Review of the
Australian Administration in Papua
from 1907 to 1920.

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SUMMARY.

Papua is an extensive territory, consisting largely of mountain and swamp, not, in general, very fertile, though with plenty of good land still available for settlement, and very sparsely inhabited by a very backward population.

White settlers had been invited to invest money in this Territory, and it was the duty of the Government to assist them. This the Government has done—

(i.) by the protection of life and property to an extent absolutely unknown in either Dutch or German New Guinea;

(ii.) by a land system liberal in its terms, and as favourable to white settlement as is consistent with the recognition of native ownership;

(iii.) by a system of native labour, which has been so far successful that it has induced many more labourers to "sign on" than could have been expected when the Commonwealth first took control;

(iv.) in other miscellaneous ways.

Public works and roads have been almost at a standstill during the war on account of—

(i.) the uncertainty of the war's duration; and

(ii.) the cost of material.

A more active policy is now possible and has been begun.

The construction of roads in Papua does not open up the country, as in Malaya and elsewhere; construction and, particularly, maintenance are also very expensive. But roads are constructed where there is a definite objective, as, e.g., in the Sogeri district and the Kemp Welch.

The general success of the Commonwealth policy is shown by the increase in the area under cultivation, by the mining development and by the expansion of exports, imports and revenue. And this in spite of the fact that all the years since 1914 have been either years of war, or of suffering and embarrassment caused by the war.

The Government has also a duty towards the natives; this duty arises from the fact that we have come here, annexed their territory, and made them British subjects. Having annexed the territory we must pacify it—put down head hunting, etc.—and this we have done

to an extent far exceeding anything that has been done by our neighbours. We must also combat diseases, as, e.g., dysentery and venereal; this we are doing with very fair success already, and we expect to be able to make greater efforts in the future.

Another important duty is to encourage the natives to work—to encourage them in habits of industry. Unskilled labour in the service of the white man is an excellent thing as a beginning, but the more ambitious of the natives should have something better to look forward to as an end. Consequently we are taking steps to assist in the education of the natives, both general and technical, and by a system of "native plantations" we expect to be able to improve native agriculture and to increase the economic value of the Territory.

The money for native education will be provided by native taxation; native taxation in Papua is not intended as a means to induce natives to "sign on." The sole object of the tax is to raise money for native purposes, such as native education; the money raised by the tax does not go into general revenue but is paid to a special account.

Wallace's prophecy of the "early extinction of the Papuan race," if the tide of colonization should be turned to New Guinea, is likely to be falsified.

INTRODUCTORY.

A glance at the map will explain why Papua was the last of all lands to be brought under the influence of civilization. It lay, a fragment of the Stone Age, between Asia and Australia, between Malaya and Polynesia, a part of none of them, unknown to and disregarded by Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch and English; and so it continued until little more than a generation ago, unexplored and unexploited, while all the other islands to the North and South of it and to the East and West were the objects of rivalry, and often the battle grounds, of different civilizations, either European or Asiatic. Geographical position of Papua.

Geographical descriptions are always tedious, but in order to realize what the Commonwealth has done in Papua since it took over the administration one must form some idea of what the Territory is like. To begin with, its size is rather striking—it is bigger than the State of Victoria, and bigger than England, Scotland and Wales together—more than half as big again as England. New Guinea is shaped like a gigantic bird, and Papua occupies most of the tail of the bird, a tail over 700 miles long from East to West and more than 300 miles from North to South. A lofty mountain range runs up the centre of the tail and is called generally "the Main Range"—a vague term which has never been defined, but which, I suppose, would include, not only the Owen Stanley Range, but the whole of the chain from the North-West corner of Papua to East Cape, where it disappears into the sea, to reappear as the scattered islands of the Louisiades. General description.

