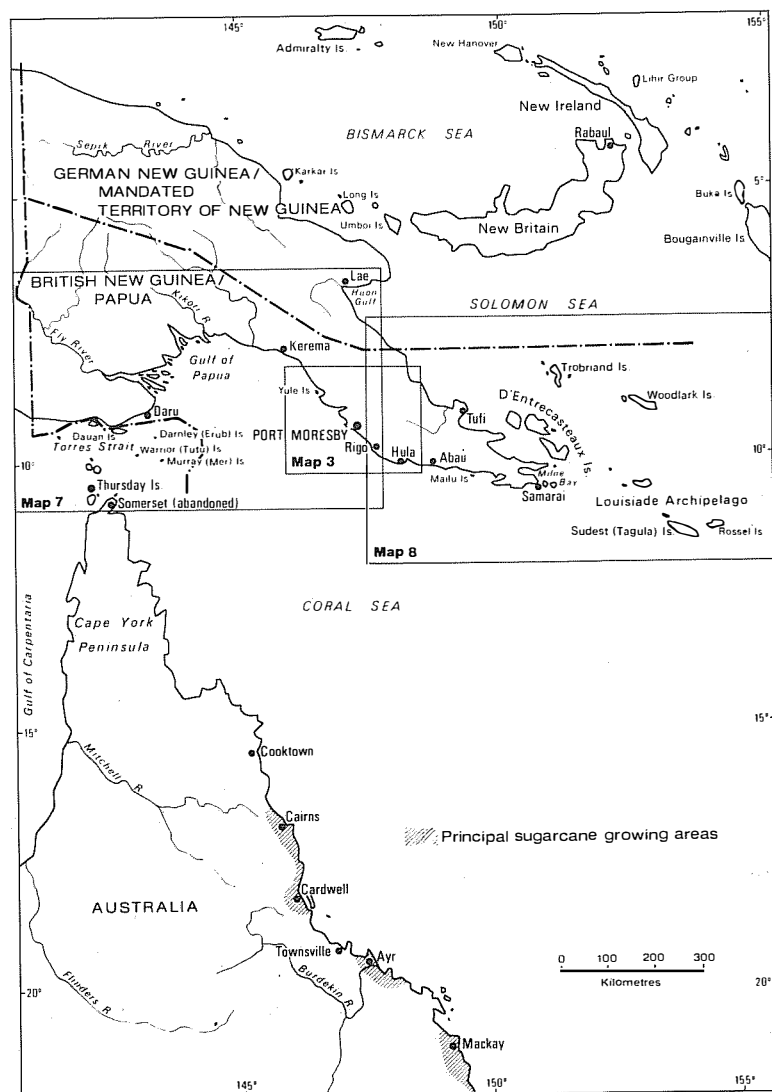
Historically the origin of this language is uncertain. Recent research suggests, however, that it is, contrary to the popular belief which associates it with Motu long-distance or *hiri* trading, most probably a continuation of a simplified form of Motu used by the Motu in trading with or talking to linguistically related and unrelated peoples in their immediate area, before the arrival of Europeans. This language was taken up, used and spread, most probably in a slightly different form, by members of the first police forces and others in British New Guinea from the late 1880s onwards. However, it is from its association with the first official police force that was established by Governor MacGregor in 1890 and that was the principal instrument of the spread of law and order from then on that the language takes its name.

Today this language is spoken throughout most of the southern half of Papua New Guinea and serves as the principal means of communication between Papuans (and to some extent, 'New Guineans', or peoples from the former Mandated Territory of New Guinea, and Europeans) speaking mutually unintelligible languages. In the years immediately preceding and following the granting of independence to Papua New Guinea it assumed an important role in national politics. It is also of considerable theoretical importance to linguists interested in pidgin and creole languages because it is one of a small set of pidgin languages that are based on or derived from indigenous languages of the country in which they are spoken, and not on some Indo-European language like English, French or Portuguese.⁴

We return to these aspects in more detail later. Meanwhile it is important to know something about the nature and structure of the language and of its distribution and varieties so that these points can be kept in mind or referred to in the coming discussion.

1.2 Distribution and Varieties

A survey of the distribution of Police Motu in 1961 (Brett *et al.*, 1962a) showed that it was at that time spoken throughout the whole of Papua except



Map 1: British New Guinea/Papua

for those areas which had had little contact with the Administration (as, for example, in distant parts of the Western, Gulf, and Southern Highlands Districts) or where there were competing church languages (as, for example, in the Milne Bay and Western Districts). The Central District contained the highest number of speakers and the number of speakers diminished roughly in proportion to the distance travelled away from Port Moresby in any direction. The only exception to this was in the Purari River delta area where the language had almost become the first language of the people following the Tommy Kabu Movement there in the 1950s (Hitchcock and Oram, 1967: 3-43). In 1962 the number of speakers was estimated to be approximately 65,000 although this did not include 12,000 Motu and Koita villagers around Port Moresby who spoke Motu as their first or second language. In the 1966 Census, however, something like 110,000 persons over the age of ten years in Papua claimed to be able to speak 'simple Police Motu', or at least could



Map 2: Austronesian and Non-Austronesian Language Areas in British New Guinea/Papua

answer census questions in it,⁵ and in the 1971 Census upwards of 150,000 persons living in Papua New Guinea are said to have spoken it.⁶ Not all of these were nationals but most of them were Papua New Guineans who came from the six administrative Districts that used to make up the old political unit of Papua. Since then the number of speakers is thought to have continued to increase although recent census figures are not yet available to check this.

Understandably then if the language is spoken by such a large number over such a wide area it is natural to expect some variation in it from one area to another. Thus there is no such thing as standard Hiri Motu but a series of varieties (distinguishable chiefly by their sound systems and vocabulary) representing varying degrees of difference within two dialects — a Central one and a non-Central one. The former is that used mostly by the Motu and speakers of other closely related languages in the Port Moresby and neighbouring areas which are referred to in the literature as Austronesian languages (Wurm, 1976). Some of these languages are Mekeo, Roro, Nara (or Lala), Kuni, Doura, Sinagoro and Keapara — see Maps 2 and 3. The other, or non-Central dialect is that used by speakers of all other languages, which are mostly not related to Motu, except in the Milne Bay Province and adjacent areas, and are therefore referred to as non-Austronesian languages (Wurm, 1975). This latter dialect is much more widespread than the former and several authors have advocated that it, or selected parts of it, should be regarded as the standard dialect for purposes of general communication throughout Papua.⁷ The Central dialect differs from the non-Central one in the sounds

and vocabulary that it uses and in a number of grammatical features. Thus, for example, whereas speakers of the Central dialect generally have no difficulty in distinguishing between the sounds or combination of sounds used by the Motu, speakers of the non-Central dialect do. Consequently speakers of the non-Central dialect will be heard to say *lau* for both 'I' and 'go' whereas Central dialect speakers will say *lau* for 'I' and *lao* for 'go'. Similarly speakers of the Central dialect use more Motu words than speakers of the non-Central dialect do, the latter using words taken from different varieties of English or other languages of Papua. Thus, for example, whereas a Central dialect speaker will use *ginigunana* for 'first' the non-Central dialect speaker will use *namba wan*, which comes from some form of pidgin English. Or again, whereas a Central dialect speaker will use *rata* for both 'breast' and 'milk' the non-Central dialect speaker will use *rata* for 'breast' and *susu* for 'milk', where this latter word comes from some form of pidgin English or the languages of Milne Bay, probably Suau. Finally, whereas Central dialect speakers will say *tamagu* for 'my father' and *tamamu* for 'your father' non-Central dialect speakers will say *lauegu tamana* and *oiemu tamana* respectively. These and other differences will be elaborated upon in the subsections that follow after a general overview of the structure of the language has been presented.

1.3 General Overview of the Structure of Hiri (formerly Police) Motu

In structure Hiri Motu is what is known as an SOV language. That is, its subject (S) comes before its object (O), where there is one, and both come before the verb (V). Thus, for example, in the sentence:

inai sisia be lauegu boroma ia lulua
this dog focus my pig it chase

'This dog chased my pig'

inai sisia 'this dog' is the subject, *lauegu boroma* 'my pig' is the object and *lulua* 'chase' is the verb. In such sentences the subject is, moreover, generally marked by one of two elements *be* or *ese*, the difference between these two markers being that *be* is used as a general focus marker and so occurs in a wider range of sentences. Consider, for example,

inai be lauegu moru gabuna
this focus my fall place

'This is where I fell down'

and

gabu ia brum/daroa negana(i) be mero maraki ia tai
place she sweep/sweep time focus boy small he cry

'While she was sweeping the place the small boy was crying.'

In sentences that have or may have an object the verb is formally marked as transitive by a final *a* if it is borrowed from Motu. If it is not borrowed from Motu it may not be marked at all. Thus *lulua* 'to chase (something)' and *daroa* 'to sweep (something)' which are used in the sentences above are marked by final *a*'s because they come from Motu whereas *brum* 'to sweep (something)', which is also illustrated above, but which is borrowed from English and used by many speakers for *daroa*, is not. Note, however, that not all verbs ending in *a* are transitive. Thus, for example, *hua* 'to cough' is not, even though it ends

in *a*. And while on the subject of verbs it is to be noted that all verbs, unless their sense is modified by other words or phrases in the sentence, can be interpreted as indicating either past, present, or future time with the action represented still going on or completed. Thus, for example, the first sentence given above which was interpreted there as 'this dog chased my pig' could just as well be interpreted as 'this dog is chasing my pig' or as 'this dog chases my pig' or even as 'this dog will chase my pig'. Reference to the context in which the sentence is used is the only way in which the 'correct' interpretation can be established.

Otherwise sentences in Hiri Motu are made negative by placing *lasi* at the end, which usually means after the verb, as this is usually the last element in the sentence. Consider, for example, the following:

Oi lau naria to oi mai lasi
you I wait but you come not

'I waited for you but you didn't come'

Umui mai lasi!
you(pl) come not

'Don't you(pl) come!'

Inai be oiemu boroma lasi
this focus your pig not

'This is not your pig.'

Oi gorere o lasi?
you sick or not

'Are you sick or not?'

Bema meamea ia karaia dohore sinavai ita hanaia diba lasi
if magic he make future river we cross able not

'If he makes magic we won't be able to cross the river.'

Sentences are also combined to form larger ones by using such free forms as *bona/ma* 'and', *to* 'but', *o* 'or', *bema* 'if' as illustrated in the sentences already given. The only sentence embedding, or inclusion of one sentence within another as a clause, that occurs, occurs as what are called relative or subordinate clauses in English, such as, for example, 'who came yesterday' in the sentence 'the man who came yesterday is my uncle'. In sentences including these clauses the clause comes before the noun it refers to (in contrast to English where it comes after it). Thus, for example, in the sentence:

varani ia mai tauna ia mase
yesterday he come man he die

'The man who came yesterday died'

varani ia mai is a relative clause coming before the noun *tauna* it refers to. Simply by changing the noun referred to to *gabuna* 'place' or *negana(i)* 'time' this same structure is used to express adverbial clauses of time and place. This can be seen, for example, in the following two sentences which were given above:

Inai be lauegu moru gabuna
this focus my fall place

'This is where I fell down'

Gabu ia brum/daroa negana(i) be mero maraki ia tai
place she sweep/sweep time focus boy small he cry

'While she was sweeping the place the small boy was crying.'

Finally, unlike English Hiri Motu uses postpositions and not prepositions to show relationships of one thing to another. Thus, for example, *dekena(i)* 'to, at, from' and *lalonai* 'in' are used in phrases such as *hanua dekena(i)* 'to/at/from the village' and *tini lalonai* 'in the tin' to show the relationship of 'village' and 'tin' to something else. Hiri Motu also places its adjectives, such as *namo* 'good' and *dika* 'bad' after the nouns they qualify, as can be seen in phrases such as *ruma namona* 'a good house' and *tau dikana* 'a bad man'.

The following brief text illustrates many of these points. It comes from a much longer text recorded in the Western Province of Papua New Guinea in July, 1984. The speaker is Simoi Paradi from Parama, a Kiwai speaking village near Daru. The language used in this text is typical of the non-Central dialect of Hiri Motu. The text is transcribed using normal Hiri Motu orthography although to better bring out some differences in pronunciation between the Central and non-Central dialects of the language some words are spelled as they are pronounced and not as they are written or would be written in Motu or the Central dialect. Simoi is talking about his experiences as a scout in the Papuan Infantry Battalion that is referred to in Chapter 6, in the Second World War. A free translation follows the text:

Ai be piaibi ... Wada ai be patrol
we(excl) focus P.I.B. okay we(excl) focus patrol
loaloo edeseni Japani idia noho edeseni noho. Lau
roam where Japanese they stay where stay I
kakana ruosi, ai ruosi lauinei dala ta,
elder.brother two we(excl) two go this path a
dala ta ia mai Sananda dekena ia lau Doboduru. Wadan
path a it come Sananda from it go Doboduru okay
ai lulua lau loaloo. Wada ai giroa negana,
we(excl) follow go roam okay we(excl) turn when
lau be skaut bona lauegu kakana danu nega
I focus scout and my elder.brother also time
tamona ai ruosi lau, ... ai kamonai tau ta ia
one we(excl) two go we(excl) hear man a he
boiboi, 'O:, durua lau! Japane ese idia abia. Durua
call.out oh help me Japanese focus they get help
lau! Ai ruosi kamonai negana wadan, oi diba uda
me we(excl) two hear when okay you know bush
daladia be idia be gageva gageva momo. Wada ai
roads focus they focus crooked crooked plenty okay we(excl)
lau pointa dekena a! mero ia mai inei! Idia dogwatau
go bend to heh youth he come there they hold
ta inisini ta inisini idia abia mai.
one here one here they get come

Translation

We were in the P.I.B. (=Papuan Infantry Battalion). So we used to go on patrol to wherever there were Japanese. My elder brother and I were following this track that runs between Sananda and Doboduru when we turned, my

brother and I who were scouts together, and heard someone calling out, 'Oh, help me! The Japanese have got me. Help me!' When we heard that, you know how bush tracks go all over the place, we went to a sharp bend (lit. point) and there was a young man right there, coming. They were holding him, one here (on this side) and one here (on this side) and bringing him along.

1.4 Pidgin Features of Hiri Motu

As already indicated Hiri Motu is a pidginized form of Motu. This means that:

- it uses fewer sounds than Motu does;
- its grammar is generally simpler than that of Motu;
- its vocabulary is not as rich or as extensive as that of Motu, and is, in addition, composed of words drawn from other languages.⁸

1.4.1 Sounds

There is no standard pronunciation of Hiri Motu. It varies from area to area and according to the background language of the speaker. This is so because speakers of the language for whom it is not their mother tongue use the sounds of their mother tongue in pronouncing it. This sort of variation is normal for pidgin languages and, as in the case of Hiri Motu, can be quite marked and cause those unfamiliar with local differences some difficulty in understanding the language at first. Thus, for example, when speakers from some parts of the Gulf of Papua are first encountered one is likely to be confronted with words such as *nau*, *dana*, *maragi*, and *nasi*, for example, that appear to be new but which are really only the familiar Hiri Motu words *lau* 'I' or *lao* 'go', *dala* 'road', *vanagi* 'canoe' and *lasi* 'no, not' respectively, with certain of their sounds (notably *l* and/or *r* and *v*) replaced by other sounds (notably *n* and *m* respectively). Strictly speaking there are as many varieties of Hiri Motu as there are different pronunciations of its words but as already pointed out the observed varieties fall into two general groups or dialects with generally similar characteristics. Within these groupings most Central dialect speakers use a sound system that is generally similar to that used by Motu speakers while non-Central dialect speakers use a system that may vary quite widely from that used by Motu speakers. Most generally it is the consonant sounds which vary most between and within the two dialects. Thus whereas Motu speakers distinguish between *g* and *g*, *gw* and *kw*, *r*, *l* and *d*, *f* and *p*, *b*, and *v* and *w*, and also use *h*, these distinctions may not be maintained in the dialects. Consequently Motu *guria* 'to bury' and *guria* 'to pray to' become *guria* for both 'to bury' and 'to pray to' in the dialects of Hiri Motu. Similarly *lau* 'I' and *rau* 'leaf' may be heard as *rau* or *lau* for both 'I' and 'leaf'. As already pointed out these differences are most marked in the non-Central dialect.

Vowels on the other hand vary little across and within the dialects. Most speakers use the same five vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u* that Motu speakers use. Where they differ from Motu, however, is principally in that they do not distinguish between *ae* and *ai*, *oe* and *oi* and *ao* and *au*, but pronounce the members of each pair in the same way. That is, *ae* and *ai* are pronounced as *ai*, *oe* and *oi* and *oi*, and *ao* and *au* as *au*. Thus Motu *daekau* 'to go up, ascend' becomes *daikau*, and *lao* 'to go' and *lau* 'I' both become *lau* for example. In addition the Motu combination of *kw/gw* with *au* are pronounced as *ko* by speakers of the non-Central dialect. Thus Motu *gwauraia* 'to talk about' becomes *koraia* in that dialect for example.

1.4.2 Grammar

This is the area of principal difference between Hiri Motu and Motu. Compared with Motu Hiri Motu is a much simpler language in the structure of its words and sentences although it also includes a number of features not found in Motu. However, because the aim of this volume is to focus on the origin and development of Police Motu only those features which distinguish it from Motu and which are needed in considering its origin and development will be listed and discussed here. There are twenty such features as presently defined and these represent its principal pidgin features. They include the following:

1) Absence of a class of irregular verbs

In Motu the most common verbs such as *mai* 'to come', *lao* 'to go', *gwau* 'to speak', and *diba* 'to know' are irregular, whereas in Hiri Motu there are no irregular verbs. Thus, for example, whereas one says *asidibagu* (lit. without.knowledge.my) in Motu for 'I don't know', one says *lau diba lasi* (lit. I know not) in Hiri Motu.

2) Different method of expressing 'to have' and 'not to have'

In Motu to express 'to have' or 'not to have' one uses *mai* 'with' and *asi* 'without' with a possessive construction as in the following:

Mai amui⁹ aniani a?
with your food eh

'You do have food, don't you?'

Lasi, lau na asi agu⁹ aniani
no I be without my food

'No, I don't have any food.'

In Hiri Motu 'to have' and 'not to have' are expressed either by using *dekena* (*i*) with *noho* as in:

lau dekena (i) be. aniani ia noho (lasi)
I at focus food it stay (not)

'I have (no) food'

or by using the possessive pronoun with *noho*, as in:

lauegu aniani ia noho (lasi)
my food it stay (not)

'I have (no) food.'

3) Different subject marking and focussing

In Motu three particles *ese*, *be*, and *na* are used in a complex way (that has not yet been fully described by linguists) to mark subjects or bring them into focus, e.g.:

Ladamu be daika?
name.your focus who

'What is your name?'

Ladagu na Asi.
name.my focus Asi

'My name is Asi.'

Tau ese hahine e botaia
man subject.marker woman he hits.her

'The man hit(s) the woman.'

Tau e maidibana to lau na asidibagu
man he with.knowledge.his but I focus without.knowledge.my

'The man knows but I do not.'

In Hiri Motu only the first two of these, *ese* and *be*, are used and *be* is extended in use to cover those cases where *na* is used in Motu as well as in other cases. Compare the following with their Motu equivalents given above:

Oiemu ladana (be) daika?
your name (focus) who

'What's your name?'

Lauegu ladana be Asi.
my name focus Asi

'My name is Asi.'

Tau ese hahine ia botaia
man subject.marker woman he hit

'The man hit(s) the woman.'

Tau be ia diba to lau be lau diba lasi
man focus he know but I focus I know not

'The man knows but I don't.'

4) Restricted dual pronoun form

Hiri Motu uses the form *ruaosi* with free pronouns to form all dual pronouns whereas Motu uses this form only for non-persons: it has a separate form *raruosi* for persons. Thus in Hiri Motu one says *ita ruaosi* for 'we(2) inclusive' whereas in Motu one would say *ita raruosi*.

5) Absence of bound pronoun subjects or objects on verbs

In Motu and Hiri Motu free subject and object pronouns are identical. However, where Motu differs from Hiri Motu is in having a set of other forms which correspond to these free ones and which must occur in all sentences¹⁰ attached to or bound to the verb as prefixes and suffixes. Hiri Motu speakers do not use these bound forms except in the Central dialect. Thus, for example, whereas in Motu one says *e-ita-gu* (lit. he-see-me) for 'he sees me', this would be expressed in the non-Central dialect of Hiri Motu as *lau ia itaia* (lit. me he see) or *ia itaia lau* (lit. he see me) and in the Central dialect as *ia itai-gu* (lit. he see-me). A further difference is that in Motu other elements are attached to the bound subject pronouns to express 'not', tense or time, and whether the action is real or not. In Hiri Motu a different system is used for expressing these aspects of meaning. The following chart shows the basic similarities and differences between the two languages in this regard:

Person/Number	MOTU				POLICE (or HIRI) MOTU
	Subject		Object		Subject & Object
	Free	Bound	Free	Bound	Free*
1sg	lau	na-	lau	-gu	lau
2sg	oi	o-	oi	-mu	oi
3sg	ia	e-	ia	-(i)a	ia
1pl(incl)	ita	ta-	ita	-da	ita
1pl(excl)	ai	a-	ai	-mai	ai
2pl	umui	o-	umui	-mui	umui
3pl	idia	e-	idia	-dia	idia

*These free forms are used in both dialects of Hiri Motu except that in the Central dialect Motu bound object pronouns (-gu, mu, etc.) are used for object pronouns as indicated above.

6) Transitive verbs marked by a final vowel *a*

In Motu transitive verbs are not marked in any special way to distinguish them from intransitive verbs, e.g., the transitive verbs *ita* 'to see, look', *heni* 'to give', and *abi* 'to have, hold' are no different in form from intransitive ones. In Hiri Motu, however, transitive verbs are marked with a final vowel *a* (as in *itaia* 'to see', *henia* 'to give', *abia* 'to get') for those speakers who do not use bound object suffixes — see point 5 above. This final *a* is similar in form to the third person singular bound object suffix in Motu and originally meant 'it, him, her'. However, it has now lost that meaning in the non-Central dialect of Hiri Motu and is just counted as part of the verb. It does not change for different person objects. Thus whereas one says (*lau*) *na itamu* 'I see you' in Motu the non-Central dialect speaker of Hiri Motu simply says *oi lau itaia* (lit. you I see) or *lau itaia oi* (lit. I see you).

7) No alienable/inalienable noun class distinction

In Motu there is a relatively complex system for showing who 'owns' or 'possesses' what. In particular there are two main classes of nouns which are generally referred to as the inalienable and alienable classes and there are rules for changing the vowels in the alienable set from *e* to *a* when foods are possessed. Compare, for example:

lau-egu ruma
I -possessive house
'my house'

lau-agu aniani
I -possessive food
'my food'

tama-gu
father-my
'my father'

None of these distinctions is made in Hiri Motu. One construction is used for all cases and so there are no noun classes, although there is some variation again between the Central and non-Central dialect varieties and some

exceptions for certain kinship words. Thus, for example, while *lau-egu tamana* 'my father' is used in referring to one's father one uses *tamagu* (the normal Motu possessive form) as the term of address. Otherwise the Hiri Motu speaker will say *lauegu ruma* for 'my house' and *lauegu aniani* for 'my food'.

8) Locations, directions, and instruments indicated by a generalized postposition *dekena(i)* 'to, at, from, with'

In Motu locations and directions are indicated by a variety of forms including *-ai* 'to, at' and *amo* 'from' and instruments by the form *amo* 'with'. In Hiri Motu only one form, *dekena* (or *dekenai* in the Central dialect), is used as the equivalent of all these. Thus whereas one says *hanuai* (from *hanua* + *ai*) for 'at/in/to the village', *hanua amo* for 'from the village' and *ira amo* 'with an axe' in Motu for example, speakers of Hiri Motu would say *hanua dekena(i)* for 'at/in/to/from the village' and *ira dekena(i)* for 'with an axe'. This *dekena(i)* in Hiri Motu comes from *deke* in Motu which is very restricted in occurrence there being only used with persons to indicate nearness to or direction towards e.g., *lau deke-gu-ai* (lit. I towards-me-at) 'near me' or 'beside me'. In Hiri Motu [*dekena(i)*] does not vary for person as *deke* does in Motu so that *lau dekeguai* in Motu becomes *lau dekena(i)* in Hiri Motu.

9) Generalized forms for 'like this, like that' and 'how'

In Motu there are special forms for indicating the manner in which something is said or done and for questioning about it. Thus, for example, *iniheto* or *ini...toma* 'like this', *eneheto* or *ene...toma* 'like that' are used to describe how something is done and *edeheto* 'how' is used to ask about how something is done. In Hiri Motu *bamona* 'like' is used to cover all these cases. Thus instead of *iniheto/ini...toma*, *eneheto/ene...toma* used in Motu *inai bamona* and *unai bamona* are used in Hiri Motu, and instead of *edeheto* 'how' used in Motu *edena bamona* 'how' is used in Hiri Motu.

10) Restricted forms for 'all' and 'the whole of'

In Hiri Motu the form *ibounai* is generally used for both 'all' and 'the whole' wherever required. This contrasts with Motu in which 'all' and 'the whole' are different forms (notably, *ibounai* and *idoinai* respectively) which, moreover, change form to indicate different persons and numbers as required. Consider the following, for example, in which HM is used to indicate the Hiri Motu examples and M the Motu ones:

HM: *ruma ibounai*
house all/the whole
'all the houses' or 'the whole house'

M: *ruma iboudiai*
house all.pl
'all the houses'

M: *ruma idoinai*
house whole
'the whole house'

HM: *umui ibounai*
you.pl all
'all of you'

M: *umui iboumuiai*
 you.pl all.you.pl
 'all of you'

11) Restricted adjective agreement

Adjectives in Motu have the suffixes *-na* and *-dia* attached to them to indicate whether the nouns they qualify are singular or plural in number. This is in contrast to Hiri Motu where this does not happen except for a few common adjectives like *namo* 'good' and *dika* 'bad' which generally follow the Motu example. Compare, for example, the following in which Hiri Motu does not have the suffixes with those involving *namo* and *dika* which do:

M: *ruma namona ta*
 house good.sg one
 'a good house'

HM: *ruma namona ta*
 house good.sg one
 'a good house'

M: *ruma namodia momo*
 house good.pl many
 'many good houses'

HM: *ruma namodia momo*
 house good.pl many
 'many good houses'

M: *dala maoromaorona ta*
 path straight.sg one
 'a straight road'

HM: *dala maoromaoro ta*
 path straight one
 'a straight path/track'

Also in Motu there are four nouns which have a special form in the plural. These are *tatau* 'men' (from *tau* 'man'), *memero* 'boys' (from *mero* 'boy'), *hahine* (with stress on the first syllable) 'women' (as against *hahine* with stress on the second-last syllable, 'woman'), and *kekeni* (with stress on the first syllable) 'girls' (as against *kekeni* with stress on the second-last syllable, 'girl'). These distinctions are not generally maintained by Hiri Motu speakers, except for *memero* 'boys' and to a lesser extent *tatau* 'men'.

12) Simple imperative

In Motu imperative forms of the verb change as the person and number of the bound subject markers on the verb change. In Hiri Motu there is no variation in the form of the verb. The basic form of the verb is used for all cases and changes in person and number are indicated by free pronouns. Consider, for example, the following examples:

M: *ba -helai*
 you.sg sit
 'Sit!'

HM: *oi helai*
 you.sg sit
 'Sit!'

M: *baine -helai*
 he.future sit
 'Let him sit!'

HM: *ia helai*
 he sit
 'Let him sit!'

M: *ba -helai*
 you.pl sit
 'You(pl) sit!'

HM: *umui helai*
 you.pl sit
 'You(pl) sit!'

13) The use of *dohore* (and variants *do:re* and *do*) as future tense marker

In Motu future time or tense is always indicated by the prefix *ba-* and its variants in combination with bound subject pronouns (see point 5 above) which indicate person. In Hiri Motu *dohore*, which in Motu means 'bye and bye, not yet, later on', is used to indicate the future tense. When it is so used *dohore* is often changed to *do:re* or simply *do* and comes before the subject pronoun. Compare, for example, the following:

M: *baina itaia*
 future.I see.it
 'I'll see it'

HM: *dohore lau itaia*
 future I see.it
 'I'll see it'

14) The use of *vadaeni*, *noho*, *gwauraia* following the verb as completive, continuous and intensive/inceptive aspect markers respectively

In Motu completed actions, continuous actions and actions that one intends to carry out or is about to carry out are indicated in different ways. Thus completed actions are indicated by *vada* (derived from *vadaeni* 'enough') before the subject pronoun prefix, continuous actions by the suffixes *-mu* (present) and *-va* (past) on the verb, and intensive and inceptive actions by *vada* in combination with future tense prefixes before the verb. In Hiri Motu these different actions are indicated by the free forms *vadaeni*, *noho*, and *gwauraia* placed after the verb. These three forms come from Motu, where they mean 'enough', 'to stay', and 'to speak about' respectively. Compare, for example, the following:

a) completed:

M: *vada na itaia*
 completed I see.it
 'I saw it'

HM: *lau itaia vadaeni*
I see completed
'I saw it'

b) continuous:

M: *na itaia-mu/-va*
I see.it-present/-past
'I am/was seeing it'

HM: *lau itaia noho*
I see continuous
'I am/was seeing/looking at it'

c) intentive/inceptive:

M: *vada baina itaia*
completed future.I see.it
'I'm about to see it' or 'I intend to see it'

HM: *lau (ura) itaia gwaauraia*
I (want) see intend

'I'm about to see it' or 'I intend to see it'

15) Use of *lasi* as a generalized negative

In Motu verbs and adjectives are made negative in different ways using different forms. Thus verbs are negated by using a number of variant forms of *lasi* in conjunction with the bound subject pronoun prefixes on the verb, while adjectives are negated by using *dia* before them. Hiri Motu does not make these distinctions. It uses only one negative form *lasi* which is placed after the verb or adjective concerned. In practice it usually comes at the end of the sentence. Compare, for example, the following:

M: *basina -itaia*
future.negative.I -see.it
'I'll not see it'

HM: *dohore lau itaia lasi*
future I see not
'I'll not see it'

M: *Ina na namo herea, una na dia namo*
This is good very that is not good
'This is very good, that is not good'

HM: *Inai be namo herea, unai be namo lasi*
this focus good very that focus good not
'This is very good, that is not good.'

16) Use of *sibona* 'alone, by oneself' without special verb forms to express reflexivity

In Motu reflexive actions are expressed by using the pronoun *sibo* with the relevant personal suffix (-gu, -mu, -na etc.) attached to it in conjunction with the appropriate bound subject pronoun and a verb form which has *he*-prefixed to it. In Hiri Motu reflexive actions are expressed simply by using the free form *sibona* 'alone, by oneself' preceding the subject pronoun and the normal verb form. Consider, for example:

M: *sibo-gu na-he-iva*
reflexive-I I -reflexive-cut
'I cut myself'

HM: *sibona lau utua*
reflexive I cut
'I cut myself'

More commonly, however, the Hiri Motu speaker will express reflexivity by using the body part affected so that instead of saying *sibona lau utua* which could also mean 'I cut it (e.g., a tree or whatever) by myself' he or she would say

lauegu aena lau utua
my foot I cut

'I cut myself (on the foot)'.

17) Time clauses invariably marked by *negana(i)* 'when'

In Motu time clauses are expressed in varying ways according to the time of the action in relation to the time of speaking. Hiri Motu does not make these distinctions but uses only one structure, notably, a relative clause (see section 1.3 'General Overview' above) before *negana* (or *negana(i)* in the Central dialect) 'time'. Compare, for example, the following:

M: *mahuta-gu-ai natugu e mase*
sleep -my-at child.my he die
'While I was asleep my child died'

HM: *lau mahuta negana(i) lauegu natuna ia mase*
I sleep time mu child it die
'While I was asleep my child died'

18) Use of *bema* 'if' as conditional clause and subjunctive mood marker

In Motu conditional or subjunctive mood is expressed by placing different but paradigmatically related forms of *bama* 'if' before the verb in the subordinate and main clause.¹¹ In Hiri Motu only *bema* 'if' is placed before the first clause and *vadaeni* 'then' (though this is not obligatory) before the second. This *bema* corresponds to the third person singular and plural form of *bama* in Motu. Consider, for example:

M: *bama helai (bena) boma henigu*
if.I sit (then) you.will give.it.me
'If I sit down (then) you will give it to me'

HM: *bema lau helai (vadaeni) dohore oi henia lau dekena(i)*
if I sit (then) future you give me to
'If I sit down (then) you will give it to me'

19) Use of *vadaeni* 'enough, sufficient, okay' as a sentence connective 'and then'

The use of *vadaeni* as a sentence connective for 'and then' is not a feature of Motu texts. It is, however, very important in Hiri Motu. This usage may be illustrated with the following example:

Ia mai. Vadaeni ia hereva.
 he come okay he speak
 'He came and then spoke.'

It is also well illustrated in the short text given in section 1.3 'General Overview' above where it is pronounced *wada* or *wadan*.

20) Sentence conjoining slightly revised

Although Hiri Motu uses much the same sentence joining and embedding techniques as Motu does it differs from it mainly in the following ways:

a) by not maintaining agreements in numbers. For example, whereas Motu will distinguish between *ema neganai* (lit. he.came time.sg.at) 'when he came (once)' and *ema negadiai* (lit. he.came time.pl.at) 'when he came (on several occasions)', Hiri Motu uses one form for both. Thus, in Hiri Motu *ia mai negana(i)* can mean either 'when he came (once)' or 'when he came (on several occasions)';

b) by using *ma* and *bona* as general conjunctions meaning 'and' whereas Motu uses *ma* mainly for 'again' and *bona* mainly for joining nouns and noun phrases together. That is, Hiri Motu uses these forms for different purposes;

c) by using *vadaeni* 'enough, okay' as a sentence conjunction 'and then' as already noted above.

1.4.3 Vocabulary¹²

There are many points to note about the vocabulary of Hiri Motu. The most important of these are:

1) Hiri Motu has a restricted vocabulary compared with its non-pidgin parent, Motu. Thus, for example, it does not have the elaborate range of words that Motu has, and needs to have, to describe the many complex and important cultural events and items associated with life in Motu society. It does not have this range of words because, being only an auxiliary language which is used for communicating in those situations in which speakers of mutually unintelligible languages need to communicate, it does not need such a range. Thus, whereas the Motu need and use a large number of words to describe house or canoe building, gardening, feasting and the like Hiri Motu speakers need and use only the most basic words.

The fact that Hiri Motu has a restricted vocabulary compared with Motu has several important consequences for the language, however. On the one hand it means that the same form has to serve many functions and cover a wider range of meaning than the corresponding form in Motu in which the vocabulary is more specialized. Take, for example, the word *atoa* in Hiri Motu. This may mean 'to put, to put on (clothes or paint), to place, to contribute (funds) to', depending on context, whereas the same form in Motu merely means 'to place or set (something)'. On the other hand, a restricted vocabulary means that many of the ideas expressed by particular vocabulary items in Motu can only be expressed in Hiri Motu by circumlocutions, paraphrases and roundabout explanations. This is particularly true of specialized technical vocabulary. Thus, for example, a word such as *babare* in Motu, which is the name given to the upright piece of wood placed at the inner end of the front of a canoe to keep the water out (Lister-Turner and Clark, n.d.: 44), does not occur in Hiri Motu. Consequently if that item were to be referred to in Hiri Motu it would have to be described in that language somewhat the same way as it is described in the English gloss just given for it.

2) The vocabulary of Hiri Motu is of mixed origins. Thus although most of the language's basic vocabulary (that is, its pronouns, its names for common objects, common body parts, kinship terms, adjectives and simple action verbs) comes from Motu, the rest is made up of words that come from Polynesian languages, other languages of Papua, and 'broken' or other varieties of English. Of these most come from the various forms of English that have been spoken in Papua throughout its history with smaller numbers coming from the other languages just listed.

The earliest borrowings were probably of Polynesian origin. These include such words as *pakosi* 'scissors', *tamaka* 'shoes', *pavapavana* 'king', *mamoe* 'sheep' which found their way into the language in the early days via Motu and other languages used by the South Sea Island pastor-teachers of the London Missionary Society who spearheaded the introduction of christianity into Papua in the 1870s — see Chapter 3. These introductions were probably closely followed by, if they were not introduced at the same time as these, by words like *namba wan* 'first', *bulamakau* 'beef', *rais* 'rice', *ti* 'tea', *kesikesi/bisikesi* 'biscuit', *traim* 'to try', *mikisim* 'to mix'. Such words were part of the contact vocabulary used by foreigners speaking "broken" or other forms of English, who, as we shall see in Chapter 3, came to the Port Moresby area in increasing numbers in the 1870s and 1880s. Subsequently other English words were added as new ideas and goods flowed into the country. The introduction of some of these can be dated quite precisely and have changed over time as changes in technology and in English usage have occurred. The best examples of these are words for 'aeroplane', 'motor vehicle', and 'boat'. Thus when aeroplanes were first introduced into Papua in the 1930s they were apparently still being referred to as 'flying machines', at least this is what Papuans were apparently told they were, for this is what they were first referred to as in Police Motu, that is, as *plaimasini* or *plaimasi*. However, as aeroplanes became more popular and referred to more generally amongst English speakers as 'aeroplanes' or simply 'planes' so the Police Motu word changed from *plaimasini/plaimasi* to *elopeni* and most recently to *pleni*. Similarly trucks (*traka* in Hiri Motu today) were apparently first referred to as *lori* (from English 'lorry') in the areas in which they were first introduced, and ships (*boti* in Hiri Motu today) as *sisima* or *sitima* (from English 'steamer') because of the nature of their propulsion systems.

A small part of Hiri Motu vocabulary is also made up of words that come from languages other than Motu in Papua. Some, such as *kamkam* 'fowl, bush fowl', *o kapore* 'oh sorry', *dimdim* 'white man' and possibly *susu* 'milk' can be traced to Suau, the Austronesian language spoken along the southern coast of the mainland just west of Milne Bay — see Map 6. Others have come from Koriki (*nakimi* 'brother-in-law'),¹³ spoken in the delta of the Purari River in the Gulf of Papua, from Binandere in the Mambare River area of the north coast (*kiki* 'to yarn')¹⁴ and from languages of the Torres Straits (*mamoos*, *mamus* 'chief, policeman').

Thus it can be seen that the vocabulary of Hiri Motu is composed of words that come from at least five different sources. Their introduction can also generally be traced to the introduction of new ideas and goods into Papua or to changes in the society resulting from economic and other developments.

3) The nature of Hiri Motu vocabulary is constantly changing and has been so ever since the language first developed. The reason for this is that the language has gradually had to cope with new cultural ideas and concepts and has had to adjust to a gradually widening range of uses. Thus in the earliest

days when the language was used in a very limited context of trading and remained in contact with its principal source language, Motu, Motu vocabulary naturally dominated. However, as the language began to be used more and more outside the Motu-speaking area and by a wider range of speakers, and as foreign cultural items and concepts began to be introduced following European contact, but especially following the establishment of a Government presence there and the spread of law and order, so the proportion of non-Motu vocabulary to Motu vocabulary began to increase. As a result Police Motu changed its character from being a more or less homogeneous language spoken in the Port Moresby area to one which gradually developed dialectal variation, not only in its phonology as already noted, but also, more importantly, in its vocabulary. Thus whereas the Central dialect, which remained in contact with Motu, generally drew (and still does) its vocabulary from Motu wherever possible, the non-Central dialect did not. Instead it borrowed from the languages it was mainly in contact with. These languages were other languages of Papua and English of various kinds. Thus, for example, whereas a Central dialect speaker will tend to use words like *dogo* 'anchor', *gadobada* 'open sea', *didi* or *moemoe* 'reef', *vanagi* 'boat', *hure* 'to float', *dehe* 'verandah', *du* 'house post', *guhi* 'roof', *haba* 'wall', *rata* 'milk', *gado hanaia tauna* 'interpreter' which come from Motu, or, like the last item, are made up of Motu words, the non-Central dialect speaker will tend to use words like *anka* 'anchor', *ausait* 'open sea', *rip* 'reef', *dingi* or *kada* 'boat', *plot* or *flot* 'to float', *baranda* 'verandah', *pokapoka* 'house post', *rup* 'roof', *wol* 'wall', and *susu* 'milk' respectively, which come from English or 'broken' English formerly spoken in Papua, or, as in the case of the last item, perhaps from Suau, the Austronesian language in the Milne Bay area referred to above. In general wherever there is a choice in words available the Central dialect speaker will choose the Motu one or make one up using Motu elements in preference to the one derived from some other language. This is in contrast to the non-Central dialect speaker who will do the opposite.

Of course this is the general situation and one which has been idealized to some extent for descriptive purposes. In practice the situation is not quite as simple as that. What speakers do in any given situation depends on a number of factors, not least of which are the social relationships of the speakers to one another, the roles they are acting out, the formality of the occasion and the background knowledge of the speakers. This latter factor is particularly important because speakers' knowledge of the vocabulary of Hiri Motu varies according to where they learned the language and especially according to whether they have spent any time in the Port Moresby area or in contact with Motu or Central dialect speakers to enable them to learn Motu or Central dialect forms. Thus speakers occupy different positions on a vocabulary scale according to whether they are familiar with the full range of forms found in both dialects of the language or not. When a speaker speaks the vocabulary that he or she actually uses will be determined in the first instance by this factor and in the second by who is speaking to whom in what circumstances. Thus if two non-Central dialect speakers are speaking to one another they are likely to use non-Motu forms for items that in the Central dialect one would use Motu forms for. On the other hand if a non-Central dialect speaker is speaking to a Central dialect speaker he or she will attempt to use whatever Motu forms he/she knows for items where there are choices, if it is apparent that the Central dialect speaker does not know the non-Central dialect forms.

In other words speakers 'know' that there are alternatives or synonyms available for many items in the language (e.g., *dehe* and *baranda* for 'verandah', *dogo* and *anka* for 'anchor' etc.), although they are not necessarily aware of where these alternatives come from, and they make choices from amongst this set to suit the social circumstances at the time. Put another way, many speakers, but particularly those of the non-Central dialect, can vary the vocabulary content of their speech along a scale towards what is today called the Central dialect and both in turn further towards Motu, depending on how much contact they have had with Central dialect and Motu speakers. As a result the impression is often given, especially because the Central dialect is the one most used for mass communication purposes, that the vocabulary of Hiri Motu is mostly derived from Motu. In fact this is not true. Only the basic vocabulary of Hiri Motu is derived from Motu and this is what one generally finds listed in vocabularies and handbooks of the language. Beyond that there are marked differences between the Central and non-Central dialects. In addition there is an ever-increasing number of English-derived loans being incorporated into both dialects as the language struggles to keep pace with introduced cultural items and ideas. The consequences of this for the language are discussed in subsection 6.2.3 called 'The Future' in Chapter 6.

In review then it can be seen that present-day Police Motu or Hiri Motu and Motu differ in all aspects of their structure: in the sounds they use, in their grammars and in their vocabularies. These differences vary in number and nature between speakers within and across two general dialects according to a number of factors. With these features in mind we now turn to the central theme of this volume, the origin and development of the language.

Chapter 2

IN THE BEGINNING: THE PRE-EUROPEAN SETTING

2.1 Introduction

In 1874 when the first Europeans came to settle in what is now the Port Moresby area, this area was occupied by two completely different and linguistically unrelated groups of people, the Motu and the Koita — see Map 3. The Motu spoke (and still speak) an Austronesian language that is closely related to other languages in the immediate area and further afield. The Koita on the other hand spoke (and many still speak) a non-Austronesian or Papuan language, which, as the name non-Austronesian suggests, is not related to Motu or to any other Austronesian language (Dutton, 1969). It is, however, one of a large number of languages which are more or less closely related in groups or families and which occupy the whole of the mainland area of Papua except for those small areas occupied by Austronesian language speakers — see Map 2.

At the time of first European contact the Motu were living in maritime villages concentrated between Kapakapa in the east and Galley Reach in the west.¹ They were divided into two groups or tribes, the Eastern Motu and the Western Motu, who lived east and west of Bootless Bay respectively (Oram, 1981: 210) — see Map 3. Of these two tribes the Western Motu played the most important role in the origin and development of Police Motu, for they were concentrated in and around the Port Moresby area and were drawn into closest and increasing contact with foreigners after the arrival of the first Europeans. They were, however, distinguished culturally from their eastern counterparts by the fact that, at the time of European contact (and for an unknown number of years before), they were involved in a complex network of trading relationships with linguistically related and unrelated groups, east, west and inland of their present position.² The most spectacular and important part of this trade (in terms of the number and value of goods moved from one place to another, the number of people involved, and the type of sailing craft used) was the *hiri*, or annual trading voyage to the Gulf of Papua some 300 kilometres away to the west (Oram, 1982) — see Map 4. During these voyages the Motu visited such groups as the Elema and the Koriki. Elema is the general name given to a group of coastal peoples speaking eight closely related languages between Cape Possession in the east and the Purari River delta in the west. The Koriki were (and still are) the immediate westward neighbours of the Elema. They inhabit the delta of the great Purari River. Both the Elema and the Koriki speak non-Austronesian languages unrelated to Motu and only very distantly related to each other, if they are related at all (Brown, 1973; Dutton, 1982: 72).



Plate 1: Motu Man, said by Dr W. G. Lawes to be Robber Chief Ruaka
[W. G. Lawes Photographs, Mitchell Library]

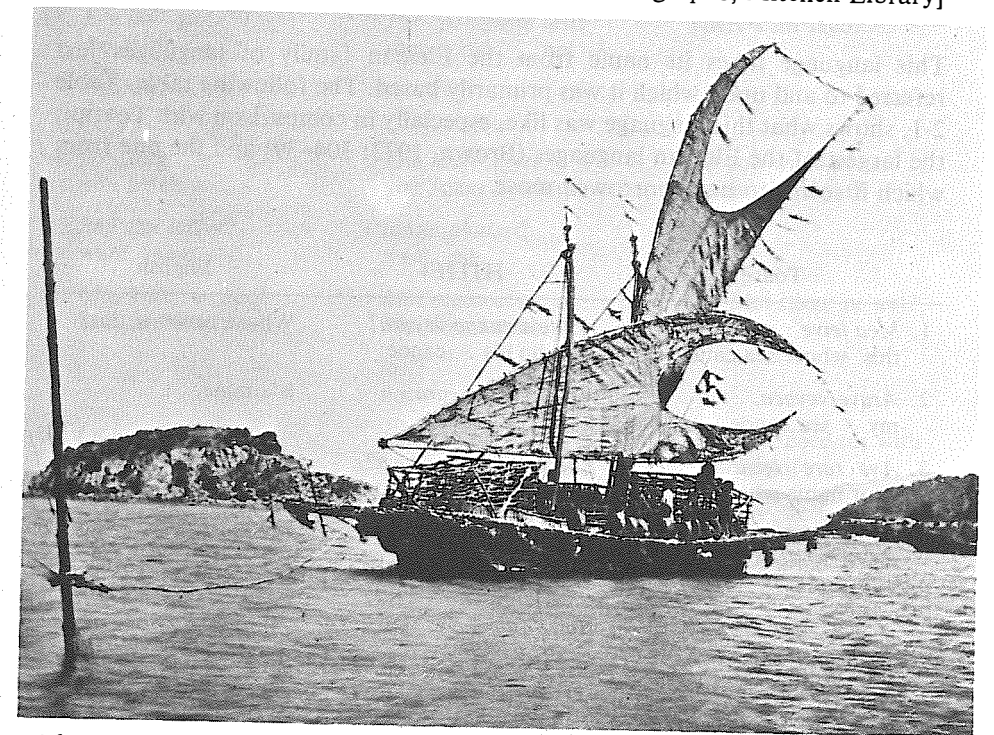


Plate 2: Motu *lagatoi* used on *hiri* or annual trading voyages to the Gulf of Papua

[J. W. Lindt: *Picturesque New Guinea*, 1887]

On these visits and on return visits made by some of these groups, the Motu and their trading partners generally communicated with each other in one or more of at least two different trade languages.³ These languages were pidginized forms of the languages spoken by their Gulf traders. They did not have particular names in Motu. Indeed the Motu thought that they were speaking the mother tongues of their trade partners.⁴ They were also believed to be able to do so by early European missionaries and others until the Rev James Chalmers, one of the first and most famous missionaries to work in Papua (Langmore, 1974), attempted to use Motu speakers to translate some hymns for him into one of the Eleman languages and found to his chagrin that:

'the Motuans do not know a word of the true Eleman dialect. They both have a trading dialect understood well by both parties, but neither can tell whence it came, nor who first used it; and it is only used by the Motuans and themselves.' (Chalmers, 1895: 94)

For present purposes these trading languages will be referred to as the Hiri Trading Language, Eleman variety, or HTL(E) for short, and the Hiri Trading Language, Koriki variety, or HTL(K) for short. Each of these languages will be described and illustrated briefly before returning to other aspects of Motu trade and the origin of Police Motu.

2.2 The HTL(E)⁵

This language takes its name from the Eleman family of languages just referred to and upon which it was primarily based. The following table, Table 2-1, shows what this language was like, especially in comparison with Toaripi, the largest of the Eleman languages (Brown, 1973: 304-39) and the one from which it seems to have borrowed most.

Toaripi	HTL(E)	English
1. <i>Mea leive vevaea?</i> this whose sea.canoe	<i>A, neia enane vevara?</i> eh who his canoe	Whose canoe is this?
2. <i>Arave vevaea.</i> my sea.canoe	<i>Ara enane vevara.</i> I my canoe	It's mine.
3. <i>Ave rare leisa?</i> your name who	<i>Ene enane rare neia?</i> you your name who	What's your name?
4. <i>Arave rare Moi.</i> my name Moi	<i>Ara enane rare maro</i> I my name focus <i>Moi.</i> Moi	My name is Moi.
5. <i>Ave moraitai rare</i> your friend name <i>leisa?</i> who	<i>Ene enane pamora rare</i> you your friend name <i>neia?</i> who	What's your friend's name?
6. <i>Arave moraitai rare</i> my friend name <i>Elamo.</i> Elamo	<i>Ara enane pamora (rare</i> I my friend name <i>maro) Elamo.</i> focus Elamo	My friend's name is Elamo.
7. <i>Elamo ma voad?</i> Elamo here at	<i>Elamo abuviti?</i> Elamo stay	Is Elamo here?

8. <i>E, are ma voa.</i> yes he here at	<i>E, abuviti.</i> yes stay	Yes, he's here.
9. <i>Moi, a koti</i> Moi you come <i>larietou hea</i> food some <i>larive!</i> eat	<i>Moi, abusi ma siahu</i> Moi come water hot <i>abulari!</i> eat	Moi, come and eat some food!
10. <i>Soea araro</i> armshell me.to <i>miaraia!</i> give	<i>Soea ara</i> armshell me <i>porohalaia!</i> give	Give me an armshell!
11. <i>Soea arero</i> armshell him.to <i>miaraia!</i> give	<i>Soea are</i> armshell him <i>porohalaia!</i> give	Give him an armshell!
12. <i>Te poi hea</i> go sago some <i>ovi itia!</i> get come	<i>Abuari pai avaia</i> go sago get <i>abusi!</i> come	Go and bring some sago!
13. <i>Ere ita poi</i> we with sago <i>kasirau!</i> none	<i>Pai penepene lasi!</i> sago some not	There's no sago!
14. <i>A fere</i> you betelnut <i>heikaiai larive?</i> want eat	<i>Ene maro efere</i> you focus betelnut <i>itilaia abulari?</i> want eat	Do you want to eat some betelnut?
15. <i>Moi koti o kao?</i> Moi come or not	<i>Moi maro abusi o</i> Moi focus come or <i>lasi?</i> not	Did Moi come or not?
16. <i>La poi ita</i> coconut sago with <i>larie!</i> eat	<i>La pai ita</i> coconut sago with <i>abulari!</i> eat	Eat some coconut with the sago!
17. <i>A lelaoti</i> you where <i>terairoi?</i> go	<i>Ene maro lela abuari?</i> you focus where go	Where are you going?
18. <i>Ara Kerema voa</i> I Kerema to <i>teraipe.</i> go	<i>Ara maro Kerema abuari.</i> I focus Kerema go	I am going to Kerema.
19. <i>Era Motumotu voa</i> we Motumotu to <i>te moraitai leitive.</i> go friends make	<i>Era maro Motumotu</i> we focus Motumotu <i>abuari pamora paeai.</i> go friend make	We are going to Motumotu to make friends.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 20. <i>Ara te arave ua</i>
I go my wife | <i>Ara maro ara ename</i>
I focus I my | When I go and see my
wife I'll be very
happy. |
| <i>eavai ara hai</i>
see I feeling | <i>ua/hahine eavaia ara</i>
wife/wife see I | |
| <i>lareva foromairovaia.</i>
good completely.big | <i>maro iti meta laia.</i>
focus heart good cause | |
| 21. <i>Ara area</i>
I yesterday | <i>Areasare ara maro</i>
yesterday I focus | I saw it yesterday. |
| <i>eavai ita.</i>
see past | <i>eavaia.</i>
see | |
| 22. <i>Opovaia ara eavai</i>
later I see | <i>Areita ara maro eavaia.</i>
later I focus see | I'll see it later. |
| <i>ao.</i>
future | | |
| 23. <i>Ara iovi rorokaroi.</i>
I see complete | <i>Ara maro eavaia</i>
I focus see | I have seen it. |
| <i>roi.</i>
auxiliary.verb | <i>kaolaia.</i>
finish | |
| 24. <i>Eloela ovaia!</i>
pot get | <i>Elo avaia!</i>
pot get | Get the pots! |
| 25. <i>Area kotie</i>
yesterday come | <i>Areasare abusi mina</i>
yesterday come person | The person who came
yesterday died. |
| <i>vita are opae.</i>
person he die | <i>maro masilaia.</i>
focus die | |
| 26. <i>Ara kotita soa</i>
I come time | <i>Ara maro abusi. Ene</i>
I focus come you | When I come I'll give
you your pots. |
| <i>ara ave eloela</i>
I your pot | <i>enane elo anaia.</i>
your pot give | |
| <i>miarairoi.</i>
give | | |
| 27. <i>Ara te elore ita</i>
I go my pig | <i>Ara maro abuari. Ara</i>
I focus go I | I'm going to go and
eat my pork. |
| <i>salava larive.</i>
pork eat | <i>enane ira abulari.</i>
my pig eat | |
| 28. <i>Are kotita soa ara</i>
he come time I | <i>Are maro amusi kaolaia.</i>
he focus come finish | When he came I saw
him. |
| <i>arero eovaia.</i>
him see | <i>Ara maro (are) eavaia.</i>
I focus (him) see | |
| 29. <i>Motu karu opa</i>
Motu man former | <i>Lalae karu overa</i>
Motu man former | The Motu used to
come here on hiri
and bring pots,
dishes, armshells,
necklaces, axes,
and ... |
| <i>soa movoa sariva</i>
time here hiri | <i>mai pasi halaia.</i>
come hiri make/do | |
| <i>leiape ereve</i>
make their | <i>Ere avaia abusi</i>
they get come | |
| <i>ovitiape etau</i>
bring thing | <i>etau maro uro lita</i>
thing focus pot and | |
| <i>eloelo seisa</i>
pot dish | <i>lau lita soea</i>
pot and armshell | |

<i>soea</i>	<i>movio</i>	<i>lita matapara lita...</i>
armshell	necklace	and axe and
<i>fave ita...</i>		
stone axe		

Table 2-1: The Hiri Trading Language, Eleman Variety, Compared with Toaripi

This table shows that although these two languages have many words in common and have a similar grammatical structure they are not the same. Thus, for example, whereas Toaripi uses *leive*, *arave* and *ave* for 'whose', 'my', and 'your' respectively the HTL(E) uses *neia enane*, *ara enane* and *ene enane* respectively. Or again, whereas Toaripi uses the verbs *terairoi*, *larive*, *miaraia* for 'to go', 'to eat', and 'to give' respectively the HTL(E) uses *abuari*, *abulari*, and *porohalaia* respectively.⁶

But such differences do not make the HTL(E) a pidgin language, for they are the sorts of differences that one can observe between any two languages. What makes the HTL(E) a pidgin language are other differences, the most important of which are:

a) In the HTL(E) verbs do not change form in different sentences as they do in Toaripi. Compare, for example, the following sentences taken from Table 2-1:

21. Toaripi: *Ara area eavai ita*
I yesterday see past
'I saw it yesterday'

HTL(E): *Areasare ara maro eavaia*
yesterday I focus see
'I saw it yesterday'

23. Toaripi: *Ara iovi roroka roi*
I see completed auxiliary.verb
'I have seen it'

HTL(E): *Ara maro eavaia kaolaia*
I focus see completed/finished
'I have seen it'

Thus whereas one says *eavai ita* for '(I) saw it' and *iovi rorokaroi* for '(I) have seen it' in Toaripi one uses the same form *eavaia* for 'saw' in both sentences in the HTL(E) but adds *kaolaia* 'finished' to emphasise that the action referred to in the second sentence is completed. In general the HTL(E) uses words like *areasare* 'yesterday', *areita* 'later', *kaolaia* 'finished', *sinalaia* 'about to' in sentences to express differences between the times actions are performed and/or the way in which they are performed. Toaripi does not do this but has this information built into the form of the verb. This can be seen in the following sentences:

21. Toaripi: *Ara area eavai ita*
I yesterday see past
'I saw it yesterday'

HTL(E): *Areasare ara maro eavaia.*
yesterday I focus see.
'I saw it yesterday'

22. Toaripi: *Opovaia ara eavai ao*
later I see future
'I'll see it later'

HTL(E): *Areita ara maro eavaia*
later I focus see
'I'll see it'

23. Toaripi: *Ara iovi rorokaroi*
I see completed
'I have seen it'

HTL(E): *Ara maro eavaia*
I focus see
'I have seen it'

If additional information were to be considered this difference would appear much greater than it does here because Toaripi verbs not only change form in a rather complicated way according to when and how an action is performed but according to what kind of verb is used and if the subjects and objects change. For example, the following table, Table 2-2, taken from Brown's (1973) description of Toaripi and other Eleman languages, shows how the stative verb 'to be in different positions' changes for different kinds of positions being referred to and according to whether there is one person involved in the action (indicated by 'singular' in the table) or more than one (indicated by 'plural' in the table): These kinds of distinction are not made in the HTL(E) where the one form *abuviti* would be used for meanings a,d,e, and f for example.



Plate 3: Two Motumotu (Toaripi) Men
[W. G. Lawes Photographs, Mitchell Library]

Meaning	Toaripi	
	singular	plural
a) be seated, be in a sitting position	aisesea	aipepea
b) be in prone position, be lying	eaea	sisea
c) project out, be sticking out	foea	fofoea
d) have being, to be (in no specific place)	mea	roroa
e) be set, to be (in a place), dwell	pea	pepea
f) be inside, be floating	moea	movoea
g) be suspended, be hanging	toea	totoea

(Brown, 1973: 370)

Table 2-2: Stative Verb Forms in Toaripi

b) The HTL(E) does not join sentences together like Toaripi does to relate ideas together. Instead it prefers to express each idea in its own separate sentence. This can be seen in the following examples taken from Table 2-1:

28. Toaripi: *Are kotita soa ara arero eovaia*
he come time I him see
'When he came I saw him'

HTL(E): *Are maro abusi. Ara maro (are) eavaia.*
he focus come I focus (him) see
'When he came I saw him'

29. Toaripi: *Motu karu opa soa movoa sariva leiape ereve*
Motu man former time here hiri make their

ovitiape etau eloelo seisa soea movio
bring thing pot dish armshell necklace

fave ita...
stone axe

'The Motu used to come here on *hiri* and bring pots, dishes, armshells, necklaces, stone axes, and ...'

HTL(E): *Lalae karu overa mai pasi halaia. Ere avaia*
Motu man former come hiri make/do they get

abusi etau maro uro lita lau lita soea
come thing focus pot and dish and armshell

lita matapara lita...
and axe and

'The Motu used to come here on *hiri* and bring pots, dishes, armshells, necklaces, axes and ...'

Toaripi uses the verb form *kotita* in sentence 28 (compare *koti* 'he did come' in sentence 15 above in Table 2-1) to express the idea that the action of coming took place before the action of seeing. In the HTL(E) this result is achieved by using two sentences. Similar observations can be made about sentence 29 in which Toaripi uses the special marker *-ape* on *leiape* 'make' to indicate that the actions of coming on the *hiri* and bringing trade goods are conceived of as being closely connected. The use of the same marker on *ovitiape* 'bring' in the same sentence serves the same function. It shows that the action of bringing and the next action mentioned in the story (but not reproduced here) are also closely related. This relationship is not easily translated into English but is roughly indicated by English 'and'. Such differences as the above show that

the HTL(E) is much simpler in structure than Toaripi is. But the HTL(E) is more than just a simplified form of Toaripi for it includes a number of elements that are not derived from Toaripi, or if they are, are used in a new way. Thus, for example:

i) the HTL(E) vocabulary is not purely Toaripi vocabulary but a mixture of elements drawn from at least five different languages, including Motu, three Eleman languages (Toaripi, Kaipi and Orokolo), and Koriki. In general about 80% of the HTL(E)'s vocabulary comes from Eleman languages, and Toaripi in particular, and about 20% from Motu. This drawing of vocabulary from different sources is a common characteristic of pidgin languages;

ii) the most common verbs in the HTL(E) are also ones which begin with *amu-* or *abu-*, as, for example, *amusi/abusi* 'to come', *amuari/abuari* 'to go', *amulari/abulari* 'to eat', *amumusi/abuviti* 'to stay', *amureai/abureai* 'to tell'. This *amu-/abu-* prefix seems to have no parallel in Eleman languages or Motu and its source is as yet unknown;

iii) the HTL(E) uses a focus marker *maro* which has no parallel in Toaripi or other Eleman languages although there are corresponding forms *be*, *na* and *ese* in Motu, as in *Ladagu na Moi* (lit. name.my focus Moi) 'My name is Moi' or *Oi be daika?* (lit. you focus who) 'Who are you?' for example. This marker is generally used after every subject (irrespective of the kind of sentence) but may be used after other elements as well. The origin of this form is not known although it may be a combination of Toaripi *ma* 'this' and *-ro*, the marker used to mark pronoun objects in Toaripi sentences;

iv) the HTL(E) uses words like *kaolaia* 'finished' and *sinalaia* 'about to' after verbs to show how actions are performed. These forms seem to be composed of two parts which are derived from different sources. These parts are an Eleman one *kao* 'not' and *sina* 'to say' and a Motu part *-laia* which occurs on words in Motu like *gaukaralaia* 'to work something'. However, the combination of these elements and their use in the HTL(E) is distinctive;

v) the HTL(E) makes maximum use of a small set of words. Thus we have already seen in point (a) above how *abuviti* is used to cover a wide range of stative verbs in Toaripi. Another example is *eka* 'bad'. This is used in different positions as an adjective meaning 'bad, poor, sick,' as a noun meaning 'sickness,' and as a verb base in *itiekalaia* meaning 'to be unhappy'.

In addition to the above distinctive features of the HTL(E) it is to be noted that this language varies much more in pronunciation than Toaripi or other Eleman languages and Motu do. Thus, for example, some speakers will use *bs* and *ls* where others will use *ms*, *vs* or *ns* respectively so that the word for 'to eat' for example, may be heard as *amulari*, *abulari*, *abunani*, *avulani* etc. depending on whom one is talking to. As well, one speaker may use an Eleman word to refer to something that another speaker will use the corresponding Motu word for. Some common words in this category are:

Eleman Form	Motu Form	Meaning
pasi	hiri	hiri
kao	lasi	not
Lalae	Motu	Motu
eloelo	hodu	water pot
ira	boroma	pig
la	niu	coconut
tola	au	tree, stick

This kind of variation is typical of pidgin languages and results from the fact that the language is no one's first language and is used as an auxiliary language for limited purposes.

From what has been said it is clear that the HTL(E) had (for the language is now functionally dead) most of the major characteristics of pidgin languages found elsewhere. In particular it was simplified in structure compared with its major source language, Toaripi, it had a restricted vocabulary which was drawn from several sources, it was no one's first language and was used as an auxiliary language for restricted purposes. Besides this it had developed some of its own elements which were not directly derived, if derived at all, from its source languages and was therefore not simply a simplified version of one of those languages.

2.3 The HTL(K)

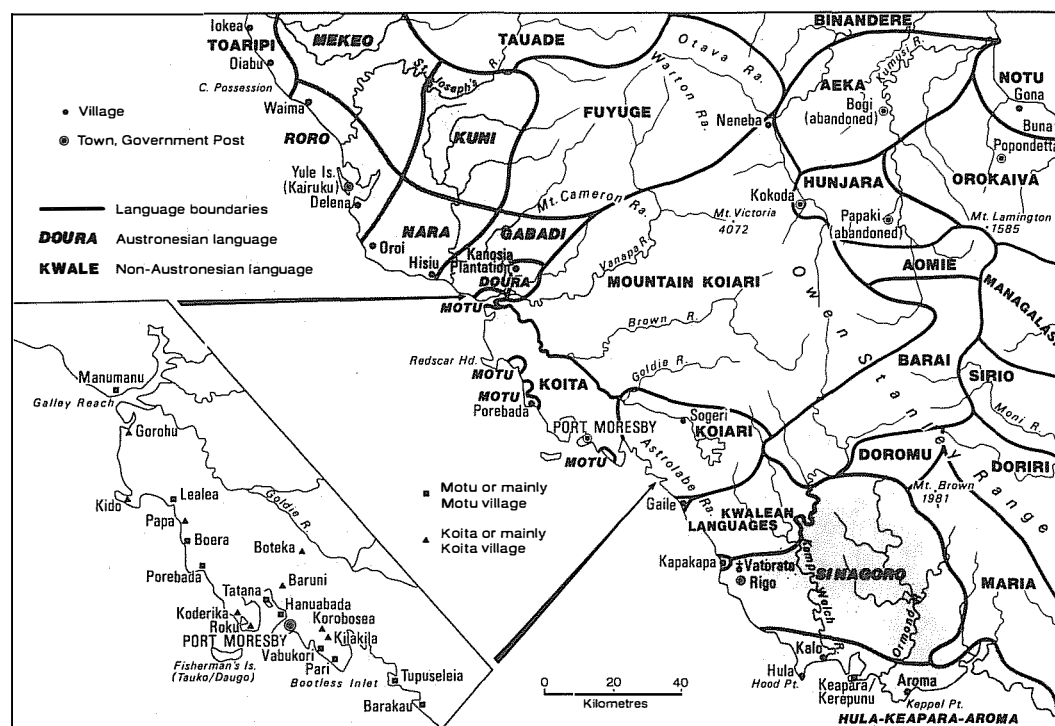
As the name suggests this language is based on Koriki, which, as has already been indicated, is the language spoken in the delta of the Purari River in the Gulf of Papua. For various reasons the HTL(K) is unfortunately not as well documented as the HTL(E) so that it is not possible to be as definite about its nature as with the HTL(E). However, from the evidence that has been collected about it it appears that it was a simplified form of Koriki but was not as well developed as the HTL(E) was in the sense that it did not have the same range of pidgin features as the HTL(E) did. Thus, for example, it did not contain words or elements which were not already part of Koriki and it did not use them in new ways. Nor was the vocabulary apparently derived from different sources. Rather, except for a very few Motu borrowings, it was taken over directly from Koriki. That is, its grammar and vocabulary did not show the same 'mixed' nature as that of the HTL(E) which, as has been indicated, draws its grammar and vocabulary from different languages of the Eleman family and even from Koriki itself. As a result it was strictly speaking more like a special variety of Koriki or 'broken' Koriki, than a normal pidgin language, for the Koriki did not have to learn it as the Toaripi and other Eleman language speakers had to learn the HTL(E). However, it was more than 'broken' Koriki because, where it was simplified it was simplified in a regular, and not random way, as the Koriki themselves recognized.

Thus, if the set of sentences given in Table 2-3 below are examined it will be noted that:

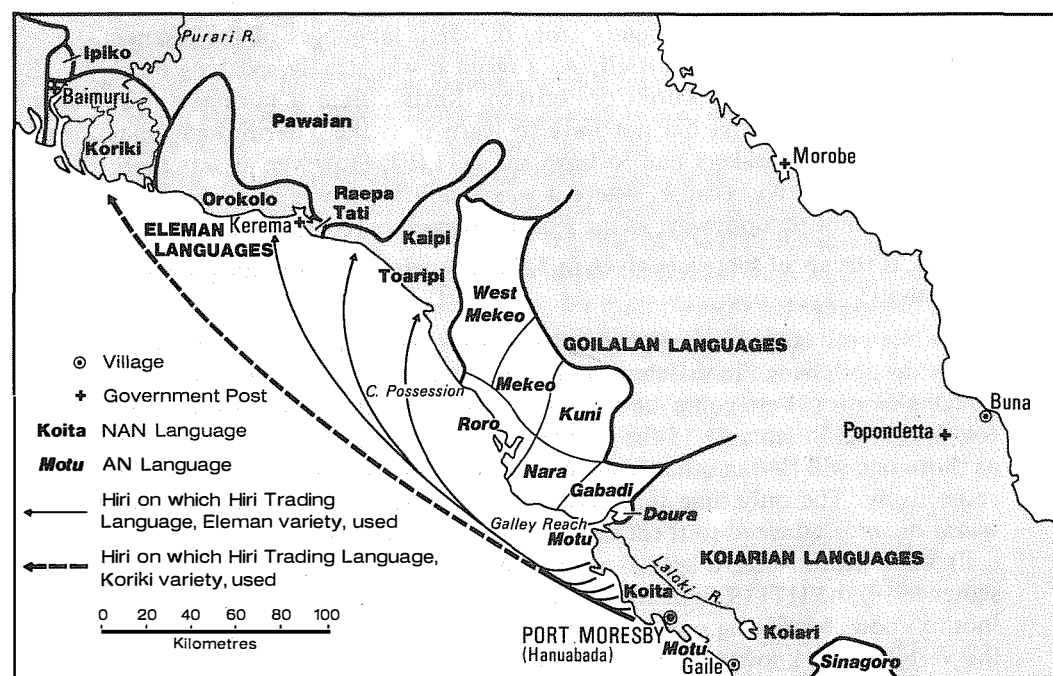
i) while both languages use similar vocabulary the HTL(K) uses verb forms which do not change in different sentences. Thus whereas Koriki uses *ana'a* and *ana'aka* for 'I am going' and 'I will go' in sentences 14 and 15 and *oi'ane* for 'I will see' in sentence 15 the HTL(K) uses verb forms which are the same as those one will find in other sentences, namely *ena* or *enavaria* and *inamoia* respectively. The only time that verb forms change in the HTL(K) is when *-varia* or *-ai* is attached to them as in sentences 10, 11, 14 and 18;

ii) while Koriki uses a special verb form *pauou* for 'not to know' (as in sentence 19) the HTL(K) uses the Koriki verb *ipa* 'to know' and makes it into 'not to know' by placing *pea* 'not' after it. That is, the HTL(K) does not treat the verb 'not to know' as an exception but applies the same rule to *ipa* 'to know' as it applies to other verbs to make them negative;

iii) sentence 13 shows how the HTL(K) simplifies the structure of more complex sentences in Koriki. Thus it can be seen how the HTL(K) breaks the Koriki sentence into two sentences which allows speakers to use the same verb



Map 3: Port Moresby and Surrounding Areas



Map 4: The Hiri Trading Area

forms as he/she would use in other sentences. Attention has already been drawn above in this regard to the Koriki *oi'ane* 'and I will see' versus *inamoia* 'I see' in the HTL(K). Similar observations can be made about sentences 14, 17 and 18 for example.

Koriki	HTL(K)	English
1. <i>Eire koanu vapeo?</i> this whose canoe	<i>Eire koa(nu) vapeo?</i> this who(se) canoe	Whose canoe is this?
2. <i>Na vapea.</i> my canoe	<i>Na vapeo.</i> my canoe	It's mine.
3. <i>Ni noe koana?</i> your name who	<i>Ni noe koana?</i> your name who	What's your name?
4. <i>Na noe Moi.</i> my name Moi	<i>Na noe Moi.</i> my name Moi	My name is Moi.
5. <i>Ni vake nu</i> your husband his <i>noe koana?</i> name who	<i>Ni vake (nu) noe</i> your friend his name <i>koana?</i> who	What's your friend's name?
6. <i>Na vake nu</i> my husband his <i>noe Elamo.</i> name Elamo	<i>Na vake (nu) noe</i> my friend (his) name <i>Elamo.</i> Elamo	My friend's name is Elamo.
7. <i>Elamo ouana?</i> Elamo stay	<i>Elamo uapekai?</i> Elamo stay	Is Elamo here?
8. <i>E, uiripokoi'i</i> yes stay	<i>E, uapekai.</i> yes stay	Yes, he is.
9. <i>Moi, ane pei</i> Moi come food <i>nama!</i> eat	<i>Moi, anene pei</i> Moi come food <i>navai!</i> eat	Moi, come and eat some food!
10. <i>Mapua na oku!</i> armshell me give	<i>Mapua na okuai!</i> armshell me give	Give me an armshell!
11. <i>Ena pu varomo</i> go sago some <i>miaka anema!</i> get come	<i>Enane pu miai</i> go sago get <i>anea!</i> come	Go and bring some sago!
12. <i>Pu eria ou.</i> sago nothing stay	<i>Pu peo.</i> sago not	There's no sago.
13. <i>Ni ekarakma</i> you where <i>ena'e?</i> go	<i>Ni ekeimena'e?</i> you where.go	Where are you going?
14. <i>Na Maipua'i ena'a.</i> I Maipua.to go	<i>Na Maipua dekenai</i> I Maipua to <i>enavaria.</i> go	I'm going to Maipua.
15. <i>Naia ena'aka na</i> I go my	<i>E, na ena na ae</i> heh I go my wife	When I go and see my wife I'll be very happy.

<i>a'e o'ane na</i> wife see I	<i>inamoia. Na rae</i> see my insides	
<i>kopai miki riaka.</i> happy very be	<i>imoima mikio.</i> good.good very	
16. <i>Ene Maipua'i</i> we Maipua.to	<i>Ene Maipua dekenai</i> we Maipua to	We are coming to Maipua to make friends.
<i>anemakei va'ara</i> come friendship	<i>anena. Maipua vake</i> come Maipua friend	
<i>ima karikiai.</i> for make	<i>miaria anena'a.</i> get come	
17. <i>Vana miore'e!</i> pot get	<i>Vana miai!</i> pot get	Get the pots!
18. <i>Ene Maipua'i</i> we Maipua.to	<i>Ene Maipua dekenai</i> we Maipua to	We'll come to Maipua (later).
<i>(panipaku'u)</i> (later)	<i>anevaria.</i> come	
<i>ane'akana'a.</i> come		
19. <i>Na pina I'ai</i> I before lai	<i>Na Iare pairi</i> I lai village	I didn't know Ia'i villages until I went there.
<i>pa'iri pauou</i> village not.know	<i>ipapea. Eaieai na</i> know.not now.now I	
<i>ai naia enave</i> till I go	<i>Iare pairi aneai.</i> lai village come	
<i>pani'i iparie.</i> time.at know		
20. <i>Aie, naia ina</i> oh.sorry I fish	<i>Aie, na nave pene</i> oh.sorry I food little	Oh dear, if I could only eat (some fish) I'd feel good.
<i>mau'u na'ane na</i> little eat I	<i>na navai rae imo.</i> I eat insides good	
<i>ima ourouipali'i.</i> good feel		
21. <i>O, ni miki</i> oh you true	<i>O, ni miki ipari?</i> oh you true know	Oh, you really understand?
<i>ipariai?</i> understand		

Table 2-3: The Hiri Trading language, Koriki Variety, Compared with Koriki

Other, mostly minor differences occur between the two languages, but the above are sufficient to show that the HTL(K) was a simplified form of Koriki, which, because it was used in the restricted context of trading and was not anyone's first language, can be regarded as a pidgin language.

To recapitulate then, the above accounts of the two trading languages HTL(E) and HTL(K) enable us to make two important observations:

a) the Motu did not use their own language or some simplified form of it in trading with their trade partners in the Gulf of Papua. Instead they used one or more of at least two simplified or pidginized versions of the languages of those partners;

b) these languages were quite different from and should not be confused with Police Motu, as has often happened in the past. They were, however, similar to it grammatically in many respects. This can be seen by comparing parallel sentences in these languages such as those given in Table 2-4 below:

HTL(K)	HTL(E)	PM Equivalent	English
<i>Koa(nu) vapeo?</i> who(his) canoe	<i>A, neia enane</i> eh, who his	<i>(Inai be) daika</i> (this focus) who	Whose canoe is this?
	<i>vevara?</i> canoe	<i>ena lakatoi?</i> his canoe	
<i>Na vapeo.</i> my canoe	<i>Ara enane vevara.</i> I my canoe	<i>(Inai be) lau-</i> (this focus I	(It's) mine.
		<i>egu lakatoi.</i> my canoe	
<i>Ni noe koana?</i> you name who	<i>Eme enane rare</i> you your name	<i>Oi- emu ladana</i> you-your name	What's your name?
	<i>neia?</i> who	<i>(be) daika?</i> (focus) who	
<i>Na noe Moi.</i> My name Moi	<i>Ara enane rare</i> I my name	<i>Lau-egu ladana</i> I -my name	My name is Moi.
	<i>maro Moi.</i> focus Moi	<i>be Moi.</i> focus Moi	
<i>Ni vake(nu)</i> your friend	<i>Ene enane pamora</i> you your friend	<i>Oi- emu pamora</i> you-your friend	What's your friend (or trade partner's name?
<i>noe koana?</i> name who	<i>rare maro neia?</i> name focus who	<i>(be) daika?</i> (focus) who	
<i>(Na vake(nu)</i> (my friend(his)	<i>(Ara enane pamora</i> (I my friend	<i>(Lau-egu pamora</i> (I -my friend	(My friend (or trade partner's name is) Elamo.
<i>noe) Elamo.</i> name) Elamo.	<i>rare maro) Elamo.</i> name focus Elamo	<i>be) Elamo.</i> focus) Elamo	
<i>Elamo uapekai?</i> Elamo stay	<i>Elamo abuviti?</i> Elamo stay	<i>Elamo ia noho?</i> Elamo he stay	Is Elamo here?
<i>E, uapekai.</i> yes stay	<i>E, abuviti.</i> yes, stay	<i>Io, ia noho.</i> yes, he stay	Yes, he's here.
<i>Moi, anene pei</i> Moi, come food	<i>Moi, abusi ma</i> Moi, come water	<i>Moi, oi mai</i> Moi, you come	Moi, come and eat (some food).
<i>navai.</i> eat	<i>siahu abulari.</i> hot eat	<i>anianai oi ania.</i> food you eat	
<i>Na okuai!</i> me give	<i>Ara porohalaia!</i> me give	<i>Lau oi henia/oi</i> me you give you	Give it to me!
		<i>henia lau dekena!</i> give me to	
<i>Enane pu miai</i> go sago get	<i>Abuari pai</i> go sago	<i>Oi lao rabia</i> you go sago	Go and bring some sago!

<i>anea!</i> come	<i>avaia abusi!</i> get come	<i>oi mailaia!</i> you bring	
<i>Pu peo.</i> sago not	<i>Pai penepene</i> sago some	<i>Rabia (ia noho)</i> sago (it stay	There's no sago.
	<i>lasi.</i> not	<i>lasi.</i> not	

Table 2-4: The Hiri Trading Languages and Police Motu Compared

The above observations should be kept in mind when the origin of Police Motu is being discussed in the forthcoming chapters. Meanwhile we return to the pre-European social setting in which the Motu found themselves.

It will be remembered that up to this point we have noted that at the time of European contact the Motu were involved in a complex network of trade and exchange and that one part of it, albeit the most spectacular part, was that surrounding their *hiri* expeditions to the Gulf of Papua. Other parts of this network involved contact with speakers of other languages who lived in their immediate neighbourhood and a little farther afield (Seligmann, 1910: 92-4; Oram, 1982). Some of these trading groups spoke (and their descendants still speak) languages that are related to Motu, while the remainder spoke (and most of their descendants still speak) non-Austronesian languages which are not related to Motu or to any other Austronesian language, as already indicated.

Physically the closest other people with whom the (Western) Motu had any trading relationship were the non-Austronesian Koita (or Koitabu as the Motu call them). These inhabited the stretch of country approximately co-extensive with the Western Motu but inland of it to about the Laloki River (Dutton, 1969). At the time of European contact most Koita lived in coastal villages either separately or as minority sections of large Motu villages. The remainder lived a short distance inland usually on hills overlooking the sea — see Map 4. By tradition, the Koita are the owners of the soil, the hunters and the agriculturalists, although at first contact those living near the sea were engaged in maritime activities similar to the Motu (Seligmann, 1910: 45) and the Motu tilled garden areas around their own villages. Formerly they apparently lived farther inland but by the time of first European contact they had moved to the coast (Oram, 1982). The reasons for this coastward movement are not known but it probably had something to do with the arrival of the Motu on that part of the coast as the Motu are, like speakers of Austronesian languages elsewhere in Papua, thought to be immigrants. In any case, at the time of European contact the Koita and Motu around Port Moresby were well integrated socially and had entered into a symbiotic exchange relationship in which the Koita provided garden produce, game and other bush products in exchange for clay pots, armshells, fish and other marine products made or acquired by the Motu.



Plate 4: Two Koita Men

[W.G.Lawes photographs, Mitchell Library]

Inland of the Koita, and closely related to them linguistically, lived the Koiari and the Mountain Koiari (Dutton, 1969). Because of their position, these two groups had little direct contact with the Western Motu although there was some trade between them and the coast (Dutton, 1969: 35-6; Stone, 1880: 57; Seligmann, 1910: 94). They knew very little if any Motu.⁸

Beyond the Koita the Motu also traded directly with linguistically related neighbours or near neighbours on either side. In the west they visited the Doura and Gabadi of the Galley Reach area on what they called *gaura* expeditions (Taylor, 1970: 3) and the Roro of Yule Island and the Waima area on *daiva* ones (Oram, 1982: 8). These were short-haul trips to obtain extra supplies of timber, sago and vegetables. To the east they had developed rather special relationships with the Vulaa, a tribe inhabiting Hula and other villages around Hood Point about 100 kilometres away. Not only did they obtain armshells, so important to the *hiri* and other trading, from these people (who themselves had generally obtained them by trade from further east), but they depended on them going to the Port Moresby area to catch fish for those Motu villagers left behind while the *hiri* traders were away. In return the Vulaa received sago and other gifts from the returning *hiri* canoes (Oram, 1982: 19).

It is not known what language the Motu and their trade partners used in these more local contacts, but it can be assumed on the basis of evidence to be discussed shortly that this was what will be referred to as Simplified Motu.

2.4 Simplified Motu

The first intimations that the Motu used some form of simplified language to communicate with foreigners appears in the experiences and records of the first Europeans to visit the Port Moresby area and to stay there for any length of time. The very first European in this category was the Rev W.G. Lawes who settled in Port Moresby in late 1874 as the first European missionary of the London Missionary Society (Lacey, 1975). Upon arrival, Lawes immediately set about trying to learn Motu. It is reported that it was some time later that his son, Frank, who played with the boys in the village and learned Motu from them, drew his father's attention to the fact that he did not speak 'true' Motu but only a simplified version of it (Chatterton, 1970: 96; 1971: 5), which he also used in making his first translations into Motu. Gradually, although apparently not without some difficulty, if later informants are correct (Chatterton, 1970: 95), Lawes learnt the proper language and wrote grammars and dictionaries of it, one of which, the third edition of his grammar of Motu, contains some additional information about the nature and use of the simplified version that he had first learnt. In particular, Lawes noted that there were a 'good many colloquialisms' or 'instances of pidgin Motuan' in use amongst the Motu which were 'not correct grammatically' but were 'sanctioned by usage' (Lawes, 1890b: 30). Moreover, although they were used by the Motu 'in speaking to foreigners', the Motu would 'never do so amongst themselves' (ibid.).

