Chapter One

'Taim Bilong Masta'

In the late nineteenth century, what now constitutes the nation of Papua New Guinea was divided into two colonial territories. The north-eastern part of the main island and the neighbouring smaller islands were administered by the German Imperial Government. The south-eastern portion of the mainland and its adjacent islands became a British Protectorate in 1884. Annexation of British New Guinea as a British colony was accomplished in 1888 (Wolfers 1975, p. 16). The western portion of the main island was ruled by the Dutch.

A few months before the British proclaimed the southern portion as a British Protectorate in 1884 Germany claimed the Bismarck Archipelago as a German Protectorate including the Islands of New Britain, New Ireland and Manus. In 1885 annexation of the area by Germany was accomplished and the area became a German colony (Tuzin 1976, p. 28). Imperial Germany was reluctant to bear the cost of the colony and so endorsed the Neuguinea-Kompagnie under an Imperial Charter to provide for its administration (Wolfers 1975, p. 62). This Charter was revoked and replaced with direct German rule in 1899.

The German Government ruled New Guinea from the capital Kokopo (the capital was moved to Rabaul in 1910) until 1914 when the Australian military invaded New Guinea as a result of the first World War in Europe (Valentine 1958, p. 150). The Australian military occupied the Territory until 1921 when it was given a mandate by the League of Nations to oversee the administration of the Territory (Valentine 1958, p. 159).

Early in 1942 the Japanese invaded New Guinea and a few months later they invaded Papua. The separate civil administrations of Papua and New Guinea were amalgamated under the military controlled Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) which administered Papua and the portions of New Guinea that remained unoccupied until 1945 (Downs 1980, p. xiii).

The Commonwealth of Australia took over the Protectorate of British New Guinea in 1902. Under the Australians, British New Guinea was administered by a Lieutenant-Governor under the authority of the

Department of External Affairs. British New Guinea became the Territory of Papua in 1906 subsequent to the Australian Government passing the Papua Act in 1905 (Downs 1980, p. xiv).

After the second World War the Australian Government was given the authority for both Papua and New Guinea under one administration in the form of a Trusteeship for the United Nations. In 1949 the Papua New Guinea Act joined Papua and New Guinea under one administration. Self-government was declared in 1973. The Trusteeship was to remain in place until the Independence of the nation Papua New Guinea was achieved on 16 September 1975 (Downs 1980, p. xxiv).

This chapter discusses the impact of the colonising powers. In assessing the impact, three agents of change will be examined: the colonial administrations, the justice systems, and mission influence.

Colonial Administration (New Guinea and Papua)

The system of patrols by Patrol Officers (kiaps) and the laws which supported them were the principal effect of colonial administrations felt by the people. The administration used a system of District administration to rule the fragmented groups of villages, clans and tribes within the two territories. Downs (1980, p. xv) notes when describing the Australian administration that:

> For the greater part of this history the Territorial Government operated through fifteen district offices, fifty-eight sub-districts and a score of remote patrol posts serving a total of 11,920 villages.

The origin of the kiap system lies in the time of British rule in Papua when Lieutenant-Governor William MacGregor instituted a system of administration based on a magisterial system, the Armed Constabulary (made up of indigenes) and on the appointment of village constables. The British system of the Armed Constabulary was made up primarily of indigenes other than those Europeans employed as commissioned officers. Under Australian rule there was concern about possible resentment on the side of Europeans which might result from situations where white men could be arrested by the indigenous members of the Armed Constabulary. Thus, the duties of the indigenous police were differentiated from the European members of the Constabulary in 1909 (Wolfers 1975, p. 18).

The appointed Magistrates acted in a much broader capacity than their judicial functions would normally entail. As Wolfers (1975, p. 19) puts it:

> A 'magistrate' in Papua was more than a judicial officer. He was, and his successor the patrol officer still is, in many areas, the sole personification of the government: policeman, explorer, road-builder, health inspector, social worker and prison warder; even in court, where he deals with most of the

> 'lesser offences' against the law, and civil disputes between Papuans, he acts as prosecutor, defence counsel, judge and jury.

The Australian Administration in Papua continued this British system of Magistrates and Village Constables.