Mount Albert Edward, the highest mountain in Papua (for it is said to be a few feet higher than Mount Victoria), stands outside and to the North of the Owen Stanley Range, with which it is connected by a lofty chain, never less than 10,000 feet high, called the Wharton Chain. Mount Albert Edward itself is said to be 13,250 feet, Mount Victoria is 13,121 feet, and Uduru, a few miles to the West of Albert Edward, is said to be just as high; these are the loftiest mountains in Papua, but elevations of over 10,000 feet are not uncommon. Most of these are in the Eastern part of the

Territory, but there are some high mountains in the West whose altitude has not been ascertained. Those in the West lie, generally speaking, further inland, for the range runs North-West and therefore away from the coast; and, as you approach the Dutch boundary from the East, you will see an interminable expanse of flat country stretching away to the North. Much of this flat country consists of almost impenetrable swamps, and you have in most cases to go a long way before you can find anything like firm, dry land. Huge rivers flow through this country – the Purari, the Kikori and the Fly. If you go far enough up the rivers the nature of the country changes—but you have to go a long way. Further away, to the west of the Fly, is country which reminds one very much of Australia—open grass country which might be good for stock raising, but is subject to drought and very heavy floods.

Sparsely populated; not very fertile.

So Papua is a very large territory, but it is very sparsely populated. The native population is probably not more than 200,000 or 300,000. It is a country of which the mineral resources and the timber resources are practically unknown, but it is not a particularly fertile land, for it consists largely of mountain and swamp; and it is so difficult to traverse that the explorer d'Albertis declared that "it was easier to ascend the highest peaks of the European Alps with an alpenstock than to cross an ordinary hill in New Guinea." The general opinion in Australia seems to be that Papua is a land of marvellous natural richness, and so it may be so far as mineral resources are concerned, but not, I think, as regards the fertility of the soil. There is, of course, plenty of good land available for European settlement—far more than is likely to be taken up for many years—but I am inclined to agree with Sir William MacGregor's opinion that "it must be said of the soil generally that it is not rich."

Sir William goes on to say "In proportion to population there are, in all probability, more hungry people in British New Guinea than in any other country in the world"; but in this, I think, he has stated the case too strongly. Still, the idea, which seems to be popular in Australia, that the Papuan is a man who lives a life of indolence and plenty, is not in accordance with the facts. This may be a correct description of the life led by the inhabitants of some of the islands of the East Pacific, but it is certainly not generally true of the Papuan. The scanty inhabitants of Papua have, at times, and in many places, rather hard work even to keep alive. They

have an easier life since the arrival of Europeans provided them with steel knives and tomahawks, and they are doubtless in many ways better off than the slum inhabitants of an European city; but even now the village natives in many places are no strangers to hunger, and are very far indeed from being the careless lotus eaters they are sometimes imagined to be.

Problem before the Commonwealth.

So that was the position with which the Commonwealth was faced. Here was a large territory, not very fertile but still capable of considerable agricultural development, and of almost untouched mineral resources—a territory consisting largely of impenetrable swamp and almost inaccessible mountains, and very scantily inhabited, principally by head hunters and cannibals, or at the best by semi-barbarians only separated from utter savagery by a short generation of very superficial civilization. What were you to do with such a territory? That was the problem; and there were many who thought that the best thing to do with such a territory was to leave it alone—to have nothing to do with it; but bolder counsels prevailed and the Territory was taken over.

Duty (i.) towards European settlers; (ii.) towards natives.

Having assumed responsibility for the Territory the Commonwealth found that it had to face the double problem which nowadays confronts the Administrators of tropical countries under British rule—namely, the problem which arises from the duty of developing the natural resources of the country, and the problem which arises from the duty to the native population. I purposely omit any mention of wider problems which may arise in connexion with the interests of the Empire generally, for I intend to deal solely with matters of local administration.

Development in British Empire of the conception of duty towards natives.