Although Lawes never ever described this foreigner talk in more detail we have been able to get some further insight into its nature and use by two means: a) by studying his early translations into Motu and by comparing the language in them with other fragments of the language found in other contemporary sources, and b) by taking the results of this analysis into account in interpreting his and other observers' comments about the language, and/or about how they attempted to communicate with Papuans in the Port Moresby and surrounding areas. Fortunately, for our purposes, and as more fully described later, Port Moresby quickly became a popular place to visit for all sorts of people once a mission station had been established there. And although most of these visitors did not leave any records behind of their visits, a few did, and it is in some of these that we find various phrases and sentences in the kind of Motu that they were learning. Some of these records were published but others have survived in private diaries and papers. Studies of these materials (Taylor, 1978; Dutton, 1984a) show that:

- 1) As the term foreigner talk suggests, Simplified Motu was not a separate

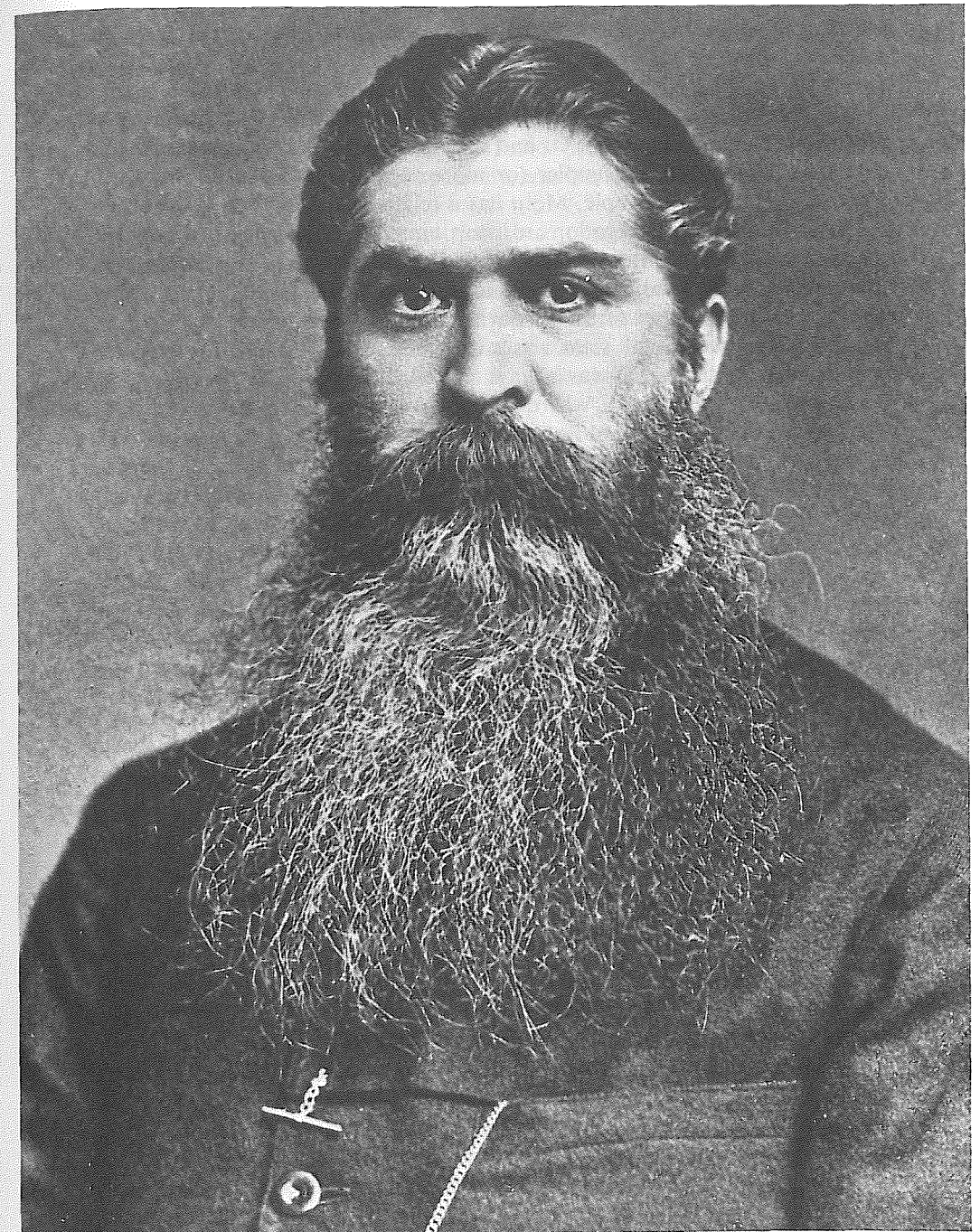


Plate 5: Dr W. G. Lawes, the first European missionary and settler in Port Moresby. He became renowned as a translator and authority on the Motu language, although he was first taught Simplified Motu by the Motuans

[J. W. Lindt: *Picturesque New Guinea*, 1887]

language from Motu in the sense that it was unintelligible to native Motu speakers and had to be learned by them as a second language, but was merely a special variety or register of Motu used for communication with a particular class of people, notably foreigners.⁹ That is, Simplified Motu was similar in structure to Motu in most respects and used the same vocabulary, but differed from it mainly in having simpler (or more regular) verb and noun phrase structures. Thus, for example, Motu has a relatively complex verb system in which tense, aspect, and negation are incorporated with information about the person and number of the subject in fused forms before the verb stem (see Chapter 1, grammar point 5 above). In contrast Simplified Motu generally used only the basic form of the verb with free pronouns. No tense or aspect was indicated except that *vada* was sometimes used to indicate completed action, and *lasi* 'no, not' was always placed after the verb to negate the sentence. Thus, for example, where one would say (*lau na*) *asidibagu* (lit. (I I) without.knowledge.my) for 'I do not know' in Motu, one would say *lau diba lasi* (lit. I know not) in Simplified Motu. Again, Motu makes a distinction between alienable (e.g., *ruma* 'house') and inalienable (e.g., *tama* 'father') nouns which are possessed in different ways. This can be exemplified as was done in grammar point 7 in Chapter 1 with *lauegu ruma* 'my house' and *tamagu* 'my father' in Motu which are rendered as *lauegu ruma* 'my house' and *lauegu tamana* 'my father' in Simplified Motu. We shall return to these sorts of differences later in considering the question of which language, if any, is the source of Police Motu.

2) There is no clear evidence on the point but it is likely that Simplified Motu was not as clearly defined as the terms 'variety' and 'register' used to refer to it above might suggest. That is, it probably varied from speaker to speaker, over time, and in accordance with circumstances. Thus, although this variety could most easily be recognized by certain standard expressions, such as *oi lao* 'you go', *oi mai* 'you come', *lau diba* 'I know', *lau diba lasi* 'I don't know', and *inai dahaka?* 'what's this?' which Lawes described as 'colloquialisms' it could be made more or less simple at different points. So for the absolute 'new chum' foreigner, for example, sentence connection and subordination could be avoided simply by juxtaposing sentences together to express a wide range of meanings, helped along presumably by context and body language. Similarly, Noun Phrases and Verb Phrases could be stripped of their affixations and restructured with free forms to express a restricted range of meanings. For other foreigners who had had closer contact with the Motu, one could relax these restrictions, consciously or unconsciously, and use less drastically reduced forms depending on the hearer's competence. By the same token this does not mean that these simplifications ever disappeared entirely, for it is claimed that even in the 1920s 'there was definite feeling (sic.) that the foreigners should not be encouraged to learn the true Motu language' (Chatterton, 1970: 95).

3) The original stimulus for the development of this 'language' is unclear and cannot be determined from the available data (Dutton, 1984a). It is most probable, however, that it developed out of the contact between the Koita and the Motu as these two drew closer together into the symbiotic relationship mentioned earlier. This development may have been influenced by the other pidginized languages (notably the HTL(E) and HTL(K)) that the Motu knew and used. The problem here is that we do not know if any of these latter were in existence at that time. All we can say with certainty is that at the time of

European contact the Motu were using Simplified Motu as a foreigner contact language. Thereafter nothing further is heard of it until over twenty years later when a distinct language, now known as Police Motu, appears with many of the same features. This raises the question of the relationship between Simplified Motu and Police Motu. Did Police Motu develop out of Simplified Motu? If so, why and how? Alternatively, was it a separate, new development, and if so, why?

Unfortunately, there is no way that these questions can be answered on purely linguistic grounds without records of the nature of Police Motu in the early stages of its development. The principal reason for this is that the most plausible source languages for Police Motu or that may have had a significant influence on its development are pidgin languages.¹⁰ In consequence it is not possible to tell whether the observed similarities between these languages and Hiri Motu are due to:

- a) similar processes of simplification being applied to the same source language,¹¹ or
- b) other processes such as relexification being applied to a non-Motu based pidgin to give it a Motu-like appearance, or
- c) a combination of these.

These alternatives can be seen, for example, when these possible source languages are compared with Police Motu as in Appendix B. There the features that distinguish it from Motu are used as a basis for the grammatical comparison, although they do not bring out all of the similarities and differences between the languages concerned.¹² These latter languages include the three that have just been discussed — Simplified Motu, HTL(E), and HTL(K) — and two others that have not yet been referred to but will be later on. They are forms of 'broken' or pidgin English that were spoken in some parts of Papua and in the Solomon Islands before and during the spread of Police Motu. The former is referred to by the cover term Papuan Pidgin English in the literature (Mühlhäusler, 1978), although the use of that term should not be taken as implying that the language is regarded as a different language from other varieties of pidgin English spoken in the area and from which it was derived historically — see the last paragraphs of Chapter 3 and the section on economic development in Chapter 4. The other is referred to as Solomon Islands Pijin following Simons and Young (1978). When these languages are compared in the way indicated, it is clear that Simplified Motu shares the highest number of grammatical features with Police Motu and has, in addition, an identical vocabulary, apart from those words in Police Motu which are post-European contact borrowings — see Chapter 1. However, this does not necessarily mean that Police Motu is a continuation of Simplified Motu, irrespective of how compelling the evidence may appear. It is possible, of course, but it is just as possible that both languages are independent simplifications of Motu. Indeed, there are a number of more or less elaborate hypotheses that could be constructed to account for the similarities and differences observable between all these languages and Police Motu. But they are not all equally probable. The two most likely are the two simplest. These are those that might be called the Continuity Hypothesis (i.e., Simplified Motu-to-Police Motu) and the Independent Development Hypothesis (i.e., Motu-to-Simplified Motu and Motu-to-Police Motu). But without further linguistic evidence from the time it is not possible to choose between these two on purely linguistic grounds.

There are, however, two other pieces of evidence which do bear on the problem. This evidence enables us to discount the Independent Development and other hypotheses in favour of the Continuity one. These two pieces of evidence are:

a) the received oral tradition that Police Motu is a continuation of a *hiri* trade language already referred to in Chapter 1, and

b) the socio-linguistic history of the Port Moresby area in the sixteen years between the arrival of the first European missionary in 1874 and the formation of the first official police force in Port Moresby in 1890, and with which Police Motu is generally associated. The former allows us to identify Simplified Motu as the most probable source of Police Motu and the latter to get some idea of how and why Simplified Motu developed into Police Motu.

With respect to the received oral tradition it will be remembered that the principal reason for changing the name of Police Motu to Hiri Motu was that this language was supposed to be a continuation of the language used on the *hiri*. But it has already been shown that this could not have been the case because not only did the Motu use at least two such languages (the HTLs) in *hiri* trading, but that these were markedly different from Police Motu, especially in their vocabulary content. So either the tradition has to be rejected as nonsense, or it has to be seen as having been misinterpreted somehow at some time. A third possibility is that Police Motu has to be seen as a 'continuation' in a sense different from that normally accepted in linguistics. Given, however, that the Motu had another trade language, Simplified Motu, which, as we have seen, shares most grammatical features and vocabulary with Police Motu the simplest explanation would appear to be that the tradition has indeed been misinterpreted at some point. This position is attractive, moreover, because it saves both the tradition, in a modified form, and the linguistic definition of continuation. Thus we may suggest that what the tradition really said was simply that Police Motu was the continuation of a trade language, one of several once used, and not of the *hiri* trade language. That is, both the received oral tradition, once reconstructed, and the linguistic evidence are consistent with a Continuation Hypothesis, which can be formulated as: Police Motu is a lineal descendant of the trade language Simplified Motu. However, for this to be true particular social forces must have been active in and around Port Moresby to keep this simplified form of Motu alive and to extend its use into a general lingua franca before 1890, the year that saw the establishment of the first official police force in Papua, for languages and their varieties do not survive unless there is a social need for them. We have considered two of these forces: a) the need to trade with Europeans, and b) the Motu view that it was not appropriate for non-Motu to learn Motu. Others are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

INVASION AND THE NEW FRONTIER: SIMPLIFIED MOTU TO POLICE MOTU

3.1 Introduction

When the news of the discovery of Port Moresby began to filter down through the Australian colonies and overseas, people of all sorts began making their way towards this new *terra incognita* as if drawn to it by some strange magnet. The first to do so were missionaries, who were soon followed by self-styled 'scientists', collectors, entrepreneurs, explorers, adventurers, traders and others, who in turn were followed by Government officials. Each of these groups interacted with the Motu in different ways and in particular adopted different attitudes towards, and strategies for coping with, the communication problem posed by having had no previous knowledge of Motu. In considering these groups and the effect they had on the development of Police Motu, it is convenient to do so in three subsections corresponding to the three broad categories involved — missionaries, unofficial 'visitors', and Government officials — and in the order in which they arrived. Because there are so many of these people and because it is therefore not convenient to give relevant personal details in the description, short biographies and/or other, for the most part hitherto unpublished socio-historical, information upon which many of the conclusions reached are based, are given in Appendix C, to which the reader is directed for further information.

3.2 The Mission Frontier

As far as is known missionaries were the first Europeans to contact the Motu.¹ In 1870 the London Missionary Society (LMS), prompted by friction between French officials in New Caledonia and their own missionaries in the Loyalty Islands, decided to turn their attention to New Guinea (King, 1909: 49; Prendergast, 1968; Howe, 1977). Consequently, Rev. S. MacFarlane was asked by the directors of the LMS in London to 'make arrangements for commencing a mission on this largest, darkest, and most neglected island in the world' (MacFarlane, 1888:12). He did this by first opening up a number of small 'stations' in the Torres Straits manned by so-called 'South Sea Island' pastor-teachers in mid-1871.² The idea behind opening up these stations in the Torres Straits was that they would serve as convenient bases from which to 'get at the natives' — a phrase derived from the title of Chapter II of MacFarlane's book — on the mainland of New Guinea. In preparation for this he and Rev. A. Murray called briefly at Redscar Head on their return journey to the Loyalty Islands later that year. There they had 'intercourse with the people' (ibid.: 51) whom they found to be 'exceedingly shy' at first and showed no disposition to come near their vessel. However, after a visit on shore the missionaries succeeded in getting a number of them to come on board, where

they were treated in the usual way"³ (ibid.: 51). They also found the people to be

'lighter in colour than those in the gulf [of Papua] with a language resembling the Eastern Polynesia . . . Mr Murray recognized in their numerals and other words a very marked likeness to the Samoan, and the people themselves appeared to be of the same kind as those we saw at Hood Bay, seventy-five miles to the eastward⁴, and those described by Mr Thorngren, with whom he had intercourse at the east end and opposite side of the peninsula [of the mainland of New Guinea] . . . We had good reason therefore for concluding that the whole of the south-east peninsula was peopled by these Malayo-Polynesians, and consequently decided to appoint a couple of missionaries from Eastern Polynesia, with a staff of teachers from that branch of our South Sea mission, to take up the work on the south-east peninsula of New Guinea.' (ibid.: 51-2)

Subsequently, six Rarotongans and their wives were placed at Manumanu in November, 1872, where two of the women soon died and one of the male teachers was accidentally killed. The remainder were removed when found to be suffering from sickness and in a poor condition. These were eventually relocated at Port Moresby in November, 1873, where they established a station. W. G. Lawes and family joined them there in November, 1874, as head of the Central District of the mission and quickly opened up other stations amongst the rest of the Motu over the next few years — firstly in the Western Motu villages of Lealea, Boera, Porebada, Tatana and Pari as well as in the Koita village of Baruni near Tatana, and then in the eastern Motu villages of Tupuseleia, Kaile and Kapakapa, and beyond to Hula and Kalo (Lawes, 1890s). Later, from 1878 onwards, stations were established in the Roro, Koiari, Gabadi, Rigo and Delena areas (op. cit.) so that by 1884 when a Protectorate was established over the area later referred to as Papua, LMS stations were widely distributed along the central and south-east coast of New Guinea and the immediate hinterland. These stations were manned by South Sea Island pastor-teachers from Rarotonga, Cook Is., Niue (Savage Is.), and one from Vavau. All told there were 33 teachers in the Port Moresby area between 1872 and 1890 — see Table 3-1.

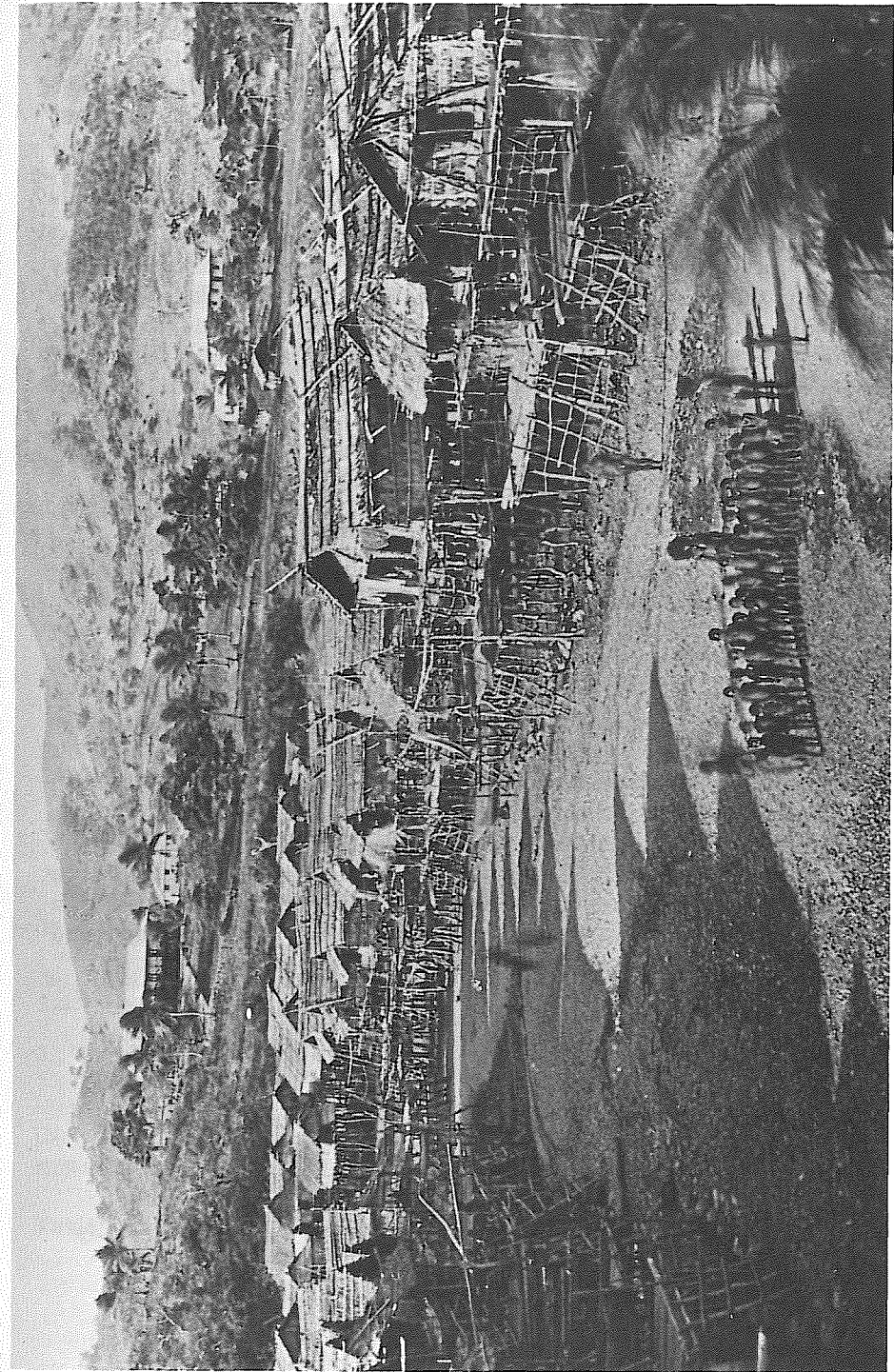


Plate 6: An early photograph of the LMS mission station on the ridge above the large Motu village of Hanuabada in Port Moresby

[CA Negative 1/-]

During this time Lawes was also joined by several other European missionaries — Dr and Mrs Turner, Rev. J. Chalmers and wife, Rev. Cribb and Rev. Pearse, Dr T. Ridgley — most of whom did not stay long (e.g., Drs Turner and Ridgley) or spent most of their time in other areas (e.g., Chalmers, Cribb and Pearse) — see Appendix C. Chalmers was the major exception — he spent all his life between 1877 and 1901 in Papua (except for various furloughs) including almost four years in the Port Moresby area between 1877 and 1881 looking after the Central District of the mission while Lawes was away on furlough in England. Besides these there were a number of lay workers (Bando, Bruce, Captains Runcie, Dudfield, Liljeblad, and Bob Samoa) in and visitors (e.g., MacFarlane (on the original location at Manumanu), Murray, Wyatt-Gill, Nisbet) to the mission who stayed for various though generally brief periods.

Lawes himself and his wife spent from 1874 to 1906 in Papua except for short periods away and a long furlough of almost four years between 1877 and 1881 in England. Their son Frank grew up in Port Moresby and joined the Government service in 1885. From this time until his early death he acted as chief interpreter and in other capacities in Port Moresby and at Samarai.

As LMS mission policy was to learn local languages for mission purposes (Taylor, 1978), Lawes and his South Sea Island helpers and others coming later attempted to do this in Papua right from the start,⁵ although as already noted it was some time before Lawes was aware that what he had been learning and using was not the full language but a simplified version of it. Although this discovery may have been a disappointment when it was first made it was undoubtedly a blessing in disguise in the early days, for, together with his experience in language-learning elsewhere,⁶ it enabled Lawes especially to learn Motu reasonably quickly⁷ and, as a result, to communicate with other groups up and down the coast and inland, with whom the Motu were friendly and who knew some Motu (Taylor, 1978: 1335–6). Indeed, LMS missionaries had been extremely fortunate to have landed right in the centre of a Papuan world in which the Motu were the most favoured nation and whose contacts and linguistic skills could be used to advantage by the mission.

Teacher	Arrived	Died	Wife Arrived	Died
1. Adamu	Nov 1872	Nov 1872	Yes	Nov 1872 1873.
2. Anederea	Nov 1872	Killed Mar 1881	Yes	Nov 1872 Sept 1876.
3. Asafo	Oct 1876	Dec 1876	Yes	Oct 1876 Remarried Mataio.
4. Eneri	Nov 1872	Jul 1875	Yes	Nov 1872 1873.
5. Falaile	Nov 1878	1879	Yes	Nov 1878 1879.
6. Gativaro	Oct 1876	1880	Yes	Oct 1876 Dec 1876.
7. Henere	Apr 1882	?	Yes	Apr 1882 ?
8. Iabako	Nov 1878	Left Mar 1883	Yes	Nov 1878 Died: date unknown.
9. Isaako	Nov 1874	?	Yes	Nov 1874 ?
10. Isuako	Feb 1875	?	No?	
11. Itama	Apr 1882	?	Yes	Apr 1882 ?
12. Materua	Oct 1876	Killed Mar 1881	Yes	Oct 1876 Killed Mar 1881.
13. Matuhi	Nov 1878	Killed Mar 1881	Yes	Nov 1878 Died: date unknown.
14. Moana	Nov 1874	Mar 1875	Yes	Nov 1874 Aug 1875.
15. Motu	Nov 1874	Jan 1875	Yes	Nov 1874 Remarried Anederea. Killed Mar 1881.
16. Napota	Oct 1876	Jul 1882	Yes	Oct 1876 Returned home 1884.
17. Peni	Oct 1876	?	Yes	Oct 1876 ?
18. Piri	Nov 1872	Jan 1889	Yes	Nov 1872 Jan 1889.
19. Rau	Nov 1872	Returned home	Yes	Nov 1872 1872.
20. Reboamo	Oct 1876	?	Yes	Oct 1876 Jun 1876.
21. Reubena	Nov 1874	Jul 1875	Yes	Nov 1874 Returned home 1876.
22. Ruatoka	Nov 1872	Retired at Port Moresby	Yes	Nov 1872 Jan 1886.
23. Seaosi	Nov 1874	Returned home Nov 1876	Yes	Nov 1874 Returned home Nov 1876.
24. Sekaria	Oct 1876	Dec 1876	Yes	Oct 1876 Died: date unknown.
25. Sunia	Feb 1884	?	Yes	Feb 1884 Died: date unknown.
26. Talima	Nov 1874	Aug 1876	Yes	Nov 1874 Returned home Nov 1876.
27. Taria	Oct 1876	Killed Mar 1881	Yes	Oct 1876 Remarried Pi, died South Cape 1884.
28. Tavini	Nov 1874	Returned home Dec 1876	Yes	Nov 1874 Returned home Dec 1876.
29. Toakaninga	Nov 1878	Died: date unknown	Yes	Nov 1878 Remarried, and left mission.
30. Toaki	Oct 1888	?	Yes	Oct 1888 ?
31. Toria	Nov 1874	Jul 1875	Yes	Nov 1874 Returned home Dec 1876.
32. Tufugalei	Nov 1874	Aug 1875	Yes	Nov 1874 Returned home 1876.
33. Viliamu	Nov 1874	1880	Yes	Nov 1874 Returned home 1882.

[Note: This chart is based on Lawes (1890a), Musgrave (AR, 1888: 20–23, and Appendix C.)]

Table 3-1: LMS South Sea Island Pastor-Teachers and Wives in the Port Moresby Area 1870–90

For their part, however, the mission personnel would have had a mixed effect on the development and promotion of some kind of simplified Motu. On the one hand the acquisition of 'true' Motu was seen as the only goal and everyone worked towards this with varying degrees of success. Lawes eventually mastered it and became the accepted authority on it amongst Europeans. Apart from works he printed in the language, he left a grammar and dictionary which have become the basis of standard reference works on the language. His son Frank learned it as a boy and used it for Government and private purposes. Chalmers also learned it although presumably not nearly as well as Lawes because he spent most of his time in other areas. The same is presumably true of other European members of the mission either because they did not stay in Papua long or because they were posted to other areas to open up new stations. South Sea Islander members, although more numerous, were of differing abilities⁸ and because most of them died⁹ or returned home within two years of arrival in Papua — see Table 3-1 — their mastery of Motu varied from person to person. Of those who did not die or return home after a short time, the majority stayed in the Port Moresby area until the 1880s and presumably acquired the 'true' language.¹⁰ One at least, Maka (v. Appendix C) became proficient in other Papuan languages and eventually left the mission to become a Government interpreter and Government Agent for Cloudy Bay in 1890.

In short Simplified Motu served the temporary needs of the infant mission until such times as Lawes had mastered the 'true' language and it could be brought into use and taught to incoming workers and those joining the mission in other areas. This temporary use, even though it expanded the use already made of Simplified Motu and gave it added support, was not likely to have had any significant impact on it structurally and to set it on the road to change, because it was still only being used as a means of communication between foreigner and Motu — it had not yet reached the stage of becoming a means of communication between foreigner and foreigner.¹¹ Indeed, Lawes' expectation was that the 'true' language would be learned by everyone, not only those in the mission, for, as he noted in publishing his grammar and dictionary of Motu in 1885 (p. iv) 'it will be of the first importance that all who have to deal with natives in an official capacity should be able to speak with the people in their own language', that is, in 'true' Motu. That was rather a pious hope, however, for it was the Motu who determined what language they would use with whom and when, and as there were increasing numbers of other foreigners coming to the Port Moresby area before Lawes had reached this stage, the continued use of Simplified Motu as a contact language was guaranteed. On the other hand because the mission had been first on the scene, and was learning Motu and using it for church and education purposes, it contributed to the prestige and use of the language. As a result it could be

expected that Motu of some kind would become the lingua franca of the Port Moresby area.

3.3 The Unofficial 'Visitors' Frontier

Interest in New Guinea dates back to long before the arrival of European missionaries in Port Moresby. The western side of the great island had long been known through Dutch contacts and the fantasies Europeans had about it as a land of wealth and adventure were naturally transferred to the eastern side so that all that was needed was news of its discovery to activate movement towards its shores. As far as Papua is concerned that news came in 1873 with the discovery of Port Moresby and the glowing reports of the area round about it by Captain Moresby. Thereafter it was a race to see who could get there first. As it turned out, the missionaries won but only because it was fear of 'a party of explorers and gold diggers' setting out for that locality that spurred Lawes on to getting there as soon as possible after he reached Sydney in late 1874 (MacFarlane, 1888: 64).

But Lawes was not there any too soon before visitors of all kinds began to arrive, mostly in small groups, but sometimes singly, and once, on the occasion of the Laloki gold rush in 1878, in largish numbers. At that time there was of course no European Government in the land and consequently no European legal restriction on persons entering or leaving the country. Lawes attempted to keep things under control as best he could by persuasion, brow beating, and reporting incidents to London via the LMS mission headquarters and the newspapers. But even the officers of the subsequently proclaimed Protectorate were powerless to do much about these visitors (even though a system of permits-to-enter was introduced) for, as Musgrave (*AR*, 1886:18) pointed out, the Protectorate Government commissions were 'limited to British subjects, and give no authority for dealing with cases in which foreigners — i.e., Germans, Chinese, French escapees, etc., and alien natives, Malays, Polynesians, etc. — are included'. 'Yet', he continued, 'all these are found on this coast.' Indeed, some semblance of control over immigration was only achieved after the Protectorate was converted into a colony and Governor MacGregor was appointed and was able to make laws and police them with an official police force and prison system.

It is not known exactly how many unofficial visitors came to Port Moresby in the sixteen years between the arrival of the first European missionary and the establishment of law and order under MacGregor, for, as already indicated, most of these kept no records, or, if they did, these have not survived. But of those who did come, a sufficient number have been documented by various means to show that there must have been a considerable number. Table 3-2 below lists those that have so far been documented.

1870s	1880-84	'1880s'	1884-88	1888-90	1890
Broadbent	Armit	Ah Wong	Ah Fat	Davies, W. P.	Green
14 Chinamen	Bosen	Aneitum	Ah Jim		
killed at	Cameron	Ansell (?)	Diavari		
Aroma	'Cheerful'	Anthony	Eromango (2)		
Chinese cook	Goldie's	Aoba	Exton		
on <i>Ellengowan</i>	Chinese cook	Bakara	Joe Fiji		
Thorngren's	Dentons (3)	Ballantine	Forbes		
coloured man	'Dick'	Belem	Gubbins		
Pott's ten	Br Doblies	Belford	Guise		
coloured men	Dumeresque	brothers	Harrison		
Connor	Edelfeld	Cooper	Hunter brothers		
Egerstrom	English (2)	Craig	John, the Murray		
Goldie	Irving	Davies, P.	Is. boy		
Goldie's five	Lifu, P.	Friar (?)	Joseph, the		
Europeans	'Lively'	Jardine	Manila boy		
Miners-60	Lyons	Jones, T.(?)	Kerrison		
Gleeson	Malay, J.	Juma	Kidd		
Jones	Morrison	Webb's two	'Kitty'		
McLeod	Snow	Qld. boys	Leslie (?)		
Murphy	Tanna	Kassman	McIver		
Palmerston	'two traders'	Lifu, C.	Forbes' 25 Malays		
Rolles	Walsh, F.	Lifu, F.	Kerr's 2 Malays		
Hargrave	Wilkinson	Lifu, G.	Manila, T.		
Iae		Lumse (?)	Manilla boys		
Dr James		Malekula	Minister		
Jimi New Caledonia		Miller	Morris		
Hargrave's		Nettle	Moses		
three		Niue	Mulholland		
kanaka women		Read (?)	Page		
Goldie's four		Saïd	Phillips		
kanakas		Smith	Robinson		
Knight		Trotter	Rotumah, T.		
McOrt		Umara	Rowan		
Mare		Webb (?)	Sayer		
Moresby		Weislein	Romilly's		
Moreton			Singhalese servant		
Orkney			Page's SSI boys		
Ormaston (f)			Thompson		
Petterd			Tugelu		
D'Albortis'					
Singhalese servant,					
4 head hunters					
from New Britain, 7					
men and 5 women					
from New Hebrides					
Smith (f)					
Snow					
South Sea Islanders					
Stone					
Thorngren					
Watts					

[Note: This chart is based on the material presented in Appendix C. The '1880s' column is used to list all those whose time of arrival is uncertain but is presumed to have been sometime in the 1880s (on the basis of the evidence available).]

Table 3-2: Unofficial (i.e. non-Government, non-Mission) 'Visitors' to the Port Moresby Area between 1874 and 1890

This table, together with the accompanying details given in Appendix C, shows that:

1. The number of visitors increased dramatically in the 1880s;
2. These visitors were of a wide range of origins including:
 - a. Chinese (Ah Fat, Ah Jim, and other 'chinamen');
 - b. 'Malays' (Ah Wong, Bakara, 'Cheerful', 'coloured men', Jardine, Kassman, Jimmy Malay (Solien), and other 'Malays', Saïd, Sariman, Umara);
 - c. South Sea Islanders (Aneitum, Aoba, 'Billy the Lifu boy', Bosen, Butsee(?), Davies W. P., 'Dick', Joe and Jack Eromango, Joe Fiji, Jimi the New Caledonian, various 'kanakas', 'Kitty', 'Leslie', four Lifus, 'Lively', Malekula, Mare, Moses, Nettle, Niue, Rotumah, other 'South Sea Islanders', Jack Tanna);
 - d. persons of mixed-race (P. Davies, the Belford brothers, Charlie Kidd(?), Lucas Cooper);
 - e. Maltese (Anthony);
 - f. Ceylonese (Silva and other 'Singhalese');
 - g. Indian (Juma);
 - h. Filipinos (Tom Manila and other 'Manilla boys', 'Joseph the Manilla boy');
 - i. French New Caledonian (Belem);
 - j. Germans (Christassen, Hunstein, Redlich, Kowald, Edelfeld(?));
 - k. Austrian (Weislein);
 - l. Swedes (Thorngren, Egerstrom);
 - m. Greek (Minister);
 - n. Americans (Prof. Denton and sons);
 - o. A large number of British-Australians (including some of upperclass origin): (Ansell (?), Armit, Ballantine, Bevan, Broadbent, Cameron, Cawston, Clarke, Connor, Craig, Currie, Cuthbertsons (2), W. Doblies, Dumaresque, English brothers, unnamed 'Europeans', Forbes, Friar (?), Gleeson, Goldie, Green, Gubbins, Guise, Hargrave, Harrison, Hunter brothers, Irving, Dr James, Jones, F. Jones, Kerrison, Knight, Lumse (?), Lyons, McIver, McLeod, McOrt, Moreton, Morris, Morrison, Mulholland, Murphy, Orkney, Page, Palmerston, Petterd, Phillips, Pike, Rayward, Reid (?), Robinson, Rolles, Rowan, Sayer, Smith, Snow, Stone, Thompson, Trotter, 'two traders', Walsh, Wilkinson);
3. The earliest visitors were generally only in the country for a short time and apart from a few notable exceptions (Hargrave, Stone, Goldie), most probably never learned any Motu and had little effect on the Motu; The greatest number of visitors by far who stayed for any length of time were those who came in the 1880s and were mostly from Asia or the South-West Pacific. Although these left no written records of their own they can generally be traced by casual references to them in the written accounts of others and by the descendants they left behind who form part of the non-indigenous community of Port Moresby today. Apart from a few extraneous cases these generally fall into two groups. One of these was the so-called 'South Sea Islanders', but actually originally New Hebrideans and Loyalty Islanders, the other, 'Malays', but actually those who would now be called Indonesians. In general the precise origins of these are unknown, as are their times and manner of arrival, but they are presumed to have

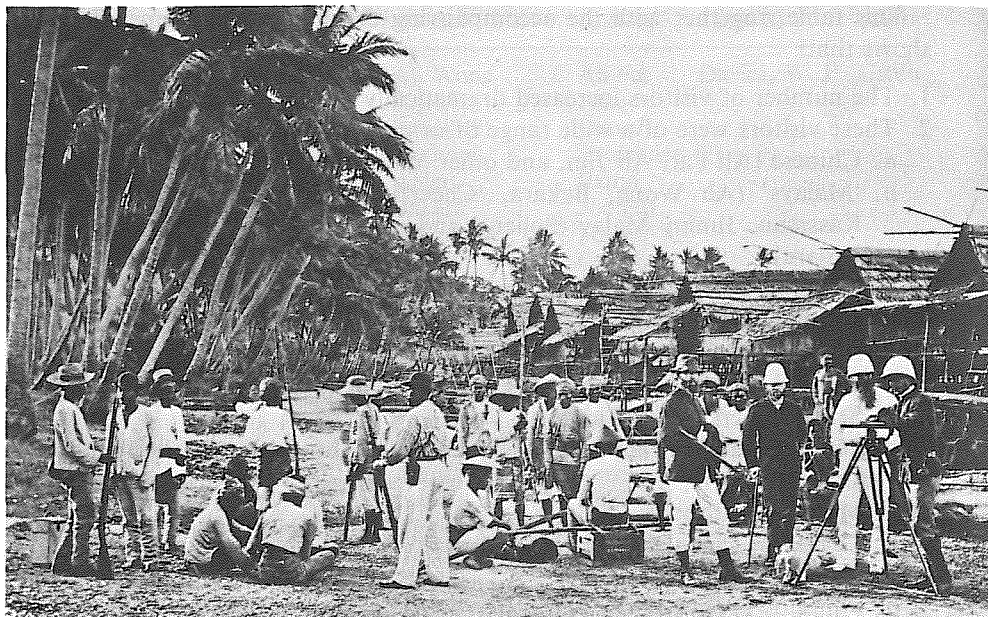


Plate 7: H. O. Forbes with a party of twenty-five Malays and Ambonese about to set off inland to establish a station at Sogeri. Many non-European foreigners were brought to or found their way to British New Guinea before 1890 and must have played a very important role in helping to develop Police Motu
[J. W. Lindt: *Picturesque New Guinea*]

been via the Torres Straits. The reasons for their coming were, however, basically geographic, economic and legal.

Because of the times, their nature and position, the Torres Straits were the scene of a great influx of foreigners of all kinds in the second half of the nineteenth century. Most of these were brought there or gravitated there to work in the beche-de-mer and pearling industries that were developing at that time (Singe, 1979).¹² Initially, these foreigners and the industries they serviced were concentrated in the Straits themselves but as the easily won supplies of fish and shell were depleted, boats went farther afield in search of new sources of supply. Inevitably, some of these found their way across to the south-east coast of the Papuan mainland and the island groups off its eastern end where similar conditions to those in the Straits prevail.¹³ Inevitably too, contact between foreigners working on these boats and Papuans followed (sometimes with disastrous results (Nelson, 1975: 6)) and knowledge of conditions in Papua spread. In 1880 it was reported that 'there were 102 boats operating in the Strait, . . . [which] were serviced by about 800 men including 215 Malays, 340 South Sea Islanders, 9 Chinese, 30 Europeans and 215 indigenous Australians, with no distinction being made between Islanders and Aborigines (Singe, 1979: 160). There was too an unknown number of other foreigners employed in other ways. It was predictable that a percentage of these workers from other places would find their way across to the Port Moresby area. The movement grew as

conditions in the Straits changed and as many crews were left to their own devices, after contracts ran out, to seek their fortunes as best they could (Singe, 1979: 69).

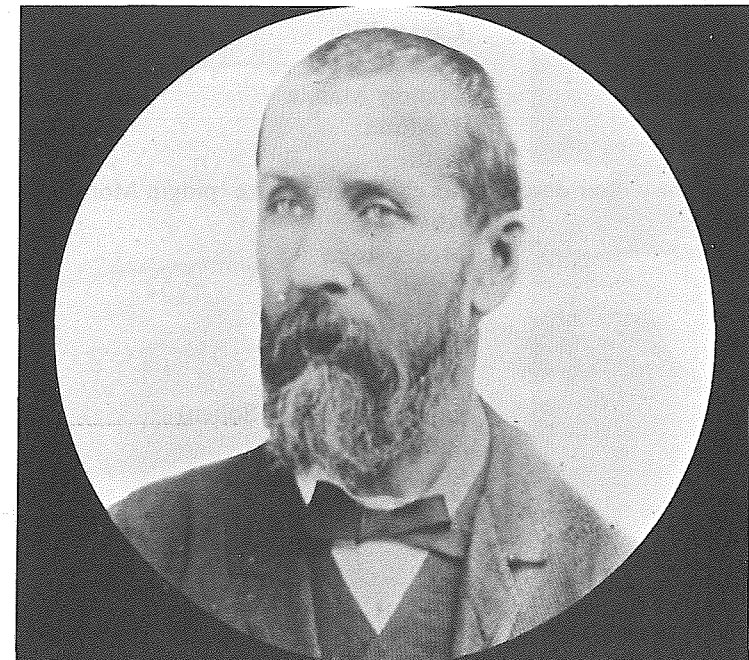


Plate 8: Mr A. Goldie, the first European storekeeper in Port Moresby
[CA Negative 1/14]

4. The majority of these visitors married or lived with Papuan women from the Port Moresby area and are known, or are presumed to have known, Motu of some kind. These can be grouped into several different, although not totally mutually exclusive, categories:
 - a. A dozen or so who are documented as knowing Motu of some kind:
 - Bevan
 - G. Belford
 - Cooper
 - A. C. English
 - Hargrave
 - Joe Fiji
 - Hunter brothers
 - Kidd
 - Maka
 - Stone
 - Jack Tanna
 - Tugelu
 - b. Some forty or more who are not documented as knowing Motu of some kind but who are assumed to have known it:

- i. because they were employed at one time or another as Government servants, ad hoc guides, interpreters and/or special constables:¹⁴

I. Belford
Joe Eromango
'Kitty'
Kowald
Caesar Lifu
Peter Lifu
Tommy Manila
J. Moses
Nettle

- ii. because their descendants claim they spoke 'pidgin Motu':

Ah Wong
Moses Aoba
Belem
Peter Davies
Willie Davies
Kassman
Jimmy Malay (or Solien)
Sariman
Silva

- iii. because of their life style and association with others who knew it:

Aneitum	Jones
Bakara	Juma
'Billy the Lifu boy'	Fred Lifu
E.A. English	George Lifu
Jack Eromango	Malekula
Jimmi the New	Niue
Caledonian	Rolles
Exton	Rotumah
Forbes	Rowan
Gleeson	Saïd
Goldie	Snow (less certainly)
Hunstein	Umara
Jardine	

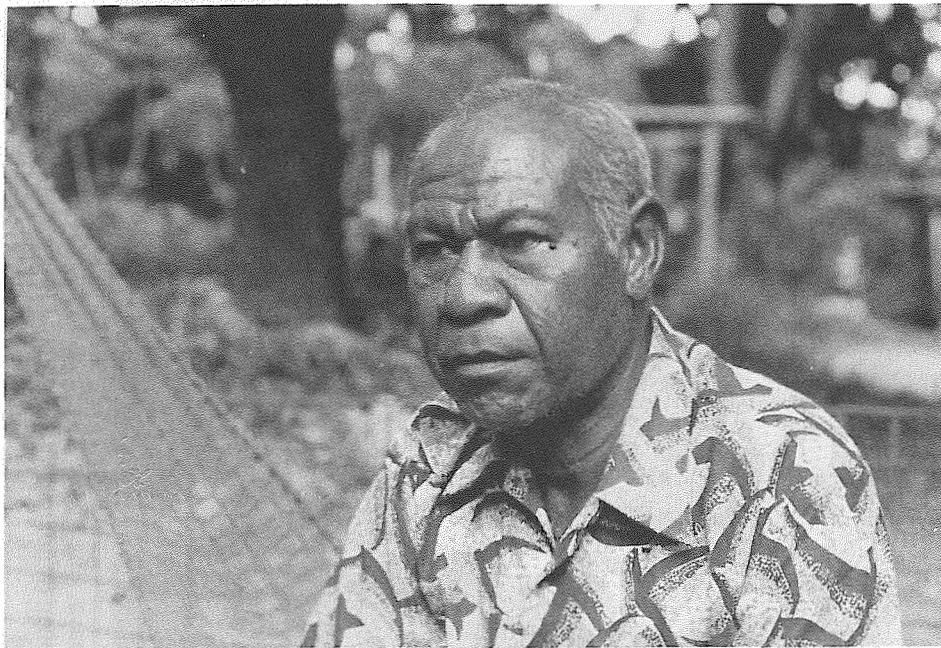
What effect then would these visitors be likely to have had on the use and transmission of some kind of Simplified Motu? Briefly, a very significant one for several reasons:

1) because the majority of these foreigners came to work and/or live in the Port Moresby area they would have been dependent on the Motu in one way or another. Consequently, they must have been in a similar situation to the LMS missionaries when they first arrived; that is, they were likely to have been classified in a similar way by the Motu and treated linguistically in a comparable way. In other words, they would initially have been addressed in Simplified Motu. Furthermore, as the Motu knew no English and were not being taught any by the mission, which was setting the pace at that time, the only other possible alternative was for the outnumbered foreigners to attempt to learn some kind of Motu, whether they liked it or not, for getting what they wanted from the Motu. Besides, since the mission had preceded these foreigners and had learned, and were using, Motu in their dealings with the Motu, 'Motu' was already being established and reinforced as a lingua franca;



Plate 9: Some Descendants of Some Early non-European Residents of the Port Moresby area

A group of descendants of Jimmy Malay or Solien from Sourabaya, one of the first "Malays" to live in Port Moresby [L-R: Helen Solien, Emanuel Domara, Sebastian Solien, James Solien (holding photo of Kevin Solien), Sam Domara, John Solien, Peter V. Solien, Jack Sariman]



Peter Eromango, grandson of Jack Eromango, one of the first non-LMS South Sea Islander residents of Port Moresby

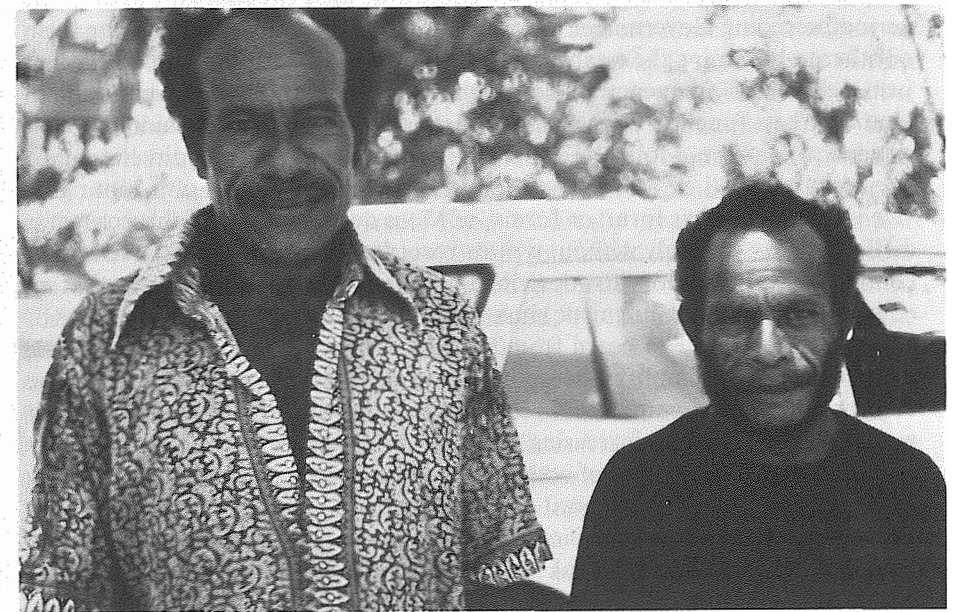


Joe Ah Wong, descendant of Ah Wong or Sarip Mohammed Ali from Malaya

Plate 9 cont: Some Descendants of Some Early Non-European Residents of the Port Moresby area



David Belem, grandson of Charles Belem from New Caledonia in the South-West Pacific



John and Unea Gorogo, descendants of Jack Tanna one of the first South Sea Islander residents of Port Moresby

Plate 9 cont: Some Descendants of Some Early Non-European Residents of the Port Moresby area

2) because these foreigners came from so many different sources (although collectively many of them may be labelled 'South Sea islanders' or 'Malays'), they presumably had no language in common if they did not know some form of 'broken' English, the lingua franca of the Torres Straits and north Queensland where the majority of them are known or are presumed to have worked or lived before coming across to Papua. This is indicated by oral sources and is implied in point 4 above.¹⁵ But as not everyone came at the same time there would have not been any obvious separate foreigner community living apart from local Papuan ones in which 'English' would have become the natural lingua franca and competitor to some form of Motu. Instead foreigners were generally absorbed into Papuan villages and dispersed throughout the community with the result that although 'English' was undoubtedly used as a lingua franca between foreigners when they first met, it is likely that this position was very soon taken over by some form of Motu as the 'new chum' gained familiarity with the language. In any case, 'English' did not have the numbers or the right social conditions to establish itself as a serious competitor to some form of Motu, at least not until later when proper government was established and a town began to form. But by this time it was too late to reverse a trend that had developed over the preceding period, although as we shall see later, some 'broken' English was apparently spoken around Port Moresby subsequently;

3) because some of these foreigners were traders and travelled across language areas where some Motu was already known (and no English was) at the time of European contact, Motu became the natural lingua franca between foreigner and non-Motu. This in turn reinforced its importance and increased its chances of survival.

In short, the whole socio-linguistic context of the Port Moresby area in the period preceding Government intervention predetermined Motu in some form or other to becoming the established lingua franca of the area. But this was not just a change in frequency of use of the language but a fundamental one in kind where its function was widened, or changed, from being a unidirectional, or vertical, one (i.e. Motu-to-foreigner and vice versa) to a multidirectional, or horizontal, one (i.e. foreigner-to-foreigner and foreigner-to-non-Motu and vice versa). Just what form, or forms, of Motu developed out of this contact is difficult to say precisely without written records. However, given the relatively complex social situation just described it seems reasonable to assume that an equally complex socio-linguistic situation probably existed, in which a range of Motu varieties could be heard from the very simple to the full, but with some modified form of Simplified Motu being the most common or the one that one could resort to if circumstances required it. In any case it seems likely that it was the presence of an increasing number of foreigners in the Port Moresby area that provided the kind of conditions needed to keep some form, or forms, of Simplified Motu alive until it, or they, was, or were, taken up and developed into a fully autonomous language by the police force. How and why this development occurred is taken up in the next section and chapter.

3.4 The Government Frontier

After the arrival of European missionaries in 1874 it was another ten years before any form of permanent Government presence was established in Papua. Before this time the colonies in Australia did not have the legal power

to do anything even if they had wanted to. The best, or the most, that Britain would do was to provide protection for British subjects and attempt to redress wrongs done by them. They did this through the medium of the Royal Navy and so-called 'commodore justice', until the High Commission of the Western Pacific which was established in Fiji in 1877 with jurisdiction over the area. However, this latter move did not alter the situation much in fact as Papua was a long way from Fiji and the Commission did not have the wherewithal to supervise it very well, nor did Britain want to be encumbered with another dependency in the Pacific. Eventually, however, Britain was forced to take action and declare the area a Protectorate in 1884, when the Queensland Government, reacting to fears about the German presence in the South-west Pacific, annexed the area in 1883 (v. Romilly and Erskine in Appendix C). Up to that time the Port Moresby area had only been visited by HMS men-of-war on social and punitive calls, except for the temporary residence of W. B. Ingham (v. Appendix C), the Queensland Government Agent sent to Port Moresby to keep an eye on miners who flocked there in the Laloki gold rush of 1878.¹⁶

Even so, the Protectorate administration was weak for it lacked the necessary financial and legal powers to do anything more than maintain a presence there. Moreover, the Special and Deputy Commissioners appointed to administer it spent most of their time away from Port Moresby either on visits of inspection to other parts of the country or in administrative duties elsewhere. For example, Sir Peter Scratchley (v. Appendix C), was the first appointed Special Commissioner. He and his staff and hangers-on of different kinds (Lindt, 1887: Plate IV) spent but a fortnight in Port Moresby out of the three months that he was on duty there (Fort, 1887: 138-9), and the Deputy Commissioners Romilly and Douglas (v. Appendix C) spent only about fifty percent of their time there. In Romilly's case this amounted to just on two years and nine months (spread over five visits) and in Douglas' case sixteen months, again spread over several visits. The day-to-day administration of the Protectorate was looked after by a small, but mostly changing staff of men appointed from outside the country (v. Anderson, Cholomondeley, Hartman, Hely, Kerr, Musgrave, Pike, C. Thomson, Wilcox in Appendix C). These were assisted in their task by a small band of locally appointed Government 'servants',¹⁷ who knew the local conditions and could speak a form of Motu (as already indicated). This band included the Belford brothers, Exton, Gleeson, the Hunter brothers, Kidd, Kowald, F. Lawes, Peter Lifu, Maka, Harry Mare, and Jack Tanna (v. Appendix C). These servants knew the local conditions and could speak a form of the language of the Port Moresby area (as already indicated). Other assistants were six South Sea Island 'kanakas'¹⁸ imported by Douglas in 1888 (AR, 1881: 1) from Mackay in Queensland to act as boatmen and unofficial policemen.¹⁹ In addition, these public servants used LMS mission expertise, specially their knowledge of Motu and of the Port Moresby and surrounding areas and peoples to spread knowledge of the Government and to seek the population's cooperation (Fort, 1901: 570; Stuart, 1970: 36; Oram, 1976: 20).

From an administrative point of view these changes would seem to have had very little effect on the lives of those whom the Protectorate was designed to protect. What administrative policy there was was in line with that of the LMS (Prendergast, 1968: 334–5) and the Special and Deputy Commissioners and their staff had no power to do little more than bluff residents into behaving themselves and attempting to keep the peace. Yet the very fact that the Protectorate represented a new authority, which, although weak, was able to command certain obedience and respect, meant that things would never be the same again, socially and linguistically. In particular, the Protectorate represented a new power structure in which Papuans would no longer be equal to, or better than, the foreigners, but would be somewhere below them. The Motu in particular would no longer be the controllers of goods and services as they had been in the past but would become competitors with others for European goods and services, and eventually power. Translated into linguistic terms this would mean that the lines of communication and the language used would no longer be Papuan-centred but Government-centred, that the Government would be the ones to decide who was spoken to, when and where and in what language. The fact that the administration of the Protectorate did not have a language policy but relied on South Sea Island policemen, locally appointed 'servants', and the LMS mission to do their language learning and communicating for them, meant, however, that Motu of some kind, but particularly that form of it which was spoken by the foreigner Government 'servants', would become associated with the Government in Port Moresby until, and unless, conditions changed again. That is, 'Motu' would be the language one *had* to speak if one wanted to communicate with the new masters, and would be the language used by them to contact others and to bring them under Government influence and control. In this way the range and use of whatever form of the language these Government servants used would be extended to new situations and to new areas so providing pressure towards further simplification and then standardization or stabilization. At the same time other foreigners coming into the area would have provided additional opportunities for the developing Police Motu to be used horizontally and to become stabilized. Thus by the time the Protectorate came to an end in 1888 new forces had entered the scene and contributed to the development of a form of Motu based on Simplified Motu that was well established before 1890 when the first official police force with which Police Motu came to be associated, was set up. Thus, although the name Police Motu is generally associated with the establishment of law and order after 1890, the credit for the development of this language probably lies with the largely overlooked and forgotten group of foreigners, but especially the so-called 'Malays' and 'South Sea Islanders', whose descendants still inhabit the Port Moresby area. Linguistically, what the official police force did mainly was to provide the right social conditions to give the language an identity and greater social acceptability (i.e., as a language of Government and power) and to spread it to other parts of Papua. How and why this happened are taken up in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

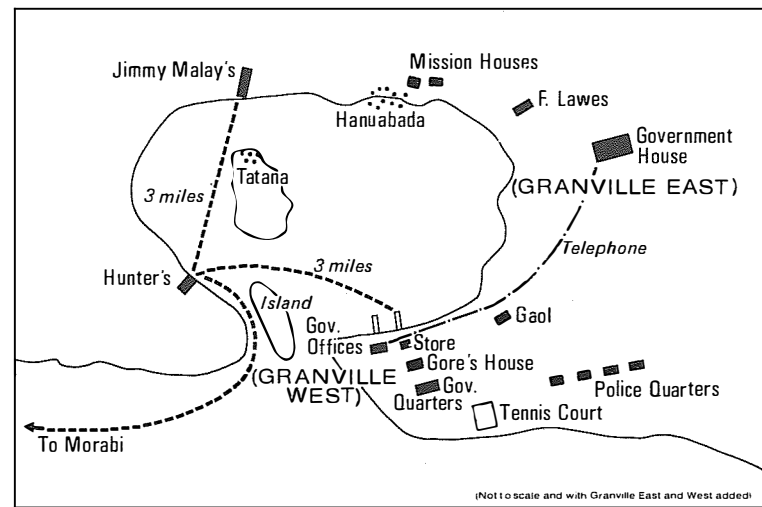
LAW AND ORDER: THE SPREAD OF POLICE MOTU

4.1 Introduction

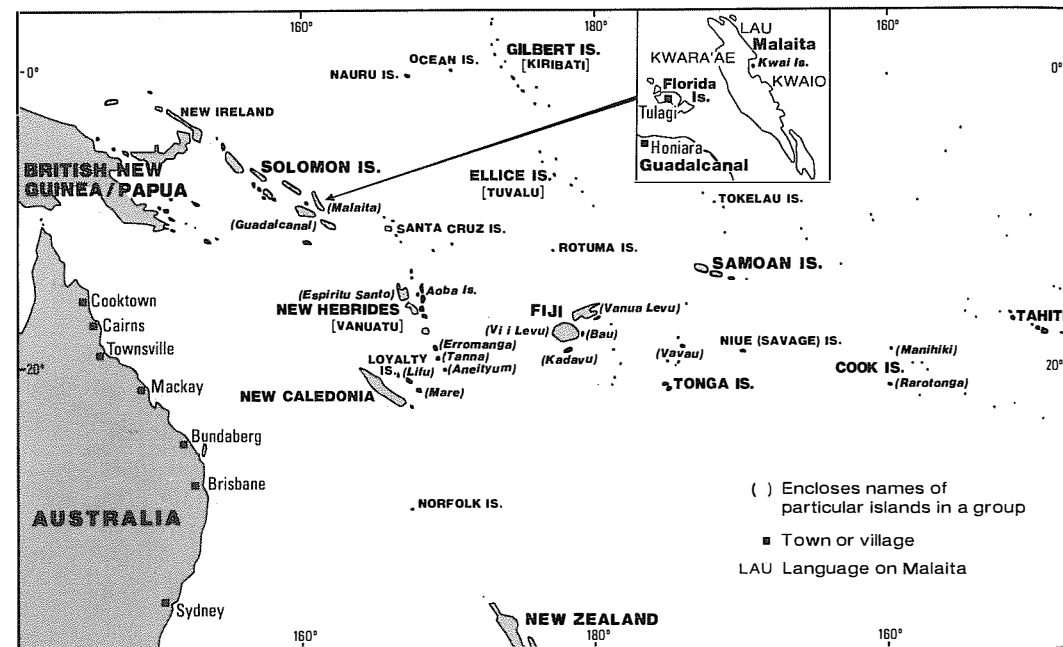
When the Protectorate of British New Guinea was converted into the Colony of British New Guinea in 1888,¹ Dr (later Sir) William MacGregor was appointed first Administrator. No better choice could have been made for the difficult tasks ahead, for MacGregor was very energetic and came with many years of administrative experience in other British colonies (Joyce, 1971b). He arrived in September, 1888, proclaimed the colony, and immediately set about the two main tasks of getting to know as much of the country as possible and of building up a suitable administrative structure with the limited resources available.

At that time the colony was divided into three Divisions — Eastern (ED), Central (CD), and Western (WD) — with headquarters at Port Moresby and Samarai and outstations at Rigo (about 80 km east of Port Moresby) and in the Louisiades where gold mining was developing. Port Moresby had been surveyed as a town in 1886 but had not yet developed into anything resembling one, consisting as it did of but a handful of galvanized buildings scattered about in two separate locations — one, called Granville West, situated on the narrow peninsula on the eastern side of the entrance to the harbour where the present-day town of Port Moresby is and the other, Granville East, where Government House and the LMS mission station were located — see Map 5. The total resident European population numbered only about a dozen, including missionaries, Government personnel and store keepers. But there was also a large (relatively speaking) number of unofficial residents in the area that were referred to in the last chapter — foreigners of all kinds, who lived in and around the native villages, and with local women. These foreigners either worked for themselves as entrepreneurs of sorts or for the Government from time to time as guides, interpreters, unofficial policemen or warders.

At this time much of the country was still unknown and not yet under government influence or control. Those areas that were under some sort of control were those more or less coextensive with mission influence or areas where commercial activity had been going on for some time, notably the Port Moresby-Aroma coast and immediate hinterland around Sogeri and Rigo in the Central Division, the coastal area around Kiwai in the Western Division, and the eastern coastal parts of the mainland tip around Milne Bay, and the Louisiades in the Eastern Division.



Map 5: John Green's Map of Port Moresby in 1892



Map 6: British New Guinea/Papua and the South-West Pacific

Linguistically, as we have seen, LMS missionaries had been learning and promoting Motu in the Port Moresby area and beyond. The principal contact language and general lingua franca of the foreigner population and others in and around Port Moresby at this time is presumed to have been (on the basis of evidence already presented) a simplified form of this language which was used as a contact language by the Motu when the first missionaries arrived. Many foreigners also probably spoke 'broken' or pidgin English of one kind or another as a consequence of having worked or lived in the Torres Straits and/or in North Queensland. Elsewhere missionaries, Europeans and their South Sea Islander pastor-teachers were learning local languages, e.g. Suau, Dobu, Mailu, Hula-Keapara-Aroma, Kiwai. In the Eastern and Western Divisions 'broken' English had been introduced (as we shall see in more detail later) largely by native labourers returned from work experience in Queensland. Those returning to the Kiwai area in the Western Division had been in the fishing industries in the Torres Straits, and those in the Eastern Division in the sugar industry in Queensland. Miners, traders, entrepreneurs and others added to this introduction. 'Broken' English was also introduced into the Central Division by similar agents but was not as widely distributed amongst the native population as in other areas.²

With MacGregor's arrival conditions changed dramatically for the indigenous population. Hitherto, the Protectorate Government had been merely conducting a holding operation, attempting as far as possible to avoid disturbances and to protect the local population from undesirable outside influences and from itself. It had few legal powers to make laws and to enforce them. But a colony was a different matter and it was the change in the nature and methods of the colonial Government that had such an impact on the local population and, in turn, on the linguistic situation. Indeed, the impact was so great that by the time that MacGregor left British New Guinea in 1898, what is now known as Police Motu had become the principal, although not the sole, unofficial language of administration in many areas. The scene was also set for the further expansion of the language into other areas as similar policies and methods continued bringing new areas under control.

The principal agents in this development were the three instrumentalities of law and order: the Armed Native Constabulary, the village constable system, and the prison system. These three systems were closely related and integrated and fed on, and into, each other in the following way: the prisons provided recruits for the Armed Native Constabulary and the village constable system, which in turn provided recruits for each other as well as the occasional prisoner. In abstract terms, the three systems operated together as a large (for that time) gradually expanding labour system in which a master (the Governor) circulated 'labourers' from one part to another and fed new labourers into it from time to time. In this way it was very much like the more usual plantation labour system of other colonies and its effect was very much the same, notably, the development and spread of a pidgin language as a lingua franca. In temporal terms, however, the law and order system preceded the development of an actual large scale organized labour system in British New Guinea and its effects likewise preceded that system. Consequently, the two are kept apart for present purposes and treated in different chapters, although they are partly interrelated in that Papuans were working for foreigners in various industries before law and order was established and were using 'broken' English as the lingua franca of those industries before Police Motu

entered the picture. Consequently, it was not simply a matter of Police Motu being spread to virgin areas. Rather, in many areas, it was introduced as a second lingua franca in competition with an already existing one. This then raises the further interesting question of why and how it survived to eventually become *the* lingua franca of Papua, a question we return to later.

To answer these questions in the rest of this chapter, we look briefly at the three law and order enforcement agencies before returning to the labour system and economic development in the next chapter.

4.2 MacGregor's Armed Native Constabulary

When Sir William MacGregor arrived to proclaim the new colony one of the most pressing requirements was for a suitable police force with which to help extend Government influence over an increasing area and to enforce law and order over it. As already pointed out, the special commissioners of the Protectorate had to depend on 'commodore justice' and special constables who were appointed as required but who had no real legal powers of law enforcement.³

The first special commissioner of the Protectorate, Sir Peter Scratchley, was quick to realise the weaknesses of this system. Soon after arrival he noted that 'men-of-war vessels are not suited for the purpose of administering justice and punishing outrages on the New Guinea coast' (Fort, 1886a: 13) and that what was needed was a police force 'under the charge of an English officer, who would be constantly patrolling the coast' (ibid.). In particular, he felt that 'the most effective police would be a selected crew of Samoans or Fijians' (ibid.).⁴ Unfortunately, Sir Peter died suddenly soon after taking office and so was not able to pursue this idea further. Nor were any of his several successors, although there was the persistent feeling in Government circles that one of the most urgent needs was 'a small suitable mounted force' that would be able to 'maintain the position and control achieved amongst the aborigines during the past eighteen months' (Musgrave, AR, 1886: 23). In the circumstances, the best that could be done was to have a body of persons available who may or may not have been otherwise employed by the Government, but who could serve as a restraining or protective force (for European residents as well as for Papuans under 'control') if, and when, the need arose. Deputy Commissioner Douglas was the first to organize such a force, the first unofficial police force in Port Moresby. It was composed of 'Messrs. George and Robert Hunter, who are acting as Government Agent and Native Protectors, Maka [the ex-LMS teacher turned Government Interpreter], three South Sea Islanders, and a scratch lot of young natives who act as crew of the whale boat in Port Moresby' (Douglas, AR, 1886: 6). In addition to these, Douglas also appointed 'Mr George Kerr, master of the *Maino* cutter, and ... two Malays under him' (ibid.), special constables who could be called upon to serve as required, and noted optimistically that 'in the event of any exceptional circumstances arising requiring an increased force, volunteers for the purpose can generally be found' (ibid.).⁵

However, Douglas was not happy about this situation and constantly emphasized the need for a more formal force of trained personnel. In particular, he thought that two forces were needed, one of 'eight Fijian policemen under the command of a European officer who could handle a sailing craft' (Douglas, AR, 1886: 5) for the China Straits area at the eastern end of the Protectorate, and a similar one of 'twelve men, six afloat and six

ashore' for the Port Moresby area (ibid.: 6). In his 1887 report (page 7), he repeats this call but specifies that, besides being good boatmen, they should 'in the first instance ... be South Sea Islanders.' His view was, however, that this arrangement should not be a permanent one but rather that 'after a while a few natives of New Guinea may be incorporated with the force and ultimately it may be found possible to recruit them entirely from the natives of New Guinea.' (ibid.).⁶ Yet without legal powers he was not able to translate these desires into realities. The best that he was able to do was, in 1888, in responding to a call made to him by another Deputy Commissioner, H.H. Romilly, to help quell 'some discontent and disturbances among the natives of the Central Division' (Douglas, AR, 1888: 1), to attempt to increase 'the number of water police by obtaining six acclimatized South Sea Islanders from Mackay [in Queensland]'. Four of these eventually arrived on 21st March, 1888 (Romilly, AR, 1888: 17).⁷

When Governor MacGregor arrived in the new colony then in late 1888 he inherited an unofficial police force composed of a heterogeneous collection of foreigners⁸ and local Papuans who acted in various capacities but who had never been trained in any way for the police work they could be called on to do. Coming as he did with legal powers vested in him as Governor of a colony he immediately began drafting an ordinance for the establishment of an armed constabulary.⁹ In its general provisions MacGregor noted that this draft Ordinance was prepared 'on the outline of a similar measure which has been found to work well in Fiji' where he had been working for the previous thirteen years (Joyce, 1971b). After redrafting,¹⁰ this ordinance was finally proclaimed as Ordinance No. 1 of 1890 (or the *Armed Constabulary Ordinance of 1890*) and appeared as a supplement to the *British Government Gazette* for Wednesday, 21st May, 1890. Amongst other things, this Ordinance provided that:

- a) the force would consist of 'a Commandant and of such Commissioned and non-Commissioned Officers and constables' as was to be determined from time to time [Paragraph II];
- b) compulsory enlistment into the force could be used if sufficient volunteers could not be obtained at any time [Paragraph XXIII];
- c) enrolment in the force was for 'not more than three years and not less than one' [Paragraph XXIV].

As no trained personnel were available in British New Guinea to form the nucleus of this unit, MacGregor appealed to the Governor of Fiji for assistance,¹¹ with the result that two Fijians and twelve Solomon Islanders resident in Fiji were recruited to go to British New Guinea for periods of between one and three years¹² — the two Fijians, a sergeant and a corporal for one year, and the remainder, constables, for three years.¹³ Although no details are available to show how or why these particular men were chosen from amongst a presumably larger number available, some at least were chosen because they had been engaged in some kind of police work in Fiji.¹⁴ Presumably, another important criterion was also that they could speak some kind of English, this being particularly necessary if they were to work under a European Commandant and other European field staff in British New Guinea.¹⁵ Besides this, the Fijians are presumed to have spoken Fijian as their native language — the sergeant was a high-ranking chief from Bau and the corporal a petty chief from Kadavu¹⁶ — and perhaps other languages then being used in Fiji (e.g., Pidgin Fijian (Siegel, 1982, Forthcoming)). The

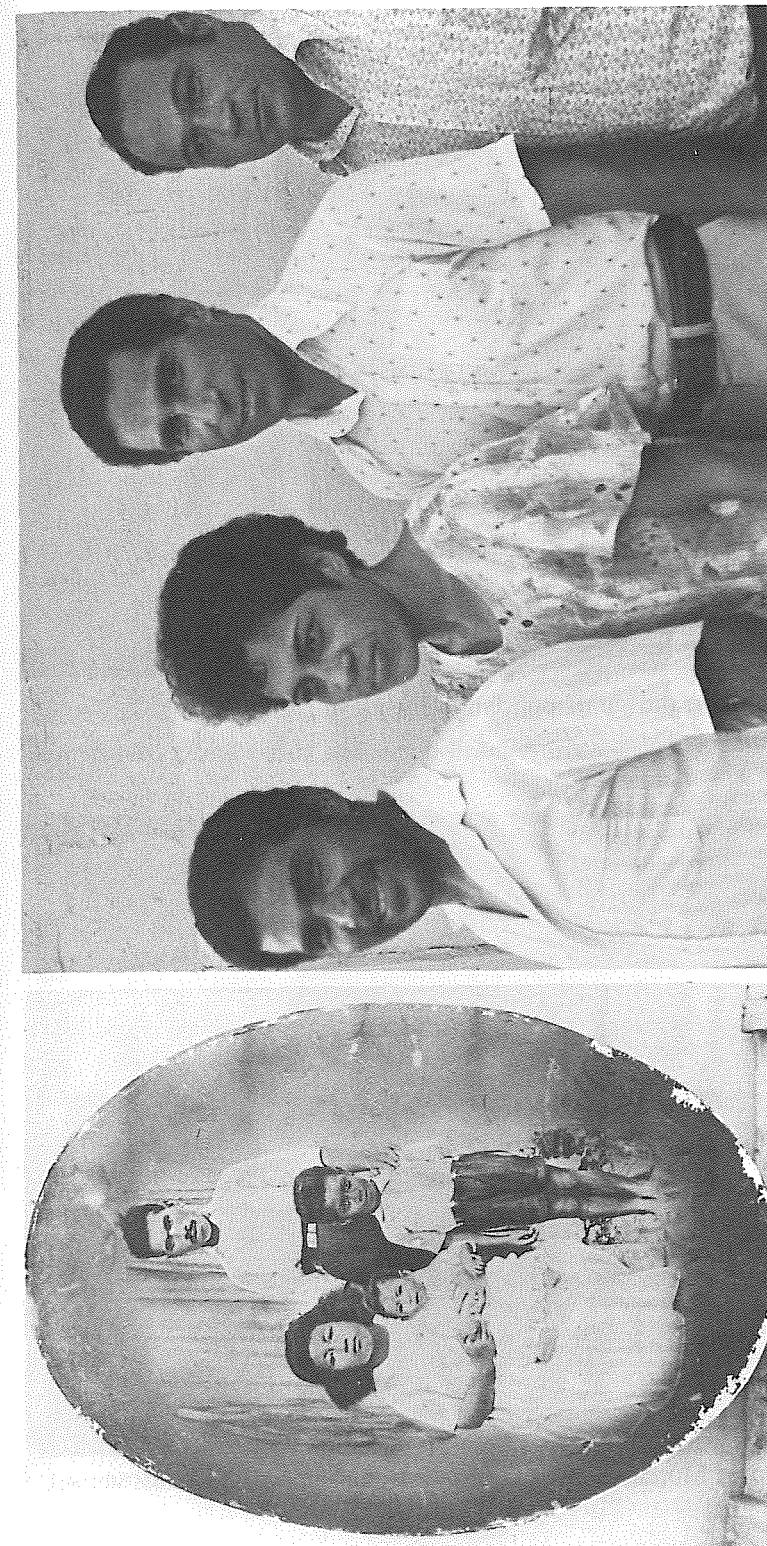
Solomon Islanders were from Malaita¹⁷ — see Map 5 — and therefore spoke Austronesian languages reasonably closely related to Fijian and to Motu.¹⁸ They had been recruited to Fiji to work on copra and sugarcane plantations between 1878 and 1884 and so had spent between six and twelve years there with the average being just on ten years.¹⁹ Consequently, they are also presumed to have spoken Pidgin Fijian, if not real Fijian, besides Pidgin English and their own native languages.

This nuclear force was signed on in Fiji on 25th August, 1890 and taken to British New Guinea in HMS *Rapid*. On reaching Samarai, they were 'employed for some time' there before moving on to Port Moresby on 9th November, and thence immediately down the coast to the Government station at Rigo. Here they remained for 'a few weeks' helping the Government Agent deal with an inland tribe (the Tubulamo) that had been troublesome, but also helping him 'strengthen the hands of the Government Agent immediately after the execution of two men accused of murdering the former Government Agent [Hunter] at Rigo and the imprisonment of four others.'²⁰ They were accompanied to Rigo by their newly appointed Commandant, Wriford (v. Appendix C).

After returning to Port Moresby, this nucleus was 'gradually' joined by Papuan volunteers, initially by seven 'from Kiwai and the adjacent islands, Parama and Yaru' (Wriford, *AR*, 1890/1: 85) (near present-day Daru) in the Western Division and one from the Eastern Division (MacGregor, 1891: xix; 1898: xxv),²¹ and subsequently, by a further five Kiwai from the Western Division.²² By the end of the first financial year of its existence (30th June, 1891), the force had been expanded by voluntary enlistment to twenty-seven. By that time also it had been on patrol with MacGregor and officers of his field staff to all parts of the colony then under control,²³ and were distributed, after initial training in Port Moresby, around the three Divisions of the time as follows: four Solomon Islanders and four Papuans to the Western Division, two Fijians, seven Solomon Islanders and seven Papuans in Port Moresby, and one Solomon Islander and two Papuans to the Eastern Division (Wriford, *AR*, 1890/1: 86). At that time there were Government stations at Port Moresby, Rigo and Mekeo in the Central Division, at Mabadauan (later Daru) in the Western Division, and at Samarai and Misima Island in the Eastern Division.

Each of these stations had associated with it a number of other employees designated 'acting policemen, extra constables, special constables' who could be called on to act as policemen in times of emergency.²⁴ In between times they acted as boat boys, warders and general assistants around the station. Samarai, however, in contradistinction to the other stations depended almost exclusively on these locally recruited unofficial policemen.²⁵

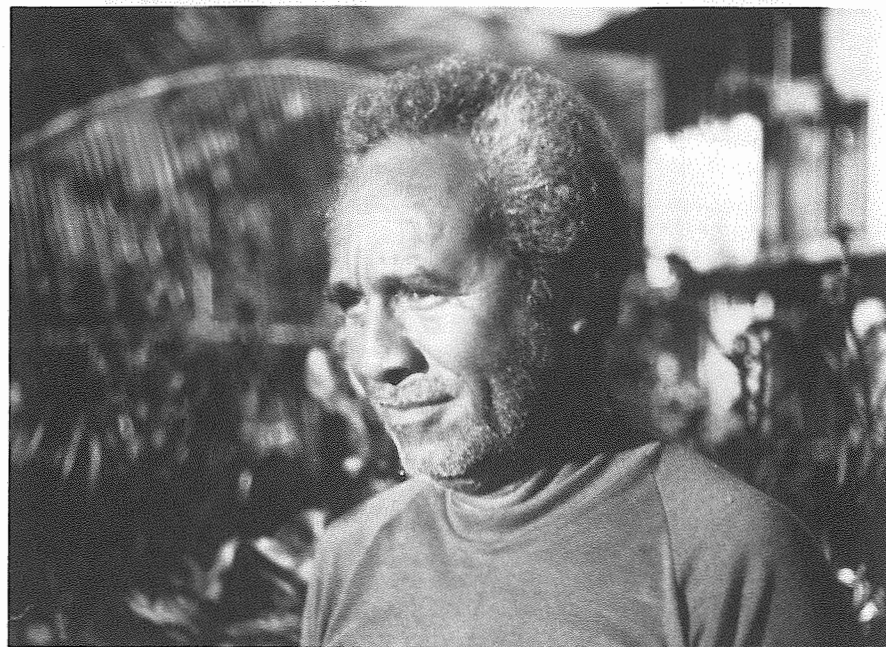
During MacGregor's ten years as Governor of British New Guinea the Armed Native Constabulary was expanded from the original nucleus of fourteen imported foreigners²⁶ to an all-Papuan one of 110 non-commissioned officers and constables — see Appendix E. This expansion continued under subsequent administrators and kept pace 'with the extension of the influence and authority of the Government over new districts' (Barton, *AR*, 1899/1900: 87), so that by the time that Sir Hubert Murray took over as Acting Administrator of the Territory of Papua in 1907 there were 185 Papuans in the force, distributed over seven Divisions (*AR*, 1906/7: 100).



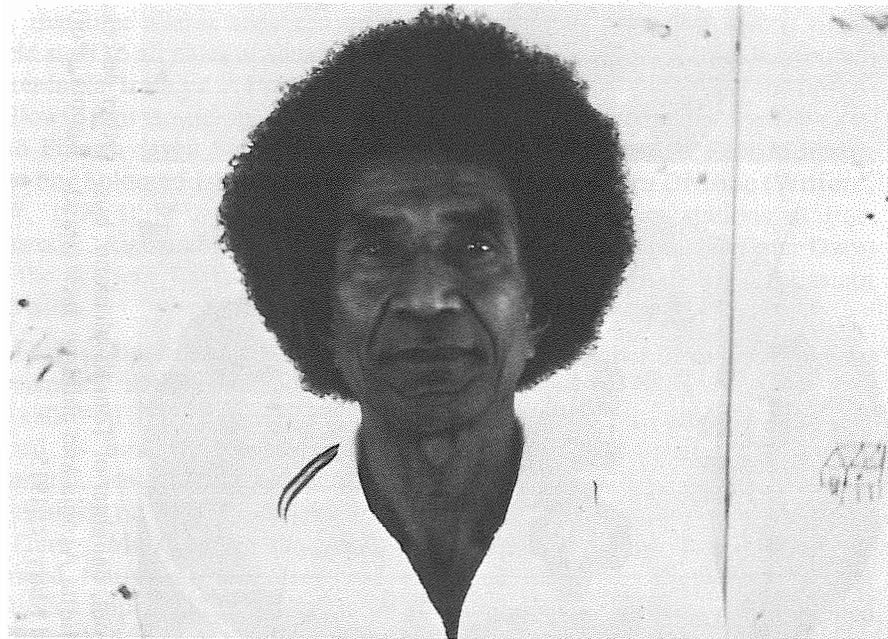
Other descendants of Tom Kwalemanu [L-R: Raymond, Rhoda, Nigel, and Danziel Agonia, Port Moresby, 1984]

Ethel Tom, daughter of Tom Kwalemanu, husband Murua Agonia and children Jack (standing) and Mary, c. 1915

Plate 10: Some Descendants of some of Governor MacGregor's first Solomon Islander Policemen



Joe Davanicura, grandson of policeman Joe Davanigura

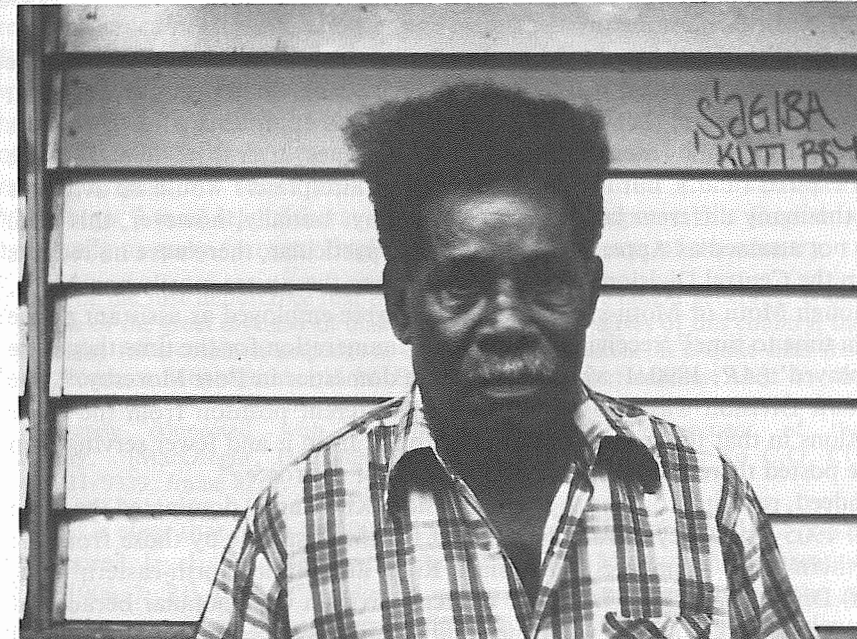


Joe Mararosa or Morea Frank, grandson of policeman Joe Mararosa

Plate 10 cont: Some Descendants of some of Governor MacGregor's First Solomon Islander Policemen



John Suria, grandson of policeman Frank Suria



Jimmy Kalagalas, grandson of policeman Jim Kalaguasu

Plate 10 cont: Some Descendants of some of Governor MacGregor's First Solomon Islander Policemen



Plate 11: A typical member of the Armed Native Constabulary formed by Governor MacGregor in 1890. Police Motu was so named because of its association with this force.

