Native Administration in Papua

by

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THOSE of us who are engaged in the task of present day native administration must occasionally regret the simplicity of the old-time system of colonial government, before there was any talk of our duty towards the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, of the "dual policy," or of the "sacred trust." And, indeed, there is a danger now that the simple and obvious duties of native government may be swamped in a flood of high-sounding phrases, which may, if exaggerated or carelessly construed, be a very doubtful guide to practical administration. And there is also the danger that those engaged in administration may be tempted to sacrifice the substance to the shadow, and to rest satisfied with repeating catchwords, instead of putting into actual practice the administrative truths which the catchwords contain.

Danger of High-Sounding Words.

For it is well to remember that in our relations with weaker peoples "we move in an atmosphere vitiated by the insincere use of high-sounding words."* I will take a few instances to try to show what I mean. One reads in books of the "dual policy," and the phrase, which contains an important administrative fact, has been defined, very authoritatively, as "the complementary development of native and non-native communities." But the exaggeration of this truth may lead us into a very dangerous position, if it induces us to forget that the administration of a country must be one and indivisible, and if it leads us to teach natives and Europeans to regard one another as hostile members of the social organism, with irreconcilable aims, and subject in every way to differential treatment.

*Professor Hobhouse in "Liberalism," p. 43; Home University Library.

A black man is not a white man, and there is no use in pretending that he is, or in trying to believe that both must be treated in exactly the same way; the facts of race and colour are as stubborn as any other facts, but it would be fatal to regard the recognition of these facts as irreconcilable with unity of administration. Both white man and black, both employer and employed, will benefit by successful administration and development if it is carried out on anything like reasonable lines; and the latter may benefit even more than the former, if only for the reason that a successful development will supply an industrial object-lesson, and will provide more money for the establishment of native hospitals and schools. It can only be an unjustifiable exaggeration of the "dual policy" to read into it anything that would connote a necessary antagonism between the different classes of the community.

So, too, the noble words of the Covenant of the League of Nations, by which the "well being and development" of the weaker peoples of the world is declared to "form a sacred trust of civilization," are capable of misapplication unless we remember that the administration has other *cestuis que trustent* besides the natives, and other trusts besides those mentioned. And, under a government which understands the unity of administration, the trusts are not incompatible, but are rather complementary of one another.

Then the language used about native administration often seems to me to be quite out of any relation to the facts. We may smile at the generous enthusiasm which prompted the French Governor to define the French colonial policy as "la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme interprétée par saint Vincent de Paul," but we cannot accept the definition as a useful guide to French administration, nor can we think that M. Sarraut is giving an instructive account of that administration, when he tells us that the French official is in the habit of pressing his black and yellow brothers to his bosom, and allowing them to listen to the pulsations of his heart, which beats in unison with their own.* We, cold-blooded Australians, are apt to think the picture unreal and ridiculous; but perhaps we are quite wrong—I can not say, for I have no knowledge

* "La mise en valeur des colonies françaises," p. 123.

of French administration—and, in any case, are such words more misleading than many of the British official declarations, which proclaim the equality of all British subjects without distinction of race or colour, and the absence of all disqualification on those grounds?

Science of Native Administration.

The science of native administration—if there be such a thing—is far from being an exact science, if only for the reason that its subject-matter differs so much in different parts of the world, and that an administration which is a failure in one country might be a huge success in another. Consequently any attempt to treat it as anything like an exact science is doomed to failure. The principles of justice and humanity are of course applicable to all human relations, but any attempt to convert them into rules of administrative practice, and still more any attempt to dogmatize about details of native government, and to draw inferences from other parts of the world, should be watched with the greatest care. I have read Lord Lugard's monumental work several times with great interest, and, I hope, with understanding, but, just as he says that methods applicable to Africans may be quite misplaced in the case of Asiatics, so I have found but little in the book that can be of direct assistance in the administration of Papua.

We talk of "natives" and "native" administration, and everyone knows what we mean, but the term "native" is hopelessly inexact, and like other inexact terms it may be, and often is, used to support conclusions which are more than doubtful. Miss Tox thought that she had placed Major Bagstock's servant quite satisfactorily when she described him as a "native"; she thought that all natives were the same, and a like fallacy underlies many of the criticisms which would, without further investigation, condemn, for instance, methods of administration in the Solomon Islands on the ground that they had not proved successful in some colony in Africa. And in the same way when we speak of "primitives" we must remember that these people have thousands of years behind them, and are in many ways hardly more primitive than we are, and, if we so far forget ourselves as to speak of the "in-

ferior races," we must not forget the beam in our own eye, and must remember that many peoples, whom we look upon complacently as our inferiors, would regard our claim to superiority with a very real contempt.

Problems before the Australian Administration in Papua.

The Papuans are not "primitives" any more than other races at present inhabiting the earth, but they are nearer to the primitive type than most. They are very far from being homogeneous, and differ among themselves very widely, both in language and in other respects, but they are all alike in being centuries behind the semi-civilized natives of, e.g., India, Java and Ceylon. It is not that they are in general lacking in intelligence; their backwardness is rather due to the fact that, through the accidents of their history, they have been debarred from intercourse with the higher races of Europe and Asia. Some form of despotism seems to be a necessary stage in human development, and the Papuan never reached this stage. He has had no chiefs with any wide spread authority, no rajahs, no powerful rulers, and he has never known slavery, and has never acquired habits of sustained industry.

So the Australian Administration accepted a difficult task when it set out to govern some 300,000 Papuans in the year 1906, with but little previous experience or training, and no guidance except what might be gained from a study of the few books and reports that were then available, and from a contemplation of a few grandiloquent but sometimes rather meaningless phrases of doubtful practical application. We had, however, the inestimable advantage that some of our officers had served under Sir William MacGregor and Sir George Le Hunte, and had imbibed from them principles of fairness and justice in dealing with the native inhabitants. It is true that native problems had hardly arisen in those days, and we had not, therefore, the advantage of knowing how Sir William or Sir George would have dealt with them, but we were at least able to avoid that superiority complex which is so fatal to anything like sane administration.

Direct and Indirect Rule.

Now the first impression of one who is suddenly called upon to administer the government of a native community is that all his charges are mad; and his first duty is to get rid of this impression, and to realize that these people are not mad at all—that they are no more mad than they are primitive—and that all their apparently insane practices have a history, though it cannot always be discovered, and that all of them have or had a meaning, if we could only find it out. And the Administrator must further realize that it is his duty to have at any rate a general idea of what the customs of his people are, and also to decide how far (if at all) he can usefully embody these customs in his administration.

And so you come at once to the great question of Direct or Indirect Rule. It seems to me impossible to argue *a priori* that either of these methods must always be correct. If Direct Rule tends to the disintegration of native life, the danger of Indirect Rule is that it may lead to stagnation. Nigeria is the classical instance of Indirect Rule, but even in Nigeria Sir Hugh Clifford has told us that the system was adopted "not from design but from necessity," and he warns us that, though it has proved a "triumphant success" in Northern Nigeria, it does not follow that in wholly different circumstances—e.g., in some parts of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria—"the system would prove equally successful, or even applicable to local conditions and requirements." "It is as foolish," he says, "to exalt Indirect Rule into a fetish as it is to indulge in any form of indiscriminate idolatry."* The author of "Max Havelaar" gives illustrations of the dangers of Indirect Rule in Java, and of the misuse of power by native rulers when supported by the Dutch Government, and Captain Fitzpatrick, writing in the *National Review* of December, 1924, tells the same story of Nigeria—"The Emirs of to-day," he says, "are maintained by British bayonets, so that there are men holding these positions at this time who would not last a week once the bayonets were to cease." Captain Fitzpatrick's criticism is drastic, but

*pp. 33 and 34 of the address by Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., at the third session of the Legislative Council held at Lagos on 6th February, 1925.

his voice has been drowned in the general chorus of approval which the Nigerian Administration has gained and no doubt deserves.*

Difficulty of the Position in Papua.

Even allowing for Captain Fitzpatrick's criticism there can, I think, be no doubt that the Indirect Method has been a success in Nigeria. But in Nigeria there were powerful chiefs and a native administration already in existence. The Central Government in that case rules through the Chiefs or Emirs. That seems simple enough; but what is to be done where there are no chiefs with any authority worth speaking about, and no native system of administration? This is our difficulty in Papua. We believe in the principle of Indirect Rule, but how are we to apply it where there is little or no trace of a system of native administration, no Courts of Justice, and practically no institution of chieftainship—where there is in fact no one for us to rule through, and nothing for us to build upon?

Papuans are fond of talking, and they talk well, and doubtless there was always a lot of palaver before anything of importance was undertaken by the village, but there was no fixed executive authority. Chiefs are frequently mentioned in the reports, both old and recent, but the word "chief" is one which has no definite connotation. Doubtless there were often men of outstanding qualities who would take the lead when a crisis arose, but their influence was generally personal to themselves, and it by no means followed that, when the moment was past, they would have any recognized authority in the affairs of the village. For instance, in the old days on the Fly River we used to see in the villages a man who was painted white, and who obviously had great authority during the crisis of our visit; he would marshal the village force under arms and they would, at his order, advance to meet us, ready apparently for peace or war. But it would be rash to suppose that this man had normally any real authority in the village; it is quite likely that he had no power at all when once the danger was over.

*Sir W. Gowers replied to Captain Fitzpatrick in "West Africa" of 14th February, 1925.

The existence of powerful chiefs is perhaps the exception in primitive communities. Dr. Leys says that in East Africa the early explorers "often found chiefs because they wanted to find them, and because Africans were as ready as other people to accept deference and gifts they had no right to," and he says that Dr. Livingstone "notes that chiefs have scarcely any power unless they are men of energy." And according to Dr. Rivers it is the same in Melanesia. A "chief" is always forthcoming there if he is sought, but he is often not a chief at all in any sense of the word, and in any case he is almost certainly called upon, by virtue of his supposed "chieftainship," to exercise powers which neither he nor any one else in the tribe had ever dreamed of exercising before.

Village Constables and Councillors.

Chiefs with real executive authority may of course exist in the less known parts of the Territory, as they exist in the Trobriands and a few other places, but their absence, generally, was noticed by Sir William MacGregor, and it was to fill their places that he appointed "Village Constables.*

This was the first attempt to establish a machinery of Papuan native administration, and it has been eminently successful. It often happens that the "chief" is the most suitable man and then he is appointed to be the Village Constable; if he is not, some one else is selected who seems to be more suitable. The Village Constable represents the Government in the village; he reports all disorder, and has power to make arrests, but the arrested person must be brought without delay to the Officer in charge, who is of course a European. He is also responsible for the collection of carriers, the maintenance of the village in a sanitary condition, the cleaning of native paths, and other minor duties of administration.