Under the paternalistic policies of Sir Hubert Murray the number and scope of regulations and ordinances increased drastically. Regulations were passed in order to control such things as native dress codes, health, sanitation, road-building, attendance at school, behaviour within the villages especially in relation to conduct toward Europeans (Wolfers 1975, pp. 31-59).

In German New Guinea the first pioneers were traders and this influenced the style of administration in New Guinea. Imperial Germany was reluctant to accept financial responsibility for the new colony, and awarded the New Guinea Company (Neuguinea-Kompagnie) an Imperial Charter to administer existing territory and to take possession of territories previously unclaimed. The Imperial Charter noted that Germany reserved for itself the responsibility for the: ' . . . order and administration of justice as well as the regulation and direction of relations between the protectorate and foreign governments . . . ' (Wolfers 1975, p. 63).

The New Guinea Company was primarily interested in economic development and profit and therefore looked to control the coastal areas where coconut plantations had been established. Their concern was for the ' . . . safety of [their] own investments rather than pacification as such, and the development of village life' (Wolfers 1975, p. 63). The New Guinea Company's main administrative influence was therefore limited to the Gazelle Peninsula. After 1899, when the Imperial German Government took over from the Company, the sphere of influence widened. Both the New Guinea Company and the German Government showed interest in the indigenous people primarily in terms of the labour (*see* Valentine 1958, pp. 108-9; Wolfers 1975, p. 67) they could provide and in protecting themselves from attack (*see* Wolfers 1975, p. 65).

In 1896 the Germans established an indigenous police force (based on MacGregor's system of the Armed Constabulary) at the instigation of Dr Albert Hahl, Imperial Judge from 1896 to 1899 (*see* Wolfers 1975, p. 67). During this same year, the German Government attempted to make use of the traditional system of leadership to control the coastal area people through 'indirect rule' (Townsend 1933, p. 425). Pragmatically, the Imperial German Government wished only to maintain law and order for the smooth running of economic activities in the Territory and for the purpose of recruiting a steady supply of labour for those activities. The German Government implemented a system of appointed 'luluais' and 'tultuls' (interpreter and assistant to the luluai) who were required to represent the administration in their communities, to ensure submission to administration policies and regulations, to resolve minor disputes and to disclose the identities of more serious wrongdoers to the authorities. The

luluais were given authority to adjudicate minor disputes at the village level. They were also given the authority to fine minor offenders. Wolfers (1975, p. 104) notes:

> Marital and land disputes, disputes involving property worth more than 25 Marks or ten fathoms of tambu (the traditional shell-money of the Tolai), and cases of serious crime had always been reserved for the kiap, who also heard appeals against decisions made by luluais.

The luluai system may have been derived from colonial policy of 'indirect rule' in Africa (Valentine 1958, p. 118). This system was to become adopted throughout New Guinea and was continued after the Australian takeover of the New Guinea administration following World War I.

The German Annual Report of 1901 indicates that the 'luluai' system as a form of indirect rule was not an unqualified success (*see* Valentine 1958, p. 107).

Valentine (1958, pp. 107-8) argues that the designers of the system did not sufficiently understand the existing framework of leadership to devise a fully effective system, and that the system toiled under the assumption that appointed native leaders would give up the very values which had successfully won them their prestigious positions within their communities, and instead become loyal to a foreign and incomprehensible authority. Even though the luluai were expected to assist in the pacification of the people they were not given any real authority with which to do so.

Wolfers (1975, p. 71) summarises the German colonial experience in New Guinea as follows:

> In sum, the German administration was less paternalistic and protective, more brutal and direct where it did intervene in indigenous society, than the MacGregor-Murray tradition had allowed Papuan officers to be.

When Australia became responsible for New Guinea the role of the luluai was changed by placing more emphasis on his role as 'servant' of the administration instead of utilising the existing leadership structure to arbitrate disputes (Wolfers 1975, p. 68). Thus, formally, the luluais lost their judicial powers in minor dispute settlement and instead, took on the Papuan role of law enforcers. Nevertheless, informally, the Australian Patrol Officers encouraged the luluais to continue arbitrating minor disputes within the village. By 1927, the Administration admitted that it was aware that luluais 'continued to sit 'as a kind of court' to hear minor complaints' and that it appreciated 'the importance of fostering these native institutions and tribunals and encouraging the natives to take a more active role in the management of their own affairs' (in Wolfers 1975, p. 91). The

system of luluais and tultuls continued into the 1970s to serve as the predominant meeting-point between the village and the administration.