[J.G. Hides: *Savages in Serge*, 1938]

In recruiting men to the force the aim was to obtain them 'from all the districts' (*AR*, 1903/4: 13). This had a double benefit. It not only ensured that 'clear knowledge of the way of the Government [would] be carried to all parts of the Possession by men who return to their homes' after their time of service had expired (*ibid.*), but also that on-the-spot interpreters would be available for the many different languages in the colony. Initially, however, this ideal was not attained as Appendix E indicates. In particular, there were no recruits from the Central Division until 1892-3 and then these were mostly non-Motu, although Motu or Motu-speaking Papuans were employed as assistant police from time to time²⁷ 'receiving some small remuneration for the time they were employed' (*AR*, 1890/1: xix) and as house domestics in Port Moresby.²⁸ The Eastern Division was also in a somewhat different position from the other divisions in that fewer numbers were recruited from it and fewer serving men were posted there during the formative years of the force.²⁹

Indeed, recruits from the Western Division (Kiwai area) dominated the force until 1905 when they were outnumbered for the first time by those from the Northern (e.g., Mambare and Kumusi River areas) and North-eastern (e.g., Tufi) Divisions.³⁰ Those from the Western Division were popular because of their past association with white men and their ability to speak 'English',³¹ and although Barton noted (*AR*, 1899/1900: 103) that equally good men belonged to the Central and Eastern Divisions 'they were in most cases handicapped by not speaking English.' Initially too, and until the late 1890s, recruits to the force were largely obtained from amongst the ranks of prisoners. From then on they were increasingly obtained direct from the various tribes (Royal Commission, 1907: xi).

Finally, in conception and practice this official police force was more like a paramilitary force than a normal police force. The average constable was 'quite useless for the detection of crime' (Murray, 1907/8: 23) but was, like the British soldier of the time, 'looked on as a man who should do all the odd jobs' (Murray, *AR*, 1906/7: 100). Their duties ranged from acting as prison warders (during which time they often worked together with prisoners), to orderlies at Government House, to patrolling with European patrol officers of different sorts, and to carrying mails between Port Moresby and Kokoda. The policeman was an important link between the Government and the people and the force was highly respected and regarded as one of the most important educational institutions in the new colony.³² Because recruits were generally enlisted for only one year there was a constant turnover of men, ensuring that there was an ever-expanding pool of ex-policemen in the villages who knew what the Government was trying to do and who served as important contact men for the Government in those villages. Thus, for example, by the time MacGregor left the colony over 500 men had passed through the force,³³ and these were being spread over an ever-increasing area.

The way in which the Armed Native Constabulary was formed and developed has a number of implications for the history of Police Motu whose name is so closely associated with it. The most important of these are:

1) because the founding members of the Armed Native Constabulary were drawn from areas outside the Central Division of British New Guinea (notably from Fiji, the Solomon Islands, the Western and Eastern Divisions) and had not had contact with the Motu before coming to Port Moresby, they obviously did not know any Motu on arrival. Consequently, they must have been forced to communicate with one another and with their superiors in some form of English which the majority, if not everyone, knew, and this is presumably what MacGregor was referring to later (*AR*, 1892/3: xxviii; 1893/4: xxx) when he noted that right from the start 'English' was one of the 'ordinary languages of the force'. But it is clear from other sources that this 'English' was not regular English but some 'broken' or pidginized form of it.³⁴ Subsequently, MacGregor³⁵ (and later Murray) decided to try to improve this English and eventually to make 'proper' English the official language of the country:

'It is of the first importance that this language should be taught generally. If one thinks of the great diversity of dialects spoken by the natives of this country, the necessity for a common language at once becomes apparent. It is quite clear that the common language should be English. That is the language used by the constabulary, by boatmen, prisoners, etc. under Government control. It is intimately connected with the future industrial development of the colony.' [MacGregor, Despatch No. 13, 2nd February, 1897. To C.O. CO 422/11/9329, frame 82.]

But it is clear that, even by 1906/7, the English of the force had not reached the desired level, because Acting Administrator Murray then threatened (*AR*, 1906/7: 21) that 'a regulation will probably be made under the new constabulary ordinance making promotion and increase in pay dependent in part on a knowledge of English' in an attempt 'to facilitate the spread of the English language among the police'.

What MacGregor (and Murray later) apparently failed to realise, however, was that 'broken' English (and what later became known as Police Motu) were learned and used because they were easy to learn and filled an important social role. It was not, as Murray later claimed (1924: 10), just as easy for someone to

learn proper English as some form of 'broken' or pidgin English. As proof of this one has only to look at the way that Pidgin Englishes have spread in other parts of the South-west Pacific and how costly it has been to try to teach Papuans and New Guineans English over the past 30–40 years (Dutton, 1976). What emerges from this and is therefore interesting for having never been admitted in the discussion of the history of Police Motu before, is that 'Motu' was not the only language of the force. 'Broken' English was just as much one of its languages. Yet for certain social and historical reasons having to do with the administrative centre of British New Guinea being in the centre of a Motu-speaking area, Police Motu was emphasized as *the* language of the force. In fact, both languages were required as each was used in different parts of the country and a member of the force could be transferred from one part of the country to another on duty at any time. In the Port Moresby area little 'English' was known initially (as already indicated) and so one had to use 'Motu', and conversely, when one was in the Eastern or Western Divisions, 'English' was spoken. On the other hand, one could use 'English' in the Port Moresby area if one happened to meet someone who knew it and likewise (and increasingly) 'Motu' in the Eastern and Western Divisions. So the police were quite flexible and well adapted to the social scene — much more so, in fact, than their administrators were, and have generally been, ever since. But why did only Police Motu become associated with the force (as the name indicates) and what was this language like? To answer these questions let us return to the second main implication of the way the force was formed, mentioned above.

2) because the force was formed in the way it was and was housed and trained in the Port Moresby area, and because the language situation in that area was the way it was (viz. that Motu was the most widely known language³⁶ while at the same time very little 'English' was known), the police could not avoid learning some kind of Motu if they were to carry out their duties in the Port Moresby area. Thus, it will be remembered that the initial nucleus of the force consisted of the imported Fijian and Solomon Islanders and that Papuan members were only added 'gradually' (to use MacGregor's words). When these imported men arrived they would have immediately recognized a number of what would today be called *wantoks* in Papua New Guinea (or persons from the same area and/or cultural background)³⁷ amongst the foreigner population of Port Moresby. As these *wantoks* had been in Port Moresby for some time, could speak 'Motu' and were living in Motu villages, it is presumed they would have very soon introduced their newly arrived 'friends' into the Port Moresby scene, in particular to its local politics and the utility and necessity of knowing 'Motu' for survival purposes in the Port Moresby area. Even if this had not taken place, the new arrivals would surely have quickly come to the same conclusion themselves for they were very soon put to work after their arrival in the Rigo and Mekeo areas. Here they would have been working with Government officials and 'servants' some of whom were the *wantoks* already referred to and all of whom (e.g., the Hunter and Belford brothers, Jack Tanna, the Lifus, and others) spoke 'Motu'. Consequently, they would have been exposed to 'Motu' being put to use in the field. Presumably they would also have been told (even if they had not needed to know) that in the Port Moresby area 'Motu' was the most widespread language and that one had to be able to speak it if one wanted to communicate with the local people. At the same time, they were probably given some elementary advice about its nature and possibly how easy it was to learn. However, they would hardly have

needed much of that kind of instruction since all of these men spoke Austronesian languages which are related to Motu. Indeed, they would have easily recognized many of its basic words and structural elements as being similar to their own.³⁸ This can easily be seen by looking at Table 4-1 in which Motu and some of the most common words from those languages that are known or are suspected as having been spoken by various members of the force, are compared.³⁹ In this listing:

- a) a repeated letter means that the sound represented by the repeated letter is pronounced long;
- b) for the Kwara'ae list the written form is given. In some cases, this is different from the spoken form which has the sounds reversed or metathesised, e.g., the written form *lima* is pronounced *liam*;
- c) a blank means the item does not occur and a question mark means that the form is not known.

In short, these imported policemen are likely to have already picked up much of this language before their Papuan counterparts were gradually brought into the force. Certainly they are likely to have had very positive attitudes towards it. These attitudes and this knowledge would have presumably been transferred to each new group of recruits as they were brought in, via the common 'English' they knew, so establishing a tradition that 'Motu' was the language of the force, at least for work in the Port Moresby and neighbouring areas.

For similar reasons, the form of Motu adopted by these first police is likely to have been similar to that used by the Government officers, 'servants' and unofficial policemen with whom they worked or for whom they were arriving as replacements. This form of Motu was, as has been argued above in Chapter 3, some form of Simplified Motu. In any case, the formation of the police force was a new and important element in the development and spread of a language that was to become known as Police Motu. It provided a particular social environment in which men from different parts of the country, and overseas initially, were brought together to work. In this situation, which is akin to plantations elsewhere, some common language of communication was soon needed. Initially, for reasons already given, this language must have been 'broken' English. However, the use of 'broken' English in the Port Moresby area was limited by the fact that 'Motu' had become the established lingua franca there. Consequently, although 'broken' English never died out,⁴⁰ its use in the Central Division was more restricted than elsewhere. The fact that recruits were taken to Port Moresby for initial training⁴¹ before being distributed around the various Government stations meant that the language traditions, once established, were perpetuated and, moreover, that because, as MacGregor noted in his Annual Report for 1892/3 (p. xxviii), 'thirty or forty men leave the force each year for their own villages', Police Motu went with them to distant parts at a constant rate.

But the Armed Native Constabulary was not the only means by which Government influence and control over Papuans was achieved. Important ancillary systems were those of the village constables and the prisons.

4.3 The Village Constable System

Unlike other parts of the Pacific, few societies in British New Guinea had traditional chiefs who had absolute authority and could be regarded as responsible for their villages or tribes. There were hereditary heads of descent

groups and leaders of different kinds but these generally had limited authority and were not to be implicitly obeyed in all circumstances. Consequently as some individual was needed to represent the Government at village level, the Government was generally forced to appoint someone who did not have the powers of a traditional chief as the Government representative, and to invest him with certain powers (Murray, 1928). These appointees, whether traditional chiefs or not, were called village constables (VCs).⁴²

The Village Constable system was established legally by MacGregor in December 1892,⁴³ although the practice of appointing natives as 'chiefs' and Government representatives was not new, having been used in the Protectorate days.⁴⁴ There were already 'nearly a score' of them by the time his enabling legislation was gazetted.⁴⁵ By regulation, village constables were placed under the control of a European officer of some kind in charge of the district in which the constable lived and the constable was expected to assist him in every way possible in carrying out his duty and the wishes of the Government.⁴⁶ These constables were given the power of arrest and were expected to keep the peace in the villages under their control and to take offenders against the Native Regulations to their local supervisory European officer who was also the local magistrate.⁴⁷ They were appointed by these officers and could be dismissed by them for misconduct. Appointees could, moreover, hold down the position for as long as they wished or as long as they were acceptable to the people and the supervising European officer. Each constable was issued with an appropriate uniform and other badges of office and received small handouts of trade goods and money each year for their services. Naturally these constables were supposed to have some knowledge of what was meant by *gavamani* [Government] and of European ideas and ways in general, and furthermore, be able to communicate with those in authority. All of these requirements were generally obtained by appointees having been in prison for some time and/or in the Armed Native Constabulary.⁴⁸ Those who served in prison were usually those who were classified as 'murderers' by the pacifying power although this carried no stigma for the convict in his own area upon release from gaol. Indeed, it was often the means of promotion to a higher status.

As was normally the case, however, these 'murderers' were usually leaders of one sort or another and so were usually the most intelligent, courageous and dominant men in their societies, a fact which worked to the advantage of the Government. Similarly, those who enlisted in the Armed Native Constabulary in the early years were probably men of distinction or men who had shown some extra initiative by being amongst the first to enlist to go away to work before the establishment of that force.⁴⁹ In prison and in the constabulary they learned about discipline and Government power and authority, as well as the languages used by them, notably Police Motu and 'English'. Consequently, when they returned home many of them were well qualified for the new role being thrust upon them and would be endowed with new power and prestige occasioned by the new knowledge acquired away from home as well as by their connection with those in power.

As time went on the number of village constables expanded from 'nearly a score' at the time MacGregor introduced his enabling ordinance in 1892 to over 400 by the time Murray became Lieutenant Governor in 1906/7 and covered seven Divisions — see Appendices F and K. Because village constables were only appointed in villages under Government control the spread of the



Plate 12: Village Constables, Maopa. The village constable system was introduced by Governor MacGregor and was a very important part of his method of keeping and extending law and order.

[CA Negative 1/M4]

Village Constable system gives a rough and ready indication of the spread of Government influence and therefore of the spread of its administrative languages, Police Motu and 'English'. However, because it was left very much to the individual officers how much use they made of their village constables, the numbers do not necessarily accurately reflect the extent of control in each area.⁵⁰ For example, by 1900 the Resident Magistrate in the Western Division was complaining that there were 'two constables and a chief in each village receiving pay and uniforms' when he thought one of each was sufficient.⁵¹ But on the whole the system worked well⁵² provided it was well supervised by the individual European officer⁵³ and was continued by Murray and succeeding administrations.⁵⁴ It eventually achieved MacGregor's early hopes that it would 'form a network over the entire colony' (1893/4: xxx). MacGregor himself thought that it was one of the best institutions that he left behind him in British New Guinea.⁵⁵

English	Motu	Fijian		Solomon Islands Languages		
		Bau	Kadavu	Lau	Kwara'ae	Kwai Is.
belly	boga	kete	kete	oga	sira	oga
big	bada	levu	levu	baita	doe	baita
bird	manu	manumanu	manumanu	manu	hai'no'	no
bone	turia	sui	tua	sili	sulia	suli
butterfly	bebe	beebee	bebe	bebe	beb	bebe
come	mai	lako mai	lako mai	mai	mai'	mai
crocodile	hualā			fuasa	huar	kwasa
die	mase	mate	mate	mae	mae	mae
eye	mata	mata	mata	maa	maa	maa
far	daudau	yawa	yawa	tau	tau	tau
five	ima	lima	lima	lima	lima	nima
fly (v.)	roho	vuka	vuka	lofo	loh	lofo
foot	ae	yava	laga	'ae	a'e	'ae
go	lao, laka	lako	lako	lea	leka	leka
he	ia	koya	kia	nia	nia	nia
his	-na	-na	-na	-na	-n(a)	?
hornbill	bina			bina	bina	bina
house	ruma	vale	vale	luma	lum	luma
I	lau	yau	yau	nau	naua	nau
in	lalonai	e lomani	i lomani	lalo	sae	laona
life	mauri	bula	bula	mouri	maori	mauo
lobster	ura	urau	urau	ura	deng	uragou
louse	tumu	kutu	kutu	'uu	'uu	'uu
mother	sina	tina	tina	tee	tea'	tee
mountain	oro	ulu-ni-vanua	ulu-ni-vanua	toto	tol	tololoa
my	-gu	-qu	-qu	-gu	-ku	?
name	lada	yaca	ila	sata	sata	rata
not	lasi	sega	mino	langi	moau(?)	amoe
paddle	hode	voce	voce	fote	fote	fotee
pig	boroma	vuaka	voree	boso	?	boo
road	dala	sala	saa levu	tala	tal	tala
salt, sea	tasi	maasima	maasima	asi	asi	asi
sand, beach	kone	nuku	nuku	one	one	one
sugarcane	tohu	dovu	tovu	ofu	uuh	ofu
taro	taro	dalo	suli	alo	alo	alo
tongue	mala	yame	yame	mea	mea	mea
two	rua	rua	rua	rua	rua	rua
what	dahaka	cava	yava	ta	tae	taa
who	daika	cei	yava	tei	tei	tai
wing	ape	taba	taba	'aba	'aba'aba	?
your (sg.)	-mu	-mu	-mu	-mu	-mu	?

Table 4-1: Motu, Fijian and some Solomon Islands Languages Compared

4.4 The Prison System

The third member of the integrated set of law and order enforcement agencies which contributed to the spread of Police Motu was the prison system. Right from the beginning of European Government in British New Guinea some sort of prison system was required for detaining people regarded as dangerous to society and/or themselves. The first prisons to be erected were at Port Moresby (1886) and at Samarai (1890) (*AR*, 1891/2: xxix). The chief prison was at Port Moresby (*AR*, 1891/2: xxix), although this was still very small by any standard, consisting as it did of only two cells, each 10 feet by 10

feet (*AR*, 1886: 22). However, because of the limited police powers of the Deputy Commissioners of the Protectorate, the numbers of prisoners actually detained in Port Moresby were few and kept to a minimum as the size of the gaol indicates. After MacGregor arrived, however, with legal powers to make laws, and with a police force to enforce them, more gaols were needed and they became a central part of every Government station from then on.

MacGregor's first prison ordinance (No. V of 1889) defined prisons, penal districts, duties of prison officers, classifications of prisoners, treatment of prisoners and punishments for prison offences. Subsequent amendments to this ordinance made adjustments to these definitions in response to increased experience of local conditions.⁵⁶ But MacGregor's ideas about prisons were based on his experience in Fiji. He saw prisons as educational institutions⁵⁷ in which prisoners were treated humanely⁵⁸ and learned something about Europeans and their ways and a respect for Government authority (*AR*, 1894/5: 25) rather than as straight punishment centres. 'Education' was achieved mainly through physical labour but prisoners were also encouraged to conform by using a positive system of rewards⁵⁹ rather than by subduing them with flogging and harsh treatment.⁶⁰ Indeed, the system was such that it was run 'as an industrial reformatory rather than a house of correction' and the treatment prisoners received was 'not unlike that which Polynesian labourers on a well-ordered plantation receive' (*AR*, 1894/5: 28). And although the system had its teething problems,⁶¹ it worked well and remained basically unchanged until Papua was united with the Territory of New Guinea as an independent country in 1975.

In practice, each Government station had its own gaol under the control of the Resident Magistrate (who was at once the judge, jury and prosecutor) and the whole system was under the control of a Head Gaoler in Port Moresby who was appointed to oversee the system and report directly to the Governor. In the early days of administration the Head Gaoler and his warders were drawn from the pool of local Europeans and expatriate foreigners in Port Moresby who had had some previous experience in the country and could communicate with Papuans — see Appendix G.⁶² These early gaolers and their support staff had close contact with and personal respect for prisoners, spoke Motu and English of different kinds, and were largely responsible for setting a pattern in the treatment and induction of prisoners that lasted a long time.

At a lower level again, well-behaved and intelligent prisoners were chosen from amongst the ranks of the inmates to act as warders amongst their own kind. These 'acted as gangers, and were allowed certain privileges to raise their position among the prisoners' (*AR*, 1893/4: 70).⁶³



Plate 13: Some Early Prison Warders, Port Moresby

[CA Negative 1/66]

But besides being a place to restrain convicts prisons provided the Government with a very useful pool of labour. Prisoners spent their days 'breaking stones' for road making, preparing building sites, renewing fences, building boat houses and jetties, discharging Government cargo from vessels, filling in the swamp at Samarai (*AR*, 1892/3: xxix; 1893/4: 58), working on Government plantations at Tauko or Daugo (Fisherman's Island) (*AR*, 1889/90: 103; 1894/5: 25) and at Rigo (*AR*, 1891/2: xxviii) or on whatever else needed doing around Government stations (Humphries, 1923: 30). Some, as already noted, also acted as warders of fellow prisoners, and sometimes they were conscripted, or asked to volunteer, to act as special constables and/or as carriers on Government patrols.⁶⁴ In these activities overseers, whether foreigner or native, often worked together with them.⁶⁵ Prisoners worked long hours. They began at 7 a.m. and worked through until 5 p.m. every day with one hour off for lunch at noon, except on Saturday afternoon when they were expected to do washing and other things for themselves, and on Sundays when they attended religious services at the gaols.⁶⁶ These services were given by a member of the local mission, which was the LMS in the early days. On these occasions, 'all warders and prisoners' were obliged to attend and the service, when taken by the LMS, 'was preached in the Motuan language' (*AR*, 1906/7: 113). For those who did not yet know Motu the contents of the service were explained to them by the old hands in whatever language they knew. Prayers were also said by warders at the outside camps before going to sleep at night (*ibid.*).



Plate 14: Papuan prisoners at work hauling piles for building, Port Moresby, c.1900

[CA Negative 1/42]

There was no systematic education, although in the early days there was 'school for about half an hour in the middle of the day in the Port Moresby gaol' (*AR*, 1890/1: xxiii). Later, the absence of a systematic education programme for prisoners was regretted (*AR*, 1897/8: xxviii), but there were neither funds nor time for it (*ibid.*; Musgrave's evidence to the Royal Commission, 1907, p. 8, para. 184). Right from the start, however, the languages of the prison were 'English' and 'Motu' although the amount of each used and heard must have varied according to three factors:

- a) location: more 'English' was used in the Eastern and Western Divisions initially and more 'Motu' in the Central District;
- b) personnel: early overseers and warders in Port Moresby knew both 'Motu' and 'English' but only 'English' in the Eastern and Western Divisions;
- c) time: in the beginning reports mention both 'Motu' and 'English' as languages of the prisons and in Port Moresby particularly, it was the practice to teach all new prisoners 'Motu' by placing them 'both at work and in the cell, with prisoners who use that dialect, and thus they soon pick it up' (*AR*, 1894/5: 28). In general, all prisoners who served a few months in Port Moresby spoke 'Motuan more or less' (*ibid.*). On the other hand, towards the end of the 1890s more emphasis was placed on the use of 'English' as it was in the Armed Native Constabulary, as already mentioned, but 'Motu' remained the important first language of prisoners. These points are illustrated by comments such as the following:

AR, 1896/7: xxv: 'Mr Meredith, head gaoler and overseer of works died ... on Sudest, where he was stationed on duty in charge of a body of some 50 prisoners at work in connection with a gold mining company ... Mr Meredith ... by the use of the English language he imparted to the prisoners a useful and valuable education.'

AR, 1897/8: xxvii: At Port Moresby prisoners 'are taught cleanliness, and learn to speak more or less English ... The prison language is English but of course interpretation is very frequently required, almost always with new prisoners.'

AR, 1897/8: 107 [Concerning two Mambare prisoners at Rigo]: 'They have learnt to talk a little English and the Motu language.'

ibid.:115: 'All orders are given in English, and afterwards explained in any other dialect necessary. I also strongly urge that nothing but the English language should be spoken, amongst all warders, armed guards, and prisoners' warders. Most of the older convicts understand all that is said to them in English, and many speak it very well.'

AR, 1905/6: 83: 'All orders are given in English, and, if necessary, afterwards explained in Motu or whatever dialect is necessary. I impress upon all warders and old convicts to use the English language as much as possible. Convicts that have served a few years in the Port Moresby gaol can all speak the English language. New arrivals, after they have settled down, try and pick up Motuan first, and gradually pick up a little English.'

1907 (Royal Commission, 1907, Musgrave's evidence): [Concerning no systematic attempt to teach English in prisons]: 'They learn Motu, which is spoken in the gaol.'

There are, however, two other important facts about the prison system which had an important bearing on the spread of 'Motu' rather than 'English'. The first has to do with the movement of prisoners between different gaols, for without such movement there would have been little opportunity for prisoners in gaols other than those in Port Moresby to hear and learn 'Motu'. But right from the start, MacGregor adopted a policy of removing long term and certain other prisoners from their home areas⁶⁷ to prevent their escape.⁶⁸ Although it is not possible to give complete statistics on how many transferees were involved and from which areas they came, the available statistics — see Appendices H and I — show that there was considerable movement, although not so much out of the Eastern Division into the Central Division (AR, 1899/1900: 105). Consequently, there was a correspondingly considerable opportunity for the spread of 'Motu' as the prison language.

The second remaining factor is that the prison system was a major source of recruitment for the Armed Native Constabulary and Village Constable systems.⁶⁹ Consequently, many policemen and village constables learned their 'Motu' in prison and took it back to their villages with them when they left prison or when they left the police force if they had joined it after leaving prison.

4.5 Conclusion

By the time MacGregor's period of Governorship came to an end in 1898, there had been significant developments administratively and socially which had their effects on the linguistic situation. At first, MacGregor, like his predecessors in the Protectorate, had to rely on the mission and a number of locally appointed 'servants' to maintain some sort of law and order. However, after 1890, Government influence and control rapidly outstripped mission influence and became the controlling factor in linguistic developments. This put the finishing touches to the changing power structure of the Motu and clearly established a social situation in which the white Governor and his police were at the top. This in turn guaranteed that any language or languages that the Government used would become associated with power and would spread with Government influence, indeed, would be a patent indicator of that influence.

By this time 'Motu' had become *the* unofficial language of administration. This was the 'Motu' that subsequently became known as Police Motu (and now Hiri Motu) because of its association with the police, although the term is not used officially until well into the twentieth century⁷⁰ and despite the fact that it was just as much part of the prison and Village Constable systems as of the Armed Native Constabulary.⁷¹ In all probability this language did not have a name for many years simply being referred to as 'Motu' or perhaps 'pidgin Motu' or 'broken Motu' following Lawes' early designation of it and following English descriptive tradition of the time. Certainly, 'Motu' was how it was referred to in official publications until 1904 when Barton (AR, 1903/4: 16) noted that the Motu of the police force had 'degenerated into a kind of 'pidgin Motu' and Murray (AR, 1906/7: 21) complained that it was 'a kind of dog Motu — hardly intelligible to those who speak Motu as their native language.'

Although there are no actual data available on the point from the period to indicate what Barton and Murray were referring to here exactly, presumably what they were referring to was the fact that this 'Motu' had lost its former 'colloquial' character that Lawes had referred to (if the claim made above about Simplified Motu becoming Police Motu is true) and had acquired new features which made it sound much less like 'true' Motu and more like some foreign language. What these new features were and when they were acquired exactly is unknown, but presumably they included some, if not all, of those that distinguish the Simplified Motu taught to Lawes from the present-day form of Police Motu (depending on just what Simplified Motu looked like when the Police Force was formed). Thus, for example, some or all of the following changes were probably involved (based on the grammatical description given in Chapter 1):

1. a 'new' verb 'to have' had been developed that was more like that used in Hiri Motu today than that used in Simplified Motu, which, in turn, was like the 'true' Motu form (point 2);
2. the generalized postposition *dekenai* had been introduced (point 8);
3. the adverb *dohore* 'later' had been generalized to indicate the future tense (point 13);
4. the adverb *vadaeni* 'enough, that's all' had been generalized to indicate completive aspect (point 14);
5. sentence structure had been changed and made more dependent on a wider range of connectives such as *neganai*, *ela bona*, *bena*, for example (points 17 and 18).

But these presumed changes were probably not all, as they would probably not have been sufficient to make the language all that much different from the Simplified Motu that Barton and others were perhaps used to. Given, however, that the Armed Native Constabulary consisted of men who came from outside the Port Moresby area and who spoke languages unrelated to Motu and different from it, and often from each other, in structure, it is highly likely that other changes were involved. In particular, it is highly likely that the language varied in pronunciation, structure and vocabulary from area to area according to the background languages, or mother tongues, of the speakers. Indeed, this would appear to be supported by the comments of Maynard Lock (Lock, n.d.), the son of a Seventh-Day Adventist missionary who had grown up in Papua speaking Motu, who, as late as 1943, said that Police Motu was characterized by features such as the following:

1. 'there are very few rules' (p. 1);
2. 'each [policeman] picked up more Motu words and added them to the Bastard [sic] language' (p. 1);
3. 'nearly all different Tribes [sic] have their own formation of the Police Motu sentences' (p. 3).

In other words, while Police Motu probably consisted of a certain set core of rules and vocabulary based on Motu, there was no overall well-defined standard form.⁷² That is, the picture was very much like it is today with variation within two broad dialects, except that because the language had not yet been written down and given some recognized standard form there was probably greater variation in content and structure than is generally recognized today. Even so, by the time Barton and Murray were making their derogatory remarks about it, the language had become so firmly entrenched that learning it was an acknowledged part of life for those joining the Government Service in British New Guinea as 'outside men' (e.g., as Resident Magistrates or Patrol Officers). This attitude is expressed in several sources in the early 1900s (Barton, *AR*, 1905/6: 20; Monckton, *AR*, 1905/6: 37; Hunt, 1905: 26), but none better than in the Report of the Royal Commissioners (Royal Commission, 1907: xxxvii) where it is stated that:

'Motuan ... has practically been consituted the official language, and Your Commissioners understand that Government Officials are supposed to be proficient in its use'

— an opinion supported by Monckton (1921: vii–viii) who noted that 'the old style of New Guinea officer spoke Motuan to his men'.⁷³ This was a tradition that was established with the appointment of such early Government Agents, Resident Magistrates and 'servants' as F. E. Lawes, A. C. English, the Hunter brothers, Belford brothers and others, and a tradition that lasted right through until after the Second World War when Papua was united with the Territory of New Guinea to form Papua New Guinea.⁷⁴

But Police Motu was not the sole language of administration even though it came to be recognized as *the* unofficial one. English was the official language and 'broken' English was used for a long time as a second unofficial language as circumstances required. This language must have been (for reasons already outlined) the first language of MacGregor's first official police force in 1890 but was never recognized as a separate language with its own identity and value.⁷⁵ Instead, as the title 'broken' English indicates, it was simply regarded as just a bad form of English which could be 'improved' as MacGregor, and later Murray set about trying to do.

Both these unofficial languages (Police Motu and 'English') spread with expanding contact with Europeans but in different ways and at different times. Initially, as we shall see shortly, 'English' was the language of commerce and was introduced into those areas contacted by foreigners in the fishing and mining industries before the establishment of law and order under MacGregor and ahead of Government contact. 'Motu' was the language of the Government. It was the language of the Central Division where the headquarters of the Government was, and it spread out from there to other Government stations. It was a later-comer and was only spread directly into those areas not previously 'sullied' by commercial contact (excluding those areas in the Central Division where it was already known through mission contact and trade with the Motu). In other areas, it was introduced initially by returning policemen and prisoners. There it came into contact and competition

with the previously existing 'English'. From then on the history of the language becomes one of increasing competition with 'English' until the Second World War interrupted developments. Thereafter, Police Motu is recognized as the one and only unofficial language of administration. How and why this came about is the subject of the remaining chapters in this volume.

Chapter 5

ECONOMIC AND OTHER DEVELOPMENT: CONSOLIDATION AND COMPLICATION

5.1 Introduction

Following MacGregor's departure from British New Guinea in 1898, the Government of the colony went through a period of instability and change¹ during which time the efficiency of the Government was seriously affected just as responsibility for the colony was being transferred to Australia as the Territory of Papua in 1906. As a result, a Royal Commission of Inquiry was set up to inquire into the problems and efficiency of the administration and to make recommendations for the country's future development. The report of the commission was published in 1907 (Royal Commission, 1907) and, as a result, J. H. P. Murray (later Sir Hubert Murray) was appointed Acting Administrator (West, 1968). This was a significant appointment from the point of view of the history of Papua and of Police Motu as Murray was subsequently appointed Administrator and remained to spend the remaining thirty-two years of his life in Papua as Lieutenant Governor. During this time he was able to put into effect some of the recommendations of the Commissioners of 1907 and to have an important personal influence on all aspects of development, three of which had particular effects upon linguistic developments until the 1940s. These were Government administration, economic development, and language policy and education.

5.2 Administration

When MacGregor left British New Guinea in 1898, considerably more was known about the country than when he had arrived ten years earlier, largely owing to his own energetic exploration. Most coastal areas, except for the more distant parts of the Gulf of Papua were under control, and law and order had been extended to some inland areas of the Central Division. However, as MacGregor himself admitted in his tenth and final annual report, his main concern had been to explore and to establish 'some degree of supremacy' over the areas contacted as a necessary prerequisite for development of the colony as a colony (AR, 1896/7: xliii). In doing this he had built up an administrative structure based on himself doing most of the exploratory work but with the Resident Magistrates and Government Agents, supported by Armed Native Constabulary and village constables, manning Government posts to maintain law and order in those areas that had been brought under control.



Plate 15: Port Moresby town c.1900

[CA Negative 1/24]

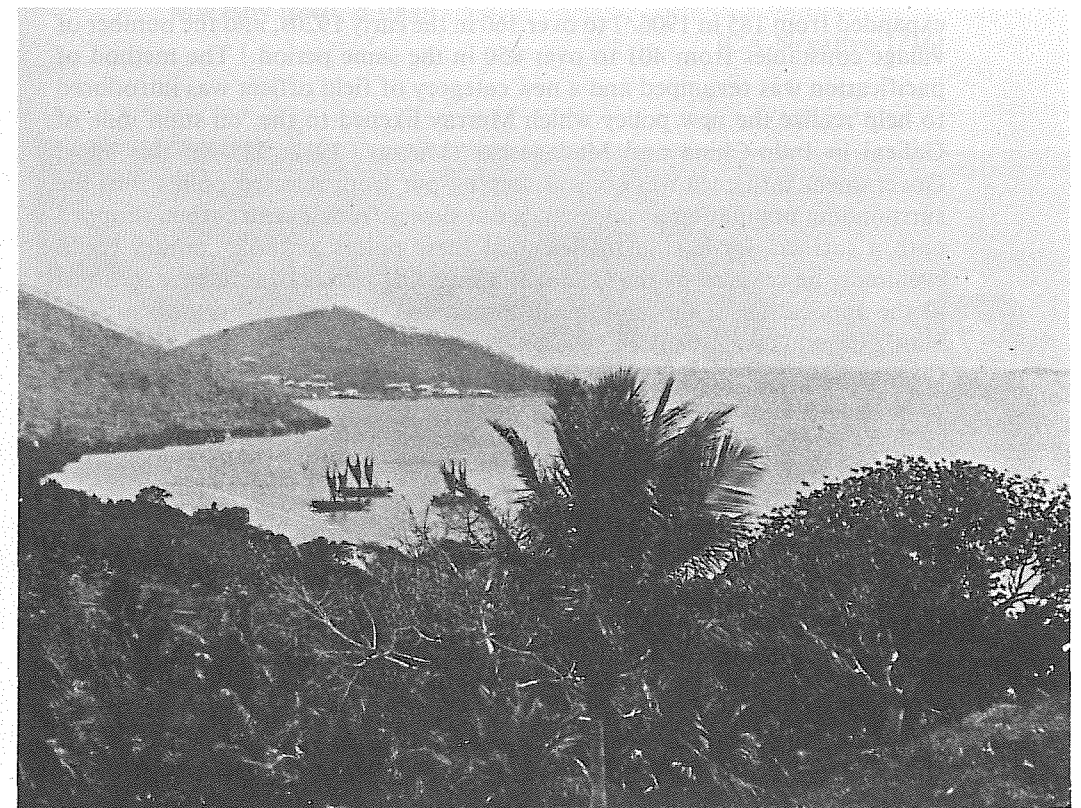


Plate 16: Port Moresby from Government House c.1900, showing the Government Offices in the distance and Motu *lagatoi* in the harbour
[C. A. W. Monckton: *Some Experiences of a New Guinea Magistrate*, 1921]

This approach to administration was continued through the interregnum period between MacGregor's going and Murray's coming, though the momentum of expansion was slowed by the internal difficulties that developed in the administration in the early years of the twentieth century. When the Royal Commission presented its report in 1907 it made a number of recommendations aimed at improving administration without making any great changes in policy. In particular, and amongst other things, it recommended that:

1. the number of Armed Native Constabulary be increased (Royal Commission, 1907: cvii);
2. the village constable system be expanded but with more attention given to the quality of appointments (ibid.: xli);
3. 'a properly organized system of patrols commanded by white non-commissioned officers should be established' so that 'a far larger area of country can be pacified and kept under observation than by the present system of waiting until a district has got out of hand and then sending up a patrol to quieten it' (ibid.: xli);
4. appointment procedures and conditions be improved to raise the quality of officers enlisted into the Public Service (ibid.: cvii), but especially Resident Magistrates and their assistants (ibid.: xl).²

In the years that followed, Murray carried out these recommendations in his own time and style. The Armed Native Constabulary was gradually expanded from 185 in 1906/7 to over 360 in the early 1920s, and the number of village constables from 401 to over 850 in the same period.³ The method of pacification was revamped and a new category of field officer was introduced to help realize the new policy which Murray likened to the 'oil stain' one of Galieni in Indo-China and Madagascar (Murray, 1932: 11). In this view, Government influence was seen as seeping out from selected points into the surrounding population as oil spreads out slowly from a centre when dropped onto a surface. By having sufficient of these points a whole country could eventually be covered by the gradually expanding circles of influence. Central to the application of this concept in Papua was the new category of 'outside man', called Patrol Officer, whose duties had been implied in the Royal Commission recommendations. Unlike Resident Magistrates, whose duties were divided between magisterial and pacification ones, the new Patrol Officers were expected to spend the greater part of their time on pacification duties, to whit, on patrol with a number of Armed Native Constables going from village to village visiting populations previously contacted and contacting new populations. Murray set great store by these men and their task and personally chose and supervised them showing 'a preference for the sons of pioneers of Papua when making appointments to the Service' (Sinclair, 1969: 18).

Looking back after the first ten years of his administration, Murray was gratified by what he saw. 'Thanks to the untiring energy of magistrates and patrol officers', he wrote in his Annual Report for 1916/17 (p. 7), 'more has been done to extend Government influence in the last five years than in any similar period before'. At that time:

'Practically the whole of the Mambare, Kumusi, North-Eastern, East, South-Eastern and Central Divisions have been mapped out, as well as nearly all the Gulf and much of the Delta and Western Divisions, especially between the Fly and the Dutch boundary; and nearly all of the country that has been mapped out has been brought under control.' (ibid.)

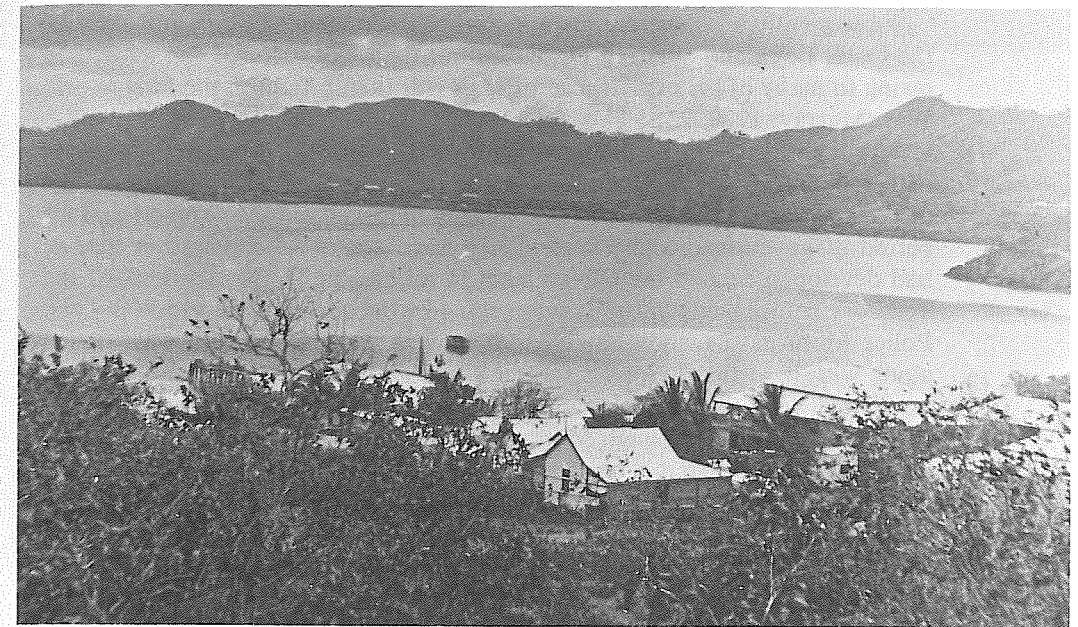


Plate 17: Looking across Port Moresby towards the LMS Station (centre) and Government House (on the extreme right hand side) from Port Moresby town, c.1900)

[CA Negative 1/16]



Plate 18: Patrol Officer Jack Hides with some of his police. Patrol Officers and their police were one of the main agents in the spread of Police Motu

[J. G. Hides: *Through Wildest Papua*, 1935]

Subsequently a lot more was done, especially in opening up inland areas of the Gulf, Delta and Western Divisions, but the work suffered for some time owing to many of his experienced officers enlisting to fight in the First World War (Murray, 1920: 23).⁴

Although Murray's methods were not new in theory, he carried them out with a characteristic vigour and saw the application of them as one of the distinctive characteristics of his government.⁵ Throughout the remainder of his period of governorship and beyond, the approach to administration that he had developed carried the Government to all but the farthest corners of the Territory before being abruptly interrupted by the advent of World War Two. Police Motu as the main language of Government in the field was carried along with it so that it spread farther afield and became even more strongly associated with the administration of Papua than before Murray's arrival (Murray, 1939: 9). Although Murray did not like the language himself, never learned it⁶ — he called it 'a bastard jargon, almost as bad as "pidgin English"' (Murray, 1930: iv) — and hoped that it would die out in time (op. cit.), he nevertheless did admit that it was useful (op. cit.; 1925: 35; 1930: 6). His attitude to the language was typical of the prevailing attitude of the time to pidgin-type languages — few took them seriously as languages in their own right — although it must have been more than usually coloured by his own background: he was, after all, a lawyer and a classical scholar (West, 1968) who entertained himself in Port Moresby reading nothing less than original works in Greek and Latin.⁷ 'Bastard' languages could hardly be compared with their 'purer' or classical forms, and so could not have been expected to warrant any serious attention from him. His attitude was presumably important, nevertheless, in reinforcing his English-only policy, and it can reasonably be expected to have been communicated to his staff, although it does not seem to have been expressed anywhere by him in the above terms. We return to this briefly in Section 5.5 below.

5.3 Economic Development

When Murray took over the reins of Government officially in 1909 Papua depended almost exclusively on two main industries for its export earnings — the marine industries of beche-de-mer fishing and pearl shelling, and of gold mining. There was virtually no agricultural development at that time. A major reason for this situation was that the former two industries developed of their own accord ahead of Government control and more or less independent of it (except for labour controls introduced by the Government once it became formally established in 1888 — see below). Agricultural development on the other hand necessarily depended on a suitable labour supply. This latter in turn depended upon a number of factors, not least of which were:

1. the Government's attitude to development;
2. its willingness to let Papuans work, and in what numbers, from which regions, and where;
3. its ability to guarantee the security of any enterprise;
4. the Government's willingness and ability to obtain land from the local population for leasing and sale.

MacGregor appreciated these facts and while he did not actively resist agricultural development⁸ he put most of his energies into what he saw as the necessary prerequisite to that, viz., exploration and getting to know 'the

physical nature and capabilities of the country' (AR, 1896/7: xliii). When he retired he admitted this bias while at the same time pointing out that the time had come

'when agricultural development should be pushed in the Possession with as much perseverance as has been employed in forcing peace on the different hostile tribes to prepare for it. Opinions may very well differ as to how this is best to be done, but there cannot be any doubt that this industrial development through agriculture is now a pressing necessity, if British New Guinea is to be made a colony in anything save the name.' (op. cit.)

Even so it was not until the colony was transferred to Australia as the Territory of Papua in 1906 and a new, most liberal land ordinance — 'probably the most liberal in any tropical country' (AR, 1906/7: 68) — was introduced that there was any sign of the kind of development that MacGregor had hoped for.⁹ Then there was a minor land boom (AR, 1906/7: 19) and an unprecedented expansion in plantation development, such that while in 1907 there were fewer than 1500 acres under cultivation by 1914/15 this had jumped to 44,447 acres and by 1919/20 to 62,162. Copra and para rubber (as distinct from wild or India rubber) were, and still are, the major crops planted, although sisal hemp was important for a time.

But this development could not have taken place without the availability of cheap labour. For historical, political and social reasons labour could not be brought into the country from outside, so that Papuans were called on to supply this labour. Indeed, MacGregor saw this as a 'positive advantage in providing them with employment at home, and in helping to make them producers on their own account' (AR, 1896/7: xliii), while Murray later justified it as providing an important substitute for old, and by then, forbidden practices (such as head-hunting and warfare) (Murray, 1924b).

Papuans had, however, as we shall see in more detail in Subsections 5.3.1 and 5.3.4 below, been working for Europeans and other foreigners long before the colony was established as casual and illegally indentured labourers — indeed, fear of abuse of Papuan labour was one of the main reasons for establishing the colony in the first place — but their employment was severely restricted and controlled by regulation once MacGregor arrived in 1888, and until such time as MacGregor thought that the time was ripe for rationalizing the future needs and welfare of the population with economic development of the country. Then, and only then, were the regulations gradually adjusted to suit the new conditions (Baker, 1971).

In the very earliest days many had worked in the beche-de-mer and pearl shelling industries that had their headquarters in the Torres Straits, while others had been engaged in gold mining activities mainly in the eastern end of the country, and a few had helped in such minor industries as collecting timber, mostly sandalwood, natural history specimens and curios. But the distribution and nature of the major industries meant that not all Papuans were affected in the same way or in equal proportions over time. For historical, geographical, and environmental reasons, Papuans from the Western Division and Eastern Division were the first to become involved. They were employed as casual and indentured labourers (i.e., as labourers bound to work for a fixed time for certain specified wages and conditions) in beche-de-mer fishing and pearl shelling — those from the Western Division going to work in the Torres Straits nearby and those from the Eastern Division working in their own areas for foreigners who came into their area from the Torres

Straits. Later, the Eastern Division became the major source of supply for the gold-fields in its own division, and in the South-Eastern and North-Eastern/Northern Divisions, although Western Division men also went to the Northern Division gold-fields in reasonably large numbers after 1895. The Central and South-Eastern Divisions were much less important in supplying indentured labour to other areas. After 1905 plantations complicated the picture as most plantations were located in the Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions and labourers were brought in from other areas to work in these districts.

The linguistic picture of the spread of *lingue franche* can reasonably be expected to have reflected these movements. But as no two divisions or regions were affected in the same way it is necessary to consider each individually and in as much detail as the available statistics will allow. Moreover, because different languages are likely to have been transmitted by different groups of people it is important to consider not only the numbers who went away from a particular area to work (i.e., the out-migrants) but also those who came into that area to work (i.e., the in-migrants). In doing this in what follows the focus will be on the formative years up to the 1920s when the main patterns of development were established. The comments and statistics upon which this analysis is made are given in Appendix L and in Figures 5-1-5-4.

5.4 The Pattern of Labour Movements 1870-1920s

Taking each division or region in turn:

5.4.1 Western Division

The main movement of labourers out of the Western Division was into the Torres Straits to work in the fisheries industry there — see Map 7. This movement had begun before Governor MacGregor arrived in 1888 and had already made an impact on societies around the Kiwai area by then. Thus Hilman, the Police Magistrate from Thursday Island who was appointed to look after the western end of Papua during the later days of the Protectorate noted that 'nearly all the natives [of Mowatta, Kiwai] wear clothes ... [because] many of them are now willing workers in the beche-de-mer fisheries in the Torres Straits' (Hilman, AR, 1888: 18).

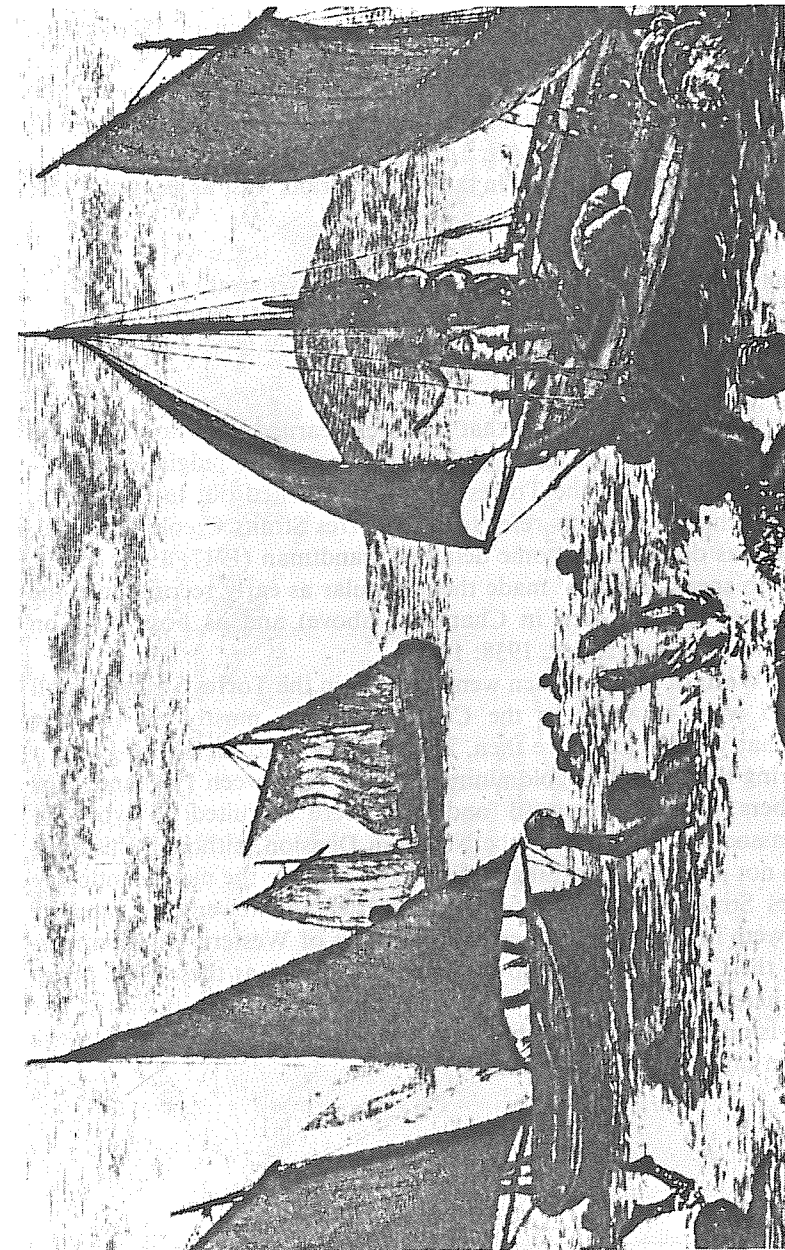


Plate 19: Black labourers working for European and other masters pearling in the Torres Straits. Many Papuans were recruited to work in this and other marine industries in the Torres Straits from the mid-1880s and learnt 'broken' English there

[*Australian Sketcher*, 15.4.1876, p. 13]

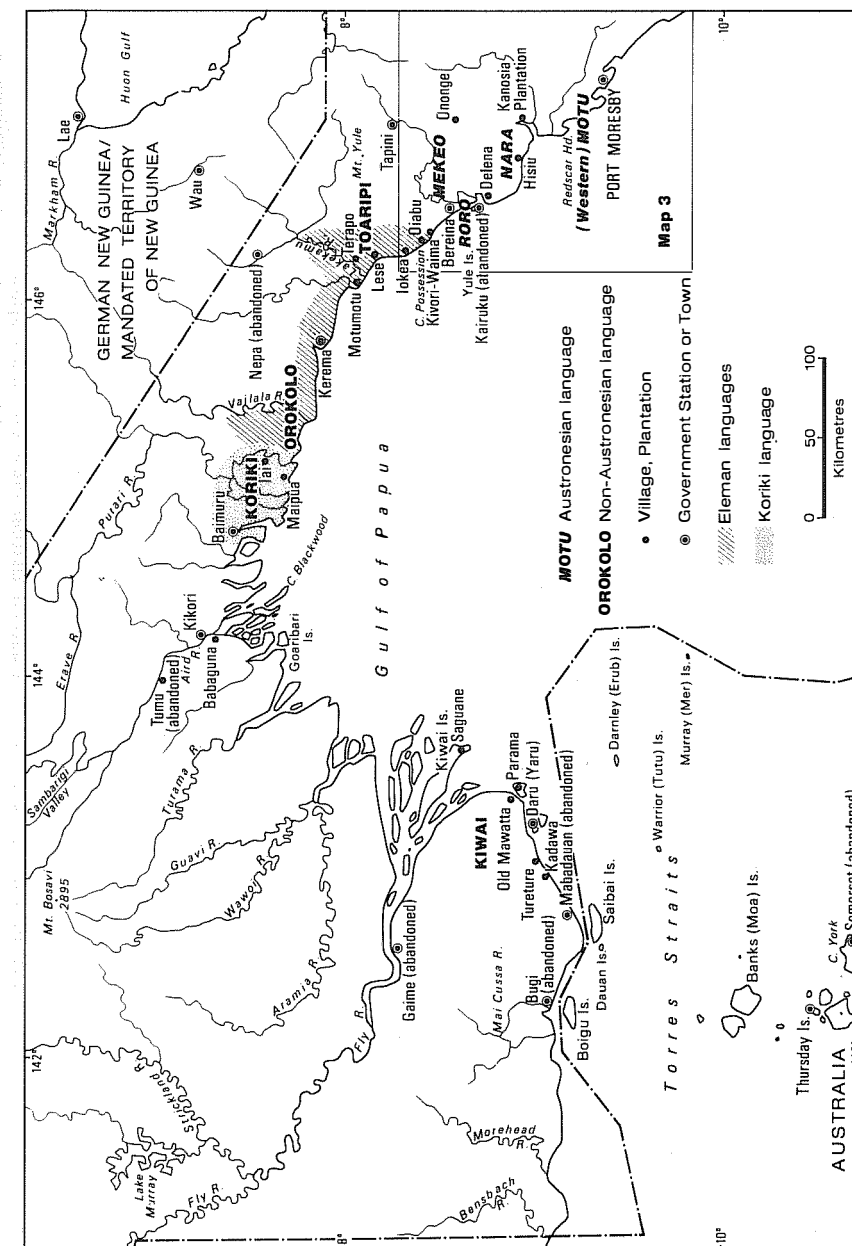
Although no figures are available of the numbers engaged to work in the Torres Straits until the mid-1890s when around 100 were doing so per year (AR, 1895/6; 1896/7), it is reasonable to assume that given that 102 boats were licenced in Daru in 1893/4 (AR, 1893/4: 53), similar numbers had been doing so since the late 1880s. These numbers increased to 203 (out of 552 engaged altogether in the Western Division) in 1900/1 and to 336 in 1905/6, and to a high of 512 in 1909/10. Thereafter they gradually decreased to around 100 towards the 1920s (AR, 1919/20: 80). From 1894 onwards the majority of these worked on Japanese boats (AR, 1894/5).

This yearly engagement in labour in the Torres Straits was, as Beaver (1920: 295) points out:

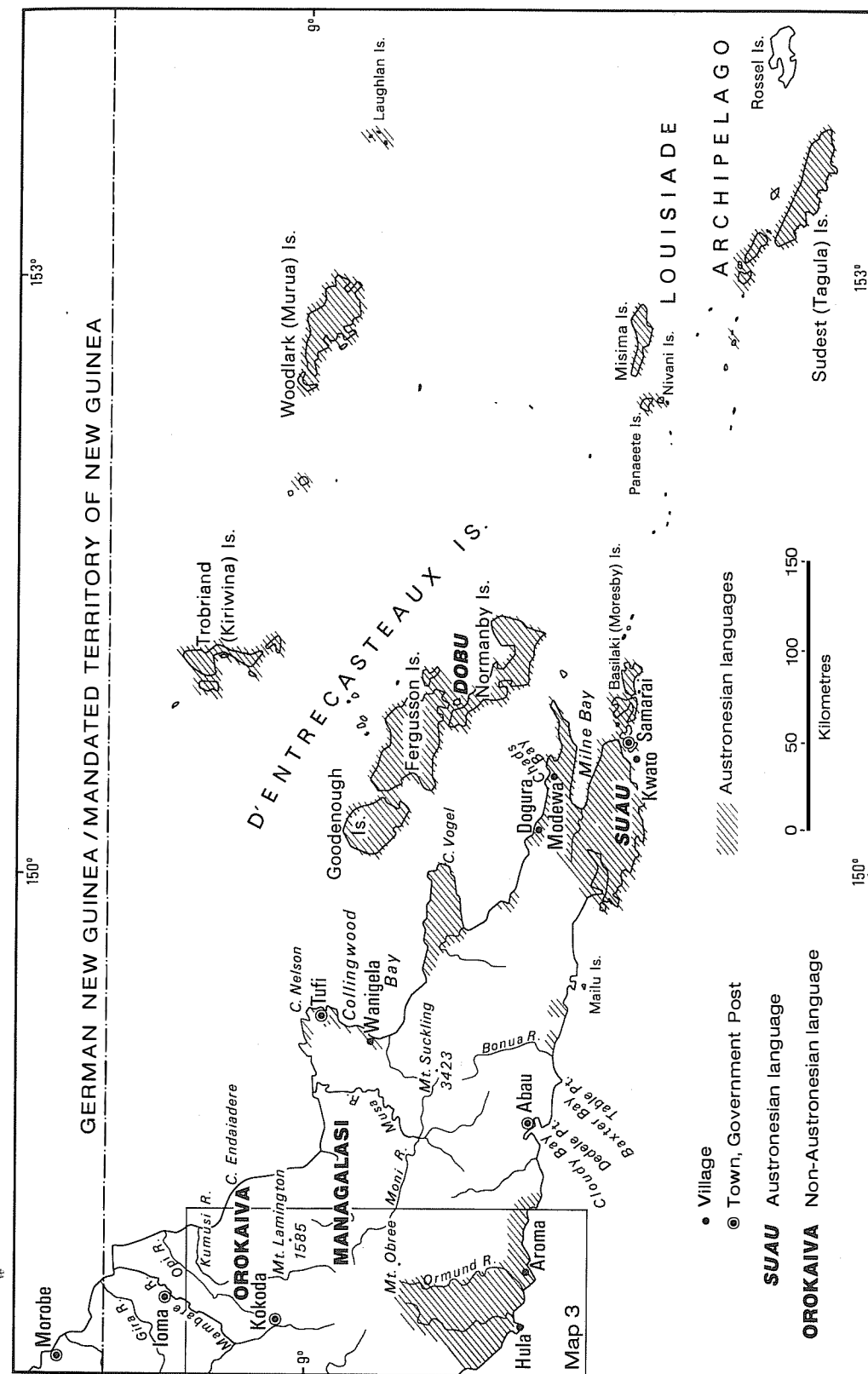
'an important factor in the Europeanization of the Fly [River area] ... For many years every young man has been in the habit of signing on at Daru for his nine months term with the utmost regularity, and considered it as much a part of his education as his initiation in the Darimu.'

It was also on these engagements that labourers learned English of the kind spoken in the Torres Straits. This English was a 'broken' or pidgin English — it is still called 'Broken' in the Torres Straits (as pointed out in Chapter 3, footnote 15), although linguists refer to it as Torres Straits Creole (Shnukal, 1983) — and was described in some detail by Landtman (1917; 1918; 1927). Their ability to speak 'English' made them popular as early recruits into the police force (as we have seen in Chapter 4 above) and as boss boys on plantations and in mines (Hides, 1938: 145).

But not all Western Division men went to work in the Torres Straits. Small numbers also went to work in the Central Division mostly on the few plantations that were in existence then, and some went to the South-Eastern Division during the heyday of goldmining on Sudest. Between 1900 and 1916 larger numbers (e.g., between 91 and 145) were recruited to work in goldmining associated activities in the Northern Division, although this kind of work was not popular, most men preferring to work in the marine industry in the Torres Straits where conditions were better and fewer died, and of course they were nearer home. After 1905 numbers of Western Division men also went to the Central Division to work on plantations as these were being established there then. In striking contrast to this flow of labour out of the Western Division, negligible numbers of labourers came into the Western Division from other divisions to work.



Map 7: Central and Western British New Guinea/Papua



Map 8: Eastern and North-Eastern British New Guinea Papua

This pattern of labour movement had a number of consequences for the use and spread of *lingue franche* in the Western Division. To begin with this pattern meant that the form of 'broken' English that the Western Division men learnt in the Torres Straits was not only the principal *lingua franca* in the area but was also prior to the arrival of Police Motu. Indeed, as we know from the formation of MacGregor's first police force and from comments such as those in Hides (1938: 145), their knowledge of 'English' made them much sought after as overseers and managers of men. Furthermore, work experience in the Central, South-Eastern and Northern Divisions, where they would have worked mostly with 'English'-speaking compatriots from the Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions (see these divisions below) and miners, would have reinforced the use and value of 'English' as a *lingua franca*, so adding to its use and spread in the Western Division. This conclusion is supported by Landmann's observation in 1918 (p.62), that the pidgin English spoken in that division had in part been learned 'on the plantations further East in the Central and Eastern Divisions.' And this pattern presumably would have continued unabated had it not been for the fact that some time soon after 1890, Police Motu was introduced when the first recruits from MacGregor's Armed Native Constabulary returned home and as half-a-dozen long term prisoners were transferred from Port Moresby gaol to Mabadauan (old Daru) in 1891/2 (AR, 1891/2: xxviii; 87). Thereafter Police Motu was spread presumably also by others in these categories returning home (remember that Kiwai men were in greatest numbers in the police force until early in the twentieth century) and as well by those returning from work in the Central Division, a trend which increases towards the 1920s. Consequently the linguistic picture in the Western Division becomes complicated and many speakers (mostly men) are likely to have been bilingual in both 'English' and Police Motu. Police Motu, however, never became the *lingua franca* of the Western Division. In 1932 it was not very widely known in the Morehead River area (Williams, 1936: v) and in 1962, when Dr Capell surveyed part of the Western Division, he noted that Motu was 'as a general rule ... understood only by the native police' (Capell, 1962: 130). At that time it was 'by no means a *lingua franca*' and in the inland villages it was 'certainly unknown', Kiwai being the *lingua franca* (op.cit.).

5.4.2 Gulf Division

The Gulf Division is different from most of the other divisions in that it was late to be explored and brought under government control (Hope, 1979). As a result it was included as part of the Central and Western Divisions until 1905/6 — see Appendix K. Because of this and because no Central Division men at all, and none from that part of the Western Division that was later to become part of the Gulf Division, were recruited to work in other divisions until 1904/5, it would appear that few, if any, men were recruited from the Gulf Division until after it was formally recognized as a division.¹⁰ Thereafter they began to be drawn into the labour system, firstly as assistants in and supervisors of trading stations opened up by Europeans trading for copra and sago in the area in 1905/6 — 1906/7, and subsequently as labourers on plantations in the Central Division.¹¹ Unfortunately few precise figures are available of the numbers recruited and their eventual destinations, but the figures that have been consulted show an increase from 102 engagements in 1907/8 to between 934

and 1305 in 1915/16 and 1032 in 1916/17.¹² In the later years, the majority are shown as recruiting as general labourers and for agricultural and pastoral work.

Linguistically, the combination of these two factors of lateness on the labour scene and employment in the Central Division guaranteed that Police Motu would become the major lingua franca of the Gulf Division¹³, a position it still maintains (Brett *et al.*, 1962a: 10). However, the development of plantations in the Gulf Division itself after 1914 for which some labour was introduced from the Western Division meant that some 'English' was also introduced into the area, although it never became a threat to Police Motu. This is clear from Hope's account (1979) of the development of Ogamobu Plantation, for example, in which there are various references made to the use of both 'English' and 'Motu' on that plantation and in the Gulf Division.¹⁴

5.4.3 Central Division

Although the Central Division was one of the first areas contacted by Europeans it did not become a major source of labour for commercial activity in Papua until later.¹⁵ Whatever engagement of labour there was until the late 1890s and early twentieth century when copper was discovered near Port Moresby¹⁶ and plantations began to blossom — see Figures 5-1 and 5-2¹⁷ — was mainly for Government service as boats' crews, general labourers, etc. and for local beche-de-mer, pearlshell, copra and sandalwood traders. Then the sources were from areas not far removed from the work place so that there was little internal migration. Even in 1901/2 when 96 men were recruited from Rigo 'to work at a distance from their homes', 50 of these were recruited for Government work in Port Moresby and the remainder are presumed to have gone to other parts of the Central Division because, despite an increase in engagements from the division in 1903/4 (when 150 were recruited), it was not until 1904/5 that a significant number (162 out of 457) were engaged 'to work in other divisions'. As already noted, some of these men from the Oroko area (later to become part of the Gulf Division) went to the gold-fields in the Northern Division. It is not known where the others went. Thereafter there was 'little or no demand' for labour¹⁸ until 1909 when the plantation industry began to expand. However, even then the numbers of recruitments from the Central Division were small and many a recruiting patrol returned empty-handed.¹⁹

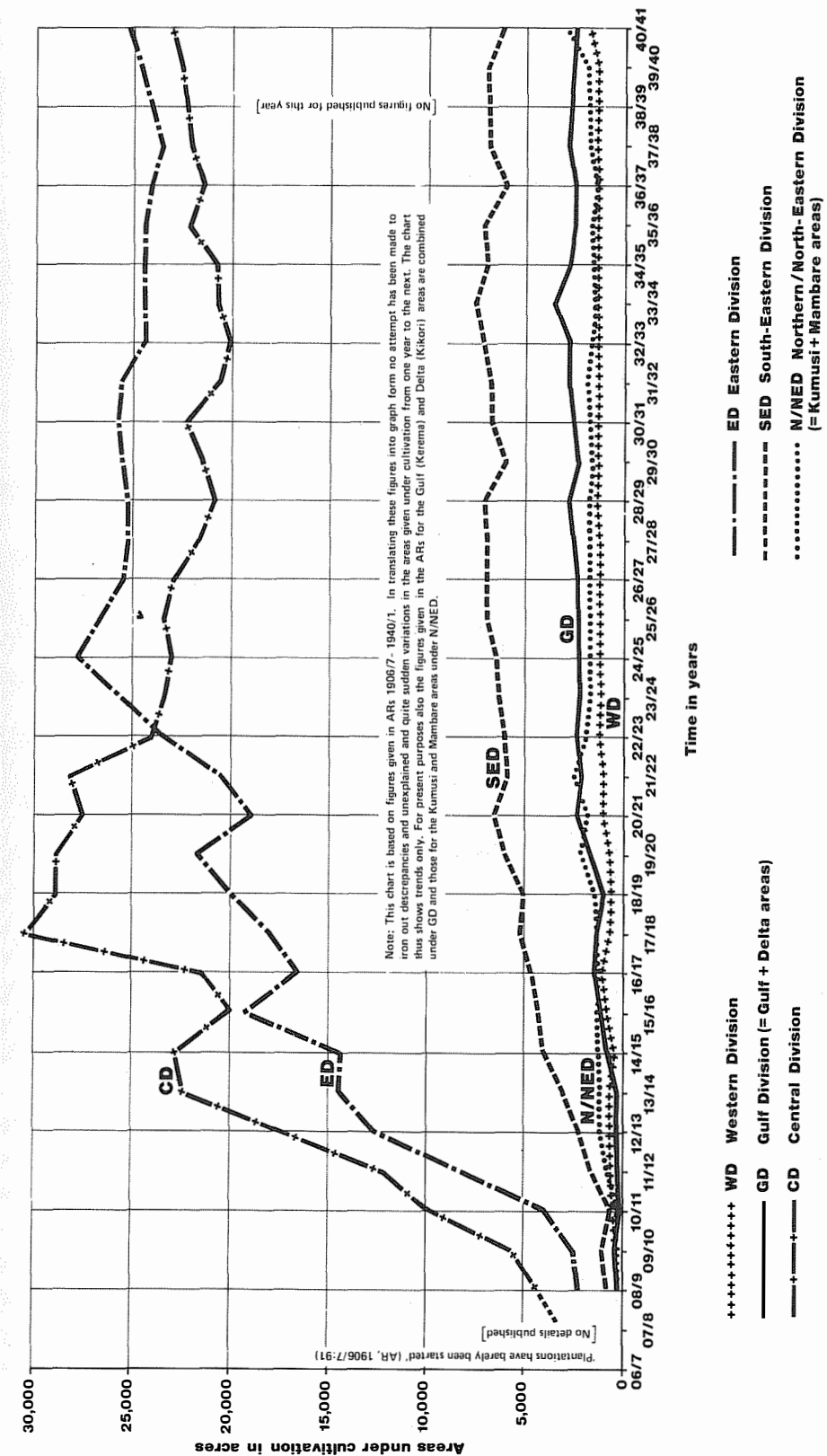


Figure 5-1: Plantation Development in Papua 1906/7-1940/1

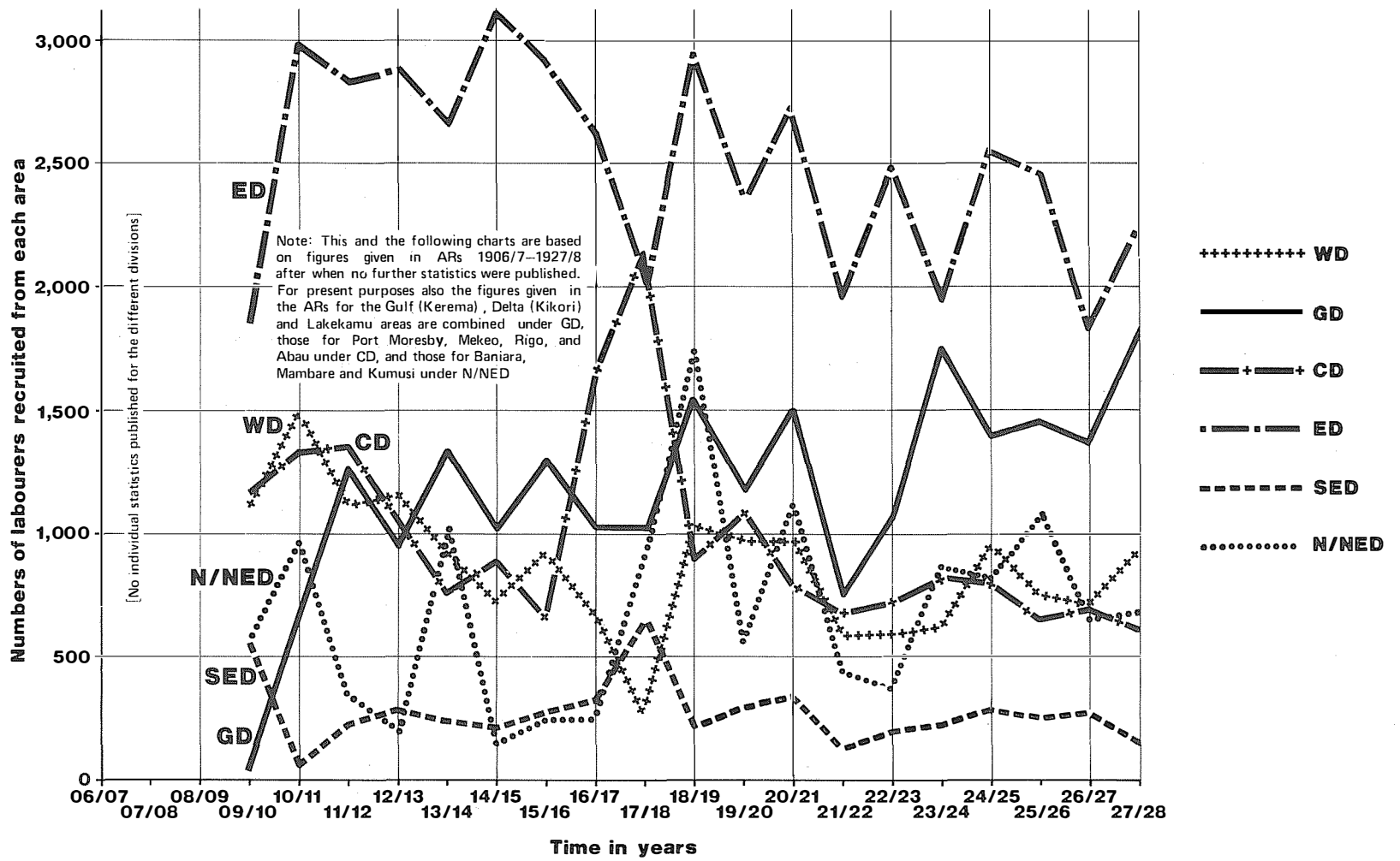


Figure 5-2: Labour Recruitment by Area, 1906/7-1927/8

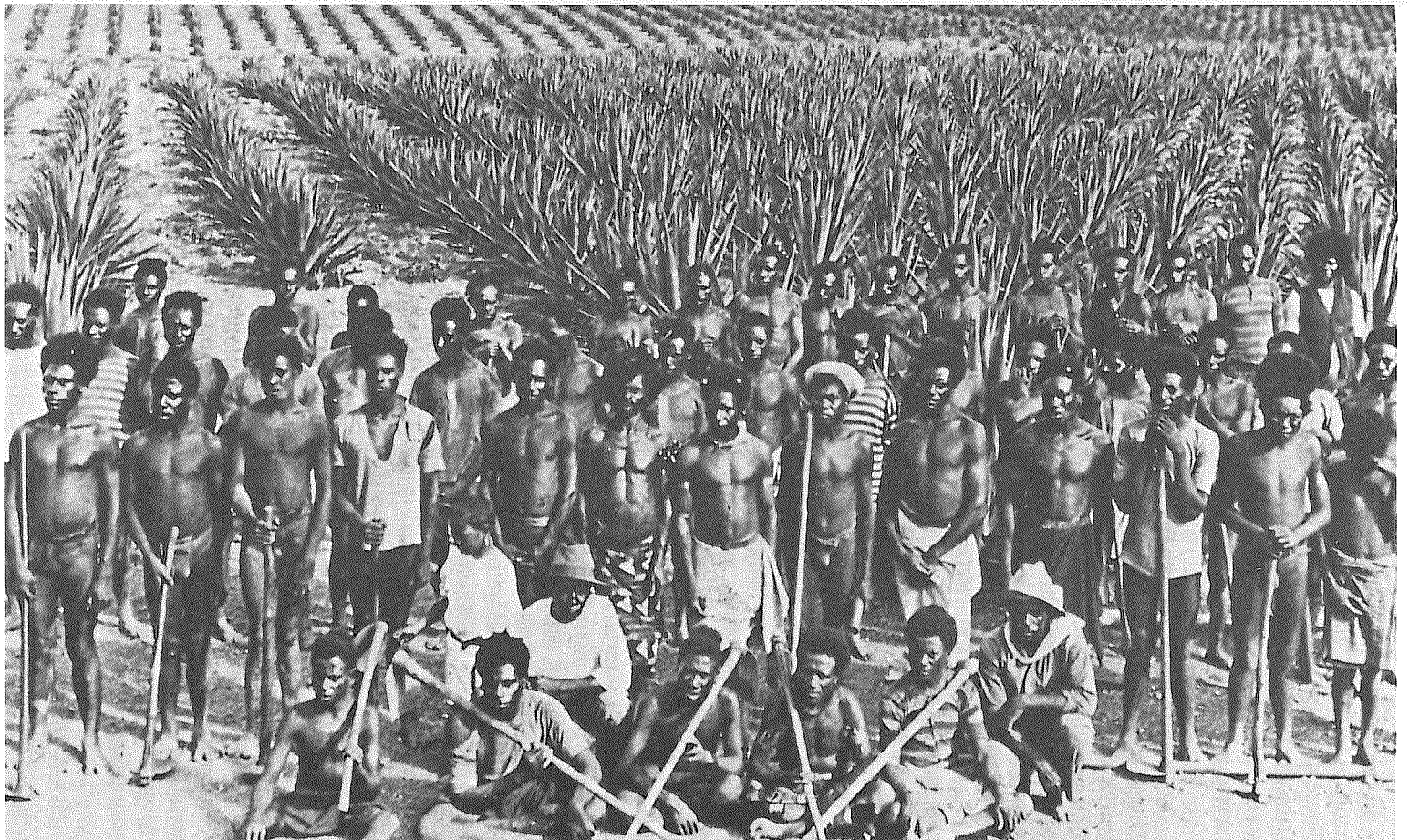


Plate 20: Papuan labourers on Fairfax Harbour sisal hemp plantation, near Port Moresby, c.1904

[CA Negative 6/41]

In contrast to this pattern (or perhaps because of it), many labourers were brought into the Central Division from other divisions from 1903/4 onwards. These came mainly from the Eastern Division until 1907/8 and then mainly from the Western Division and increasingly from the Gulf Division, as already seen. This labour pattern presumably had a number of important linguistic consequences:

1. Because most Central Division men engaged for work in the Central Division, Police Motu must have been spread internally further by this activity. At the same time because there was an expanding population of European plantation managers and overseers and most incoming labourers were from the Eastern and Western Divisions where 'English' was the principal lingua franca, it is likely that the level of 'English' use also rose in the Central Division;²⁰

2. Because the Central Division was the home of Police Motu it is likely that workers coming into that area would learn it and export it to their home areas, although just how much was exported in this way is not clear for there are no available statistics. It could have been quite variable, and probably was, because it depended on a number of social variables not the least of which was where and when one was put to work. Thus those engaged to work around Port Moresby could hardly have avoided learning it, but those in the mines and on plantations, which were some distance from Port Moresby and the Motu, were in a different situation. Here it must have depended on where and with whom one was housed, and where and with whom one worked. Thus, for example, on Kanosia plantation in Galley Reach the labourers did not live 'in one village' on the plantation but were 'split up into several villages' (O'Malley, Stn. J., Port Moresby, October 1908, CA, G91, item 573). In this situation the lingua franca used on the plantation would depend a great deal upon how labourers from different areas were divided up and distributed about these villages. If they were in homogenous groups it is likely that some regional native language from their home area served each group as a lingua franca, and there would have been much less need for a common lingua franca such as 'English' or Police Motu than if the groups were mixed in composition. This would be even more likely if work groups were organized in the same way. If work groups and residence groups were not composed of men from the same area, then it is likely that 'English' was the most common lingua franca as most of those engaged on the plantation were from the Eastern and Western Divisions where 'English' was the most common lingua franca. Even so, such a pattern could not be expected to be maintained with the changing pattern of recruitment. Under these circumstances, probably all that can be said with certainty is that it was a complicated scene in which both 'English' and 'Motu' functioned as lingue franca and both were spread by labourers returning from the Central Division.

5.4.4 Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions

It is convenient to consider both these divisions together as they constitute a unit geographically and culturally and both underwent similar histories of contact with foreigners and labour recruitment in the early years. Their history goes back to before 1850 when whaling ships began calling at islands in the area (but particularly the Woodlarks) for supplies of vegetables and water. A

mission station was also established there between 1847 and 1855 (Nelson, 1976: 50–52) — Map 8. The people of these islands did not become actively involved as labourers in commercial activities until the 1870s although some Woodlark Islanders had been to Sydney before then on whalers and with the Woodlark Islands' missionaries and spoke 'some English' (ibid.: 51). In the seventies beche-de-mer fishermen and pearl shellers from the Torres Straits began visiting the area in search of new sources of supply for their commodities.²¹ Just how many men (and women)²² became involved in these activities is not known, but as it was an expanding industry increasing numbers were presumably involved.²³

At the same time, Laughlan and Woodlark Islanders had been involved in trading activities with 'German Charlie' (Wilhelm Tetzlaff), an agent of Eduard Hensheim in New Britain, who had established a trading station in the Laughlan Islands in 1880 (ibid.: 52) mainly to obtain yams for Hensheim's workers in New Britain (Salisbury, 1967: 44). Soon afterwards, labour recruiters from Queensland started nosing into the area and in 1883 over 625 men were 'blackbirded' (or taken away under false pretences)²⁴ to Queensland to work on plantations in the expanding sugar industry there.²⁵ Following an enquiry into this recruitment, the survivors were returned to their islands in 1886, many of them being able to speak 'very fair' 'pidgeon English' (Douglas, 1887: 97).²⁶ These men came mainly from the Louisiades, D'Entrecasteaux and Woodlark Island groups and from the coastal areas of the mainland opposite.

From then on indentured labour recruitment in what were to become different divisions (of slightly changing size over time — see Appendix 11) took different directions. The Eastern Division became the major source of labour for its own and other divisions, while the South-Eastern Division supplied very little labour to other divisions but was host to many incoming labourers from other divisions, mainly the Eastern Division.

In the Eastern Division until the mid-1890s indentured labour recruitment averaged around 200 per year with the majority being employed on boats in the fishing industry and others being employed locally by storekeepers, the Government, Kwato mission, and on small agricultural projects. From 1895/6 onwards this picture changed both in numbers of recruits engaged and in the type of work for which they were engaged. In 1895/6 the number of recruits was 511 but by 1899/1900 this had risen to 1323 and to a high of 2193 in 1903/4. Although 'boat work' was still important, the discovery of gold in the Northern Division (Mambare River area) and the development of gold-mines on Sudest and Woodlark Islands (in the South-Eastern Division) led to a greater demand for general labourers and carriers of different kinds. In fact so many were being recruited from the Eastern Division by 1902/3 that one Government officer claimed that 'the Eastern Division may be said to be the hub of the native labour traffic. All the gold-fields draw their labour from it' (AR, 1902/3: 27). Most of this labour came from Goodenough Island and continued to do so for the next fifty years (Young, 1983). 'Gosiagos', as labourers from this area were called, 'were frequently extolled as the best workers, most in demand for mining and labour on plantations' (ibid.: 83).

After 1903/4 this pattern of activities continued but expanded to include such categories as agricultural workers, general servants, house boys, and timber getters in response to changing economic conditions. Overall the main streams of labour traffic flowed out of the Eastern Division into the Northern/North-Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions — very few workers left

the Eastern Division to go to the Central Division, in particular, until 1907/8 when 284 were engaged for work there, 226 of whom were recruited for agricultural work on plantations.

In the South-Eastern Division on the other hand, it is difficult to say how many men were recruited once the division was created because statistics were not always published. Even so, it seems clear from the information that has been published that at least of those that were recruited in the South-Eastern Division, very few were recruited for work in other divisions, the majority being engaged to work locally on boats, or on plantations on Rossel Island or in the mines on Sudest and Woodlark Islands.²⁷ By contrast, however, many labourers from other divisions were brought into the South-Eastern Division to work for the Government in gold-mining or as boats' crews, and later as general labourers for storekeepers, in agriculture and timber getting, and as house boys. Most of these labourers came from the Eastern Division (e.g., between 1900/1 and 1907/8 there was an average of over 400 per year), although in the early 1890s there were also some from the Western Division.

The linguistic consequences of this kind of activity must have been fairly clear cut. Until 1907/8 when greater numbers began going into the Central Division to work on plantations from the Eastern Division, the general effect of labour movements within the Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions and between the Eastern and the Northern/North-Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions was to spread and consolidate the use of the 'pigeon English' that had been introduced by beche-de-mer and pearl fishers, miners, and the returning workers from Queensland in the late 1870s and early 1880s as a general lingua franca.²⁸ By 1890/91 this was so well established that it was 'tolerably clear' to MacGregor then 'that the trading and working language of the west end, of the east end, and the islands will be English' (AR, 1890/91: xxv). Subsequently he noted that although the vocabulary of this 'English' was 'not always eclectic', it was very useful. Thereafter this language is referred to frequently in official reports and general books on the area. At one stage it was so popular that Rossel Islanders 'spent their spare time teaching [it to] one another' (Murray, 19]07/8: 15).²⁹ Indeed, according to one report (Grimshaw, 1912: 191-2) 'English' had so much become the lingua franca of Rossel Island that it had begun to replace their own 'hideous, snapping barking dialect'. This 'English' is said to be still spoken by some pockets of old men in what were the Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions, but these reports have not yet been investigated.