In the old days the question was much simpler, for then no one ever dreamed that the Administration had any duty at all towards the native population. The theory of native rights seems to have arisen originally in connexion with the trial of Warren Hastings, and it has gradually developed, in British colonies, until one finds in writers of authority such statements as the following: "Remember that you are not in India or in any foreign dependency for the benefit of what in diplomacy is called your nationals. You are there for the benefit of the people of the country" (Lord Curzon, quoted with approval by Sir Frank Swettenham in "British Malaya," p. 304); "In respect of Territories not self-governing, the sense of possession

has given place to a sense of obligation" (Lord Morley, quoted by Sir Hugh Clifford in "German Colonies," pp. 14 and 15): "The policy of the Continental Powers has adhered to a principle which we have long abandoned, that a tropical colony is a possession to be worked for the profit of the colonizing power—we adopted instead the policy of holding them in trust for their own benefit" (Sir Charles Bruce, "Broad Stone of Empire," Vol. I., pp. 30, 31).

German system.

The German system was entirely different; the Germans, according to Giordani, "made the mistake of treating the colonies as if they were commercial houses, and consequently, in spite of their many admirable qualities, they failed in colonization—'colonization' that is considered as a work of education and elevation of barbarous races" (Giordani, "The German Colonial Empire," pp. 112, 114).

To illustrate the practical difference between these policies one may take the case of a rich and powerful syndicate, anxious to develop the resources of the Territory, and applying for land which the native owners will not sell, or which the Government thinks the natives require for their own use. That syndicate would not get the land in Papua; in a German colony it would.

America and Australia.

The Americans, who, like the Germans, came late into the field as colonists, elected to follow the British system; and it goes without saying that the Commonwealth elected to do the same.

It would, of course, be the merest hypocrisy to pretend that Europeans generally came to New Guinea with the object of benefiting the natives. In the words of Sir William MacGregor—"We went to New Guinea for our own ends, and this fact should never be forgotten in dealing with the natives of that country." The first occupation was, in fact, due to strategic and not to humanitarian considerations, but, whatever the motive of the original settlement, there could never be any doubt that the Government of occupation, whether British or Australian, must conform to the highest principles of British Colonial Administration.

European and native interests, how far in conflict.

Land and labour are naturally the two main points in which the interests of the settlers, engaged in developing the country, are likely to come directly into collision with those of the natives, but, indirectly and incidentally, the two are in almost

continuous opposition; so that the whole administration is coloured by the relation of the native to the European, and a Governor of varied experience can say with truth that "In some of the Crown Colonies where there are different races with sharply-opposed interests the unpopularity of a Governor may be in direct proportion to his performance of his duty" (Sir G. W. des Voeux, "My Colonial Service," Vol. II., p. 133). In other words, a Governor can in such cases only gain popularity by neglecting his duty towards the natives.

Consequently, in electing to follow the British precedent, and to consider the protection and advancement of the native as of paramount importance, the Commonwealth Government was not entering on a path which was likely to lead to popularity, or to win applause from the people at large. It was, on the contrary, electing to follow a course which would be unpopular from the first, and which would become more and more unpopular as time went on and development increased. It is doubtless true that, in the long run, the interests of the two—the interests, that is, of the natives and of the European settlers—are not inconsistent, that the one set of interests is rather complementary of the other, and that, as a principle of administration, one should never lose sight of the fact that there is no essential opposition between them; but the fact remains that at any given moment they are generally diametrically and even perhaps bitterly opposed. This opposition colours almost the whole of local opinion, and nearly all of the misconception which exists with regard to the administration of Papua arises from a failure to understand the native policy. On this point I may repeat what I said in 1914:—

> "The duty of the Papuan Government—the duty, in fact, of any Government which wishes to remain true to the best traditions of Imperial administration—is not only to develop the resources of the Territory, but also to preserve the Papuan and to raise him eventually to the highest civilization of which he is capable, for we wish Australia to have the credit of showing how the civilization of the twentieth century can be introduced among people of the Stone Age, not only without injury to them but to their lasting benefit and permanent advancement.
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> "Now the settler has no such duty, and he is too often inclined to think that a Government which pursues this end, and is anxious to protect and assist the native in his

rapid transit from savagery to civilization, is actuated by a sickly and unpractical sentimentality. Hence, in any tropical country which has a large native population at a low stage of development, there is apt to be a feeling of opposition to the Government on native questions, and this feeling of opposition easily passes into a general disapproval of everything the Government does, even in matters which are not connected with natives. This was the case, for instance, in the early days of Fiji, and history seems to be repeating itself in Papua."