Downs (1980, p. xv) describes the Australian patrol system in the period subsequent to World War II:

> In the post-war period, assistant district officers became resident and available to the people of most areas. Patrol posts were established with-in sub-districts and patrol officers gave village officials closer support. The village official was the last link between central Government and the people. He represented his people in dealings with the Government and he represented the Government in the eyes of the people in each village of the Territory. In Papua the local official was a Village Constable; in New Guinea he was called a Luluai and he had an assistant, the Tultul, who was required to be able to speak Pidgin (Melanesian English).

Patrols were conducted into each area at least once a year. Through these patrols administration officers brought the western system of law and other services to the many villages throughout the country. The patrols were mostly conducted on foot by the Patrol Officer, accompanied by indigenous police officers and numerous carriers. Each patrol attempted to visit as many villages as possible, conducting an annual census and enforcing Australian regulations and policies as they were developed and according to the District Office's assessment as to the readiness of the area for such development.

The Papuan Native Regulations and the New Guinea Native Administrative Regulations first gazetted in 1923 were very similar in substance (Wolfers 1975, p. 90). More and more, the paternalistic and protectionist policies of the Papuan Administration were imported into New Guinea. The Native Administration Regulations of 1924 stipulated that District Officers and Patrol Officers were to 'make themselves acquainted by all means in their power with the native custom of their district'. Officers were required to become familiar with native custom, document it within their areas, and attempt to learn the local languages. This policy was considered by field staff as sound, however, they found it difficult to implement particularly in New Guinea where there was a major problem with inexperienced staff and with the constant transfer of staff after only short periods. Townsend (1968, p. 119) states:

> It was impossible in the short period any officer remained at any one station to do very much more than perform the routine tasks necessary to keep a station functioning. There was little time, even for the most enthusiastic and interested officer, to learn more about native customary life than what was immediately apparent in this District.

There was, however, no request for officers to investigate and record traditional methods of social control (Townsend 1968, pp. 119-20).

Nevertheless, Townsend reports (1968, p. 120) that field staff did acknowledge customary techniques of social control.

Although it was permissible for the Supreme Court of the Territory of New Guinea to hear evidence of a relevant custom in order to increase its understanding, custom was not permitted to be used as a defence. The Native Customs Recognition Ordinance 1963, stipulates that custom could only be taken into account in criminal cases for specified purposes:

> 7. Subject to this Ordinance, native custom shall not be taken into account in a criminal case, except for the purpose of -
>
> (a) ascertaining the existence or otherwise of a state of mind of a person;
>
> (b) deciding the reasonableness or otherwise of an act, default or omission by a person;
>
> (c) deciding the reasonableness or otherwise of an excuse;
>
> (d) deciding, in accordance with any other law in force in the Territory or a part of the Territory, whether to proceed to the conviction of a guilty party; or
>
> (e) determining the penalty (if any) to be imposed on a guilty party,
>
> or where the Court considers that by not taking the custom into account injustice will or may be done to a person (Native Customs Recognition Ordinance 1963).

The Patrol Officers dealt with marriage issues under the Native Administration Regulations. The Administration considered customary marriages and methods of divorce to be valid except when the marriage had taken place by a ceremony not according to custom (for example according to Christianity). Marriages which were not held according to custom were regulated under the Marriage Ordinance 1935-1936.

The Administration reserved the right, however, to intervene in situations where a woman was being forced into a customary marriage against her will. The Native Administrative Regulations 1924 permits the Administration to interfere in such cases particularly when the woman: '. . . has been educated in European surroundings, or has acquired European habits to such an extent that, in the opinion of the Administrator, it would be a hardship to compel her to conform to native custom'.