There is an Executive Order which provides that a Village Constable must not take an additional wife after his appointment; if he has one wife already he can not take a second, if he has two he can not take a third, and so forth. If he does he must vacate his position. This

*Annual Report, British New Guinea, 1897-8, p. xxxvi.

limitation of the Village Constable's wives has been distorted into evidence of a persecution of polygamy. It is, of course, nothing of the kind, for we are careful never to interfere with marriage customs. The most obvious reason for the order is one of police; if the Constable has a crowd of relations-in-law he is likely to favour them in his administration and to overlook their misdemeanours. And there is the further consideration that the Constable, being only human, is likely to misuse his power, and one way in which he might do so would be by "cornering" the most eligible girls in the village. Such conduct would have been quickly and forcibly resented in the old days, but now the *pax Britannica* forbids all violence, and leaves the villagers without these effective methods of showing their disapproval.*

The Village Constable has been a very valuable aid to administration, but he is a Government official, responsible to the Government alone; he does not necessarily represent the village natives. So of late years we have established "Village Councils," in order that the Papuan may have some opportunity of taking part in administration. The Village Councillors are not Government officials. They are selected by the village people, and their duty is to advise the Magistrate of the district, either directly or through the Village Constable, of any matters which they think would be to the advantage of the people. For instance, the Port Moresby Council advised us recently that it would be a good thing if notices were circulated among labourers and others, advising them to pay their money into the Bank, instead of wasting it on gambling, or on the purchase of things which they did not really want. There is a difficulty in adapting the language of a Stone-Age savage to the conditions of modern banking, but this was overcome, and the notices issued.

Then the Councillors render good service in expounding to the rest of the community the objects of the administration generally. Thus the Magistrate will explain to the Councillors, and they will pass on to the rest of the village, that the native tax, for instance, does not go into the pocket of the tax-collectors but really comes

*There are also other considerations which I have mentioned in my book "Papua of To-day," p. 292.

back to the native again in the shape of schools, hospitals, and so forth, that we really are anxious that the people should live together in peace and prosperity, and that we do not make them carry heavy burdens along steep and slippery paths for our own amusement, but that we always have some definite object in view, and that in nine times out of ten what we are doing is solely for their benefit.

It would be hard to justify either Courts, Councillors or Constables to the extreme fanatics of indirect rule. But one can not build up a reasonable administration of justice upon a foundation of trial by divination and guess work, which is the best that the Papuan has to offer us, nor can we construct a satisfactory government upon the basis of those primitive principles or instincts which have been suggested as explaining the extreme efficiency, which, in some communities, is found combined with an apparently hopeless looseness of organization.

It is interesting to note that Papuans themselves are as a rule very strong supporters of Direct Rule. There was, at first, no wish for the appointment of Councillors—"Why should we have Councillors?" they would ask, "It is the white man's business to carry on the Government; we do not know anything about it and do not want to. We are quite satisfied with things as they are."

The temptation to Direct Rule in Papua is very strong, but we show our loyalty to Indirect Rule by our support of native customs, wherever they can be fitted in with our idea of good government; but the support we give them is, I trust, a reasoned support, with due allowance for the progress that time, we hope, will bring with it.

Value of Anthropology in Administration.

And here comes in the value of anthropology in native administration. Some knowledge of anthropology, however slight, is of great value, for obviously if you have to govern natives it is desirable that you should know something about them, and the more you know about them the more efficient your administration is likely to be. We may claim to have realized the value of anthropology very early in our administrative experience, and Papua was one of the first British dependencies, if not actually the first,

to appoint a Government Anthropologist. Since then, largely through the persistent efforts of the Papuan Government, a Chair of Anthropology has been established at Sydney University, and officers of the Papuan Service have the opportunity of going through a course of instruction under the able and suggestive guidance of Professor Radcliffe-Brown. And I am glad to say that they avail themselves of this opportunity.

But it is not every man who can be an anthropologist, and not every anthropologist who can gain the confidence of the natives. I remember a case where an anthropologist came to Papua for the purpose of studying native life, and before long a prominent native interviewed the local missionary, and asked him to make representations to the Government in order to have the anthropologist deported. "This man," he said in effect, "only wants to learn the bad old practices that we gave up long ago; he will publish a book about them, and we can not contradict him for we can not write. So the people in the white men's countries will get wrong ideas about us. If we could write books about the white men we could tell some queer tales."

Anthropology is a great help to an Administrator, but the Administrator has a different task before him from the Anthropologist. The Anthropologist is concerned chiefly with the scientific examination of native customs, and an investigation of their history and the reason for their existence; the Administrator, on the other hand, usually takes the customs as he finds them, and is concerned mainly in considering how far it is desirable and possible to preserve them, and to weave them into the fabric of his administration. One way in which these so-called primitives differ from us is that with them the different departments of thought are not so clearly distinguished as with us; even with us the distinction is not always clear, but a white man can change his religion, for instance, without changing his politics, whereas a primitive, apparently, can not. So, if you suppress a native custom, your action may have effects which you never contemplated, because the custom in question may be related to all sorts of other customs, with which it seemed to you to have no connection. Therefore if a custom is not positively harmful it is well to leave it

alone, however foolish and trivial it may seem. For the same reason it is wise to discourage the indiscriminate adoption of European habits, for it is impossible to know how far their influence may reach.*

European Influence.

But the influence of our culture is by no means wholly evil. The best of the civilization of Northern Europe is due directly or indirectly to the races of the Mediterranean Seaboard, and there are probably but few instances where a people has arrived at any considerable stage of development by its own unaided efforts; and it may be hoped that the influence of European settlement may be a deciding factor in Papuan history, and may mark the point at which the Stone-Age savage definitely turned his steps towards a higher civilization.

It is true that on the higher cultural plane the Papuan and the European at present hardly meet, and the Papuan therefore can have no clear idea how much grander and more spacious our life is than his, except in so far as he embraces our religion.† We hardly influence him on this higher plane at all; but we do meet and influence him in the ordinary practical everyday life, and it is surely absurd to say that our influence is all bad. The pioneer is not always a "plaster saint," but neither is the native with whom he comes in contact, and at any rate the pioneer can often set him an example of courage and enterprise, of skill and industry, of perseverance and hardihood, which he would do well to follow. The first result of their meeting may be the demoralization of both; the one may become a sneak and the other a bully. But they must accommodate themselves to the position, and, though the native unfortunately seems to find our bad much more fascinating than our good qualities, there is no reason why he should not gain something from the encounter. And in fact the Papuan has gained much.

It is easy to exaggerate the evil of European communications, and it is also easy to exaggerate the virtues of

*See my paper "Anthropology and the Government of Subject Races"; an address read to the Science Congress in Melbourne in January, 1921. Printed in the Papuan Annual Report of 1920-1921.

†I have developed this in a pamphlet called "The Response of the Natives of Papua to Western Civilization."

native custom. Many of these customs are quite bad and could not be tolerated by any civilized administration, many more have no real survival value and can at most only be maintained until something better can be substituted, and there is not very much in the native tradition that is likely to be carried on as a permanent contribution to civilization.* It is only during the transition stage that the preservation of custom need be a matter of such anxious care, but it so happens that most, if not all, native races—certainly the Papuans—are in this stage, and the selection and preservation of custom are consequently matters of vital importance. I do not myself think that there is much danger of going far wrong on the social side, though one must always beware of the extreme eagerness of inexperienced officials to interfere in matters which should not concern them; but politically I think there is a risk that we may be led astray by an excess of devotion to our own particular fetish, which in the case of Australians takes the shape of an advanced form of democracy. Thus socially many Papuan communities are matriarchal, and I do not see why they should not remain matriarchal indefinitely, so far as our administration is concerned. Certainly no one who has read Dr. Malinowski's account of the Trobriand Islanders would wish to disturb so attractive a form of society, and I can not think that there is anything in our administration that would bring about such a disturbance even indirectly. If this matriarchy ever is abandoned in favour of our very diluted form of patriarchy, it will, I think, be due to the general change which operates almost automatically through the presence of Europeans, and which it is so hard for a Government to control.

But politically the danger is a real one. I have told how we are trying to encourage the natives to take an interest in self government, and that Village Councils have been appointed for that purpose, and I find that there is a danger that we may come to regard these Councils as we should regard similar collections of Australian voters; and that we may be in a hurry to combine them into constituencies and to proceed, under a system of adult male and female

*Lord Lugard, who is of course the leading authority on "Indirect Rule," has drawn attention to this. "No one would wish to perpetuate the conditions of tribal life, but clearly if chaos is to be prevented it is necessary that the inevitable change should be made as gradual as possible." "Representative Forms of Government and Indirect Rule in British Africa," p. 26.

suffrage, one vote one value, the secret ballot, payment of members, and all the usual paraphernalia, to create an elective General Council to advise on native administration. We must move very slowly in such a matter, watch carefully for any indication of native feeling that may guide us, and make full allowance for the indolence which may tempt the native merely to copy European institutions. At a recent choice of Councillors for the Port Moresby villages a secret ballot was held with all the usual concomitants, even down to the "flapper vote"; but this can not be taken as a spontaneous expression of opinion. So far as I know, "scientific democracy" has never found favour except under the direct influence of Western Europe.

Native Custom.

There is much to be said for sympathy and leniency in dealing with primitive people, but nothing whatever for slackness or inefficiency. So the customs which are really evil should be suppressed, and suppressed without hesitation, but those which are harmless should be protected and encouraged, for, absurd as they may seem to us, they may have been a support and comfort to many generations of men and women. Readers of Sir James Frazer's book "Psyche's Task" will remember how he emphasizes the effect which his "sinister client," Superstition, has had in fostering the institutions of "Government, private property, marriage and the respect for human life," which, he says, "have derived much of their strength from beliefs which nowadays we should condemn unreservedly as superstitious and absurd." Many, perhaps most, native customs must go at last, automatically as it were, through pressure of the new civilization; for the mere presence of the white man, even of the most enthusiastic supporter of native custom, brings with it an influence which works silently for the disintegration of native society. But the disintegration may, and should be, long delayed, and perhaps prevented altogether.

Survival Value of Customs; Administrative Test.

Differences of opinion must necessarily arise about the survival value of customs, for no test can be applied that will satisfy everyone. For the Adminis-

trator there is, however, one very good negative test—and that is to ask whether the custom leads to disorder; if it does it can not be allowed, and must be suppressed without any question.

Take, for instance, the case of sorcery. We punish sorcery with six months' imprisonment, but only sorcery which is practised with intent to kill or injure—"black magic" in short; and we punish it because it creates disorder by encouraging retaliatory murders, and other acts of violence, on the part of the relations of the man who has been bewitched. Ordinary garden magic, and fishing and hunting magic—the charms and magic of everyday life—does not cause any disorder, and consequently we do not punish it or interfere with it in any way.

And here, occasionally, we find ourselves at variance with our friends the Anthropologists. The misunderstanding—for that is all it is—arises from the different degree of importance which Administrators and Anthropologists attach to the maintenance of law and order.

Maintenance of Order.

An Administrator must insist upon the maintenance of order, for the maintenance of order is the basis of government, and sentiment can not be allowed to stand in its way; but these considerations are of no pressing importance to an Anthropologist, for law and order have no particular relation to the science in which he is interested. Consequently the Anthropologist seems sometimes to find a difficulty in appreciating the administrative position with relation to such practices as sorcery, for he regards the sorcerer as an integral part of native society; and, as he has no particular concern with the maintenance of order, the argument from the retaliatory murders leaves him quite cold.*

The maintenance of order involves the administration of justice, the enforcement of legal and customary rights, and the punishment of offenders. Unfortunately there were no Papuan Courts of Justice. Before our arrival the

*I must, however, except the article on Applied Anthropology in the 13th Edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," p. 141. The author of the article (Professor Seligman) speaks of the Papuan regulation with approval. I have no doubt that the great majority of Anthropologists fully realize the importance of maintaining order.