After 1907/8, however, the picture must have become more complicated as more workers began to be recruited from the Eastern Division for the Central Division, the home of Police Motu, and as Government influence and use of Police Motu spread. Still, although Police Motu may have made some inroads into the use and distribution of 'English' in these former divisions, it never became as widely distributed there as in some other divisions (Brett *et al.*, 1962a). The reasons for this are complex and will be returned to in the next chapter.

5.4.5 Northern and North-Eastern Divisions

For present purposes these two divisions will be treated together because they represent one fairly clearly defined geographic area that was divided up into differently sized divisions for administrative convenience at different

times — see Appendix K. This area was late to be brought under Government control and also proved to be the most difficult to bring under that control.

In 1895 gold was discovered on the Mambare River and later on the Gira nearby and the upstream tributaries of the Mambare, the Yodda and Tamata. Miners flocked to these areas: between 1899/1900 and 1909/10 there was an average of about 50 miners on the Gira and about 60 on the Yodda (Nelson, 1976: 124-5). Because the country in which the gold was found was very isolated and rugged, the miners needed large numbers of labourers to help in getting supplies to them and in the actual mining operations. Yet because the local inhabitants were at first very hostile towards the miners (*ibid.*: *passim*), labourers had to be imported from other divisions, generally in the proportion of about six labourers to every miner. Consequently, there was an average of just on 300 labourers on the Gira field per year and on the Yodda 350 (*op. cit.*). These labourers came mainly from the Eastern Division, but there were also some from the Western and Central Divisions — see Appendix L.

In contrast to the large movement of indentured labourers from other divisions into the Northern/North-Eastern Division, there was little movement out of these divisions into other areas for 'natives' of the Northern Division, in particular those known as 'Orokaivans' and 'Binanderes', showed 'no disposition to engage with Europeans except for 'service in the Armed Native Constabulary' (AR, 1904/5: 36). Although this picture changed later (e.g., in 1915/16 there were 102 engagements from the Mambare, 163 from the Kumusi and 314 from the Northern-eastern Division), the implications of this early pattern for the linguistic picture are two-fold. On the one hand because most labourers came from 'English'-speaking areas (notably the Eastern and Western Divisions) and worked with or for miners and storekeepers or traders who, as Governor MacGregor noted for the South-Eastern Division, propagated 'pigeon English' (AR, 1892/3: xxviii), this language is likely to have been the general lingua franca of the gold-fields. Just how much of this rubbed off onto the local population, however, is not clear. Initially, probably very little did but as hostilities between the local population and miners decreased following government intervention, probably much more did so.³⁰ On the other hand, because of the disposition of the Northern Division men to enlist in the police force rather than to work for Europeans in commercial enterprises, and because some Central Division men were recruited to work on the gold-fields, Police Motu was likely to have become widely, though not necessarily evenly, distributed — a situation that is still detectable today. That these, and perhaps other, languages were used as *lingue franche* by different groups in the Northern Division is indicated by a reference in Nelson (1976: 127) to labourers from camps at the northern end of the Yodda field visiting the Neneba (part of a Mountain Koiari group nearby (Dutton, 1969: 53-4) to buy food and communicating with them 'in a mixture of English, Motu and Dobu.'

What effect did the commercial activity and associated labour traffic just described have on the linguistic situation? Although nothing precise can be claimed owing to an absence of relevant linguistic data, it would seem reasonable to assume that the general effect must have been to spread both 'English' and Police Motu and so to complicate the picture. There are two ways in which such complication should have been manifested:

1) whereas Police Motu had begun as the main language of Government, it was now becoming much more widespread geographically and was being used in social domains that were once the sole preserve of 'English'. At the same

time, 'English' was also becoming much more widespread geographically. Just what inroads the one made upon the other in both geographical distribution and social use is not known. However, given that the number of labourers employed by private enterprise outnumbered those employed by the Government (e.g., as police, village constables, boats' crews, etc.) by about ten to one (AR, 1911/12: 61 gives 11,496 employed privately compared to 1,496 employed by the Government), it is clear that, all things being equal, employment of labourers in private enterprise was likely to have had a much more significant effect on language developments than the employment of Papuans by the Crown. Assuming that 'English' was the main lingua franca of private enterprise (and there seems to be no reason to doubt that it was, except perhaps in the Central Division)³¹ and even allowing for all things not being equal (e.g., in the Eastern/South-Eastern Divisions regional languages may well have been the common lingua franca amongst labourers), then that language should have been spread at a considerably faster rate than Police Motu. If this is so, why is it that nothing is heard of this 'English' today? We return to this question in the final chapter.

2) whereas previously Police Motu and 'English' had once been kept separate because of their use in separate geographical areas and social domains, these varieties were now sometimes mixed, so that features of one were included in the other. Thus, for example, Murray records an incident in his diary (Murray Papers, 29.3.1910) in which a witness in a court case said to him: 'No good I *koikoi* [= tell a lie] along you. You no bloody fool.' Later, Humphries (1928) gives some other examples: 'I been tink you like em pish, *Taubada* [= master], belong supper. I been catch him this one along *pidi* [= rifle]' (p.78); and 'No good you drink em *rano kava* [= plain water] all the time' (p.205). In extreme cases this mixing may have extended to using elements from other languages in the mixture as well, as demonstrated by the Dobu-English-Police Motu mixture used by the Neneba referred to above. But whether this kind of mixing was an individual phenomenon or a more widespread one is not known. It is certainly something that deserves further study for the possible consequences it may have had on the structure of Police Motu as we have come to know it (Mühlhäusler, 1978: 1426-27).

In any case the trends that have been described up to the 1920s are likely to have continued until events were interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War in Papua in August 1942. Until that time the pattern of labour recruitment and use that had been established continued, with some fluctuations reflecting changing external economic conditions — see Figure 5-4. The main recruiting area remained the Eastern Division, but there were increasing numbers coming from the Gulf Division at the expense of the Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions — see Figure 5-2. By the late 1930s there were probably about 10,000 Papuans serving as indentured labourers per year and an unknown number (probably in the order of several thousand) serving as casual labourers.³² During this time the economy gradually diversified, so that while the total numbers recruited remained high — see Figure 5-4 — there were greater opportunities for Papuans to be involved in work situations where they would learn either Police Motu or 'English', or both — see Figure 5-3. The general effect of this activity must have been to further complicate the linguistic picture. However, by this time other things were happening which were also having an effect on the linguistic scene. We turn to the two principal ones in the following section.

5.5 Language Policy and Education

Murray's attitudes to education and language policy represented basically a continuation and development of those introduced by MacGregor, notably, a recognition of the central role that English had to play in 'the future industrial development of the colony' (MacGregor, 1897)³³ and of the equally central role that the missions would have to play in the education process.

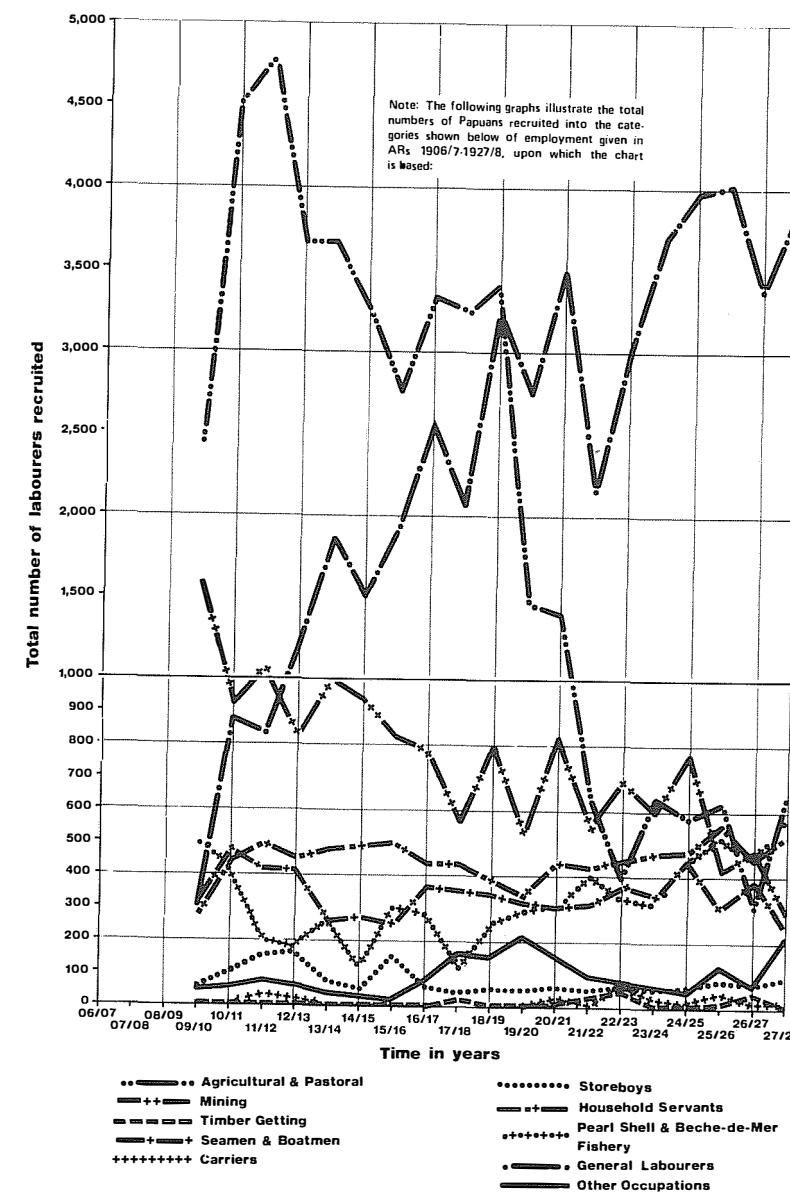


Figure 5-3: Labour Recruitment by Occupation 1906/7-1927/8

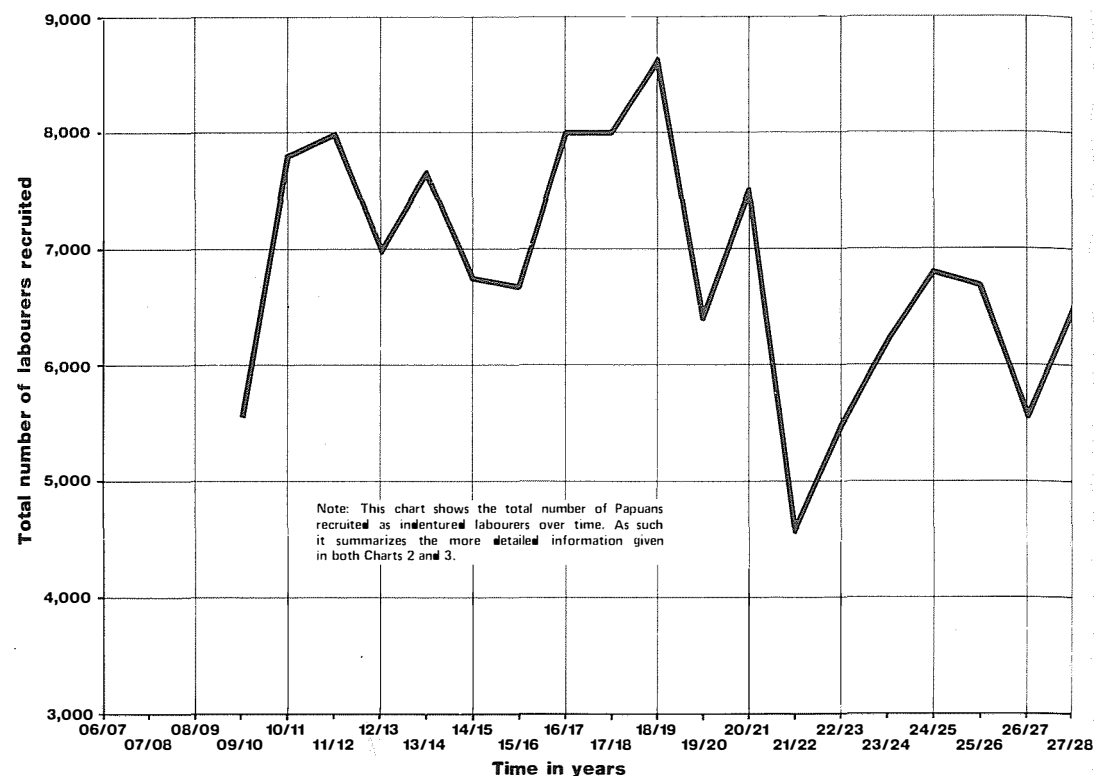


Figure 5-4: Total Labour Recruited 1906/7–1927/8

When MacGregor came to British New Guinea in 1888 there was of course no official language or education policies. But given 'the great diversity of dialects' (ibid.) spoken in the country and that there was no common language, it was clear to him that at some stage a decision would have to be made about which language (or languages) was to be recognized and promoted as the official one. At the time 'English' and 'Motu' were the most widely spoken languages in the colony, 'English' in the Eastern, South-Eastern and Western Divisions, and 'Motu' in the Central Division. Although this distribution probably had nothing to do with MacGregor's decision to promote English as the official language — British New Guinea was after all a British colony and attitudes of the time would hardly have allowed him to settle for anything less (Spencer, 1971) — he did use the fact that English, even in the debased 'pigeon' form, was spreading in the eastern and western ends of the country as indirect support for this decision (AR, 1892/3: xxviii). By this time too the country had been partitioned into spheres of mission influence amongst the four churches, the LMS, Roman Catholic (Sacred Heart), Wesleyan and Anglican (AR, 1889/90) and MacGregor was then looking to the missions to help in the promotion of English. He noted that the LMS had already 'successfully taught English to some of their pupils' and one of them had been 'appointed a cadet in the office of the Treasurer' (AR, 1892/3: xxviii). The Roman Catholic mission on Yule Island was also proposing 'to take a few young natives from the Mekeo district to Thursday Island, that they may learn English there' (ibid.). The remaining missions had not yet decided

how they would use or teach English, but it is clear that MacGregor expected them to teach it sometime in the future (ibid.).

By 1895/6, however, MacGregor was becoming impatient and strengthening his resolve. He instructed all Government officers to make sure that English was used 'as the language of the different stations among police, native employers, and prisoners' (AR, 1895/6: xxiv). He hoped that this 'together with contact and association with miners, traders, etc., would probably eventually make English the common language of the coast districts' (ibid.), and added that 'the missions, by teaching English could greatly assist this movement' (ibid.). While the Government officers dutifully carried out their part of the bargain (and the standard miraculously began to improve overnight)³⁴, the missions, save for the LMS and its offshoot Kwato, where English was 'practically the language of that station' (AR, 1895/6: xxiv), were not so responsive. Although there were various quite reasonable grounds for this tardiness on the part of the missions,³⁵ MacGregor was not impressed and considered imposing sanctions on those who did not comply.³⁶ This seems to have had the desired effect, for, just before he left British New Guinea he noted that 'I have recently obtained assurances from the four Missions, that they will, in future, teach English to the extent of their ability to do so.'³⁷

But MacGregor seems to have been misled on this promise (or else the ability of the missions to carry it out did not match their assurances), for once he left the colony the situation did not improve and in 1907 the Royal Commission reported both missions and administrative officers lacking in their commitment to implementing MacGregor's wishes. The Commission reemphasized the importance of English and recommended that:

1. 'police and prisoners be taught English';
2. 'the teaching of English be made compulsory in Mission schools';
3. 'native children be compelled to attend schools at which English is taught' (Royal Commission, 1907: cxxxiv).

These recommendations were implemented with the assistance of the missions by Murray in 1907 under Regulation No. 1 of 1907 (AR, 1907/8: 29), but, for reasons to be referred to shortly, Murray was unable to implement any organized education policy of his own until the early 1920s and even then English did not receive the emphasis it could have been expected to in the prisons and by the missions.

Murray's reasons for wanting English as the official language were much the same as MacGregor's — basically because they each saw it as superior to any other language in the region. Thus, while he admitted the advantages of 'Motu' (Murray, 1925: 35), he nevertheless considered

'that the superiority of English to any New Guinea language ... so great that it is obviously to the advantage of the native to acquire it as quickly as possible; and if we do not teach it to him we are hardly carrying out the duties of our "sacred trust"' (Murray, 1924: 7).

Yet what Murray had in mind in teaching English to Papuans was not quite what one might have expected of him. What he had in mind was not any kind of academic or elite English, for he had 'no ambition to create an educational elite in Papua' he said (Murray Papers, p. 27). Rather he had in mind 'conversational English' (ibid.) or the 'more or less undefiled [kind] that is presented to the Papuan by the settler from Australia or elsewhere' (Murray, 1929: 5).

At the same time he was not against the use of other languages for administrative and other purposes. However, he saw that as a temporary expedient, the necessity for which would die away once 'the transition stage' had passed (Murray, 1930b: 6), when English had spread sufficiently. Thus, as has already been noted, although he despised Police Motu and 'pidgin English', he was quite prepared to tolerate them because he hoped that Police Motu would disappear, just as he said he was glad to see pidgin English disappearing, until replaced by 'correct English, learned in the Mission schools' (Murray, 1930a: iv).

But Murray's high-minded ideals were not achieved in his lifetime. For reasons that have been thoroughly discussed by Dickson (1970), education in English for its own sake did not receive a high priority in practice, even though Papuans themselves wanted it.³⁸ Part of the problem was that the Commonwealth Government decided in 1911 and 1912 (and Murray agreed with the decision (1925: 280)) that initially 'the work of obtaining and maintaining control over the whole Territory' was paramount 'even to the claims of education.' But even when Murray finally got approval for his educational plans in 1917, the implementation of those plans was hampered by a number of factors not least of which was lack of funds and a philosophy which regarded agricultural training as being 'higher in fact than primary or technical education, and higher even than the acquisition of the English language'.³⁹

Like MacGregor, Murray was forced to rely on the missions to carry the greatest educational burden, enticed into cooperation by Government subsidies. But only a tiny proportion of the Territory's budget was allocated to mission education subsidies and missions were not compelled to follow Government syllabuses. They were there, of course, for other reasons, but principally 'to communicate their message to the people, initially with a view to converting them to Christianity and then to build up their Christian faith' (Neuendorf and Taylor, 1977: 413). Their policy was also one of basic education through the vernacular. An added problem was that there were few materials available in English with which to teach the language properly. All that was available was a set of five Papuan Readers (one for each grade), and between 1929 and 1941, a newspaper called the *Papuan Villager* which was written in simple English by the Government Anthropologist F. E. Williams. The missions continued to carry out the educational burden up until, and after, the Second World War when conditions changed drastically.

What was the effect of these policies and practices on the history of Police Motu during Murray's era? Unfortunately, as has been said many times in this account there is no way of assessing these effects in any detail because of the lack of relevant data. However, there are a number of fairly obvious general conclusions that can be reached on the basis of the evidence presented. To begin with, and as indicated earlier in discussing economic development, by the time that Murray's era came to an end the linguistic scene must have become much more complicated than when he was appointed acting Administrator in 1907. Police Motu must have become more widely distributed geographically⁴⁰ and it must have been making inroads into social areas of use previously the preserve of 'English'. That is, it was no longer solely associated with the Government, but because of its use on plantations it had now extended its use to some commercial situations. At the same time knowledge of English, however restricted, must also have increased, however

gradually, despite the poor conditions under which it was being taught. But the numbers passing through the education system (such as it was) were not sufficient to ensure that English would become the predominant lingua franca — Dickson (1970: 29) suggests that at the end of Murray's period, twenty years after his education policy had been introduced, fewer than 100 pupils were graduating from grade five, the highest grade then catered for by the Government subsidies — nor was the quality of such a kind as to have affected the use and distribution of the two unofficial languages, Police Motu and 'broken' English. In fact, correct English has not even yet reached that desired goal and it is most unlikely that it ever will in the foreseeable future unless social conditions change to make English more favoured for all social purposes. Police Motu, of course, never disappeared. 'Broken' English is said to have disappeared — indeed Murray is often credited with having eradicated it from Papua. Whether it has or not is not really known as it has never been investigated properly. This is an interesting question and one to which we return in the concluding chapter after the Second World War and other events which had very important effects on Police Motu have been discussed.

Chapter 6

THE WAR AND AFTER: RECOGNITION, NAME CHANGE, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE FUTURE

6.1 War

In 1941 Japan entered the Second World War and after a rapid southward movement captured Rabaul on 23 January 1942. Soon afterwards, Port Moresby was under aerial bombardment and, on 21 July 1942, Japanese forces landed in Papua near the Anglican Mission station at Gona on the north-east coast — see Map 4. From there, these forces moved rapidly inland to capture the Government outstation at Kokoda and set out for Port Moresby across the Owen Stanley Range along what is known as the Kokoda Trail.¹ Soon afterwards, Japanese forces also landed in Milne Bay on the eastern end of the Papuan mainland, near where Australian forces were preparing landing strips and defences, and on some of the islands nearby. Here, however, they were soon forced to withdraw after suffering their first land defeat of the war, but it took Australian and American forces the remainder of 1942 and the early part of 1943 to drive the Japanese back across the Kokoda Trail and from Papua. During this time and for the rest of the war, civil administration ceased in Papua and was replaced by a military one and the old pattern of life was severely interrupted for many Papuans.

6.1.1 Army Administration — ANGAU

Soon after Rabaul fell to the Japanese and bombs began falling on Port Moresby, the administration of Papua and its sister territory of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea across the border (formerly German New Guinea) was taken over by the Army.² But because the Army had had no experience in handling the indigenous population of these two territories, who were to be called upon to help the Allied Forces oppose the Japanese, special units were set up to carry on administrative and other services as far as possible, to provide much needed labour and materials, and to organize Papuans and New Guineans into effective intelligence gatherers and anti-Japanese guerillas. Initially, there were two such units, the Papuan Administrative Unit and the New Guinea Administrative Unit each under the control of an experienced Government officer from the former administrations, but after only a few weeks these were combined into a single unit called the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit or ANGAU.

ANGAU had its headquarters in Port Moresby and was directly responsible to the General Officer Commanding the Eighth Military District, Major-General Morris. It was divided into two sections or branches, District Services and Production Services. The District Services section was mainly responsible for administrative and operational aspects of the war effort involving Papuans and New Guineans, while Production Services was responsible for the

maintenance and development of plantations and other production units, such as sawmills, which supplied much needed raw materials. Initially, all plantations and sawmills in areas unoccupied or controlled by the Japanese forces were handed over to ANGAU, but early in 1943, a quasi-civilian body called the Australian New Guinea Production Control Board was set up to manage all copra and rubber plantations, leaving ANGAU the smaller ones (such as rice and vegetables) and sawmilling.³ The District Services section was, however, responsible for the recruitment, supervision, and rehabilitation of all labour required for plantations and operational services. In addition, it was responsible for the welfare of those villagers not directly involved in the war effort, for providing intelligence reports, and in developing appropriate propaganda materials.

Both sections were staffed mainly by men who had been field officers (such as Resident Magistrates, District Officers, and Patrol Officers) in the pre-war administrations of Papua and New Guinea and who consequently knew the people and the country and could speak the major *lingue franche* of those Territories, Police Motu and New Guinea Pidgin (now Tok Pisin). There had been only forty-one of these men in Papua before the war,⁴ but even though the majority of these and others who had been in the New Guinea administration joined ANGAU (*op. cit.*, footnote 4), there was not nearly sufficient in the unit for the tasks that ANGAU was called on to do. Consequently, the numbers had to be increased. This was achieved firstly by recalling those officials who had left the country when Japanese forces occupied different areas, while at the same time recruiting pre-war non-official residents. Thereafter, additional numbers were obtained by recruiting suitable men from other Army units and giving them 'special' training.⁵ Those who had not been to Papua or New Guinea before were encouraged to learn the major *lingue franche* Police Motu and New Guinea Pidgin. For those working in Papua, the Government Anthropologist F. E. Williams advised (in a paper giving general hints about how Army personnel unfamiliar with Papua and New Guinea should treat Papuans and New Guineans⁶) that there were two languages in use, Police Motu and 'a simple kind of English.' The former, 'debased and simplified from true Motu' was known 'almost throughout the territory, even in remote areas', and the latter, 'broken and rather rudimentary', was 'widely known in the more advanced districts' but was 'a good medium of communication as far as it goes.'⁷ To help personnel learn Police Motu, the Army obtained various 'handbooks' and selected officers and men were given instruction in Police Motu (and Pidgin English) as part of the aim of giving personnel 'a thorough grounding in native psychology [sic], language and the general working of NL [= native labour].'⁸ This instruction was given at a special Army school established for the purpose on a ten-acre site 'just past Kila NL [= native labour] camp on Vabukori Road.'⁹ The first course began in October 1943, and courses lasted from four to six weeks.¹⁰ In all, 'some 130 pupils'¹¹ passed through the school before it was closed when 'the urgent demands for more and more overseers and the acute shortage of personnel available, made it impossible to have 30 personnel at any time away from field duty for six weeks.'¹² Difficulties in finding a competent instructor in the language was also probably a factor.¹³ No instruction or advice was provided in the form of simplified English used in Papua referred to by Williams.

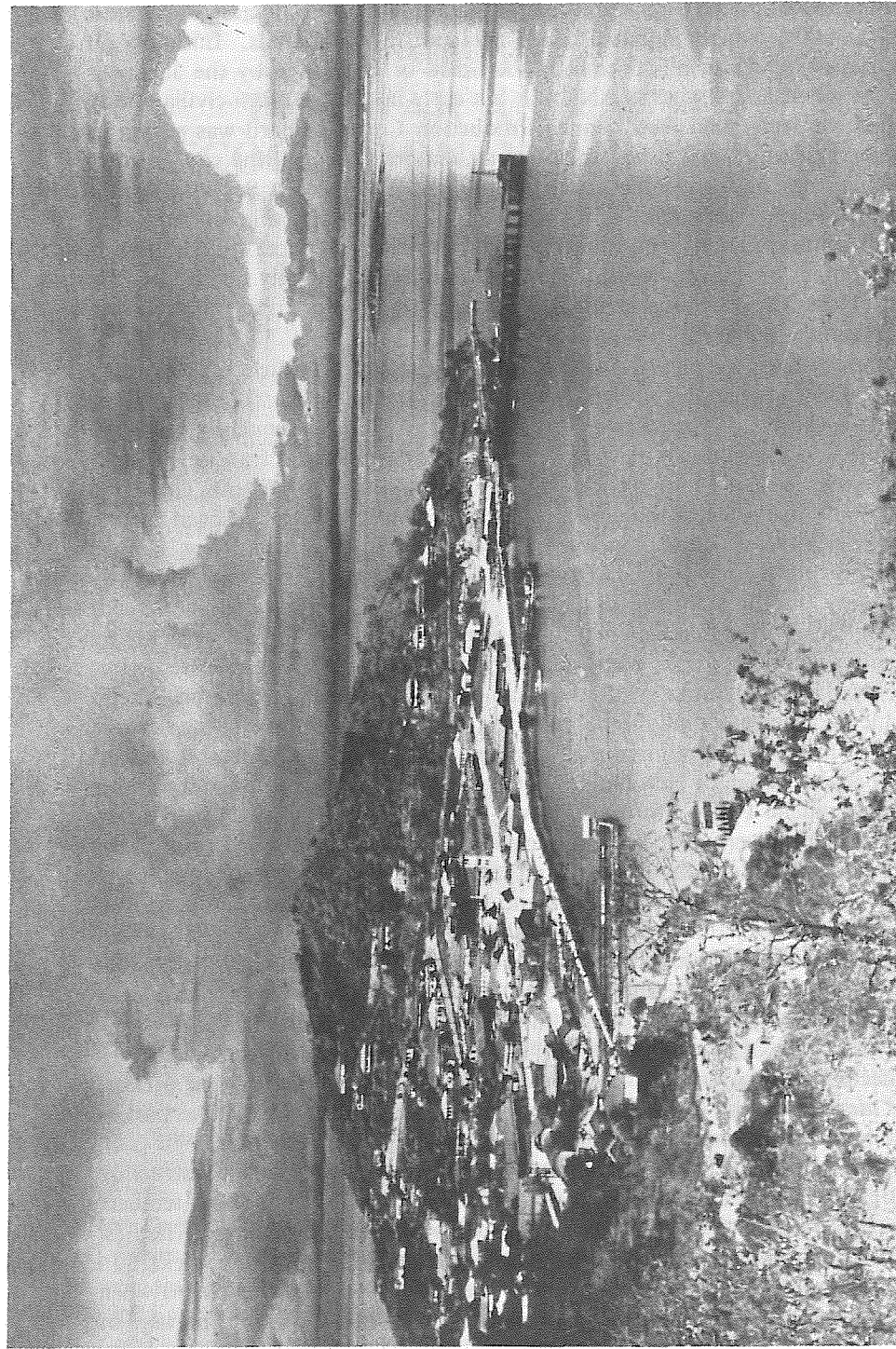
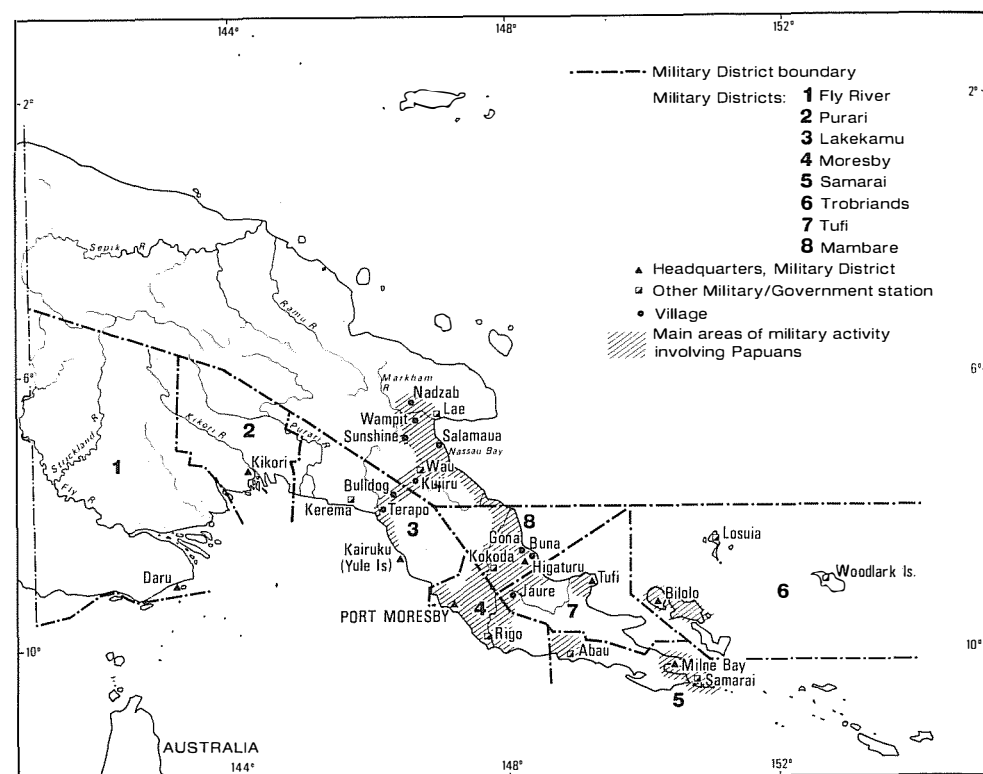


Plate 21: Port Moresby town before the Second World War
[J. G. Hides: *Through Wildest Papua*, 1935]

Administratively, Papua was divided into seven Districts (with headquarters shown in brackets following); Fly River (Daru), Purari (Kikori), Lakekamu (Kairuku), Moresby (Port Moresby), Samarai (Samarai), Trobriands (Bilolo, Goodenough Island), Tufi (Tufi), and Mambare (Higaturu) — see Map 9¹⁴ which corresponded roughly to the old pre-war Divisions except in the Gulf of Papua and Milne Bay and associated insular areas of the eastern end of the territory.¹⁵ Administration of these districts followed the organization of the suspended administrations closely except for those areas occupied or controlled by Japanese forces — see Map 9. In Papua where only restricted parts were affected for brief but varying periods between August 1942 and February 1943, routine administration was only disturbed for correspondingly short periods. Thereafter, conditions rapidly returned to normal except around Port Moresby itself where there were many airstrips, supply depots, and camps, until the end of the war, and except for the large number of Papuan (and New Guinean) men who were kept away from their villages for most of the war period helping in the war effort. In this administrative arrangement each district was in charge of a District Officer who was assisted by one or more Assistant District Officers, Patrol Officers, and other staff,¹⁶ the majority of whom were (as already noted) former members of the magisterial branch of the suspended administrations in Papua (and New Guinea). Each of these was given Army rank according to seniority. For example, District Officers were made captains, Assistant District Officers lieutenants, and Patrol Officers warrant officers.¹⁷ These men performed an important role in the war effort and many of them returned to Papua and New Guinea after the war when civil administration was reintroduced.

6.1.2 Papuans in the War

When war broke out in Papua in late July 1942 the Army administration was still recovering from the pandemonium and chaos caused by the first air raids on Port Moresby in January and February of that year and by the sudden disappearance of most Europeans, as able-bodied men were called up for Army service and others were evacuated to safer areas. ANGAU had only been in operation for several months and although some semblance of law and order had been restored in areas where this had broken down or was in the process of breaking down, no one was really prepared for what was to come. The speed and nature of the Japanese advance caught the Allies by surprise with the result that men and supplies could not be transported to the front along roads or by aircraft. Fighting men had to walk to and from the front over some of the roughest country in Papua New Guinea and carry their own supplies, equipment and wounded with them or have them carried for them. In the event, Papuans and New Guineans were called upon to help in the latter task as well as in other supporting activities.



Map 9: Military Districts and Main Areas of Military Activity Involving Papuans During World War II in Papua

Before the war came to Papua and New Guinea, there had been only about 10,000 Papuans serving as indentured labourers in Papua at any time and another 3,000 or so as casual labourers. Most of these worked as general labourers on plantations of one kind or another, in mines, in marine industries, and for Europeans in towns. But within a few weeks of the Japanese invasion of New Guinea most of these had either deserted or had been released or repatriated to their home areas, so that by the time that ANGAU was formed there were very few labourers left in private enterprise or in Government service for the Army to take over for its own purposes. And even though recruitment was begun immediately ANGAU was formed, only 3,354 labourers had been recruited by the time the Japanese landed in Papua. Thereafter recruitment pressure was increased and the numbers increased dramatically, and were maintained at a high level during the remaining three years of the war, as can be seen from the following table, Table 6-1:¹⁸

Month	1942	1943	1944	1945
January	38	17,884	28,909	32,657
February	260	18,932	31,058	32,280
March	686	20,622	32,632	31,839
April	1,346	22,489	37,130	35,029
May	1,478	23,646	37,897	35,852
June	2,033	25,468	35,958	36,210
July	3,354	25,815	37,158	36,382
August	4,947	27,169	37,074	35,269
September	7,417	27,671	36,956	33,959
October	11,104	28,165	33,751	31,091
November	13,874	28,178	31,690	13,813*
December	16,563	27,522	33,788	-----

[*Note: all from the Mandated Territory of New Guinea]

Table 6-1: World War II Native Labour Recruitment Figures

Yet, because most of the traditional recruiting areas in the Territory of New Guinea were closed to recruiting once Japanese forces landed there and began making their way southward to Papua, Papuans had to bear an unusually heavy share of the burden of labouring for Allied forces. Not only that, but because some of the traditional recruiting areas in Papua were also closed to recruiting once the Japanese forces landed on the north-east coast and in Milne Bay, this burden fell mainly on the shoulders of Papuans from the southern coastal areas of the country. Gradually, and as the tide of war turned and the Allied forces recovered lost ground from the enemy and extended their operations, the strength of native labour grew and recruiters were able to draw on areas which had been closed during the period of Japanese occupation, e.g., parts of the Samarai, Trobriands and Mambare military districts. Thereafter, except for up to 1,000 Rabaul area labourers that had been brought over to Papua by the Japanese and rescued or released by the Allied forces in the Mambare district,¹⁹ New Guinea labour began to shoulder more and more of the labouring burden as more and more New Guinea territory was recaptured from the Japanese. Gradually the relative proportions of Papuans to New Guineans in the labour force changed and was eventually reversed. Thus, for example, of the 16,000-odd labourers in service near the end of the Papuan campaign in December 1942, no more than 10% were from the former Territory of New Guinea. By the end of the next year this had grown to approximately 25 per cent of the workforce of over 35,000, and to approximately 50 per cent by April 1945. At no time, however, did Papuans escape the call to help and even in April 1945, which was only a few months from the end of the war, there were still 17,892 Papuans employed. This number was about 4,000 more than at any time before the war (Nelson, 1982).

Not only did the war have tremendous psychological and physical effects on Papuans (and New Guineans), however, but because of the numbers of men involved in helping the Allies to win that war, it must have also had an equally tremendous effect on the language scene in their country. At no other time in the history of Papua had so many men been moved about and forced to work together in both small and large groups. Even so, it is unfortunately not possible to say exactly what that effect was in any precise way, for appropriate surveys of the language were not carried out before and after the war and the kinds of native labour records kept by the Army are not sufficiently detailed in terms of area of origin, the numbers, movements, and composition of labour

gangs, to provide an adequate substitute for this lack. Yet by taking the statistics and other information that are available together with the observations of some of those engaged in ANGAU during the war in association with the general principles used by the Army in recruiting and allocating that labour to various areas and theatres of operation, it is possible to get some idea of what the overall effects of the war must have been on the language situation in Papua.

To begin with Papuans were recruited for and/or drafted into one of two main categories of employment:

1. specialist service sections which included a Medical Service, a police force, and the Papuan Infantry Battalion, and
2. general service sections, which included all others.

Those going into the first category were far fewer than those going into the second and were naturally given some sort of training to fit them for the specialist roles they were to play.

In pre-war Papua a Native Medical Service had been provided by a small staff of twelve European Medical Officers and Assistants and some forty-seven Native Medical Orderlies (op. cit.: 9). When civil administration was interrupted this service collapsed along with all other services. All available fit personnel were enlisted into ANGAU. There they were used as required on intelligence work (because of their good local knowledge) and in providing medical attention to Papuan carriers and other labourers in the various Papuan campaigns until a proper ANGAU Medical Service was established in October, 1942. At that time there were 'two medical officers, 12 medical assistants, 1 dispenser and 1 clerk, and 16 personnel enlisted from various sources (who had had little or no medical training)' (ibid.: 22), and an unknown number of Native Medical Orderlies (but presumably no more than the forty-seven that were in the pre-war Service as there had been no time to train any more). By 1944, however, the Papuan branch of this Service had been expanded to include five European Medical Officers, fifty Medical Assistants, two Instructors, and fifteen clerical staff and 314 Papuan Native Medical Orderlies (ibid.: 9). Native Medical Orderlies worked in base hospitals, RAPs and Aid Posts, and, for a time, as members of field ambulance units that played such an important part in the maintenance of the health of general labourers and soldiers in battle areas. They were supervised by European medical staff and received some training in bases as well as on the job. Recruitment to the service naturally depended on some elementary education, which, in turn, meant that most if not all knew some 'English,'²⁰ although Police Motu was the main lingua franca amongst Papuans. In April 1945, there were 738 in the ANGAU Medical Service and by the end of the war 955 Papuans and New Guineans had served in that section (Nelson, 1982: 43).

As for the police, there were two forces in operation when war came to Papua and New Guinea, one for each of the respective territories. Following the outbreak of hostilities in New Guinea, however, and with the cessation of civil administration, both forces were amalgamated into one unit called the Royal Papuan Constabulary (Sinclair, 1972: 918). Despite this change, however, the force continued, as far as possible, to do the same sort of routine law and order and patrol work that it had always done in the two separate territories before the war, except that now its members also often acted as scouts and guides for Army patrols.²¹ Indeed, seven Papuans were killed in action while involved in this latter kind of activity during the war.²² In

December 1943, there were 2,064 members in this force — see Appendix M — the majority of whom are presumed to have been Papuans as much of the Territory of New Guinea was still under enemy control at that time. By December 1944, however, there were 2,553 in the force of whom 1,175 were located in Papua and are presumed to have been Papuans,²³ and by September 1945, only 1,334 out of a total of 3,137 enlisted during the war were Papuans.²⁴ Because of the changing composition of this force and its use of Police Motu in Papua and Pidgin English in New Guinea, it is likely that Police Motu was its lingua franca initially but that Tok Pisin became increasingly more important as time went on.

The Papuan Infantry Battalion, on the other hand, was a special Army unit for Papuans. It was formed in June 1940 (Barrett, 1969) and consisted then mainly of 'Orokaivas' from the Mambare military district and 'Keremas' from the Lakekamu military district, many of whom were ex-policemen (ibid.). But others were added later,²⁵ and when war broke out in Papua the ranks were extended by the addition of some of the Rabaul area labourers rescued from the Japanese and by the recruitment of others from labour lines. The unit fought alongside Australian and American troops in almost all parts of the Papuan and New Guinea campaigns (Nelson, 1980). It fought with particular distinction against the Japanese in the Kokoda Trail campaign in 1942–3 (Barrett, 1969; Ryan, 1972: 28). As the war continued the original battalion was split up to form nuclei for three more battalions raised on similar lines in New Guinea (called the New Guinea Infantry Battalions). A headquarters unit designated the Pacific Islands Regiment was also created with staff to administer all four battalions (ibid.). All of the officers and most of the non-commissioned officers of the Papuan Infantry Battalion were Australians, and as many of these were new to Papua and did not know Police Motu, the Army set up a school to teach them some in 1944.²⁶ In December 1943, there were 714 members of the battalion and by November 1945 this had risen to 1,806.²⁷ Because of the way the battalion developed, Police Motu was initially the main lingua franca of the unit, but this gradually gave way to New Guinea Pidgin as New Guineans were added into it in 1942 and as it also served in New Guinea during the war.

The general service sections of native labour were also divided into sub-categories, for records-keeping purposes, according to place of work:

1. General labourers under the Department of Native Labour;
2. District level employment under District Officer, Assistant District Officers etc.;
3. 'Q' Plantations labour;
4. Production Control Board Plantations labour.

Of these, about half to two-thirds of those labourers available went to the Department of Native Labour, with a further third to plantations and smaller numbers to the other categories in the following descending order of importance: District level, sawmills, and 'Q' plantations. Production Control Board plantations were taken over from ANGAU in 1943 and were managed by pre-war personnel experienced in plantation work. All other labour came under the direct control of ANGAU officers who, as already indicated, were mostly men who had worked in Papua before the war in one capacity or another and generally spoke Police Motu. Other Army personnel were not allowed to interfere with, direct or employ native labour on their own account, although many did later have their own personal servants and fraternized with

labour, much to the chagrin of the higher officials (Nelson, 1982: 41–2). As one officer explained it, the relationship between Army personnel and ANGAU and other personnel was like this:

‘the ANGAU officer controls the natives, you [the Army officer] control the ANGAU officer . . . You decide what work you want carried out and the ANGAU officer is like your transport officer or his equivalent. It is his duty to carry out these tasks or inform you that he cannot do so with the resources at his disposal.’²⁸

In theory there was supposed to be one labour officer to every forty labourers although this desirable state was never achieved and the ratio was more usually two or more times that number (Nelson, 1982). As a result, on larger labour lines, labourers were less directly in contact with their ANGAU officers than in other situations. Because of the way the war developed in Papua, Papuans (and some New Guineans) employed by the Army under the Department of Native Labour were employed in one of four geographical locations. These areas were:

1. The Port Moresby-Kokoda Trail-Mambare area.
2. Milne Bay area,
3. D’Entrecasteaux Islands area.
4. Bulldog-Wau area.

Taking each in turn.

6.1.2.1 The Port Moresby-Kokoda Trail-Mambare Area²⁹

Following the Japanese landing in the Gona-Buna area in July 1942, every available Papuan was rushed to the Kokoda Trail to carry supplies for the Allied troops and to evacuate the wounded. Never in the history of war has such a ‘motley army of native cooks, houseboys, boats’ crews, rubber tappers, copra boys, carpenters, clerks, medical assistants and others’ been called upon to perform such a vital task. These became the legendary ‘fuzzy-wuzzy angels’ of the Second World War (Nelson, 1982: 70). They formed a living supply line across the Owen Stanley Ranges and, although many (as high as thirty per cent) suffered from sores and sore feet and other sicknesses (and many died), there was no rest for them, ‘the first lot of carriers had been in the forward areas and on the supply line for 14 weeks without a break’ (Kienzle’s Report (December, 1942), 1st October).

Initially, there were only about 600 of them that were gathered at Iloilo at the Port Moresby end of the trail. These came from plantations, labour pools and other places of work in the Port Moresby area and included men from the Mekeo and Rigo sub-districts, Kokoda and Tufi. In addition, local Koiari villagers, who lived along the trail, were pressed into service as required to help improve tracks and to act as guides.³⁰ Very soon, however, all District Officers were being asked to send in all available labour from outlying stations and plantations and to recruit many more as quickly as possible.³¹ By October there was systematic recruiting in all military districts and then numbers available on the track increased nominally to about 1,700, although wastage and sickness effectively reduced this number by about a third.³² At the same time, American forces using Papuan labour were pushing a road up the Kemp Welch River valley in the Rigo sub-district and establishing a line of communication across the mountains at the river’s source to Jaure and beyond. By October, there were between 700 and 1,000 labourers on this line.³³ The Kokoda Trail and Rigo lines of communication labour forces finally merged in the Buna area in



Plate 22: Papuan ‘fuzzy-wuzzy angels’ carrying a wounded soldier to safety on the Kokoda Trail during the Second World War [AWM Negative 14240]

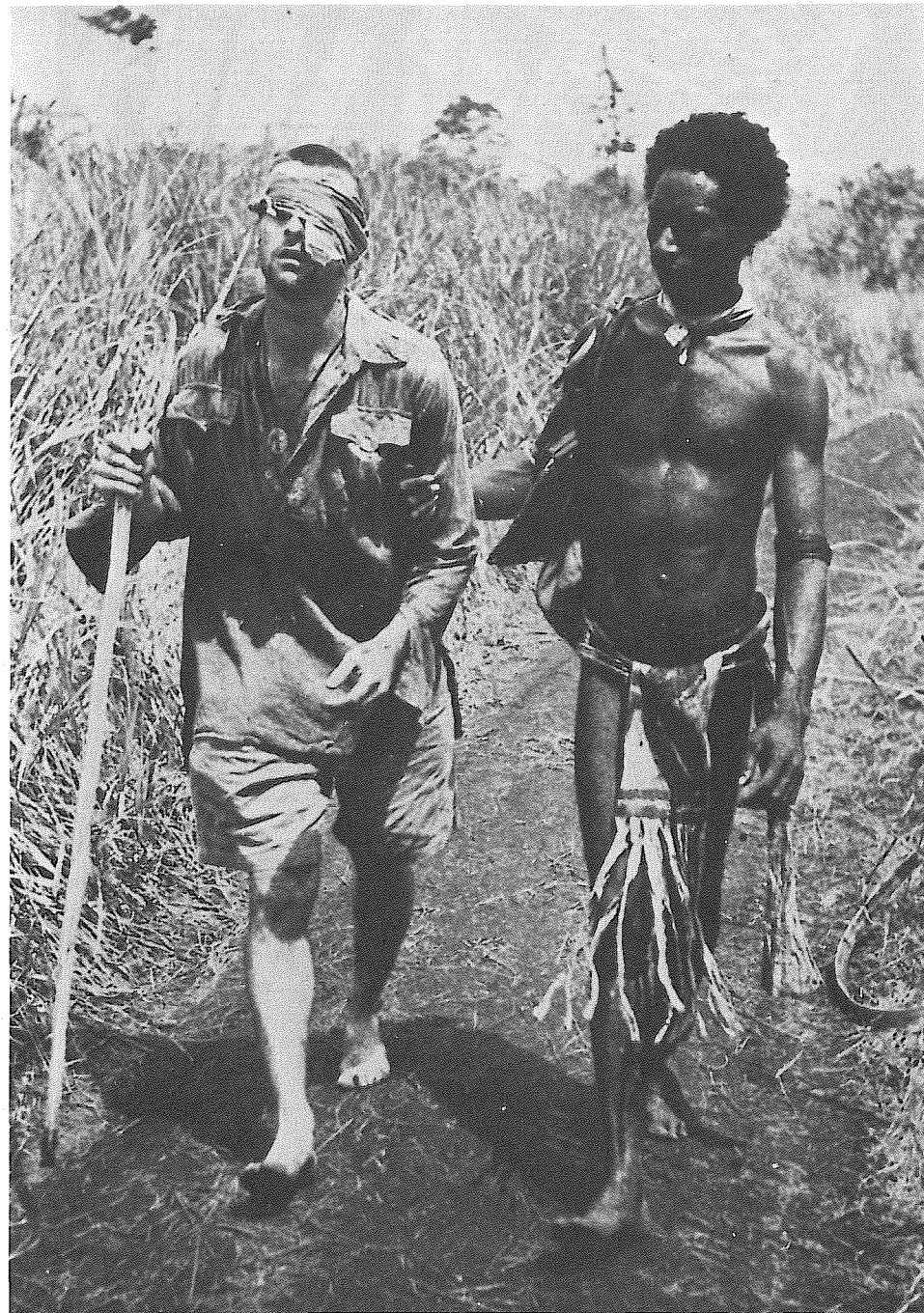


Plate 23: Raphael Oambari, a Papuan from the Mambare military district helps a wounded Australian soldier to safety. Most soldiers depended on 'broken English' as their only means of communication with Papuans in these and other contacts

[AWM Negative 14028]

December 1942 as the final drive against the Japanese remaining in Papua was executed. By this time, the ranks of the lines had been swelled to between 5,000 to 6,000 by Kokoda and Orokaiva tribesmen joining the line after the liberation of their areas³⁴ and by up to 1,000 Rabaul area natives who had been released by or captured from the Japanese.³⁵

After the close of the campaign in Papua, native labour 'was diverted in ever-increasing numbers to other jobs,' especially engineering works such as roads and aerodromes.³⁶ and even in March 1943 there were still over 5,000 labourers allocated to the Buna area building airstrips, roads and supply dumps, as the Allies prepared a suitable forward base for the recapture of Salamaua and Lae. As part of these moves, labourers were sent into the Morobe district from the Mambare area and others accompanied the American Task Force which landed at Nassau Bay just south of Salamaua. Thereafter, as Lae was approached from the west, 1,000 labourers and ANGAU control staff were sent to Tsili-tsili and Sunshine and arrived at Nadzab shortly after it was retaken by paratroopers. Subsequently, they were sent on to Lae to form the nucleus of the native labour force there. Thereafter, Papuans were no longer needed on the New Guinea side as recruiting was begun in areas like the Ramu Valley liberated from the Japanese, except for a few who were apparently taken there from time to time.³⁷ Large numbers were, however, still needed in Papua mainly in the Port Moresby area and in Milne Bay.

6.1.2.2 The Milne Bay Area

Because the area occupied by the Japanese here was restricted to the coastal area around the bay itself, there was no supply problem as in the Kokoda Trail area. Most of the labour used in preparing the area as an Allied base and afterwards, as in the brief campaign itself was obtained from the Samarai, Trobriand and Tufi military districts. After the Japanese had been cleared from the area in September, labour was mostly employed on base operations such as camp construction, road building, malarial control, aerodrome maintenance, and dock work, and the remainder was used in crewing the coastal shipping much needed in the district. In October 1942 over 1,500 labourers were allotted to the Milne Bay area — 600 of them to the Milne Force, 518 to Hat Force at Wanigela (near Tufi) in preparation for the Allied move against the enemy in the Mambare, and 455 on the Abau line of communication.³⁸ In the following March this number had been increased to 2,200, although there was no longer any Hat Force or Abua line of communication to supply. Thereafter, the need for labour decreased as the war got further away and facilities had been established, but the district continued to supply some workers to other areas as required.³⁹

6.1.2.3 The D'Entrecasteaux and Trobriand Islands Area

These areas saw only light enemy action and all labour demands in the area were met from within it. At the peak of activity, some 4,000 labourers were employed, but by March 1943 this had been reduced to a standing need of about 300.⁴⁰ Thereafter, any excess in the numbers recruited was sent to other areas.

6.1.2.4 The Bulldog-Wau Area

The Japanese occupation of the Lae-Salamaua area in May-June 1942 effectively cut off supplies to troops isolated in the Markham River valley so that plans were immediately made to open up a line of communication from the Lakekamu River in the Gulf of Papua via Terapo and Bulldog on the Papuan side of the main range to Wau on the Territory of New Guinea side — see Map 9. This line of communication gained in strategic importance as the tide of war turned in Papua and the Allies directed their attention to the recapture of Salamaua and Lae and the area beyond. Consequently, a road capable of carrying Army vehicles over part of this route was surveyed and begun, so that what started as a thin carrier line of a few hundred labourers soon developed into a road-building and carrier force of some 4,000 strong by March, 1943.⁴¹

In the early stages of this work, the labour force was split into Papuan and Territory of New Guinea groups and each worked more or less within its own territorial boundaries except for some 'mixed engineer groups' (McCarthy, 1959: 580). Papuan labour carried and worked from Terapo to Kujiru on the Territory of New Guinea side, and Territory of New Guinea labour worked from Kudjiru to Wau and beyond. The Papuan labour came mainly from the Lakekamu military district, in particular from the Mekeo and Kerema sub-districts, and at one stage (September, 1942) there were said to be no able-bodied men left in the Kerema sub-district.⁴² When activities on the road ceased early in 1944, 1,500 of these Papuans were transferred to the Wau-Wampit road. However, they did not stay long and were repatriated to their home areas by June, 1944. By then, 2,300 had been returned to the Kerema and Mekeo areas.⁴³

On the Territory of New Guinea side the focal point of operations was Wau until Lae and Salamaua were recaptured and air and sea access was opened up again. Restoration of facilities in and around Lae and the building of the Wau-Wampit road absorbed all available labour. During these operations the nucleus of the labour force consisted of New Guineans who had been cut off from their home districts when war broke out but was reinforced by the transfer of the 750–1,000 Rabaul area labourers who had been released or captured from the Japanese during the Buna campaign, together with recruits that had been obtained from the Waria and Markham River valleys following Allied advancement.

In review then, and looking at the picture from a different angle, by December 1943, when campaigns had moved well beyond Papua up into the Ramu River valley, almost 27,000 Papuans had been recruited to work for the Allies over the preceding two years. Of these, 20,000 were still in Army employ at the end of 1943 — see Appendix M. Over half of these (13,335) were allocated to Army establishments and the rest spread around the various district stations and substations (1,292), or in Army sawmills (664) or on their small plantations (323), or on plantations controlled by the Production Control Board (4,352). Although Army policy was to recruit and employ native labour in the respective districts in which they were recruited 'to avoid loss and delay due to transport'⁴⁴ (except where it was operationally necessary to do otherwise⁴⁵), it is clear from the available statistics that the greater availability of labourers in some areas where they were not operationally needed meant that the Army was forced to transfer many labourers from some military districts to others. Thus, for example, if the number of labourers recruited from each military district is compared with the number of labourers

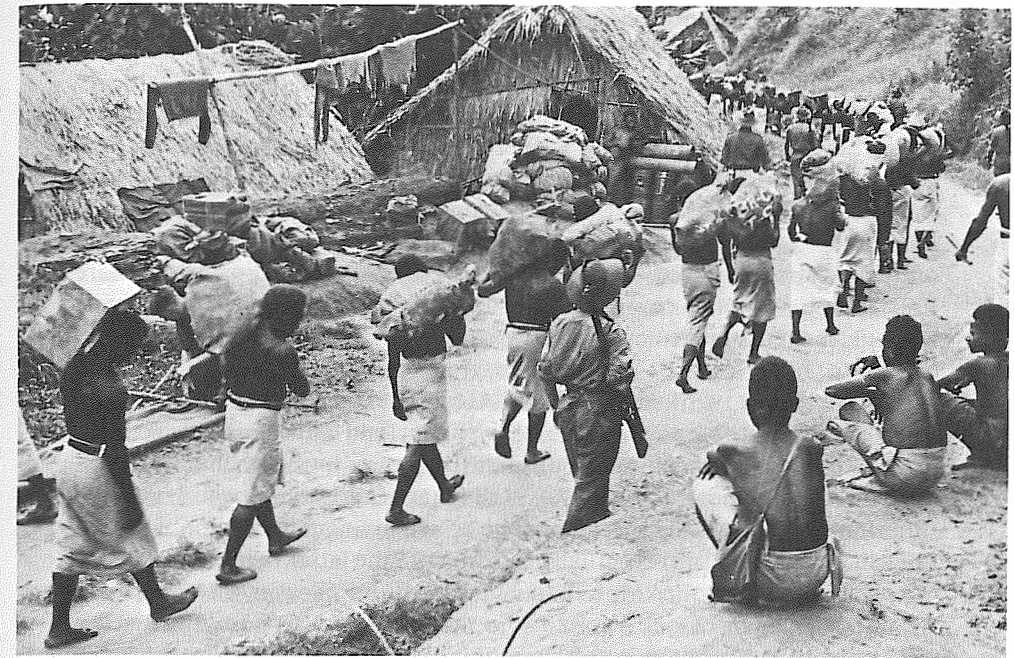


Plate 24: A carrier line on the move in Papua, 1942

[AWM Negative 15147]

actually allocated to those same districts (or locations within them) as is done in Table 6-2 below (which is turn is derived from Appendix M)⁴⁶, then it can be seen that the Fly River, Purari, Tufi, and to a lesser extent Lakekamu and Trobriand districts, supplied most labour to other districts. Most of this labour, moreover, must have gone to the Moresby and Mambare Districts where there were many more employed than were recruited locally. Thus, in Port Moresby there were 5,915 employed as against 2,748 engaged locally, and in the Mambare District there were 3,750 as against 2,738 recruited locally. But some must have also gone to the Territory of New Guinea as there were 1,835 employed in the South Markham district even though only 994 had been recruited from there, and in the North Markham and Ramu areas 7,238 and 1,590 were employed as against 6,119 and 136 recruited respectively. At that time the number employed in the Samarai District just about equalled the number recruited.

District	Number Recruited	Number Allocated
Fly River	2,445	273
Purari	3,215	527
Lakekamu	4,736	2,134
Moresby	2,748	5,915
Samarai	4,274	3,924
Trobriand	3,959	2,705
Tufi	2,810	543
Mambare	2,738	3,750
South Markham	994	1,835
North Markham	6,119	7,283
Ramu	136	1,590

Table 6-2: Labour Recruited and Allocated in December 1943

As a result of this kind of labour movement and the language policies and practices adopted by the Army, a number of significant linguistic consequences could be expected to follow:

1) The position of Police Motu is likely to have been considerably strengthened both socially and geographically. This follows from the fact that the Army recognized Police Motu as a language, had it written down, encouraged its use, taught it to its personnel, and used it for propaganda and morale purposes.⁴⁷ At the same time, large numbers of labourers from outlying districts worked in the Port Moresby and surrounding areas where Police Motu was the recognized lingua franca before the war and even without the encouragement of the Army attitudes, these labourers are bound to have learned Police Motu if they did not already know it. Elsewhere, many worked with ANGAU officers and others who knew Police Motu and, because of the Army policy and attitudes, are likely to have used it and so encouraged outsiders to learn it. In the smaller specialist units of the Medical Service, Royal Papuan Constabulary and Papuan Infantry Battalion, Police Motu was the principal lingua franca until Pidgin English (now Tok Pisin) eventually took over in the latter two. Some idea of the prestige which Police Motu had acquired during the war is to be gained from the life story of one Papuan who made a name for himself after the war trying to improve the lot of his people. He was Tommy Kabu from the Purari River delta area of the Gulf of Papua (Hitchcock and Oram, 1967: 3-43). For most of the war Tommy spent his time in Australia in the employ of an Australian naval officer. During this time he lived with the officer's family while serving as an officer's orderly and when not at sea on an Australian warship. Although uneducated and with little knowledge of English he very soon became keenly aware of the differences between the standard of living in Australia and that in Papua. This difference he attributed to the greater linguistic and cultural unity in Australian society. On returning to Papua he therefore advocated that his people discard their mother tongue in favour of the common lingua franca Police Motu. But for various reasons the 'movement' he inspired failed and Police Motu never became indigenized there, although it was 'adopted as the language of the movement and it was spoken as a conscious preference even in the villages' (ibid.: 11).

2) On the other hand, Papuans had, for the first time, been exposed in some numbers to the lingua franca of their sister territory, the Territory of New Guinea, New Guinea Pidgin (now Tok Pisin). Firstly, up to 1,000 Rabaul area labourers had joined the labour lines in the Buna area in late 1942 and stayed with them until early 1943. Then, Mambare Papuans and others had helped in the advances on Salamaua and Lae and beyond. Finally, Papuans had worked on sections of the Bulldog-Wau-Wampit roads with New Guineans. As a result of these contacts, Tok Pisin is likely to have been spread into Papua, but particularly into the Mambare and Lakekamu military districts. This is so for several good reasons:

- a) Papuans were outnumbered and so must have been under pressure to 'get with the strength' linguistically so to speak;
- b) New Guineans knew no Police Motu, while Papuans on the other hand knew some 'English' which, although not regarded as such by most Europeans, was a pidgin English related to Tok Pisin and with many of its most obvious characteristics (e.g., *long*, *bilong*, *-im* markers on transitive

verbs, *i/he* predicative marker, and similar pronouns) (Mühlhäusler, 1969: 1403ff). Indeed, one piece of evidence that came out of the war suggests that Papuans could communicate quite well (and presumably in this language) with New Guineans whom they had never met before. This evidence is contained in the court case Rex vs. Asi, in which a Buna man from the Mambare District was accused of murdering one of the Rabaul area labourers brought to Papua by the Japanese. In his evidence, the defendant explained how he became angry after speaking to the deceased and had learned that he had stolen from his garden because he had been beaten (by the Japanese) with a stick and was without food. Asi killed him, he said, for 'spoiling his village';⁴⁸

c) Some Japanese knew New Guinea Pidgin (McCarthy, 1959: 127) and must have used it to communicate with Papuans in the Gona-Buna area when they were in control of that area because they had no other language remotely similar in common. In addition, New Guinea Pidgin is likely to have increasingly become the language of the Royal Papuan Constabulary and Papuan Infantry Battalion as more and more New Guineans were added to them.⁴⁹

3) Papuans had simultaneously been exposed to different varieties of English and to the power associated with those who spoke English. This could not but have awakened in them a realisation of the disadvantages of not knowing 'proper' English and of the need for better education all round.

In short, the war must have had a tremendous effect on the linguistic situation in Papua and complicated the picture even more than it had been before the war.

6.2 After the War: Recognition, Name Change, National Identity and the Future

6.2.1 Recognition

Once the war was over the country gradually returned to normal although there was no going back to the *taim bipo*, to the conditions of the 'good old days' before the war. Australia accepted that it had neglected its duty towards the country and its people and now determined that everything possible would be done to develop it (Griffin et al., 1979: 102ff). From now on both territories would be administered as one and education would be promoted as the key to success. Not surprisingly, English was reaffirmed the official language and universal literacy in English set as the ultimate goal (Hasluck, 1976). Official thinking at the time did not consider either Police Motu or New Guinea Pidgin spoken in New Guinea, or both, capable of fulfilling a formal educational role (Murray, 1949; Hasluck, 1976). It has never done so since. These languages were, after all, pidgin languages, not 'pure' ones, and could not possibly be called on to fulfill any but a supplementary role, even though they were already known by a large percentage of the population and were easily learned by others.

That does not mean that the population generally despised Police Motu in particular or held it in low esteem or that the language had lost ground suddenly. Not at all! It was simply that it was normal at that time for administrators not to consider pidgin languages when planning programmes of education. In point of fact, Police Motu was called on to play a very important role in post-war development as it was utilized to fill the informal educational

gap that could not, and would not, be filled by 'proper' English for a long time. Not only the District Officers, Assistant District Officers and Patrol Officers needed it now, but, as the administration expanded, so too did the new Agricultural officers, the new Cooperative officers and others who were coming into the Territory in increasing numbers. As a result, the language was given new life as it expanded into new areas. It was no longer the language of the police and district administrators, but the unofficial language of administration *par excellence*.

Keeping pace with these developments were others that added to the spread and status of Police Motu. The Rev. (now Sir) Percy Chatterton, a long-time LMS resident of Papua and a recognized authority on Motu, was encouraged by the newly established Department of Education to publish the first of what became a series of elementary introductions to the language.⁵⁰ The first of these was called *A Primer of Police Motu* and was published in 1946. Although this was done somewhat reluctantly because the author did not have cause to use the language much until 1957 (personal communication, 30.4.1983),⁵¹ and although the account was of a somewhat 'improved' version of the language,⁵² these little books probably did more for the status of the language at that time than any other single event. On the one hand they not only manifested a growing interest in the language, but also, on the other, provided those interested in it and wanting to learn it (or having to learn it) with a means of doing so, and, as already indicated, there were increasing numbers of those. At the same time, the language was also being used on national radio, the Government and missions began publishing different kinds of materials in it and language learning classes were started in it.

Initially, radio programmes were limited to the 'Native People's Session' which was broadcast daily in the afternoons on 9PA by the Australian Broadcasting Commission radio station in Port Moresby. This session was a programme of news, information and entertainment organized by Mr P. Livingston, an ex-Army wartime broadcaster at the time seconded to the Department of Education.⁵³ Subsequently, district radio stations were set up in various strategic positions, notably at Kerema (1964), Daru (1965), Samarai (1967), Popondetta (1972) and Port Moresby (1974), and broadcast much, if not continuously, in Police Motu (Mackay, 1976; Taylor, 1981b).

At the same time the Government used Police Motu mainly for preparing instruction and information leaflets designed for use in extension services, but gradually the role of the language was expanded into preparing newspapers and other mass communication materials in it after a Department of Information and Extension Services was set up (Brett *et al.*, 1962a). The missions, especially the smaller more scattered and more recently arrived ones, on the other hand, restricted their use of Police Motu to religious materials, while the four older, larger and well-established ones (the LMS, Anglicans, Methodists, Roman Catholics) did not need to use Police Motu because of their knowledge and use of other local languages. Thus, for example, the Papua New Guinea Union Mission of the Seventh Day Adventist Church (hereafter called the SDA Mission) used Police Motu for lesson pamphlets and the Jehovah's Witnesses also used it for some of their publications, although only after World War Two (Dutton and Brown, 1977). Before then it was anathema to publish in Police Motu, the accepted thing being to use only the 'pure' or 'true' language in print. But the SDA Mission had tried that and found it wanting (principally because 'true' Motu is not intelligible to Police Motu speakers) and so, after the war, Pastor N. Lock insisted that Police

Motu be used instead. Since then other missions and similar organizations have adopted it for their own purposes (e.g., the Bible Society, The Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'i, and the Salvation Army) (Taylor, 1981b).

Meanwhile, the Administrator of the Provisional Administration, Col. J. K. Murray, had encouraged Mr Livingston to begin lessons in the language for interested persons in Port Moresby. Mr Livingston began these classes in 1947 and they have been continued since, more or less continuously, in different forms and in different places, although Mr Livingston eventually ceased to have anything to do with them (Dutton, 1977a). Initially, Chatterton's primers were used in these courses as the basic language learning text supplemented by other materials. Some of these were to have been published by Livingston as *A Course in Hiri Motu* (Dietz, 1972) but to date this has not appeared. A more extensive course, called *Beginning Hiri Motu*, designed specifically for use in modern language laboratory teaching situations, was, however, produced by the Australian National University (Dutton and Voorhoeve, 1974), modified versions of which are now used at the University of Papua New Guinea for teaching the modern form of the language to Papua New Guineans (Dutton, 1977a).

Meanwhile, as the Administration expanded it began to think more seriously about language problems and how to make its publications and broadcasting more effective. As a result, it commissioned the Summer Institute of Linguistics to make the first survey of the language in 1961. The purpose of this survey was to determine:

'the extent to which the Motu and Police Motu languages are spoken and understood in Papua, to determine the dialectal variations of each, and to produce a dictionary of Police Motu.' (Brett *et al.*, 1962a: 7)

This was quite a milestone in the history of the language, for it not only gave official recognition to it but also showed that it was not merely a corruption of 'true' Motu which varied more or less randomly from place to place (Lock, 1943: 1, 3; Chatterton, 1950: 5), but was a real language with its own grammar and vocabulary, however much of that may be drawn from 'true' Motu. Thus, the survey showed that:

'although there are considerable local variations of Police Motu and numerous differences of pronunciation, this trade language may readily be classified as consisting of two dialects ... the Central dialect and ... the Non-Central dialect.' (p. 9)

At the same time the first dictionary in the language was compiled and published. This dictionary was very popular and became the standard reference work for translators and language learners. The survey and the dictionary were thus important in giving further public recognition to the language and in helping to change attitudes towards it, attitudes that were both manifested by and added to by other publications such as *Police Motu: An Introduction to the Trade Language of Papua (New Guinea) for Anthropologists and Other Field Workers* (Wurm and Harris, 1963), for example. But other things were happening which tended to work against the position that Police Motu had reached, or, at least, were seen, or feared, by some to be doing so.

These changes began subtly in the post-war reconstruction period when the Public Services of the then combined Territory of Papua-New Guinea expanded. In the old days, field officers were appointed to either the Papuan or the New Guinean administration, and, as members of such, were expected

to learn the major lingua franca of each, Police Motu for Papua and New Guinea Pidgin for New Guinea. Now, however, they were appointed to the Public Service of the Territory of Papua-New Guinea and, as such, could be freely transferred between what used to be two separate territories with different traditions. As a result, field staff, but especially the newer contract officers who began arriving during the 1960s, began to feel, rightly or wrongly, that if it was necessary to learn a lingua franca at all New Guinea Pidgin was the obvious choice, at least in the first instance, for it was not only the more useful (because of the greater number of speakers, for example), but it was also the easier to learn because of its historical connection with English.⁵⁴ These attitudes developed despite the fact that some effort was made by the Administration in the late 1950s and early 1960s to encourage staff to learn native languages as a means of increasing rapport with local populations, firstly, by sending selected members of its field staff to language-learning training schools conducted especially for the Administration by the Summer Institute of Linguistics,⁵⁵ and secondly, as already noted, by offering classes in Police Motu in Port Moresby. However, the results of both these programmes were, unfortunately, seriously affected by conditions in the service that supported them. Thus, the former scheme suffered from all-too-frequent staff transfers and the latter from the fact that the classes in Port Moresby did not cater for those who needed them most, notably the field officer remote from the administrative capital.

The negative effect that these developments had were exacerbated as administration itself became more and more decentralized, firstly, into local government councils and subsequently into Provincial Governments as the country was prepared for Home Rule and later for Independence in 1975. As a result, the old basis for support for the language was further undermined. Gradually, the old all powerful Police Motu-speaking Patrol Officer with his roving band of police was replaced, not only by Pidgin English-speaking ones but also by councils and committees of locally elected representatives, by local courts and by 'advisers' who had few of the old Patrol Officers' powers (although they were often the same persons). And because most councils were based on linguistic groupings in which there was usually one or a small number of widely known local languages, there was no longer any need for a lingua franca such as Police Motu. The old power structure was gone and the new one dictated new rules. As a result, the need for Police Motu was downgraded as local regional languages stepped in to take over its role. Not only that but English, which was being vigorously promoted, was spreading, as was New Guinea Pidgin. Both of these had, and still have, much more prestige nationally than Police Motu and both were spreading into social domains and geographical areas previously the preserve of Police Motu. In particular, Port Moresby was becoming as much a New Guinea Pidgin-speaking town as a Police Motu-speaking one and Papuans began to feel themselves threatened both linguistically and physically, especially when the crime rate in Port Moresby rose and as New Guinea Pidgin often associated with it, increased in prestige and power.⁵⁶ These fears spawned two important reactions which ensured the survival of Police Motu (for the time being at least) and gave it equal status with New Guinea Pidgin in the eyes of most Papuans as well as in the eyes of the law.

6.2.2 Name Change and National Identity

One reaction to the linguistic and political situation that was developing and that has been referred to above, expressed itself in the form of a Study Conference on Police Motu held in Port Moresby in May 1971 which was organized by the Department of Information and Extension Services.⁵⁷ Theoretically, this conference was called to consider whether or not a new dictionary of Police Motu should be commissioned by the Department as stocks of the old 1962 dictionary were running low and there were reports that the language had undergone changes over the intervening ten years.⁵⁸ But it is clear from the published proceedings of that conference that a more fundamental issue, albeit an associated one, was the status of Police Motu vis-a-vis New Guinea Pidgin. The Administrator pointed to this concern when he said in his opening address to the conference that he thought Police Motu speakers probably 'felt themselves to be on the defensive lately' (p. 1) because of the rapid development of New Guinea Pidgin; Dr John Guise, MHA and Speaker of the national parliament at the time, in taking up this remark, categorically asserted that Police Motu was 'not a dying language (p. 3) as many 'experts' had claimed and he threatened to make a political issue out of it if attitudes towards it did not change (including those of the national parliament); and the recommendations of a Standing Committee set up at the conference 'to deal with the problems' (p. 9) of the language are mainly concerned with ways of promoting it (p. 10). The publication of a new dictionary, while it may have been needed for other purposes, was but one means of drawing attention to the language. Another was a name change. The conference agreed that the name should be changed because, as one of the members of the conference pointed out later:

'since the amalgamation of the territories of Papua and New Guinea in 1946, the combined police force, in which New Guineans are in a majority, has largely swung over to the use of New Guinea's lingua franca, Pidgin. The term 'Police Motu' has therefore become an anachronism' (Chatterton, 1971: 1)

The name Hiri Motu was proposed and adopted for the language by the conference and was used in the title of *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* that was produced by the Department of Information and Extension Services,⁵⁹ and subsequent publications have generally used it, although, for reasons that have been discussed herein, the name itself is not historically accurate and is not widely used by speakers of the language outside of the Port Moresby area.

But to return to the status of the language. It is doubtful if the Conference on Police Motu would have achieved the equality of Police Motu (now Hiri Motu) with New Guinea Pidgin that was being sought for it had it not been for political developments in the late 1960s and early 1970s which were a different expression of Papuan fears about a union with New Guinea which, more than anything else, drew Papuans' attention to the language and their own identity. These developments were those concerned with the granting of Home Rule and Independence to Papua New Guinea and within that, to the relative position of Papua vis-a-vis its sister territory New Guinea.

Not everyone was happy with the idea of a union between Papua and New Guinea because it was feared that Papua, always regarded as the poorer of the

two in natural resources and economic development potential, would be dominated by New Guinea and treated as its poorer cousin. This uneasiness spawned an anti-union, anti-New Guinea movement called the Papuan Separatist Movement or Papua Besena (from Motu *bese* 'descendants, tribe, nation') whose aim was to oppose such a unification (Griffin et al., 1979: esp. 206–9; Chatterton, 1974: 113). In its struggle against integration, this movement emphasised Papuan (as distinct from New Guinean) ethnicity, identity and solidarity. Although it was not claimed as such openly, much of the support for these claims was based on the fact that Police or Hiri Motu was *the* lingua franca of Papua, and this language was used in most of the movement's anti-unification campaigns and rallies. Of course these claims were technically false. The political boundary of Papua was not based on any ethnic groupings. In fact it divided languages and tribes in the Southern Highlands and Gulf Provinces. In addition Police or Hiri Motu was not, and is not, evenly distributed geographically throughout the whole of Papua. Moreover, in those areas where it was spoken at the time, it was spoken more by men than women. Again New Guinea Pidgin was spoken in some parts just as much if not more than Police or Hiri Motu. Despite such facts the ethnicity claims were emotionally appealing and politically effective, and the fact that they were expounded vehemently and eloquently in both English and Hiri Motu by the attractive leader of the movement, Ms Josephine Abaijah, added to their appeal. In the end Papua did join New Guinea in a political union in 1975, and Hiri Motu was guaranteed equal status with New Guinea Pidgin: both were recognized as national languages.

Police Motu had thus indeed come a long way in the past hundred years. Its status had never been higher. The predictions that it would die out as New Guinea Pidgin spread rapidly throughout Papua after Independence did not come to pass. There had never been so much public use made of the language for mass communication and other purposes as has been seen since Independence. Currently, the language is used daily on both the National Service and Provincial Stations of the National Broadcasting Service. It is the main language of broadcasts of Radio Central (Port Moresby), Gulf (Kerema), Western (Daru), and Northern (Popondetta). And the Government injected new life into its ailing newspaper of the early seventies, *Iseda Sivarai*, and put out a news sheet called *Kamonai* as well. In addition, departmental publications have increased and the Government translators are kept so busy with requests that they cannot keep up with the demand. At the same time, there was a wide range of religious organizations involved in publishing in the language and organized language-learning also increased.⁶⁰ Of particular note was that the University of Papua New Guinea took a leading role by introducing Hiri Motu (and Tok Pisin) courses into its normal course structure. These courses are taught by Papua New Guineans and the University sees them as providing an important community service by way of helping to make sure that future community workers (whether public servants or not) go out from the University with at least a basic knowledge of the language that is necessary to communicate effectively with the people they are supposed to be helping. Similar knowledge is also useful for intra-university communications and public relations purposes. The changed attitudes represented by the foregoing developments are rather surprising in view of the past history of the language, but are readily understandable in terms of the recent political and other history of Papua New Guinea.

But what of the future of Hiri Motu? Will it eventually die as has been predicted by some or will it survive for another hundred years, or for ever?

6.2.3 The Future

Of course it is not possible for anyone to predict what will happen to Hiri Motu in the future. What is worth pointing out, however, is that the future of the language will depend, as does that of all languages, on many factors, not the least of which are attitudes towards it and the social role it is called on to play. As we have seen, Hiri Motu arose (as Police Motu) out of the need for Papuans and others to communicate with one another and it will just as surely die away if that need ever dies or is taken over by some other language. Languages are not static systems that remain the same for all time, they change and develop in response to the social conditions in which they are used. The present status of, and conditions under which Hiri Motu is used suggest that it will be around for a long time to come although not necessarily — in fact most likely not — in its present form or distribution. Indeed the language is already undergoing changes in response to the new situations in which it is being used.

This can most easily be seen in the vocabulary where new words for new items and activities have been taken over from English and/or Tok Pisin, the two main languages with which Hiri Motu is in contact. Some of these appear in the Government's *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* already referred to (e.g., *agenisi* 'disagreement, conflict, opposed to', *ampaea* 'umpire', *aplikesini* 'application', *ba* 'bar, hotel', *bamepa* 'bump into, have an accident', etc. (Dutton, 1976a). There are many others, however, such as *piknik karaia* 'to picnic', *motabaiki* 'motorbike', *stopu* 'stop', *telefoni* 'telephone', *rini* 'to ring (on a telephone)', *boksing* 'boxing', *bakadi* ((bona) *kok*) 'rum ((and) coke), *sekap* 'check up', *seamani* 'chairman', *prais* 'prize', *haonea* 'to switch on', and those associated with sports, politics, commerce, house-breaking, car stealing, drinking and brawling, that do not appear in that dictionary. Such borrowing is also having an effect on the grammar of Hiri Motu. Thus, for example, some speakers are beginning to use Tok Pisin verbs in their Hiri Motu. This is especially noticeable when Tok Pisin verbs are simpler (in the sense that a single form conveys the same sense as several Hiri Motu words) than the corresponding Hiri Motu ones. For example, Tok Pisin *skelim* conveys the same sense as Hiri Motu *atoa sikeli dekenai* (lit. 'to put (something) on the scales'), 'to weigh or share out (something)'. If this kind of borrowing continues it could eventually have important consequences for the language by way of complicating its transitive verb system. Thus, whereas Tok Pisin transitive verbs are normally marked for transitivity by a final syllable *-im* (e.g., *skelim*, *lukim*), similar verbs in Hiri Motu are normally marked by a final *a* or *ia* (e.g., *atoa* 'to put', *itaia* 'to see'). When Tok Pisin verbs are taken over into Hiri Motu their transitivity marker *-im* goes with them and they are not marked in the normal Hiri Motu way. They thus constitute exceptions in the language.

In other, less obvious, respects the language is changing too. Whereas, for example, Hiri Motu was a pidgin language that was learned and used as a second or third or whatever number language by Papuans besides their own mother tongues, it is reported that the language is now being learned by some, in mixed marriages, for instance, as a first language or mother tongue. When that happens it is said by linguists to have become a creole (or become creolized) and at the same time is likely to have undergone extensive changes as the language is moulded to fulfil all the functions of a mother tongue. Regrettably, no investigation has been made of this phenomenon to date, but it is something that should be undertaken as it is not only interesting in itself, for communication purposes, but is also of interest to linguists who study pidgin and creole languages in other parts of the world.⁶¹

Other changes are also likely to result from the interplay of forces that have already been mentioned, e.g., the prestige and spread of Tok Pisin and English; the possible increase in the use of local regional languages; the use made of Hiri Motu in mass communication; political developments which appeal to Papuan identity, the attitude of the Government towards the language. At the moment, the net result of these forces would appear to be positive in some areas and negative in others. Meanwhile, the language lives on and while it lives on will go on reacting to social changes in its own way as it has always done. And that of course is what will make its history interesting in another hundred years time.

Chapter 7

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.1 Introduction

We have now come to the end of the story as far as the general outline of the external history of Police Motu is concerned. However, there is still one aspect of this story that requires discussion before a final overview is presented. This aspect is that which has been referred to in different places throughout the foregoing account but which it has not been convenient to consider before, notably, the relationship between Police Motu and 'broken' English.

7.2 The Relationship between Police Motu and 'broken' English

There are several separate, although interrelated, issues that need to be aired under this heading. One of these concerns the Continuity Hypothesis discussed in Chapter 2. Another is the explanation of the observed similarities between Police Motu and different varieties of pidgin English spoken in the South-west Pacific.¹ Finally, there is the question of what happened to 'broken' English in Papua after the war. Taking each of these in turn:

7.3 The Continuity Hypothesis and the Observed Similarities Between Police Motu and Pidgin English

In outlining the history of Police Motu much has been made herein of the fact that 'broken' English was already spoken quite widely in some areas of Papua before Police Motu began to develop and spread. Much has also been made of the fact that 'broken' English was, strictly-speaking, probably the first language of Governor MacGregor's Armed Native Constabulary and was used alongside of Police Motu for a long time in that unit. In view of these facts and the fact that there are a number of obvious similarities between Police Motu and the various pidgin Englishes spoken in the South-west Pacific with which it has been in contact at different times, the question arises as to just how much influence pidgin English, in one form or another, might have had on the development of Police Motu over the years.

Briefly, the position adopted in this account and argued for in Chapter 2 is that although Police Motu may have been influenced by one or more pidgin Englishes at one or more stages in its development, there is no way of either demonstrating this or of disproving it with the available data. On the other hand, both historical and social evidence suggest that Police Motu more likely represents a continuation of the Simplified Motu used by the Motu in their contact with the first missionary, Lawes, than a new or separate development. That is, all the available evidence points to Police Motu being a continuation of Simplified Motu rather than being a relexification of pidgin English of some form, as was once suggested before the detailed analysis underlying the present account was undertaken (Dutton, 1976a). In other words the similarities observed between it and forms of pidgin English spoken in the South-west

Pacific are not to be explained as resulting from a process in which the vocabulary of the one was replaced by that of another but as resulting from other processes such as influence, borrowing and/or convergence.