Reay's summary (in Epstein 1974, p. 207) of the colonial experience in Minj, Western Highlands Province, could be applied generally to women in both Papua and New Guinea:

> The most pervasive differences between customary law and the law of the kiaps concerned women as objects of exchange. Some essential features of traditional life—the gift of women to settle war debts, child betrothal, the capturing of brides, the bestowal of daughters, sister exchange, leviratic marriage, passing on an unsatisfactory or superfluous wife to a clansman—required the enforced subservience of women. These customs could now lead to verbal abuse or a gaol sentence, or both if detected. Women had been

> jurally minors in the control of their fathers before marriage and then of their husbands. The kiaps treated the women as legal entities in their own right and introduced a law known by the Pidgin term laik bilong meri ('what a woman wants'). This law was followed so strictly in the kiaps' courts that when a girl escaping from an enforced marriage named a man she preferred the court would order him to marry her, irrespective of his own wishes.

The kiaps treated marriage and divorce as individual transactions instead of an exchange between groups (Reay in Epstein 1974, p. 207). The return of 'brideprice' was regarded by them as an act severing the marriage. This took no account of the fact that the brideprice had been distributed amongst many in the group according to family obligations and to the importance of the relationships. These family members had in turn distributed their portion of the brideprice amongst those to whom they had obligations. To demand the return of brideprice once the marriage was deemed to have failed by the kiap, was a very difficult and complex problem. Traditionally, the difficulty of gathering an equivalent amount of goods and agreeing on their suitability between all parties had worked as a deterrent to divorce. Even after the kiap's decision to grant a divorce 'according to custom' this difficult problem remained to be resolved.

The Native Administration Regulations provided a penalty of the payment of three pounds or imprisonment for six months or both for the offence of adultery committed by either a man or a woman with a married person. A complaint of adultery could not be brought against any 'native': ' . . . except by the native husband or wife of the woman or man by whom the offence was committed, or in the absence of such husband or wife, as the case may be, by his or her nearest relative'.

This Regulation was an attempt by the Administration to provide a replacement penalty for the often fatal traditional sanction for adultery. However, in social terms the effect was later discovered to be discriminatory towards women. In a male dominated society it is often the husband who becomes involved in extra-marital affairs. Accordingly, the effect of this Regulation was that the third party (outside the marriage) was the only party to be charged with an offence. This third party was most often a woman.

Sorcery was made illegal under the Native Regulation Board Ordinance in 1893 (Wolfers 1975, p. 21). In 1911 the Australian Administration of Papua refined the regulation making it (Wolfers 1975, p. 21):

> . . . illegal to practise or to pretend to practise sorcery; to threaten its use either by oneself or through another; to procure or attempt to procure a sorcerer; to be found in possession of 'implements or charms (both left undefined) used in sorcery'; or to accept payment, or presents in the shape of food or otherwise 'when the obvious intention of making such payments or presents is to propitiate a sorcerer'.

The New Guinea Administration, in the Native Administration Regulations 1924, outlined the same range of offences for sorcery as Papua. The practice of sorcery carried a penalty of payment of three pounds or imprisonment for six months, or both.

All of these Regulations and many others were enforced by the Patrol Officer in his judicial capacity. Wolfers argues that their enforcement depended upon the idiosyncrasies of each individual Patrol Officer. As he puts it (1975, p. 160): 'some took a close interest in the construction and maintenance of latrines, others ordered copra, rubber or coffee to be planted (sometimes one after another), while yet others were "law and order" men'.

Justice System

The Papua and New Guinea administrations represented by the colonial governments of Britain, Australia and Germany imported their own systems of justice into their respective colonies. Germany based many of New Guinea's laws on domestic German law and Britain instituted the Queensland Criminal Code shortly after taking charge of British New Guinea (Wolfers 1975, pp. 17, 66).

Under the Australian administration of both Papua and New Guinea, the lower court system was constituted by the Courts for Native Matters in Papua and the Courts for Native Affairs in New Guinea (Downs 1980, p. 148). Each district was provided with a Court system after proclamation. The two Court systems were similar in 'their rules, jurisdiction and procedure . . . and they provided rules for behaviour that could be related to basic local custom' (Downs 1980, p. 148).