Papuan had no method of criminal investigation beyond dreams and sorcery; and though there were isolated instances of concerted action by a whole village, the infliction of punishment was as a rule left to private vengeance, and a man with powerful friends could do very much as he liked.

Colonel Ainsworth, who visited the Mandated Territory (the old German New Guinea) at the invitation of the Commonwealth Government, found Native Courts actually functioning there, but I can find no satisfactory evidence that they ever existed in Papua. Dr. Gunnar Landtman, in his very valuable work "The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea," speaks of Native Courts; but, *pace tanti viri*, I think he must be mistaken. The local Missionary, a good anthropologist, has not been able to find them after a residence of twenty-five years, nor have the Government officers.

Crime and Criminals.

So we have had to establish our own Courts—Direct Rule of the most flagrant type, but inevitable under the circumstances. These Courts are modelled on those existing in Queensland and elsewhere in Australia, and there are also Native Courts, which deal with cases under the "Native Regulations," and in which are decided practically all the civil cases and most of the criminal cases in which natives are concerned. Indictable offences come before the Central Court, but the indictable offences that a Papuan can commit are few in number. The more elaborate crimes are denied him; he can not be a fraudulent bankrupt or a defaulting trustee, not because he is too honest, but because he never gets a chance. Murder, rape, and theft, are, however, crimes within his competence, and when he commits them he may be brought before the Central Court.

In a community where there are no police and no Courts retaliatory violence is absolutely necessary, unless every outrage is to go unpunished. And murder and similar crimes are common enough in those districts which are not yet under complete control. But it is rarely murder as we understand it, and the Papuan murderer is not necessarily a man of criminal instincts beyond his fellows.

His crime, as we call it, is as a rule not a crime to him; it is often an act of retributive justice, often a sacred social duty, or at least a necessary part of social etiquette, and frequently an act of courtesy to oblige a friend. At other times it is due to a desire on the part of a lad of spirit to "show off" before the girls of the village, to an ambition to win certain insignia which are only worn by those who have taken human life, or to an irresistible desire to relieve the monotony of village existence.

In addition to these there are many murders which are committed from motives which are powerful all over the world—murders, for instance, which arise out of love affairs or private quarrels, sudden outbursts of temper, and so forth. And then there are a lot of miscellaneous murders—as, e.g., the case where the man was killed for "talking too much," another where the killing was justified on the ground that the deceased "was not very much good," and again where two runaway carriers were killed because "they looked cold and hungry," and where the prisoner confessed to a practice of killing women, who, he said, "were easy to catch and did not carry spears." The slaying of the man who "talked too much" was treated as justifiable homicide, but otherwise no question of native custom enters into such cases, except, of course, that allowance must be made generally for the lower culture. But in the class of cases which I mentioned first, the consideration of custom becomes material, not (except rarely) in deciding the question of guilt or innocence, but in fixing the sentence, which varies also with the state of civilization which the prisoner has reached. The death sentence is seldom carried out in the case of native murder except where the prisoner was sufficiently civilized to realize what he was doing; and a native who has reached this stage very rarely commits murder. Still, if he does, he is hanged. A less civilized native might get a sentence of seven years, one less civilized still five years, and so on to three years or less; while the absolutely raw savage from the frontiers of barbarism might escape with a merely nominal sentence.

Native murders have decreased very much under Government control, but I am rather afraid that theft has increased. One can only conjecture what the standard of

honesty may have been in a native village before the arrival of Europeans, but it was probably fairly high. For one thing there was not much to steal except garden produce, and the garden thief was perhaps not very common, for he fared badly if he was caught. Nowadays natives steal money which, of course, they had no opportunity of stealing before, and I regret to say that there have been cases in which a Constable has robbed another Constable, and a house boy his mate; I fancy in the old days this sort of thing would not have happened.

There is, however, nothing distinctive about either the motive of their thefts or their manner of stealing; nor is there anything particularly noticeable about the offences which they not infrequently commit against native women. Cases of rape are not uncommon, and a strange thing is that the victim is rarely an unmarried girl. Two explanations are given to account for this—one is that the girls always escape, and the other is that the girls always consent; personally I do not believe either of them. Native rape cases are difficult, for the reason that the woman, even though she may not consent, usually submits and offers no active resistance, and it is not easy, on the evidence, to decide whether the accused is guilty in a particular case. He is generally anxious to plead guilty, but that is only his courtesy, and is quite consistent with complete innocence.

Unnatural offences are rare, except in some districts in the West.

Native Regulations.

So much for serious crime. But we have, in addition, created for the Papuan by the "Native Regulations" a host of minor offences, such as sorcery, adultery, spreading lying reports, failure to clean and repair roads, to plant "useful trees" and to keep the village clean, dancing or beating drums after 9 p.m. in certain places, wearing European clothes on the upper part of the body, and the drinking of intoxicating liquor.

So far as possible we leave native custom untouched, and in particular we are careful not to interfere with marriage customs or with land law or inheritance. Still, it must be admitted that we set a high standard for the Papuan (far higher than we would ever dream of setting

for ourselves) and I must also admit that the Papuan responds on the whole extremely well. Of course, almost all these regulations have been made in the interests of the natives themselves, and naturally, from the nature of the intimate details of conduct with which they deal, they are often broken, and prosecutions are numerous. The cases are usually devoid of interest. The man who beats a drum after 9 p.m. may be, and often is, an intolerable nuisance, but as a type he is not necessarily either interesting or depraved, and the same is true of a woman who wears clothes on the upper part of her body. Adultery, like sorcery, is punished in the interests of peace and order—to check retaliatory acts of violence. It is regarded by the natives as theft; the wife is the property of the husband and the adulterer steals her.

The offence of "spreading lying reports" was made punishable mainly on account of the unfounded rumours, that used to be rife in the old days, of massacres of Government parties and murders of isolated white men. The rumours might appear improbable, but it could never be certain that they were false, and so Government officers and police were kept constantly on the move in a succession of wild-goose chases to all parts of the Territory. Quite recently residents of Port Moresby were thrilled by a circumstantial tale of the discovery of a patrol officer's legs somewhere in the bush, the rest of the unfortunate gentleman having been eaten by cannibals; such a story was too grotesque, even for Papua, and few could be found to take it seriously.

The regulation is not very often enforced nowadays; it must be carefully watched, for it is capable of a dangerous extension. "I was at Church the other day," said a Village Constable to a Magistrate many years ago, "and I heard the teacher tell the people that, if they did not come to church more regularly, they would be burnt in a big fire. I suppose I ought to have arrested him for spreading lying reports, but I did not like to interrupt the service, and I thought that I had better come and tell you."

It would be quite a mistake to regard the Papuans as a race of criminals; most of their serious crime can be attributed to tribal warfare, and to the necessity of private

vengeance where there is no established police, and they yield very willingly to our efforts to guide them to a more peaceful life. The readiness with which they give up such practices as head-hunting and cannibalism is really surprising; cannibalism is no doubt largely a question of diet, and a cannibal has told me that he would never touch human flesh so long as he could get tinned meat, but head-hunting must have provided some electric moments which are hard to recover in an age of peace, whatever substitutes may be suggested.*

Substitutes for Native Customs.

Our policy in Papua has been to prevent, or at least to delay, the disappearance of native custom, and in the Gulf of Papua we have even brought about a revival of some interesting ceremonies, which had at one time formed a very important part of native life, but which had already almost disappeared.

And where we cannot prevent the disappearance of a custom, or where it has to be suppressed, we endeavour to put something in its place. "The whites have taken our beliefs from us," said a chief of Spanish Guinea to Monsignor Leroy,† "and have given us nothing in their place. That is why we are going to die." And so with the Papuan. He has more leisure from work, by reason of the steel tools with which we have supplied him, and at the same time he has less employment for his leisure, for we do not allow him to fight or to take heads, while, as a result of the new civilization that we bring with us, he will inevitably lose interest in many of his native ceremonies and amusements. Thus he is attacked in two ways; he has more spare time and less to do with it, and, as Dr. Watts has warned us, he will fall an easy prey, if we do not anticipate the Evil One by finding some new interest to fill up the vacant hours.

Native Plantations.

And this is not easy to do. Life in a Papuan village may have been maddening in its monotony, but it was

* "They looked fine with the bleeding heads in one hand and their weapons in the other. Their eyes were fierce, very red, and protruded from their orbits, just like those of a turtle which has been on its back three or four days exposed to the fiery heat of the sun." This is a native's description of the return of head-hunters. Baxter Riley, "Among Papuan Head-Hunters," p. 267.

† "The Religion of the Primitives" by Leroy, p. 172.

relieved occasionally by moments of the most intense and thrilling excitement, when, for instance, the war party returned laden with heads, or when the village was attacked and all had to fight for their lives. We have stopped all this, and nothing that we can supply can really take its place. Still we must do our best, and we have attempted to substitute the ideal of work for the ideal of warfare, and to convert the disappointed raider into a more or less industrious husbandman.

So we have established a system of native plantations which has been grafted upon our scheme of native taxation. The tax is limited to £1 a head a year per adult male, and is only levied in districts where the native has an opportunity of earning it; it varies in practice from 5s. to £1, and the only peculiar features about it are (i) that it is not unpopular; (ii) that the indentured labourer is not exempt, for the tax is imposed in order to raise money, and not in order to induce the native to go to work; (iii) that the father of four children by one wife is exempt, and the mother of four or more receives a small bonus which increases with the number of children; and (iv) that the proceeds of the tax are paid, not into general revenue, but into a fund which can only be applied (*a*) to the general and technical education of the natives; and (*b*) to such other purposes having for their object the "direct benefit of the natives of Papua as may be prescribed."

But, instead of paying the tax, a community may agree to the establishment of a native plantation. Thereupon the Government acquires an area of land somewhere near the village, and the natives work out their tax by clearing, planting, etc., while the Government superintends and supplies seed and tools. The crop is divided between the Government and the villagers, and the proceeds of the Government's share are paid into the same account as the tax, and consequently can only be expended for the direct benefit of the natives.

The policy has been more successful than I anticipated; various cultures have been tried—rice, cacao, coconuts, coffee, and cotton—and the best return has come from coconuts and coffee. The objects of the policy are, roughly speaking, twofold—(i) to fill the void created by the

suppression of more exciting pursuits; and (ii) to encourage the native to strike out on his own and to try to develop the country for himself.

Industrial Opportunities Generally.

In addition to these native plantations, a whole world of industrial opportunity is thrown open to the Papuan by the influx of Europeans. A native can attend any of the Industrial Schools, of course without charge, and if he goes through a course of training he is always sure of earning good wages; or he can take advantage of the avenues of employment thrown open, even to unskilled labour, by the Government or by private enterprise. But we realize that the pleasures of manual work generally appeal most to those who have not got to do it, and that the prospect of hard labour for an indefinite number of years, even on one's own plantation, offers but limited attraction, unless the reward for the labour is very certain and very great. So we must seek for something else besides manual labour, if we are to fill the void completely, and if our *pax* is not to become a *solitudo*.