7.4 'Broken' English After the Second World War

It will be remembered that this language had been introduced into Papua before Police Motu arose and was more widespread than Police Motu for many years — indeed, probably up until about the 1920s or 1930s. This language was primarily the language of commerce and was most widespread in the eastern and western ends of the colony-cum-Territory in the early days. As such, it was kept quite separate socially and geographically from Police Motu for a long time and only gradually came into competition with it in function and distribution. We know that this English was still used up to and during the Second World War in Papua. We have that on the good authority of the Government Anthropologist F. E. Williams and others.² But after the war it suddenly seemed to disappear,³ until it was 'rediscovered' by Mühlhäusler in 1976 (Mühlhäusler, 1978). Although further research is required to determine the extent and use of this language today, Mühlhäusler's research, limited though it is, shows that it at least does still exist in some parts of the country and is not as dead as it was thought to be. The question arises then as to why nothing has been heard of this language since the war.

It is again unfortunately not possible to answer this question outright here. A number of factors have probably conspired over time to bring about a situation in which this 'broken' English could be, and was, ignored. These factors are indirectly relevant to the history of Police Motu and are:

1) *The rise in the status of Police Motu.* Police Motu was recognized as the language of Government and even though Murray (1930: iii) regarded it as a 'bastard jargon, almost as bad as "pidgin English"' which he hoped would 'also, in time, disappear', this did not happen. Instead, as already indicated in Chapter 6, the language increased in prestige during and after the Second World War. As a result it was recognized as *the* lingua franca of Papua, a situation that was helped by other factors to be described below. In other words, the fact that 'broken' English is no longer mentioned after the war is probably to be interpreted as due as much to the new heights to which Police Motu had risen in status as to any sudden change in its own position;

2) *The peculiar linguistic relationship between 'broken' English and 'correct' English.* An important aspect of 'broken' English was that it was never regarded as a separate language from English but merely as 'bad' English. This is implied in the term 'broken' English and is implicit in the view that MacGregor and Murray thought that it could, and should, be 'improved'. It is also implicit in the minds of surviving former residents of Papua I have spoken to, who, when asked if pidgin English was spoken in Papua in the early days (i.e. before the Second World War), invariably say 'No'. But when asked what sort of English Papuans spoke then, they reply with something like: 'Well, not real English. It was sort of like the broken English used by Aborigines in Queensland'. Further questioning brings out the fact, that at the first mention of 'pidgin English' those being interviewed immediately think of that spoken in the old Trust Territory of New Guinea, that is New Guinea Pidgin, now officially Tok Pisin. And that explains why the answer to the first question is invariably 'No', which is also the correct answer historically, except for the Woodlark Islands area in the 1880s. New Guinea Pidgin was not

spoken in Papua, and as Murray himself points out 'the English of New Guinea is as little understood in Papua as the pidgin Motu of Papua is understood in New Guinea' (1939: 9). Nevertheless, Papua did have its own forms of pidgin English even if they were not referred to as such. There is no question that the form of English spoken in Papua in pre-war days was a pidgin English with many of the same characteristics as that still spoken in the Torres Straits, and from the forerunners of which it came. Because it was hardly ever referred to as a pidgin English and was regarded as something different from the Territory of New Guinea variety meant that there was no attitudinal bar to attempting to meddle with it or to work on it to bring it up to the proper standard of 'correct' English. However, no such attempt could have succeeded had there not been other factors working in harmony with this. In particular it could not have worked had standard English not been available all the time as a model or target. The fact that from a very early time (mid-1895) a decision was taken to make English the official language of the country ensured that there was a corrective element injected into the scene. Even so the teaching of English was not very effective up until the Second World War. After the war tremendous resources have been expended on this with the result that few Papuans now recognize, at least publicly, that a pidgin English was ever spoken in Papua.⁴ What has happened presumably, and this will complicate any future investigation, is that a continuum developed between 'broken' English and standard English which made 'broken' English appear even closer to standard English than otherwise. Indeed, it may have even influenced it in that direction. This makes the story different from Tok Pisin in New Guinea which did not have English as a model in the same way until after World War II, with the result that it was able to develop fully, stabilize, and spread as a separate language;

3) *The establishment of an Education Department and the development of a new tradition about languages in Papua.* After the war when an Education Department was being established, the linguist Dr A. Capell of the University of Sydney was called in to give the Department advice on languages in the Territory. Dr Capell made his first visit to Papua and New Guinea in the summer of 1946-47 and on the basis of a brief visit to Lae and to a few ports around the Gulf of Papua between Daru and Port Moresby, made a number of observations about the use of Police Motu and 'English' in the country. As a linguist, Dr Capell was not much interested in pidgin languages (personal communication, 1983) and his observations about Police Motu and 'English' in Papua are, therefore, not surprisingly, brief and anti-pidgin. Basically, he saw Police Motu as 'a necessary evil' and was, like Governor Murray in 1930, 'hopeful that it may later be eliminated' (Capell, 1947:40). 'Broken' English was not mentioned in this or a subsequent report.⁵ Although Capell's hopes have so far not been realized, his comments must be seen as providing the Education Department with an authoritative account of the language situation as far as Police Motu and 'English' are concerned. Such comments could only become the accepted tradition as there was no one to challenge them for a long time. So the tradition that Police Motu was *the* lingua franca of Papua was further advanced and 'broken' English was forgotten until recently.

In retrospect then, there appear to have been a number of factors which coincided to contribute to the apparent sudden disappearance of 'broken' English in Papua after the war. Without this coincidence things would certainly not have been what they are today. For one thing Police Motu would most probably not have attained the prestige it did during the lead up to

Independence in 1975 when the separatist movement, Papua Besena, was very active. Indeed, the movement itself would most probably not have had the same wide appeal by its association with Police Motu as it had in practice. But of course these conclusions are mere speculations. The fact is that today Police Motu as Hiri Motu is recognized as *the* lingua franca of what used to be called Papua and has national language status. The way in which this came about and the reasons why it came about only make sense in terms of the social history of Papua over the past hundred years, and even though there are still many points of uncertainty about this story and many places in which it can be tidied up further, one thing is clear: the history of Police Motu is not quite as simple and straightforward as it is popularly assumed to be, and herein, of course, lies its interest and fascination.

7.5 Final Overview

So what then does the final view of the external history of Police Motu/Hiri Motu look like? The following diagram, Figure 7-1, attempts to capture the essence of what has been said throughout this volume and to clarify the issues involved. Briefly, the diagram attempts to show that Police Motu is seen as a continuation, not of a *hiri* trading language as the new name Hiri Motu is meant to suggest, but of another trading language used by the Motu as a contact language with linguistically related and unrelated peoples in their immediate area. This language was, unlike the *hiri* trading languages used by them, which were simplified forms of the languages spoken by their Gulf trade partners, a simplified form of their own language. This Simplified Motu was not related to those spoken on the *hiri* and was quite separate from them, although it may have been influenced by them (as is indicated by arrows and dotted lines in the chart). It existed before the arrival of Europeans and other foreigners but it is this language that was used by the Motu to communicate with the first missionary in the area. Dr Lawes, and taught to him as their language. The origin of this Simplified Motu is unknown but it most probably developed out of the contact between the Motu and their closest neighbours, the Koita, although others may have been involved. After the 1870s this Simplified Motu was extended in use by the arrival of a relatively large number of unofficial 'visitors' that came to the area before a strong Government presence was established there. Some of these foreigners were later employed by the Government as interpreters, guides, boatmen and unofficial policemen and were probably largely responsible for a form of this language being adopted by members of the first official police force, from which the language takes its name, that was established by Governor MacGregor in 1890. Thereafter the language became associated with the Government and the enforcement of law and order and spread with expanding Government control over the country. From that time on the history of the language became one of increasing competition with the other main lingua franca spoken in Papua before the Second World War, 'broken' English. This English was a pidginized form of English that was the language of commerce and that has since been described as Papuan Pidgin English. It had been introduced into the eastern and western ends of the country by labourers returning from work experience in the Torres Straits and Queensland and, subsequently, by miners and others. It was also the first language of MacGregor's official police force. Thereafter Police Motu remained in competition with 'broken' English until the Second World War. During this time the language came into contact with other languages besides 'broken' English as recruits were drawn into the police

force from different areas and as the language expanded into different areas. As a result different varieties of the language developed which varied in sounds used and in some grammatical features (e.g., in word order, object marking on verbs, possessive case) but especially in vocabulary (e.g., in non-Motu items obtained from other languages of Papua, 'broken' English and English). With the coming of the Second World War Police Motu was recorded and described for the first time and was given greater recognition. At the same time it was spread further, was regularized and used increasingly for mass communication. After the war Police Motu increased in status and 'broken' English lost its identity as standard English was promoted officially with great vigour. In 1970 the name Police Motu was changed to Hiri Motu and the language began to acquire new ranges of vocabulary in keeping with increased contact with English and Tok Pisin and in keeping with the changing social conditions in an increasingly complex society. In 1975 it acquired equal status with Tok Pisin as one of two unofficial national languages. *Inai sibona!* ('That's it!' or 'That's all there is!')

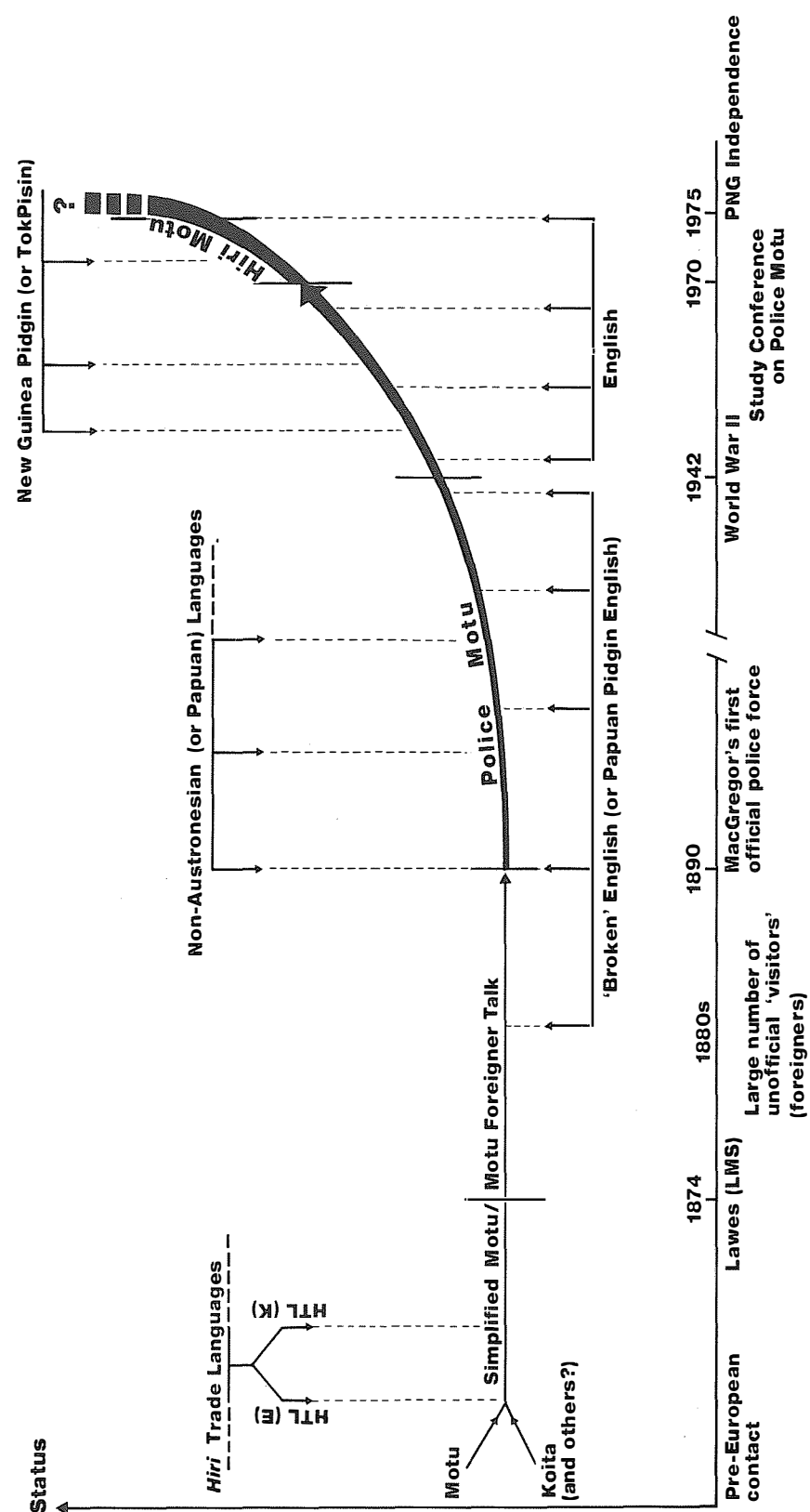


Figure 7-1: Diagrammatic Representation of the History of Police/Hiri Motu

Appendix A OUTLINE HISTORY OF CONTACT WITH PAPUANS

This history outlines major recorded 'political' events only. It does not include the more important but unrecorded contacts between European and other foreigners and the Motu in the late 1870s and throughout the 1880s. For these see Appendix C.

Date	Mission	Government	Other
1606			Torres passes through eastern islands and the Torres Straits. Kidnaps 14 Mailu Island children to take back to Manila.
1845			Capt. Blackwood in HMS ships 'Bramble' and 'Fly' charts western side of the Gulf of Papua. Discovers and names the Fly R.
1846			Lieut. Yule in HMS 'Bramble' surveys parts of the coast from the head of the Gulf of Papua to Yule Is. and Redscar Bay.
1847	Society of Mary establish mission on Woodlark Is. in Sept. Taken over by Foreign Missions of Milan and abandoned in July 1855.		
1849			Capt. Owen Stanley in HMS 'Rattlesnake' surveys parts of south-east coast and Louisiade Archipelago.
1870	Rev MacFarlane instructed to prepare to begin LMS mission work in New Guinea.		
1871	LMS begins to establish mission in Torres Straits. Missionaries MacFarlane and Murray visit Redscar Bay. Decide people are of the 'Malay race' and to open mission field there.		
1872	LMS and South Sea Island teachers at		

Date	Mission	Government	Other
	Tureture (Kiwai) and Manumanu (Redscar Bay) in November.		
1873	LMS teachers and wives sick at Manumanu. Two wives die and one teacher killed accidentally. Remainder removed by Capt. Moresby. LMS South Sea Island teachers relocated at Hanuabada, Port Moresby in November.		Capt. Moresby in HMS 'Basilisk' visits parts of south and north-east coasts. Discovers Moresby and Fairfax Harbours. Has friendly contact with Porebada, Tatana, Hanuabada and Pari villagers. Returns remaining sick LMS teachers at Manumanu to Somerset, C. York.
1874	First European LMS missionary, Rev W. G. Lawes arrives at Port Moresby in November to supervise developing mission. First permanent European settler in Papua. Mission begins opening up stations in Port Moresby area.		
1875	LMS station on Yule Is. but abandoned after 10 months. Further extension in Port Moresby area and at Hula and Kerepunu.		D'Albertis spends 8 months on Yule Is. making excursions to the mainland opposite. In October, Stone, Hargrave and Broadbent arrive with Dr James, Petterd and Knight. First three and Petterd stayed three months. Others went to Yule Is. Goldie visits Port Moresby and returns to open the country's first store.
1876	Dr and Mrs Turner arrive for LMS work. Mrs Turner dies. Dr Turner resigns. Percy Lawes dies 25 Aug.		D'Albertis ascends the Fly R. in the 'Neva'. Dr James and Thorngren murdered at Yule Is.
1878			Short-lived gold rush to Laloki R. About 100 white miners involved. Beche-de-mer fishers in British New Guinea waters. Two Deputy Commissioners appointed to represent British High Commission of the Western Pacific, Queensland magistrate Ingham and the

Date	Mission	Government	Other
			commander of HMS 'Sappho'. Ingham acts as Government Agent during the period of Laloki gold rush.
1881	Eight LMS teachers and wives murdered at Kalo. Lawes returns from furlough after nearly four years absence.		Woodlark area Islanders reported to be speaking new pidgin English having learned it through trade with the German Hensheim who obtained yams from them for his workers on New Britain. This is the first reported use of pidgin English in Papua.
1882	LMS opens stations at Delena, Maiva, Oiabu and Iokea.		
1883	LMS Chalmers reaches Purari R. LMS New Guinea Institute opened in Port Moresby.	Chester annexes New Guinea for Queensland Government.	Over 600 Papuans taken from Louisiades, D'Entrecasteaux and other island groups and nearby mainland to work on sugar plantations in Queensland.
1884	First LMS station at Motumotu, Kivori, Nara, Gabadi, and inland of Port Moresby and Rigo.	British Protectorate formally proclaimed over south-east New Guinea by Commodore Erskine on 6 Nov. Sir Peter Scratchley appointed Special Commissioner with six British officers as staff. Romilly appointed assistant commissioner.	Melbourne Age expedition under Morrison reaches Goldie R. Attacked and driven out. Beche-de-mer and copra traders located in Port Moresby and Milne Bay areas (from Thursday Is.). Page opens timber camp at Manumanu.
1885	Catholic Mission of Sacred Heart established on Yule Is. in Aug.	Government formally established in British New Guinea with arrival of Sir Peter Scratchley in Aug. First Government House erected in Port Moresby. Sir Peter dies on 2 Dec. Romilly in charge. First lockup in course of construction. First prisoner, Diavari, from Milne Bay.	Forbes establishes stations at Sogeri. Beche-de-mer stations at Tupuseleia, Gaile, Kapakapa, Hula and Aroma. Papuan labourers forcibly returned from Queensland following commission of inquiry.
1887		Rigo station established under G. Hunter. Kemp Welch R. valley explored for first time.	Bevan explores Kikori R. up around Tumu. About this time Papuans from Kiwai area presumed to have begun working in

Date	Mission	Government	Other
			maritime industries in Torres Straits. Cuthbertson scales Mt. Obree for the Geographical Society of Victoria. Government expedition into Mt. Koiari.
1888	Chalmers takes over LMS station at Motu-motu. More out-stations opened up along Toaripi coast. First LMS station in Mailu area.	Gold warden-cum-Government Agent stationed in Louisiades at Sudest. British New Guinea proclaimed a possession of Crown (or colony). Governor MacGregor arrives as first Governor. Fixes on Samarai as location for permanent station. Areas now under some sort of Government influence: Western Division: Daru/Kiwai to Mai Cussa R. Central Division: Coast from Motumotu to Aroma and inland to Sogeri and Rigo. Eastern Division: Samarai and coastal area around to Chad Bay (Awalama B.), along Suau coast, and Louisiades.	Gold found on Sudest. Large numbers of Kiwai working in Torres Straits.
1889	Dauncey takes over LMS station at Delena.	MacGregor scales Mt. Victoria and explores area around Vanapa R. First Government station in Western Division established at Mabadauan, Sept. 1889. Government Agent Maka, ex-LMS teacher, stationed at Cloudy Bay. Abandoned 1890. Headquarters of Louisiade district moved to Misima.	Gold found on Misima Is. MacGregor proclaimed Louisiade goldfield which included Sudest and Misima.
1890	MacGregor declares mission 'spheres of influence': LMS (between Samarai and Dutch border), Anglican (north-east coast), Methodist (eastern islands), Roman	Government Agent stationed at Mekeo. First official police force formed (Armed Constabulary) with two Fijians, 12 Solomon Islanders, 7 Kiwai and one from	

Date	Mission	Government	Other
	Catholics (Yule Is. and inland mainland opposite).	Milne Bay.	
1891	Methodist and Anglican missions begin to establish stations. Methodist headquarters established on Dobu Is., Anglican at Dogura. Anglicans introduced by Dipa, an ex-Queensland kanaka. Chalmers moves to Western Division, and headquarters of LMS moved from Samarai to Kwato Is. (nearby).	MacGregor tours Koiaric areas and north-east coast and establishes friendly relations.	Trepang fishers in C. Vogel area.
1892	Methodist mission opens station in Trobriand Is.	Sinagoro, Koiari and Kwale areas under control in Rigo district. Headquarters of South-eastern Division moved to Nivani. Government station in Western Division moved from Mabadauan to Daru.	
1893	Anglican mission begins opening up stations in Goodenough Bay area.		
1894			White miner killed on north-east coast.
1895		Government established on Mambare R. at Tamata, Oct. 1895.	Gold found on Woodlark Is. and prospectors moving into Mambare R. area. Company formed to mine Sudest gold.
1896	Lawes opens Vatorata College in Rigo area. Roro, Mekeo, Pokau (Nara) areas now under Roman Catholic influence.	Expeditions up Mambare, Kumusi and Musa rivers. English patrols Kokila area for first time in Rigo and is attacked. Police camp set up at Ugagolo.	Gold-miners moving into Mambare R. area in large numbers.
1897		Government Agent Green and others killed at Tamata station.	Gold found on Gira R.
1898	Anglican Mission begins work in Collingwood Bay area.	Further patrols into Mt. Koiari area. MacGregor retires from British New Guinea on 1 Sept.	

Date	Mission	Government	Other
		1898. Judge F. P. Winter acts as administrator until new administrator arrives. Government stations now at Daru, Mekeo, Rigo, Port Moresby, Samarai, Nivani, Tamata.	
1899	Anglican mission begins work on Mambare R.	G. Ruthven Le Hunte assumes office of administrator on 22 March. Site for Government station on C. Nelson selected. North-eastern Division defined.	Gold found on Yodda R. and at Gibara in Milne Bay. Sudest gold-mine abandoned.
1900	Saville takes over LMS station at Mailu and Schlenker opens inland mission at Rigo. Roman Catholics move into Kuni district.	Bogi Patrol Post opened on Kumusi R. Government station established at Tufi (C. Nelson). Northern and North-eastern Divisions established.	
1901	LMS missionaries Chalmers and Tomkins killed at Goaribari.	Headquarters of South-eastern Division moved to Bonagai on Murua or Woodlark Is. (from Nivani). Patrol Post opened at Papaki in Northern Division.	Gold found inland from Cloudy Bay.
1902		Bugi Patrol Post moved to Gaime on Fly R. Government influence extending up Bamu R. and between there and Fly R.	
1903/4		Lieut.-Governor Le Hunte retires. Judge Robinson acting as administrator (until Capt. Barton appointed administrator in 1904). First village constables appointed in Koriki and Iai tribes in Purari R. delta. Keveri valley visited. Government station moved from Bogi/Papaki to Kokoda. First patrols into upper Musa R. and upper Kemp Welch and Ormond	Gold miners in Keveri valley.

Date	Mission	Government	Other
		rivers. First contact with Managalasi area. Still considerable part of Gulf of Papua coastline not thoroughly brought under Government influence (viz. C. Blackwood to Purari R.). Except for this area, the whole of littoral and a greater part of hinterland 20 miles or more back under complete control.	
1904		Capt. Barton appointed Administrator on 16 June. Judge Robinson commits suicide at Government House, Port Moresby on 20 June.	Three small coffee plantations open up at Sogeri, a small rubber one at Rigo and a coconut one at Dedele.
1905	LMS mission continues to expand. Stations now spread along 530 miles of coastline between Kwato (near Samarai) in the east and Daru in the west. Roman Catholics move into Mafulu district. Anglican mission begins work in Holnicote Bay area.	Port Moresby and Rigo sub-districts of Central Division under complete control. Overland mail service between Port Moresby and Kokoda established. Chrimia R. area and upper Kumusi R. patrolled. Mekeo station moved to Kairuku on Yule Is.	
1906	Dr and Mrs Lawes of LMS retire and leave NG for Australia on 29 March.	Royal Commission into administration of British New Guinea. British New Guinea renamed Papua and control transferred to Australia. Bamu R. area now under control and safe for recruiters. Gulf Division declared, with headquarters at Kerema. Exploration of Kikori R. area begins. Department of Agriculture established. New land ordinance produces small land boom. Plantation system begins to develop.	Copper mines opened near Port Moresby.

Date	Mission	Government	Other
1907		Capt. Barton retires as Administrator and J. H. P. Murray (later Sir Hubert) appointed in his stead as acting Administrator. Murray remains for over 30 years.	
1908	SDA begins mission work at Sogeri. later extended to Aroma, Orokolo and Vailala areas.	Nearly all of old Northern Division now under Government influence. Attendance at school compulsory where English is taught.	
1909		Murray appointed Lieut.-Governor of Papua in January.	
		Gold warden-cum-Government Agent at Nepa on upper Lakekamu R.	Gold found on upper Lakekamu R. in Central Division. Plantations begin to expand in Central, Eastern and South-eastern Divisions.
1912		First complete patrol of Managalasi area. Government station established at Kikori.	
1913	Roman Catholics move into Ononge district.		
1914		Most of central and south-east mainland Papua under control. Government plans cross-patrols to link stations at Kokoda, Port Moresby, Rigo, Tufi and Abau.	Misima gold-mines opened up by company controlled by Broken Hill Pty. Ltd.
1916/17		Patrols into Kukukuku and Kunimaipa country. Part of Gulf Division still unexplored, but Era and Urama areas under enough control for recruiting. Inland parts of Delta and Western Divisions only areas not under Government influence.	
1917	Kwato Extension Association founded and separates from LMS.		

Date	Mission	Government	Other
1922		First patrol into Samberigi R. valley.	
1931-4		Hides patrols upper Purari R.	
1937		Champion and Anderson penetrate into southern central highlands.	
1942/3		World War II. Japanese forces in Papua Aug. 1942 to early 1943. Government taken over by Army until 1946. During war, most able-bodied men work for Army for some time.	

Appendix B

COMPARISON OF HIRI MOTU WITH POSSIBLE SOURCE LANGUAGES

In this table those grammatical features of Hiri Motu (HM) that distinguish it from Motu are compared with corresponding features in five languages that are most suspect of being sources of Hiri Motu. For ease of reference, these features are ordered to correspond with those given in Chapter 1. Features for Simplified Motu (SM) are taken from Taylor (1978), those for HTL(E) and HTL(K) from Dutton and Kakare (1977), Dutton (1979, 1983), those for Papuan Pidgin English (PPE) from Mühlhäusler (1978), and those for Solomon Islands Pidgin (SIP) from Simons and Young (1978) supplemented by oral information supplied by Dr D. Tryon, linguist and expert in that language.

The following abbreviations and/or other non-standard conventions that have not already been introduced are used:

? = do not know: uncertain; possibly.

Feature of HM	SM	HTL(E)	HTL(K)	PPE	SIP
1. No irregular verbs	Yes? — most common ones like 'come, go' appear in simple form as in HM.	Yes, no irregular verbs.	Yes, no irregular verbs.	Yes, no irregular verbs.	Yes, no irregular verbs.
2. 'Have' and 'have not' expressed by N + <i>dekenai</i> + <i>noho</i> or by Poss + N + <i>noho</i>	Uses both full form and shortened form of Motu construction with postposition <i>mai</i> .	Sometimes uses <i>ita</i> 'with sometimes V + <i>amumuiti</i> 'stay' but neither in negative sentences.	No verb used.	? — no evidence.	No, uses (<i>no</i>) <i>karem</i> ('not') 'have, got'.
3. Use of <i>ese</i> and <i>be</i> as subject marking or focussing elements	No subject or focus markers (although evidence very limited).	No subject marker but focus marker <i>maro</i> most commonly used after subject.	No subject or focus markers.	No, no subject or focus marking elements.	No, no subject or focus marking elements.
4. Restricted dual pronoun form	Yes, same as in HM.	? (free pronoun + <i>oraore</i> 'two')	? (free pronoun + <i>rearea</i> 'two').	? — no evidence.	No, uses numeral <i>tufala</i> after singular pronoun.
5. No bound pronoun subjects or objects on verbs (except in Central dialect); uses free pronouns derived from 'true' Motu	Yes, same as in HM.	Yes, no bound forms; uses free pronouns taken from Eleman languages.	Yes, no bound forms; uses free pronouns taken from Koriki.	Yes, same as HM, except uses free pronouns derived from English.	Yes, same as HM, except uses free pronouns derived from English.
6. Transitive verbs are marked by final <i>-a</i>	Yes, same as in HM.	No, transitive verbs are not consistently marked.	No, there is no transitive marker on verbs.	No, although <i>-im</i> is often used in similar way.	No, although <i>-im</i> (and variants) used in similar way. Yes, same as HM.
7. No noun classes based on possession (e.g. alienable vs. inalienable)	Yes, same as in HM.	Yes, no noun classes but uses a relator <i>enane</i> derived from Eleman languages.	Yes, no noun classes and no relators.	Yes, same as HM.	No, <i>long</i> is used as generalized locative preposition.
8. <i>Dekena</i> (<i>fi</i>) a generalized locative post-position	No, uses Motu post-position.	? — evidence patchy but when case is marked there is variation between suffix <i>-ai</i> (derived from Motu) and preposed forms <i>ta</i> , <i>ba</i> and <i>la</i> (from Eleman languages).	No, generalized post-position used for directions.	No, uses <i>along</i> / <i>long</i> as generalized locative preposition.	No, two different forms are used: <i>olsem</i> 'like (this/that)', and <i>waswe</i> (or <i>hao/nao</i>) 'how'.
9. Generalized forms for 'like this, like that' and 'how'	? — no evidence.	No, uses Eleman forms although these are similar in structure to HM ones, e.g. <i>ma-feare</i> this-like 'like this'.	? — no evidence.	? — no evidence.	No, uses <i>olgeta</i> and <i>evriwan</i> .
10. Restricted forms for 'all' and 'the whole'	? — available evidence suggests same as in HM.	? — no evidence.	? — no evidence.	No, uses <i>all</i> and <i>allugeta</i> .	

Feature of HM	SM	HTL(E)	HTL(K)	PPE	SIP
11. Restricted adjective agreement	? — no evidence.	No, no adjective agreement at all.	No, no adjective agreement at all.	No, no adjective agreement at all.	No, no adjective agreement at all.
12. Simple imperative	Yes, same as in HM.	Yes, but using Eleman material.	Yes, but using Koriki material.	Yes.	Yes.
13. <i>Dohore</i> and variants used before verb to indicate future tense	? — no evidence of such use in available materials.	? — no tense distinctions in verbs, these being indicated by adverbs of time such as <i>aire</i> 'later, afterwards', or <i>vevere</i> 'tomorrow' for future; <i>manuro</i> 'now' for present. There is no evidence for past tense. If there is no adverb of time in sentence the tense can be read as either past, present or future.	No, but Koriki material can be used in similar way although future tense is mostly indicated by <i>-varia</i> on verb.	No, but <i>baintai</i> used in similar way.	No, but <i>baintae</i> (and variant <i>bae</i>) is used in similar way.
14. Use of <i>vadaeni</i> , <i>noho</i> and <i>gwaurai</i> after verb to indicate completed, continuous, and intensive/inceptive aspect	No evidence of use of <i>noho</i> , but <i>vada</i> is used before verbs to indicate completed action (as in Motu) and <i>gwaurai</i> after verb (as in HM) to indicate intention.	No, uses <i>kuolai</i> after action and <i>sinai</i> (which is translation equivalent of <i>gwaurai</i> in HM) or <i>manuro</i> after verbs for intention (which is translation equivalent of <i>vadaeni</i> in HM).	? — but <i>-varia</i> may be used for intention.	No? — but some evidence that <i>finis</i> is used in similar way for complete; evidence lacking for continuous and inceptive aspects.	No, although uses <i>finis</i> and <i>gap</i> in similar way for complete and continuative aspects respectively, conceptive aspect indicated by <i>sau(fo)</i> before verb.
15. Use of <i>lasi</i> as a generalized negative a) after verbs; b) after adjectives	Yes, same as in HM a) <i>lasi</i> after verbs; b) <i>lasi</i> after adjectives.	Yes, same as in HM a) <i>lasi</i> after verbs; b) <i>lasi</i> after adjectives.	No, but <i>pea</i> is used in similar way: a) <i>pea</i> after verbs; b) <i>pea</i> after adjectives.	No, uses: a) <i>no</i> before verbs; b) <i>namoe</i> after adjectives.	No, uses: a) <i>no</i> before verbs; b) <i>namoe</i> after adjectives.
16. Reflexivity expressed by <i>sibona</i> without special verb forms	Yes, same as in HM.	? — no evidence.	? — no evidence.	? — no evidence.	No, although uses <i>selewa</i> in similar way.
17. Temporal clauses marked by <i>neganai(i)</i>	? — no evidence in available material. Juxtaposition the main relating device.	? — no evidence. Juxtaposition the main relating device.	? — V + <i>ane</i> 'and, when, if' or juxtaposition used in available materials.	No, uses juxtaposition only.	No, uses <i>teuni</i> placed in front of clause.
18. Use of <i>bema</i> as conditional clause marker	? — no evidence in available materials. Juxtaposition the main relating device.	? — no evidence.	No, uses V + <i>ane</i> 'and, when, if' or juxtaposition in available materials.	No, although uses <i>sapos</i> 'if' in similar way.	No, although uses <i>sapos</i> 'if' in similar way.
19. Use of <i>vadaeni</i> 'enough, okay' as sentence connective	Some use of <i>vadaeni</i> similar to HM.	No, although form <i>tona</i> 'enough, okay' used in similar way.	No, although form <i>auto</i> 'enough, okay' used in similar way.	No, although <i>finis</i> 'finished' and <i>trait</i> 'all right, okay' used in similar way sometimes.	No, although uses <i>orae</i> 'all right, okay' in similar way.
20. 'True' Motu sentence structure slightly revised.	Sentence structure appears to be simple with juxtaposition the main relating device. Some use of <i>ma</i> 'and' as in HM.	Simple sentence structure joined by <i>a/ma</i> 'and', <i>mauro</i> 'and then' or <i>tona</i> 'okay' or juxtaposition main relating device.	Simple sentence structure with V + <i>ane</i> for 'and, when, if', otherwise juxtaposition.	Simple sentence structure generally relying on juxtaposition but variable use of English conjunctions.	Simple sentence structure compared with English.

Appendix C EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN FOREIGNERS IN THE PORT MOREBY AREA BETWEEN 1870 AND 1890

This list contains the names of all those European and non-European foreigners who were known to have been in the Port Moresby area, or who are reasonably suspected of having been there, between the time of first European contact in the early 1870s and the formation of Governor MacGregor's Armed Native Constabulary in 1890. As such it includes all those persons that are referred to (however briefly) in the published and unpublished literature that has been read up until the preparation of this volume — see Bibliography — as well as those referred to in oral interviews with the descendants of many of the former. It does not include the following, however:

a) the crews of visiting HMS ships who usually never stayed long and who, because of the nature of their service and their visits to New Guinea, are assumed to have had little more than a passing tourist-like contact with Port Moresby area peoples,¹

b) those who, even though associated with some of those in the 'oral tradition' category above are reasonably suspected of having come to Port Moresby post-1890. A list of the latter is given in Appendix D following. In those cases, such as, for example, those European traders murdered in the Milne Bay area in the 1880s (e.g., Ansell, Craig, Friar, Lumse, McOrt, Miller, Read, Webb) where it is not possible to be sure if the persons referred to were in the Port Moresby area at any time (because there are no known living descendants to interview and no known surviving records of their movements), but are suspected of having been there at some time because of their trade and other activities, they are included for completeness and explanatory notes added.

The list does not claim to be complete (since not every possible source has been consulted) and is not as accurate as it should be (because it has not been possible to cross-check all statements or claims),² but it is better than anything else that is available at the time of writing and will serve the purpose for which it was designed, notably, to provide a data base upon which a socio-linguistic history of early Port Moresby can be based. In so doing I give, within the limitations of space and evidence, a brief biography of the person that is relevant to such a discussion, and especially the nature of contact between that person and the Motu. In each sketch therefore I attempt to answer such questions as: Who was the person indicated by the name? Where did he/she come from? When was he/she in the Port Moresby area? Why? and/or what was he/she doing there? Did he/she speak Motu or not? In each case I support the details given by reference to sources, either by reference to those appearing in the Bibliography or by reference to unpublished taped interviews conducted

by myself. The former are given in the Harvard style (e.g., Musgrave, 1891: 27) and the latter as Dutton P14/79. In a few cases reference is also made to the Government Gazettes for British New Guinea and Papua. These are referred to simply as *GG* with the date following. Finally, where names occur in more than one source usually only the earliest one is referred to (because others have generally obtained their information from that one anyway) unless there is additional information in subsequent ones.

¹ Some support for this is to be found in Romilly (1889: 225) who notes 'With the exception of surveying ships, however, men-of-war are tolerably rare visitors; the character of the natives is not affected by them to any appreciable extent. It is by the intercourse between the natives and the pearl-shellers and traders of every description that they are influenced.'

² One important source that needs to be reconsulted now that the basic data has been assembled is the Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages in Port Moresby, 1890-. I have only seen this once and that was when I was focussing on MacGregor's first policemen and not looking for evidence of the arrival of the many other 'foreigners' in Port Moresby at the time.

In the list itself surnames are capitalized and names containing 'Mc' are treated as 'Mac'. 'NG' is also used for 'the Port Moresby area' unless qualified (e.g., PNG = Papua New Guinea, BNG = British New Guinea) because this area was the established base of the London Missionary Society from 1874 onwards and the seat of Government from 1884 onwards and there was little settlement elsewhere, apart from the Milne Bay area, until after 1888 when the colony of British New Guinea was proclaimed. 'LMS' is as usual the abbreviation for the 'London Missionary Society'. And finally, 'Malay' and 'SSI' are used (as they were used in the literature of the time and often popularly still are in Port Moresby) to refer to anyone coming from the Indonesian-Malaya area and the South-west Pacific respectively, but are qualified where possible.

'Aboriginal boys'

1883

'Two aboriginal boys and eleven Motu carriers' accompanied Morrison's *Age* expedition to the Goldie River in 1883. No names are given, but it is probable they were either Torres Strait Islanders (as 'Torres Strait aboriginals' were used in beche-de-mer fishing industry at the time' (Bevan, 1890: 112) or ex-Queensland 'kanakas' (as these were often used on boats visiting NG at the time). No indication given of whether these 'boys' stayed in Port Moresby or not. Same as Bosen (q.v.) and Dick (q.v.)

Adamu and wife

1872

LMS pastor-teacher from Manihiki (Cook Is.). Arrived Somerset 11 October 1872. Posted to Manumanu with Anederea, Eneri, Piri, Rau and Ruatoka (q.v.) 'to inaugurate Christian work amongst the large Motu tribe on the mainland' (King, 1909: 57). Died through misadventure at Manumanu soon after arrival. Wife died at Manumanu 1873. (Lawes, 1890a; King, 1909: 57-8).

AH FAT

1884-87?

Chinese cook in Mr Page's (q.v.) timber camp at Manumanu 1884-87. Excelled in bread-making (Musgrave, 1885).

AH JIM

?-1884; 1885

Chinese beche-de-mer fisherman based in Cooktown in 1884. Owner of a 'rather crazy-looking ketch-rigged junk of some thirty tons register, the *Wong Hing*' (Bevan, 1890: 4). Took T. Bevan (q.v.) and Ned Snow (q.v.) to Port Moresby in 1884. Chinese crew and many dogs aboard. Arrived 25 November 1884 (ibid., p. 9). Stayed 'five or six weeks' (ibid., p. 13). Toured coastal areas with Bevan (ibid., p. 19ff). Returned to Cooktown 4 January 1885 (ibid., p. 29). Later skipper of the *Pride of Logan* 'a little schooner which Ah Jim's owners had recently [1885] bought in lieu of the *Wong Hing*' (p. 32). Crew of *Pride of Logan* were 'Chinamen and Malays' and 'John, the Murray Island boy' (ibid., p. 66). Took Bevan to Port Moresby again in the *Pride of Logan* on 8 March 1885 (pp. 33-4). Visited coast from Kalo to Moresby Is. Returned to Cooktown 19 June 1885. Resident in Papua in 1887 after the wreck of the *Pride of Logan* at Moresby Is. (Musgrave Papers: *Sydney Morning Herald* report, 7.7.1887).

Ah Jim spoke Pidgin English (ibid., p. 125), e.g. [in reference to the murder of the crew of the *Pride of Logan* at Moresby Is.]: 'they too much humbug women belong that place; one man get one, two three women, he keep woman little while then he send her away and get another. I tell them bye-and-bye they get clubbed. They no listen to me' (Musgrave Papers, op. cit.). Married to a Rarotongan woman (Musgrave Papers, op. cit.).

AH WONG

?1880s

Ah Wong is said to have been a 'Malay' (Green, 1892: 33) whose real name was Sarip Mohammed Ali and who is said to have come from Kuala Lumpur (although Musgrave (1891) gives Singapore) to New Guinea via Cooktown with or about the same time as Jimmy Malay (q.v.) and others with whom he is associated. He is said to have changed his name to a Chinese one to avoid persecution as a lower class coloured immigrant in Queensland. He married four times in NG — once each to a Manumanu woman, a Tatana woman, a Gabadi woman, and finally, a Hula woman — and had several children to each, some of whose descendants are still living in PNG (Dutton, P12/79, P13/79). In 1892 he was living in Morabi [Manumanu] (Green, 1892: 33). He died in 1936 aged about 90 years.

ALLEN, J. G.

1888-99

'Appointed Government Printer, September 4, 1888. Resigned owing to family cares in 1899.' (Bethell, 1955: ix).

ALU, Peter — see Peter DAVIES

ANDERSON, T.

?

'Public servant in BNG sometime between 1884 and 1906 but no further details available.' (Bethell, 1955: ix). Private settler at Dedele in 1893 (Joyce, 1971: 203).

Anederea and wife

1872-81

Rarotongan pastor-teacher for LMS in NG. Arrived Somerset 11 October 1872. Posted to Manumanu in November 1872 with Adamu, Eneri, Piri, Rau and Ruatoka (q.v.) and their wives 'to inaugurate Christian work amongst the large Motu tribe on the mainland' (King, 1909: 57). Taken back to Somerset in 1873 and subsequently to Hanuabada (Port Moresby)

where they again fell ill and had to be removed (King, 1909: 76). Later posted to Kerepunu. Killed at Kalo March 1881. Wife died at Port Moresby 9 September 1876 (Lawes, 1890a).

ANEITUM, Harry 1880s
A SSI from Aneitium, New Hebrides. Came to Port Moresby some time in the 1880s probably from Queensland. He was a good friend of Peter Lifu (q.v.) and Moses Aoba (q.v.) and is reported to have given his entitlement to certain lands in Hanuabada to Moses on his deathbed for acquittal of accounts. Harry, Moses and Peter married three sisters (Dutton, P19/79). He was certainly in Port Moresby in 1890–91 because he was issued with gun licence No. 113 then (Musgrave, 1891). He died on 6.2.1923.

ANSELL ?
One of a number of early traders murdered in Chads Bay in the Milne Bay area of BNG. Not known if ever operated in the Port Moresby area (Lett, 1944: 67; Stuart, 1970: 23; Joyce, 1971: 129). Spoke Pidgin English (CA, G185, item 1–11, 1889).

ANTHONY, Aliace S. ?1880s
A Maltese who was in Port Moresby in 1890–91 (Musgrave, 1891). Was in a party that went to climb Mt. Yule for MacGregor in 1890 (with Nettle, Saïd) (MacGregor, Diaries: 30.11.1890). Subsequently accompanied MacGregor on patrol (with others) in Mekeo area (ibid., 10.9.1891). In 1892 was 'trading on the coast somewhere' (ibid. 6.7.1892), and later again managed Ballantine's coffee plantation at Sogeri and had his own land at Hisiu (Murray at Royal Commission, 1907: 85, para.2041). Is said to have married Laira Heni from Hanuabada by whom he had a daughter Alice whose descendants still live in PNG. He subsequently remarried but had no further issue (Dutton, P13, 14, 15/79).

AOBA, Moses ?1880s
A SSI from the New Hebrides and contemporary and friend of Harry Aneitum (q.v.) and George Lifu (q.v.), all three of whom married three sisters (Dutton, P3/80). Not known when he came to Port Moresby but apparently worked for Signor Loria (see Appendix D) in the Eastern Division where he is shown as having a gun licence in 1890 (Resident Magistrates Report, Samarai, 8 August 1890, p.13. CA, G91, item 648B).

ARMIT, W. E. (or R. E.?), Captain 1883; 1894–1901
Leader of the *Argus* expedition to Astrolabe Range in 1883. Was a 'wiry, red-haired man of thirty-five [who] had worked in the Australian bush as an officer of the Queensland police' (Souter, 1963: 52–3). According to one of the *Argus* members was also 'altogether too fond of intoxicating liquor; and when half drunk, would do and say many things unbecoming a gentleman' (ibid.). Also said to have been a former Master Mariner and journalist (Bethell, 1955: ix).
In BNG on *Argus* expedition for six weeks (14 July to end August 1883). Later returned to join public service. Served as sub-collector of Customs at Samarai and Resident Magistrate from 1894 onwards. Died at his post in January 1901 (Bethell, 1955: ix; AR, 1900/01: xxxix).

Asafo and wife 1876 (2 months)
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Mangaia (Cook Is.). Arrived 21 October

1876. Posted to Lealea. Died 27 December 1876. Wife remarried Mataio, South Cape (Lawes, 1890a).

ASKWITH (later Lord) Few weeks in 1885
One of Sir Peter Scratchley's (q.v.) staff. Went to NG with Sir Peter on the *Governor Blackall* but contracted malaria badly and had to be shipped back to Australia on 1 November 1885 (Fort, 1887).

BAKARA ?1880s
Said to have been a 'Malay' who came with Jimmy Malay (q.v.) and others. Was a sandalwood gatherer at one time and married a Koita woman from Korobosea or Kilakila. No known surviving descendants (Dutton, P16/80).

BALLANTINE (or BALLANTYNE), David 1889–?
'Pilot boat's crew under Water Police at Thursday Island; assistant storekeeper in store owned by Mrs Mahoney at Sudest Is. [in Louisiades] in 1888–89; appointed sub-collector of Customs at Samarai July [25], 1889 (when not yet aged 21); acting Treasurer 1892; Treasurer December 29, 1893 ... impatient and resentful of control ... insubordinate, overbearing towards junior officers in the Public Service; no special training or experience in proper methods of Government ... forceful characteristics, strong will-power' (Murray Royal Commission, 1907: lxviii). Also Postmaster and Registrar General (Bethell, 1955: ix). Later [c. 1897] set up a coffee plantation at Sogeri (AR, 1897/8: 89) which was still there in 1906 (Murray at Royal Commission, 1907: 85, para.2041). Also 'crack tennis player' although 'JG[John Green?] played him singles and beat him 12: 1' (Green, 1892: 5).

BANDO, Pedro 1885
Seaman on board LMS vessel *Ellengowan* (6 November 1885) (Bethell, 1955: 25).

BELEM, Charles ?1880s
A 'native of New Caledonia' (Musgrave, 1891) who worked for the Government in different capacities. Was in Port Moresby area in 1890–91 (Musgrave, 1891). In 1893 was collecting sandalwood with Jimmy Malay (q.v.) in Nara district (Stn.Jl., Mekeo, December 6, 1893. CA, G91, item 284B). Had land lease portion 188 on Kanosia Plantation where he died. Married Hitolo Gahuna from Baruni village who also died on Kanosia plantation. Charles and Hitolo had many children, many of whose descendants are still living in PNG (Dutton, P12/80).

BELFORD, George 1883?–
Samoan-English half-caste, brother of I. Belford (q.v.) (Vagabond, 1884: 9; Bethell, 1955: ix; 133). Between 1883 and 1890 acted as interpreter and guide to *Argus* expedition (Souter, 1963: 66), to Mr Clarke (q.v.) on his visit to the Edith River [Galley Reach] (Musgrave, 1885), and to Governor MacGregor (q.v.) on his ascent of Mt. Victoria in May 1889 (Souter, 1963: 66). Later employed as special constable before the formation of the Armed Native Constabulary in 1890 (Stuart, 1970: 45). Also collected birds and fish for Romilly (q.v.) in 1885 (Romilly, 1893: 256) and broke in horses (Bethell, 1955: 82). According to Musgrave (1885), '[George] Belford ... knew the Motu language, which they [the Doura] could speak very well, and he acted as interpreter.'

It is not known when he arrived in NG nor what happened to him later. A photo of him appears in *AR* (1897/8: Illustrations, p. 19).

BELFORD, I (or J.?) 1883?–
Samoan-English half-caste, brother of G. Belford (q.v.). Employed in the Protectorate on various jobs but especially as guide and interpreter [in Motu] for visiting Europeans and public servants. Was appointed special constable to look after the Normanby Island prisoner, Diaveri (or Divari) (q.v.) in Port Moresby in 1885 (Musgrave, 1886: 22). Dismissed from service 19 February 1886 (Bethell, 1955: 37). It is not known when he arrived in NG nor what happened to him later.

BESWICK, Rev. Thomas June 1878–1881
LMS missionary who arrived on 22 November, 1879. Posted to Hula. Left the mission in 1881. Reappointed and died at Townsville on way back to NG on 12 August, 1883 (Lawes, 1890a).

BEVAN, Theodore 1884–1887
Adventurer entrepreneur. Visited Port Moresby and coastal areas on several occasions:
1) 25 November 1884 to early January 1885 (Bevan, 1890: 9–29) in the *Wong Hing* skippered by Ah Jim (q.v.);
2) 8 March to mid-June 1885 in *Pride of Logan* skippered by Ah Jim (q.v.). Spent most time between Kalo and Milne Bay at 'our fishing grounds' (p.33). Accompanied Nicholas Minister (q.v.) on tour of his fishing grounds in Milne Bay (pp.93ff). Returned to Cooktown 19 June 1885;
3) September 1885 to July 1886: Granted 'formal permit to "explore and trade in British New Guinea"' 12 August 1885 (p. 133). Arrived Port Moresby 2 September 1885 in his own small cutter, the *Electra*, with three companions (unnamed). Erected 'depot and dwelling place [16 feet square of galvanized iron and up on 4 feet stilts] ... at the head of the harbour ... between Mr Goldie's store and the hills at the foot of the Government bungalow [then in course of erection]' (p. 136). Started for the Gulf of Papua 23 September 1885. Spent fortnight at Motumotu. Returned to Port Moresby. Established chain of locally-managed beche-de-mer stations in villages along 'nearly one hundred miles of coast' around Port Moresby (p. 147). Returned to Cooktown 4 July 1886;
4) Spent six weeks exploring the Aird [Kikori] River area of Gulf of Papua in the *Victory* March-April 1887. Established friendly relations with Tumu villagers up Aird River;
5) Revisited Aird River area in the *Mabel* November-December 1887 (two months). Recontacts the Tumu villagers.
Bevan knew some Motu (Bevan, 1890: 146–7; Dutton, 1982a, b).

'Billy the Lifu boy' 1885–?
A SSI who 'was supposed to have been accessory to Captain Fryer's [Friar, q.v.] murder at Moresby Island' (Bevan, 1890: 169). Served as deckhand for Bevan on the *Electra* for a time in 1885–6. Was left in Port Moresby by Bevan (ibid., p. 171).

BOMBAY, Johnny — see JUMA

'Bosen' 1883
'a native boy' who accompanied Morrison (q.v.) on the *Age* expedition to the Goldie River in 1883 (Souter, 1963: 51). Probably a SSI, as these are usually referred to as 'native' in Bethell (1955) although Pearl ((1967: 44) refers to him and Dick (q.v.) as 'Australian Aborigines', a claim which appears to be based on misinterpretation of the word 'native'. Not known if Bosen stayed in Port Moresby.

BROADBENT, Kendall October 1875–January 1876
A professional bird hunter (Goode, 1977: 107), and one of the survivors of the ill-fated *Maria* wrecked on Bramble Reef near Cardwell in 1872 on her way to NG (Goode, 1977: 90–101; Nelson, 1975: 76). Accompanied Stone (q.v.) and Hargrave (q.v.) to Port Moresby October 1875 to January 1876 and went with them on their expeditions to try to cross the peninsula of New Guinea (Goode, 1977: 130ff). Turned out to be, however, (according to Hargrave) 'a timid, grumbling windbag' (Goode, 1977: 131).

BRUCE, James 1880s?
'The mission boat builder' (Prendergast, 1968: 125).

BUBB 1885 (three months)
J. W. Lindt's (q.v.) assistant during his trip to NG with Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) in 1885 (Lindt, 1887: 69).

'Butsee' ?–1888–?
Special constable sent to Rigo to help G. Hunter (q.v.) the Government Agent there in 1888 together with Caesar Lifu (q.v.) and Harry Mare (q.v.) Probably a SSI (Bethell, 1955: 125).

BUTTERWORTH, Archibald William 1890–1901
Formerly of the Queensland Mounted Police. Also a sailor in the Mercantile Marine. Appointed Government Storekeeper 9 October 1890. Then Health Officer (28 October) and Customs Officer (7 November), Harbour Master and Post Master (20 December), Port Moresby. European officer of Armed Constabulary, Port Moresby, 1890 [under Wriford (q.v.)]. Commandant, Armed Native Constabulary, 1894. Enlisted in Boer War (Bethell, 1955: x; *GG*, III (10–16), 1890). Accused of 'importuning women in Port Moresby' [with Lawes (q.v.) and English (q.v.)] (MacGregor, Diaries: 2.12.1891). Was 'able to hold converse with the natives [of Port Moresby area] in several of their dialects' (Nelson, 1898: frame 202).

CAIN, Christopher 1889?
Captain of Government cutter *Maino* in Port Moresby. Formerly a surveyor warden at Sud-Est from 8 October 1888 to 20 February 1889 (Bethell, 1955: x).

CAMERON Early 1880s?
Claimed to have purchased 1500 acres of land from the Gabadi in 1880 with Mr Goldie (q.v.) (Musgrave, 1885) but this claim was refused by Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) in 1885 (Lindt, 1887: 51–2; 142–3.) Not known if this Cameron is the same person as J.B. Cameron (q.v.) later employed by the Government.

CAMERON, John B. 1889?–?
Governor MacGregor's (q.v.) private secretary who accompanied MacGregor and 'a Samoan half-caste [G. Belford, q.v.] and thirty-eight Papuans and Polynesians [Caesar Lifu, q.v., and Joe Fiji, q.v.] on his ascent of Mt. Victoria in 1889 (Souter, 1963: 65). Subsequently gazetted Resident Magistrate Western District September 11, 1889 (AR, 1889/90: 15) and 'Mr Hatton-Richards takes the place of Mr Cameron as Sir William's private secretary' (Musgrave, 1889). Commissioned an officer in the Armed Native Constabulary 1891 (MacGregor, Diaries: 20.3.1891). Prone to go on drinking sprees (ibid., 8.3.1891; 4.4.1892).

CAWSTON 1886 (some months)
Probably one of surveyor W.R. Cuthbertson's (q.v.) five assistants who helped survey Granville East and West (now Port Moresby) and a road to the Laloki River for Special Commissioner J. Douglas (q.v.) in 1886 (Stuart, 1970: 44).

CHALMERS, Rev. James B. 1877–1901
LMS missionary and explorer. Arrived Port Moresby 21 October 1877 'with six Loyalty Island teachers all for the China Straits' (Lawes, 1876–84). Stationed at Suau, Port Moresby, Toaripi and Saguane. Killed with O. Tomkins at Goaribari Is. on 8 April 1901. Known throughout NG as 'Tamate', a name he acquired in Rarotonga where he had worked for ten years before coming to NG (Langmore, 1974). Spoke Motu and did some translations into that language (Lawes, 1907).

CHALMERS, Mrs Jane 1877–1878
First wife of James Chalmers (q.v.). Arrived with Chalmers 21 October 1877 but spent most of her time in Suau area. Left New Guinea sick in October 1878. Died 20 February 1879 in Sydney (Langmore, 1974: 18–22).

CHALMERS, Mrs Sarah Elizabeth 1888–1900
Second wife of James Chalmers (q.v.). Arrived in Port Moresby in October 1888. Stayed there till Christmas Day before moving on to Toaripi district in the Gulf of Papua. Went to Samoa and Rarotonga on leave in September–October 1890. Returned to Port Moresby and Toaripi February 1891. Left for England 25 March 1892. Returned to Chalmers' new station at Saguane (Daru) August 1897. Died 25 October 1900 en route to Daru (Langmore, 1974).

'Cheerful' 1883–?
'a Malay . . . recruited in Cooktown for Morrison's (q.v.) *Age* expedition to the Goldie River in 1883.' However, he proved to be 'an opium smoker and an incarnate devil' (Souter, 1964: 50) and he and another recruit, Lively (q.v.) had to be replaced by 'two native boys called Dick (q.v.) and Bosen (q.v.)' (Souter, 1963: 51). It is not known what happened to Cheerful.

CHESTER, Henry M. 1883 (briefly)
Formerly Police Magistrate at Somerset and Thursday Island for ten years. Ordered to Port Moresby by the Queensland Government to take possession of the whole of South-east New Guinea in the name of the Crown. Did so on 4 April 1883, by reading the proclamation made by Captain Moresby on Hayter Is. in 1873 (Lindt, 1887: 63; Stuart, 1970: 24;

Souter, 1963: 49–50). W.G. Lawes (q.v.) explained the meaning of the proceedings to the assembled Papuans. Later Chester was appointed Resident Magistrate Louisiade Archipelago, 30 October 1891. Died in 1901 (Bethell, 1955: x).

'Chinamen' (Various periods)

1) Bevan (1890: 63–4) describes how in about 1879 there was a massacre of Chinamen at Aroma: 'There were fourteen Chinamen in a junk anchored near the shore, on which they had a curing-house for fish caught on the reefs. When they got familiar with the natives, many of whom they employed, the Chinese began to take liberties with the married women, to the great offence of their male relations, who were not 'compensated'. For the men they had supreme contempt, and to demonstrate the superiority of their firearms over spears, stones, clubs, and tomahawks, one day set up on shore a piece of galvanized iron, eight feet by three feet, thirty yards distant, at which each Oriental fired ten shots without once hitting the target. The Aromaites then essayed their skill, and launching spears with unerring aim, each time scored 'bull's-eyes' and 'inners'. The catasrophe was now at hand. Although cautioned both by chief and teachers [LMS], these foolish men made light of all warnings, and continued their malpractices. On an ensuing afternoon a party of incensed natives made a hostile descent to the beach opposite the junk, to meet whom some of the younger Chinamen, taking their firearms, rowed ashore. The natives made 'gammon' that they were afraid, and ran into the bush, but only to take the rash and unfortunate Orientals in the rear, who, after firing one ineffectual volley were all killed — speared, tomahawked, or both, by the justly incensed Paramattans. The survivors, seeing canoes making for their junk, deserted the vessel, and escaped in a whaleboat. The junk was subsequently taken to Kerapuno, and Captain Fryer [= Friar, q.v.] coming up the coast, having lost his own vessel, took it across after the Chinamen to Queensland.' Further reference in Lindt (1887: 75; 97).

2) Chalmers refers to 'our Chinese cook' on board the *Ellengowan* off Orangerie Bay in the Spring of 1878 (Chalmers and Wyatt-Gill, 1885: 63). This is taken to be the same person referred to as the Chinese gardener at the LMS mission station in Port Moresby in 1884 (Vagabond, 1884: May 10).

3) Mr A. Goldie (q.v.) had a Chinese cook early in 1884 as Lawes (1876–84: 3 January 1884) notes in his journal 'Mr Goldie's Chinese cook was brought up last night.' No other details available.

4) There were 'two Chinese cooks' in Mr Page's (q.v.) timber camp near Manumanu in 1886 (Lawes, 1886: 78).

CHOLMONDELEY, Richard V. 1886–?
Honorary A.D.C. to 'Special Commissioner John Douglas (q.v.) who took over from Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) on 27 February 1886 following Sir Peter's death in December 1885' (Mayo, 1969: 25). 'Employed occasionally without pay. Exploration of the Fly R. Punitive patrol with H.O. Forbes on Joannet Is.' (Bethell, 1955: x).

CHRISTASSEN 1884 (briefly)
'Two or three fishing boats came in from Murray Island . . . belonging to

... German Harry ... real name Christassen' (Lawes, 1876-84: 29 January 1884).

Cingalese — see Singhalese

CLARKE, W.

late 1884 (briefly)

'A gentleman, well known in Queensland, who had come to New Guinea to have a look at the less known part of the country, and obtain an estimate of its resources, more especially as regards land. They [he and his companions, Thomas (q.v.), Morris (q.v.) and Dumaresq (q.v.)] had purchased a vessel at Thursday Island — the *Sylph* by name — a handy little cutter of some ten tons ... Mr Clarke wished to see the country on the Edith River [Redscar Bay], and meant to spend several days on an inland expedition in the direction of the ranges. He was accompanied by George Belford (q.v.), who was one of the party led by Mr Armit (q.v.) of the *Argus* expedition ...' (Musgrave, 1885).

'Coloured men' (unnamed)

1) Murray (1876: 479), in commenting on Mr Thorngren's (q.v.) gold prospecting trip up the Manumanu River in the early 1870s, notes that the party 'consisted of three only — himself [Thorngren] and another white man, and a coloured man'.

2) On a private expedition to the Redscar Bay area in October 1886 to investigate the economic potential of the area, Mr Potts (q.v.) had employed 'ten coloured men as crew' (Potts, 1886).

CONNOR

1878

Miner. One of the three members of the first party of miners to arrive in Port Moresby as part of the Laloki gold rush of April 1878 that stayed on in the Port Moresby area for some time after the rush ended (Goldie, 1886; Nelson, 1975: 76-82). Came aboard the *Colonist* but stayed to join members of another party that arrived aboard the *Emily* and which prospected the Astrolabe Range area (Goldie, 1886).

COOPER, Lucas

late 1880s-?

A mixed Chinese-Malay [father Chinese; mother Malay] who was at Taburi [Koiari area] when MacGregor arrived there in 1890 (MacGregor, Diaries: 21.12.1890). Promised to come to Port Moresby 'as cook for the A.C. [Armed Constabulary] at £1 a month and rations' (ibid., 22.12.1890). 'Lucas Cooper ... has been Keeper of the station at Rigo at £1 a month. He wishes to remain there rather than go to Tauko [Is.] as he says [A.C.] English [q.v.] saved his life and is a very good gentleman. He has therefore been engaged for three years at £1 a month as Keeper and Gaoler for Rigo' (ibid., 9.5.1892). 'At [Rigo] found Lucas Cooper fencing' (ibid., 6.7.1892). 'It appears that Dr Loria still considers him [Cooper] in his service at the rate of £6 a month. He is a great industrious little man.' (ibid., 6.7.1892). 'Lucas Cooper — half Chinaman and half Malay — called [to see Murray at Port Moresby]. A linguist; speaks Motu, Koiari, Sinagolo, Malay, English. Read and write ... He says Koiari and Koetapu languages nearly the same; has not noticed any similarity between Malay and Motu. [Has] daughter of a Tupuseleia woman — she is therefore half Motu, quarter Chinaman, quarter Malay — he says she is 'foolish in the head' ... her mother Kevau ... not

without her weak points e.g., she killed several children. Lucas married her to reform her' (Murray, Diary, 1904-10: 339).

CRAIG

1880s?

One of a set of early traders killed by local Papuans in the Milne Bay area in the late 1880s (Lett, 1944: 67; Stuart, 1970: 23). Not known if ever operated in the Port Moresby area.

CRAIG, T.

1888-?

'Mate of government schooner *Hygeia*. Appointed September 4, 1888' (Bethell, 1955: x).

CURRIE

?-1885

Unemployed layabout-beachcomber, who, with friend R. Guise (q.v.) 'were in the habit of systematically violating the young women' and 'married women' of Hula in 1885. Deported by Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) in November 1885 but 'returned in a vessel that had no permit, and took up their residence at Hula' again. Deported again as their presence was considered 'detrimental to the peace and good order of the Pacific Islands' (Fort, 1887: 146).

CUTHBERTSON, P.

?

'Occasional employment. No further details' (Bethell, 1955: x).

CUTHBERTSON, W.R.

1886; 1887 (for some months)

Surveyor and sometime explorer from Queensland. In 1886 he surveyed Granville East and West (now Port Moresby proper) and a road to the Laloki River for Hon. J. Douglas (q.v.), Special Commissioner of the Protectorate. In this task he was assisted by five European chainmen, three of whom were probably Cawston (q.v.), Pike (q.v.), and Gubbins (q.v.) (Oram, 1976: 25, Stuart, 1970: 42) and the Hunter brothers (q.v.) (Stuart, 1970: 227). In 1887 he led an expedition for the Victorian Branch of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia to explore the highlands of British New Guinea. Travelled through the basin of the Kemp Welsh River in Rigo and ascended Mt. Obree (Thomson, 1892: 10; Souter, 1963: 60). Claimed to have understood Motu (Cuthbertson, 1887).

D'ALBERTIS—see "South Sea Islanders"

DAVIES, Peter

1880s-

Said to have been the son of a Jamaican, Davies Kamo, who had been to Queensland and ended up on Savo Island in the Solomon Islands where Peter was born. He is said to have come to Port Moresby via Thursday Is. and Daru and worked as a warder in Port Moresby for some time. He married Laira Heni of Hanuabada who had previously been married to Tomasi Maka and John Anthony (q.v.). Has many descendants still living in PNG. His grandson was born in 1932 as the second last of nine children suggesting that Peter was in Port Moresby well before 1890. In NG he was known variously as Peter Davies, Peter Kamo, Peter Alo and Peter Solomon. Half brother (by adoption) to Willie Paul Davies (q.v.) (Dutton, P13, 15/79). [Note: There were Jamaicans around the area at the time as D'Albertis recruited two ('Palmer who had served in the Royal Navy and Jackson, a prospector with a penchant for writing verse') in Cooktown for his expedition up the Fly River in 1876 (Good, 1977: 160)].

- DAVIES, Willie Paul From c. 1890–
Said to be the half brother of Peter Davies (q.v.) because he was Peter Davies' father's nephew (viz. the son of Peter Davies' father's wife's sister) whom Peter Davies' father adopted. He was born in the Solomon Islands at Kalikanau [= ?Guadalcanal] but went to work in Queensland in the sugar industry for some time from where he is said to have 'escaped' to NG. He married twice, firstly to Motu Vagi of Hanuabada and secondly, to Oini from Oroi village, Nara area, and has many descendants living in PNG today. His grandson was born in 1937 as the fifth child of his second daughter of the first marriage making it uncertain whether he was in Port Moresby before 1890 (Dutton, P14, 15/79).
- DENTON, Professor 1883 (few weeks)
Aged, self-styled professor from America who accompanied Armit (q.v.) on the *Argus* expedition to the Astrolabe Range (Sogeri) in July–August 1883. Died there in Beregabadi village 26 August 1883 (Lindt, 1887: 37; Souter, 1963: 45–55).
- DENTON, Sherman 1883 (few weeks)
Son of Professor Denton (q.v.) and brother of Shelley Denton (q.v.) who accompanied their father on the *Argus* expedition in 1883. Collected bird skins with his brother near the village of Nareanuma until their father's death (Souter, 1963: 45–55).
- DENTON, Shelley 1883 (few weeks)
Son of Professor Denton (q.v.) and brother of Sherman Denton (q.v.) who accompanied their father on the *Argus* expedition in 1883. Collected bird skins with his brother near the village of Nareanuma until their father's death (Souter, 1963: 45–55).
- Diavari (or Divari) 1885 (several months)
Normanby Islander from Digaragara village. Murderer of Captain Miller in 1885. Surrendered to Sir Peter Scratchley and taken as prisoner to Port Moresby, October 1885. Gaol keeper I. Belford (q.v.) (Lindt, 1887: 93; Stuart, 1970: 45). Kept in Port Moresby some months before being returned home by Special Commissioner Douglas (q.v.) in 1886. Learned Motu (Musgrave, 1886: 22).
- 'Dick' 1883–?
'a native boy' who accompanied G. Morrison (q.v.) on the *Age* expedition to the Goldie River in 1883 (Souter, 1963: 41). Probably a SSI as these are usually referred to as 'native' in Bethell (1955) although Pearl (1967: 44) refers to him and Bosen (q.v.) as 'Australian Aborigines', a claim which appears to be made on a misinterpretation of the word 'native'. It is not known what happened to Dick.
- DOBLIES, Brother 1883 (few days)
'a rather helpless Lithuanian Lutheran' who accompanied Armit's (q.v.) *Argus* expeditionary party to Port Moresby in July 1883. [He was however] . . . the most unfit mortal . . . [who] spent a few days in the bush and then took the first boat back to Cooktown' (Souter, 1963: 53).
- DOUGLAS, Hon. John 1886–88
Former liberal premier of Queensland and Queensland Government Resident Magistrate on Thursday Is. when Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.)

- died in December 1885. Appointed Special Commissioner of the Protectorate of New Guinea on 27 February 1886. Remained in office till Governor MacGregor (q.v.) arrived to take charge of the newly formed colony of British New Guinea on 3 September 1888. During the thirty-one months he was in office he spent only about sixteen in New Guinea (because he was still Resident Magistrate at Thursday Is. and this occupied some of this time). During his absences Port Moresby was looked after by A. Musgrave (q.v.) and Rigo by G. Hunter (q.v.). Soon after his arrival in NG he had the town of Port Moresby surveyed by W.R. Cuthbertson (q.v.) (Fort, 1887: 140; May, 1969; Prendergast, 1969: 335; Stuart, 1970: 40–1; Oram, 1976: 25).
- DUDFIELD, Captain 1878–?
Captain of the LMS steamer *Ellengowan* in 1878 (Chalmers and Wyatt-Gill, 1885: 56).
- DUMARESQ 1884 (briefly)
One of a party of Queenslanders lead by Mr W. Clarke (q.v.) who came to investigate the area around the Edith River [Redscar Bay] in late 1884 in the *Sylph* (Musgrave, 1885).
- EDELFIELD, Erik Gustav 1883; 1884 (on and off)
Researcher-explorer and later government employee. First appears in New Guinea in 1883 doing 'some botanical research along the coast on behalf of Mr B. Gulliver, the nurseryman and owner of Acacia Vale Gardens' (Anon., 1883). Then is reported to have attempted unsuccessfully to scale Mt. Yule west of Port Moresby in November 1884 (Lindt, 1887: 126). Subsequently becomes commercial agent for Burns Philp at Motumotu in the Gulf of Papua where the Government also paid him a small sum to look after its interests and business in that area in 1887. Then 'appointed Government Agent at Samarai and finally Sub-Collector of Customs, Samarai, September 4, 1888. Resigned 1889. Succeeded by D. Ballantine (q.v.)' (Bethell, 1955: x).
- EGERSTROM 1873 (briefly)
A Swede and relative of Thorngren's (q.v.). Accompanied Thorngren in the *Retrieve* to take LMS teacher-pastors to Port Moresby for the first time in November 1873 (King, 1909: 65).
- Eneri and wife 1872–75
LMS pastor-teacher from Manihiki (Cook Is.). Arrived Somerset 11 October 1872. Posted to Manumanu in November 1872 with Adamu, Anederea, Piri, Rau and Ruatoka (q.v.) and wives 'to inaugurate Christian work amongst the large Motu tribe on the mainland' (King, 1909: 57). Subsequently posted to Port Moresby with Ruatoka to reside in Elevara (op. cit., p. 65). Died 21 July, 1875. Wife died at Manumanu, 1873.
Another LMS Eneri referred to in Musgrave (1891) but no details as to who this was. Not mentioned in Lawes (1890a).
- ENGLISH, Albert Charles 1883–1945
Born England, April, 1864. Migrated to Sydney in 1881 and BNG in 1883 (Pixley, 1961: 586). Naturalist. Partner with J. F. C. Phillips (q.v.) and brother E. A. English (q.v.) in fishing for beche-de-mer in the *Septimus*

along the south-east coast of BNG in 1885. They had a shore station for a while at Forest Point and fished in the Cloudy Bay and Baxter Bay area in 1885 (English, English and Phillips, 1886: Stuart, 1970: 25). Had first gone to NG in 1883 just before Chester's (q.v.) annexation of NG in April 1883 (Stuart, 1970: 60) and established himself at Kerepunu on 23 June, 1883 (Pixley, 1961: 587). Next arrived in Port Moresby in July 1885 (Musgrave, 1886: 30) then aged 22 years. Appointed acting Government Agent in Rigo on 9 February, 1889 and Government Agent thereof on 16 June, 1890 after the murder of G. Hunter (q.v.) (Pixley, 1961: 588). Accompanied Governor MacGregor on many of his overland exploratory trips (ibid.: 589). Early in his career accused [along with Lawes and Butterworth] of 'importuning women in Port Moresby' (MacGregor, Diaries, 2.12.1891). Resigned 4 March, 1907 after more than seventeen years Government service to concentrate on trading interests (Pixley, 1961: 590). Later had a sisal hemp plantation at Baradobo, Rigo (AR, 1907/8: 10; 61). Spoke Motu and Sinagoro (Murray at Royal Commission, 1907: 95, para. 2116). Died in 1945, one source (Pixley, 1961: 593) saying in Sydney on 10 May, 1945 while waiting to return to Papua after the war, another (Stuart, 1970: 25) in Port Moresby as 'the last surviving witness of Chester's ceremony'. Progenitor of a large family now living in PNG and Australia (Dutton, P4/80).

ENGLISH, E. Arthur 1883?–
 Brother of A. C. English (q.v.) and partner with him and J. F. C. Phillips (q.v.) in a beche-de-mer fishing venture in the *Septimus* along the south-east coast of BNG in 1885. For a short time the group had a shore station at Forest Point and fished in the Cloudy Bay and Baxter Bay areas in 1885 (English, English and Phillips, 1886). Went to Port Moresby in July 1885 (Musgrave, 1886: 30). Married a Kemaia woman by whom he had a son Gilbert, many of whose descendants still live in PNG (Dutton, P4/80).

ENGLISH, G. J. or G. F. 1886–?
 Said to have been a cousin of A. C. English who joined him in BNG in 1886 (Pixley, 1961: 587) but may have been a brother 'George' (Dutton, P4/80).

EROMANGO, Jack 1888?–
 Said to have been a 'brother' of Joe Linana Eromango (q.v.). If so, probably followed his 'brother' to NG from Queensland where he had worked as a 'kanaka'. Married Boni Hila from Hanuabada. Descendants still living in PNG (Dutton, P8/79; P1, 13/80).

EROMANGO, Joe Linana (also spelled EREMONY)
 'Brother' of Jack Eromango (q.v.). Brought to Port Moresby from Queensland in 1888 as boatman and special policeman. Paid £5 per month (Bethell, 1955: 108). Later became a trader and sandalwood collector (MacGregor, Diaries, 16.9.1892; 20.9.1892). Born at Telebango, Eromango, New Hebrides. Married Teiputa. Died 18.7.1912 (details from death certificate, and Musgrave 1891). Was in Milne Bay for part of 1890 (Anon., 1890). Was said to be able to speak Fijian as well as Motu (Dutton, P19/80).

ERSKINE, Commodore 1884 (few days)
 Naval commodore of the Australian Station detailed to proceed to Port

Moresby to proclaim south-east NG a British Protectorate. Arrived in Port Moresby aboard the Flag Ship *Nelson* to find that H. H. Romilly (q.v.), acting under confusing instructions, had already read the proclamation. The proclamation re-read with due pomp and ceremony on 6 November 1884 (Stuart, 1970: 30–1).

'Europeans' (unnamed)

1) Murray (1876: 479) in commenting on Mr Thorngren's (q.v.) gold prospecting trip up the Manumanu River in the early 1870s, notes that the party 'consisted of three only — himself [Thorngren] and another white man and a coloured man.'

2) A. Goldie (q.v.) describes how on his trip inland in 1879 his party consisted of 'five Europeans, including myself, and four kanakas ... [whom] we found ... of very little use among horses' (Goldie, 1879: 80).

3) H. O. Forbes (q.v.) engaged 'two Europeans and twenty-five Malays' to go with him to Sogeri to establish a collecting station and base for exploration in September 1885 (Romilly, 1893: 252). No further details available as to who these were or what happened to them afterwards because Forbes himself stayed on in NG for several years.

4) a large number of miners rushed to Port Moresby in 1878 after Jimi New Caledonia (q.v.) found traces of gold in the Laloki River in 1877. 'All through 1878 many of them were coming and going through Port Moresby and at the height of the rush there were about 60 men camped on the Laloki' (Stuart, 1970: 22). Some of these men stayed on to prospect in other areas around Port Moresby — Frank Jones (q.v.), Murphy (q.v.), Connor (q.v.), Dennis Gleeson (q.v.), Edward Rolles (q.v.), for example.

EXTON, J. 1887–
 Resident in Port Moresby 1885 (*Queenslander*, 28 February 1885). Gaoler at Port Moresby 1887 (Bethell, 1955: xi, 93). Dismissed 30 May 1887 after a quarrel with George Hunter (q.v.) over the real reason why Hunter had arrested a Papuan. 'Hunter accused Exton of spreading false and malicious rumours about him. Exton had suggested that George had arrested a Papuan on a murder charge when his real offence was to have had an affair with George's native wife' (Stuart, 1970: 51). Succeeded by Dennis Gleeson (q.v.) (Stuart, 1970: 45). Knew Motu (Criminal Cases, CA, G91, item 33, 1892).

Falaile and wife 1878–79
 LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Savage (Niue) Is. Arrived November 1878. Posted to Papaka. Both died 1879 (Lawes, 1890a).

FIJI, Joe 1888?–
 A Fijian presumed to be the 'Fiji boy' who acted as interpreter for Green when he arrived in Port Moresby in 1892 (Green, 1892: 22) and as a special constable in the early days of the colony of British New Guinea (ibid.: 40). Accompanied Governor MacGregor (q.v.) up Mt. Victoria in May 1889 together with Caesar Lifu (q.v.) and six Papuans (Souter, 1963: 66). In 1891 was living at Dedere [= Dedele] in a 'house built like a European's' with a Pari woman 'for company's sake' (MacGregor, Diaries, 29.5.1891). Married twice — two cousins from Pari. Many descendants still in PNG (Dutton, P9/79). Spoke English and Motu (Green, 1892: 22) and presumably Fijian.

FORBES, Henry Ogg 1885–88
 'A Scottish naturalist' (Souter, 1963: 59) who went to NG with Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) on board the *Governor Blackall* in 1885 under the auspices of the Royal Geographic Society and the Royal Scientific Geographical Society with the intention of climbing the highest peak in the main range then called Mt. Owen Stanley (Stuart, 1970: 52), and of 'collecting specimens in natural history' (Romilly, 1893: 252–4). For this purpose he engaged a party of 'two Europeans and twenty-five Malays [= Amboynese] with him' (Romilly, 1893: 252; photo in Lindt, 1887: Plate XXI) who arrived aboard the steamer *Herbert* in mid-September (Romilly, 1893: 254–6). Forbes and party started inland on 21 September 1885 (Lindt, 1887: 56) with 'Charles' [= Charles Kidd (q.v.)] as guide and interpreter (Romilly, 1893: 256). 'Mr Forbes looked well and strong, and, like an ancient Roman emperor, marched afoot at the head of his small army' (Lindt, 1887: 45). He established a station in Sogeri which was later visited by Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) (Fort, 1887: 139), but never did get to climb Mt. Owen Stanley (Stuart, 1970: 52). 'Scratchley had promised that the Protectorate would give financial assistance to the venture but he died before he could sign the papers authorizing the payment of the contribution. The expedition therefore had to be postponed and in compensation Douglas offered Forbes the position of Deputy Commissioner. This he accepted [July, 1886 (Bethell, 1955: xi)] and he served for a time at Samarai and later in Port Moresby as Government Meteorologist. In 1887 the postponed expedition set out from the town [Port Moresby] on horseback. With Forbes were Dennis Gleeson (q.v.), George Belford (q.v.), Caesar Lifu (q.v.) and Jack Tanna (q.v.). None of the men acquitted themselves well and the venture achieved little' (Stuart, 1970: 52–3).

In March 1888 Forbes resigned from Government service (Bethell, 1955: xi) and was appointed Director of the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, New Zealand (Stuart, 1970: 53). 'While in New Guinea he was accompanied by his wife Annabella and Mrs Forbes' presence in Port Moresby doubled the population of European women' (Stuart, op. cit.). Also referred to in Romilly (1893: 300–1).

FORBES, Annabella 1888
 Wife of Mr H. O. Forbes (q.v.). Arrived in Port Moresby in February 1888 and stayed with Romilly (q.v.) for a time as 'there was absolutely no other place . . . she could stay in' and he was forced 'to put her up, and brace whatever scandal' came of it (Romilly, 1893: 300–1).

FORT, G. Seymour 1885 (few months)
 Private Secretary to Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) 1884–5. Accompanied Sir Peter to NG in the *Governor Blackall* in 1885 (Lindt, 1887; Bethell, 1955: xi; Fort, 1887).

FRIAR (or FRYER), Captain J. 1880s?
 One of the early set of pre-Protectorate traders killed by Papuans in the Milne Bay area. Killed at Moresby Is. probably by ex-Queensland labourers (Romilly, 1893: 256) Circumstances investigated by Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) in 1885 (Fort, 1887: 139). Not known if Friar ever worked in the Port Moresby area.

Gativaro (or Ngativaro) and wife ?1877–80
 LMS pastor-teacher in the Hood Bay area of NG. Arrived 21 October 1876. Posted to South Cape as their first teacher but actually placed at Hula 6 January 1877 (King, 1909: 96). Referred to by Lawes (1876–84) on 3 August 1877 as being at Hula but although industrious and energetic did not know 'much of the native language [Hula]'. Died 1880. Wife died at Port Moresby December 1876 (Lawes, 1890a).

'George' ?–1875–?
 'A teacher' that accompanied 'Hargrave (q.v.), Stone (q.v.), Pettard (q.v.), Broadbent (q.v.), [W. G.] Lawes (q.v.), three kanaka women (q.v.), one Papuan man, one woman and four Papuan boys' on their journey inland on 7 December 1875 (Hargrave, 1875: Diary 'F'). Not listed in Lawes (1890a).

German Harry — see Christassen

GLANVILLE, Dr Doyle 1885 (three months)
 'Doctor, artist and correspondent of *Graphic*' with Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) on board the *Governor Blackall* in NG in 1885 (Bethell, 1955: xi). Prospector from Cobar, NSW. Went to NG in 1878 but 'made two visits at his own expense' (Goldie, 1886). In May 1887 succeeded J. Exton as gaoler and overseer in Port Moresby (Bethell, 1955: xi; Stuart, 1970: 45; AR, 1889/90: 15). Accompanied H. O. Forbes on inland expedition in 1887 (Stuart, 1970: 53). 'In charge of horses and cattle, Port Moresby, 1888' (Bethell, 1955: xi). 'Committed suicide [on Tauko Is. on July 26, 1893] and was succeeded by W.T. Campbell, November 1, 1893' (Bethell, 1955: xi). Presumed to have known Motu.

GOLDIE, Andrew (few months) 1875; 1876–
 Scottish botanist, explorer and trader. First went to Port Moresby in 1875 to gather plant specimens for a London nursery firm (Stuart, 1970: 21). Returned on 28 March 1876 (on the same boat as Dr and Mrs Turner (q.v.) of the LMS) (Lawes, 1876–84) as collector for the Australian Museum in company with A. Moreton (q.v.) (Thomson, 1892: 5 — although date given by Thomson is 1877). Employed three 'Mare boys', Jimi New Caledonia (q.v.), Lui (q.v.) and Harry (q.v.) (Lawes, 1876–84: 27 August 1877), one of whom, Jimi, found gold quartz in the Laloki River (Lawes, 1876–84: 28 October 1877) which subsequently caused a minor rush in April 1878 (Nelson, 1975: 77–82).