The Courts' jurisdiction covered only indigenous peoples. They were used by both Australian administrations, not only to regulate conduct, but also to introduce 'the people to an alien society as well as to an alien judicial system' (Downs 1980, p. 148). Downs (1980, p. 148) notes that: 'Administration and justice were entwined'.

In the rural areas, 'Court' was held while on patrol or in the out-stations. Decisions of the kiaps and resident magistrates could be appealed to the Supreme Court of the respective Territory. Wolfers (1975, p. 145) notes that kiap justice was stern:

> . . . when the law was applied, it was firmly applied. Very few Papua New Guineans were ever found innocent in a kiap's court—never as many as 10 per cent in any year for which records for either territory are available—and some were imprisoned without proper records being kept of the offences with which they were charged, or of the penalties which were imposed.

These lower courts in the Territories dealt with minor criminal matters and most civil matters. They handled 75 per cent of the recorded court

cases in both Territories (Downs 1980, pp. 149-50). Carrying greater powers of jurisdiction, the District Courts could hear matters involving both Europeans and indigenes. All indictable matters were committed to the Supreme Court for trial.

Sometimes, the Patrol Officers' decisions on disputes were made 'out-of-court'. Downs (1980, p. 149) suggests that, while the people were in transition from their preliterate society in which payback figured so importantly it was necessary for them to have an impartial and recognised authority whom they could turn to when conflicts arose. He asserts that the kiaps were perceived to have been such an authority by the people, and consequently, their 'out-of-court' decisions were accepted. Without questioning the appropriateness of imposing the western justice system in Papua or New Guinea, he argues that Patrol Officers served to fill a gap until the time when the people were able to participate as lawyers and magistrates in their own system (1980, p. 149).

In 1960, Professor David Derham produced a report on the Administration of Justice in the Territory. The report suggested that the kiap system had served a useful purpose in coordinating a strong decentralised justice system which was good for control and 'good government'. However, Derham argued that the kiap system would not adequately prepare the people for self-government. He also criticised the use of out-of-court decisions made by the kiaps for their lack of formality and documentation.

In the early 1950s D.M. Fenbury, Director of the Department of District Services and Native Affairs, had recommended that a system of village courts be established to enable villagers to mediate and reconcile many of their own disputes (Downs 1980, p. 150). This idea was drawn from the system of Native Courts adopted in British Solomon Islands Protectorate and on the feeling of field officers that villagers could arbitrate their own disputes if they were given such authority. In fact, according to Downs (1980, p. 150), many Patrol Officers were already giving their 'tacit approval' to local dispute settlement when they turned a blind eye to village officials and elders whom they knew were holding court within their villages.

Paul Hasluck, Australian Minister for the Territories, disagreed with Fenbury's recommendations. Instead, Hasluck supported the Westminster system of government and the British system of justice (1976, p. 240). He felt that before the Second World War too much emphasis had been placed on the administration of justice as a means of helping the Administration do its job (1976, p. 175) and not enough emphasis had been placed on the protection of individual rights and on the independence of the courts from political direction (1976, p. 178). Hasluck (1976, p. 179) states:

> In practice a great deal was done by a process of arbitration and negotiation by patrol officers and others in settling questions without legal process ... Their successes tend to confirm the idea that good administration was better than good law courts and led to a situation in which crimes of the more striking kind, such as killing each other, or crimes against the white man, such as stealing, formed a much more significant part of the work of the courts than what might be termed civil disputes among themselves or minor offences against the Laws of the Territory.

Hasluck decided to follow the recommendation of the Derham Report. He abolished the separate court systems and implemented a local/district/supreme court system. The kiap courts were supplanted by the Local Courts which were set up to adjudicate the lesser offences. The new court system dealt with offenders of all races. Derham proposed that these courts were eventually to be staffed by 'native' magistrates (Downs 1980, p. 153).

Hasluck directed that regular patrols were to be conducted into all areas, especially rural, in order to educate the people about the new Local Government Council system to be implemented. As local government systems were developed, patrolling decreased (Downs 1980, p. 152). It was hoped that through the Council system, the people would learn to administer their own community affairs 'in accordance with the law'. The new Councillors had no powers to deal with issues of law and order yet this did not stop some of them from holding their own 'Courts'.