Religion.

The Missions help us in matters of religion, and this is one of the greatest services they render to the Administration. Of course religious teaching is no part of our business, and if it were not for the Missions we should simply have to watch the old time paganism—animism, animatism, or whatever *sesquipedale verbum* you care to apply to it—fade away without being able to put anything in its place; but the Missions can and do put something in its place, something which may enable the Papuan to cross in safety the gulf which separates the old world, which he knew, from the strange new world into which he is being hurried.

Feasts and Dances; Games.

It certainly seems "the quintessence of humbug," as I have said elsewhere, to suggest a life of toil to the native as the only way of salvation, for a life of toil is the very thing from which we are all trying to escape. But there is an element of truth in the suggestion, neverthe-

less, though we must not forget to qualify it with an insistence upon ample provision for dances, feasts, games and other amusements. Many missionaries condemn dances and feasts, and there is a good deal to be said for their view. Such merry makings are a frequent cause of famine in the villages, and in some parts are the occasion of deliberate bloodshed, which may lead, eventually, to the establishment of a vendetta and the loss of many lives; and, like all gatherings of young men and women, they give opportunities for immorality. Some dances no doubt are indecent and obscene, though I have never seen any, and such dances should be suppressed; but others, I think, should be encouraged. Dancing is a natural and universal form of recreation, and I cannot think that it should be forbidden, especially among a people who, after all, have not very much fun in their lives.

Dances and feasts will, I suppose, die out like other ceremonies, and it is hard to see how we can prevent this. We encourage native gardens and plantations by awarding prizes for the best in each district, just as we encourage the birth-rate by the bonus; the distribution of both the bonus and the prizes is accompanied with such feasting and ceremonial as we can arrange, and it is possible that this may have an indirect effect in preserving the festive spirit. But direct action is impossible; no Government can compel a man to dance and make merry against his will.

The wisdom of ages has warned us against the bad effects of too much work, so we have attempted to modify the work with play, this time, I am glad to say, with the most enthusiastic assistance from the Missions, by encouraging the more warlike tribes to play football, and others to play cricket. Football, though in my poor judgment the only game worth playing, must at the best seem but a milk and water substitute for a head-hunting raid, and could not go far to satisfy the Papuan's craving for bloodshed. Still it is the best that we can do, and, when the old traditions of blazing villages and bleeding heads have at last died out, it is quite likely that the young men will lose the lust for murder which is so curious a feature to-day in the character of both young and old, and will find an outlet for their youthful energy in the

more peaceful pursuits of work or play; and we can do much to help them in this direction by care for their physical health, and by an efficient system of education.

Education and Medical Treatment of Natives.

And it is in these two departments in particular, the medical department and the educational, that the Papuan Government has been so closely connected with the Missions.

Education, according to Australian ideas, is primarily the duty of the Government, but for financial reasons it was impossible for the Papuan Government to undertake native education, whether primary or technical, except on so limited a scale as to be practically worthless; and we are therefore under a debt of gratitude to the Missions for having come to our assistance with schools managed by them and subsidized by the Government.

Assistance has not been so necessary in the case of the Medical Department, for we have always had our Government Medical Officers, our Medical Patrols, and our Government Hospitals, but here too the Missions have helped us by the establishment of hospitals, whether with a subsidy from the Government or not, and also by the efforts of individual missionaries in treating the sick who have come to them.

I have asked the Chief Medical Officer, Dr. W. M. Strong, and the Government Secretary, Mr. H. W. Champion, to write statements of the medical and educational policies; these will be found in an Appendix at the end of this paper.

Native education in Papua is still in its infancy, but it must eventually go far to fill the void which the disappearance of native customs will cause, and which I have so often mentioned. Literature does not exist in the native languages, with the exception of translations from the Bible and of a few hymns, and, though there are many natives who speak and understand English well, there are few who can read the simplest English book with any facility. The Government Anthropologist, Mr. F. E. Williams, has recently undertaken to publish a monthly paper for natives called *The Papuan Villager*. This newspaper is

in English, and natives are encouraged to write by the offer of prizes for the best contributions; so far as one can judge it seems likely to be a great success. The time is certainly far distant when any appreciable number of Papuans will spend their leisure time in reading, but we hope and expect that it will come eventually.

Part II.

So far I have dealt with purely native administration, but the "dual policy" demands the "complementary development of the non-native community"; in other words, it demands, in Papua, that due assistance shall be given to European settlers who have come to Papua in search of a livelihood. It has been laid down as a principle of administration that the interests of the natives are to be regarded as "paramount,"* and that when these clash with the interests of the European settlers, the former must prevail, and the Papuan administration has always been guided by this principle; but, however "paramount" the interests of the natives may be, there are certain principles of administration and certain duties which no Government can neglect. For, as M. Girault says, it is too ridiculous to suppose that the races of the higher culture are to be hampered and limited in their activities "pour permettre à quelques milliers de sauvages de se manger entre eux."† The European has a right to come and seek his fortune in Papua, and so long as he comes peacefully he is entitled to protection, and there can be no sympathy with any one who seeks to prevent him. The Government has a duty towards all, of whatever race, to maintain order and to keep the King's peace, and, in the case of Europeans, not only must their lives and property be protected, but the Government has a special duty to see that they are offered all reasonable facilities for carrying out the work of development that brought them here.

Land and Labour.

This special duty arises particularly in connection with the two great essentials of development, land and labour.

*By the Duke of Devonshire, when Colonial Secretary, in his memorandum on "Indians in Kenya."

†Girault; "Principles de Colonisation et de Législation Coloniale," I. p. 31.

(i) Land.

There are various ways of dealing with native lands when a Territory such as Papua is annexed. One way is to proclaim them all to be Crown lands, and to hand back to the natives so much as you think they ought to have, either to hold by individual tenure, or to occupy as reserves. Quite the opposite method was followed in Papua.

Commodore Erskine, on the proclamation of the Protectorate in 1884, promised the natives that their lands would be secured to them, and these words "your lands will be secured to you" have been construed, in spite of the subsequent annexation, as a binding promise that native titles would be respected, and that no native lands would ever be compulsorily resumed, except of course for public purposes. So the Papuan has never been headed off into reserves (which Sir Percy Girouard has described as land "dedicated to perpetual barbarism"), and has always had a good title to his land; and, furthermore, no settler is allowed to purchase land from a native or to have any dealings with him in land. Only the Government can acquire land from a native; and by the "Land Ordinance" it is forbidden even for the Government to acquire it, unless the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that it "is not required or likely to be required by the owners." Even vacant land can not be taken by the Crown except after a somewhat lengthy and cumbersome process, which is intended to give ample notice to all who may feel inclined to put in a claim.

On the suggestion of some people who feared that the Papuan might be robbed of his heritage, a Board was appointed to inquire into claims to land improperly taken, either by purchase from the wrong owner, or otherwise; but the Board, though it was appointed over twenty years ago, has never met, for no case of injustice has ever been alleged, and such trifling mistakes as have been made were easily adjusted.

The total area of the Territory of Papua is something over 90,000 square miles, that is to say it is rather more than half as big again as England and Wales, and the population is estimated at 300,000; so there certainly was plenty of land for everyone, and, as the Government will

not, and, indeed cannot, buy land that the native owners are likely to require, and, as land cannot be compulsorily resumed except for public purposes, it is hard to see how the position of the native owner could be improved. In fact, such criticism as has been directed against our land policy has been on the ground that we are too much alive to the interests of the natives, and not sufficiently sympathetic with the plans of European investors. The promise of Commodore Erskine may have seemed rash at one time, but it has saved an unending series of disputes, and has placed the native landholder in a very strong position.

Papua is by no means a uniformly fertile country; as Sir George le Hunte said many years ago "it is doubtful whether much really good land is available in any one place," and, had native titles not been recognized, the result might have been that the white man would have been found in possession of the "really good" land, while the native had been driven back on to the land that the white man did not want. It has been said that "adequate native reserves can take in Africa the place of trades unions, and help the native to maintain a proper standard of wages for his labour, by providing him with a protection against being forced to bargain at a disadvantage";* and the Papuan landholder is in the same position—he is in the position of a member of a very strong union, which can keep him in comparative comfort without working for wages at all. And this is really the great safeguard against anything like a general ill-treatment of native labour. I know that nothing in the shape of general ill-treatment is likely to occur with our present employers of labour, but, if it did, the native would have a complete and conclusive answer—he would settle down upon his garden and refuse to work at all for the white man.

(ii) Labour.

Land in Papua presented but few problems and these were solved without much difficulty, but labour was a much more ticklish proposition. To begin with the area of land available was practically unlimited, but the amount of labour was not. Taking the whole population to be 300,000, which is probably in excess of the truth, the adult

*Hilton Young Report on East Africa, 1929, pp. 65, 66.

males would be estimated by some at a fourth and by others at a sixth of the whole, that is at either 75,000 or 50,000.

(a) *Limitation of Labour Supply.*

A Belgian Commission appointed in 1924 (La commission pour l'étude du problème de la main d'oeuvre au Congo Belge, 1924-5), reported that it would not be safe, in the interests of the native population, to take more than 5 per cent. of the adult males* for labour at a distance from home, and, on this percentage, the total number of such labourers whom the Government ought to allow to be recruited in Papua would not exceed 3,750 or 2,500.

Such a number seems to us absurdly small, and quite insufficient for a serious attempt to develop the territory, and we have never accepted so low a percentage. Many years ago I put 20,000 as the maximum number that could ever be recruited, and I should still put that number as the maximum. I do not mean that it is probable that this figure will be reached; but it is possible, and I think that the native population would stand it, if the recruiting is distributed at all equally. In a population of 300,000 a labour force of 20,000 means one-fifteenth of the population; I find that the Report of the East Africa Commission of 1925 estimates the maximum possible labour at about one-twelfth.†

It is suggested that "a programme for the alienation of land to immigrants cannot properly be settled without regard to the demand for native labour which the cultivation of such land will create."‡ But surely it can very rarely happen in a British dependency that there is any "programme" at all; the Government might indeed settle "a programme," but might not the sudden discovery of a rich mineral field cause an unexpected demand for labour, and so upset the foundation on which the programme was based? In the Mandated Territory of New Guinea a very rich goldfield has been developed in the last few years, and there was in consequence a largely increased demand for labour; but the goldfield was not discovered according

*Hilton Young Report on East Africa, 1929, p. 68. The percentage is not to be applied mechanically; which means, I suppose, that it is approximate.
†Page 169.
‡Hilton Young Report on East Africa, 1929, p. 53.

to a programme, nor could a programme regulate the amount of labour required. And if, as we hope may be the case, petroleum is found in Papua in payable quantities, the same thing will happen—there will be a rush to take up land, and a keen competition for labour; we have no programme of development, but, if we had, it would go to the winds.

However, if development were purely agricultural and the demand for land so regular that it could be foreseen, it would be possible to draw up a programme, and it might even be to the advantage of settlers to have something of the kind. There must be a limit to the supply of labour, if overseas labour is forbidden, and to exceed this limit may bring disaster, not only on the natives but on the settlers as well. In Papua we have never been near the limit of our labour supply; it is, however, quite possible that the demands of development may far exceed the number of recruits who normally offer themselves, and the Government must be prepared to restrict recruiting or even to forbid it altogether if necessary.