The test of Papuan administration is to see how the local Government has dealt with this double problem.

I.—DUTY TOWARDS EUROPEAN SETTLERS.

A.—Protection of Life and Property.

The first and most obvious duty of any Government is the protection of life and property, the maintenance of order, and the administration of justice. The Government has this duty to all people of whatever colour, but it may, I think, be fairly argued that the duty of protecting the white man is of stronger obligation than the duty of protecting the native—firstly, because the former is accustomed to protection in ordinary life whereas the latter is not; secondly, because the white man's work is usually of such a nature as to make it more difficult for him than it is for a native to be continually on the watch for an attack; and thirdly, because if the white man is not protected he will protect himself, with results in the end far more disastrous to the native than if the duty of protecting the white man had been carried out effectively from the first. The European has an undeniable right to go and seek his fortune peacefully in any part of the world, and so long as he goes peacefully he is entitled to protection, and there should be no sympathy with any one who seeks to prevent him. It is obviously impossible to detach a police force to follow every white man in his wanderings through the Territory, but the Government influence should be extended with reasonable rapidity, and the white man's life should be protected within the limits of that influence.

Special duty towards Europeans.

Now I do not think that it can be disputed that this has been done in Papua, and done perhaps more rapidly and with less bloodshed than in other parts of the world. Some five years ago a question was raised whether murders of Europeans had not become more frequent under Commonwealth administration than they had been before, and a comparison was made of the number of white men killed by natives in Papua under the Imperial and the Australian administrations respectively. I must admit that the comparison seemed to me then, and seems to me now, to be quite idle, for the numbers are so small that no inference can be drawn from them, and the details of most of the murders are imperfectly understood; still, the comparison was made, and the result was to show

How performed in Papua.

Number of Murders.

that during the eight years of Commonwealth control there had been four murders, as compared with ten for the last eight years under the Imperial Government. The numbers were as follows:—

Sir William MacGregor	10 years,	22 murders
Sir George Le Hunte	5 „	7 „
Captain Barton	3 „	3 „
Australian Administration	8 „	4 „

Since that time there has been one white man killed—Mr. Kirby, a Government officer, who, in April, 1916, was struck by an arrow while trying to arrest some natives on a charge of murder. This makes the total for the Commonwealth of five murders in thirteen years.

As I have already said, I consider the comparison futile, but so far as it has any value it is at any rate very much to the credit of the Australian administration.

Arrest of criminals.

The arrest of those concerned in the last of these murders—that of the Government officer in 1916—gives a fair idea of the efficiency of the Papuan police under their European officers. Mr. Kirby received his wound at a village, usually known as Siaki's village, which is situated on a small creek running into the Kikori River, and the arrest of the criminals is described in the Annual Report, 1916-17. "The murderers," I said, "immediately scattered into the bush, and their arrest was looked upon as almost hopeless, for they had relations with natives living as far away as the head-waters of the Kikori and the Omati, and they had also a vast area of swamp and mountain country open to them, stretching into the interior of the Territory. Yet, in a few weeks, Siaki and the rest (twenty-one in number) were under arrest, and the captures had been effected without the firing of a shot or the shedding of a drop of blood." And I think that I was fully justified when I added—"I venture to think that there are few police services in which arrests could be made so promptly, in the face of such difficulties, and without bloodshed."