In the changeover from the old system of luluais and tultuls, to the new system of Local Government Councils the administration wished to emphasise the fact that there was now a new order. Consequently, in each community where Councils had been established, a public ceremony was held in which the 'new order' (elected councillors), were ceremonially given silver badges which would serve to represent their new office and powers while the 'old order' (the luluais and tultuls) were forced to publicly hand in their official hats and badges which some had worn for thirty years. Downs (1980, p. 152) notes that:

> Everything was done to impress the public that the old order was finished—giving place to a new system. This was an extraordinary mistake because the statutory powers enjoyed by the outgoing village officials and those to be exercised by incoming councillors were not the same. . . . They could not legally carry out the work of the officials they were publicly seen to have replaced. They were not even elected on a village basis. . . . There was now a broken link between central Government and the village people which local government could not replace ... Reversion to modified forms of traditional custom was inevitable when the Administration failed to provide a rural judicial system.

Derham's Report was criticised for its failure to reconcile the Local Court system with the Melanesian view of justice which required that injury to both the individual and the group be addressed and that

compensation for that injury be awarded. The Local Court system, eventually to be staffed with 'native' magistrates, was still not empowered to reconcile this fundamental difference between the imported system and the Melanesian attitude toward justice.

In the new system women were given the same 'legal capacity' as men. Although the Administration claimed in 1948 that it had made no concerted effort to 'alter the present accepted status of women in New Guinea' (Report to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea 1948, p. 56) it nevertheless had had a significant impact since it treated women as equals before the eyes of the law. Five years later in 1953, the Administration claimed that it aimed to 'raise the status of women' (Commonwealth of Australia 1953-54, p. 66):

> In the Report to the United Nations in 1953-54 it was stated: 'The Administration aims to raise the status of women, and it undertakes the work through its own agencies and with the assistance of the Christian missions. Women enjoy equality before the law. They can sue or be sued, may own or dispose of property, enter into contracts or practise in any profession. The legal capacity of Native women depends to some extent on tribal custom. At the village level they have the right to take complaints to the courts and, under the Native Village Councils Ordinance 1949-1952, to vote in village Council elections.

A woman was not made legally responsible for her husband's debts and she was given legal right to 'sue for divorce according to native custom'. The Administration also passed legislation which prohibited women from becoming employed in areas considered unsuitable such as mining and seafaring or jobs which required heavy physical labour.

In general, the new justice system was foreign and incomprehensible to the indigenous people of Papua and New Guinea where different principles of justice applied. Downs (1980, p. 154) sums up the discrepancies between the two views of justice:

> In a society where swift and violent reprisal was respected as the best restraint on violence crime, protracted sittings of the Supreme Court (which travelled to all district centres) could sometimes strain the patience of primitive people. The formality of alien law and language could be confusing and if a penalty did not seem appropriate, this was probably because the structure of Melanesian values could not be reconciled with those of Western civilization. Our courts seemed to Melanesians to place too high a value on the sanctity of the rules of evidence, to be diverted by what seemed to be technical trivia, to over-value inanimate objects, to have a biased regard for the status of women and to have no comprehension of vendetta responsibilities and metaphysical influences on the motives of people. Even our legal definition of stealing did not allow for some Melanesian assumptions of common and reciprocal rights to property.

Mission Influence

Missionaries and the church were used as a tool of the Administration to pacify the people and to influence their value system so that they took on Christian values. In this sense, the Church was of significant assistance to the Administration since western law is essentially based on Christian principles and values.

The London Missionary Society had contacted the South Coast people of what was to become British New Guinea thirteen years prior to annexation in 1888 (Barker 1979, p. 28). Fearing the effect that the traders and future settlers would have on the indigenous people, the missionaries pressured the British Government to annex the territory (Barker 1979, p. 29).