But in fact the end would not come so abruptly as that; people would not wake up one morning and find that recruiting was forbidden. What would happen is that the favourite fields for recruiting would at first be restricted and then perhaps closed, and so possibly afterwards with one or two other fields in turn; but it must, as a rule, from the nature of the case, be a gradual process, with ample warning to employers. Certainly the Government should not hesitate to close a field, either partially or entirely, if there is clear evidence that it is being overworked. But it is rather a drastic step to forbid a man to earn money by working for an employer; it is an interference with his liberty which can not be lightly undertaken, for it is surely just as tyrannical to forbid a man to work as it would be to compel him to do so.

(*b*) *Compulsory Labour and Importation of Labour Not Allowed in Papua.*

In Papua there are two conditions which must be accepted by intending employers of native labour. One of these is that labour can not be brought in from outside, and the other is that compulsory labour is not allowed.

Compulsory labour is out of favour everywhere at present,* and it is even condemned as causing idleness and a repugnance to work, which seems to me to be much the same thing as to condemn compulsory military service as being a cause of pacificism; but imported indentured labour, which also has practically ceased throughout the Empire, still seems to excite extreme and irreconcilable opinions. Professor Egerton describes it as "a system which did untold good in the nineteenth century, blessing both him that gave and him that took";† but M. Girault, while admitting the services rendered by immigrant labourers, holds the system up to execration, in a page and a-half of lively invective which excites both admiration and envy.‡ Anyhow, so far as Papua is concerned, it may be assumed that both compulsion and importation of labour are at present out of the question—and if I limit this by the words "at present" it is only because it has occurred to me that, if petroleum were discovered in Papua, and there were an insufficient supply of native workers, some scheme of immigrant labour might possibly be considered.

So only Papuan labour can be used, and it must all be absolutely free and uncompelled.

(*c*) *Free Labour and Indentured Labour.*

There are two systems of labour in tropical countries; they are distinguished as "free labour," and "indentured" or "signed on labour." Under the former system the labourer works for an agreed wage, but either party can put an end to the service at short notice, and the Government is in no way concerned in the matter—it is purely a matter of civil contract between the parties, and each may sue the other for breach. Under the indenture system, on the other hand there is generally a statutory form of contract, and all particulars of the service are strictly regulated.

With us, in Papua, this contract, which is called a contract of service, specifies the rate of wages, the place of payment, and the duration and nature of the service, and provides for the return of the native to his home; and

*Dr. Schweizer says, "I myself hold labour compulsion not wrong in principle, but impossible to carry through in practice." *See* "On the Edge of the Primeval Forest," p. 118.
†Egerton, "British Colonial Policy in the XXth Century," p. 243.
‡ "Principes de colonisation," II, p. 230.

it is subject to the "Native Labour Ordinance and Regulations," which contain provisions relating to almost all the other details of service—such as the rations and accommodation to be supplied, the attention to be given to the sick, the hours of labour, and the supply of blankets and mosquito-nets. And the Government, though not a party to the contract, is intimately concerned with its performance, for the remedy for a breach of the conditions either of the contract or of the Ordinance and Regulations is not by civil process but by criminal prosecution, with penalties of fine and imprisonment.

This is both the strong and the weak point of the indenture system. The fact that the employer has a criminal remedy for a civil wrong puts him in a position to exercise great control over his labour force, but it is this feature of the system which is most generally criticized, and which will be fatal to it in the end.

It is true that the labourer has the same criminal remedy against the employer for any breach, but in actual fact it is the labourer who goes to gaol, and the employer who is fined. This distinction is, in theory, quite unjustifiable, but it is unavoidable under present conditions. I really do not think that any government that treated black and white with absolute equality would last a week; and I will go further, and say I do not think that such a government should last a week. I have many Papuan friends whom I value very highly indeed, but I think that it is quite impossible to treat the two races alike, even in a Court of law. In some cases the white man deserves a heavier punishment than the native, in view of his superior intelligence; in others it is just the reverse. An assault by a white man on a native is a different thing from an assault by a native on a white man, for there is a feeling of shame and humiliation in the one case which is absent from the other: change the sex of the person assaulted, and my contention becomes revoltingly clear. And in the case of native labour offences a civil remedy would be quite illusory; the native has usually nothing but his garden and the land his house stands on, and we could never allow these to be seized, so that any judgment that his employer might recover must (except for the balance of wages due) remain unsatisfied.

The East Africa Commission of 1925* suggests that the time has come to consider whether desertion should not be regarded simply as a breach of civil contract, and M. Girault ("Principes de Colonisation," pp. 236, 237) is strongly opposed to imprisonment as a punishment for this offence, except perhaps for desertion en masse, and a preconcerted refusal to work. He says that the effect of such a punishment is to make the labourer a slave, but he rather spoils his case by assuming that the employer must always be in the wrong, and that the labourer only deserts because he finds that he has been deceived. This is an arbitrary assumption, which is far from being correct, and with us it is only desertion without reasonable cause that is regarded as offence; and with all deference to M. Girault and others, I am afraid that for the present in Papua we must continue so to regard it.

It would be impossible to argue that there is anything morally wrong in working for wages, but it may be doubted whether the indenture system is the best system under which the work can be done, or one which we should wish to make permanent. Professor Egerton says that it is not apparent "why it should be more degrading to enlist for a number of years in the economic development of a country than to enlist for military service."† I confess that I cannot see any answer to this, unless it be that in the one case the end, the defence of your country, sanctifies the means, while in the other the end is merely the production of dividends, and cannot be said to sanctify anything; but the general opinion of administrators who have actual experience of the system seems to be against it.

My own view is that at present, and in Papua, indentured labour is a necessary evil, and that, though it will probably be very long before we can do without it, we should not seek to perpetuate it, but should look forward to the day when we shall be able to rely upon free labour alone. In Papua free, or as it is called with us "casual labour," has for many years been allowed for a period not exceeding three months, and a good deal of casual labour is employed; and in the year before last we passed an

*Report, p. 174.
†Egerton, "British Colonial Policy in the XXth Century," p. 246.

Ordinance which extended the employment of free labour without restriction of time. A limit of distance, however, was imposed instead, and now, under this Ordinance, free labourers may be employed without restriction of time, provided that their place of employment is not more than twenty, or, in the case of women, not more than four miles distant from their home. And, of course, they can still be employed for three months without any limit of distance.

(d) Labour must be purely Voluntary.

I can deal very briefly with compulsory labour in Papua; there is no compulsory labour at all—except the supply of carriers for Government patrols. Labour in Papua must be voluntary; and when we say that it must be voluntary we mean it. It may be possible to defend compulsory labour, and free labour requires no defence, but the labour that is neither one thing nor the other can not, in my opinion, be defended at all. It has been argued that it is permissible, and even desirable, that a Government should encourage natives to take service with a European employer, and it is strange to find that the Hilton Young Report on East Africa inclines to this view,* and still more strange to read that the Belgian Commissions of 1924-5 and 1928, while realizing the danger that "la propagande d'ordre général" may become "une pression morale," actually recommend that junior Government Officers should take labour recruiters with them on their patrols.† The Belgian Commissions are otherwise distinguished by an appreciation of native interests, so, after this, it is perhaps not altogether astounding to find that the report of the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations of 25th July, 1925, can go no further than a feeble suggestion that the exercise of such indirect pressure "calls for prudence on the part of the Administration."‡

In Papua we have never permitted any "encouragement," for, in our opinion, such "encouragement" is only an additional instance of the ingenuity which is sometimes

*See p. 65 of the Report.

†*See* "Forced Labour Report and Draft Questionnaire," Geneva International Labour Office, 1929, pp. 192, 193.

‡*See* "Forced Labour Report," p. 9. It is refreshing to find that an appeal to the International Labour Organization of the League of Nations, prepared by a Joint Committee of the League of Nations Union, and the (British) Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society and signed by Charles Roberts and Gilbert Murray, advises that "the prudence recommended would be best displayed by total avoidance of the practice." "Forced Labour Report," p. 309.

displayed "in overcoming the difficulties of an inadequate labour supply."* Another instance of the same ingenuity is the abuse of native taxation, by the imposition of a tax in order to compel natives to go to work. One can generally tell when this is the object of the tax, because in that case the labourer is exempt; in Papua the labourer is not exempt, for our object is not to make the native go to work but to raise money for certain purposes. It has been said, and I quite agree, that levying a tax in order to get labour is rather more objectionable than direct compulsion; and I would apply the same argument to the system of "encouragement" by Government Officers. Father le Grand, criticizing the Belgian Commission, tells us that "indirect compulsion of forced labour is the crime of Pontius Pilate;"† we did not know this, but we have not committed the crime in Papua.

It is a strange thing that a fine of £1 a head on every native who did not work for a white man would be denounced throughout the world, and would probably cause the dismissal of the Governor who imposed it; while a tax of £1 a head, with exemption of those who were at work, would probably be approved. Yet the effect of the two would be exactly the same, and no native could ever be taught to see the difference; in either case he would have to pay £1 unless he went to work, and whether this was called a tax or a fine would not interest him.

(e) Method of Recruiting.

A Papuan directly he is recruited must be taken "without unnecessary delay" to a Government Officer to be "signed on," that is to enter into his contract of service, and the Officer "shall not sanction the engagement of a native until he has satisfied himself (i) that fair remuneration is offered and will be duly paid; (ii) that the native is willing to enter into the contract of service; (iii) that there is no reason to suspect that the native will be unfairly treated; (iv) that there is no reason to suspect that the native will not on the expiration of the contract of service be returned to his home by the employer."

*See "Forced Labour Report," p. 190.
†"Forced Labour Report," p. 254.

It is at this time that the consent of the native is material—that is at the time of "signing on" before the Government Officer. All sorts of mutual promises and "hot air" may have passed between the recruiter and the labourer in the village or on the beach, but it all goes for nothing; the native may have made a dozen promises to "sign on," he may have accepted presents made to him on the strength of those promises, but if, when he is before the Government Officer, he refuses to "sign on," the engagement will not be sanctioned and the recruiter must take him home again. In the same way no effect will be given to the gorgeous prospects which may have been held out in the village to a hesitating recruit.*

And the Government Officer must stand absolutely neutral. The slightest hint might be sufficient to decide a waverer and to induce him to engage, but the hint must not be given—the "crime of Pontius Pilate" must be avoided at all costs. Much indignation was, naturally enough, expressed by recruiters on the loss of "boys" who had promised to work, but who had declined at the last moment, and who, as the recruiters loudly and no doubt truthfully asserted, would have "signed on" if the Officer had given them the faintest encouragement; but the Officers never wavered. They maintained their policy of silence, and the complaints died away, as recruiting methods improved, and employers realized that an unwilling or a doubtful recruit was hardly worth recruiting.