Bought land near the LMS station and set up the first store in Port Moresby. 'Goldie bore no resemblance to the popular, contemporary image of the island trader as a rum-sodden, pyjama-clad, womanizing beachcomber. He was an abstemious, God-fearing Scotsman who managed to avoid both the occupational hazards of this profession — drink and native women — and he was well-known for his kindness and hospitality to all who called at Port Moresby. After his evening meal he liked to sit with his guests on a post-and-rail fence in front of the store, smoking his pipe, and regaling them with stories of his New Guinea experiences' (Stuart, 1970: 22; Bevan, 1890: 17). In 1888 Goldie 'accepted £400 for his store and 50 acres of freehold land at Badili and three freehold blocks in Glanville West in exchange for any rights which he

might have had in Hanuabada (I. Champion, 1957). These payments and exchanges were made to him *ex gratia* and not as of right' (Oram, 1976: 25).

GREEN, John

1892-97

Arrived Port Moresby on September 21, 1892. Moved to Gabadi as manager of Mareva plantation [= Cameron's?] on the Avon R. where he learned Gabadi and some Motumotu [= Toaripi, Eleman Family] (Green, 1892). Subsequently joined the administration as Government Agent at Dedele, Cloudy Bay c. January 1895 (AR, 1894/5: 25). Appointed Government Agent at Tamata in October 1895. Murdered there January 14, 1897 (AR, 1896/7: xxv). 'The best man the Service in New Guinea every possessed...spoke Motuan...and practically every language then known in New Guinea' (Monckton, 1921: 78). Succeeded by A. L. Walker (Wetherell, 1977: 36).

GUBBINS

1886 (few months)

Probably one of Cuthbertson's (q.v.) five assistants surveying the town of Port Moresby and a road to the Laloki River for Douglas (q.v.) in 1886 (Stuart, 1970: 40).

GUISE, Reginald E.

?-1885

First referred to as being deported from Hula in November 1885 with friend Currie (q.v.) by Sir Peter Scratchley. Returned 'in a vessel that had no permit, and took up their residence at Hula' again. Deported again as 'presence considered ... detrimental to the peace and good order of the Pacific Islands' (Fort, 1887: 146). Later settled near Hula (MacGregor, Diaries, 6.7.1892 (re Guppy)). Spoke Hula and acted as interpreter from time to time for the Government (CA, G185, item 12, 1889).

HARGRAVE, Lawrence

1875 (three months)

Well-to-do but practical adventurer and explorer (Goode, 1977: Granger, 1978). Survivor of the ill-fated *Maria* expedition to NG in 1875 (Nelson, 1975: 75; Goode, 1977). Went with Stone (q.v.) to Port Moresby in October 1875 to attempt to cross the peninsula tail of NG. Lived in a tent with Stone near the LMS station at Hanuabada. Learned simplified Motu. After failing to cross the peninsula left Port Moresby at the end of January 1876 (Hargrave, 1875; Stone, 1880; Dutton, 1982). Subsequently accompanied D'Albertis up the Fly River as boat's engineer. Honoured as Australia's first aeronautical engineer (Granger, 1978).

HATTON-RICHARDS, T.H. (also Halton-Richards)

1889-93

'In British Colonial Service since 1883. In 1889 took the place of Mr J. P. Cameron (q.v.) as Private Secretary to Governor MacGregor (q.v.) in British New Guinea (Musgrave, 1889). Appointed Treasurer 1 October 1890. Left for Gold Coast in 1893' (Bethell, 1955: xi).

HARRISON

1884-87?

A European sawyer in Mr Page's (q.v.) timber camp near Manumanu 1884-87 (Lawes, 1886: 78).

Harry, German — see Christassen

'Harry' — see Harry MARE

HARTMANN, Carl

1887 (several months)

'Botanist, homeopath and thosophist from Toowoomba, Queensland, who came to New Guinea at the request of the Government to acclimatize new plant species. He had befriended Professor Denton (q.v.) during the latter's tour of Australia, and after Denton's death became obsessed with the idea that he, too, would die in New Guinea. He caught malaria on his return to Port Moresby from the Owen Stanleys [in 1887] and died in Brisbane five months later' (Souter, 1963: 59-60).

In 1887 he walked up the valley of the Kemp Welsh River in Rigo with G. Hunter (q.v.) and claimed to have reached 6000 feet, a claim that was later refuted by W.R. Cuthbertson (q.v.) (Souter, 1963: 59-60).

While in Port Moresby he worked at Konedobu where a botanical park had been declared by the Government in front of the Government Bungalow. 'He was employed for several months to plant a wide variety of tropical trees and plants' (Stuart, 1970: 46).

HELY, Bingham Arbuthnot

1886-89

'Formerly a clerk in Queensland Audit Office. Acting Private Secretary to Hon. J. Douglas (q.v.) in 1886 and Accountant of British New Guinea. On October 21, 1888, appointed Resident Magistrate. Resident Magistrate at Samarai in 1889' (Bethell, 1955: xi). Spent most of his time in the Western and Eastern Divisions (AR, 1891/2: xxiv; -1899/1900). 'Resigned owing to ill health in 1900, leaving New Guinea in March, 1899' (Bethell, 1955: xi).

Henere and wife

1882-?

LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Aitutaki (Cook) Is. Arrived 14 April 1882. Posted to Delena (Lawes, 1890a). Not known what became of them.

HENNESSY, Captain J. M.

1889?-95

'Master Mariner. On April 1, 1892, appointed Resident Magistrate of Eastern Division. Sometime master of the *Merrie England* [AR, 1889/90: 15]. Resigned in 1895 to proceed to Niger Coast Protectorate' (Bethell, 1955: xi).

HUNTER, George

c.1882-

Twin-brother of Robert Hunter (q.v.). The Hunters were said to have been of English county family origin. Came with his brother to North Queensland then to NG. 'Robert Hunter arrived first, with brother George following [c. 1882 — Musgrave, 1886: 21] several months later, and it was generally supposed that they were running away from their debts in Queensland. They established themselves on the beach as traders of sorts and, unlike Mr Goldie (q.v.), soon made liaisons with girls from the village' (Stuart, 1970: 23-4).

'Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) employed the brothers temporarily [George as forester and inspector of the timber trade and Robert as inspector of the beche-de-mer industry (Fort, 1887: 140)] and 'Musgrave renewed their appointment as Superintendents of Natives on a salary of £20 a month. They continued to occupy the Argus villa [a building erected by Captain Armit (q.v.) of the *Argus* expedition of 1883] which the Government had purchased for £100. The Colonial Office was distressed when it learned of this appointment as it strongly disapproved of beachcombers being

enlisted into the colonial service. However, the twin brothers had originally been favourably spoken of by Mr Lawes and, as Musgrave pointed out, 'were familiar with the Motuan language spoken here, were young (about 32), of energetic type and now well-inured to the climate'. They were perhaps not perfect colonial servants, but they did a useful job in positions of trust during the four years of the Protectorate, even though another official later wrote of them: 'I must remark that the intimate relations of both the Messrs Hunter with the natives, by their cohabitation with native women, though useful in some respects, may lead to grave misunderstandings and heart burning'. These words were prophetic and, in the case of George, led, in fact, to his violent and untimely decease' (Stuart, 1970: 38) — George was murdered by his native wife Mou and others at Rigo in 1890.

'Both of them are familiar with the native language [Motu] and have been consistently employed in moving about both along the coast and inland, acting in every case under the instructions of Mr Musgrave . . . In order to further their work I thought it desirable to purchase a small cutter of 10 tons, which is now constantly employed on the coast' (Douglas, 1886: 6).

'Mr Robert Hunter . . . has been in this territory continuously for three and a half years. Mr G. Hunter about a half-a-year less. Both brothers (twins) are sufficiently familiar with the Motuan language spoken here and for a considerable distance along the coast on both sides of Port Moresby. Mr G. Hunter also possesses some knowledge of the language spoken at the inland village of Rigo [= Sinagoro]. They are young (about thirty-two years of age), of energetic type, and now well-inured to the climate' (Musgrave, 1886: 21).

HUNTER, Robert ('Bob')

c.1882–

Twin brother of George Hunter (q.v.). Arrived in NG about the end of 1882 (Musgrave, 1886: 21). Trader 'of considerable practical experience in New Guinea' (Fort, 1887: 140). Subsequently employed by the Government firstly as Native Protector by Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) in 1885 and then as inspector of the beche-de-mer industry (Fort, 1887: 140) and Superintendent of Natives on 30 September 1885. Acted as guide and interpreter to various expeditions to NG (Lindt, 1887: 31). In 1886 was engaged 'almost wholly on the settlement of native difficulties and the extension of Government control while Mr G. Hunter is at present establishing a Government station near Rigo, a somewhat difficult and populous district' (Musgrave, 1886: 22).

Married Namodia, a Motu woman from Tatana (Green, 1892: 3ff). 'Dismissed from Government services in 1888 for scandalous conduct' (Bethell, 1955: xii). Became a sandalwood cutter (Green, 1892). Lived until the 1930s at Hitau (near Napanapa). Died 1936 aged 86 (Stuart, 1970: 227).

HUNSTEIN, Carl

1878–?

'A German albino whom Goldie (q.v.) . . . employed as his assistant in the store'. Arrived about 1878 at the time of the Laloki gold-rush (Stuart, 1970: 22). Still there in 1883 (Souter, 1963: 45).

Iabako and wife

1878–83

LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Manihiki (Cook) Is. Arrived November 1878. Posted to Koiari. Left March 1883. Wife died (Lawes, 1890a).

Iae or Joseph John

1872

A native of Nukualofa (Tonga) who worked for Captain Banner (the first to exploit pearlshell in the Torres Straits in 1868 (Singe, 1979: 33; 60)) on Warrior Is., Torres Straits, and who accompanied Murray and MacFarlane to NG to place SSI pastor-teachers at Manumanu in late 1872. He gave his full name as Joseph John and said he had been away 'from his native land for thirty years or more and during that time he . . . made extensive acquaintance with both the civilized and heathen world. At the time of the Crimean War he was on an English Man-of-War, and for nearly 4(?) years he was connected with the British Navy. He resided in London for a time, and he has been to Sydney again and again. He has a very extensive island experience especially well is he acquainted with the islands of the Torres Straits and the Papuan Gulf, and his acquaintance extends moreover to many parts of the mainland of New Guinea' (Murray and MacFarlane, 1871: 40–41). Because of his experience and colour he was 'able to deal with them [the natives] in a manner which few if any white men could do' (op. cit.).

INGHAM, William Bairstow

1878 (several months)

Queensland Government Agent in Port Moresby during the Laloki gold-rush of 1878 (Nelson, 1975: 77–82). Although he had no formal powers (being outside Queensland) and no police 'he held courts, registered land titles and sent reports to the Colonial Secretary in Brisbane' (Souter, 1964: 44). In November 1878 while still Government Agent 'he left Herberton, Queensland, in a forty-ton sternwheel steamer, the *Douro*, with a cargo of produce for New Guinea. On arrival at Port Moresby, finding the diggers' rush was a failure, and having some interest with McOrt (q.v.), he steamed eastwards, and heard at Teste [Island] of the latter's death' (Bevan, 1890: 113). Was himself subsequently murdered along with his three European companions at Utain Is., Milne Bay district, on 16 November 1878 (Bevan, 1890: 144).

IRVING, Loftus J.

1883 (few weeks)

One of Captain Armit's (q.v.) assistants on the *Argus* expedition to the Astrolabe Range (Sogeri) in 1883. Described by Professor Denton (q.v.), another member of that expedition, as a 'silm English dude' (Souter, 1963: 52).

Isaako and wife

1874–77 +

LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Savage (Niue) Is. Arrived 2 November 1874. Posted to Pari village (Lawes, 1890a). Not known what became of Isaako and wife. On 29 July 1877 Lawes (1876–84) refers to him being at Vabukori village in the following terms: 'Isaako preached this morning. His knowledge of the language [Motu] is very small. He does not seem to know more than he did a year ago. He made the most glaring blunders . . . He will never learn a strange language.'

Isuako

1875–?

LMS pastor-teacher in NG. Not listed in Lawes (1890a) but referred to in King (1909: 72) as being from Niue (Savage) Is. and placed at Lealea on 8 February 1875.

Itama and wife

1882–?

LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Manihiki (Cook) Is. Arrived 14 April 1882. Posted to Hula (Lawes, 1890a). Not known what became of them.

- JAMES, Dr 1875 (few days)
Leader of a party of 'explorers' and collectors that included Petterd (q.v.) and Knight (q.v.) that went across to Port Moresby on the LMS steamer *Ellengowan* on 29 October 1875 (Goode, 1977: 124-5). The party quarrelled soon after arrival and James and Knight returned to Yule Island in the *Ellengowan* where Dr James was subsequently murdered with Thorngren (q.v.) (Lawes, 1876-84: 18 September 1876).
- JARDINE, Charlie 1880?-
A 'Malay' known as Charlie Malay or Charlie Jorden who is said to have been a contemporary of Jimmy Malay (q.v.) and Ah Wong (q.v.), but as direct descendants have not been interviewed no family details can be given. His daughter Maimona married Kevin Solien (Snr.) (Dutton, P29/80).
- 'Jimi' (New Caledonia) 1877-?
One of Mr A. Goldie's (q.v.) three Mare men (Lawes, 1876-84: 27 August 1877). Apparently came from Queensland where he had been on gold-fields (Nelson, 1975: 76). Found traces of gold in the Laloki River in 1877 that subsequently led to a minor rush in 1878 (Nelson, 1975: 76-82). Probably an ex-Queensland SSI 'kanaka'. Also referred to as Jimi New Caledonia. May be the same person referred to as 'Johnny from New Caledonia' (cedar cutter) whom D'Albertis recruited in Cooktown as crew for the *Neva* expedition up the Fly River in May 1876 (Goode, 1977: 160).
- 'John, the Murray Island boy' 1885 (briefly)
One of the crew of Ah Jim's (q.v.) *Pride of Logan* that visited the south coast of New Guinea in March 1885. 'Formerly of [LMS] mission employ' (Bevan, 1890: 66-67).
- JONES, Frank 1878-86 + ?
Miner. One of three members of the first party of miners to arrive in Port Moresby as part of the Laloki gold-rush in April 1878 and that remained in Port Moresby area for some time after the rush ended (Nelson, 1975: 76-82). Came aboard the *Colonist* but stayed to join members of another party that arrived aboard the *Emily* and which prospected the Astrolabe Range area. Regarded by Goldie (q.v.) as one of the best bushmen in NG at the time. Helped establish friendly relations with previously uncontacted inland tribes (Goldie, 1886).
- JONES, Thomas 1880s?
'Trader, Hall Sound. Deceased.' GG, II(15): 69. Not known if ever traded in Port Moresby area.
- JORDEN, Charlie — see Charlie JARDINE
- 'Joseph, a Manilla boy' 1888-?
Apparently went to NG in May 1888 and was expected to return aboard the *Victoria* on 28 May 1888 but did not (Bethell, 1955: 110).
- Joseph John — see Iae
- JUMA (or Johnny BOMBAY) ?1880s-
An Indian from Bombay (Musgrave, 1891). Grandfather of Emanuel Alaniel (b. 18.8.1903). Married part Torres Strait Islander-part Australian Aboriginal girl from New Norsia mission near Darwin, whose daughter Rosy, Emanuel Alaniel's mother, was looked after by the McNulty family on Thursday Island (Dutton, P7/79, P12/79, P20/80).

KAMO, Peter — see Peter DAVIES

'kanakas'

- 1) 'three kanaka women' and others accompanied Hargrave (q.v.) inland to the Laloki River on an expedition on 7 December 1875 (Hargrave, 1875: Diary 'F'). No other details available of who they were or where they came from or how. Not known what happened to them.
- 2) A. Goldie (q.v.) describes how on his trip inland in 1879 his party consisted of 'five Europeans, including myself, and four kanakas ... [whom] we found ... of very little use among horses' (Goldie, 1879: 180). These 'kanakas' probably included Goldie's 'three Mare men' — Jimi (q.v.), Lui (q.v.) and Harry (q.v.).
- 3) Fort (1887: 158) refers to a 'number of kanakas' employed by one firm [Page's (q.v.)] in the timber industry. These are the same SSIs referred to in Lawes (1886: 78).
- 4) Bevan (1890: 75-6) in referring to the murder of Webb (q.v.) and crew at Millport Harbour in the early 1880s, notes: 'Webb landed, accompanied by two Queensland boys ...'.

KASSMAN

1880-

A 'Malay' from Java whose real name is said to have been Kasiano Arisan. Married into Tatana village. The depth of Kassman's family tree is such that it suggests he was married in Port Moresby about 1880. He is said to have been a contemporary of Jimmy Malay (q.v.) and Ah Wong (q.v.) (Dutton, P16/80). Went with MacGregor's party to Inawaia village, Mekeo, 12.9.1891 (MacGregor, Diaries, 12.9.1891).

KERR, George

1886-89

'Captain of the Government cutter *Maino* from 1886 to 19 January 1889' (Douglas, 1886: 6; Bethell, 1955: xii). Had 'two Malays under him' (Douglas, op. cit.).

KERRISON, Captain H. D.

1884 (briefly)

Captain of the Sydney schooner *Retrieve* that brought Mr Page (q.v.) over from Cooktown to Port Moresby on 16 November 1884 on an inspection tour of his sawmill at Manumanu (Musgrave, 1885).

KIDD, Charlie

1885?-?

'a coast pilot, and one of the petty officers of the guard [on board the *Governor Blackall*]' (Lindt, 1887: 48). Could speak Motu and acted as interpreter at Tupuseleia in September 1885 for Lindt (q.v.) and party (Lindt, 1887: 57).

Apparently the same person referred to as 'Charles' by Romilly (1893: 256) who first mentions him as the proposed guide and interpreter assigned to accompany Forbes (q.v.) to Sogeri on 1 September 1885, although he was apparently replaced by Karl Kowald (q.v.) on the day. Also apparently later [2 December 1887] Romilly's servant, as he continues (p.296):

'Charles? — you remember Charles? — wishes to be married to a native girl. He says, 'You marry me in English fashion to Bezina: bye-and-bye, when I go to England she look up some other fellow.' I don't think this is moral of Charles, and I have told him so, but to my astonishment he said, 'Well, I suppose I must get married in New Guinea fashion, but New Guinea fashion plenty dear, English fashion only two bob!!' It is true my fees for marrying Christian natives in other parts were only two bob, of which fact he is aware,

while the tomahawks and tobacco, requisite for New Guinea fashion, will cost him at least thirty shillings. I am not quite pleased with Charles ...'.

(p.305) [1 June 1888: 'The faithful Charles, being an ambitious youth, has left me to better himself, and I have given him a small place here at £100 a year. It is a nuisance, as he understood my idiosyncracies and remained calm and imperturbable in the midst of my worst fits of 'devilish madness'. I am now attended by three small black boys ...'.

(p.311) 'I feel the loss of Charles a good deal. I have a Singhalese servant now who is good enough in his own way, and two stupid boys who put bottles of brandy and office gum pots on the table for breakfast.']

Charles was probably a mixed-race person judging by his aspirations and English displayed in the above quotes.

'Kitty' 1888?–
Assistant to George Hunter (q.v.) at Rigo together with Moses (Bethell, 1955: 124 — refers to letter noting Kitty and Moses ill with fever on 7 May 1888). Probably a SSI special constable.

KNIGHT 1875 (few days)
One of Dr James's (q.v.) party of explorers and collectors who went across to Port Moresby on the LMS steamer *Ellengowan* on 29 October 1875 (Goode, 1977: 124–5). The party quarrelled soon after arrival and Knight returned to Yule Is. on the *Ellengowan* with Dr James. Taken off Yule Is. three months later with very bad ulcers (Goode, 1977: 137). Formerly 'one of MacArthur's botanical collectors' (Goode, 1977: 124).

KOWALD, Karl (or Carl) A. ?1885–96
'A young German ... in the employ of Mr Romilly (q.v.) attended the party [of Mr Forbes (q.v.) of Sogeri] as interpreter [and therefore must have known Motu] and the baggage carriers were of the Koiari tribe' (Lindt, 1887: 45).
'Appointed Keeper of Government House, September 4, 1888. Government Agent at Mekeo on October 9, 1890. Killed by accident in 1896.' (Bethell, 1955: xii). Regarded as one of MacGregor's most reliable fieldstaff (Joyce, 1971: 154).

LAKE, Captain 1885 (three months)
Captain of the *Governor Blackall* which took Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) to New Guinea in 1885 (Lindt, 1887: 63).

LAWES, Rev. William G. 1874–1906
European missionary of the LMS in Port Moresby 1874 to 1906. Arrived in NG 22 November 1874. Took up residence in a prefabricated house on a small ridge overlooking Hanuabada village, Port Moresby, on 1 December 1874 (Lawes, 1876–84; Stuart, 1970: 19–20). Accompanied by his pregnant wife, Fanny (q.v.), and small son Frank (q.v.). Absent in England on furlough December 1877 to 12 April 1881. Linguist-translator and teacher in Motu. Left NG in 1906. Died at Waverley, NSW, 6 August 1907 (King, 1909).

LAWES, Mrs Fanny 1874–1906
Wife of W.G. Lawes (q.v.) and LMS missionary in Port Moresby 1874–1906 (King, 1909; Stuart, 1970: 21).

LAWES, Charlie — see Frank E. Lawes

LAWES, Frank E. ('Charlie') 1874–1894
'Son of Rev. W.G. Lawes (q.v.) of the LMS. In 1885 appointed Postmaster and Harbourmaster at Port Moresby and clerk to Captain A. Musgrave (q.v.), Deputy Assistant Commissioner. Government Agent at Samarai in 1887. Chief interpreter and Government Agent on September 4, 1888. Resident Magistrate of Central Division in 1892 from October 28' (Bethell, 1955: xii). Married Miss Warren, Brisbane, Feb., 1894. Died in Port Moresby, 12.9.1894 (*Australasian*, 1894: 507).

Born about 1868 in England. Spoke 'true' Motu (Joyce, 1971: 154 quoting MacGregor) and translated Government documents into it. Accused of importuning women in Port Moresby' [with English and Butterworth] (MacGregor, Diaries, 2.12.1891).

LAWES, Percy Moresby 1875–76
Son of Rev. W.G. Lawes (q.v.), LMS missionary in Port Moresby 1874–1906. Died 25 August 1876 aged 18 months (Lawes, 1876–84).

'Leslie' ?
Simply referred to as a 'native' in Bethell (1955: xii) but probably more accurately a SSI as other known SSIs are also referred to as 'natives' in the same source. No further details available.

LIFU, Caesar ?–1888–
One of a number of SSI special constables employed in NG before the formation of Governor MacGregor's Armed Native Constabulary in 1890 — others included Peter Lifu, Jack Tanna, Harry Mare, Butsee and the Belford brothers (q.v.). Not known when or how Caesar came to NG but was there in 1888 because he was sent to Rigo then to help George Hunter (q.v.), Government Agent there (Bethell, 1955: 125 refers to letter of 23 February 1888). Accompanied Governor (q.v.) up Mt. Victoria in May 1889. May be the same person as Fred Lifu (q.v.).

LIFU, Fred ?–1880s–
A Loyalty Islander in Port Moresby 1890–91 (Musgrave, 1891). Nothing further known about this person or whether the same as Caesar Lifu (q.v.).

LIFU, George ?–1880s–
A Loyalty Islander in Port Moresby in 1890–91 (Musgrave, 1891). Not known when or how he came to Port Moresby, but he married Enava Rohi from Hanuabada, most of whose descendants were killed on the MV *Mamutu* in August 1942 (Dutton, P19/79). Could be the same person as George Mari (see App. 2). If so, probably was not in Port Moresby before 1890.

LIFU, Peter 1882–
Native of Lifu (Musgrave, 1891). One of a number of SSI special constables employed in NG before the formation of Governor MacGregor's (q.v.) Armed Native Constabulary in 1890 — others included Caesar Lifu, Jack Tanna, Harry Mare, Butsee and the Belford brothers (q.v.). Not known when or how Peter came to NG but he was 'living with Mr Goldie (q.v.)' early in 1882 (Lawes, 1876–84: 21 January 1882) and married by W.G. Lawes later that same year to 'Naomi, a native girl who had been brought up by Ruatoka (q.v.)' (op. cit., 21

January 1882). At one time had a small coconut plantation of 50 acres at Bomana where he carried on operations 'with the aid of native labour, and appears to be regarded as a fair master ... speaks good English' (Nelson, 1898: Frame 206). Presumed to be the person referred to as 'Peter' by MacGregor in 1890 who went with others (e.g. Nettle, Said) to climb Mt. Yule (MacGregor, Diaries, 30.11.1890). At that time married to a 'Port Moresby woman' (ibid., 20.12.1890) and living at Bomana. Subsequently was in the copra trade for a while around Oiabu (ibid., 6.9.1892). Died 4 June 1905.

LILJEBLAD, Hillel 1886?—
 'Captain Hillel Liljeblad had been the master of the LMS vessel *Ellengowan* but in 1886 he left the mission's employ to become a government officer and captain of the *Governor Cairns*. While Cuthbertson (q.v.) was laying out the town, Liljeblad was doing surveys along the coast nearby.

Soon afterwards the captain had the misfortune to incur Musgrave's (q.v.) wrath by 'firing a gun on his ship, on a Sunday, against the regulations' and was eventually dismissed from service over it (Stuart, 1970: 43).

LINDT, J.W. 1885 (three months)
 Photographer who accompanied Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) to NG on the *Governor Blackall* in August-December 1885. Assisted by Mr Bubb (q.v.) (Lindt, 1887).

'Lively' 1883?—
 A SSI from Tanna, New Hebrides, recruited by G. Morrison (q.v.) in Cooktown for the *Age* expedition to the Goldie River in 1883. Subsequently proved to be a drunkard and was replaced (together with a Malay named Cheerful (q.v.)) by 'two native boys called Dick and Bosen (q.v.)' (Pearl, 1967: 44; Souter, 1963: 50-51).

'Lui' — see Lui MARE

LUMSE, Bob early 1880s?
 One of an early set of pre-Protectorate traders killed by Papuans at Hayter Is., Milne Bay district, and whose murder was investigated by Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.) in 1885 (Fort, 1887: 139). A 'Bengalee' (Romilly, 1889: 237-8). Not known if ever worked in the Port Moresby area.

LYONS, John Wheeler 1883 (few weeks)
 A member of Morrison's (q.v.) *Age* expedition to the Goldie River in 1883 (Pearl, 1967: 44). 'A tall, athletic young fellow of excellent character, a good bushman and experienced prospector' (Souter, 1963: 50).

MacFARLANE, Rev. Samuel 1872 (briefly)
 European LMS missionary stationed at Murray Island, Torres Straits. Took Rev. A. Murray (q.v.) and eight Loyalty Island teachers to the Torres Straits in the *Surprise* in mid-1871 from the Loyalties. On furlough in England 1871 and did not return to NG (where he had been very briefly in 1871) until 29 July 1874 (King, 1909: 61). Mrs MacFarlane arrived 2 November 1874 (Lawes, 1890a). Brought the LMS steamer *Ellengowan* back for work in Torres Straits and NG. Visited NG briefly again with Chalmers to locate SSI teachers 1877 (Chalmers and Wyatt-Gill, 1885: 15; 21ff). Rev MacFarlane left the mission in December 1885 and his wife in

1884 (Lawes, 1890a). Instrumental in having Rev. W. G. Lawes (q.v.) allocated to the newly opened NG field. Biography in Prendergast (1968: 97).

MACGREGOR, Dr (later Sir) William M. 1888-1898
 Administrator of British New Guinea, September 1888 to September 1898. Doctor with extensive administrative experience in Fiji and elsewhere before coming to BNG. Arrived Port Moresby aboard HMS *Opal* on 4 September 1888. In the early years spent greater part of his time away from Port Moresby on tours of inspection and in exploring the new colony. Established the first official police force in 1890 by importing 12 Solomon Islanders as constables and two Fijian non-commissioned officers and combining those with 7 men from the Kiwai area and one from the Milne Bay area. Not known if he learned Motu. See Joyce (1971) for detailed biography.

McIVER, General Henry 1886? (briefly)
 Soldier who in 1883 had proposed 'a quasi-military New Guinea Exploring Company resembling such earlier organizations as the Hudson's Bay Company and the Falkland Islands Company [in which] volunteers would swear to a code of conduct based on the Articles of War, and acts of violence, particularly against women, would be tried with drumhead court martial' (Souter, 1963: 10). However, Lord Derby soon quashed the scheme and McIver subsequently came to Australia in 1886? 'to more closely consider the country towards which so much attention was then directed' (*Brisbane Courier*(?), 25 September 1886: General MacIver's Lecture). Later it was reported (*Cooktown Courier*, 20 February 1888) that 'General McIver ... thoroughly enjoyed his cruise with His Excellency, the Hon. John Douglas (q.v.), and was preparing for an excursion into the Laroki valley, and other portions of the interior.' No further details available.

McLEOD 1878 (several months)
 One of the better known and sensible miners (i.e. was careful about peaceful contact with local Papuans) who came to Port Moresby from Australia during the short Laloki gold-rush of 1878 (Goldie, 1886).

McNEILL, Duncan Alexander 1889-90
 Commandant, Armed Native Constabulary, October 1889. Resigned for reasons of ill health 1890 (Musgrave, 1889; Bethell, 1955: xiii). Succeeded by Wriford (q.v.) (AR, 1890/1: xvi).

McORT, John 1870s?
 One of the early set of fisher-traders operating in NG waters before the Protectorate was established. He was killed at Brooker Is. 16 August 1878. 'His party comprised four Europeans, nine Solomon Island 'kanakas', and ten Torres Strait aboriginals, and was engaged in the beche-de-mer industry' (Bevan, 1890: 112). Not known if ever operated in Port Moresby area waters.

Maka 1878-89
 LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Rarotonga [and not from Lifu as MacGregor (1890: 16) and Bethell (1955: xiii) claim]. Arrived Port Moresby in November 1878. Posted to Maiva, Yule Is. area. Married in Port Moresby 1880 (Lawes, 1890a). Left the mission [c. 1885] and joined

the Government as 'interpreter and foreman of native labourers ... He speaks English very well and four important languages of British New Guinea: the Motuan, Koian, Maivan, and that of South Cape (Suau). His native language, Rarotongan, enables him also to communicate with teachers who do not speak either the Motu tongue or English, but who have acquired other aboriginal dialects ... Maka has been in the Government service for a year, and I can testify to his steadiness and general good conduct, as well as to his capacity as an interpreter and services in directing native gangs' (Musgrave, 1886: 26). Died 'from malaria in the Cloudy Bay District where he was Government Agent' (MacGregor, 1890: 16) in 1889.

MALAY, Charlie — see Charlie JARDINE

MALAY, Jimmy

?1883–

A 'Malay' from Sourabaya, Java (although Musgrave (1891) says 'native of Singapore'). Also known as Solien. Not known how or when he came to NG but is first referred to in Lawes (1876–84: 10 September 1883) as having 'shattered his hand through his gun bursting'. He married into Tatana village (Musgrave, 1886: 18–19) and acquired land at the northern end of Fairfax Harbour. In 1892 he 'lived on the other side of the harbour' (Green, 1892: 10). He was a trader in beche-de-mer, sandalwood, bird of paradise plumes, rubber, butterflies, copra, etc. and owned the cutter *Mida* (op. cit., p. 54). Spoke 'Malay' and 'English' (Gors, 1958). Succeeded by large number of descendants in PNG. Died about 1923 (Dutton, P18, 29, 30/80).

'Malays' (unnamed)

Many references to their use as labourers on board boats and on land:

- 1) Jimmy Malay (q.v.).
- 2) Charlie Malay (q.v.).
- 3) Potts (1886) reports that he chartered the schooner yacht *Elsie* of 70 tons, and had with him Captain Dubbin, Longly the mate and 'ten coloured men [probably 'Malays'] as crew. The *Elsie* anchored off Port Moresby on the 5th October [1885] and Mr Potts landed there' and amongst other things made a trip inland to Sogeri and then sailed to Cloudy Bay to deliver mail to Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.). Also visited Maiva and Motumotu areas to the west.
- 4) H.O. Forbes (q.v.) engaged 'two Europeans and twenty-five Malays' to go with him to Sogeri to establish a collecting station and base camp for exploration in September 1885 (Romilly, 1893: 252). These were 'Amboynese' apart from his 'Malay servant' (Lindt, 1887: 20 and shown in Plate XXI (p.54) therein). No further details are available as to who these were and what happened to them afterwards except that they were probably recruited in Indonesia where Forbes had previously been (Lindt, 1887: 19).
- 5) Captain Webb (q.v.) always carried armed Malays as crew on his boat and two of these were killed along with him at Toulon Is. (Mailu) in 1884 (Lett, 1944: 68). It is not known, however, if any were ever in the Port Moresby area.
- 6) 'A party of fourteen white men, eleven Malays, and a New Guinea

interpreter, organized by the Geographical Society of Australasia, tried to explore New Guinea in 1885. More than £4500 was spent in preparations, and the supply of trade included four and a half dozen cricket and boating caps and four dozen fancy garters. The expedition spent four months in New Guinea, but despite a generous distribution of haberdashery, achieved little' (Pearl, 1967: 50).

7) 'The reason for [the Government purchasing land at Badili] was to secure frontages by the shore before the Papuans occupied them on the advice of 'certain Malays and South-Sea Islanders who had taken Motu women as 'wives', and who use some influence over aboriginal villagers' (AR, 1885: 16, quoted in Oram, 1976: 24).

8) George Kerr (q.v.), Captain of the Government cutter *Maino* from 1886 to 1889 had 'two Malays under him' (Douglas, 1886: 6).

MALEKULA, Harry

1880s

A SSI from the New Hebrides about whom nothing is known except that he is shown in the Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Port Moresby, as having married a woman called Neguyawa before Peter Lifu (q.v.) was married officially, suggesting that he was a contemporary of his. Unfortunately this entry has not been pursued any further to date.

MANILA, Tommy

1884–?

One of Mr Page's (q.v.) workers at his sawmill near Manumanu 1884–87. Acted as guide for Musgrave and party on visit to the Doura in November 1885 (Musgrave, 1885). No further details available. May be the same person referred to as 'Tom, the Filipino' whom D'Albertis recruited in Cooktown as crew for the *Neva* expedition up the Fly River in May 1876 (Goode, 1977: 160).

'Manilla boys'

- 1) See Tommy MANILLA.
- 2) Kowald (1891: 6) refers to 'three Manila boys' at Yule Is. — Thomas Bistra, Pedro Malina [sic, but undoubtedly a typographical error for 'Manila'] and Emanuel Natera'. It is not known if these spent any time in the Port Moresby area but these family names still continue in the Yule Is. area today.

MARE, Charlie

?1890–?

MacGregor refers to him as being at Peter [Lifu's] place at the back of Port Moresby [i.e. Bomana] on 20.12.1890 (MacGregor, Diaries, 2012.1890). Could be the same person as Charlie Lifu (or one of the other LIFUs or MAREs).

MARE, Harry (also Lui or Jack)

?1877–?

One of a number of SSI in Port Moresby in the 1870s and 1880s. First mentioned as one of Mr A. Goldie's (q.v.) Mare men in Port Moresby in 1877 (Lawes, 876–84: 27 August 1877). Presumed to be the same person referred to as Harry Marc [which is taken to be a typographical error for 'Mare'] one of a group of special constables sent to Rigo in 1888 (Bethell, 1955: 125) which refers to a letter dated 23 February 1888). Contemporary of Belford brothers (q.v.) and Tommy Manila (q.v.) (Musgrave, 1885). Referred to as Jack Mare in Chester (1878).

MARE, Lui — see Harry MARE

- Materua and wife 1876–81
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Mangaia (Cook) Is. Arrived 21 October 1876. Posted to Kalo. Both killed there March 1881 (Lawes, 1890a).
- Matuhi and wife 1878–81
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Rurutu. Arrived November 1878. Posted to Koiari. Killed at Kalo, March 1881 (Lawes, 18901a).
- MEREDITH, J. early 1890?–97
'Master Mariner. In Fiji from 1882 to 1888. Commanded government vessel *Merrie England* [in British New Guinea], 1893. Chief Gaoler in 1895. Died in 1897.' (Bethell, 1955: xiii).
- MILLER early 1880s
One of early set of pre-Protectorate traders trading in the Milne Bay area. Killed by Diavari (q.v.) on Normany Is. in 1885 (Fort, 1887: 139; Lett, 1944: 67). Not known if ever traded in the Port Moresby area.
- 'Miners' — see 'Europeans'
- MINISTER, Nicholas 1885 (briefly)
One of the group of traders that operated in south-east NG waters before the Protectorate was proclaimed in 1884. According to Bevan (1890: 93), he was a 'Greek by birth' and through a series of adventures was, in 1885, 'engaged in the beche-de-mer industry on his own account; and had previously been boatswain of the Queensland Government schooner *Pearl*, under Captain Pennefather, in which capacity he had had, on more than one occasion, to take part in the capture or punishment of both Australian and Papuan blacks.' A different source reports that he was an escapee to NG 'from the penal settlement on New Caledonia' (Stuart, 1970: 23) who eluded capture by a searching French man-of-war by acting as pilot for it along the Papuan coast under the name of Niklos Minster (Lett, 1944: 68–9). In 1888 he wrote to the *Cooktown Courier* (20 February 1888) complaining that the Hon. J. Douglas (q.v.) had told him he had been charged with 'robbery and kidnapping' and had had to go to Cooktown on a false charge and demanded compensation. T. Bevan (q.v.) accompanied him on a tour of inspection of his fishing grounds in the Milne Bay area in 1885 (Bevan, 1890: 93ff). He was also in Port Moresby on at least one occasion, viz., mid-1885 (Bevan, 1890: 93). He died peacefully in hospital at Samarai in 1915 (Stuart, 1970: 23).
- Moana and wife 1874–75
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Rarotonga. Arrived 2 November 1874. Died at Port Moresby 6 March 1875. Wife also died at Port Moresby 28 August 1875 (Lawes, 1890a).
- MORESBY, Captain John February 1873
Naval surveyor who discovered and named Fairfax and Moresby harbours in HMS *Basilisk* in February 1873. Spent a week exploring the coast east and west of Port Moresby. During this time the ship's company visited local villages and had peaceful contact with them (Moresby, 1876: 148–58). One of the company, Watts (q.v.), became lost and was cared for overnight by the Tatana villagers (Moresby, 1876: 156; Inglis, 1974). This contact indicates no English of any kind known by the Motu.

- MORETON, H. H. 1889–1905/6?
'Formerly Lieutenant, 78th Highlanders' (Bethell, 1955: xiii). Appointed Assistant Resident Magistrate Central Division, September 11, 1889 (*AR*, 1889/90: 15). Replaced Hatton-Richards as Private Secretary to the Administrator on 7 November 1890 (*AR*, 1890/1: xvii; Bethell, 1955: xiii). Went with MacGregor on various patrols in 1891 (MacGregor, Diaries: 13.5.1891; 12.8.1891; 12.9.1891). Resident Magistrate Eastern Division between 1894 and 1900 (*AR*, 1894/5–1900) and South-eastern Division at least in 1905/6 (*AR*, 1905/6).
- MORRIS late 1884 (briefly)
One of a party of Queenslanders led by Mr W. Clarke (q.v.) in the *Sylph* who came to investigate the area around the Edith River [Redscar Bay] in late 1884 (Musgrave, 1885).
- MORRISON, George Ernest (later 'Chinese') 1882 (briefly); 1883 (few weeks)
Explorer. First visited NG briefly in 1882 when he went to Port Moresby with Chalmers in the *Ellengowan* and visited some coastal stations with him and 'went with Andrew Goldie (q.v.) on a brief expedition into the country behind Port Moresby' (Stuart, 1970: 26–7). Returned as leader of the *Age* expedition to the Goldie River in 1883 with John Lyons (q.v.), Edmund Snow (q.v.), Bosen (q.v.), Dick (q.v.) [replacements for an opium-addicted Malay and an alcoholic Torres Strait Islander recruited in Cooktown] and eleven Motu carriers for support (Bevan, 1890: 112). The expedition was attacked not far inland and Morrison was wounded and forced to abandon the enterprise. He left NG never to return (Pearl, 1967; Souter, 1963: 50; Stuart, 1970: 27).
- MORTON, A. 1877 (briefly)
'In 1877 . . . the trustees of the Australian Museum . . . despatched Mr A. Morton in company with Mr Goldie, a botanical collector, to the shores of New Guinea. Calling at Port Moresby, they proceeded to Redscar Bay, and discovered a new tributary to the Laroki River, which was named the River Goldie. The bed of this river and its tributaries were prospected by Mr Morton, and yielded traces of gold' (Thomson, 1892: 5–6). Also referred to in Musgrave (1889).
- MOSES, J. 1888–
SSI who agreed to serve as special constable in NG at £5 per month from 1888 (Bethell, 1955: 108). G. Hunter at Rigo reports Kitty and Moses ill with fever 7 May 1888 (Bethell, 1955: 124).
- Motu and wife 1874–75
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Mangaia (Cook) Is. Arrived 2 November 1874. Died at Port Moresby 29 January 1875. Wife remarried Anederea and was killed at Kalo in March 1881 (Lawes, 1890a).
- MULHOLLAND 1884–87?
A European sawyer in Mr Page's (q.v.) camp near Manumanu 1884–7 (Lawes, 1886: 78).
- MURPHY 1878 (few months)
Miner. One of three members of the first party of miners to arrive in Port

Moresby as part of the brief Laloki gold-rush of April 1878. Stayed on in the Port Moresby area for some time after the rush ended (Goldie, 1886; Nelson, 1975: 76–82). Came aboard the *Colonist* but stayed to join members of another party that arrived aboard the *Emily* and which prospected the Astrolabe Range area (Goldie, 1886).

MURRAY, Rev. A. W.

1871 (briefly); 1872
(briefly); 1873 (briefly)

European LMS missionary stationed at Somerset, North Queensland, from 11 October 1872 to 1874 (when he left with Mrs Murray for Sydney) (Lawes, 1890a). Made several visits to NG including: (a) one with Rev. S. MacFarlane (q.v.) calling briefly at Redscar Bay in 1871 en route to Lifu in the *Surprise* after locating SSI teachers at Tauan and Saibai; (b) one placing the first six SSI pastor-teachers at Manumanu, Redscar Bay, in November 1872; and (c) one relocating four of the six Manumanu teachers (Anederea, Eneri, Rau and Ruatoka (q.v.)) at Port Moresby on 26 November 1873 (from Mr Thorngren's (q.v.)) boat the *Retrieve* (King, 1909: 64). Looked after new NG mission until Lawes (q.v.) arrived late in 1874 (Murray, 1873; 1874; 1876).

MUSGRAVE, Anthony

1884–1908

Nephew of Sir Anthony Musgrave, Governor of Queensland from 1883 onwards. Deputy Assistant Commissioner in the Protectorate Administration from 1884–88. Second in command to H. H. Romilly (q.v.) 'During his four years service with the Protectorate government he was mainly responsible for controlling affairs in Port Moresby, the seat of Government, on behalf of the Special Commissioner, Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.), who was frequently absent on tours of inspection. He was acting Special Commissioner for three months after Scratchley's death [in December 1885]. On the establishment of the colony of British New Guinea late in 1888, he was appointed Government Secretary, a post which he held until his retirement in 1908. He was granted a CMG in 1902 in recognition of his long service' (Gibney, 1972: 808). Also acted as Resident Magistrate, Central District, and Treasurer while Government Secretary (Bethell, 1955: xiii). Did not learn Motu (MacGregor quoted in Joyce, 1971: 151).

Napota (or Nabota) and wife

1876–82

LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Savage (Niue) Is. Arrived 21 October 1876. Posted to Tupuseleia. Died 11 July 1882. Wife returned home 1884 (Lawes, 1890a).

NETTLE

late 1880?–?

A Niuean (?) and sometime Government servant who accompanied MacGregor on various patrols in 1890 and 1891 and who went to climb Mt. Yule for MacGregor with others (e.g., Anthony, Said) in 1890 (MacGregor, Diaries, 30.11.1890; 10.9.1891; 12.9.1891). Not known when or where he came from. Presumed to have known Motu.

'New British natives' — see 'South Sea Islanders'

'New Hebrideans' — see 'South Sea Islanders'

'Nicholas the Greek' — see Nicholas MINISTER

NISBET, Hume

1870s? (briefly)

'a visitor to the [LMS] mission [at Port Moresby] during its early years' (Stuart, 1970: 21) ... who claimed that the procedures recommended by W. G. Lawes (q.v.) for getting a permit to enter the newly proclaimed Protectorate was 'rather like getting a Russian passport and felt annoyed and humiliated by the whole business' (op. cit., p. 54).

NIUE, Harry

1880s?

A sometime Government servant from Savage Is. (Niue) (Musgrave, 1891) who with others accompanied MacGregor and some of his early patrols (MacGregor, Diaries, 22/23.11.1890). However, nothing more is known about Harry, not even amongst the mixed-race population in Port Moresby where descendants of other SSIs are to be found (Dutton, P4–24/80). Presumed to have known Motu.

OBA, Moses — see Moses Aoba

ORKNEY

1873 (briefly and later?)

'The *Loelia* had been purchased by a Melbourne gentleman, Mr Orkney, of St. Kilda, and had been turned into a private yacht. Cruising along the coast, he had heard of the sick [LMS] teachers [at Manumanu], and called at Manumanu. Satisfied that they all needed a change he brought them away and conveyed them to Cape York. After this kindly service Mr Orkney became an interested helper of our New Guinea mission, and later a close friend of Mr and Mrs Lawes' (King, 1909: 58–9).

ORMOSTON, Jessie

1878 (briefly)

Notorious 'goldfields follower' who accompanied miners to the Laloki gold-rush in 1878. Returned destitute to Thursday Is. (Nelson, 1975: 77–8).

PAGE, Clayton F.

1884–87 (on and off)

'A gentleman of well-known experience in North Queensland cedar forests' (Musgrave, 1888: 19) who established a sawmill in Redscar Bay near Manumanu in 1884. Brought with him as labourers eleven SSI (q.v.) including Tom Rotumah (q.v.), Jack Tanna (q.v.) and Tommy Manila (q.v.), two Chinese cooks (including Ah Fat (q.v.)) and two European sawyers Messrs Mulholland (q.v.) and Harrison (q.v.) (Lawes, 1886: 76). The force was to work for three years cutting cedar from the Edith River area at the head of Galley Reach from 1884 to 1887 (Musgrave, 1888: 19) but was abandoned before July 1887 'because it did not pay' (Anon., 1887). It is not known what happened to Mr Page or his imported labourers except that the three mentioned above married local women and stayed on in the country. Initially the timber was to be left in charge of some of the men in the hope that prices would rise again and 'the capital and labour expended not all lost' (Lawes, 1886) but this does not seem to have eventuated. Camp and area visited by Capt. Kerrison (q.v.) in the *Retrieve* in November 1885 (Musgrave, 1885).

PALMERSTON

1878 (few months)

One of the better known and sensible miners (i.e. he was careful about peaceful contact with local Papuans) who came to Port Moresby from Australia during the short-lived Laloki gold-rush of 1878 (Goldie, 1886).

- PEARSE, Rev. Albert B. 1887-1907
European LMS missionary in NG 1887-1907. Arrived 22 September 1887. Stationed at Kerepunu (Lawes, 1890a; Prendergast, 1968: 140).
- PEARSE, Mrs 1888-?
Wife of Albert Pearse (q.v.). Arrived in May 1888 (Lawes, 1890a). presumably spent time with husband at Kerepunu.
- Peni and wife 1876-?
LMS pastor-teacher in NG in 1877. Arrived with wife 21 October 1876. Posted to South Cape but on 22 July 1877, Lawes (1876-84) notes 'the teacher Peni who was so ill in January is well and strong but seems a poor helpless mortal. He knows scarcely a word of the language [Motu?] and has never taken a service yet.' No other details available.
- PETTERD, W.F. 1875-76 (three months)
One of Dr James' (q.v.) party of 'explorers' and collectors that went across to Port Moresby on the LMS steam *Ellengowan* on 29 October 1875. The party quarrelled soon after arrival, however, and Petterd joined Stone's (q.v.) and Hargrave's (q.v.) rival party. Stayed till 26 January 1876 (Goode, 1977: 125; 128; Lawes (1876-84); Hargrave (1875)).
- PHILLIPS, J. F. C. ?-1885
Partner with Messrs English (q.v.) in fishing for beche-de-mer in the lugger *Septimus* along the south-east coast of NG. Was in Port Moresby in July 1885 with the Messrs English. No other details available. (English, English and Phillips (1886)).
- PHILLIPS, Henry 1889-?
'Appointed August 8, 1889. Chief Engineer of the *Merrie England*' (Bethell, 1955: xiii; AR, 1889/90: 15).
- PIKE, Captain 1884-?
Captain of the Government steam launch *Harrier* in 1884. Replaced Capt. Wilcox (Romilly, 1893: 204, letter dated 24.11.84). According to the same source, Pike, as a 'very strict service man' accustomed to big ships, was rather startled at the size of his new command.
- PIKE 1886 (several months)
Probably one of surveyor W.R. Cuthbertson's (q.v.) five assistants who helped survey Granville East and West (now Port Moresby) and a road to the Laloki River for Special Commissioner the Hon. J. Douglas (q.v.) in 1886 (Stuart, 1970: 40-44).
- Piri and wife 1872-89
Rarotongan pastor-teacher for the LMS. Arrived Somerset 11 October 1872. Posted to Manumanu in November 1872 with Adamu, Anederea, Eneri, Rau and Ruatoka (q.v.) and wives 'to inaugurate Christian work amongst the large Motu tribe on the mainland' (King, 1909: 57). Subsequently posted to Boera where he spent most of his time. Died January 1889. Wife also died January 1889 (Lawes, 1890a; Piri (1878-80)).
- PULLEN, Lieut. Commander ?
Commander of HMS *Lark*. Commemorated by the name of a peak in the hills behind Konedobu, Port Moresby (Stuart, 1970: 44).

- Rau and wife 1872-76+
LMS pastor-teacher from Aitutaki (Cook) Is. Arrived Somerset 11 October 1872. Posted to Manumanu in November 1872 with Adamu, Anederea, Eneri, Piri and Ruatoka (q.v.) and wives 'to inaugurate Christian work amongst the large Motu tribe on the mainland' (King, 1909: 57). Subsequently posted to Port Moresby in November 1873 and eventually returned home. On 30 January 1876 Lawes (1876-84) notes: 'Rau preached this afternoon. He seems to have a pretty good knowledge of the language [Motu] especially as he has been away a year'. Wife died at Manumanu soon after arrival (Lawes, 1890a).
- RAYWARD 1885?
'an employee' of T. Bevan's (q.v.) on the *Electra*, 1885 (Bevan, 1890: 160).
- READ (or REID) 1880s?
One of a number of fisher-traders operating in NG coastal waters before the establishment of the Protectorate. Killed at Tubetube (or Slade Is.) in the Engineer group 22 December 1884 (Lindt, 1887: 92; Bevan, 1890: 94). Not known if ever worked in the Port Moresby area.
- Reboamo and wife 1876-?
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Savage (Niue) Is. Arrived 21 October 1876. Posted to Kaile. Wife died at Pari in June 1876 (Lawes, 1876-84: 17 July 1876).
- REDLICH (or REDLICK), Captain 1876-79
A German owner-skipper of the *Ida* that visited Port Moresby on 9 March 1876 en route to Yule Is. and Somerset, North Queensland. However, at Yule Is. he 'lost his left hand by an explosion' (Lawes, 1876-84) when a gellignite bomb he was preparing to obtain fish for the missionaries exploded prematurely. Taken back to Port Moresby by Dr and Mrs Turner 28 March 1876. Survived but died in 1879 at Boera (a west Motu village) and was buried there (Lawes, 1876-84: 19 July 1881).
- REID — see READ
- Reubena and wife 1874-75
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Manihiki (Cook) Is. Arrived 2 November 1874. Posted to Pari village. Died 16 July 1875. Wife returned home 1876 (Lawes, 1890a).
- RIDGLEY, Rev. Dr Thomas 1882 (few months)
European missionary in LMS. Arrived in NG 17 April 1882. Posted to Hula. Left the mission 3 June 1882 (Lawes, 1890a).
- 'Robert' — see Robert SAMOA
- ROBINSON, William ?-1889-?
Storekeeper [Port Moresby]. Referred to in reference to Smith, J. (GG, II(15): 69, 10.1.1889).
- ROLLES, Edward 1878-81
Miner. One of the second party of miners to come to Port Moresby for the Laloki gold-rush in mid-1878. Arrived aboard the *Emily* from Cooktown but stayed on in the Port Moresby area for three years after the

rush ended and comrades left. Prospected the Astrolabe Range with other stayers like Connor, Murphy, Jones and Gleeson (q.v.), but also the deeper waters of the Kemp Welch River in Rigo. Regarded by A. Goldie as the 'best of all' bushmen in NG and recommended as a leader by him for any future expeditions to NG (Goldie, 1886).

ROMILLY, Hugh Hastings 1883-88

An administrator who was in and out of NG many times in connection with the government of the Protectorate 1884-88:

1) November 1883: Ten days in Port Moresby visiting (Romilly, 1893: 190, letter 20 November 1883; 192).

2) October 1884-January 1885: Two months in Port Moresby. Ordered there to read the proclamation establishing the Protectorate. Through confusing instructions hurried to Port Moresby and read the proclamation on 24 October 1884. A few days later Commodore Erskine (q.v.) arrived and reread the proclamation. Appointed Acting Special Commissioner pending arrival, death or incapacity of Sir Peter Scratchley (q.v.). Begins to learn Motu (op. cit., p. 204). Returned to Cooktown 7 January 1885.

3) 1885-6: Back in Port Moresby 8 February 1885 to 5 May 1886. June-July returned labourers from Queensland to Milne Bay district with Chester (q.v.). August 1885 joined Sir Peter Scratchley on the *Governor Blackall* for run to NG. Toured with Scratchley till his death in December 1885. Romilly stayed on another three months. Hon. J. Douglas (q.v.) appointed to succeed Scratchley — a great disappointment for Romilly who had expected to have been given the position. Returned to England for Exhibition.

4) 1887: April-May in Port Moresby to hand over to Douglas. June-July in Port Moresby to see Douglas again. November 1887-September 1888 in charge till sovereignty proclaimed and Governor MacGregor arrives. During his stay in Port Moresby generally stayed with LMS missionary Chalmers (q.v.). Found life very boring and was a heavy drinker — see comments in Romilly (1893); Stuart, 1970: 34; 39-40 — but did attempt to learn Motu as already noted (Romilly, 1889; 1893).

ROTUMAH, George — see George S. TAURINO

ROTUMAH (or ROTAMA), Tom ?1884-

A Rotuman overseer of SSI laborers in C.#Page's (q.v.) timber camp in Redscar Bay 1884-87 (Lawes, 1886: 78). In 1892 noted to be living at Hisiu with a native wife (Green, 1892: 4).

Not to be confused with George ROTUMAH, a mixed Portuguese-Rotuman whose descendants now go by the name Taurino (Dutton, P1/80).

ROWAN, Dan ?1885-?

'A trader . . . who ekes out a precarious subsistence by drying, smoking, and selling' beche-de-mer in the Kerepunu-Aroma area in September 1885 (Lindt, 1887: 146). In August 1886 robbed by natives of Constance Is. about 76 miles east of Port Moresby when he had been collected beche-de-mer. 'A Kerepunu woman who was associated with him vociferously warned the attackers of 'Man-o'-war' (AR, 1886: 23). Not known if he ever worked in the Port Moresby area.

Ruatoka and wife 1872-86

LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Mangaia (Cook) Is. Arrived Somerset 11 October 1872. Posted to Manumanu in November 1872 with Adamu, Anederea, Eneri, Piri and Rau (q.v.) and wives 'to inaugurate Christian work amongst the large Motu tribe on the mainland' (King, 1909: 57). Then posted to Elevara, Port Moresby, with Eneri. Returned and died at Port Moresby. Wife died at Port Moresby 31 January 1886 (Lawes, 1890a).

RUNCIE, Captain 1874-?

'Went to sea as a ship's carpenter, studied navigation, became mate of the *John Williams*, and was a favourite amongst the natives throughout the islands where the *John Williams* called . . . he could both navigate our vessel and repair it' (MacFarlane, 1888: 60). Captain of the LMS steamer *Ellengowan* 1874-75. Later captain of the lugger *Mayri* (Lawes, 1876-84: introduction).

SAÏD, Harry ?-1890-?

A 'Malay' from Singapore (Musgrave, 1891). Accompanied MacGregor on some of his early patrols (MacGregor, Diaries, 30.11.1890) and went to climb Mt. Yule with others (e.g., Anthony, Nettle) for MacGregor in 1890 (op. cit.). Later appointed Head Gaoler at Samarai (ibid., 11.6.1891). In 1892 was married to a Kapakapa woman and living with her and children on a 20-acre property 'a few hundred yards west of the [Rigo] road.' Had 400 coconut trees there (ibid., 6.7.1892). Nothing is known about him in Port Moresby today (Dutton, P24/80). Presumed to have known Motu.

SAMOA, Robert ('Bob') 1877-82

W. G. Lawes' (q.v.) Mare servant who came over in the *Mayri* (Lawes, 1876-84: 2 October 1877). Had previously worked for D'Albertis (v. 'South Sea Islanders'). Worked for Lawes and then Chalmers. Died at Aroma 26 February 1882 (ibid., 3 March 1882). May be the same person referred to as 'Bob, a 'reformed' cannibal from Fiji' whom D'Albertis recruited in Cooktown as crew for the *Neva* expedition up the Fly River in May 1876 (Goode, 1977: 160). Description of Bob in Chalmers (n.d. but c.1887: 220-27).

SARIMAN ?1880s-

A 'Malay' trader from Java who was said to have come to NG with Jimmy Malay (q.v.) and Ah Wong (q.v.) via the Torres Straits. Was certainly in Port Moresby in 1890-91 (Musgrave, 1891) and judging by his family tree must have first married into Vabukori then into Tatana village some time in the 1880s.

Large number of descendants still living in PNG (Dutton, P16, 17/80).

SAYER, W.A. 1887 (few months)

'Botanist' who accompanied W. R. Cuthbertson (q.v.) and G. Hunter (q.v.) on expedition up Mt. Obree in 1887 (Cuthbertson, 1887).

SCRATCHLEY, Sir Peter 1885 (three months)

Special Commissioner of the Protectorate of New Guinea. Appointed 22 November 1884 but for various reasons was not able to get to New Guinea until the end of August 1885 on the *Governor Blackall*. Three months

later he died on 2 December 1885 of malaria in Cooktown, North Queensland. During this time he spent most of his time away from Port Moresby on tours of inspection along the coast east and west of Port Moresby. On one of these he spent three weeks investigating the murders of five white traders by natives of the Milne Bay area. In all he spent little more than about a fortnight in Port Moresby and then on board the *Governor Blackall* (Fort, 1887: 138-9). He had very little time therefore even if desire to learn Motu.

Seaosi and wife 1874-76
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Savage (Niue) Is. Arrived 2 November 1874. Posted to Barune. Returned home November 1876 (Lawes, 1890a).

Sekaria and wife 1876 (two months)
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Mangaia (Cook) Is. Arrived 21 October 1876. Posted to Porebada. Died 24 December 1876. Wife died also (Lawes, 1890a).

SILVA, John Samuel ?-1890-
A Ceylonese who was certainly in Port Moresby in 1890-91 (Musgrave, 1891; MacGregor, Diaries, 17.7.1892). Married into Hanuabada some time in the early 1880s judging by his family tree (Dutton, P15, 21/80).

'Singhalese' or 'Cingalese'

- 1) A servant employed by Romilly in 1888 in Port Moresby (Romilly, 1893: 311).
- 2) D'Albertis also had a 'Cingalese servant' working for him on Yule Is. in 1875 (Hargrave, 1875: Diary 'F').
- 3) John SILVA, q.v.

SMITH, Annie 1878 (briefly)
Notorious 'goldfield follower' who went to Port Moresby with the Laloki miners in 1878. Returned destitute to Thursday Island (Nelson, 1975: 77-78).

SMITH, John ?-1889-?
Trader (evidently in Port Moresby from Samarai) GG, II(15): 69 (refers to 10.1.1889). Also apparently associated with Mr. W. Robinson, storekeeper, at Granville then because a summons is served to him there to appear in court on debt charges.

SMITHURST 1874-?
Engineer of the LMS steamer *Ellengowan* 1874-? A member of 'our London Churches' (MacFarlane, 1888: 60).

SNOW, Edmund ('Ned') 1878; 1883-85
'A bold and restless type who has contributed largely to Australian progress: a typical 'wandering digger' *aetat* [aged] 50, who, with no other friend than his pick and shovel, had tramped almost the length and breadth of Australia. Snow had first accompanied the unsuccessful digger's 'rush' to the Goldie River (behind Port Moresby) in 1878, and afterwards started with Morrison (q.v.) on the latter's abortive [Age] expedition [of 1883] to Mount Owen Stanley' (Bevan, 1890: 29). On that expedition, 'Ned, who was in charge of the horses', gave up, and was 'replaced by the only available white man, Frank Wilkinson' (Pearl, 1967:

44). Snow committed suicide on 2 January 1885 by jumping overboard from Ah Jim's boat (Bevan, 1890: 28).

SOLIEN — see Jimmy MALAY

SOLOMON, Peter — see Peter DAVIES

'South Sea Islanders'

1) There were eleven 'boys' in Mr Page's (q.v.) timber camp near Manumanu in 1886, 'mostly South Sea Islanders, under the leadership of [Tom] Rotumah (q.v.)' (Lawes, 1886: 78). These are the same men referred to as 'kanakas' by Fort (1887: 158) and included Jack Tanna (q.v.), for example.

2) D'Albertis took (amongst others) four 'head hunters from New Britain' and seven men and five women from the New Hebrides with him to Yule Is. in March 1875. During his stay of almost nine months on the island the New Britain stole his whale boat and decamped and the New Hebrideans also gradually disappeared (Goode, 1977: 63-76). Presumably some, if not all, of these spent some time in the Port Moresby area where there was by then a mission station and a trade store and other Pacific Islanders, pastor-teachers of the LMS, and probably increasing numbers of visitors from Queensland and the Torres Straits.

3) Various LMS pastor-teachers — see under individual names.

4) Others — see Aneitum, Aoba, 'Billy the Lifu boy', Bosen, 'Butsee', Davies, W. P., 'Dick', Jack and Joe Eromango, Joe Fiji, 'Jimi' the New Caledonian, various 'kanakas', 'Kitty', 'Leslie', four Lifus, 'Lively', Malekula, Mare, Moses, Nettle, Niue, Rotumah, other 'South Sea Islanders', Jack Tanna.

STONE, Octavius 1875-6 (three months)
Well-to-do gentlemanly explorer and adventurer of the 'stiff upper lip' type (Goode, 1977: 128). Leader of the 'expedition' that included L. Hargrave (q.v.) and which attempted unsuccessfully to cross the mainland tail of NG in 1875. Was in Port Moresby for three months between 29 October 1875 and 26 January 1876 apart from about two weeks on 'expeditions' inland. Lived in a tent (borrowed from the LMS) with Hargrave near the LMS mission station. Kept a diary which was published (Stone, 1880). Probably knew some Motu judging by the entries in his book (Dutton, 1892).

Sunia and wife 1884-?
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Vavau. Arrived 7 February 1884. Posted to Tubuseleia. Wife died (Lawes, 1890a). Not known what became of him.

Talima and wife 1874-76
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Savage (Niue) Is. Arrived 2 November 1874. Posted to Tatana village. Died 10 August 1876. Wife returned November 1876 (Lawes, 1890a).

TANNA, Jack 1884-?
New Hebridean and probably an ex-Queensland kanaka. First reported as working for Mr C. Page (q.v.) at his timber camp in Redscar Bay (Lawes, 1886: 78). Married to a Doura woman by Lawes (op.cit.). Thereafter

employed as one of a small group of boatmen-cum-special constables of the Protectorate and until Governor MacGregor (q.v.) arrived and established an official police force in 1890. Contemporary of Casesar and Peter Lifu (q.v.), Belford brothers (q.v.) and others. Wife appears to have been drowned in early July 1888 in a boating accident involving Deputy Special Commissioner Romilly (q.v.), as the following excerpt from a letter dated 4 July 1888 in Romilly (1893: 314–5) referring to the capsizing of his launch at the mouth of the Edith River, indicates:

'My first thought after that was for the wife and baby of one of my men, named Jack Tanna. I found Jack close alongside me, and said at once, 'Jack, where is your wife and boy?'. He replied, 'I don't know, sir; I think they drown. I look after you.' The Rev. Dauncey complained to MacGregor in 1892 that 'Jack Tanna had been bullying the natives [at Boera and had cut down three sago trees belonging to Kabadi] (MacGregor, Diaries, 8.9.1892).] Knew Motu. Descendants today live around Vanapa River (Dutton, P17/79).

Taria and wife 1876–81
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Aitutaki (Cook) Is. Arrived 21 October 1876. Posted to Hula 6 January 1877 (King, 1909: 96). On 3 August 1877 Lawes visited Hula and noted in his journal (Lawes, 1876–84) that 'Teachers Talia and Gativaro have been there since January ... They seem industrious and energetic, but I am afraid they do not know much of the native language [Hula]'. Killed at Kalo March 1881. Wife remarried Pi and died at South Cape 1884 (Lawes, 1890a).

Tavini and wife 1874–86
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Rarotonga. Arrived apparently in November 1875 (not 2 November 1874 as indicated in Lawes (1890a)) because Lawes (1876–84) notes on 11 January 1876 that 'Tavini the teacher has been here little more than two months'. Posted to Porebada. Returned home with wife December 1876 (Lawes, 1890a).

THOMSON, Basil Hume 1888–89
'Private Secretary to the Administrator, September 4, 1888, to February 28, 1889. Resigned owing to ill health.' (Bethell, 1955: xiv).

THOMSON, Captain C. 1887–89
'Commanding the Government schooner *Hygeia*. Reappointed September 4, 1888' (Bethell, 1955: xiv).

THOMPSON Late 1884
One of a party of Queenslanders lead by Mr W. Clarke (q.v.) in the *Sylph* who came to investigate the country around the Edith River [Redscar Bay] in late 1884 (Musgrave, 1885).

THORNGREN 1873–76
A Swede who 'resided for some time on Darnley Island ... set out ... from New Caledonia with sixteen souls on board, some of them women and children, and all of them, with a single exception, natives of the Loyalty Islands' (MacFarlane, 1873: 379–82). Sailed to the Torres Straits via the Solomon Islands (by accident), New Britain and Milne Bay (where he noted that the inhabitants were mostly of the 'Malay race' [i.e. Austronesian language speakers] in 1871 (op.cit.)). Claimed to have been the first white man to have visited Redscar Bay and ascended the Manumanu River for a distance of twelve miles (Stone, 1880: 31). At that

time [i.e. some time between 1873 and 1875 because O. Stone was there in 1875], he was a 'sheller' at Thursday Island and had gone there in search of gold. 'The party consisted of himself, and another whiteman [probably Egerstrom (q.v.)] and a coloured man' (Murray, 1876: 479). This coloured man seems to have known Motu, as Stone (1880: 32) reports that 'his native guide' declined 'to go any further, giving as his reason (probably an excuse) that, having once killed a native of those parts [i.e. Gabadi], he himself was fearful of being murdered in return.' Earlier he had hired out his boat the *Retrieve* to the LMS to take their first batch of SSI pastor-teacher to Port Moresby in November 1873 (King, 1909: 65). Murdered with James (q.v.) near Yule Is. in 1876.

Toakaninga and wife 1878–?
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Rarotonga. Arrived November 1878. Died. Wife remarried and left mission (Lawes, 1890a). Not known where posted but presume South Cape area.

Toaki and wife 1888–?
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Aitutaki (Cook) Is. Arrived 2 October 1888. Posted to Boera (Lawes, 1890a).

Toria and wife 1874–75
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Rarotonga. Arrived 2 November 1874. Died at Port Moresby 10 July 1875. Wife returned home December 1876 (Lawes, 1890a).

TROTTER ?
'Goldie (q.v.) acquired land near the mission from village rightholders and also adjoining land from a European called Trotter (I. F. Champion, 1957)' (Oram, 1976: 23). No other details available.

Tufugalei and wife 1874–75
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Savage (Niue) Is. Arrived 2 November 1874. Posted to Lealea. Died 9 August 1875. Wife returned home 1876 (Lawes, 1890a).

Tugelu 1889–?
A non-European foreigner of some kind whom Green (1892: 53) refers to as having been in the Gabadi area for three years and did not speak Gabadi as well as he did after a shorter time. Instead, 'he speaks a mixture of Kabadi and Motu, neither correctly'. Presumed to have been in the Port Moresby area at some time because of his knowledge of Motu.

TURNER, Dr William G. and Mrs 1876 (8 months)
European LMS missionary-doctor in NG. Son of George Turner of Samoa (Prendergast, 1968: 104). Arrived Port Moresby 26 March 1876. Mrs Turner died of fever at Somerset, North Queensland, on 21 November 1876. Dr Turner then resigned and returned to England on 25 November 1876 'with his infant child' (Lawes, 1890a; MacFarlane, 1888: 75).

'two traders' 1885
'Permissive occupancy of Government land, for the purpose of erecting a house and store, was granted [by Sir Peter Scratchley] to two traders [unnamed] at Port Moresby, and also at South Cape' (Fort, 1887: 143). One of those at Port Moresby was probably A. Goldie (q.v.).

- UMARA 1880s-?
Said to have been a 'Malay' contemporary of Jack Tanna (q.v.) and Ah Wong's (q.v.). Married into Tatana village but died near Brown River. Is said to be buried near the village of Motumotu there (Dutton, P17/79; P16/80).
- Viliamu and wife 1874-80
LMS pastor-teacher in NG from Savage (Niue) Is. Arrived 2 November 1874. Posted to Pari village. Also spent some time at Lealea from 8 February 1875 onwards (King, 1909: 73). On 1 October 1876, Lawes (1876-84), notes 'Viliamu preached this afternoon. He seems to know the language pretty well but talks through his nose'. Died 1880. Wife returned home 1882 (Lawes, 1890a).
- WALSH, Frank 1883 (briefly)
'Queensland grazier who happened to be on Thursday Island at the time' Chester (q.v.) received orders to go to Port Moresby to annex NG for Queen Victoria in 1883 and had decided to participate in 'this historic event' (Stuart, 1970: 24).
- WATTS 1873 (one week)
Sailor on Captain Moresby's (q.v.) ship *Basilisk* who got lost while ashore in Fairfax Harbour and was found and cared for overnight by Tatana Islanders in February 1873 (Moresby, 1876: 157).
- WEBB, Captain 1878-1880s?
One of a group of early fisher-traders who worked in NG waters before the establishment of the Protectorate. According to one source (Lett, 1944: 68) he 'was a particularly offensive character. He had been one of the [Queensland] blackbirders; and when that lucrative trade was brought to an end by Queensland legislation, he took to trading on the coast of Papua ... For seven years he carried on his new trade, murdering, robbing, oppressing, and protected by his own experience in such matters and by the armed Malays whom he always carried as members of his crew ... [He] fell victim a year later [1884] when he and his native wife, two Malays, and two Queensland aborigines were massacred by the natives of Toulon Island [Mailu]'. Different versions of his murder are given in Bevan (1890: 35 [his crew's version]); 75 [the natives' version]). Was in the Port Moresby area at least once before 1878 (Chester, 1878), but not known for how long or if he employed any local Papuans. Was in Port Moresby again in 1885 (*Queenslander*, 28 February 1885).
- WEISLEIN, Theodore ?-1886
An Austrian crew member of English, English and Phillip's (q.v.) lugger, the *Septimus* which fished for beche-de-mer in the Cloudy Bay and Baxter Bay area of south-east NG in 1886. Accidentally shot himself on 25 April 1886 and was buried at Paramatta [Paramana] village on Tuesday, 27 April 1886. He was then aged 32 (English, English and Phillips, 1886).
- 'whitemen' — see 'Europeans'
- WILCOX, Captain 1884-?
Captain of the steam launch *Harrier* from November 1884 onwards. Replaced Captain Pike (q.v.) (Romilly, 1893: 204, letter dated 24 November 1884).

- WILKINSON, Frank ?-1883-?
'A worthless half-witted new chum' who was acting as cook in Port Moresby's only store [Goldie's] in 1883 and who, being the only available white man in town at the time, took over Ned Snow's (q.v.) position in Morrison's *Age* expedition to the Goldie River that year (Pearl, 1967: 46).
- WILSON, Commodore 1881 (briefly)
Captain of HMS *Wolverine* which made a punitive expedition against Kalo village in 1881 for the murder there of SSI pastor-teachers and their wives (Stuart, 1970: 23).
- WINTER, Sir Francis P. 1888-1899
'British Colonial Service, Fiji. Appointed October 25, 1888, Chief Judicial Officer [in British New Guinea].' (Bethell, 1955: xiv).
- WRIFORD, G. A. W. 1890-93
First European Commandant of Governor MacGregor's Armed Native Constabulary in 1890. 'A house for Mr Wriford and five cottages for the constables [of the Armed Native Constabulary] were built on Ela Beach and ... a new gaol was constructed nearby.' (Stuart, 1970: 59). When the force arrived he took them to Rigo with A.C. English (q.v.) and then, accompanied by F. Lawes (q.v.), to Gabadi (Musgrave, 1890: 9; 469). Resigned owing to ill health in 1893. Formerly of South Africa where he had been in various campaigns (Bethell, 1955: xiv).
- WYATT-GILL, Rev. W. 1872 and 1784 (briefly)
LMS missionary who accompanied the Rev. A.W. Murray (q.v.) to place six SSI teachers at Manumanu, Redscar Bay, in November 1872. Visited again 6 February 1884 in the *John Williams* with thirteen teachers and their families for the NG mission and to visit others whom he had helped to train in Rarotonga. Stayed in NG till 24 March 1884 during which time travelled up and down the coast and inland mostly with the Rev. J. Chalmers (q.v.) (Chalmers and Wyatt-Gill, 1885: 88; 217).

Appendix D

OTHER FOREIGNERS IN THE PORT MORESBY AREA ABOUT 1890

This list contains names of persons believed or known to have been in the Port Moresby area about 1890 but who were probably not there before 1890. Similar abbreviations are used in this list to those used in Appendix C.

AHMAT

A 'Malay' from Batavia who is said to have killed his wife there over an argument about rice and then run away to Australia by stowing away on a boat owned by a European called Mr Hammet. Thereafter he worked as a sail repairer on luggers in the Torres Straits before coming to British New Guinea where he worked as a sandalwood cutter in the Kerema area. He married a woman from Oiabu (Toaripi area) and had six children. As his third child is now estimated to be about 70 years old, Ahmat probably came to British New Guinea post-1890 (Dutton, P19/80).

DE SIMON

A 'native of Singapore' in the employ of Signor Loria in the Eastern Division in 1890 (*AR*, 1889/90: 105).

GABRIEL, John (or Joseph) Anthony

A Burmese from Rangoon who was a trader and private businessman at Poukama. Married into Hanuabada. His first son's fourth child was born in 1937 suggesting that he was in Port Moresby in the late 1890s but probably not before (Dutton, P20/80).

GUPPY

A miner in the Mekeo area in 1891 who accompanied MacGegor's party to Inawaia village in September 1891 (MacGregor, Diaries, 12.9.1891; 14.9.1891). Later was apparently working for R. Guise (q.v.) near Hula as MacGregor notes (Diaries, 67.1892 at Kapakapa) that Guppy had left 'Guise's place because he saw he could not get on with his wives and children. They told him he had no right there, that the place belonged to Guise'.

KALIKANA (or SOLOMON), Siake

A South Sea Islander from the Solomon Islands who is said to have had a small plantation alongside Tom ONGAVI's and Tom KUALEMANU's (two of Governor MacGregor's first Solomon Island policemen) at Kwariae. No descendants located (Dutton, P17/79).

KARO, Jack

A New Zealand Maori from Rotarua. Gaol warder at the Ela Beach jail and later on Fisherman's Island. Married Guri LOHIA from Vabukori village. His first child, Charlott, was born about 1894. Therefore probable that Jack arrived about 1890, but probably after rather than before, that date (Dutton, P22/80).

LIFU, Charlie

A Lifuan in the employ of Signor Loria in the Eastern Division in 1890 (Resident Magistrate's Report, Samarai, August 8, 1890, p.13. CA, G91, item 648A; *AR*, 1889/90: 105).

LIFU, Willy

A Lifuan in the employ of Signor Loria in the Eastern Division (Resident Magistrate's Report, Samarai, August 8, 1890, p.13. CA, G91, item 648a; *AR*, 1889/90: 105). Subsequently he and his wife were warders at the Port Moresby gaol 'getting £4 and found' but left 'after demanding an increase of wages' (MacGregor, Diaries, 4.5.1892). Apparently one of MacGregor's 'Polynesian loafers' (op. cit.).

LORIA, Signor

A naturalist and bird collector working in the Eastern Division in 1890. Employed a number of 'coloured boys' [see Charlie Lifu, Willy Lifu, George Mare, Moses Aoba, A. De Simon] (Resident Magistrate's Report, Samarai, August 8, 1890, p.13. CA, G91, item 648A; *AR*, 1889/90: 105). Later spent some time in the Port Moresby area (MacGregor, Diaries, 1.7.1892: 'Loria still in port', and 25.9.1892: 'Loria in Roro area').

MARE, George

A Lifuan in the employ of Signor Loria in the Eastern Division in 1890 (Resident Magistrate's Report, Samarai, August 8, 1890, p.13. CA, G91, item 648A; *AR*, 1889/90: 105). Could be the same person as George LIFU referred to in Appendix C.

RAHMIN, Abdul ('George')

An Indian from Delhi. Said to have been a cook for Governor MacGregor and to have worked in Whitten Bros. store in Port Moresby town. The depth of the family tree is such that it suggests that Abdul came after 1890 (Dutton, P12/79; P19/80).

RAMOS, Gorio

A Filipino from Luzon. Said to have been a warder for Governor MacGregor, but as descendants not yet interviewed, there are no details (Dutton, P7/79).

REGIONE, Pedro

Of mixed Spanish-Rotumah descent. Said to have come to British New Guinea with George TAURINO (q.v.). Pedro's son married the daughter of J. Exton (q.v.), a gaoler in Port Moresby in 1887, suggesting that Pedro was a contemporary of Exton's (Dutton, P15/79).

RONISI

Ronisi is said to have been one of MacGregor's Solomon Islands' policemen. If so he probably came to Port Moresby after 1892 when the first contingent of policemen finished their contracts. This conclusion would also seem to be supported by the depth of the family tree and the fact that he married the widow of Jimmy Kalaguasu, one of MacGregor's first Solomon Islands' policemen. He died about 1933 (Dutton, P17/80).

TAURINO, George Sovile

Of mixed Portuguese-Rotumah descent. Also called George ROTUMAH. Contemporary of Pedro REGIONE. Worked for Burns Philp and Company as a clerk and was transferred from Thursday Is. to Port Moresby about 1890. Married Mr Hunter's housegirl, Tauni Gaudi from Pari. Had fourteen children (Dutton, P1/80).

TULI, Jack

A South Sea Islander from Tulagi in the Solomon Islands. Said to have been a contemporary of Jimmy Kalaguasu, one of Governor MacGregor's first official policemen in 1890. No living descendants as all were killed on the MV *Mamutu* in 1942 (Dutton, P19/79, P19/80).

Appendix E

EXPANSION OF MACGREGOR'S ARMED NATIVE CONSTABULARY

This table shows the number and origin of policemen in service in MacGregor's Armed Native Constabulary each financial year for the period of MacGregor's governorship. Unfortunately there are still many gaps in the record at this stage, but the figures available are sufficient to show the general trend. In this listing *AR* means Annual Report for British New Guinea for the Year Ending 30 June of the date shown. Other sources are given in more detail in the bibliography.

Year	South Sea Islanders		Papuan				Total	Source <i>AR</i> or other
	Fiji	Sol. Is.	WD	CD	ED	Other		
1890/1	2	12	12 ¹	—	1	—	27	1890/1:86
1891/2	0 ²	10 ²	33	—	6	—	49	No figures in <i>ARs</i> Figures compiled from other sources ³
1892/3	0	10	?(7) ⁴	20 ⁵	?(2)	—		Ditto ³
1893/4	0	4 ⁶	?	?	?(2)	—		Ditto ³
1894/5 ⁷	0	1 ⁸	?(21) ⁹	?(none)	?(1) ¹⁰	?(2)	67	1894/5: 26
1895/6 ¹¹	0	0	?	?	?	?(but at least 1 from each of Mambare, Dobu & Rossel Is.)	78	1895/6: xii; 75
1896/7	0	1 ¹²	?	?	?	?	108 ¹³	1896/7: xviii
1897/8	0	?	?	?	?	?	110 ¹⁴	1897/8: xxv; 98

Notes:

1. It is not certain if this figure is correct in that no breakdown of the number of Papuans recruited up to 30 June 1891 is available. It is known, however, that at least nine Papuans were recruited from the Western Division (from the villages of Mawatta, Parama, Kadawa, and Daru in the Kiwai area) and one (Banari) from Modeva in the Eastern Division (*AR*, 1889/90 in combination with *AR*, 1890/91: 86, *AR*, 1895: 26, and MacGregor, Diaries, 1890-92).

2. The two Fijians, Sergeant Mailovolovo and Corporal Ipireimi, returned home and two Solomon Islanders died during the year (*AR*, 1891/2: xxiv).

3. Butterworth, Distribution of Armed Constabulary, Port Moresby, 22 December 1892; Bingham-Hely, Monthly Report, Constabulary, Mabadauan, December 1892; Kowald, Monthly Report, Constabulary, Mekeo, 28 January 1893; Chester, Monthly Report, Constabulary, the Louisiade Group, 28 February 1893; Bingham-Hely, Monthly Report, Constabulary, Daru, 30 November 1893; English, Monthly Report, Constabulary, Kopugolo (Rigo), January 1894; MacGregor, Diaries, 1890–92.

4. Figures in brackets indicate the numbers known to have been recruited.

5. Lawes (*AR*, 1892/3: 44) records 'fourteen or fifteen recruits were also obtained for the armed constabulary' at Uamai, Toaripi. The other six came from the Rigo area.

6. In his report for 1893/4 MacGregor notes that (*AR*, 1893/4: xxix) 'the Armed Constabulary now contains only four men not Papuans. The foreigners are Solomon Islanders that joined the force during the year. Of those brought from Fiji [in 1890], all save one — the sergeant for the Western Division — have left the constabulary, at or soon after the expiration of their term'. However, this does not appear to be quite correct. One of those non-Papuans who joined the force in 1893/4 was William Silva. This recruit was from Ceylon and joined the force on 13 April 1893 at Mabadauan for two years (Monthly Report, Constabulary, the Louisiade Group, 28 February 1893).

7. No recruitment figures were published for this year, but 24 recruits are known to have been enlisted into the force — 12 from Sagaune, Kiwai Island, Western Division, 9 'district police' from the Kiwai area, Western Division, one from Fergusson Island, Eastern Division, and two from the 'Gulf country' (now the Gulf Province) (*AR*, 1894/5: 25).

8. Sergeant Talubahea, the only remaining member of the original set of Solomon Islanders, who joined the force in 1890, resigned at the end of December 1894 (*AR*, 1894/5: 18).

9. Twelve of these enlisted at Saguane, Kiwai Island (Butterworth, *AR*, 1894/5: 25).

10. This one was from Fergusson Island, 'the first native of that island who has joined the force' (Butterworth, *AR*, 1894/5: 25).

11. Again no figures were published for this year although it is reported that recruits were obtained 'from widely different districts — from the Mambare River, Dobu and Rossel Islands in the east and Mawatta in the west' (*AR*, 1895/6: xii).