The missionaries were willing to work with the Administration and asked that only 'authorised Europeans, i.e. missionaries and government officials' be allowed contact with the indigenes (Barker 1979, p. 29). James Chalmers, the leading proponent of the mission's stance 'felt that most white men who came to Papua 'injured' the indigenes by introducing drink, disease, and bad habits' (West 1968, p. 144, in Barker 1979, p. 29). Chalmers wanted the missionaries to be the only 'civilising' influence. As Barker notes (1979, p. 30): 'His (Chalmers) aim was to use British protection as a means of isolating Papua; in this way the missionaries would have a free hand in leading the Papuans towards the ideal of a Christian nation'.

When the Australian Administration took over from the British in administering Papua, an economic policy was promoted which paved the way for white settlement. However, the Lieutenant-Governor, J.H.P. Murray, provided support to the missions by developing and implementing regulations that shielded the Papuan people from conspicuous exploitation (Barker 1979, p. 30). The missionaries saw their role as one of protector of the indigenous people and as mediators between traditional culture and European civilisation. They saw themselves as the proper authority to effect change upon the Papuan people, civilising, yet 'shielding converts not only from the 'evils' of traditional society, but from the temptations of the white man's ways . . . ' (Barker 1979, p. 30). The missions were against indigenous contact with towns, concluding that this could only have a deleterious effect on their moral life. Their opinions about the influence of labour recruitment varied from 'fears of social breakdown and depopulation' to 'agreeing with the value of hard work but worried about the influences of a possibly anti-Christian environment' (Barker 1979, p. 31).

Competition between the missionaries and other European influences over the indigenes was evident from the start. The missionaries pleaded with the government to 'step in and stop planters from hiring Papuan pastors as 'boss boys' without mission permission' (Barker 1979, p. 31).

Money earned from labour recruitment introduced new influences both in the form of material goods and of new ideas into village life and the missionaries found that these introductions were often inconsistent with a Christian lifestyle as they perceived it.

The mission attitude toward Papuans was similar to the settlers. Both displayed superiority and patronage (Barker 1979, p. 32). The missionaries compared the Papuans to children while the settlers viewed them as 'simple-minded' and 'irresponsible'. In order to help guide the 'Papuan children' the missionaries supported the many regulations the Australian Administration passed (Barker 1979, p. 32).

The missionaries worked cooperatively with the Administration to pacify and 'civilise' the Papuans (*see* Barker 1979, p. 32).

This cooperative view was also evident within the Administration (British New Guinea, Administrator 1905-1906, p. 10): '[i]t must be admitted that the operations of the Missions have tended largely to the establishment of internal peace, and consequently have been a most valuable assistance to the civil power'.

MacGregor worked with the various missions to get them to agree to dividing up the territory into sections. Each group had exclusive rights to build their missions and win converts within their allotted territory (Barker 1979, p. 34).

However, the missionaries were also critical of the Administration particularly on issues of punitive expeditions, white settlement and 'native' taxation (Barker 1979, p. 32).

Murray reinforced the separation of state and church by building up his administration and this resulted in a decrease in the 'government's overall dependence upon the missions . . . ' (Barker 1979, p. 37). However, the missions played an instrumental role during the Murray era by providing medical and educational services to the people encouraged by the Administration which did not have the funds required to provide such services.

In New Guinea, the German administration also utilised the missions to assist them in the pacification, control and 'civilisation' of the indigenous people. True to their major interest in the colony, one of economics, a major motivation for the German administration to work cooperatively with the missions was to encourage them to teach the 'native' to work. Firth (1982, p. 136) notes:

> As far as government officials were concerned, the missions were there to serve German as well as Christian purposes, to colonise as well as evangelise and to teach the German version of European civilisation; and the ideal missionary was one who concentrated on the practical task of opening up the country by teaching villagers to keep their gardens clean, operate sawmills, sail European vessels and offer themselves for plantation work.

The German administration in 1891 divided up the Gazelle Peninsula into Catholic and Methodist districts, 'in order to keep the competing missions apart'. However, the district system was abolished in 1899 after Berlin was pressured by the Vatican (Firth 1982, pp. 142-3).

The missionaries in New Guinea initially attracted converts through trade (*see* Firth 1982, p. 156).