(*f*) *Indenture of Women.*

All systems of indentured labour are practically the same, for they all provide for the same sort of thing—payment of wages, hours of labour, sleeping accommodation, rations, medical attendance, and so forth. Probably the regulations are enforced more strictly in some places than in others, but otherwise there seems to be no great difference, except in one or two rather important matters which indicate a difference of native policy. One of these is the indenture of women. In Papua women are not "signed on" except in the domestic service of a married woman, and in the Solomons and Fiji they are, I believe, not "signed

*Probably such representations would have but little effect now that the conditions of service are so generally understood.

on" at all. Even when the importation of Indian women into Fiji under indenture was allowed, the indenture of native Fijian women was expressly excepted.

Three main arguments are adduced in support of the indenture of women:— (i) that the men will be more contented if they have their wives with them—of course, only married women with their husbands would be "signed on," for the indenture of unmarried women would be too obvious a system of prostitution; (ii) that the birth-rate, at present affected by the absence of so many men from their wives, would be increased; and (iii) that if there are no women unnatural vice will prevail among the labourers.

But it is obvious that (i) only applies to the married men, and probably to only a very small number of them, and it seems probable that (ii) and (iii) are not seriously intended. The wives are not likely to bear many children in the strange surroundings of the plantation, far away from the traditional care and attention that would be given to them in the village; and the number of women would be too small to have any effect upon unnatural vice, assuming that vice to exist. Even if they were all professional prostitutes the number would be too small, and, of course, the theory is that they will all be respectable married women living with their husbands.

In Papua we allow wives to accompany their husbands on to the plantations, and if they work they must be paid; but they can not be indentured, and they must have quarters and rations provided. Of course they follow their husbands on transfer to another plantation, and return home with them; not many wives avail themselves of the privilege.

We are opposed to the indenture of women on broad grounds of policy. There are three methods of devoloping a territory like Papua. You may devolop it entirely by native labour and European capital, that is by using the native solely as a labourer in the service of the white man; or you may develop it partly in that way, and partly by native enterprise, that is by the native working for himself, and not as a servant of an employer; or you may develop it by native enterprise alone, but this third method is impracticable in Papua and may be disregarded. The

trend of modern administration seems to be towards the encouragement of native enterprise, which has been so successful in the cultivation of cacao and of cotton in West and East Africa respectively, and in Papua we have adopted the second method. This method depends upon the maintenance of village life, for it is only through the villages that native plantations can be developed, and the village life cannot be maintained unless the women remain to "keep the home fires burning" while the men are away.

The men may go off and wander about the territory, and stay away from home for three or four years, or more if they can get the Commissioner's consent, but, so long as the women are in the village, the men will, as a rule, come back again. But, when once the women leave, the village life is dead.

(*g*) *Indenture of Children.*

The indenture of children is regulated by a section of the "Native Labour Ordinance" which forbids the engagement of a child under the apparent age of fourteen unless (i) the parents consent; and (ii) there is no school in which English is taught within a mile of his home. Perhaps it would have been wiser to forbid the engagement of such young children altogether.

(*h*) *Plantation Villages Not Approved.*

The maximum term of indenture in Papua is three years, and the term is not likely to be increased. A labourer can "sign on" again after the expiration of his first contract, but he can not remain away from his village for more than four years, except under special circumstances, and then only with the consent of the Commissioner for Native Affairs.

Here again we have been influenced by the necessity of maintaining the village life. If a man drifts away from his village, and "signs on" again and again, without going back, the plantation or mine eventually comes to be his home, and he becomes a landless man, entirely dependent on his wages.

We have, therefore, always been opposed to the creation of "plantation villages." Very attractive pictures were painted of such villages, where father, mother, and children,

would all live together, the father, and perhaps the mother, working on the plantation, and having the use of a house and of a plot of ground which they could cultivate in their spare time, all the family being supported by the plantation, and the children attending the plantation school. The prospect was a tempting one, and I see that a similar proposal has nearly gained the approval of the Governor of Tanganyika.* I must not speak of Tanganyika for the obvious reason that I know nothing about that territory, but I confess that in my opinion the scheme has a "catch" in it, at any rate in Papua, and the "catch" is that the scheme might lead to the economic ruin of the natives concerned. Long absence from the village would cause a loss of tribal rights, and the labourers and their families would suffer a complete change of status. From peasant proprietors, as they are now, they would become a landless proletariate, dependent for their living on the wage that the planters cared to give them, and, in their old age, on charity. Such a result could obviously not be reconciled with the paramountcy of native interests, or with the theory of the Sacred Trust.

Corporal Punishment.

An employer may not punish a labourer either corporally or otherwise; punishment can only be awarded by order of a Court. Corporal punishment can not be awarded even by a Court, and is expressly forbidden to an employer, with, I am sure, the approval of the majority of European residents. It is, I believe, forbidden throughout the Empire, but I suppose that in most countries the law is occasionally broken, though the breach is not always reported. I once met a planter from one of the Crown Colonies who told me that, in his part of the world, the natives liked being flogged; the tastes of our natives are more normal, and they object to the process very strongly, but I have no doubt that it sometimes happens that a Papuan native is beaten, and, knowing that he has been in the wrong, says nothing about it.

The labourers themselves tell us that there is very little actual beating, much less than there was, I think, at one time; what they complain of most are trifling little

* "Report on Labour in Tanganyika," pp. 13, 14.

assaults such as hair pulling, slapping, and so forth. This sort of thing may be more difficult to bear than a downright flogging, and is certainly not tolerated by an employer who wishes to keep a good name with his labourers; and, on the whole, the relations between employer and employed in Papua are probably as satisfactory as they can be, where differences of race, colour, language, and culture, are so obvious and so profound. Evidently European and Papuan get to know one another better as time goes on, for relations have much improved in recent years; and there is also this fact, which perhaps is material, that the Papuan sometimes hits back, and, by reason of his better condition, his youth, and his consequent power of endurance, occasionally turns the tables on an employer who seeks to correct him.

Rations and Wages.

In a territory like Papua, where the labourer can not provide his own food, the settlement of an adequate ration scale is, to say the least, one of the most important features of labour legislation, and it is also one of the most difficult, in view of recent medical teaching. Fortunately our employers readily fall in with the suggestions of the Medical Department, and find no difficulty in supplying the various vitamin-producing foods which are required. The death-rate has been low for a long time; in the last six years it has only once reached 2 per cent., and there is reason to expect that it will soon be reduced below 1 per cent. Last year it was a small fraction over.

The rate of wage is not so important to the Papuan as it is to us, and a native who does not want to work will rarely be induced to do so by an increase of pay. To persuade an idle man to work you must offer him something that he likes better than idleness;* and generally, according to Lord Lugard, this "something" amounts, for an unskilled labourer, to the local price of a fowl per diem.† In the case of the unskilled Papuan it is usually represented by ten shillings a month and his keep, and if he will not work for this wage he probably will not work at all; he might work for less, but an Australian administration

*See Girault, "Principes de Colonisation," II, p. 206, "Il faut remplacer la jouissance de la paresse par une autre jouissance quelconque plus grande," quoting Colonel Thys, at Brussels.
†"Dual Mandate," p. 405.

could hardly approve of a lower wage than this. Skilled men earn a great deal more, and I have known one or two men who were paid as much as £20 or £25 a month; and they were worth it, for they were doing work for which a white man would have asked at least half as much again.

The "Pay Off."

The final scene in the service of the native labourer is the "pay off" and the return of the labourer to his home. From the point of view of the employer this is the most important part of the labourer's whole service, for, if he is returned to his village with his wages intact, or their value in trade that he has purchased, and if he has been well treated on his voyage home, this will colour his recollection of the whole of the time that he has been away, he will give a good account of his service, and more recruits will come from his village. If, as used sometimes to happen years ago, his money has been stolen or lost on the way, if he has been ill-treated and insufficiently fed during the return voyage, and, above all, if he has been landed at a distance from his village, to make his way home as best he can, then he will never "sign on" again, nor will any of his friends. But he will probably make no complaint to the Government; he will be so "fed up" with the white men whom he has met that he will never want to meet another.

The Reverend W. C. Willoughby, who is a recognized authority on native questions in Africa, suggests that labourers should receive the bulk of their earnings through the magistrate at their tribal home;* this he considers the best method of payment, and it is the method generally followed in Papua, unless the labourer, for some adequate reason, prefers to be paid off at one of the larger centres. But payment is only allowed at places where reasonable prices are charged at the local stores.

"Clearing House" for Complaints at Port Moresby.

Native labour administration runs much more smoothly when the supply is equal to the demand than it does when there is a feverish rush of recruiters through the country,

*"Race Problems in the new Africa," p. 213.

eager to snap up anything in human shape that can possibly pass the Government Officer, and urged on to still further efforts by employers, at their wits' end for labour to carry out their statutory improvements. It is hardly too much to say that labour troubles are unknown to-day in Papua, and this happy state of things is no doubt partly due to the fact that the demand does not exceed the supply; but I think that it is also due, to a very great extent, to the better understanding which now exists between European and Papuan, and which I have already mentioned.

The Commissioner for Native Affairs some years ago established a sort of "clearing house" for complaints by employers and employed in the Port Moresby district. The practice is for the "boy" who thinks that he has reason to complain of his master or mistress, and for the master or mistress who has anything against a "boy," to come to the Commissioner and tell him all about it. A return of the various cases is prepared every month by the Commissioner, and these returns make the most interesting reading to anyone who has to deal with native labour; in most cases, as might be expected, the statements made by the parties are absolutely irreconcilable, but the tactful Commissioner succeeds in arriving at an amicable settlement in almost every instance, and it is but rarely that a case has to be submitted to the arbitrament of the Magistrate's Court. Much ill feeling and bad blood has been avoided by the Commissioner's common sense and good temper.

Effect of Tax and Native Plantations.

No one has a right to native labour, and no one has any ground of complaint if he can not persuade Papuans to work for him; as Mr. Ormsby-Gore said in 1925, speaking of Kenya, "the labour difficulty is one of the hazards of his undertaking."* It is a question what effect the tax has in making natives work, and what effect the system of native plantations has in preventing them. Opinions vary on these points in different countries; personally I think that in Papua the tax has but little influence, and the native plantations practically none.

*In a speech to the African Society. "Forced Labour Report," p. 194.

Conclusion.

Such is our native policy in Papua. Whether it has been a success or a failure can perhaps hardly be decided yet. I think that, so far as definite objective tests can be applied, we may claim that the decision must be in our favour, but I readily admit that this does not settle the question; for it is possible, though extremely unlikely, that some subtle process of degeneration is going on which will eventually bring our folk to ruin in spite of, or perhaps by reason of, our efforts. Our policy has been subjected, in the past, to an exceptionally liberal measure of criticism, but unfortunately our critics have given us but little real assistance. Some have argued, for instance, that we are hurrying the native along too quickly, and that we do not give him sufficient time to adjust himself to the new life which is being forced upon him, but others have complained that we are "pampering" and "coddling" him, and have appealed to us to push him more rapidly along the road of civilization. And some say that we ruin our charges by encouraging them to live in idleness, while others again have warned us that, with our native plantations, our compulsory porterage, and our insistence upon clean and well-kept villages, we are working them to death.