In fact, it is, I think, generally admitted that law and order have been well maintained in Papua. Even those who are unwilling to admit that any good thing can come out of Australia have reluctantly confessed that this is the case, and have sought to account for it by the ingenious supposition that Providence has put all the less tractable natives on the North and West of the imaginary lines which separate Papua from

the Dutch and the former German Territories, while all those who are of milder mood have been placed within the boundaries of Papua

In addition to this general duty, which is imposed upon all Governments under all conditions, there is also, in new countries like Papua, a special duty towards the white man, arising partly from our duty to see that the resources of the Territory are developed so far as may be, and partly from the fact that white settlement came on our invitation. We invited white men to come to Papua and to invest their money, and we must see, not only that their lives and property are protected, but also that they are offered all reasonable facilities for carrying out the work that brought them here. Special duties in connexion with development.

These special duties arise particularly in connexion with the two great essentials of development—land and labour. I am dealing now with development by native labour and European capital, and leaving purely native development till later.

B.—Land.

There is, of course, plenty of land in Papua, for the Territory is a large one and the population scanty, and there was enough and to spare for both natives and Europeans. But a difficulty arose from the fact that the native title was recognized by the Commonwealth Government, and that consequently all, or nearly all, the land that was required for settlement had to be purchased from the native owners, so that, if the native owners had declined to sell, all settlement would have been impossible. It looked at one time, twelve years or more ago, as though the natives would refuse to sell, and legislation was introduced by the Papuan Government to compel them, of course under proper safeguards; but the Bill was disallowed in the Commonwealth. It proved afterwards that legislation was unnecessary, for the owners apparently changed their minds; and it has not often happened that an applicant is unable to get the land he wants. Native titles recognized.

Land cannot be leased by a settler direct from the native owner; the land is bought from the natives by the Government and then leased by the Government to the settler. It is all leasehold since 1906; a settler cannot acquire an estate of freehold. The sale must be entirely voluntary, and no land can be bought until the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied that the land is not required or likely to be required by the native owners.

The practice is to buy land that appears suitable for settlement as opportunity offers, so that there is generally a large area of Crown land open to applicants; at the present moment, for instance, there are about 700,000 acres of Crown land in various parts of the Territory. An application for any portion of this land can be dealt with without delay, for no question of title can arise: but delay sometimes occurs when the land has to be bought from the natives. This is inevitable from difficulties connected with native title, and from the possibility of the native changing his mind before the transaction is complete; there is also the inevitable delay of ascertaining whether the land is required or likely to be required by the owner.

It is highly creditable to the officers who purchase the land from the natives that no real difficulty of title has ever arisen. Special provision has been made for a Board to investigate any claims which natives might have in connexion with land alleged to have been improperly taken—e.g., by purchase from some person other than the owner. This was done to calm the fears of certain persons who had an idea that the Papuans were being robbed of their land; but the Board has never met, for the reason that the few mistakes which have been made have been easily corrected, and that no injustice has been alleged.

There has, in fact, been no great difficulty in connexion with land, and I do not think there will be; for though Papua may not be a fertile country, still, there is plenty of good land yet, and it is labour, not land, that will be the limiting factor in Papuan development.

That the land policy has been successful is, I think, clear from a comparison of the land taken up before 1907 and since. It appears that in June, 1906, the land under lease amounted to 2,089 acres and the freehold land to 26,546. There could be no increase in the freehold (for no more could be granted), but the leasehold amounted in 1919 to 218,950 acres. There had, in fact, been a mild land boom, and it had been found necessary to amend the Land Ordinance, which had been made almost extravagantly liberal in order to attract settlement. Freehold could not, of course, be granted, but leases were given for 99 years, and at first all leaseholds were rent free for ten years, and no survey fees were charged. Later it

became necessary to charge survey fees, and also (except in certain circumstances) rent was made payable from the commencement of the lease.

It is satisfactory to note that but few applicants for land have gone away disappointed, for if they have been unable to get the land they wanted they have nearly always been able to get other land suitable for the plantation work which they intended to undertake, and also that all these large quantities of land (nearly a million acres) should have been bought from the natives without a single instance (so far as I know) of even alleged fraud or oppression. But otherwise there is nothing remarkable about the land administration: there was plenty of land available and the native owners were generally willing to sell.

C.—Labour.