12. It is not known if this is really a Solomon Islander or merely one of the many non-European foreigners living in British New Guinea at the time (see footnote 6 above).

13. At the end of 1897 it was noted that: 'The majority of men are from the Western Division, but there are some from nearly all divisions of the Possession' (Butterworth, *AR*, 1896/7: 67).

14. The composition of the force is not indicated but consisted of men 'recruited from all districts of the colony, with more engaged from the west than elsewhere' (*AR*, 1897/8: xxv).

Appendix F VILLAGE CONSTABLES AND PAID CHIEFS, 1885–1921/22

The following shows the expansion in the numbers of village constables and paid chiefs appointed over time for the different areas of British New Guinea/Papua. For presentation purposes and because it is not critical to the argument, no great attempt has been made to relate these figures to the changing sizes of divisions — see Appendix K. The pattern of expansion is all that is important and this is patently obvious from the present display. All figures were obtained from the Annual Reports for British New Guinea/Papua unless otherwise indicated. The following abbreviations are used in addition to those used elsewhere in this volume:

C	Central (Port Moresby-Rigo-Mekeo) area
EC	East-Central (Abau) area
M	Mambare area
K	Kumusi area
G	Gulf (Kerema) area
D	Delta (Kikori) area
L	Lakekamu area
VC	village constable

Date	CD	WD	ED	SED	NED	ND	GD	Total
1885	1 ¹							1
1888	1	1 ²						2
1888/9	?	?						?
1889/90	?	?						?
1890/91	?	?						?
1891/2	?	? (but MacGregor refers to the 'number of men employed as policemen in their own villages as being slowly but steadily added to' (AR, 1891/2: xxv))						?
1892/3	4 + ? ³	20? ⁴						24?
1893/4	50 ⁵	34 ⁶	10? ⁷					94?
1894/5	?	30 ⁹	19					49?
1895/6	49 ¹⁰	43 ¹¹						92?
1896/7	20 + ? ¹²	59 ¹³	27	16 ¹⁴		?		122?
1897/8	83 ¹⁵	63	36	20		?		202?
1898/9	86	?	?	24		?		110?
1899/00	92 ¹⁶	?	?	?		?		95?
1900/1	26 + ? ¹⁷	?	43	23 ¹⁸	15 ¹⁹	?		107?
1901/2	[No individual reports published this year]							?
1902/3	114 ²⁰	48 ²¹	39	33 ²²	26	?		260?
1903/4	112	48	46	39	27	32		304
1904/5	134	42	71	48	25	36		356
1905/6	124	34	72	44	38	43	29 ²³	384
1906/7	115	41	83	41	43	43 ²⁴	35	401
1907/8	121	41	72	?	?	38	272?	
1908/9	126	43	71	45	44	M: 19 K: 39	37	424
1909/10	136	35	70	43	46	M: 24 K: 39	38	431
1910/11	C: 119 EC: 15	43	70	63	45	M: 23 K: 47	39	464
1911/12	C: 125 EC: 15	51	73	63	39	M: 31 K: 48	46	491
1912/13	C: 141 EC: 22	53	78	54	49	M: 29 K: 53	G: 40 D: 17	536
1913/14	C: 144 EC: 26	58	73	56	54	M: 28 K: 64	G: 39 D: 23	565
1914/15	C: 188 EC: 46	56	77	56	70	M: 45 K: 83	G: 43 D: 27	691
1915/16	C: 177 EC: 41	65	81	61	85	M: 50 K: 86	G: 43 D: 41	730
1916/17	C: 173	60	131	73	77	M: 55 K: 83	G: 46 D: 43	741
1917/18	186	67	136	59	86	M: 50 K: 87	G: 52 ²⁵ D: 43	767
1918/19	187	72	140	79	93	M: 50 K: 90	G: 60 D: 49	821
1919/20	193	76	139	62	104	144	G: 60 D: 42	821
1920/21	187	75	146	61	125	147	L: 1 G: 61 D: 54	857

1921/22	180	73	167	77	123	149	L: 1 G: 61	895
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Notes:

1. This was Boe Vagi of Hanuabada appointed 'chief' by Sir Peter Scratchley.

2. This was a native of Mowatta who was appointed by Mr Hilman, the police magistrate from Thursday Island who looked after the Western Division on behalf of the Protectorate (AR, 1888: 18)

3. In July 1892, the Resident Magistrate, Central Division, noted that badges of office were given out at Tupuseleia, Gosoru, Gomoridobu, and Imuagolo. If these are not reissues and represent expansion of the system, there must have been village constables in the other main villages between Tupuseleia and Port Moresby (notably Pari, Vabukori, and perhaps what is now Kilakila), and, by extension, those around Port Moresby itself and on its western side (e.g., Porebada and Boera). This in turn means that MacGregor's statement in despatch No. 4 of 2 November 1892 to the Governor of Queensland (CA, G32, item 1, 1892) that 'there are now nearly a score of them [VCs] on duty' in the colony is an understatement if the figures given in the Western Division column are near correct.

4. This figure is derived from the following sources but it is complicated by (a) the fact that at Parama there were five policemen who were said 'to have been appointed by Messrs Cameron and Wriford', but who were not recognized by the new Resident Magistrate, Daru, in January 1893 (Hely to Government Secretary, 13 January 1893. CA, G91, item 168) as well as by (b) that it is not clear from the records if the chiefs are paid chiefs and if all village constables are concurrent or some are replacements of former village constables.

Village	VCs	Chiefs	Native	Magistrate Source
Mowatta	2 (Uria, Tom)			(Rations & Trade
?	2	1 (Duba?)		Return, Mabaduan,
Parama	5			July-Dec. 1892.
?			1 (Gamia)	CA, G91, item 168)
Masingara	2?			
Turituri	2		1	(Hely to Gov. Sec.,
Masingara	2	1		13 Jan. 1893)
Gasira	1	1		
Iasa	4	3		
Sumai(?)	2	1		
Kadawar	1 (Saibu of Mawatta acted in this capacity)			
Parama	? (5 not recognised)			
Tebebe	1 (Mau)	1 (Dabu)		(Station Journal,
Parama	1 (Udu)	1 (Buiga)		Daru, April 1893.
Kiwai	(Tom Mowatta)			CA, G91, item 169)
Kiwai	1 (Obura)			(Station Journal,
				Daru, June 1893.
				CA, G91, item
				169)

5. Although no villages are given in which village constables were located at the time, MacGregor does note in respect of this that 'all the principal villages from Table Point to Maipua have their village constables' (AR, 1893/4: xviii).

6. These were located in the following villages:

Village	Chiefs	VCs	Teachers
Mawatta	1 (n.m.)	2	1
Turituri	1	2	—
Masingara	1	2	—
Kunini	—	—	1 (worked by Turituri police)
Gasira	1	2	—
Parama	2	2	1
Iasa	4	4	—
Saguane	—	—	1 (no fixed population)
Ipsia	—	—	1
Wiorubi	1	2	—
Sumai	2	2	1
Auti	1	2	—
Total	14	20	6

(AR, 1893/4: xxx)

7. This figure is based on MacGregor's comment (AR, 1893/4: xxx) that the total number of village constables 'at present on roll ... is about four score'. Five of these were located in the Louisiades and some at Dobu (ibid.).

8. There was no report for the Central Division for this year (AR, 1894/5: xviii).

9. These came from the following villages:

Village	Chief	VC	Native	Magistrate Source
Auti	1	2		(Native Officials- Chiefs, Native
Gibaro	2		1 (Gaima)	Magistrates and
Mawatta		3	1 (Duba)	Village Police,
Turituri		2		1893-5, Daru, WD.
Gasira	1	2		CA, G91, item 174A)
Sumai	2	2		
Parama	2	2		
Iasa	2	3		
Masingara	1	2		
Kiwai		1		
Wiorubi		2		(Hely to Gov. Sec. Letter 9/94, 20 Jan. 1894, Daru. CA, G91, item 174A)

10. This figure includes 36 village constables and 13 chiefs (AR, 1895/6: 83-6).

11. This figures includes 26 village constables and 17 chiefs (ibid.: 67).

12. No figures were published this year except for the Rigo district which had 'over twenty' (AR, 1896/7: 60).

13. These were located in the following villages:

Village	Chief	VC	Source
Mawatta	1	2	AR, 1896/7: 460
Masingara	1	2	
Turituri	1	1	
Gasira	1	2	
Parama	2	2	
Sui	1	1	
Kiwai villages	4	8	
Sumai	2	2	
Auti	1	1	
Doropodai	1	1	
Wiorubi			
villages	1	2	
Wabuda (2)	2	4	
Egereba (3)	2	4	
Ipidarimu	1 (acts as VC)		
Domori	1	1	
Gowaburai	1	1	
Segera	1	1	

14. These were located in the following villages: Misima (3), Tagula (3), Foua (2), Murua (1), Nada (1), Egum group (1), Pannaetti (2), Panapompom (1), Kinuta (1), Moturina (1) (AR, 1896/7: 56).

15. These were located in the following villages divided into the three districts of Mekeo (46), Port Moresby (14), and Rigo (23):

MEKEO: Doura (Vanapa) (1), Morabi (Manumanu) (1), Hisiu (1), Kabadi (1), Matapila (1) (Vanuabaga (1), Nara (1), Delena (1), Diumana (1), Pinupaka (1), Siria (Yula Is.) (1), Mekeo district (1), Inawi (1), Bereina (1), Inawa (1), Aipiana (1), Veifa (1), Maiva (1), Rarai (1), Geabada (1), Kivori (1), Mo (1), Inawaia (1), Oriropitana (1), Inawabui (1), Eboa (1), Amo-Amo (1), Inawouni (1), Oiaku (1), Iokea (1), Lese (1), Motumotu (1), Mobiabe (1), Karama (1), Womi (1), Kerema (2), Bailala (2), Orokololo (3), Maipua (1), Apiopoe (1).

PORT MORESBY: Tabure (1), Sugere (1), Eaha (1), Ubere (1), Pari (1), Veburi (1), Tupuseleia (1), Gaile (1), Vadili (1), Kapakapa (1), Hanuabada (2), Tatana (1), Boera (1).

RIGO: Kemaia (1), Gumoridobu (1), Gineikuku (1), Hula'a (3), Kerepuna (2), Aru-Kone (1), Kisirimaiki (1), Rubi (1), Burumai (1), Domara (1), Bilerupu (1), Wanigela (1), Paramana (1), Aroma (7) (AR, 1897/8: 92-3).

16. This figure includes 28 for the Rigo district (AR, 1899/00: 60-71) and 48 for the Mekeo district (ibid.: 72-5).

17. These 26 were given in a surviving monthly return of village constables for the west central part of Central Division and were located in the following villages: Maipua (1), Apiopoe (1), Ivira (1), Harirareva (1), Liliarita (1), Aikerea (1), Bailala (1), Hau (1), Kaurikrikra (1), Iromapaire (1), Pichoakaire (1), Wamoi (1), Karama (1), Motumotu (2), Moriabi (1), Lese (1), Jokea (1), Oi-iapu (1), Boera (1), Tatana (1), Hanaubada (2), Pari (1), Tupuseleia (2) (Monthly Return for March 1901. CA, G91, item 568).

5. Although no villages are given in which village constables were located at the time, MacGregor does note in respect of this that 'all the principal villages from Table Point to Maipua have their village constables' (AR, 1893/4: xviii).

6. These were located in the following villages:

Village	Chiefs	VCs	Teachers
Mawatta	1 (n.m.)	2	1
Turituri	1	2	—
Masingara	1	2	—
Kunini	—	—	1 (worked by Turituri police)
Gasira	1	2	—
Parama	2	2	1
Iasa	4	4	—
Saguane	—	—	1 (no fixed population)
Ipsia	—	—	1
Wiorubi	1	2	—
Sumai	2	2	1
Auti	1	2	—
Total	14	20	6

(AR, 1893/4: xxx)

7. This figure is based on MacGregor's comment (AR, 1893/4: xxx) that the total number of village constables 'at present on roll . . . is about four score'. Five of these were located in the Louisiades and some at Dobu (ibid.).

8. There was no report for the Central Division for this year (AR, 1894/5: xviii).

9. These came from the following villages:

Village	Chief	VC	Native	Magistrate Source
Auti	1	2		(Native Officials- Chiefs, Native
Gibaro	2		1 (Gaima)	Magistrates and
Mawatta		3	1 (Duba)	Village Police,
Turituri		2		1893-5, Daru, WD.
Gasira	1	2		CA, G91, item 174A)
Sumai	2	2		
Parama	2	2		
Iasa	2	3		
Masingara	1	2		
Kiwai		1		
Wiorubi		2		(Hely to Gov. Sec. Letter 9/94, 20 Jan. 1894, Daru. CA, G91, item 174A)

10. This figure includes 36 village constables and 13 chiefs (AR, 1895/6: 83-6).

11. This figures includes 26 village constables and 17 chiefs (ibid.: 67).

12. No figures were published this year except for the Rigo district which had 'over twenty' (AR, 1896/7: 60).

13. These were located in the following villages:

Village	Chief	VC	Source
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Sui	1	1	
Kiwai villages	4	8	
Sumai	2	2	
Auti	1	1	
Doropodai	1	1	
Wiorubi			
villages	1	2	
Wabuda (2)	2	4	
Egereba (3)	2	4	
Ipidarimu	1 (acts as VC)		
Domori	1	1	
Gowaburai	1	1	
Segera	1	1	

14. These were located in the following villages: Misima (3), Tagula (3), Foua (2), Murua (1), Nada (1), Egum group (1), Pannaetti (2), Panapompom (1), Kinuta (1), Moturina (1) (AR, 1896/7: 56).

15. These were located in the following villages divided into the three districts of Mekeo (46), Port Moresby (14), and Rigo (23):

MEKEO: Doura (Vanapa) (1), Morabi (Manumanu) (1), Hisiu (1), Kabadi (1), Matapila (1) (Vanuabaga (1), Nara (1), Delena (1), Diumana (1), Pinupaka (1), Siria (Yula Is.) (1), Mekeo district (1), Inawi (1), Bereina (1), Inawa (1), Aipiana (1), Veifa (1), Maiva (1), Rarai (1), Geabada (1), Kivori (1), Mo (1), Inawaia (1), Oriropitana (1), Inawabui (1), Eboa (1), Amo-Amo (1), Inawouni (1), Oiaku (1), Iokea (1), Lese (1), Motumotu (1), Mobiabe (1), Karama (1), Womi (1), Kerema (2), Bailala (2), Orokololo (3), Maipua (1), Apioppe (1).

PORT MORESBY: Tabure (1), Sugere (1), Eaha (1), Ubere (1), Pari (1), Veburi (1), Tupuseleia (1), Gaile (1), Vadili (1), Kapakapa (1), Hanuabada (2), Tatana (1), Boera (1).

RIGO: Kemaia (1), Gumoridobu (1), Gineikuku (1), Hula'a (3), Kerepuna (2), Aru-Kone (1), Kisirimaiki (1), Rubi (1), Burumai (1), Domara (1), Bilerupu (1), Wanigela (1), Paramana (1), Aroma (7) (AR, 1897/8: 92-3).

16. This figure includes 28 for the Rigo district (AR, 1899/00: 60-71) and 48 for the Mekeo district (ibid.: 72-5).

17. These 26 were given in a surviving monthly return of village constables for the west central part of Central Division and were located in the following villages: Maipua (1), Apioppe (1), Ivira (1), Harirareva (1), Liliarita (1), Aikerea (1), Bailala (1), Hau (1), Kaurikrikra (1), Iromapaire (1), Pichoakaire (1), Wamoi (1), Karama (1), Motumotu (2), Moriabi (1), Lese (1), Jokea (1), Oi-iapu (1), Boera (1), Tatana (1), Hanaubada (2), Pari (1), Tupuseleia (2) (Monthly Return for March 1901. CA, G91, item 568).

18. These were located in the following villages: Panaieti (1), Misima (5), Moturina (1), Rossel Is. (5), Nada (1), Murua (6), Nimuta (1), Sudest (3) (*AR*, 190011: 76).

19. These were located in the following tribes around Tufi station: Kaili Kaili, Tewari, Arifama and Mokorua (*AR*, 1900/1: 63).

20. No individual village lists are given but Barton gives the following general description elsewhere: Village constables 'are now appointed at most of the more important inland villages in the country extending from the back of Cape Possession to Table Point. In this division there is now a total of 114 village constables, in receipt of the average yearly wage of £ 1 each.' (Barton, Resident Magistrate's Report, 1902/3. CA, G91, item 570).

21. Note that this figure is a decrease on that for 1897/8 and the reason for this is that 'several of the village constables in the more settled districts and in the villages that are constantly visited by the constabulary, have been replaced with new ones appointed at villages in the outside and less-settled parts of the division' (*AR*, 1902/3: 22).

22. These were located in the following villages: Moturina (1), Misima (5), Sudest (3), Rossel Is. (5), Panaeti (1), Murua (7), Trobriands (7), Kitawa (2), Panapompom (1), Gawa (1) (*AR*, 1902/3: 31).

23. These Gulf Division figures include many villages that used to be administered from Mekeo in the Central Division. See, for example, the villages Oiaku to Apiopie in the Mekeo list given in footnote 4 above.

24. Twenty-two of these were in the Ioma Patrol Post area: 9 on the Mambare River, 7 on the Gira River, 4 in the Opi district, 1 in the Gagara district, and 1 on the Uraia River (*AR*, 1906/7: 61).

25. East-Central figures are now included in Eastern Division ones as the East-Central area was incorporated into the Eastern Division.

Appendix G

PRISON STAFF, BRITISH NEW GUINEA, 1886-1906/7

The following list includes gaolers and official warders (i.e. those appointed by the Governor and not those appointed by gaolers from amongst the ranks of prisoners) at the main gaols in British New Guinea from the time of the establishment of the first lockup in Port Moresby in 1886 until 1906/7 when British New Guinea became Papua. Regrettably, the lists are not complete mainly for lack of records but also for reasons hinted at in various footnotes.

1) Gaolers

Date	Place	Gaoler(s)	Source
1887 (up to 30 May)	Port Moresby	John Exton ¹	Bethell, 1955: xi; 93
June 1887-26 July 1893	Port Moresby	Dennis Gleeson ¹	Bethell, 1955: xi
1891	Samarai	Harry Saïd	MacGregor, Diaries, 11.6.1891.
	Daru	(No special appointment. Resident Magistrates acted as gaolers)	
1 Nov. 1893-July 1894	Port Moresby	W.T. Campbell ²	<i>AR</i> , 1893/4
3 July 1894-1896/7	Port Moresby	John Meredith ³	<i>AR</i> , 1896/7
1897-1906/7 +	Port Moresby	John MacDonald	<i>AR</i> , 1897/8-

2) Warders

Date	Place	Warder(s)	Source
1886	Port Moresby	I. Belford ⁴	<i>AR</i> , 1886: 22
1889	Port Moresby	A Solomon Islander ⁵	
1890/1	Port Moresby	'two coloured warders [one a Solomon Islander] ⁵ in charge of male prisoners, whilst wife of one of them acts as matron of the [2] females'.	<i>AR</i> , 1890/1: 82
	Samarai	'A Polynesian'	<i>AR</i> , 1890/1: xix
1892	Port Moresby	'Fijians and Solomon Islanders' ⁶	Green, 1892: 40
1893/4	Port Moresby	A Solomon Islander ⁵	
	Samarai	2 Solomon Islanders and 2 Papuans with female warders and an armed guard consisting of a corporal and 5 constables.	<i>AR</i> , 1894/5: 29

1894/5	Port Moresby	1 Solomon Islander and 1 Samoan ⁷	<i>AR</i> , 1894/5: 28
	Samarai	2 Solomon Islanders and 2 Papuans with female warders and an armed guard consisting of a corporal and 5 constables.	<i>ibid.</i>
1895/6	Rigo	'Warder Solomon'	<i>AR</i> , 1895/6: 82
1897/8	Port Moresby	1 Solomon Islander professional warder who has been in service about 8 years, plus armed guard of 4 constables.	<i>AR</i> , 1897/8: xxvii
1899/1900	Port Moresby	1 Solomon Islander and 3 Papuans.	<i>AR</i> , 1899/00: 106
	Rigo	Mohammed Ali ⁸	
1902/3	Port Moresby	1 Solomon Islander and 2 Papuans 'from different districts'.	<i>AR</i> , 1902/3: 44
	Rigo	Mohammed Ali ⁸	
1903/4	Port Moresby	1 Solomon Islander and 2? Papuans.	<i>AR</i> , 1903/4: 50
	Rigo	Mohammed Ali, who has been there 'for some years'.	<i>AR</i> , 1903/4: 21
1905/6	Port Moresby	1 New Hebridean ⁹ and 4 Papuans.	<i>AR</i> , 1905/6: 82
1906/7	Port Moresby	1 New Hebridean and 3 Papuans.	<i>AR</i> , 1906/7: 113

Notes

1. Both Exton and Gleeson are known to have spoken 'Motu'. All gaolers, except Harry Saïd (v. Appendix C) spoke English as their mother tongue.

2. Campbell had been Resident Magistrate, Louisiades in 1890, but resigned owing to ill-health on 26 June 1891. He was apparently re-employed, however, to take over as Gaoler following Gleeson's suicide because he wrote the Annual Report for 1894/5.

3. Meredith died at Sudest while on duty there (*AR*, 1896/7: xxv).

4. Belford and Mohamed Ali referred to later are known to have spoken 'Motu' and 'English'. All of the others are also presumed to have spoken these languages because official statements of the time constantly refer to these languages being the languages of the prisons (as is noted throughout Chapter 4).

5. This Solomon Islander is presumed to have been a warder at about this time because in *AR*, 1897/8 (p.xxvii) it is reported that a Solomon Islander had been a warder in Port Moresby for about eight years. This Solomon Islander is probably the New Hebridean referred to in 1905/6 and discussed below in footnote 9.

6. Two of these were Willy Lifu and his wife (q.v., see Appendix D).

7. This Samoan was either one of the Belford brothers (who were part-Samoan, and one of whom had been employed as a warder in 1886), or Jack Karo, who was said to have been a Maori — see Appendix D.

8. It is not known when Mohammed Ali first came to Rigo but in the

Annual Report for 1903/4 it is noted that he had then been at Rigo 'for some years'.

9. This New Hebridean is presumed to be the same person as that referred to as a Solomon Islander who had been at the Port Moresby gaol for about eight years (*AR*, 1897/8: xxvii) and who was apparently still there in 1903/4. If so, this was probably Joe Eromango who had been in British New Guinea since before 1890 — see Appendix C. The only difficulty with this suggestion is that Joe Eromango was reported to be collecting sandalwood in the Biaru River area in late 1892 (MacGregor, *Diaries*, 19.9.1892), unless of course he was employed at the prison intermittently. Otherwise his qualities are described in *AR*, 1897/8: 114.

Appendix H

MOVEMENT OF PRISONERS BETWEEN AND WITHIN DIVISIONS

In lieu of more accurate available statistics, the following comments are given to show that prisoners were regularly moved from one prison to another. They also provide a basis for the statistical analysis given in Appendix I.

Date	Comment	Source
1886	Diavari, a Normanby Islander kept prisoner. 'for some months'. Returned speaking Motu.	AR, 1886: 22
1888	'Jack' Mowatta (from island of same name in Western Division) imprisoned in Port Moresby.	AR, 1888: 18
1889	6 [Taupota] prisoners [murderers of Capt. Ansell in Chads Bay] to Port Moresby. 4 work as boats' crew and 2 as gardeners and labourers around Government House. All escaped after a few days. 2 recaptured but rest get back to home area.	MacGregor to Governor of Queensland, 19 August 1890. CA. G32, item 1, pp. 147-50
1899/90	5 prisoners transferred to Samarai (ED) from Port Moresby.	AR, 1889/90: 102
1890/91	4 men 'from the gaol in the Eastern district' [Rigo?] to Mekeo (CD). 'It [imprisonment] was not so great a novelty in the Rigo District, as some of the natives of that district had already become acquainted with the prison at Port Moresby'.	AR, 1890/1: 81 AR, 1890/1: xi
1891	Son of chief of Inawai-i-a village (Mekeo) in gaol in Port Moresby.	Kowald to Gov. Sec., 30 Nov. 1891. CA, G91, item 282A.
1891/2	Half-a-dozen long-termers at Mabadauan (WD) from Port Moresby. Half-a-dozen long-termers also sent to Mekeo (CD) from Port Moresby. Half-a-dozen long-termers sent to Rigo (CD) from Port Moresby. Eleven removed to Port Moresby from Samarai (ED) and two from WD. Nineteen transferred from Port Moresby to ED.	AR, 1891/2: xxviii; 87. ibid. ibid. AR, 1891/2: 87 ibid.
1892/3	'It was considered necessary to remove them [the prisoners] back to Port Moresby, on grounds of health, when they had been at Samarai six months'. Seven transferred to Port Moresby from WD. Six transferred to Mekeo from Port Moresby. Six transferred to Rigo from Port Moresby. 'In July eleven male prisoners were returned to Samarai for trial and two female convicts were also transferred there [ED]'	AR, 1892/3: xxix AR, 1892/3: 41 AR, 1892/3: 45 op. cit. op. cit.; MacGregor, Diaries, 17.7.1982

	'The Port Moresby prisoners under Mr Gleeson spent some six months at Samarai to assist at the swamp filling'.	AR, 1892/3: 47
	Palmer, Comandant of the Armed Native Constabulary, brought nine prisoners back to Port Moresby from unspecified areas along Eleman-Purari coast.	AR, 1892/3: 124
1893	Kiniope from Keapara village (CD) in Port Moresby gaol on one month's hard labour.	Lawes, Station Journal, Port Moresby, 20 July 1893. CA, G91, item 526.
1893/4	Six transferred to Port Moresby from WD. 'Of those still in custody 8 [in WD] are long sentenced prisoners from the Central Division'. 'The prisoners have been mostly employed at Samarai during the year filling in the swamp there'.	AR, 1893/4: 52 ibid. AR, 1893/4: 58
1894/5	11 transferred to Port Moresby from Daru (WD). 11 on books at Daru (WD) from CD and ED. Half-a-dozen long-termers transferred from other districts into SED.	AR, 1894/5 :18 ibid. AR, 1894/5: 24
1895	Reference to a convict named Rossi from Paniette (SED) trying to escape from Mekeo (CD).	Kowald, Monthly Report, Mekeo, Oct. 1895. CA, G91, item 287.
1895/6	Some 50 prisoners were 'lent to the gold-mining company starting crushing operations on Sudest Island. They have been principally employed in making a road from the coast to the mine.'	AR, 1895/6: xiii
1896/7	18 transferred to Port Moresby from WD. 'the regular gang of long-sentenced prisoners [have] been forwarded to Sudest from Rigo'. 'The Head Gaoler was away . . . with most of the prisoners [from Port Moresby] at Sudest, where many deaths took place'.	AR, 1896/7: 46 AR, 1896/7: 51 AR, 1896/7: 53
1897/8	The Government Agent, Mambare, 'took . . . from Port Moresby a score of selected prisoners to cut a track from the Government stations along the Otavia Range, to facilitate prospecting operations'. Six transferred to Port Moresby from WD. One death at Daru (WD) was a Mambare man sent over from Port Moresby. Dumai [from the Mambare River, ND] released from Port Moresby prison to join Armed Native Constabulary to accompany Green. Bushimai also from Mambare had been in Port Moresby gaol.	AR, 1897/8: xx AR, 1897/9: 80 ibid. Monckton, 1921: 79 Monckton, 1921: 193
1897/8	Death list at Port Moresby prison shows prisoners there from a wide area, viz. 2 from Mekeo, 1 from Mambare, 2 from Rigo, 1 from inland of Port Moresby (Mt. Koiari). Two Mambare prisoners from Port Moresby transferred to Rigo. Four others transferred from Port Moresby to Rigo. 10 March 1898	AR, 1897/8: 90 AR, 1897/8: 107

- 1898/9 'Several of the prisoners from the Fly River district [WD], when their sentences expired, voluntarily stayed at Tamata [ND] in the capacity of gaol warders and constables'. *AR*, 1898/9: 30
- 1899/1900 Two prisoners in SED from Port Moresby. *AR*, 1899/1900: 81-3.
 11 prisoners transferred from Port Moresby to other gaols. *ibid.*: 104-7
 'Very few prisoners are transferred from the Eastern district to Port Moresby, and most long-sentences prisoners at Headquarters belong to the Central Division'. *ibid.*: 105
- 1900/01 Seven prisoners transferred to Port Moresby from WD. *AR*, 1900/01: 83
 23 prisoners transferred from Port Moresby to other gaols. *ibid.*: 101
- 1902/3 43 prisoners transferred to Port Moresby from Samarai (ED). *AR*, 1902/3: 28
 22 prisoners transferred to Murua from Samarai (ED). *ibid.*
 49 prisoners transferred to Port Moresby from other gaols. *ibid.*: 43
 15 prisoners transferred to other gaols from Port Moresby. *ibid.*: 43
 Prisoners from 'upper waters of the Biaru River' taken to Port Moresby. Barton, 1903. Resident Magistrate's report for CD, 1902/3. CA, G91, item 570.
- 1903/4 Six transferred to Port Moresby from ED. *AR*, 1903/4: 28
- 1904/5 March 1904: four Goaribari prisoners taken to Daru (WD) from their island; two to Port Moresby. Port Moresby prisoners returned to Goaribari in March 1905. *AR*, 1904/5: 8
 10 prisoners transferred to Port Moresby from Samarai (ED). *AR*, 1904/5: 28
 16 prisoners to Murua (SED) from Samarai.
 Two prisoners to Tamata (ND) from Samarai.
- 1905/6 Two Europeans and seven Papuans transferred from Port Moresby to other gaols. *AR*, 1905/6: 81
- 1906/7 29 natives transferred to other gaols from Port Moresby. *AR*, 1906/7: 112
- 1910 'Two prisoners' from Mambare Division arrive in Port Moresby. Bramell, Station Journal, Jan. 1910. CA, G91, item 574A.
 Kairuku area [Mekeo, CD] prisoners transferred to Port Moresby. Bramell, Station Journal, Feb. 1910. CA, G91, item 574A.
- 1917 'In the prison at Nepa [GD] there are usually twenty or thirty men undergoing terms of imprisonment, principally for murder. They are sent from Headquarters [Port Moresby] and retained for the purpose of growing native foods Humphries, 1923:30

- Hides recalls that when he was a boy in Port Moresby he spent his time in the gaol there [where his father was Head Gaoler] talking to prisoners from the Fly River and Goaribari 'and other faraway and mysterious places'. Hides, 1938:3
- ? Policeman Emisi from 'upper Musa country ... back of Cloudy Bay' was in Port Moresby gaol as a youth for murder. Hides, 1938: 98
- ? Reference to Portua 'son of Bushimai, one of the Mambare prisoners who had given me the trouble at Samarai' was in Mekeo gaol. Monckton, 1921: 114

Appendix I

STATISTICS ON MOVEMENT OF PRISONERS

These statistics are derived from the comments given in Appendix H: 'Movement of Prisoners Between Divisions'. In interpreting them the following points should be kept in mind:

1. recorded deaths are not counted for present purposes because it is obvious that the prisoner did not return home in a form in which he could contribute to the spread of any lingua franca; recorded deaths are, however, useful for indicating the origin of prisoners;

2. it is assumed that the figures refer to Papuans only; some Europeans were transferred from one gaol to another (see, for example, 1905/6), but the numbers were so small that it is assumed that they had little effect on how Papuan prisoners communicated with each other;

3. some prisoners are referred to twice in Appendix H but are not recorded twice in the following table. These cases are explained in footnotes;

4. the figures do not cross-check. The principal reason for this is that because prisoners are not identified by name it is not possible to keep track of individuals.

For these reasons these statistics cannot be regarded as precise. At best they are only approximations of what happened and so indicate trends only.

Date	Into Port CD	Moresby WD	From ED	Other	Out of Port CD	Moresby WD	To ED	Other	Other From point A to point B Within Divisions or Across Divisions
1886			1						
1888		1							
1889			2 ¹						
1889/90							5		
1890/1	?								4 (Rigo to Mekeo)
	(Rigo)								
1891	1								
	(Mekeo)								
1891/2		2	11		6 (Mekeo)	6	19 ³		
					6 (Rigo)				
1892/3	9	7			6 (Mekeo)				
					6 (Rigo)				
1893	1								
	(Keapara)								
1893/4		6							
1894/5		11							3 (ED to WD) ⁴
									6 (SED from other districts)
1895									1 (Mekeo from SED)
1895/6							50 (SED)		
1896/7		18 ⁵					? (SED)		
1897/8		6			6 (Rigo)		20 (Mambare)		
1898/9									
1899/00									11 (unspec- ified)
1900/1		7							23 (unspec- ified)
1902/3	?		43	49 ⁶			15		22 (Samarai to Murua)
			6	(unspecified)			(unspecified)		
1903/4									
1904/5			10	2 (Goaribari)					4 (Goaribari to Daru)
									16 (Samarai to Murua)
									2 (Samarai to Tamata)
1905/6									7 (unspec- ified)
1906/7									29 (unspec- ified)
1910				2 (ND) ? (Mekeo)					
1917									20-30 (Nepa)
Totals	11?	58	73	53?	30	6	39?	153-183	65

Notes:

1. Sources do not indicate what happened subsequently to the other four.
2. Numbers not given and reference is not only to 1890/1.
3. These are presumed to be those referred to in 1892/3 as having been returned to Port Moresby owing to ill health.
4. This figure was derived by assuming that the eight prisoners referred to in 1893/4 (as being from the Central Division) were still in the Western Division in 1894/5.
5. It is assumed that these include the 'several from the Fly River district' referred to in 1898/9.
6. It is assumed that this includes the prisoners from the upper Biaru River.

Appendix J

SPREAD OF GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE: GOVERNMENT STATIONS

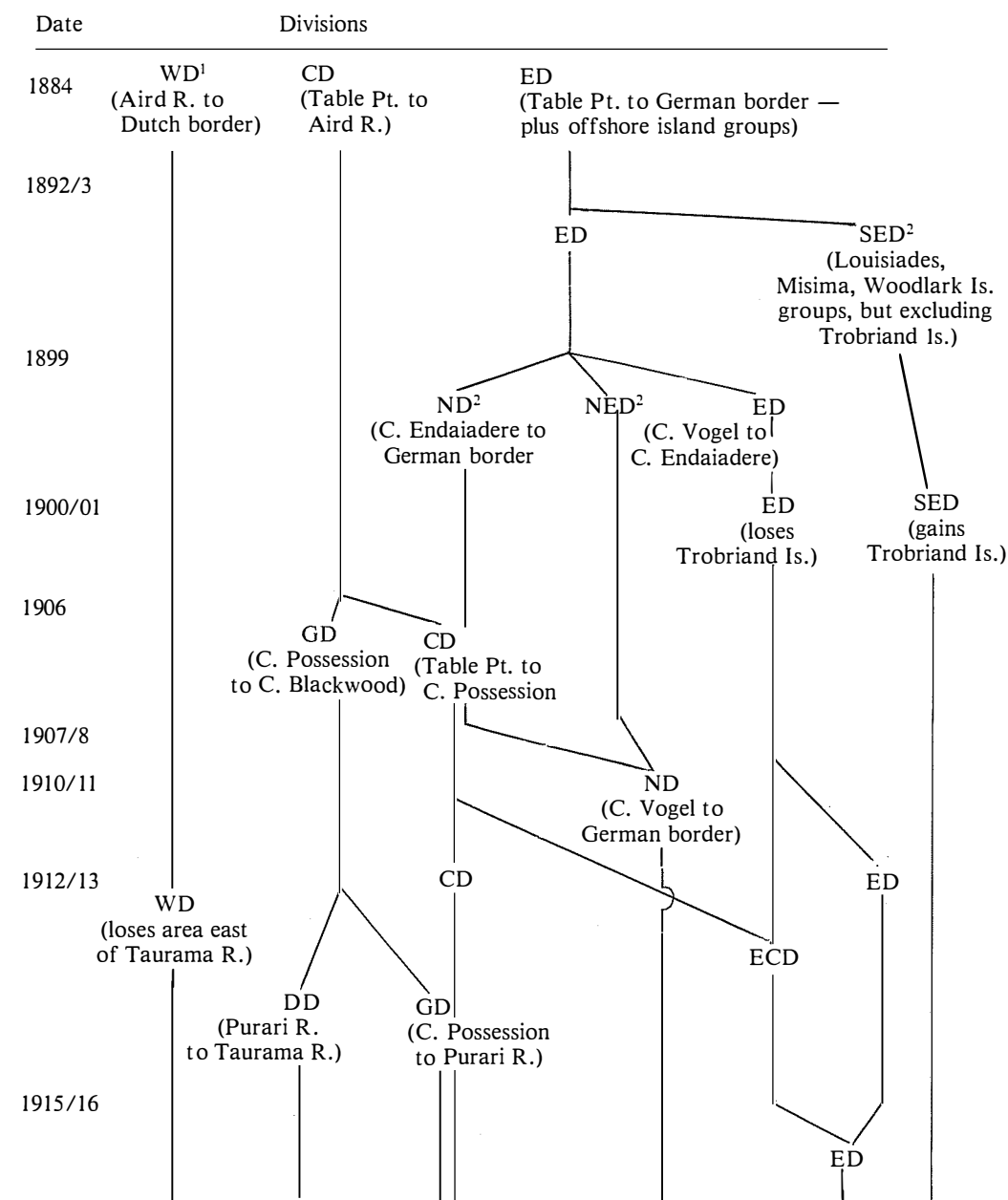
The following listing shows the order in which Government stations were opened up in British New Guinea/Papua from the time of the establishment of the Protectorate in 1884 up until the early years of Murray's administration. Taken in conjunction with Appendices E and F this listing gives a more concrete idea of how and where Government influence was being extended in the formative years. Police camps, which were more temporary, are not included.

1884	Port Moresby
1887	Rigo
1888	Sudest (subsequently transferred to Misima (1889), then Nivani (1892) then Murua (1901/12) and then subsequently back to Misima 1920)
1888	Samarai (located permanently on Dinner Island. Previously no permanent station site)
1889	Mabadauan (1 September 1889) (near mouth of Mai Cussa River)
1889-90	Cloudy Bay (under the ex-LMS South Sea Island teacher-turned-Government-interpreter, Maka)
1889	Misima (ex-Sudest)
1890	Mekeo
1892	Nivani (ex-Misima)
1895	Tamata (on Mambare River)
1900/1	Bogi (on Kumusi River, 55 miles [= 88 km] upstream) Bugi (on south-east coast opposite Boigu Island south-west of Daru) Tufi (Cape Nelson)
1901/2	Papaki (half-way between Bogo and Yodda Valley)
1902/3	Gaime (on Fly River) (ex-Bugi)
1902	Mura (Woodlark Island) (ex-Nivani)
1904	Kokoda (replacing Bogi and Papaki)
1906	Kerema
1909	Nepa (on upper Lakekamu River)
1912	Kikori

Later again:

Abau (1916/17?), Misima (1920), Ioma, Losuia, Lake Kutubu (1936), T Higaturu, Esa'ala, Baniara (1945), Popondetta, Mendi, Baimuru, Rabaraba, Lake Murray, Kiunga, Tari (and others).

Appendix K ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS, 1884-1930



1. CD = Central Division, ND = Northern Division, DD = Delat Division, NED = North-Eastern Division, ED = Eastern Division, SED = South-Eastern Division, ECD = East-Central Division, WD = Western Division, GD = Gulf Division.

2. It is difficult to say when these divisions were formally recognized as the available published records do not specify this. What generally happened.

1. CD = Central Division, ND = Northern Division, DD = Delta Division, NED = North-Eastern Division, ED = Eastern Division, SED = South-Eastern Division, ECD = East-Central Division, WD = Western Division, GD = Gulf Division.

2. It is difficult to say when these divisions were formally recognized as the available published records do not specify this. What generally happened was that as gold discoveries were being made, gold wardens acted as Government Agents in the area and these explored neighbouring areas and generally brought them under Government influence as time permitted. During this period they were referred to as districts and only later made into divisions once administrative services required it. Thus the South-Eastern Division developed out of the Louisiade district in which a warder and government agent were first appointed in 1888. The first time it was referred to as a division was in the *AR*, 1892/3, when Sir William MacGregor refers to it as the 'South-Eastern Division-Louisiades', although a Resident Magistrate had been appointed there in 1890/1. At this stage it did not include the Trobriand Islands which were still part of the Eastern Division. On the other hand, the North-eastern and Northern Divisions grew out of the former North-East Coast and Mambare district of the Eastern Division. This district was formally established in 1895 when Green was appointed as gold warden and Government Agent at Tamata on the Mambare River. As Government influence was extended patrol posts were opened on the Kumusi River and at Tufi (Cape Nelson). The area was for a very brief period referred to as the North-Eastern District, but in October 1899 it was formally distinguished from the Eastern Division and divided up into two administrative divisions called the Northern Division (to cover the Mambare and Kumusi River areas) and the North-eastern Division (to cover the remaining area between Cape Vogel and Cape Endaiadere).

Appendix L MOVEMENT OF LABOURERS BETWEEN DIVISIONS

The following tables contain references to the source and movement of labourers recruited from the various divisions of Papua from the late 1880s until about the 1920s when more detailed (although less informative from the present point-of-view) tables of statistics are published. The figures include engagements for both government service and private enterprise, but excludes mission employees (as missions generally employed labour from their own areas). They are based mainly on references and figures published in the *Annual Reports*, but also include some references to labour in other sources consulted. Although these figures leave much to be desired in terms of completeness and although there are some complications in interpreting them (e.g., not all engagements returned home because of deaths; the divisions change in number and size over time), they do give some indication of the volume of traffic between areas and of the location and nature of employment engaged in upon which linguistic judgements can be made. The tables are ordered by division from west to east. In these the following abbreviations and terms are used apart from those already introduced.

Govt.	= Government
Out-Migration	= Destination of Engagements from this Division
In-Migration	= Engagements from outside this Division employed in this Division
Pat. Rep.	= Patrol Report
Ref.	= Reference
Pt. Moresby	= Port Moresby
Ptn.	= Plantation
R.M.	= Resident Magistrate
Secy.	= Secretary
Stn. J.	= Station Journal
Str.	= Strait
TS	= Torres Straits

1. WESTERN DIVISION

(a) Out-Migration

- 1888 TS: 'Nearly all the natives [of Mowatta] wear clothes ... [because] many of them are now willing workers in the beche-de-mer fisheries' in the Torres Str. (Hilman, *AR*, 1888: 18).

- 1892 CD: Ref. in Green (1892: 53) to Gabadi calling Kiwai labourers on Mareva Ptn. 'black foreigners'.
- 1893 8 natives from Kiwai area [5 Kiwai, 2 Mowatta, 1 Turituri] sign on to work at Cameron's Ptn. for 1 year each ('Labour Agreement', 27 March 1893. CA, G91, item 171D).
- 1893 TS: Ref. to having to 'pay off a large number of natives for Thomas Rudolph' [native of Denmark but naturalized British pearlsheller and beche-de-mer fisher] (Bingham-Hely to Govt. Secy., Mabadauan. 13 Jan. 1893. CA, G91, item 168).
- 1893/94 TS: 'Of the large number of boats engaged in the Torres Str. fishery some were always coming into contact with the west end of the Possession' (ibid.: xxix, MacGregor).
TS: 'There are now 102 boats licenced from the port [Daru], many of which have stationed themselves in our waters permanently' (Bingham-Hely, WD Report, *AR*, 1893/94: 53).
- 1894 TS: Ref. to Japanese boats visiting Daru since 1894 (Customs Officer to Govt. Secy., Daru, 26 Feb. 1898. CA, G91, item 176). The following vessels 'are in the habit of coming to this port' [Daru]: The boats anchored at Daru on 23 Dec. 1897 were:
Peri, Premier, Esme, Tapscott (?), Diana, Santiago, Wild Colonial, Juno, Corea, North Wales, Ino, Gannet (?), Nana, President, Water Lily, Stork, Nautilus, Princess, Arethusa, Mascotte, Electra, Spray, Rotumah, Emerald, Ant, Chris, Grace Darling, Camoola, Viking, Victoria, North, Francisco, Young Australia, Mizciko(?), Wren.
'The whole of these boats are worked by Japanese with the exception of the last mentioned which boat is the property of Mr R. Bruce of Murray Is. All these boats have been in the habit of licensing at this port since 1894, with the exception of the Mascotte and Water Lily'. 'Sometimes they arrive in the early part of the year and sometimes after the 1st July, according to where shell is reputed to be at the time, as a rule we do not see much of them in the early part of the year ...' (De Lange to RM, Daru, 26 Feb. 1898. CA, G91, item 176).
- 1894/5 TS: Number of young men still being employed in pearl-shelling boats (*AR*, 1894/5: xvii).
'A large number of men have been engaged and paid off by divers and others during the period'. Employed on 30 June 1894: 193. Engaged 1 July 1894 to 30 June 1895: 138, etc. (*AR*, Bingham-Hely, 1894/5: 19).
- 1895/6 CD: Demand for labour not so brisk this year. 1 July 1895 to 30 June 1896: 163 engaged ... 44 of these are engaged in the CD ... by Messrs. Burns, Philip & Co. (*AR*, 1895/6: 67).
- 1896/7 ED, ?TS: None engaged during the 12 months: '163 ... of these 65 are in the employ of the Gold Fields Prospecting

- Company, Sudest' [the remaining 98 presumably were for the TS]. (*AR*, 1896/7: 47).
- June 1897 CD: 'I hear from Mr Hunter [collecting sandalwood near Pokama] that all his Western boys have run away' (Bramell to Govt. Secy., from Pokama, 11 June 1897, CA, G91, item 290).
- 1897/8 CD, ED, (TS?): 'Engaged during the year: 97 ... Besides these, many men have enlisted in the constabulary, and 50 were employed in the Central district carrying for the Govt. during the last half of 1897. Of these last, 3 died and 47 returned to their homes.'
- 1900/1 'Included in the number who were employed on the 1st July 1897 and those since paid off, are 65 men who on 2nd April 1897, were engaged by the British NG Gold Fields Proprietary Coy. for work at Sudest' (*AR*, 1897/8: 80).
'The natives are not taking to service very kindly. They, however, prefer being employed in the 'pearling' vessels than to acting as carriers in the east. The number of boys employed during the year, some of whom were signed on before 1 July 1900, was 762 '... Total number signed on during the year was 522. Of these, 258 were for the eastern parts of BNG, 203 for Torres Str. pearling vessels, and 61 for the Western District' (Torres Str. pearling limited to 6 months) (*AR*, 1900/01: 84).
- 1901/2 TS: 'The employment of natives of the Division in working for Europeans received a check towards the close of 1901, through the passing of the Federal Act providing for the restriction of immigration of aliens into Australia. The provisions of the Act hindered the employment of Papuans on the Queensland pearl-shelling boats. In April 1902, however, the provisions of the Act were relaxed, it being clear that persons employed in the Torres Str. fisheries, were, in fact, employed on the sea ... Doubtless, after a time, matters will run again in their old groove.' (*AR*, 1901/2: 17).
- 1901/2 ND: 'During the last few years the western natives went in large numbers to work as carriers on the gold-fields of the ND, which is a long way from their homes. But a fair number of them died ... and this has rendered their fellow-villagers unwilling to enter into engagement for labour in that part of the Possession' (*AR*, 1901/2: 17).
- 1902/3 TS, WD: 'The numbers of natives engaged in the Division ... was 201. Of this total, 108 were for employment in boats working the pearling industry, and owned by firms in Thursday Island; 42 were for personal servants and general labourers in the district; and 51 were engaged as swimmers, i.e., diving for pearl-shell ... There has been no demand for men as carriers for the gold-fields of the Possession' (*AR*, 1902/3: 22).

- 1903/4 TS, CD, ND: '581 sign-ons while 132 were recruited in this division and taken away to Port Moresby and are now employed in the ND. Of those [581] engaged in WD, 95% work for boats in pearl fishery' (AR, 1903/4: 43).
- 1904/5 ? : 574 engaged and 459 paid off during the term (AR, 1904/5: 42).
- 1905/6 WD, ND, TS: 559 engaged, 38 for work in this division, 145 for work as carriers in the ND, the remaining 336 for the pearl fishing industry in Torres St.; 476 discharged, 13 died, and some returned sick (AR, 1905/6: 46).
- 1907/8 WD, ND, TS, CD: 695 sign-ons: 48 for WD, 143 ND, 501 Torres Str., 3 CD, 'besides which 10 were engaged by the Govt. to work in Port Moresby'. 587 paid off, 24 died, and a 'number' returned before contract expiry (AR, 1907/8: 49).
- Oct. 1908 CD: Ref. to a 'fight between Mr. Westland's Eastern boys and Mr. Bruce's Western boys' on Papua Rubber Estates, Kanosia (O'Malley, Station Journal, Port Moresby, Oct. 1908. CA, G91, item 573).
- May 1910 CD: Ref. to '91 native labourers ... under the charge of Mr. Martin, ... from the Western Division' (Bramell, Station Journal, Port Moresby, May 1910. CA, G91, item 574A).
- Mar. 1916 CD: Ref. to Bamu native labourers at Tavai. 88 labourers altogether including 31 Bamu. '... fully half of them stated that they have worked previously at Koitaki' (Muscutt, Pat. Rep., Rigo, 1 March 1916. CA, G91, item 584).
- June 1918 CD: 'five Kobona Western Division boys reached the estate on the 24th May from Pt. Moresby. No advice came with them and the Manager thought they were new recruits ... [but H. thinks] probably deserted from Koitakinumu' (Little, Pat. Rep., 21 May-19 June 1918. CA, G91, item 298).
- June 1918 CD: [At Aroa Ptn.] Signed on 19 labourers 'from the west' [15 June] (Little, Pat. Rep., 21 May-19 June 1918. CA, G91, item 298).
- July-Aug. 1918 CD: Ref. to some Western labourers amongst the 300 at Rorona Ptn., CD (Humphries, Pat. Rep., July-Aug. 1918. CA, G91, item 298).
- ? TS: 'An important factor in the Europeanisation of the Fly and coast men has been their work in the Torres Straits pearling fleets. For many years every young man has been in the habit of signing on at Daru for his nine months term with the utmost regularity, and considered it as much a part of his education as his initiation in the Darimu' (Beaver, 1920: 295).
- ? TS: 'Simoi was a Kiwai ... They are an intelligent people who quickly learn to speak good English and adapt themselves to European ways. Two hundred of them go to work each year on the pearling luggers at Thursday Island, where the Japanese masters and divers give them currv and

rice ... (p.145). They are always in demand as good boss-boys for the plantations and mines' (Hides, 1938: 144-45).

(b) *In-Migration*

- 1904/5 Presumably some of the '162 ... engaged [in the CD] to work in other Divisions' (AR, 1904/5: 21).

2. *GULF DIVISION*

(a) *Out-Migration*

- 1905/6 GD: 5 European traders in the area trading principally for copra and sago. 'They have various stations at different coast villages, each in charge of a native ...' (AR, 1905/6: 51).
- 1907/8 ? : 3 ptns. although 'work has only been carried out on two': Messrs. Buchanan & Graham, Vailala R. — sisal hemp and coconuts, and McGowan & Assmann, Tauri R. — merva hemp (AR, 1907/8: 50-51).
- 11 trading stations along the coast, 122 sign-ons (102 from the Delta for 3 years)(p.51).
- Sept. 1908 CD: Ref. to Purari Delta labourers on Dedele Ptn. as 'excellent labourers' (O'Malley, Stn. J., Pt. Moresby, Sept. 1908. CA, G91, item 573).
- May 1909 CD: 'Mr. Gors [Kemp Welch Rubber Estate, Rigo] informed me that the signed on Gulf Division boys are the only ones that give any trouble.' (MacDonnell, Pat. Rep., 1909. CA, G91, item 578C. Entry 19 May 1909).
- 1918 CD: Some Gulf Division labourers amongst the 300 labourers on Rorona Ptn.
- 'four women from Goaribari ... with their husbands' on Moikaru Ptn. (Humphries, Pat. Rep., July-Aug. 1918. CA, G91, item 298).
- Oct. 1918 CD: Ref. to 33 Purari R. area men being recruited for Kemp Welsh Estates, Rigo, CD (Hope, 1979: 147).
- 1920 CD: Ref. to Goaribari wharf labourers in Port Moresby having 'pretty tenuous affiliations with the LMS' (Chatterton, 1974: 10).
- 1920s GD: Ref. to Goaribari labourers on Ogamobu Ptn., GD (Hope, 1979: 205, 210, 217).
- b) *In-Migration*
- 1920 WD: Ref. to 'raw western boys' (p. 173) 'Kiwais' (p. 176), 'Morigi contract' boys (p. 177) on Ogamobu Ptn. in 1920 and ref. to wanting to get 'thirty or so Kiwais' (p.190) for it in 1921 (Hope, 1979).

3. *CENTRAL DIVISION*

(a) *Out-Migration*

- 1885 CD: Bech-de-mer statistics for tations at Tupuselei, Kaile, Kapakapa, Hula, Aroma (AR, 1885: 21 [Implies contact

- 1886 with and use of local Papuans [Motu] as labourers]).
CD: Burns Philp and Co. given permission to gradually establish trading stations along the coast at various points 'under the management of good and reliable men ... copra, beche-de-mer, and other products ... offering inducements to the natives to engage in industry' (AR, 1886: 12).
- 1888/89-1889/90 CD: Figures for export of gold, beche-de-mer, pearlshell and copra given for 1888/9 and 1889/90. But note: 'A great quantity of beche-de-mer and pearlshell found in the waters of the Possession is still taken direct to Queensland, and does not figure in these returns' (AR, 1889/90: 17).
CD: Govt. establishes copra ptn. on Daugo (now Fisherman's) Is. Contract let to Mr Hunter to plant first 5000 nuts (prisoners as labourers) (AR, 1889/90: 103).
- Dec. 1890 '8 Motumotu men came and worked again today' (Kowald, Stn. J., Mekeo, 16 Dec. 1890. CA, G91, item 281).
- Dec. 1890 CD: Ref. to Motumotu and Lesi natives continuing to work at the station (Kowald to Govt. Sec., 31 Dec 1890. CA, G91, item 281).
- 1890/91 CD: 'Mr Kowald, the Govt. Agent, at the newly-formed Govt. station in the Mekeo District, has made a good start. He has a boat and a crew of five Motuans who act as police (AR, 1890/91: 81).
- Jan. 1891 CD: 'Some Motumotu men came here and worked all day' (Kowald, Stn. J., 21 Jan., 1891. CA, G91, item 282A).
- Jan.-Sept. 1891 CD: Ref. to Itolo and Tau Hula from Tupusali working at the station (Kowald to Govt. Secy., 6 Jan. 1891. CA, G91, item 282A).
Refers to '4 new boys namely Guba, Ani, Noho, and Buka ... had been working 14 days in Port Moresby previous to coming here' (ibid., 31 March 1891).
Refs. to 'the boy Itona, who acts here as boatman. [He] is one of 6 months, 3 have left after the 4 original boys engaged here for return of the Mt. Yule expedition ... There are besides this boy two other small ones and Maoni, and the other Nobika ... neither of the two is of much service to me as they cannot pull an oar' (ibid., 31 May 1891).
- Sept. 1891 CD: Refs. to Malay Kasman and '2 Kapakapa boys' with Governor's party to Inawaia village. (MacGregor Diaries, 12.9.91).
- Oct. 1891-Apr. 1892 CD: Whaleboat crew: Noho Seri (Pari), Veri Mavara (Kaile), Sak Manicolo (New Hebrides), Maraga (H'bada), Morea (? - village not given but probably either Porebada or Hanuabada) ('Boat Agreement, Mekeo'. CA, G91, item 283D).
- 1892/3 'The people in the coast proximity to them have, on the whole, been very orderly, and, I may say, industrious; they have had more intercourse with Europeans and other

- alien races during this year than ever before. Owing to the sandalwood trade which has sprung up and which has engaged them continuously in many ways, they received from the traders most useful articles for their labour, both in procuring sandalwood and in transporting it to Ravao (Yule Is.) for shipment' (AR, 1892/3: 50).
- 1893/4 Ordinance No. III of 1893 allowed 'a native to be taken by any Christian Mission established in the Possession to any Queensland island north of the tenth degree of south latitude. The Sacred Heart Mission wished to take a few boys from the Mekeo district to Thursday Island (which is south of the tenth degree) to learn English in their school there. It was quite clear that this would be a great gain to the natives and advantageous to the district' (AR, 1893/4: v).
- 1895/6 'The tribes near and on the coast are evincing a strong desire for clothes and other European articles of dress — blankets, mosquito nets, lamps, carpenter's tools, etc. — and they have learned within the last year the value of money. They engage as labourers with the traders and others in distant parts'* (AR, 1895/6: 81).
*[Note: This may be a reference to the Mekeo area because in AR, 1896/7: 60 there is a reference to 'about a dozen traders, etc. in this district getting copra, india rubber, and sandalwood.']
- 1897/8 CD: 'The [Govt.] sailing vessels are all manned by Papuans exclusively' (AR, 1897/8: xxxvi).
- 1901/02 CD (Rigo): 'There is an increase in the number of permits for occupying sites on the coast for trading and trepang-curing stations, due probably to the rise in the price of trepang. The owners of these stations are mostly Philippine islanders, who have been a long time in the Possession. They do not possess much energy, and are satisfied if they can make a living ...'.
'The number of natives of the district engaged to work at a distance from their homes was 96, but 50 of these were for Government work at Port Moresby' (AR, 1901/2: 15).
- 1903/4 CD: 'Sandalwood still continues to be the chief article of export' (AR, 1903/4: 20).
'During the year over 150 natives were recruited from villages around the [Rigo] station, for terms ranging from six to twelve months' engagements for plantations, boat's crews, general servants, and sandalwood cutting ...'. (AR, 1903/4: 24).
- 1904/5 CD, Other: 457 from CD engaged, 'of whom 162 were engaged to work in other Divisions' (AR, 1904/5: 21).
- 1904/5 CD: 'Little or no demand for native labour from this district' [Rigo] (AR, 1904/5: 24).
- 1906/7 CD: Ref. to the boat's crew of the 'Merrie England' being Motuan (AR, 1906/7: 10).
- 1907/8 CD: 51 sign-ons [from Mekeo] 'but a large number, about

- 400, are employed in the district' (AR, 1907/8: 56).
 'A small number' of sign-ons [from Rigo]. No labourers indentured for the ND. (ibid.: 61).
- 1909 CD: 'Natives from the villages of Boku, Durom, and Uiga ... continually coming down to work [in Rigo] ... They generally work for about three weeks and then go home, after receiving their wages. Many of them only remain at their village for a few weeks and return to work again. It is only during the last six months that these bush natives have come down to work ... Whilst [MacDonnell] was at Borugere, there were about 160 natives working for MR Gors. Out of this number about 130 were casual labourers ...' (MacDonnell, Pat. Rep., 1909. CA, G91, item 578C. Entry 19 May, 1909).
- 1910 CD: 'Armit visits new ptn. started by British New Guinea Development Coy. c. 13 miles from Dedele [Cloudy Bay] — 22 local men employed.' Waiting for tools to start operations in earnest. (Armit, Pat. Rep., Rigo, 4 July 1910. CA, G91, item 579).
- 1912 CD: Patrol recruits 10 labourers at Ikega and 3 at Maramaka for Kemp Welsh River Ptn. (Pat., Rep., Rigo, 25–26 April 1912. CA, G91, item 581).
 Patrol along east coast to Maopa and inland to Kamiti villages to recruit labourers. Got none (for KWR Ptn.) (Pat. Rep., Rigo, March–April 1912. CA, G91, item 581).
 Patrol through Seramina, Kokila, Manukwari districts to recruit labourers. Got none. (Pat. Rep., Rigo, June 1912. CA, G91, item 581.)
- 1918 Gors' Paraparina Ptn. 120 acres burnt out. Rigo labourers [Maria/Kokila?] here apparently because patrol officer reports on 7 Aug. that 'An interpreter from these hill people behind Rigo is essential on these inspections' (Humphries, Pat. Rep., July–Aug. 1918. CA, G91, item 298).

(b) *In-Migration*

- 1892/3 Ref. in Green (1982: 53) to Gabadi calling Kiwai labourers on Mareva Ptn. 'black foreigners'.
 8 natives from Kiwai area [5 Kiwai, 2 Mowatta, 1 Turituri] sign on to work at Cameron's Ptn. for one year each ('Labour Agreement', 27 March, 1893. CA, G91, item 171D).
- 1895/6 Demand for labour not so brisk this year. 1.7.1895 to 30.6.1896 [from WD]: '163 engaged ... 44 of these are engaged in the CD ... by Messrs. Burns Philp & Co.' (AR, 1895/6: 67).
- 1895/6 'I hear from Mr Hunter [collecting sandalwood near Pokama] that all his Western boys have run away' (Bramell to Govt. Secy., from Pokama, 11 June 1897. CA, G91, item 290).

- 1897/8 'Engaged during the year [from WD]: '97 ... Besides these, many men have enlisted in the constabulary, and 50 were employed in the Central district carrying for the Government during the last half of 1897. Of these last, 3 died and 47 returned to their homes.'
 'Included in the number which were employed on the 1st July, 1897, and those since paid off, are 65 men who on 2nd April, 1897, were engaged by the British NG Gold Fields Proprietary Coy. for work at Sudest' (AR, 1897/8: 80).
- 1902/3 Presumably some of the '1122 ... engaged [in ED] to work in other divisions' came to the CD (AR, 1902/3: 27).
- 1903/4 192 from ED, of whom 143 employed by miners and 49 by storekeepers (AR, 1903/4: 26).
- 1904/5 130 from ED, of whom 74 were employed in mining, and 56 as general labourers (AR, 1904/5: 26). 1905/6 37 from ED, of whom 3 employed as boat boys, 10 as general labourers and 24 in mining (AR, 1905/6: 31).
- 1906/7 23 from ED, of whom 4 employed as boat boys, 2 as houseboys and 17 in mining (AR, 1906/7: 47).
 In addition, 76 employed on agreement in copper mines but no details of sources (AR, 1906/7: 80).
- 1907/8 'Most of the natives signed on for agricultural labour in the CD are natives of the ED, who are looked upon as being more intelligent and more tractable than those of the West' (AR, 1907/8: 20).
 Sign-ons for various industries as follows:

Agriculture	550
Mining & Carrying	115
Domestic servants	107
Boats' crew	66
Shooting boys	41
General duties	107
Total	986

594 paid off

'As will be seen by the foregoing table, the majority of natives signed on for agricultural work, but they were mostly natives from other divisions. Owing to the great activity displayed during the year by the opening up and establishment of large plantations for rubber, there has been a great demand for labour ... The majority of those signed on for mining and carrying are men from other divisions also' (ibid.: 64).
 284 from ED, of whom 256 employed in agriculture, 5 as boat boys, 29 as general labourers, 5 as houseboys, 19 in mining (AR, 1907/8: 67).
 10 from WD 'engaged by the Government to work in Port Moresby' and 3 others for CD (AR, 1907/8: 49).
 Ref. to 'Eastern boys' and 'Western boys' on Papua

- Rubber Ptn. Pty. Ltd. ptn. at Kanosia but no numbers given (O'Malley, Stn. J., Port Moresby, Oct. 1908. CA, G91, item 573).
- Ref. to Purari Delta boys [GD] on Dedeke Ptn., Cloudy Bay (O'Malley, Stn. j., Port Moresby, Sept. 1908. CA, G91, item 573).
- 1910 Ref. to '91 native labourers ... from the Western Division' on Page's Camp, Kanosia (Bramell, Stn. J., Port Moresby, May, 1910. CA, G91, item 574A).
- Horn reports having sold out to British New Guinea Development Coy. Says he is 'unable to obtain enough labour for the place, and has only a few local natives to assist him' (Armit, Pat. Rep., Rigo, 30 June 1910. CA, G91, item 579).
- 1916 Ref. to 31 Bamu R. labourers [from WD] on Tavai [sisal] Ptn., CD. (Muscutt, Pat. Rep., Rigo, 1 March 1916. CA, G91, item 584).
- 'Five Kobona Western Division boys reached the estate [Rovona Ptn.] on the 24th May from Port Moresby. No advice came with them and the Manager thought they were new recruits ... [but H. thinks] probably deserted from Koitakinumu' (Little, Pat. Rep., 21 May-19 June 1918. CA, G91, item 298).
- Signed on 19 labourers [at Aroa Ptn.] 'from the west' [15 June] (Little, Pat. Rep., 21 May-19 June 1918. CA, G91, item 298).
- 'four women from Goaribari [GD] 'on Mockaru Ptn. with their husbands' (Humphries, Pat. Rep., July-Aug. 1918. CA, G91, item 298).
- 'Some' WD or GD labourers among the 300 on Rorona Ptn. (Humphries, Pat. Rep., July-Aug. 1918. CA, G91, item 298).
- 1920 Ref. to Goaribari wharf labourers and Suau domestics in Port Moresby (Chatterton, 1974: 10).

4. EASTERN DIVISION

(a) Out-Migration

- 1878-1888 ED: Chart showing return of beche-de-mer imported each year from British New Guinea, 1878-88 [implies early contact with and use of local Papuans as labourers] (AR, 1888: 36).
- 1886 ED: Ref. to Messrs. Kissack & Co.'s thriving copra station at Giligili in Milne Gulf (presumably employing local labour) (AR, 1886: 36).
- 1889/90 ED: 'A large number of natives are employed in the various boats fishing for beche-de-mer, etc. During the period in which a correct registration has been in force, Oct. 1889 to 30th June, 1890, two hundred and fifty natives have been shipped, and on the 30th June, sixty-one

- 1890/1 were still employed. The strict carrying out of the employment ordinance has been of great assistance in gaining the confidence of the natives' (AR, 1889/90: 104). ED: 'All boats' crews employed at Port Moresby were Papuans, and so were the station police in charge of the Government Agents at Mekeo and Rigo. Half the number of men posted with the magistrate in the WD were Polynesians *and the other half Papuans*, and a similar arrangement was adopted for the establishment in the Louisiades. All the men employed at Samarai were natives of the country except the gaol warder who is a Polynesian. In addition to the natives in regular employment of the Government, the services of men have sometimes been obtained as special constables, receiving some small remuneration for the time they are employed. This plan is well worth extension, as it tends better than almost anything else to establish among the people themselves a fairly sound idea as to the duty of the Government in repressing crime and maintaining order.
- Numbers of natives were so employed in all the districts ...' (AR, 1890/1: xix). [In his diaries (24.2.1892), MacGregor notes that he was glad 'to be relieved of the lazy indolent lot of local men' who acted as boats' crew for him in Port Moresby.]
- 1892/3 ED: 'Native labour shows a tendency to come in greater supply seeking work. On some days we have employed 120 men, women, and boys at the various works ... At the same time the local storekeeper would be employing some 20, and the Kwato Mission about 80' (AR, 1892/3: 47).
- 1893/4 ED: 'Labour engagements': The shipping office returns at Samarai show that for the past year 168 engagements were made; and 141 discharges effected, while only 6 desertions were recorded' (AR, 1893/4: 124).
- 1895/6 ED, NED: 'The number of natives signed on during the year for boat work, fishing, trading and carrying [for miners], etc., totals 511' (AR, 1895/6: 71).
- 1899/1900 ED: 1323 engaged [presumably to work in mines on Woodlark Is. (because Sudest mine was closed 1899/1900), carrying for miners in NED and general labouring, boat work, etc., in ED]. (AR, 1900/1: 72).
- 1900/1 ED, SED, NED: 'Many natives come in seeking labour, or are brought in for that purpose. Of these a large percentage are taken to the Woodlarks, SED, to work on the mining leases there.'
- 'The number of natives signed on in this district [ED] for the year was 1740, as against 1323 last year.'
- 'The natives of Goodenough Is. have not proved themselves as much good as carriers; they are poor in physique and are continually deserting' (AR, 1900/172).
- 1901/2 ED: 'The number of natives engaged within the district

during the year was 1590 and ... these came from many different points and were employed under many masters on land and on sea' (AR, 1901/2: 19).

1902/3

ED, Other: 'The ED may be said to be the hub of the native labour traffic. All the gold-fields draw their supply of labour from it ... The total number of natives of the ED engaged under the provisions of the 'Native Labour Ordinance' during the year was 2114. Of these, 1122 were engaged to work in other divisions. 370 were engaged to work on shore within the limits of this Division [e.g. approximately 100 of those at Gibara gold-field, Milne Bay], and 622 were engaged to work afloat ... a large percentage of desertions from boats and vessels, viz., 70 out of 622 engagements ...' (AR, 1902/3: 27).

'Fifty-five native labourers died during the year ... by far the greater number ... on the Northern Gold-fields, and at Murua.' (AR, 1902/3: 28).

Only one gold-field within the division — Gibara at the head of Milne Bay ... 'Nearly every miner on this gold-field employs from two to four native labourers' (AR, 1902/3: 28). [p.38 notes average of 34 miners working on this field.] Therefore, number of labourers employed somewhere between 68 and 136.

1903/4

ED, ND, SED, CD: Still 30 miners on Gibara gold-field ... employ 120 natives (AR, 1903/4: 25).

Keveri Valley field — largest number of miners at any given time was 15 and 102 native labourers (AR: 1903/4: 25).

2193 sign-ons: 625 to ND gold-fields, 478 to SED, 192 to CD, 898 to ED (544 to work ashore and 354 afloat) — average term of agreement, 10 months. Breakup as follows:

Division	Employed by Miners	Employed by Store- keepers	Afloat
ND	59	566*	—
SED	386	92	—
CD	143	49	—
ED	158	298	422

*The majority of these were transferred to miners on arrival on the Northern Gold-fields (AR, 1903/4: 26).

Keveri Valley declared a gold-field (AR, 1903/4: 8).

follows (p.27):

Class of work	ED	ND	CD	SED
Boat boys	433	—	—	—
Mining	100	261	74	182
Agriculture	245	—	—	9
General servants	150	—	—	—
Carriers	—	276	—	—
General labourers	—	—	56	190
Total	928	537	130	381

211 deserters, 30 died (AR, 1904/5: 26).

One gold-field — 80 labourers and 60 local boys engaged by the month (AR, 1904/5: 30).

Several small ptns. recently established by Europeans (AR, 1904/5: 12).

1783 engagements: Samarai 1334, Bonagai, SED 348, Dobu 77, Dogura 17, and Port Moresby, CD, 7. Of these, 467 were engaged for work on the Northern gold-fields, 464 for work in the SED, 37 in the CD, and 815 in the ED. Table reads:

Class of work	ED	CD	ND	SED
Agriculture	157	—	—	10
Boat boys	421	3	—	11
Carriers	—	—	186	—
General servants (store, etc.)	93	—	38	11
General labourers	20	10	—	139
Houseboys	51	—	—	16
Mining	73	24	243	277
Total	815	37	467	464

(AR, 1905/6: 31)

'During the year there were 191 natives of other divisions signed on whose agreements stipulated that they are to be paid off at Samarai' (AR, 1905/6: 31).

About 100 deserters reported for the year and 61 deaths (AR, 1905/6: 31).

56 natives were signed on to miners and 30 local natives employed (AR, 1905/6: 33).

'The increase in the number of signed-on labourers is satisfactory. It has always been comparatively easy to get boys for the Woodlark mines, the difficulty has been with respect to the ND, where the carrying seems to be distasteful, at any rate to the Eastern boys. Of course, agricultural work, which is part of the Papuan's every-day life, is his favourite of all forms of labour. This will

1905/6

1906/7

become obvious as the plantations begin work, and the demand for agricultural labour increases' (AR, 1906/7: 13).

2083 sign-ons as follows:

Class of work	ED	CD	ND	SED
Agriculture	182	—	—	25
Boat boys	335	4	—	16
Carriers	—	—	140	—
General servants	96	—	—	12
General labourers	25	—	—	110
Houseboys	56	2	—	23
Mining	19	17	633	374
Timber getting	—	—	—	34
Total	713	23	763	594

(AR, 1906/7: 47)

'23 natives of other divisions were engaged at Samarai and are not included in the above total'.

66 deserters and 46 deaths (AR, 1906/7: 47).

1907/8

The number of natives of the ED signed on this year amounts to 2531 (p. 20).

Class of work	ED	CD	ND	SED
Agriculture	306	226	3	37
Boat boys	243	5	—	16
Carriers	—	—	230	—
General servants (store, etc.)	30	—	3	23
General labourers	98	29	6	70
Houseboys	57	5	2	34
Mining	27	19	742	313
Timber getting	12	—	—	45
Total	773	284	986	538

These natives entered into their agreement at the following places: Samarai 1843, Port Moresby 257, SED 441, ND 17, Cape Nelson 21 (AR, 1907/8: 67).

55 deaths of ED labourers during the year. ND 35, SED 12, CD 3, ED 5 (p. 68):

Ptns.: No details, only that there were 1711 acres under cultivation in the Division: coconuts 1685 acres, cotton 10 acres, Para rubber 5 acres, coffee 1 acre, tropical fruit 10 acres, plus 483 head of stock, mostly cattle (AR, 1907/8: 71).

1908

CD: Ref. to 'fight between Mr. Westland's Eastern boys and Mr. Bruce's Western boys' on Papua Rubber Ptn. Pty. Ltd. ptn. at Kanosia (O'Malley, Stn. J., Port Moresby, Oct. 1908. CA, G91, item 573).

1913/14-
onwards:

See Chart 2 for further details — although this does not indicate destination of engagements.

1920s Ref. to Suau domestics working in Port Moresby (Chatterton, 1974: 10).

(b) In-Migration

1896/7 65 from WD 'in the employ of the Gold Fields Prospecting Company, Sudest' (AR, 1896/7: 47).

1903/4 Presumably some of those from the Goodenough Bay and Cape Vogel areas [NED] who 'have continued engaging with white men for service in other divisions, principally in connection with work on the gold-fields' (AR, 1903/4: 32).

1904/5 Presumably some of the '162 . . . engaged [in CD] to work in other divisions' (AR, 1904/5: 21).

1906/7 '23 natives of other divisions were engaged at Samarai'. (AR, 1906/7: 47).

1907/8 'There are 112 natives of other divisions engaged at Samarai' (AR, 1907/8: 67).

5. SOUTH-EASTERN DIVISION

(a) Out-Migration

1902/3 SED: 'The number of natives 'engaged signed on to work at Murua . . . is 374, and 37 throughout the rest of the district.' (AR, 1902/3: 31).

1903/4 ? : 500 sign-ons (AR, 1903/4: 30).

(b) In-Migration

1890/1 'Half the number of men posted with the magistrate in the WD were Polynesian and the other half Papuan, and a similar arrangement was adopted for the [Govt.] establishment in the Louisiades' [but no indication of source given] (AR, 1890/91: xix).

1897/8 65 from WD 'engaged by the British New Guinea Gold Fields Proprietary Coy., . . . at Sudest' (AR, 1897/8: 80).

1899/1900 Presumably some of the 1323 engagements made in the ED (AR, 1900/1: 72).

1900/1 'The number of natives employed under the Native Labour Ordinance by Europeans in this division, numbered, on 30 June, 353. [The figures of the total number engaged during the year, are not, I regret to say, available.] These natives come as a rule from the ED, and a few from the western part of the Possession [presumably those of the 258 from WD engaged 'for the eastern parts of British New Guinea' (AR, 1900/01: 84)]. Those employed ashore have, with one or two exceptions, been in all respects well treated by their employers' (AR, 1900/01: 76).

1901/2 'There are 300 natives on Woodlark Is., employed in connexion with the gold mines . . . All these natives come from other parts of the Possession, and under written

- contracts Most of their [Woodlarkers'] villages are distant from the mines' (AR, 1901/2: 20).
- 1902/3 Presumably some of the 1122 'engaged [in the ED] to work in other divisions' (AR, 1902/3: 27).
- 1903/4 478 from ED of whom 386 engaged in mining and 92 by storekeepers (AR, 1903/4: 26). Presumably some of the Goodenough Bay and Cape Vogel labourers [from NED] who were reported to be 'engaging with white men for service in other divisions principally in connexion with work on the gold-fields' (AR, 1903/4: 32).
- 1904/5 Presumably some of the '162 . . . engaged [in the CD] to work in other divisions' (AR, 1904/5: 21).
381 from ED, of whom 182 engaged in mining, 9 in agriculture, and 190 as general labourers (AR, 1904/5: 26).
- 1905/6 464 from ED, of whom 10 engaged in agriculture, 11 as boat boys, 11 as general servants for storekeepers, etc., 139 as general labourers, 16 as houseboys and 277 in mining (AR, 1905/6: 31).
- 1906/7 594 from ED, of whom 25 engaged in agriculture, 16 as boat boys, 12 as general servants for storekeepers etc., 110 as general labourers, 23 as houseboys, 374 in mining and 34 in timber getting (AR, 1906/7: 47).
- 1907/8 538 from ED, of whom 37 engaged in agriculture, 16 as boat boys, 23 as general servants for storekeepers etc., 70 as general labourers, 34 as houseboys, 313 in mining and 45 in timber getting (AR, 1907/8: 67).

6. NORTHERN AND NORTH-EASTERN DIVISION

(a) Out-Migration

- 1902/3 Apparently very few labourers engaged from this division. 'Though many natives have left the southern portion of this division [NED] to work on the gold-fields [in ND and SED], they have, without exception, engaged at Samarai' (AR, 1902/3: 35).
- 1903/4 The tribes of Goodenough Bay and Cape Vogel have continued engaging with white men for service in other divisions, principally in connexion with work on the gold-fields, but as yet other tribes of the district have shown no inclination for work of that description' (AR, 1903/4: 32).
'The natives of Goodenough Bay, Cape Vogel, and Collingwood Bay [NED] have been engaging to work on the Northern gold-fields' (AR, 1904/5: 44).
'Except for service in the Armed Native Constabulary, natives of this division [ND] show no disposition to engage with Europeans' (AR, 1904/5: 36).
- Feb., 1910 CD: Ref. to a 'trivial complaint by a Northern Division native' on Fairfax Harbour, Sisal Ptn., Port Moresby (Bramell, Stn. J., Port Moresby, Feb. 1910. CA, G91, item 574A).

(b) In-Migration

- 1895/6 During Oct., Nov., Dec. and Jan. eight miners on the Mambare. 'They had with them 22 carriers from Taupota'.
'In March some of the original prospectors and some new miners, eight in all, arrived at the mouth of the Mambare River, with 51 carriers . . .'.
'On 30th June there were on the gold-fields 12 miners and 86 carriers' (AR, 1895/6: 76).
Presumably some of the 511 engagements in ED who are shown as signing on for (amongst other things) 'carrying' (AR, 1895/6: 71).
- 1897/8 'Carriers employed by miners have given much trouble by running away, stealing, etc. . . . The Aroma boys [from Rigo, CD] are a complete failure as carriers' (AR, 1897/8: 103).
- 1899/1901 Reports desertions of carriers rife (AR, 1899/1900: 84-6).
These were mainly from ED, but probably also some from WD because AR, 1900/1 reports that natives of WD prefer pearling to carrying in the east.
Presumably some of the 1323 engagements in the ED (AR, 1900/01: 72).
- 1901/2 'During the last few years the western natives went in large numbers to work as carriers on the gold-fields of the Northern Division, which is a long way from their homes. But a fair number of them died . . . and this has rendered their fellow-villagers unwilling to enter into engagement for labour in that part of the Possession' (AR, 1901/2: 17).
- 1902/3 'There has been no demand for men [from WD] as carriers for the gold-fields of the Possession' (AR, 1902/3: 22).
Presumably some of the 1122 engaged in the ED for 'work in other divisions' (AR, 1902/3: 27).
- 1903/4 625 from ED, of whom 59 employed by miners and 566 by storekeepers, although 'the majority' of the latter 'were transferred to miners on the Northern Gold-fields' (AR, 1903/4: 26).
132 from WD who were 'taken away to Port Moresby and are now employed in the ND' (AR, 1903/4: 43).
- 1904/5 The two gold-fields in the ND 'continue to support about 100 Europeans'. Problem of frequent desertions of 'boys', especially of the Gira and Aikora fields. 'Most of these deserters were 'boys' recruited in the Gulf villages, who are locally known as 'Orokolos'. So unsatisfactory was their behaviour that recruiting in that district has for the present entirely ceased' (AR, 1904/5: 13). Presumably these were some of the '162 . . . engaged [in the CD] to work in other divisions' (AR, 1904/5: 21).
537 from ED, of whom 261 engaged in mining, and 276 as carriers (AR, 1904/5: 26).

- 1905/6 145 from WD engaged 'for work as carriers in ND' (*AR*, 1905/6: 46).
 467 from ED, of whom 186 were engaged as carriers, 38 as general servants for storekeepers, etc., and 243 in mining (*AR*, 1905/6: 31).
- 1906/7 763 from ED, of whom 140 were Kengag engaged as carriers, and 633 in mining (*AR*, 1906/7: 47).
- 1907/8 986 from ED, of whom 3 engaged in agriculture, 230 as carriers, 3 as general servants, 6 as general labourers, 2 as houseboys, and 742 in mining (*AR*, 1907/8: 67)
 143 from WD (*AR*, 1907/8: 49).

Appendix M

RECRUITMENT AND ALLOCATION OF NATIVE LABOUR TO SECTIONS OF THE ALLIED FORCES 1943-44

The following figures show the numbers of Papuans recruited into the Army labour force at the end of 1943 and/or in early 1944 and the sections to which this labour was allocated at that time. They are taken from ANGAU records (File 506/5/11) at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra. The following particular abbreviations are used:

ADO	Assistant District Officer	PC	Police Camp
Cf	Coffee plantation	PCB	Production Control Board
Com'd	Command	PIB	Papuan Infantry Battalion
Cp	Copra plantation	Ptns	Plantations
		RB	Rubber plantation
DNL	Department of Native Labour	Rc	Rice plantation
DO	District Officer	RPC	Royal Papuan Constabulary
HQ	Headquarters		
Med.	Medical		

District Sub-District	No. Recruited as at		Number Allocated						Total Allocated: Total Recruited
	31 Dec 1943	Under DNL 31 Jan 44	Under DOs, ADOs, etc. 31 Jan 44	PCB 31 Dec 43	Q Ptns 31 Jan 44	Q Sawmills 31 Dec 44	Med. RPC	PIB	
1. FLY RIVER Daru (HQ)	2445	—	147	(3): 126					273:2445
2. PURARI Kikori (HQ)	3215	—	—	(3): 190	Mara Era(Cp):41 Obo(Cp):23 Koaru(Cp): 10				
Romilly/ Baimuru						Romilly: 263			527:3215
3. LAKEKAMU Kairuku (HQ)	2014		43	(4): 44	Baumata(Rb): 13 Ukua(Rb): 17 Wanona(Rc): 49 Mekeo(Rc): 110				
Kerema Terapo Kambisi PC	2722	—	27 4	(7): 292					
			Bulldog: 1538						2134:4736
4. PORT MORESBY Pt Moresby (HQ)	893	3486	50	(27):2109					
Rigo	1855		132	(5):138					
Tupuseleia PC									5915: 2748
5. SAMARAI Milne Bay (HQ)	2623	Foot Com'd:1794 6 US Army:547	Samarai: 52	(14):602		Waigani: 58 Labelabe:193 Kivato: 150			
Misima Suau Abau	1651		140	(12): 580					3924: 4274
6. TROBRIANDS Bilolo (Good- enough Is.) (HQ)	2692	1578	1578						
Esa'ala Mapanaoiwa PC									
Losuia	1166	744	35						
Woodlark Is.	101	348							2705: 3959
7. TUF1 Tufi (HQ)	2810	216	327						
Baniara Pongani PC									543:2180
8. MAMBARE Higaturu (HQ)	1683	3084	335	(3): 149	Sangara(Cf):60				
Dobadura				(9): 122					
Kokoda Ioma	700 355								3750:2738
PAPUA TOTALS:.	26,925	13,335	1292	(87):4352	323	664			
9. SOUTH MARKHAM	994	1835	?						
10. NORTH MARKHAM	6619	7283	?						
11. RAMU	136	1590	?						
NEW GUINEA TOTALS:	7749	10,708	?						
OTHER	597 ¹								
GRAND TOTALS:	35,271	24,043	?	4352	323	664	285	2064 ² 514 ³	

¹ It is not stated who these are but they are probably Rabaul area labourers taken by the Japanese to Papua in 1942.