All I can say is that these inconsistent criticisms can not all be true, and that in my opinion they are all unfounded. But, from the nature of the case, I cannot give any definite proof of this, for there is no satisfactory test that I can apply; though I think that I may fairly contend that a policy which is the subject of such contradictory criticisms is probably a moderate and a reasonable one.

And I think that the tangible and visible evidence should not be disregarded, and that we are entitled to call attention to the facts that the native population is at least not diminishing, that the improvement in native health is obvious even to a layman, that native gardens are larger and better kept than they used to be, that native plantations are improving and are beginning to bring in a return, that native education has rapidly advanced, that native housing and sanitation have been vastly improved, that hundreds of natives have banking accounts of their own, and that native industrial enterprise is beginning. And there is also the

fact that natives are being employed, in ever increasing numbers, both by the Government and by private employers, as clerks and typists, skilled artisans and mechanics, medical orderlies, engineers, and navigators; and that their work is almost invariably satisfactory.

This is really a wonderful advance, for the Papuan, we must remember, is not fifty years removed from the darkness of the Stone-Age. "Nothing," said Sir William MacGregor in his Annual Report for 1897-8, "shows better the march of events in the Possession during the last decade than the progressive employment of natives." It is interesting to remember that at the date of the annexation there was not a single native in the regular employment of the Government, even the boat's crew in Port Moresby being composed of coloured men from Queensland, who were paid £8 a month, and who soon increased their demands to £14. "A very modest vote," says Sir William, "was proposed by me for native employees in submitting the first estimates of expenditure, but this was struck out in Queensland as an absurdity." Even when the Commonwealth assumed control in 1906, though the boat's crews and the police were Papuans, there were no native clerks, and practically no skilled labourers except a few in the employ of the London Missionary Society at Kwato. Twenty years ago anyone who predicted the present evidence of native capacity would have been regarded as mentally deficient.

This is what I said in the Annual Report of 1926-7, and I can say it with still greater emphasis to-day.

APPENDICES.

A.—MEDICAL TREATMENT OF NATIVES

by the Chief Medical Officer, the Honourable W. M. STRONG, M.D.

The Government maintains Native Hospitals at Port Moresby and Samarai, under fully qualified medical officers stationed permanently at these places, and assisted in each place by a European Medical Assistant and various native assistants. At the Native Hospital, Port Moresby, during 1927-28 there were 934 admissions of in-patients, comprising 867 males and 67 females. The daily average for the year was 58·2. The total cost of the hospital, apart from the part-time services of the Medical Officer and the European Medical Assistant, and apart from repairs to the buildings, was £1,026.

At Samarai, there were 962 admissions of in-patients to the Native Hospital, comprising 805 males and 157 females. The daily average for the year was 113·3. The total cost of the hospital, apart from the part-time services of the Medical Officer and the European Medical Assistant, and apart from the cost of repairs to the buildings, was £1,567.

One great difference which exists between the tropics and the more favoured regions of the world is the amount of money which is available for medical and health work in the two places. I suppose several pounds per head per year are spent on medical and health work in Australia. In Papua, as regards the native population at least, we have to be satisfied with something like a shilling a head. There are thus two possible policies—We may either distribute this shilling a head over the whole population, or we may say we will concentrate our resorces on the parts of the Territory which are nearest to civilization—those districts which are nearest the centres of white population. The result of this second policy would be that we would put up one or two first-class native hospitals in one or two special places, and leave the bulk of the country to go on in its old primitive way without medical help of any kind. In Papua we have tended strongly towards the first policy. As far as possible we have aimed at treating the whole country equally. The exigencies of a European population have required that we keep fully qualified men permanently resident at Port Moresby and Samarai. As a corollary of this we have inevitably put up permanent native hospitals in these two places, and so quite high-class medical assistance is available to a very limited number of natives; but we have also aimed at having as much work as possible done by fully qualified Travelling Officers in the outside villages. In a country like

Papua, fully qualified men are few and far between, consequently almost every European in the country has to take some part in doing medical work. The Government itself has adopted this policy in that it appoints what are called European Travelling Medical Assistants in addition to the qualified officers. These officers assist the Medical Officers and also travel and do medical work quite on their own. It is a policy which is fully justified by the circumstances of a primitive tropical country. The diseases which are prominent in the tropics are, in a great measure, different from those in a temperate climate. In Papua, we always have a background of malaria. Even if the patient has not already got it, he very likely soon will have it unless quinine is given. Malaria seems to become active especially when some other adverse influence arises. We have had much trouble in the past with dysentery and beriberi. Broncho-pneumonia and allied conditions in epidemic form were not uncommon in the villages even before the 1918 wave of true influenza.

A matter which requires a good deal of care is the feeding of natives. Natives who live in their own villages appear to suffer but little as a result of a deficient food supply; but it is different with natives who live under barrack-like conditions in centres of native labour employment. Here the tendency used to be to think that one only need give a native a pound and a-half or more of rice per day, and a pound of tinned meat and sugar per week, for him to remain healthy and able to work efficiently. But more than this is required—fresh food and variety is needed to maintain good health and efficiency.

The Government maintain a staff of Medical Officers and Medical Assistants for work outside of the regular hospitals at Port Moresby and Samarai. These officers are mainly employed in attending to the wants of the natives in the villages. The Missions have continued to do good work in the matter of looking after the health of the native. Both the Methodist Mission and the Anglican Mission have obtained the the services of a fully qualified medical man, and both maintain a native hospital in their districts. The Methodist Mission has also done a great deal of valuable outside work in the D'Entrecasteaux group of islands. The Kwato Extension Association is just starting a native hospital near Samarai intended primarily for the treatment of women and children. This promises to be of distinct value in dealing with some cases which are difficult to handle in a general native hospital with the supervision available.

This Mission work is assisted by grants from the Government. The Government also supplies free treatment for yaws to the Missions out of Native Taxation.

The following is a summary of some of the work reported and done in the villages by Government officers and members of the Missions for the year 1927-28:—

Hookworm Treatments	30,615
Yaw Treatments	6,147
Phthisis Cases	68
Other Tubercular Cases	146
Granuloma Inguinale	47

Other Venereal Ulcerations	52
Gonorrhoea	111
Other Urethritis	85
Syphilis	1
Elephantiasis	72
Leprosy	33
Other Miscellaneous Cases	28,818

The records of the Port Moresby villages show that there were 67 births and 37 deaths in addition to 3 still-births for the same period. The figures for the year before were 62 births and 55 deaths. The population dealt with is estimated to be 1,750 and gives a birth-rate of 35·5 and a death-rate of 18·3 per thousand. This is very satisfactory. Recently a beginning has been made with a view to getting some idea of the districts which are increasing and which are decreasing by getting the officers of this Department to make counts in typical areas, showing the percentage of children, adults and old people. The figures to which I attach most importance is the ratio of children to the total population. It is I think fair to argue that a population which is increasing will have a larger percentage of children than a population which is definitely decreasing. The following table shows the percentages of children in different districts for the year 1927-28. Each district is considered to have fairly uniform conditions and the figures the percentages are based on are sufficiently numerous for me to regard them as of some definite significance. In the table I have also mentioned the percentage of total of males in the population. According to some authorities a marked excess of males suggests that the population is diminishing.

District.	Per cent. of Children under 15.	Per cent. of Males.	Total Population.	Observer.
Lower Fly River	38·8	48·4	2,219	1
Purari Delta, Delta Division... ...	43·0	52·3	3,508	2
Gulf (Orokolo-Kerema)	49·3	54·0	1,530	2
Gulf (Silo-Motu-Motu)	49·7	50·9	4,320	2
Gulf (Kukipi-Oiyapu)	56·5	51·3	2,444	2
Mekeo, Central Division	50·9	53·0	2,924	2
Delena-Kabadi, Central Division ...	46·5	53·9	1,088	2
Tupusilleia-Kapa Kapa	43·5	55·9	1,399	3
Inland Rigo Villages	36·4	54·6	3,755	3
Suau District, Eastern Division ...	35·5	52·8	1,150	4
Tufi-Buna, North-Eastern Division and Northern Division	23·3	60·5	2,388	5
Buna-Mambare Coast, Northern Division	34·9	56·4	1,820	5
Buna-Kokoda inland, Northern Division	37·6	61·9	3,948	5

In 1921 the percentage of children under 15 was 31·73 in Australia and 27·72 in England.

The Territory has also begun to deal with the training of natives to do the minor work in the villages. There are now two parties of natives who have carried out medical patrols in the villages un-

accompanied by a European officer. Another party carried on work while the medical officer in charge of them was away doing special work. Preparations are also being made to form another similar party.

B.—NATIVE EDUCATION

by the Government Secretary, the Honourable H. W. CHAMPION.

The first school in Papua for natives was that opened in Port Moresby, apparently in 1874, by the late Dr. W. G. Lawes of the London Missionary Society. Other Missionary bodies soon established themselves in the Territory, and by 1918, when the "Native Taxes Ordinance" came into force, there were few, if any, important centres of native population where some sort of education was not available to natives. Except for a regulation making attendance compulsory for children living within one mile of a school, no assistance, monetary or otherwise, had ever been given to the Missions by the Government.

The "Native Taxes Ordinance" provides that the taxes firstly, "shall be applied for the purposes of the general and technical education of the natives of Papua in such manner as may be prescribed." It was natural, and indeed, inevitable, that the Government should invite the various Mission organizations, in return for financial assistance, to extend and improve the educational facilities already existing for natives.

The subsidies offered were of three kinds; the first was on the basis of a *per capita* allowance with a small annual grant for school material; the second an annual subsidy for any scheme which a Mission might propose and the Government accept; the third a subsidy, annual or otherwise, for special industrial training.

To begin with, all the Mission bodies accepted the first-named proposal. With the aid of the Mission teachers a syllabus of two standards was drawn up, to which two more standards were added later. It is prescribed that, for pupils who can pass, in any one of these standards, an examination by an Inspector appointed by the Government, a *per capita* grant will be paid to the Mission, commencing with 5s. for the first standard and rising by 5s. per standard to 20s. for the fourth standard, but so that the total payable in any one year to any one Mission shall not exceed £250. In addition £50 is paid to each Mission in the first year to buy material and £10 in the second and following years for the same purpose.

Papua is a country of many tribes speaking many different languages and dialects, and, it being highly desirable that there should be a common language, the Government chose English as being the most suitable, and, as far back as 1907, directed its officers to use English in speaking to natives. In the same year the native regulation which makes school attendance compulsory was amended, so that punishment can now be inflicted only upon those children who fail to attend a school where English is taught. It followed, therefore, that the payment of

subsidies should be limited to the schools teaching English. The Missions do not agree with this policy, but, without it, English would probably make little progress. On most of the Mission stations the custom is to use the vernacular, and to such lengths has this policy been sometimes carried, that even the children of European Missionaries have been denied a knowledge of their mother tongue.

The masters of the Government schools for European children were first used as Inspectors for the subsidized native schools. These teachers are on loan from Queensland, and are changed biennially. Natives are shy in the presence of strangers; there was lack of continuity of method, and the Inspectors were unable to get into proper touch either with the pupils or teachers, so this form of inspection was not successful. The European schools are annually visited by an Inspector from Queensland, and the Government, with the sympathetic co-operation of the Department of Public Instruction of Queensland, was fortunate enough to secure his services for the annual inspection of native schools. The results have been highly satisfactory.