In both Papua and New Guinea the missionaries provided educational and health services to the people. Firth (1982, p. 156) argues that in New Guinea the 'mission school was an extension of the trading relationship, a form of paid employment'. Promises of gifts and wages were often used to lure children into school attendance. (The German administration was so aware of this practice, especially in Bougainville, that Governor Hahl decreed in 1907 that children attracted to school because of such promises ' . . . were to be treated by the Marist mission as indentured labourers subject to the protection of the labour legislation' *see* Firth 1982, p. 156).

Converts were also gained through the missionaries attempts to act as mediator between enemy groups. (Firth 1982, p. 157). Missions also offered 'sanctuary from enemies, and mediation in disputes with other members of the European community' (Valentine 1958, p. 130).

Missionaries in both territories provided the indigenes with medical attention and assistance. This, too, won them converts since this type of attention had a very practical and dramatic benefit on the people's well-being (Firth 1982, p. 157; Giddings, R., pers. comm. 8 October 1989).

During the Hasluck era education became a priority because, as he said (1976, pp. 242-4): '[t]he English language and mission teaching would lead to unity, universal communication and then to modernisation'. Of course, in the process of educating people using the church and the English language, Christian Australian values were being imposed. Since western legal principles are founded in Christianity, teaching by the missions inevitably imposed those principles also.

A competitive flavour and a resentment of each other's influence over the people became apparent in the relationship between the administration and the missionaries. The Patrol Officer's influence over the villagers was more of a 'potential for influence' since he had less contact with them and when there was contact it was often in the context of keeping the peace when trouble arose (Giddings, R., pers. comm. 8 October 1989). The Patrol Officer also had his administration agents living in the village (luluais and tultuls). They exercised some power since they were the administration's appointed leaders, however, they were also the missionaries' parishioners and felt compelled to defer to them.

The Patrol Officers were envious of the degree of knowledge the missionaries gained through their continuous contact with the people. The missionaries were, nevertheless, jealous of the conspicuousness and immediacy of the powers of the Patrol Officer. A Patrol Officer could get things done quickly. He had the judicial powers to back him. The main

sources of conflict between the administration officers and the missions were the issues of polygyny, marriage customs, divorce customs and dancing ('sing sings'). All were regarded as both 'sinful' and 'heathen' by the missionaries (Barker 1979, p. 39; Rowley 1965, pp. 150-2). The Patrol Officers were often more sympathetic to these traditional customs especially when they had to deal with the disputes and social effects arising from the church ban on their practice. (Papua New Guinea. Patrol Reports: Upper Asaro No. 10/1954-55; Asaro No. 9/1953-54; Goroka No. 18/1952-53). Rowley (1965, p. 152) notes that the Patrol Officers' objections to the missionaries' attempts to enforce the practice of monogamy stemmed from their efforts to execute the administration's policy to protect 'family structure from too rapid change'.

If the missionaries were successful in convincing some members of a clan to discontinue the practice of polygyny, then, if those convinced were influential clan members, internal pressure would be put on the reticent clan members to also give up their polygynous practices (Giddings, R., pers. comm. 8 October 1989). Government Anthropologist, Williams in his article, 'Some Effects of European Influence on the Natives of Papua,' observed some of the effects the missions had on the Papuan people (1935, pp. 219-20):

> But by constantly preaching the superiority of Christianity, and by his unwillingness to tolerate those beliefs and practices which are deemed incompatible with it, the missionary tends to bring some of the most significant parts of native culture into contempt. Further, it sometimes happens that, being an educator as well as an evangelist, he adopts the ideal of Europeanization. Then the native cannot resist the suggestion that his own culture is definitely inferior . . . I believe that his (missionary's) intolerance (where it occurs) and his inevitable insistence on the superiority of Christian civilisation, do as much to weaken the native's pride in his culture and himself as do the arrogance and contempt of some other Europeans.

The missionaries sometimes used the villagers' fear of the administration to further their own ends. They threatened them with the kiap's judicial powers if they failed to follow the church ban on polygyny for example, (Papua New Guinea. Patrol Reports: Asaro No. 9/1953-54; Goroka (Upper Asaro) No. 10/1954-55), or if the people threatened to create trouble for the missions.

The principal points of contact between the missions and the administration which impacted on the people of the Territory were the objective of pacification and the advancement of the people's welfare, particularly in the areas of health and education.