² Total Papuans enlisted to 1945 given elsewhere as 1334.

³ 107 of these were from Daru in 1941 (AWM, File 419/5/8).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. The language is also sometimes referred to as 'pidgin Motu' although most speakers will simply refer to it as *Motu gado* 'Motu language'.

2. The Territory of Papua was united with the former Trust Territory of New Guinea to become the independent country of Papua New Guinea in 1975 (Griffin et al., 1979).

3. Indeed most speakers outside of the Port Moresby area confuse Hiri Motu with 'true' Motu because it was the Motu who went on *hiri*.

4. Hancock (1971) gives a list of over eighty known and/or reported pidgins for the beginning of the 1970s. Of these only a dozen or so are indigenous language-based ones. These include Russenorsk, Pidgin Eskimo, Pidgin Arabic, Sango, Swahilli, Fanagalo, Bemba, Bazaar Malay and Chinook Jargon. Since then, however, others have been 'discovered'.

5. Note that this figure is for Papua only. There were reputed to be a further 10,000 speakers in other parts of the country.

6. Another source (Balint, 1973: 2) has suggested that the number of speakers could be as high as 200,000 but this is not based on any known reliable count.

7. For example, Brett et al. (1962a: 11) recommended that the type of Police Motu spoken in the then Western District should be adopted as standard in preparing material for mass communication. Chatterton (1970: 98), however, thought that the Purari Delta (or Koriki) variety should be, for a number of linguistic reasons which he lists.

8. For descriptions of Motu see Lister-Turner and Clark (n.d.) and Taylor (1970). The standard variety is taken to be that described by Lister-Turner and Clark. There is no detailed description of Police or Hiri Motu but overviews of the structure of the language can be found in Chatterton (1946, 1950, 1972, 1975), Wurm and Harris (1963), Dutton and Voorhoeve (1974) and *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* (Port Moresby: The office of Information, 1976).

9. The *amui* 'your' and *agu* 'my' in these examples are special forms of *emui* and *egu* used when talking about food in Motu - see point 7 below.

10. There is disagreement about whether the subject forms are really bound to the verb but for present purposes they will be treated as such to avoid a more complex statement.

11. Dr Taylor (pers.com.) informs me that this description, based on Lister-Turner and Clark's (n.d.) description, may be wrong in that the *bama* forms seem to him to be used for contrary-to-fact conditions only and that *bema* . . . (*negana*) is the common form used by present-day speakers for the regular conditional. However, he feels that this needs further investigation before putting it forward as fact. If it is true, however, and cannot be attributed to a change in Motu, then point 18 can no longer be maintained.

12. This description is based on research reported on by me in Dutton (1984b).

13. This term is discussed by me in Dutton (1980: f.5) where I point out that although *nakimi* is borrowed from Koriki, it is not an actual lexical item in

that language but a combination of the Koriki possessive pronoun prefix *na*-‘my’ and the noun *kiki* ‘in-law’. *Nakimi* is also used in Motu as a kinship term but it does not behave in the same way as other inherited kin terms in the language. Thus, for example, it is not possessed by adding *-gu*, *-mu*, etc. for ‘my, your’ etc. as others are (e.g., *tama-gu* ‘my father’). It can also be used as a verb as in *idia be daika e naki-mu* (lit. they be who they call *naki*-singular object-present continuous) ‘who are they calling *naki*?’ in the sense of ‘Whom do they think they are?’

14. For a long time this item was thought to have come from one of the languages in the Cape Nelson or Tufi area - see Map 6. However, new evidence suggests that it more likely comes from the Binandere language around the Mambare River - see Map 6. This evidence will be discussed and published separately in *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* (formerly *Kivung*).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. There were also some Motu speakers on Yule Island and on the mainland opposite (Oram, 1981: 215) but as their numbers were not great and they were not important to the development of Police Motu they are disregarded for present purposes.

2. The Eastern Motu were also traders (e.g., they traded inland with the Kwale around Rigo (Vagabond, *Australian Supplement*, 17th May, 1884: 9) but not to the same extent as the Western Motu.

3. I say ‘generally’ here because these were the recognized *hiri* trading languages. However, there was apparently no sanctions imposed on the use of other languages in this context if they were better known by the traders involved. Thus Motu was apparently used sometimes by some Toaripi speakers who knew it because they had been to Port Moresby on trading visits (Oram, pers.com., 12.1.83). For further details on the use of these *hiri* trading languages and attitudes held towards them see Dutton (1983: 89–90).

4. It is typical of pidgin versus mother tongue situations for learners not to know what they are learning. Thus, for example, other South-West Pacific peoples thought they were learning English when they were first exposed to English-based jargons and pidgins.

5. The description that follows is based on results of an investigation into the HTL(E) that are described in Dutton and Kakare (1977) and Dutton (1978, 1979, 1983). The interested reader is asked to consult these for further information.

6. As pointed out later in this description there is quite wide variation in the pronunciation of words in the HTL(E) and as this variation is an important characteristic of the language no attempt has been made to standardize the form of words for this presentation.

7. The observations that follow are based on the results of an investigation into the HTL(K) that are described in Dutton (1979, 1983).

8. Lawes, *Journal*, August 27, 1877; December 7, 1877; November 25 and 26, 1882; Stone (1880: 126 (re a Koiari) whose ‘words were translated into Motu’ (from Koiari) by Mabat (a Koita?), one of their men).

9. This puts Simplified Motu in very much the same category as the HTL(K) and it is a technical point as to how it and the HTL(K) should be classified in relation to other pidgins. Clearly pidginization processes were involved but how one defines these languages is a matter of the degree of differentiation one wants to make.

10. Other languages (e.g., Motu, Koita, the Eleman languages and Koriki) also have some features in common with Police Motu, but these are fewer in number and of a different quality than those of the five languages being referred to here. Consequently these languages are regarded as less likely candidates.

11. It is now well known that the process of simplification that underlies the formation of pidgin languages produces universal similarities even from different and unrelated source languages. This fact makes the debate about the origin of Indo-European language-based pidgins in the world particularly interesting (Todd, 1974).

12. Any other set of features could have been used but it does not matter which ones are chosen as the result is the same. In any case, such a set is likely to include most, if not all, of the features used here as a major subset.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. As will be indicated later it is possible that others — non-Europeans — had done so before them as beche-de-mer fishers had been operating in the Torres Straits since the 1840s and pearlers increasingly from 1868 onwards, and it is likely that some of the crews employed by companies or individual entrepreneurs involved in this work made unrecorded visits to the Port Moresby area coast looking for new sources. Strictly speaking, European missionaries were not the first to spend some time among the Motu — Capt. John Moresby (v. Appendix C) and his crew were — although missionaries were the first to live among the Motu. For more detailed general histories of Port Moresby, see Oram (1976) and Stuart (1970).

2. There were eight teachers all told. These were placed at Darnley, Dauan and Warrior Islands. A base was also established at Somerset where Mr Jardine, the Queensland Police Magistrate gave them the loan of a house (MacFarlane, 1888: 49).

3. The 'usual way' is described by MacFarlane (*ibid.*: 32) in the following terms:

'Not knowing the way to his heart through his ear, we took the familiar road through his stomach by giving him a good dinner, then made him a few small presents, and sent him away rejoicing, giving him to understand, by signs, that he was to return next morning at sunrise and bring his friends with him.'

Murray (1876: 472) gives a slightly different view of this contact, but the differences are unimportant to the present discussion.

4. MacFarlane and Murray had touched the New Guinea coast near Keppel Point and sailed along to Hood Point and then across to Darnley Island on their way out to the Torres Strait (Murray and MacFarlane, 1871).

5. The Motu, of course, knew no English at this time (v. Moresby in Appendix C) and there was no other common language that could have been used anyway.

6. Lawes had come to Papua from the South-west Pacific (Lacey, 1972) where he had learned Niue and some Samoan, Austronesian languages distantly related to Motu. The advantages that this experience gave him were not lost on at least one observer (Stone, 1880: 42) and probably not on Lawes himself.

7. In 1875 when O. Stone visited Port Moresby some nine months after Lawes had arrived, he noted that Lawes 'could already make himself fairly well understood' (Stone, 1880: 42).

8. Thus, for example, Lawes makes the following comments about some of his pastor-teachers and their knowledge of Motu in his journal:

Name	Date of Arrival	Date of Comment	Comment
Rau	Oct. 11, 1872	Jan. 30, 1876	'He seems to have a pretty good knowledge of the language, especially as he has been away a year.'
Viliamu	Nov. 2, 1874	Oct. 1, 1876	'He seems to know the language pretty well but talks through his nose.'
Peni	Oct. 21, 1876	Jul. 22, 1877	'He knows scarcely a word of the language and has never taken a service yet.'
Isaako	Nov. 2, 1874	Jul. 29, 1877	'His knowledge of the language is very small. He does not seem to know any more than he did a year ago. He made the most glaring blunders He will never learn a strange language.'

9. Almost half of the male teachers died or returned home within this period — see Table 3-1. The Government Secretary, Musgrave, questioned the high mortality rate in a special memorandum in the Annual Report for 1888 (pp.18–27). He asked what was wrong with mission policy and practice when so many of its South Sea Island personnel died when others employed in similar areas of Papua did not.

10. Those who had been at Manumanu in 1872–3 knew Motu reasonably well by the time they were removed, for, as Murray noted when he first visited Port Moresby to relocate the teachers there:

'They [the teachers] were surrounded by wandering and delighted groups and were kept talking incessantly. The language here is the same as at Manumanu so they were able to understand and be understood. It added to the interest also that some of the women whom they met here they had known at Manumanu . . . It was an immense advantage on this occasion that we could make ourselves clearly understood. Rau, one of the teachers, had got a surprising hold of the language considering the shortness of the time that he and his fellow labourers were at Manumanu.' (Murray, 1873: 26).

Presumably these teachers helped Lawes to learn the language also and so must have therefore only known Simplified Motu as they would otherwise have surely drawn Lawes' attention to the fact that he was not learning the true language during his early language learning.

11. Because a large percentage of South Sea Island pastor-teachers did not know English (Prendergast, 1968: 325) and not much Motu, it was natural that teachers who knew Nieuvean used this language to communicate with one another and with Lawes in the early days. As a result, some of them were 'like fish out of water when Lawes went on furlough' as he 'was the only person able to converse with them in their own language' (Chester, 1878). The missionaries therefore generally used only Motu to communicate both with the Motu and with one another when there was no other language in common.

12. There are no exact figures available of the total number of foreigners in the Straits at any time, but there were sufficient of them to have a devastating effect on the traditional societies there. It is estimated that had it not been for the arrival of the LMS missionaries in the early 1870s (although damaging in other ways), the whole original population of the Straits could have become extinct within a generation. As it was, by 1880 (i.e., within twenty years of the

real beginnings of the beche-de-mer industry), the indigenous population of the Straits was reduced by half (Singe, 1979: 107).

13. Australian-based fishermen were already in the Louisiades in the 1870s (Nelson, 1975: 6) and they are presumed to have also been on the south-east Papuan coast from about that time (Lawes 20.1.1878 quoted in King (1909: 167)). However it was not until 1885 that a series of shore stations were opened up in the Port Moresby area (AR, 1886: 31) by which time the fishing grounds were reported to have already been 'fished over for years' (op.cit.).

14. It is interesting to note that no Chinese or Malays are in this category (apart from Lucas Cooper who was mixed Chinese-Malay). The reasons for this are not clear but were probably due to a number of factors. On the one hand South Sea Islanders were used to working for Europeans and some were actually engaged in Queensland for the task in Papua (e.g., Joe Eromango, Joe Fiji, Kitty). Moreover, they could speak some kind of English, whereas it is not so certain that those in the Chinese and Malay categories could. Finally, Malays and Chinese were more independent and could not be forced to work for cheap wages (a fact that underlay the use of large numbers of South Sea Islanders in Queensland in the sugar industry between 1860 and 1904 (Saunders, 1974)). As self-employed 'businessmen', they did not need to be, nor did they probably want to be, employed by others. Besides, racial attitudes in Australia (Cronin, 1975) and New Guinea (Nelson, 1975: 78) were not conducive to such employment. In any case, black South Sea Islanders, being of similar skin colour and background to the local Papuans, were probably much better suited to act as intermediaries between the Government and the people, as Murray and MacFarlane (1871: 40–41) noted in respect of Iae (v. Appendix C) whom they used as a contact man in their first trip to Papua.

15. The use of the term 'broken' English dates back to the very early days in Queensland. For example, the first German missionaries who came to Moreton Bay in southern Queensland in the late 1830s noted in 1840 that 'we communicate with them [the Aborigines] because they speak broken English' [*Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde*. Mf., PMB 552, The Australian National University, p.34 (of English translation by Ms M. Langridge)]. Despite its name this language was really a pidgin language with features similar to those found in Pidgin Englishes in the South-West Pacific and elsewhere today (Mühlhäusler, 1978; Dutton, 1983). It is still referred to as 'broken' in the Torres Straits where it is now spoken by third and fourth generation speakers as a mother tongue (Shnukal, 1983).

16. Ingham did not stay long because the gold soon petered out (Nelson, 1975). However, although his position in Papua was legally dubious, he held courts, registered land titles and sent reports to the Colonial Secretary in Brisbane (Oram, 1976: 18).

17. The Colonial Office objected to these appointments (because they raised problems about promotion in a very tightly controlled career service and because those involved had associated with local women) but could not do anything about them (Mayo, 1969: 22).

18. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century large numbers of South Sea Islanders were brought to work in Queensland's developing pastoral and sugar industries as indentured labourers. These labourers were known popularly as 'kanakas', a derivative of a common Hawaiian term for 'man' or 'person', although officially they were

referred to as Polynesians (even though the majority came from what is called Melanesia) and the trade that developed in them was the Queensland Labour Trade.

19. It is not known for sure who these kanakas were except that two of them were Joe Eromango and J. Moses (v. Appendix C). Two of the remaining four are thought to be Butsee and Kitty (v. Appendix C).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Fears of further 'blackbirding' (or recruiting labourers under false pretences) in Protectorate waters (Corris, 1968) and fears of the increasing numbers of foreigners coming into the country disturbing the peace were the primary factors in forcing Britain to make this conversion (Joyce, 1971b).

2. This cannot be justified with actual quotations or statistics but the following references are taken to support it:

1. In 1886 when Port Moresby's first gaol was being completed some young Port Moresby men applied to become policemen-warders. These men had been to Cooktown, Sydney and other Australian ports (Musgrave, *AR*, 1886: 31) and are therefore presumed to have known some 'English';
2. In 1891, Maireva, Belford's wife, was addressed in 'broken' English by Wriford in Port Moresby (MacGregor, *Diaries*: 17.4.91) when he went to her house to try to seduce her;
3. In 1892 Green (1892: 11, letter dated 14.12.92) refers to using Johnnie, 'a Motu boy' as a language learning helper in Gabadi. He notes that Johnnie was 'picking up English fast'. He also refers (p. 46) to some Gabadi visitors to his house asking for '*bulmacow* and *kissikissi* (meat and biscuits)'. The first at least of these two words is a common pidgin English expression still in use today;
4. From 1893 Motu became the accepted literary language of the LMS and 'the use of pidgin English was disapproved' (Prendergast, 1968: 322);
5. Beatrice Grimshaw, on a visit to Port Moresby in the early twentieth century, noted (Grimshaw, 1911: 35) that in Hanuabada 'they know a good deal of pigeon-English'.
3. MacGregor to the Governor of Queensland, Despatch No. 3 (from Samarai), 12th January, 1889. MacGregor gives an impressive list of 'incidents' and murders obtained from his Government Agents to support his argument.
4. These ideas were probably part of a general pool of similar ideas common at the time. For example, water police or boat constables were used in administering the Torres Straits from Thursday Island, and Chester took some of these to Papua with him when he went to annex the area for Queensland in 1883 (Stuart, 1970).
5. Douglas was undoubtedly referring here to the large number of non-European foreigners who were in and around Port Moresby at the time, some of whom worked for the Government at different times (v. the Belford brothers, Harry Aneiteum, Moses Aoba, Jimmy Malay, Charles Belem, the various Lifu's, in Appendix C).
6. This is in fact what MacGregor did later as we shall see and the idea behind it was similar to that used by the LMS in opening up their mission in Torres Straits and New Guinea where 'Polynesians' were used until natives could be trained to take over from them (Prendergast, 1968: 81; 387).
7. As already mentioned (Chapter 3, end note 19) it is not known for sure who these were except that two of them were Joe Eromango and J. Moses. Two of the remaining four are suspected of being Butsee and Kitty — see Appendix C.
8. These probably included Harry Niue, Peter Lifu, George (?) Belford, Charles Belem, Saïd, Anthony and Maka and the Hunter brothers already referred to by Douglas. Certainly these went with MacGregor on patrol late in 1890 into the Mekeo area (MacGregor, *Diaries*: 21.11.90–30.11.90).

9. MacGregor to Governor of Queensland, Despatch No.7, 17 August 1888, referred to in MacGregor to Governor Queensland, Despatch No.3, 12th January 1889.

10. MacGregor to Governor of Queensland, Despatch No.3, 12th January 1889.

11. MacGregor to Governor of Queensland (unnumbered despatch written in Brisbane), 12th August 1889.

12. As Joyce (1971b: 161) points out: 'MacGregor wanted the nucleus of the constabulary to come from outside British New Guinea because he had doubts about the suitability and courage of Papuans, so he asked Thruston (the Governor of Fiji) to recruit "ten time-expired Solomon Islanders, Guadalcanal men being preferred"'. In the event, Guadalcanal men could not be obtained and so Thruston recruited twelve Malaitans. These were recruited specifically because they were men from an area that had the reputation of being fearless in attack and trustworthy when led. In fact they made a deep impression on the local Papuans that is preserved in oral tradition about their great power and superhuman qualities. Thus, for example, they were said to have been able to pull down trees with their hands to obtain fruit very much like pulling down an umbrella; they could open up trees to step inside out of the rain; they could walk into stores unseen to obtain food, etc. They also brought with them cultural traditions and a few plants to improve their physical power (Dutton, P13-15/79 and others).

13. In addition, MacGregor seems to have taken another South Sea Islander with him to British New Guinea as a domestic servant. This man was called Navo (MacGregor, Diaries: 13.5.91; 16.5.91; 28.4.92; 5.9.92; 12.5.92; 2.7.92; 28.9.92). According to oral tradition (Dutton, P13/79) Navo went mad and ended his days looking after a monkey or gorilla on Fisherman's Island (or Daugo/Tauko).

14. There were three classes of police in Fiji at the time: a Police Force in addition to an Armed Native Constabulary and Boat Constables 'who act as police and as boats' crews to the Provincial Magistrates' (MacGregor to Governor of Queensland, Despatch No.3, 12th January 1889). Of the fourteen enlisted, the sergeant had had 'eighteen months service in the ANC', the corporal was 'a smart soldier' and constables Kualemanu and Davanigura had been 'coxswain of Immigration boat' for one and two years respectively, and a third constable (Futeramu) had 'been for years at sea'. (Comments in 'List of men recruited' in 'Memorandum of Agreement, Fiji', CSO, 1146/92).

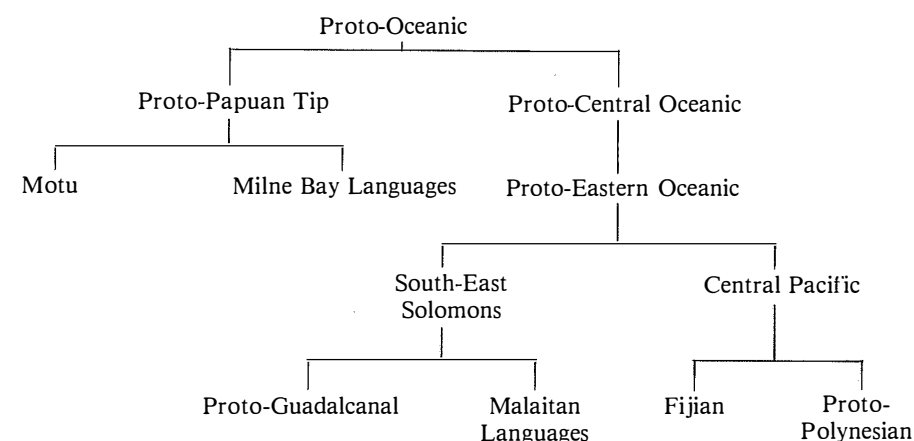
15. Evidence for this presumption is of two kinds: one is actual sentences and comments given in a criminal court case hearing in British New Guinea in which a group of Mekeo men, who were captured by some of MacGregor's Armed Native Constabulary, were being charged. In the recorded evidence to the court, one of these latter men, Constable Ongavi, said 'I kept close to the Governor. The Governor told Ginger (Banari) to "go and catch some man". I then said to Ginger 'very good you and me go along bush and look along man'. We went out together ... I asked Guba if he was one of Maino's men and Guba said 'No.'. I then said 'very good you take spear and I take man'. In the same case, Corporal Ipireimi, the Fijian, gives his evidence in English without an interpreter (CA, G185, items 1-11 of 1891). Other evidence that the members of MacGregor's Fijians and Solomon Islanders spoke some kind of English is of a more general kind, such as, for example, reports by MacGregor that English and Motu were the languages of the Police Force right from the

beginning (MacGregor, *AR*, 1893/4: xxx), and the following: In the early 1900s, Governor Murray noted in his diary (Murray, *Diary*, 1912-17: 890) that there was a donkey at Kubuna about which there ensued a discussion as to what it was amongst his 'boys'. Some said it was 'a sheep, then a rabbit', but finally 'Frank [a Hanuabadan] said, "O! I savy, I bin see him along book — he donk"'. Now Frank is not a normal Papuan name but it is a common name amongst the descendants of three of MacGregor's first policemen — Tomu Ongavi, Frank Davanigura, Frank Suria (see footnote 19 below). Consequently, it is highly probable that this Frank belonged to one of these families, members of which lived, and some still live, in Hanuabada. The 'English' that he speaks is likely furthermore to represent that spoken by his father at least. As this 'English' is unmistakably pidgin English, that would imply that his father (the policeman) at least also spoke pidgin English of this kind.

16. Comments contained in 'List of men recruited' in 'Memorandum of Agreement, Fiji', CSO, 1146/92.

17. MacGregor, *AR*, 1891/2: xxiv. For several reasons, not the least being lack of information about the village or origin for all except one of these men, it has not been possible to identify their individual mother tongues. However, one is known to have been a Lau speaker and two others are most probably from Kwai Island where a language of mixed Lau and Kwaio elements is spoken (Dr D. Tryon, personal communication). A fourth is thought to have been a Kwara'ae speaker. Further details of the family history of the members of the Armed Native Constabulary are to be published separately.

18. The following abbreviated family tree adapted from Ross (1983) and Tryon and Hackman (1983) shows the approximate relationship between these languages:



19. These claims are based on the following information from the General Register of Immigrants (Polynesian), 1870-1911 (Fiji Immigration Department), microfilm M257, Department of Pacific History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

Constable	Date of Assignment to Plantation	Plantation	Type of Plantation
Jim Kalaguasu	1.10.78	Holmhurst, Taveuni	sugar
Frank Suria	19. 8.79	Rewa Plantation Co., and Cohen & Abrahams, Rewa	sugar
Tomu Ongavi	31. 8.80	Wilson & Murchie, Levuka	timber traders, copra (?)
Tom Kwalemanu	31. 8.80	Waterson, Rewa	sugar
Joe Mararosa	20. 9.80	Chalmers, Penang	sugar
Sam (or Jani)			
Luluwata	28.10.80	Stanlake Lee, Rewa	sugar
Johnny Futeramu	27. 9.80	Wilson, Taveuni	sugar or copra
Frank Davanigura	16.11.80	Peterson, Taveuni	sugar or copra
Tom Tarumbaia	16.11.80	Eastgate, Rewa	sugar
William Farambo	18. 7.81	Wilkinson & co., Bua	copra (?)
Harry Daviri	6.12.82	Mango Island Co., Kanacea (on Taveuni)	sugar, copra and coffee
Tabua Onemai	18.8.84(?)	Dyer, Maulicala, Wainunu (Vanua Levu)	copra and cocoa

20. MacGregor to Governor of Queensland. PNGA, G31, Letterbook, Vol. 1, pp. 1467-8.

21. This recruit from the Eastern Division was Constable (later Sergeant) Banari who came from Modewa village in the Eastern Division. At that time this village was on the northern side of Awalama Bay on the mainland (long. 150, 30'.15"; lat. 10,. 15'.45"). He therefore must have spoken the Kehelala (or Tavara) language, an Austronesian language related to Motu. It is probable, though it cannot be proven at the moment, that Banari also spoke 'broken' English as a necessary prerequisite for joining the Armed Native Constabulary in which 'English' must have been the first common language.

22. There are no details available at present of who these were.

23. For example, the various members had been to Mekeo (December, 1890), Samarai (February, 1891), Daru (March, 1891), Rigo and Mekeo (April, 1891).

24. Later in *AR* (1891/2: xxv), MacGregor noted that 'the employment of the natives of the country as boatmen, policemen, gaol warders, etc., has been persevered with, and the results may be considered satisfactory. These extra police received some small remuneration for their services (*AR*, 1890/1: xix). Thus, for example, MacGregor notes that he took 'four Sariba and Logea boys as assistant police and less of the station boat boys' on patrol in the Eastern Division in January 1891 (MacGregor, Diaries, 17.1.91). At Mabadauan, Resident Magistrate Cameron had 'four Polynesian Islanders' as assistant police (MacGregor, Diaries, 7.3.91) and at Mekeo, the Government Agent had more than four (MacGregor, Diaries, 10.9.91) and was given permission to recruit two or three men as 'extra constables' if needed in 1895 (Government Secretary to Government Agent, Mekeo, 21st February 1895).

25. Thus, for example, Commandant Butterworth noted in his annual report (*AR*, 1894/5: 26) that 'it has not been found necessary to station any constables [at Samarai], the two whaleboat crews at that place acting as police', and MacGregor in his annual report the next year notes that 'except at Samarai, where the men employed are not members of the constabulary' (*AR*, 1895/6: xii). They were, however, armed and drilled 'the same as the constabulary and do the police work in the district' (*AR*, 1895/6: 75). Not

everyone in the Service, however, liked having local natives in their force and there were arguments about the advantages and disadvantages of doing so (*AR*, 1894/5: 24; 1896/7: 56).

26. Of the fourteen imported foreigners, the two Fijian non-commissioned officers returned home after their one year's service and two Solomon Islanders died during their term of three year's service (see Appendix E, footnote 2). Of the remaining twelve Solomon Islanders, nearly all married Port Moresby area women and decided to settle in the country rather than return to Fiji. Each was given a grant of land in lieu of his return passage to Fiji in and around what is now the town of Port Moresby (MacGregor, *AR*, 1893/4: xxix). As already indicated descendants of these police are still to be found in the Port Moresby area.

27. Thus, for example, when the new station was opened at Mekeo in 1890, the Government Agent Kowald had a boat crew of 'five Motuans who act as police' (*AR*, 1906/7: 10), and all boats' crews employed at Port Moresby were Papuans and so were the station police in charge of the Government Agents at Mekeo and Rigo' (*AR*, 1890/1: xix). Subsequently, when MacGregor went on patrol in Mekeo in 1891 (MacGregor, Diaries, 12.9.91), he took with him two Kapakapa boys. Later again, in his annual report for 1893 (*AR*, 1892/3: xi), he notes that Kapakapa village which was 'so advanced in civilization' often supplied 'the Government Agent in Rigo with special constables'. Finally, the boats' crews of the Government *Merrie England* were reported as being Motuan (*AR*, 1906/7: 10).

28. For example, Green (1892: 11) refers to the plantation manager's houseboy of the plantation where he was working at the time as being 'a Motu boy'.

29. There are no figures available of recruitment from different areas over time except for those given in Appendix E, but those that were published in the early 1900s show that the Eastern Division and South-eastern Division provided the fewest recruits. Consider, for example, the following:

Division	1903/4: 44	1904/5: 62	1905/6: 75	1907/8: 84
Western Division	34	26	31	22
Eastern Division	16	17	25	15
South-eastern Division	16	11	8	7
Northern Division	43	39	33	42
North-eastern Division	23	22	39	48
Central Division	29	35	24	26
Gulf Division	—	—	—	28
South Sea Islands*	1	—	—	—
Total	150	150	160	185

*This was Sergeant Tom Morris who left the force to go into prison service at Mekeo (*AR*, 1904/5: 62).

30. 'About one-fourth of the force now consists of men recruited from the Northern and North-Eastern Divisions' (*AR*, 1902/3: 42).

31. See, for example, references to these features in Barton in *AR*, 1899/1900: 103 and again in *AR*, 1900/01: 87.

32. These comments were common, e.g., MacGregor (*AR*, 1893/4: xxix; *AR*, 1894/5: xix).

33. This figure was calculated as follows: Allowing for a fairly even

expansion rate between 1892/3 and 1894/5 (for which there are no published figures), the number of Papuans recruited was:

Year	Total in Force	Number of Non-Papuans in Force	Number of Papuans in Force
1890/1	27	14	13
1891/2	49	10	39
1892/3	55?	10	45?
1893/4	61?	1	60?
1894/5	67	—	67
1895/6	78	—	78
1896/7	108	—	108
1897/8	110	—	110

Total 520?

34. There are various pieces of evidence which support or imply this. One is the documentary evidence presented in footnote 15 above. Another has to do with the fact that most of the Papuan recruits came from the Kiwai area in the Western Division where, as will be shown later, 'broken' English was spoken. Recruits from this area were popular because they could communicate with Europeans. Later again (*AR*, 1895/6: 77; 1896/7: 56), there are references to improving the English of policemen, and finally, a comment by a non-Government witness, that he inspected the police at Port Moresby and found that 'the sergeants are all able to speak a little English, sufficient to communicate with the Commandant and other officials' (Nelson, 1898: frame 202).

35. MacGregor issued a general instruction to field staff to prohibit the use of native dialects in the Armed Native Constabulary (Green, *AR*, 1895/6: 6; Bramell, *AR*, 1896/7: 63). Thereafter, the English of the force seemingly improved dramatically (Green, 1895/6: 77; *AR*, 1896/7: 56). But such statements as those by Nelson (1898) already quoted and the following by a long-serving Government patrol officer give the lie to these claims. Beaver (1920: 39) says (mainly referring to work in the Western Division):

"As a rule when speaking to your interpreters or police it is as well to put your remarks in the simplest 'pidgin' you can."

36. References to 'Motu' being the most widely known language in Central Papua are common in the early literature, e.g. *AR*, 1886: 22, 26; *AR*, 1890/1: xxv, 81; MacGregor, Diaries: 26.9.91; Minutes of the New Guinea District Committee Meeting of the LMS, 12.5.1893 (quoted in Prendergast, 1968: 322-3, footnote 208).

37. 'Wantok' is a pidgin English expression literally meaning 'person from the same language'. However, it has been broadened in meaning to include anyone from the same area, country, etc. or anyone who is in some sense similar. For example, a stranger might be called a 'wantok' if he helped one in a fight against others (Wolfers, 1971: 417). At least one of these 'wantoks' is known to have spoken Fijian (Joe Eromango) and probably another (Joe Fiji), if his name is any indication.

38. Recruits from the Eastern Division would have been in somewhat the same, if not better, position as they spoke Austronesian languages more closely related to Motu than those of the Solomon Islands and Fiji as can be seen by the family tree given above. Recruits from the Western Division were

on a completely different footing as they spoke Non-Austronesian languages, which as the name implies, are not related to Motu at all. They would therefore not have recognized anything even vaguely familiar in Motu. But presumably peer pressure and necessity soon made up for his disadvantage.

39. Note that it is not being claimed here that all the words presented are related, although they probably are. Similarity is all that is necessary to facilitate learning. The Solomon Islands material was provided privately by Dr D. Tryon and the Fijian by Dr P. Geraghty of the Fijian Dictionary Project.

40. See, for example, footnote 15 above (Murray's donkey story) and Grimshaw (1911: 35).

41. Recruits were taken to Port Moresby for an initial training programme before being distributed around the various Government stations. At first they were housed in quarters in Granville West (now Port Moresby town) near Ela beach — see Map 3, but were shifted to Granville East (now Konedobu) in 1894/5 where there was a three-acre site available (*AR*, 1894/5: 27). It is not clear how much training the first recruits received in Port Moresby, but it could not have been very much as MacGregor had different sections on patrol within a few weeks of their arrival in Port Moresby (Diaries, November 1890), and the Commandant took five recruits to the Western Division in December 1890 (*AR*, 1890/1: 48) where four Solomon Islanders and four locals were left by MacGregor. Four of the Kiwai men (from Kadava) were sent to the Western Division in March 1891 (*AR*, 1890/1: 46). However, by 1900, Barton, the Commandant, was requesting an assistant because 'for the next year or two there will be an average of at least 30 recruits at Headquarters' (*AR*, 1900/1: 89). A. W. A. Law was appointed in January 1902 as Headquarters Officer with duties to train recruits and to act as clerk and accountant of the force (*AR*, 1901/2: 23).

42. In the Central and Western Divisions where there were chiefs of sorts and where Government influence was strong, these 'chiefs' were sometimes given the insignia of the Government and paid like village constables although they were not called village constables. Consequently, in the early days a distinction was often made between 'chiefs' (or 'mamoooses' in the Western Division — a word borrowed from the Torres Straits), 'paid chiefs' or chiefs-cum-village constables and village constables. A further complication was that native magistrates were also appointed in the Western Division in the early days and are listed in the early statistics together with village constables.

43. Native Regulation No. 1 of 1892 provided for the appointment of village constables (*AR*, 1892/3: vi). Initially, MacGregor seems to have been a little nervous about the possible success of this system (*AR*, 1903/4: 15), but by the time he introduced this ordinance he was proclaiming 'that the experiment has proceeded sufficiently far to show that the village police can be made a very useful and important service' (*AR*, 1891/2: xxv).

44. Sir Peter Scratchley had appointed Boe Vagi 'chief' and Government representative of the Port Moresby area in 1885 (Fort, 1886: 7) and Hillman had appointed a Mowatta man 'policeman' in the Western Division in 1888 (*AR*, 1888: 18). At the same time, Hillman was advocating a policy of 'appointing a few policemen at each place' as was done in the Torres Straits (*ibid.*).

45. MacGregor to Governor of Queensland, Despatch No. 84, 2 November 1892. CA, G32, item 1, 1892.

46. This responsibility could lead to punishments as well as rewards, of

course, and many a village constable was reprimanded (often physically) for lapses in not carrying out instructions properly or for other defects (personal observation).

47. According to Beaver (1920: 32) at one time village constables were issued with both handcuffs and keys but because this was especially open to corruption (by using threats of 'making fast' or by actually 'making fast' to obtain favours and/or wealth), the practice of issuing keys was discontinued.

48. Although there are no surviving records of how many village constables had been in prison and/or in the Armed Native Constabulary, references to these methods of recruitment are so numerous as to indicate that this was the common practice. Very early on, for example, MacGregor notes that 'not a few of them are men that have been in the constabulary or in prison, and the latter are quite as trustworthy as the former' (AR, 1893/4: xxx). Similar comments are to be found in AR, 1894/5: xxvii; AR, 1897/8: xxviii, AR, 1907/8: 52, for example.

49. This was particularly the case in the Western Division where men had been working in the beche-de-mer industry in the Torres Straits since before the colony was proclaimed (AR, 1888: 18).

50. Acting Resident Magistrate English at Daru to Government Secretary, 15 May 1900. CA, G91, item 178.

51. As was noted in the AR, 1897/8: xxvi:

'the usefulness of the village policeman, of course, depends greatly on the Resident Magistrate or Government Agent, in such case. Less use seems to be made of them in the Eastern Division than elsewhere. In the west they practically perform all police work. . . . In the Central Division they arrest and bring in most prisoners and they constantly join the constabulary, and help the latter to carry on their own more particular functions amongst inland tribes.'

52. There were occasional lapses when, for example, once in a Bamu River village a village constable was shot 'at the head of his tribe while in the act of loosing an arrow at the constabulary' (Beaver, 1920: 34) and other cases of disloyalty, corruption, misuse of power and unsuitability (Joyce, 1971: 165). But such cases involved only a small percentage of the large numbers involved, and the system was widely acclaimed (AR, 1903/4: 15; Murray, 1912: 243; Murray, 1928: 4; Joyce, 1971 *passim*; West, 1968 *passim*).

53. As a system of basically untrained personnel, MacGregor early emphasised that it required constant supervision (AR, 1893/4: xxx). Where it was left to its own devices, as for example, where plantations were being established in the early 1900s and patrol officers were kept busy with land and labour problems, it soon deteriorated (West, 1968).

54. The system was only changed when Local Government Councils and local courts were introduced within the last twenty-five years. Nevertheless, village policemen of some sort or other are still needed to help keep the peace, but these are today more appropriately called 'Peace Officers' (or *pisofisa* in Hiri Motu).

55. MacGregor in Introduction to Murray's book *Papua or British New Guinea*, 1912, pp. 21-8.

56. For example, Ordinance No. VI of 1890 (AR, 1890/1: v) amongst other things abolished corporal punishment in the case of escaped convicts; declared that irons would only be used in future to prevent violence and escape and not as punishment; and proclaimed that prisoners would not be required to work on Sundays and public holidays, except in cases of emergency.

57. For example, in his annual report for 1891/2 (p. xxxix), he noted: 'this prison [at Port Moresby] has become a very valuable educational and civilizing institution. In several districts returned prisoners are the firm and sure supporters of the Government'.

58. Thus newly convicted prisoners were put on light work at first and when possible given half their rations in native food until they became accustomed to work (AR, 1894/5: 25). In the beginning too in new areas where the prisons were first introduced, sentences were very light. Thus, for example, MacGregor recounts in his annual report for 1890/1 (p. xi) how in Mekeo 'nearly 2000 natives were present' for the first court case there and many of these 'remained at the station until the termination of the twenty-fours imprisonment imposed on the prisoner.' And in the Louisiades and the Western Division where punishment by imprisonment was new to the natives, 'imprisonment in the first cases was limited to a few hours in irons.'

59. This is indicated by such comments as: 'On discharge they generally get a small present, depending in value on the time served and their conduct during their incarceration' (AR, 1894/5: 25).

60. MacGregor claimed just before he retired from British New Guinea that 'no adult prisoner has been flogged, and it is to some extent owing to this that our prisons have been perhaps the best educational establishment in the country' (quoted in Joyce, 1971: 195 from MacGregor to Lamington, 12th September 1897; in Lamington to Colonial Office, 28th October 1897. CO, 422/11/26120).

61. For example, at first prisoners tended to fret, pine, sicken and die especially if removed very far from their home areas (MacGregor to Governor of Queensland, 19th August 1889. CA, G32, item 1.), but these problems were gradually overcome with increasing contact and spread of knowledge of the Government and its methods.

62. Later warders were appointed from amongst the ranks of ex-prisoners as it was only these who had 'a knowledge of the work and [were] generally able to converse with new prisoners from any part of the Possession . . . their wives too reside on the premises and look after the female prisoners' (AR, 1902/3: 44).

63. This apparently worked well in that the available statistics show that very few of these took advantage of their situation and tried to escape (AR, 1902/3: 43). It was also successful in that the prisoners themselves were quite willing to obey them because they were generally older men and had certain personal authority (AR, 1894/5: xix).

64. Thus, for example, Lawes (AR, 1891/2: 87) noted that 'In September thirteen of the prisoners were taken [from Port Moresby] as carriers . . . [and] proved themselves very useful in acting as special constables.' Although MacGregor regarded this as abnormal and should not be repeated, the practice seems to have been so convenient that it became the regular habit to recruit prisoners for patrols going into uncontrolled areas where carriers could not be obtained (Humphries, 1923: 30; Hides, 1938: 98). There were certain advantages in this for the prisoners (Lawes, AR, 1891/2: 87; Humphries, 1930: 30) as well as the risk that one might lose one's life away in some remote part of the country.

65. Reference is made to this at Mekeo in 1895 (Station Journal, December 1895. CA, G91, item 287) and it is noted, for example, that the Solomon Island's warder at Port Moresby 'generally accompanies the gangs to work' (AR, 1897/8: 114) and 'the Papuan warders take out the working gangs and

superintend outside work' (*AR*, 1902/3: 44).

66. Thus, for example, at Samarai, Motu and Suau were used initially as MacGregor notes in his diary on 7.2.92: 'Abel and two students came over to hold service in the prison . . . and addressed them [the prisoners] in Motu and Suau. They sang and on the whole I thought the service a very good one'.

67. For example, there was movement of large numbers of prisoners to the Eastern Division in the mid-1890s, firstly to fill in the swamp on Samarai (*AR*, 1893/4; 1894/5) and secondly, for road making on Sudest in connection with the gold mine there (*AR*, 1895/6; 1896/7).

68. 'In doubtful cases [of prisoners likely to try to escape] the prisoner is sent to the prison furthest from his home' (*AR*, 1893/4: xxvi). Although this was obviously a sensible step to take if the Government was to maintain its image of unbeatable authority, it was not always successful as some prisoners did escape and make their way home through unfamiliar and what should have been hostile territory (e.g., six prisoners from the Eastern Division escaped from Port Moresby (MacGregor to the Governor of Queensland, 19 August 1889. CA, G32, item 1); Bushimai from Mambare escaped from Port Moresby (Monckton, 1921: 193). However, when a convict's sentence had nearly expired he was transferred to the gaol nearest his own home so that he could reach his home easily when discharged (*AR*, 1902/3: 42). Daru was regarded as the worst 'posting' by prisoners (Beaver, 1920: 52).

69. References to this can be found in *AR*, 1894/5: 25; *AR*, 1897/8: xxviii; 95; *AR*, 1902/3: 43; Monckton, 1921: 79; 114; Hides, 1938: 98, for example.

70. The first use of the name Police Motu that I have seen so far was by Murray (1930: iii), although the Rev. Copland King came close to it in his evidence before the Royal Commission in 1906 (Royal Commission, 1907: 64–5, para.1646) when he said:

'I think it [the teaching of English to help the Government in their control of the native population] would [help] more than by the use of the policeman's language, which is hybrid Motuan.'

71. Some people I have spoken to over the years have suggested that the language may well have been first called 'prison' Motu. While it is undoubtedly true that some may well have referred to it as that, the evidence is overwhelming that it was more closely associated with the police force in the minds of those officials who commented on it than with the prison system, and hence the name.

72. This view would seem to me to be supported by Malinowski's (1915: 500–1) comment that 'a kind of Pidgin-Motu is now in the process of formation'. At least that is the only way that I think one can make sense of the 'now' in it.

73. Monckton had actually left Papua in 1907, so his reference here is to men of the Service in the 1890s and early 1900s.

74. This is hard to reconcile with MacGregor's complaint of 20 June 1890 (quoted in Joyce, 1971: 154) that he had 'no "native" man in the Service unless perhaps young [Frank] Lawes' and not one of his officers 'except young Lawes knows anything at all of the Motuan [language] even' unless one takes into account that most of those listed above were ad hoc Government 'servants' and that Wriford was only appointed after 30.6.1890. Of those appointed to the Service by MacGregor later and who acted as 'outside men', the following learned to speak Motu: B. W. Bramell (Royal Commission, 1907: 11, para.315); A.W. Butterworth (Nelson, 1898: frame 202); J. Green (Monckton,

1921: 78) and A. Guilianetti (Criminal Cases, CA, G185, item 34, 1894). C. Kowald is also presumed to have learned Motu because of his general attitude towards, and close association with, Papuans in the Mekeo area (Joyce, 1971b: 154–7).

75. See Mühlhäusler (1978: 1403–24) for a description of the main characteristics of the main varieties of this language, which was, related to other Pidgin Englishes in the South-west Pacific through Queensland, for historical reasons to be given in the next chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. This period was characterized by a succession of administrators — Le Hunte, Robinson, Barton (see Ryan (1972) for individual biographies) — and a split in the public service into opposing factions (West, 1968: 46ff; 1970: 36–45).

2. The Resident Magistrates of the time were, in Murray's view, 'on the whole a shady lot; but at the same time ... are as a rule energetic and capable men with considerable knowledge of the country and the native' who would 'run straight and do excellent service under a strong and impartial Administration.' On the other hand, assistant Resident Magistrates, especially those appointed in the early twentieth century, seemed to Murray 'to be of a much higher type, and may be reasonably expected to do credit to the service' (West, 1968: 44–45 (letter dated 26 March 1906)).

3. It is presumed that these trends continued although statistics for these branches of administration were not published in the Annual Reports after this point.

4. Some idea of the difficulties experienced is conveyed by Murray in 1915 when he wrote in a letter:

'People are streaming away from Papua to the war; 45 have gone or are going from the Government Service — 45 out of 120 is not bad' (West, 1968: 65 (letter dated 18 December 1915))

Only a percentage of these were 'outside men', of course.

5. Although the basic features of administration remained the same throughout the MacGregor-Murray period (Legge, 1956), Murray did introduce councils and councillors as methods of indirect rule later on (Murray, 1928; 1936).

6. He did attempt to learn 'true' Motu, however, but did not get very far with it. 'It is said to be easy', he wrote in a letter to George on 14th March 1904, 'but for some reason or other I cannot get the hang of it.' Although obviously frustrated by this, he concluded: 'It cannot be mental decay, as I am getting on fairly well with Irish which I started a few months ago' (West, 1970: 35). This lack of achievement is interesting, nonetheless, given that he was a classical scholar and spoke French and German. Perhaps the fact that he was too busy or, as he said later, that as English became more widely known a knowledge of Motu was no longer necessary, partly, if not fully, explains it (Murray, 1930a: iv).

7. See, for example, his references in his letter in West (1970: 34, 35, 49, 52, 68, 76, 83, 86, etc.). He also studied Irish in his spare time, as already noted in footnote 6 above.

8. There had been some grants of land made for agricultural and pastoral purposes during MacGregor's time. The following table indicates the location, type, size and date of these grants, in the Central Division, where known:

Area	Location or Owner/Lessee	Type	Size (in acres, roods, perches)	Date	Reference
Mekeo:					
	Maiva	copra	214.3.32	26.3.97	AR, 1897/8: 127
Kabadi:					
	Mareva (on Aroa R.)	copra	?	1892?	Green, 1892
	J. B. Cameron	copra	?	27.3.93	Labour Agreement
	Kabadi	agricultural	2145.0.0	3.2.94	AR, 1897/8: 127
	Hall Sound	copra	113.1.5	7.12.94	ibid.
Port Moresby:					
	Vaigana	pastoral	1280.0.0	23.4.93	AR, 1897/8: 127
	Bomana	agricultural	51.3.0	13.12.94	ibid.
	Laloki R.	agricultural	200.0.0	27.10.96	ibid.
	Badili	pastoral	29.0.4	26.3.97	ibid.
	Badili	pastoral	47.2.2	26.3.97	ibid.
	Vara Vara (Bootless Bay)	agricultural	10.2.20	26.3.97	ibid.
	Bomana	agricultural	10.0.0	26.3.97	ibid.
	Idlers Bay-Boera Bay	copra	24.0.18	26.3.97	ibid.
Rigo:					
	Rigo	agricultural	10.0.0	3.2.94	AR, 1897/8: 127
	Kapala	copra	16.1.0	26.3.97	ibid: 128
Aroma-Cloudy Bay area:					
	Dedele	copra	440.1.7	3.2.94	AR, 1897/8: 127
	Irupara	copra	61.3.0	26.3.97	ibid.

9. The Royal Commission of 1906 had recommended that the Government should look to agriculture 'as a means of providing a stationary and steadily revenue-producing population' (Royal Commission, 1907: xv).

10. Some were, but the exact numbers are unknown. Thus, for example, a few men from Motumotu and Lesi in what was later to become the Gulf Division went to work on Mekeo Government Station in 1890–91 as casual labourers (although there is no evidence that this practice was continued for any length of time) — see Appendix L, section 3, Central Division. Subsequently some of the 162 Central Division men recruited to work in other divisions in 1904/5 must have been from what was later to become the Gulf Division as the AR for that year refers to most deserters from the goldfields in the Northern Division as 'boys' recruited in Gulf villages and known as 'Orokolos' (AR, 1904/5: 13). In addition, at least one other 'Orokolo' had been recruited into the police force in the mid-1890s because he went with Green to open up Tamata station in the Northern Division in 1895 (Nelson, 1976: 98). This kind of evidence shows the limitations and difficulties of working with the available statistics.

11. Available statistics do not indicate the destinations of Gulf Division recruits, but from comments given in other sources it would appear that most, if not all, went to the Central Division — see Appendix L, section 2, Gulf Division.

12. These figures were obtained by adding together those shown under 'Delta' and 'Gulf' Divisions. However, in AR, 1915/16 two sets of figures are given on pp.25 and 26 which vary quite widely for no apparent reason.

13. One might almost say that this was predetermined also by the earlier contact between the Motu and the Gulf Division in *hiri* trading, although, as has been pointed out many times, Police Motu was not used on the *hiri* itself.

14. The references to 'English' (with examples) are on pp.151, 171, 174, 200, 217, 233-4, 227 and 241, and those on 'Motu' on pp. 174 and 241. Ms Hope also said privately (personal communication, 19.4.83) that her father was against the use of 'bad English' on the plantation and implored staff to use proper English with the workers, although one often had to use whatever one could to get one's message across. Police Motu or 'degenerate Motu' was also used on the plantation and in recruiting, but where this was not known a local headman or other person who knew it was taken along as interpreter.

15. Such factors as low population density in areas initially contacted, the fact that the coastal population was the most educated population in Papua at the time (because of the long LMS presence) and, finally, the fact that there was no large-scale economic development or activity in the division until the twentieth century militated against it becoming so.

16. In 1906/7 a payable copper field was discovered near Port Moresby. In the AR for that year it was billed as 'the most notable event in the history of mining development' for that year (p. 80). Two working mines were developed which employed about 50-100 Papuans and 10-20 Europeans per year for the first decade or so of its existence and thereafter considerably more (e.g., in 1919/20 there were 44 Europeans and 536 Papuans employed (AR, 1919/20: 96) as a railway and exporting facilities were developed at Bootless Bay. After 1927/8, however, the value of copper fell and the mine virtually ceased production until 1939/40 when gold and silver were also extracted. Then there were 44 Europeans and 225 Papuans working on the field.

17. There had been some plantations in the Central Division in the 1890s (see footnote 8 above), but they apparently employed few men and did not seem to be very productive judging by the export figures for copra and other products published in the ARs for the period, for example. Excluding expeditions (such as the *Age* and *Argus*) and the Laloki gold-rush in 1878 which did not involve many, if any, local Papuans, about the only other commercial venture in the early years was Page's sawmill on Galley Reach (1884-88) which employed mainly Asians and South Sea Islanders — see Appendix C.

18. Although the reference here was specifically to Rigo, this was the main recruiting area for the Central Division, so that any reference to it could be taken as a reflection of the Central Division as a whole.

19. Patrol Reports, Central Division. CA, G91, item 581.

20. Some support for this is to be found in Green (1892: 41) where he refers to a Motumotu man — Motumotu is located just west of Cape Possession and was at that time part of the Central Division but later included in the Gulf Division) — working on the plantation, Green was managing in Gabadi saying 'Kiwai no goody. Kiwai no goody.' As Kiwai men were the main labourers on this plantation this quotation would seem to imply that 'broken' English was the lingua franca of the plantation and that others working there, or visiting, were picking it up. On the other hand this 'English' could not have spread too widely, for in 1899/1900 Barton (AR, 1899/1900: 103) notes that Central Division recruits for the police force were handicapped by not speaking English.

21. As Nelson (1976: 6) points out, many of these visitors did not leave

records of their voyages, but the 'lists of the crewmen who died showed the variety of representatives of the family of man to pass through the Archipelago.' Thus, 'between 1878 and 1887, Chinese, Malays, Queensland Aborigines, South Sea Islanders, Australians, Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Indian, an African, and a Greek were killed in the islands of south-east New Guinea'.

22. Women were involved mainly as sexual companions for crews of visiting boats, and later on for miners, although the numbers were probably not great (Nelson, 1976: 9, 12, 18-19, 39).

23. Although separate statistics are not available for the Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions as against the Central Division until 1889/90, the combined totals may be taken as a guide to developments for, when separate figures are published for the Central and Eastern/South-Eastern Divisions, the Central Division ones are consistently much lower than those for the Eastern/South-Eastern Divisions. These combined totals show an increase in tonnage from 45 in 1878 to 96 in 1883 (AR, 1888: 36) when other factors mentioned later depressed activity in the Eastern/South-Eastern Divisions.

24. Even though some of these had worked for beche-de-mer fishermen before (or had associated with those who had), they did not understand that going away to work in Queensland was not like engaging to work on beche-de-mer boats for short periods (Royal Commission, 1886; Nelson, 1976: 7-9).

25. Much has been written about the Queensland Labour Trade. See, for example, Saunders (1974), Corris (1968, 1970, 1973) and references therein. Corris (1968) is specifically about recruiting in the New Guinea area, although only a small section (pp. 96-8) actually refers to the 'blackbirding' in south-east Papua. The Report of the Royal Commission (Royal Commission, 1886) contains names of those Papuans interviewed and their place of origin together with a map of routes taken through the area by recruiting ships. Romilly, sometime Deputy Commissioner of the Protectorate, was charged with the responsibility of returning these labourers. He gives some additional details in his book of letters (Romilly, 1893). Price and Baker (1976: 116) give a breakdown of the numbers 'recruited' from the area for the period 1883-87.

26. There are also many references in Musgrave's diary (Musgrave Papers) to the knowledge of 'English' in the islands of south-east Papua and in other sources such as MacGregor's diary (27.6.91; 15.1.92), and Murray's diary (1904-1910). This 'English' is illustrated in the records of evidence published in the report of the Commission (Royal Commission, 1886). Use of 'English' by beche-de-mer fishermen is shown in the following sample:

'Read asked his boy: What for you no look out good along o'my house? Ah Sik, a beche-de-mer fisher, asked Read: What for you hit him? Read: He no look out good along o'my house, altogether boy steal; that is why me fight. Ah Sik: No good you fight boy. Read: Go on. Shut up you. Read to his (later) murders: Finish! No more fight! They reply to Read: Fight, no finish, etc.' (Musgrave, Musgrave Papers)

27. Many were initially also employed casually locally in fishing and gold-mines. However, as Nelson (1976: 21) points out, those engaged in mining on Sudest, for example, in the early days, very soon realized that it was more profitable to prospect for oneself than to work for prospectors for wages. Consequently, there was a drop-off in this kind of labouring and eventually it became unprofitable for European miners to work over the area without the cheap labour to assist them.

28. This does not take into account that some New Guinea Pidgin English

(now officially called Tok Pisin), a pidgin English closely related to that introduced in the Eastern and South-Eastern Divisions, was also spoken in the Woodlark Islands in the 1880s as a result of contact with the trader German Charlie (Salisbury, 1967: 45), already mentioned. It is not known what effect this Pidgin English had, if any, on subsequent developments in that area.

29. Murray (Murray Papers, Vol. 1, p. 498) (c.1907) also reports that at Sudest 'the natives here all speak English well, teach it to one another as on Rossel', although he later toned this down to '[the people of Sudest] seem to be able to speak English' (AR, 1907/8: 16). Such reporting illustrates the problem of using scattered snippets of evidence and, indeed, raises the serious question of the reliability of the information in so far as it reflects the actual situation.

30. High death rates and rates of desertion amongst labourers from the Eastern and Western Divisions on the Northern Division gold-fields in the first ten years would also probably have affected the spread of 'English' at that time by decreasing the numbers of 'contacts' available.

31. There are two good pieces of evidence of support this. One is the following report of a conversation overheard at the morning meal on Kanosia Rubber Plantation, Central Division, by visiting Patrol Officer W. R. Humphries in 1918 (Patrol Report, July–August, 1918. CA, G91, item 298): 'Govt [sic] he come, plate full up, Govt he go, plate half full.' (As most of the tappers on the estate were from Tufi in the North-Eastern Division at the time, this also confirms incidentally that 'English' was known there then.) The other piece of evidence is Governor Murray's 1925 remark that 'Motu' in a corrupted or 'pidgin' form was the language of prisoners and police but was used only 'to some extent' by native labourers (Murray, 1925: 35).

32. This figure is calculated as follows (in the absence of published statistics in AR's): Given that those sections of the economy dependent on indentured labour (agriculture, mining and fisheries) remained fairly stable, the figures given for the late 1920s can be taken as approximately the same as those of the 1930s — see Figure 1. It should be pointed out, however, that the number of labourers employed at any one time was higher than the number of sign-ons for any one year. This was because some labourers would be coming in to work before others had finished their contracts. Murray pointed this out in 1920 (p.9) when he said that there was no means of ascertaining the exact number of labourers at work during any given year. 'It has been said', he said, 'that there were nearly 13,000 natives working in 1914, just before the war, but the figures are apt to mislead unless it is remembered that included in that number are 3,702 [sic.] "casual" labourers — that is, labourers not under indenture — whose number can only be guessed at and who work for any period not exceeding three months.'

33. MacGregor to Colonial Office, Despatch No. 13, 2 February 1897. CO 422/11/93291.

34. For example, Government Agent Green at Tamata in the Northern Division writes in his AR for 1895/6 (p. 77):

'although only two months have passed since I insisted on them [the police] using the English language, the advance that some of them have made in acquiring the language is already noticeable.'

One might reasonably ask how this could have occurred given that there was no organized instruction in English. Might it not simply have been that Green, like others, had not taken much notice of the use of 'English' amongst his policemen before this and that what he was reacting to was a growing

awareness of that use rather than any improvement in the quality of the language being used? Or was he simply telling the Governor what he thought he would want to hear?

35. For example, the Roman Catholic boys sent to Thursday Island returned 'useless' (AR, 1897/8: xxx); most South Sea Island pastor-teachers used by the LMS and Anglicans could not speak English; the missions were concentrating on learning vernaculars and using them for education (and other) purposes — the LMS, for example, took the view that 'the best way to teach them [Papuan] English is to teach them in their own language' (Lawes, 1896b), an attitude that is still hotly debated in education circles today (UNESCO (1953), Bamghose (ed.(1976), Weeks (ed.)(1976)).

36. This threat is first (?) suggested in MacGregor (1897, Despatch No. 13, op.cit.), but Lawes (1896b) indicates that the possibility of imposing sanctions had been aired much earlier.

37. MacGregor to Lamington, 11 September 1897. CO 422/11/25018.

38. For example, as early as 1907 some Woodlark Islanders objected to being taught their own language and wanted English (Royal Commission, 1907: xxxviii); in 1911, the residents of Daru petitioned Murray to establish schools 'with a headmaster who would teach the children to read and write English' (Dickson, 1970: 16); and in 1924, selected pupils from the St. Therese Catholic School in Port Moresby publicly thanked 'the Big King' through the Governor-General of Australia for teaching them to speak English (*Papuan Courier*, 19 September 1924 — quoted in Dickson (1970: 35).

39. Murray to Champion, 6 February 1935 — quoted in Dickson (1970: 29).

40. Thus, for example, the (anonymous) author of the *Handbook of Motuan (Police Motu) For Use in Papua* (1941) says on page three of the handbook that:

'This language is used universally in the Central Division of Papua and east along the coast until the influence of Samarai is reached. Although understood by many in this area, it is not generally used, Soo-ow [Suau] and English replacing it. Its use is quite general along the coast west of Port Moresby, until it gives way to the influence of Bamu and Kiwai tongues. Even here it is not out of place. The language is quickly acquired by natives who have been recruited for service in the districts under the influence of Port Moresby, and they retain a good knowledge long after they return to their home. This has brought about the universal use of the language.'

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. For fuller details on aspects of the war in Papua (and new Guinea), see Barrett (1969), McCarthy (1959), Nelson (1982), and Ryan (1969). The present description owes much to these accounts, although because the focus is different it was necessary to carry out additional original research at the Australian War Memorial (AWM).

2. Before the war there were two separate Territories, Papua and New Guinea. During the period of military rule both Territories were officially called 'Australian New Guinea'. After the war the two Territories were combined as Papua-New Guinea until 1949 when they became the Territory of Papua and New Guinea (Nelson, 1982: footnote 1).

3. The Production Control Board was directly responsible to the Minister for External Territories, but because its chairman, Brigadier D. M. Cleland, was simultaneously Deputy Adjutant and Quartermaster-General of ANGAU and because it was dependent on ANGAU for the supply of labour, it was in fact very much under the control of the Army (Ryan, 1969: 533; 536-7).

4. AWM, File 1/10/1 ANGAU W/D, February 1942-September 1944: Report on the Activities of ANGAU Since Inception in Respect of Native Relief and Rehabilitation . . .', p. 8. These were made up of 8 District Officers, 20 Assistant District Officers, and 13 Patrol Officers. Of these, 17 joined ANGAU District Services (p. 7).

5. See Saville and Austin (1974) for an engaging account of how one of these was chosen, 'trained' and delivered to his post. The following chart shows the growth in ANGAU over the crucial first three years of war in Papua and New Guinea:

	31 Dec. 1942 Officers ORs		31 Dec. 1943 Officers ORs		31 Dec. 1944 Officers ORs	
HQ ANGAU	7	15	9	25	15	49
Admin. Services	19	103	26	196	34	278
Total: HQ ANGAU	26	118	35	221	49	327
Regional HQ					5	39
Admin. Services					42	133
Total 3 Regional HQs					47	172
Field Staffs	81	227	134	835	192	862
Total Strength HQ ANGAU	107	345	169	1,056	288	1,361

(AWM W/D ANGAU. Report on Activities of ANGAU in Respect of Native Relief and Rehabilitation. . . Feb. 1942-Sept. 1944. Part 1: Function and Organisation of ANGAU, para. 10.)

6. There were a number of pamphlets that Williams drew up sometimes in consultation with former Administration officers, planters, miners, recruiters,

etc., who had had experience in Papua before the war. They contain some very good general advice, including the following linguistic points:

'Use the simplest words [in English] you can. It's not his [the native's] responsibility to know your language' (p. 7, para. 57); 'Make every effort to learn Police Motu for use in Papua and Pidgin-English for use in the Mandated Territory . . . Besides you will get some fun out of learning these comic languages' (p. 7, para. 57); 'Don't think the native stupid because he can't understand your foreign tongue; if anyone is stupid it is you for not knowing his' (p. 7, para. 58); 'Fall back on sign language if necessary'.

[AWM, File 506/1/1].

Other than that and the training given to some selected officers and men mentioned below, the Army did not give its men any instruction in Police Motu. They did, however, issue some with a booklet given to AIF personnel which had useful phrases in Arabic in it (K. G. Laycock, personal communication).

7. AWM, File 506/8/2: 'Relations with Natives of New Guinea in Wartime', by F. E. Williams (Government anthropologist), December 1942.

8. AWM, ANGAU War Diary, Native Report, December 1943.

9. *ibid.*

10. Sources differ as to the course length. In ANGAU War Diary, Report: Native Labour Section, 31 December 1943, it is given as four weeks, but later in File 1/10/1: Report on the Activities of ANGAU in Respect of Native Relief and Rehabilitation in the Territory of Papua and the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, February 1942 - September 1944, Appendix A (hereafter simply 'Report . . . Appendix A'), it is given as six weeks.

11. AWM, Report . . . Appendix A, p. 18.

12. *op. cit.*

13. AWM, File 1/10/1, Report: Native Labour Section, 31 December 1943 (heading: 'ANGAU Training School'). It is not known who the instructors were except that the second course was taken by 'a Half-Caste, Manuel' (*ibid.*) whom I presume to be Manuel Albaniel.

14. AWM, File 1/10/1: Report . . . Appendix A.

15. In particular, the Lakekamu District included the old Gulf Division and the Mekeo sub-division of the Central Division and the Samarai and Trobriands Districts divided up the old Eastern and South-eastern Divisions longitudinally so that the Trobriand District included the D'Entrecasteaux Islands and the Woodlarks, while the Samarai District included Misima and the Louisiades.

16. The following chart shows the numbers in these categories at the suspension of Civil Administration and at 30 September 1944:

District Officer	8	5
Assistant District Officer	20	19
Patrol Officer	13	42
Total	41	66

(AWM, File 1/10/1, ANGAU W/D, February 1942-September 1944: Report on the Activities of ANGAU Since Inception in Respect of Native Relief and Rehabilitation . . .', p. 8.)

17. AWM, File e/355.02895 COM. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Suspension of Civil Administration ... February 1942 to 29 March 1945.

18. AWM, File 1/10/1, January 1946: 'Aborigines in the Forces: New Guinea Natives Enlisted and Employed by Allied Forces.'

19. The exact number of these labourers is not known. According to the report by the superintendent of native labour, Capt. Kienzle, at the end of the Kokoda Trail campaign in December 1942 (AWM File 577/6/8), hereafter referred to as Kienzle's Report, three different groups of these were 'rescued' or 'brought in' at different times: 'about 300' at Wairope on 14 November 1942; '150' near Gona on 28 November, and 'about 500 ... hiding in the Waria River district' on 10 December. Other reports have put the number at 750 (AWM, File 1/10/1: Report ... Appendix A, p. 25) and 600 (Nelson, 1982: 14).

The exact source of these labourers is also unknown. Kienzle (op. cit.) refers to them all as 'Rabaul natives', but some of them were labourers from other parts of the Territory of New Guinea who had become stranded in and around Rabaul when the Japanese arrived. Because they had nowhere to retire to they were gathered up by the Japanese. As a result Japanese carriers on the Kokoda Trail included men from the Sepik and Bougainville as well as from the Rabaul area. For convenience, however, I refer to them all as 'Rabaul area' labourers.

20. Evidence for this claim is unfortunately lacking except for the following suggestive piece. Early on in the Kokoda campaign Captain Vernon, the indefatigable but deaf ANGAU officer in charge of medical facilities there, was observed to have said to one of his Native Medical Orderlies on one occasion: 'Take his glass', which the observer said was 'pidgin for temperature' (AWM, File 481/2/48: Papuan Campaigns: Reports Dealing with Medical Organization, etc., 1942, p. 1).

21. McCarthy (1959).

22. AWM, File 1/10/1, January 1946: 'Aborigines in the Forces'.

23. AWM, File 80/6/9, Reports, March-December 1944, p. 16.

24. AWM, File 1/10/1, January 1946: 'Aborigines in the Forces'.

25. Although the exact details of its composition are not available at least 107 were recruited from Daru on 20 August 1941 (AWM, File 419/5/8, Calims Officer, Department of the Army, 21 July 1944).

26. The first course of instruction in this school ended in December 1944, and it was expected that 'there may be another school in the near future' (AWM, ANGAU W/D December 1944, Appendix DS-S/3. Monthly Report, District Services, 1-31 December 1944, p. 2, para. 1). Like its counterpart for teaching Police Motu to other Army personnel, finding suitable teachers was a problem (ibid.) It is not known how many Officers or NCOs attended this and other possible courses and/or if this school was the same as that set up earlier to teach Police Motu to Army personnel.

27. AWM, ANGAU War Diary, January 1946: 'Aborigines in the Forces'.

28. AWM, File 506/5/4.

29. Background information for the following subsections was obtained mainly from AWM, File 1/10/1: Report ... Appendix A already referred to.

30. AWM, File 577/6/8 Report on Kokoda L. of C ... 2/7/42-22/12/42 by Kienzle, p. 27.

31. AWM, ANGAU W/D, July-August 1942.

32. AWM, File 577/6/8, Kienzle's Report, 1942, p. 30.

33. Sources differ as to the number. ANGAU W/D, October 1942 gives 690 and Report ... Appendix A, 1000.

34. Kienzle's Report, 1942, p. 32 ff.

35. See footnote 19 above.

36. AWM, File 506/5/8 (Memo re Native Labour).

37. For example, 52 Oro Bay labourers were sent to the Northern Region on 6 February 1944 (AWM, File 80/6/12. ANGAU Report, February-March 1944).

38. AWM, ANGAU W/D, October 1942

39. Report ... Appendix A.

40. AWM, File 506/5/8. Memo re Native Labour, Allocation of NL at 27 March 1943.

41. AWM, File 506/5/8. Memo re Native Labour, 27 March 1943.

42. AWM, ANGAU W/D, September 1942.

43. Report ... Appendix A.

44. AWM, ANGAU War Diary, December 1943: Native Labour Section Report.

45. AWM, File 80/2/10. ANGAU Instruction, 7 August 1945.

46. These figures should be treated with caution because, for the Trobriand District alone, the DO there estimated that by the end of 1942 alone about 2000 men from the D'Entrecasteaux islands were employed throughout Papua. AWM, File 80/6/4: ANGAU Annual Report ... Losuia.

47. See MacKay (1976: 6-9) for the use of 'Motu' on radio to boost the morale of labourers and their relatives in the village. Propaganda was also broadcast. At least two recordings of rather similar content made on discs during the war still survive. These are held in the Australian War Memorial. They are described and discussed by me in Dutton (1984b).

48. AWM, File 506/1/4: A File Dealing with Trials by ANGAU for Various Civil Offences Committed by Natives 1943/44. Asi's trial was held on 16 March 1944 although the incident had happened during Japanese occupation in 1942.

49. Nelson (1982: 64-5) also claims that 'the war stimulated the spread of Pidgin English' but there is no suggestion as to areas or direction of spread.

50. These have appeared under different titles over time and have gradually been expanded (Chatterton, 1946; 1950; 1968?; 1971; 1975). The grammar sketch in Wood (ed.) (1976) is also basically the same material.

51. This was because the author spent his first fifteen years in Papua at Hanuabada, where he learned Motu, and the next eighteen at Delena, a village of mixed Roro and Motu origin (Chatterton, 1969), where villagers spoke Roro as their primary language but also took pride in their knowledge of Motu. Thus while the author was aware of the existence of Police Motu and, as he says, 'knew a little of it', he did not really have much occasion to use it until 1957 when he took charge of the LMS (as it was then) church at Koke where 'the congregation comprised Papuans from all over Papua and Police Motu was the main language of worship' (ibid., and P8/84).

52. Capell (1962: 143), for example, points out that Chatterton's efforts were 'directed rather towards establishing a kind of Basic Motu than to perpetuating Police Motu,' and the author himself says in the introduction to his 1950 primer (p. 5) that he hoped his little book would 'help to standardise a form of [the] language, which, while maintaining a reasonable measure of simplicity, avoids unnecessary barbarities.'

53. These programmes and the language learning classes mentioned below owe much to the education policy of Mr W. C. Groves, the first Director of Education in the post-war civil administration. Groves, a trained anthropologist, was keen on the use of vernacular languages in education and was instrumental in having a member of staff, Mr T. Dietz, appointed for the production of education materials in local languages. He had, moreover, encouraged and assisted Dietz to better qualify himself for this task by attending a Summer Institute of Linguistics course in linguistics in Victoria in the summer of 1951/52.

54. Field officers were also given some lessons in Tok Pisin in 1945 but none in Police Motu (W. Tomasetti, personal communication, 18.4.83).

55. Two such schools were conducted, one in 1960 and the other in 1961.

56. The effect was not all one way, however. New Guineans in Port Moresby were also learning Police Motu partly in an attempt to avoid anti-New Guinea violence.

57. *Report: Study Conference on Police Motu, 24-25 May 1971* (Port Moresby: Department of Information and Extension Services). Hereafter 'Report'.

58. Foreword to the Report.

59. For a review of this publication, see my review article, Dutton (1976a).

60. For further, more precise details, see Taylor (1981b) upon whose survey this presentation is based.

61. A Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu Research Unit was set up at the University of Papua New Guinea in 1975 for the purpose of carrying out research into various aspects of Hiri Motu, but this was discontinued in 1978 for lack of funds. In the meantime, it had concentrated on historical questions the result of which are included in the early part of this volume.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. Consider, for example, the following similarities between Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin (where N = Noun, V = Verb):

Hiri Motu	Tok Pisin
1. Yes-No Intonation Pattern	Ditto - same pattern
2. Inclusive/Exclusive pronouns	Ditto
3. <i>inai</i> N (= this N)	<i>dispela</i> N (= this N)
4. Nouns unchanging for plural	Ditto
5. (Question tag) <i>a?</i>	Ditto
6. Conjunction <i>o</i> (= or)	Ditto
7. <i>idia rkuaosi</i> etc. (= those (2))	<i>emtupela</i> etc. (= those (2))
8. Conditional clause order	Ditto — same order
9. <i>oi sibona</i> (= you yourself)	<i>yu yet</i> (= you yourself)
10. <i>ataiai momokani</i> (= up.high really)	<i>antap tru</i> (= up.high really)
11. V + <i>sisina</i> (= V + a.little.bit)	V + <i>liklik</i> (= V + a.little.bit)
12. V + <i>vadaeni</i> (= V + all.right/okay)	V + <i>pinis</i> (= V + finish)
13. V + <i>kava</i> (= V + mad)	V + <i>nating</i> (= V + no.reason)
14. V + <i>mai/lao</i> (= V + come/go)	V + <i>i kam/i go</i> (= V + come/go)
15. V + <i>haraga</i> (= V + quickly)	V + <i>kwik(taim)</i> (= V + quickly)
16. V + <i>noho</i> (= V + stay)	V + <i>i stap</i> (= V + stay)
17. V + <i>lou</i> (= V + again)	V + <i>gen</i> (= V + again)
18. <i>dohore</i> + V = future	<i>bai</i> + V = future
19. <i>ura</i> + V = want to V	<i>laik</i> + V = want to V
20. <i>vadaeni</i> (= all right) as sentence connective	<i>orait</i> (= all right) as sentence connective
21. <i>edena bamona?</i> (= which like?) for 'how, why'	<i>olsem wanem?</i> (= like what) for 'how, why'
22. <i>henia lau deken(i)</i> (= give.it me to)	<i>givim long mi</i> (= give.it to me)
23. <i>edena negai?</i> (= which.time.at) for 'when'	<i>long wanem taim?</i> (= at what time) for 'when'
24. <i>kiri maraki lasi</i> (= laugh little not) for 'to laugh a lot'	<i>lap i no liklik</i> (= laugh is not little) for 'to laugh a lot'
25. <i>kiki mase</i> (= laugh to die) for 'to die laughing'	<i>lap inap long dai</i> (= laugh enough to die) for 'to die laughing'
26. <i>sisia ia gau badana ta</i> (= dog it is thing important one) for 'dogs are important things'	<i>dok em i bikpela samting (long lukautim pik)</i> (= dog it is important thing (for hunting pigs) for 'dogs are important things (for hunting pigs)'
27. <i>kopina ia metau</i> (= skin it is heavy) for 'to be tired'	<i>skin i hevi</i> (= skin is heavy) for 'to be tired'
28. <i>bogahisi</i> (= stomach.pain) for 'to be sad'	<i>bel i pen</i> (= stomach.pain) for 'to be sad'
29. <i>moale dikadika</i> (= happy bad.bad) for 'to be very happy'	<i>amamas nogut tru</i> (= happy bad very) for 'to be very happy'
30. <i>sedira</i> 'perhaps'	<i>ating</i> 'perhaps'
31. <i>nega tamona</i> (= time one) for 'together'	<i>wantaim</i> (= one.time) for 'together'

2. Consider, for example, the following:

1. Benson, the Anglican missionary at Gona when the Japanese landed there in 1942, gives a few putative examples of this English in his book on his wartime experiences (Benson, 1947: 18, 36);
2. Moten, a Papuan (born 1952) from Normanby Island in the Milne Bay area refers to his father knowing 'broken English' in his account of his own upbringing (Moten, 1977: 46);
3. Lieut. Whitehouse, the ANGAU ADO for the Trobriands subdistrict, writing in his Annual Report for the area on 15 May 1942 (AWM, File 80/6/4), notes that 'one finds it most difficult to contact any number of natives in this District who can speak English intelligibly. If so, it is because of their contact with Whites while working under Contract of Service' (p. 4).

3. Some have interpreted this silence as indicating that 'broken' English was replaced by Police Motu as a result of Murray's language policies during the thirty years that he was Administrator. But this cannot have been the case in view of what has been presented so far. Murray was certainly against the language but so also was he against Police Motu. On the other hand, however, his economic policies could not help but spread the language just as they did Police Motu. Perhaps the development of these claims is to be traced to Murray's own claim (1930: iv) that it was disappearing as 'correct English is taught in the Mission schools'. But in fact very little 'correct English' was taught in his time. Besides, as already pointed out, we know the language was still alive and well up to the Second World War. Consequently, little if anything can be attributed to his policies. The important period was post-World War Two when so much happened socially that was of greater import linguistically than anything Murray was able to do.

4. See, for example, reactions to my inaugural lecture at the University of Papua New Guinea in MacDonald (1976).

5. This subsequent report (Capell, 1951) is identical to the earlier one except for the addition of some comments about Tok Pisin in the former Territory of New Guinea similar in vein to those made about Police Motu. In particular, Capell thought 'it rather serves as a permanent "caste" language, and the strongest advocates have been those whose aim is usually to exploit and not to advance the native peoples' (p. iii).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography contains all those works referred to in the body of this volume together with others that were consulted and which therefore form the background to the study but which, for one reason or another, are not referred to in the text. It does not generally include, however, references to interviews, etc., that form the background to such published or about to be published reports as Dutton and Kakare (1977) and Dutton (1979, 1982a, b, 1983a, b) where adequate references to sources are already provided.

The listing is divided into two sections covering primary and secondary sources in accordance with normal historical principles, although this is both cumbersome to refer to and sometimes separates works which go naturally together, e.g. West (1968) and West (1970). The following abbreviations are used for different archives and libraries where unpublished materials are held:

ANL	Australian National Library, Canberra
AWM	Australian War Memorial, Canberra
CA	Commonwealth Archives, Canberra
ML	Mitchell Library, Sydney
NAF	National Archives, Fiji
NAPNG	National Archives of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby
QSA	Queensland State Archives, Brisbane
UPNG	The Library of the University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby

Otherwise the following are used to indicate the type of material and other details:

Anon.	Anonymous (author unknown)
Mf.	Microfilm
MS	Manuscript
Mimeo.	Mimeographed
n.d.	No date
TS	Typescript

1 PRIMARY SOURCES

1.1 Correspondence and interviews with descendants of early European and non-European visitors and/or residents to the Port Moresby, Daru and Samarai areas

Elsie Agonia
 Elsie Wainetti Anagogo
 Minten Ahmat
 Emanuel Albaniel
 Mark Ali
 Margaret Barber (nee Lifu)
 David Belem and his mother Sophie
 Miki Dadami

Joe, Charlie and Peter Davanicura
 Paul Davies and his mother Margaret
 Willie Dick
 Sam Domara and others of the Solien family
 Tom and Dulcie English
 Nora Exton
 Lindsay Farr
 John and Lekei Fletcher
 Joe Gabriel
 Tom Frank Gavi and his mother Kopi Lavui
 Joe Griffin
 Bill Griffin
 Florence Griffin
 George and Edward Iorive
 Jimmy Kalagalas
 Michael and Kosman Kassman
 Jubilee Kebo, his mother Navu Rigo and others at Kaloura
 Gera Kevere
 Members of the Lifu family, Daru
 Sergeant Major Maka Lobo
 Joe Mararos
 Japhet James ('Jim') Nogaha
 Fred Obi
 John and Kedeia Parascos
 Willie Abdul Rahman
 Joe Regione
 George, Kadiu and Toni Sariman
 John Silva
 Sepa Simoi
 Peter Solomon
 John Suria
 Wilson, Dorothy and Olive Tabua
 Clara Tabua
 Sister Marie-Jo Taurino
 Eileen Tom
 Gladys Tongia
 James Umebo'e

1.2 Correspondence and interviews with residents or one-time residents in and/or visitors to Papua pre-World War II and/or during the war

C. Abel, O.B.E.
 J. B. C. Bramell
 Dr A. Capell
 I. Champion, O.B.E.
 Rev. Dr P. Chatterton
 Dr R. A. Hall (Jr.)
 E. G. Hicks, O.B.E.
 Ms P. Hope
 H. H. Jackman
 H. T. Kienzle
 K. G. Laycock

Pastor L. N. Lock
 D. R. M. Marsh, O.B.E.
 P. Ryan
 W. E. Tomasetti
 T. A. Wyborn

1.3 Manuscripts and Unpublished Material

1.3.1 Official

[Note: Except for the official Australian war records most of the originals of the following are held in the National Archives of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, but microfilms are available at the Commonwealth Archives in Canberra. In the following listing only one of these two possible locations is given where documents are held in both.]

Births, Marriages and Deaths Registers. Registrar General's Office, Port Moresby:

Marriage Index Vol. 1:1892-1914
 Index to Deaths 1888-1961
 Index and Register of Births 1888-1859

Colonial Office Files, Public Records Office, London.
 CO422 Original Correspondence, Secretary of State,
 Vols. 1-15 (1884-1900). ANL.Mf.

Criminal Cases. CA, series G185:

Item 1-26 (1889)
 Item 1-(? after 25) (1890)
 Item 11-26 (1891)
 Item 3-41 (1892)
 Item 1-27 (1893)
 Item (? between 17-34) (1894)

Despatch Books, 1888-1895. CA, series G32.
 Files of Correspondence, Station Journals and Patrol
 Reports from Out-Stations. CA, series G91:

i) Central Division:

Port Moresby	Item 537-574B (1892-1933)
Abau (Cloudy Bay)	Item 1-3 (1893-1894)
Mekeo	Item 281-298 (1890-1919)
Rigo	Item 575-584 (1898-1916)

ii) Western Division:

Daru	Item 167-183C (1892-1900)
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Government Gazettes. NAPNG.

Land Matters. NAPNG. G100, items 1 and 2.

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1.3.2 Other

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 Lawes, W. G. Papers, 1863–1884. Six volumes, including journals 10/1/1876 to 14/2/1884, letters, etc. ML. Mf. A385–390.
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1.4 Published Material

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POLICE MOTU

IANA SIVARAI (Its Story)

Linguistics Series No. 2

Tom Dutton is Senior Fellow in the Department of Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University. He is a trained teacher who first went to work in Papua New Guinea in 1957 as an Education Officer. There he learned Police Motu (now Hiri Motu), the unofficial language of administration of that part of Papua New Guinea that used to be called Papua. Since then he has lived and worked in Papua New Guinea from time to time as a professional linguist and was the Foundation Professor of the Department of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea from 1975 to 1978. His aim in this book is to trace the history of Police Motu from its earliest beginnings to the time when its name was changed officially to Hiri Motu. In the process he attempts to show how he thinks the language started, how and why it became associated with the police force from which it takes its name, and how and why it spread the way it did to become one of the most important languages in the history of Papua New Guinea. In the process he discusses a number of misconceptions that are held about the language and its history.

This story is based on many years of research as well as on Dr Dutton's long experience in Papua as a speaker of Police Motu.

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