The first inspection under the new conditions was made in 1927. The total number of pupils in the schools inspected was about 2,000. The accommodation was found suitable and adequate, and the equipment satisfactory, but the want of an English reading book in keeping with Papuan conditions was commented on. The European teaching staffs were very favourably spoken of, but it was pointed out that the best results were obtained only where the teachers' work was wholly or mainly scholastic. Native assistants, zealous and industrious, were found in most of the schools doing valuable work, but often their ability to cope with English was extremely limited.

English was generally fair, and, in some schools, quite good. The lack of an English vocabulary was a difficulty. General knowledge had not been dealt with systematically, but in many schools the senior pupils were acquiring a good deal of useful information. Arithmetic was, in general, weak. 1,173 pupils were examined, of whom 1,003 passed.

The schools were again examined a year later by the same Inspector. In the meantime, a school reader suitable for Papuan conditions had been written by the Rev. W. J. Saville of the London Missionary Society, published by the Government, and its use made compulsory in all the subsidized schools. The Inspector found a decided advance upon the year before. English in particular had made substantial strides, and, in the lower classes, lessons having a certain amount of local colouring had been taken to "with a degree of avidity never before exhibited." Arithmetic, however, was still weak. Not much progress had been made in general knowledge, but the Inspector looks to the new reader, which he says "is destined to become a valuable factor in the education of natives," to supply this deficiency. At this examination 1,366 pupils were examined, and 1,147 passed.

The villages on the shores of Port Moresby of the Motu tribe have a population of about 2,000 with a large number of vigorous, intelligent children. Here the London Missionary Society established itself in

1874. In 1918, the 430 children attending school were being given such education as the Resident Missionary and his wife, both untrained teachers, could, with their multifarious missionary duties, manage to give them. Nevertheless, good progress was made. In return for an annual subsidy of £1,000, besides the *per capita* grant, the Society appointed a fully qualified teacher and an expert kindergarten mistress, who is assisted by the teacher's wife. Two large schoolrooms, a workshop and a teachers' residence were erected. The number of children attending the school is now about 550. A Papuan of considerable ability has been given special training at this school, in order to act as assistant master in it, and will shortly take up duty. The Society has, elsewhere, a college in which native pastors are trained and educated. After five years' tuition at the college, they come to Port Moresby and put in a year at the school here, where they are initiated into the latest teaching methods, so that, when they go out to distant villages as Missionaries, they will also be equipped for the school work which they are expected to undertake. Children taught by these men have been successful at the examinations conducted by the Government Inspector.

The workshop has room for 36 pupils who are trained in the use and care of tools and in the elements of simple carpentry. The proceeds from the sale of the articles they make keep the shop in tools and timber. Some of the pupils after leaving school find work with European contractors, with wages ranging from 3s. to 6s. per day.

The Roman Catholic Mission, whose head-quarters are at Yule Island, are also paid a subsidy of £1,000 per annum, in addition to the *per capita* grant. It is, however, a condition of the payment that the Mission shall give special attention to industrial training. Schools for primary education, which are all conducted by European Sisters, exist in the Mekeo District, and one at Port Moresby and one at Yule Island. At the two latter a large number of other than pure-blooded Papuans attend, and though they sit for examination, the Mission is not entitled to the *per capita* grant for them, as the operation of the "Native Taxes Ordinance" does not extend to Papuans of mixed blood.

In the technical section the boys are trained in accordance with the scheme laid down by the technical adviser to the Government. The work includes carpentry and iron-work, with drawing as the basis of the training. Their instruction was reported on by the Government Inspector as being very efficient and likely to develop them "into good capable workmen." Native carpenters trained by this Mission are employed in the Government Service.

The Kwato Industrial Association, formerly an offshoot of the London Missionary Society, but now quite independent of it, is also paid a subsidy of £1,000 per annum for special industrial training.

The London Missionary Society at Fife Bay is paid a subsidy of £500 per annum for special industrial training. At Fife Bay a properly equipped school has been erected and is in charge of a fully qualified European instructor. The Government scheme of technical education

is being carried out without any modification, and the Government Inspector reports that the work done "will stand comparison with any similar work done in Australian schools."

One of the practical benefits of the education of the native is seen in the number of natives employed by Europeans at clerical and other duties, a result not believed possible a few years ago. In the Government Service many native clerks are employed; their work is highly satisfactory, and as they gain experience it is fonnd possible to increase their responsibilities. The Medical Department has a number of native medical assistants who, without European assistance, travel from village to village giving yaw injections and dispensing simple remedies, and who are able to make a map of the route travelled and keep an intelligent account in English of the work performed.

In one large district knowledge of English has given impetus to the copra industry among the natives. Many of the natives have sufficient knowledge to weigh their copra, record the weights, consign the copra to market by the coastal steamer, and order goods in exchange for the proceeds. This in turn has led those natives not knowing English to ask for a qualified teacher, the Missionary who taught the others having retired.

Progress in English must necessarily be slow since the opportunity of using it outside the school is not available to many natives. The Government Anthropologist, Mr. F. E. Williams, M.A., has recently started the publication of a newspaper for natives written wholly in English. This newspaper, called *The Papuan Villager*, had an immediate success, but, as Europeans are considerably attracted by it, it is difficult to say, as yet, what circulation it has among the natives. However, the growing number of contributions to its pages by natives—more indeed than the Editor can cope with—is an indication of the spread of English. We are apt to smile at the mistakes of the native writers, but we should be surprised, not at the number of mistakes made, but that they should be so few. Except the Missionaries, there are very few Europeans who have attained a knowledge of any native language approaching the knowledge that very many natives have acquired of ours.

From the technical side it is yet too early to expect practical results from the course of teaching laid down by the Government, and now being followed in those schools specially subsidized for the purpose. Such native carpenters as are the product of the Mission schools commenced their training before the adoption of the special course. In this branch of education the best results, so far, have been achieved by the Public Works Department, but there, of course, the training has been limited to the few that the Department requires for its own needs. In the carpentry and joinery section, the Department has, at present, none but natives on its staff, two of whom can read a plan and are entrusted with the erection of European dwelling houses. In the plumber's shop the European in charge has trained natives to be highly skilled in all branches of plumbing work.

In the Government-owned Electric Power and Light Supply of Port Moresby there are natives employed who can, with supervision, erect the electric mains, and who, without any supervision, are able to instal electric wires throughout a building with expedition and efficiency. The same natives attend to the Port Moresby telephone service; they can erect a wire to the exchange, instal a telephone and correct those ills which telephones continually suffer from. The telephone exchange, with an all-night service, is conducted with politeness and efficiency by natives without any European supervision.

On the privately-owned plantations throughout the Territory, natives acquire not only a better knowledge of agriculture which they are applying—very gradually it is true—to their own lands, but a knowledge of machinery. They attend to copra dryers, work rubber-making machinery and drive motor-ploughs. Two or three European-owned coconut plantations are managed exclusively by natives.

REPORT ON SCOUT AND GUIDE WORK AT POREPORENA (the principal village at Port Moresby).

Mr. Champion adds an account given by
PERCY CHATTERTON, ESQ., L.M.S., of the formation of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides at Port Moresby.

"Scouting" was started at Poreporena School in 1926. Some diffidence was felt at first in introducing the Scout Movement here, for it seemed that some of the chief phases of the scout programme were so much a part of the ordinary life of Papuan boys as to need no further emphasis. At the same time, it was felt that there were other phases of that programme which might form a useful auxiliary to the school curriculum; and above all it was felt that the idealism and high moral standard of the Scout Law might be of very great value in developing qualities at present weak in the Papuan character.

So an experiment was made with a small group of senior schoolboys. The enthusiasm and interest evinced by these boys led to the establishment of a Troop of Scouts, officially registered as the "1st Papuan Native Troop," and affiliated to the Queensland Branch of the movement.

This work was regarded from the first as being quite definitely a a part of the educational work of the school; and only boys who were of regular attendance and good behaviour in school and had reached a definite standard of attainment in school-work were admitted. As there have always been more boys wanting to join the Troop than could possibly be admitted, it has been an easy matter to keep the standard of entrance high; and to be a scout is now recognized as a privilege that has got to be worked for and that is worth working for.

Most of the scout work was carried out during the daytime, and was therefore strictly limited to schoolboys. In 1927, however, the extension of electric lighting to the school buildings made evening meetings possible; and a number of older boys, most of them boys working as clerks, orderlies or apprentices in Port Moresby, expressed a desire to share in the Scout Movement. A "Rover Scout" section was therefore formed and registered at Scout Head-quarters; and this has proved as successful as the junior section. Now, in 1929, it consists mainly of boys who have been scouts during their school-days and have wished to continue their scouting on leaving school. Eventually, of course, it will consist entirely of such boys.

Shortly after the formation of the Rover section, a deputation of girls waited upon me with the inquiry: "Please can't girls be scouts too?" So my wife and I inaugurated a Company of Girl Guides for them. This organization has also enjoyed a gratifying measure of success.

Each of the three organizations now consists of four "patrols," a patrol being a group of eight boys or girls working under a leader chosen by themselves from among their own number. It will thus be seen that about 100 boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 20 are in active connection with the movement at any given time. As there is a steady exit from the top end of the scale and a corresponding influx of recruits at the bottom end, this means that quite a considerable proportion of the young people of Poreporena are being influenced by these organizations.

Regular meetings of all branches of the movement are held once a week, and a good many extra meetings are held for special purposes. As an example of the interest that is evoked it may be mentioned that several ex-scouts are now working in the Medical Department of the Government and are frequently away on patrols. They have nevertheless retained their membership of the Rover section, and attend the meetings regularly whenever they are at home.

Uniform does not trouble us much. The best uniform for a Papuan scout is a clean and well-formed body. But a uniform loincloth with the name of the Troop in the corner is supplied to those willing to pay for it; and badges are awarded, being worn on the arm attached to an armlet. Lately, some of the rovers have ordered themselves scout shorts, shirts and scarves in order that they may be more like their brother scouts in other lands.

The movement may now be said to have passed out of its experimental stage, and to have become more or less stabilized in its methods. The general lines on which we work may be summarized as follows:—

(1) Development of physical fitness and alertness through gymnastics, physical exercises and games. This side of the work is, I think, especially valuable to the boys who work as clerks in Port Moresby and lead a more sedentary life than that of the ordinary village native.

(2) Development of mental alertness through games of the "sense-training" type and through such activities as "Morse" signalling.

(3) Enlargement of mental horizon through membership of a world-wide organization.

(4) Development of self-control and esprit de corps through the patrol system.

(5) Development of a higher moral standard through the Scout and Guide Laws.

Of these the most difficult of achievement is undoubtedly the last-named. In this direction patience must be exercised; quick results cannot be expected. A "Scouts' Own"—a simple scout service held on Sunday afternoons—has done a good deal to help the boys to a better understanding of the Promise which they have made. And one is sometimes encouraged by overhearing the remark that such and such a course of action "isn't scouty." The mere fact that they have formed an ideal of "scoutiness" is an advance, even if they sometimes fail to live up to the ideal.

21st May, 1929. PERCY CHATTERTON.

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