The question of labour, however, was a very different proposition, and here the prospect was rather discouraging, for the population of Papua was very scanty, and the inhabitants were of the peasant proprietor type, with land of their own sufficient (except in times of drought) to supply their simple wants: and the peasant proprietor has never, in any part of the world, shown any great inclination to work for anyone but himself. Discouraging outlook.

Still, it was essential to find labour, for there could be no development without it.

Referring to such a case as that of Papua, Alleyne Ireland, a well-known writer on these subjects, had said—"In like circumstances a Government will always be faced by the labour problem, and it admits of only three solutions. If the natives refuse to work, as they have in all times in every tropical country the development of which has been undertaken by Europeans or Americans, the first alternative is to abandon it (and thus rob the world of that economic contribution which it has a right to expect from every territory which nature has endowed with economic resources): the next is to adopt the method which has made Java the most flourishing of all tropical countries—that is to say, force the natives to work (by prescribing a certain number of days of labour in the year for each native and visiting a default with heavy penalties); and the final alternative is to leave the natives alone and bring in outsiders who will do the work." Alleyne Ireland's "three solutions."

Of these three solutions the second—forced labour—was out of the question under an Australian Government, and the third—imported labour—was hardly likely to commend itself, as it was inconsistent with the object with which Papua had been annexed; and it seemed, therefore, if Mr. Ireland was correct, that we should be driven back upon the first solution and compelled to abandon the idea of development altogether—a confession of defeat which was, of course, impossible. And we should have been in a sorry plight indeed if the Papuan natives really had refused to work, in accordance with the rather rash generalization contained in the passage quoted. Fortunately, however, it turned out otherwise; the Papuans did not refuse to work, and Mr. Ireland's dilemma was avoided.

Paucity of numbers.

Still, though the natives might be willing to work, the further difficulty remained that there were so few of them. There are, it is true, some large villages along the coast and up some of the rivers, but their size has been much exaggerated, and behind these river and coastal villages comes as a rule a belt of country that is inhabited either very sparsely or not at all, and then come the mountains. Villages are numerous in some parts of the mountains, but they are generally very small, and the total population of the hill districts is inconsiderable.

The reason of the scanty population is not that the country will not carry a larger number; it is due, I think, partly to the habit of small families which obtains throughout Papua, and partly to the intertribal raids and murders which were at one time universal and which are still taking place in the districts—now not very extensive—to which the Government influence does not extend. The estimate of population usually accepted for the whole Territory is between 200,000 and 300,000; it is little more than a guess, for no accurate census has been taken outside the coastal districts, but I have no particular reason for thinking that it is incorrect.

So small a population cannot supply a large number of labourers; and further, in 1906, it did not seem likely that the quality would be particularly good. At that time the Territory was not under control to anything like such an extent as it is now. Perhaps the majority of the inhabitants were then head hunters or cannibals, and all were then, as indeed they are now, still in the Stone Age, except for the knives and axes which they got from the settlers; and we did not dare to hope that in a few years the head-hunting cannibals of the

Purari Delta would be working contentedly as navvies on the Port Moresby roads.

The one hopeful feature was that the Papuans had, in fact, worked, and worked well, for the gold miners; and there seemed to be no reason why they should not work equally well for others, but we were constantly being told by people who had never been to Papua that it was ridiculous to expect that our natives would ever take to plantation work. The natives, it was argued, had everything they wanted—why, then, should they go to work? And, further, we were told that, if they did go to work, they would be useless—so stupid were they, and so lazy—and yet it turned out that in less than ten years the number of signed-on boys had increased nearly fourfold, the area under cultivation had increased more than twentyfold, and the lazy and stupid Papuan had proved himself thoroughly competent at any work he was put to, from tapping rubber to driving an oil-launch.

Two systems of labour—(i.) indentured; (ii.) free.

Now there are two systems of labour recognized in the tropics—the indenture system, and the system of free labour. Under the former the native is bound to work, and the employer to maintain him and pay him wages, during a fixed term; under the latter he can leave at any time, and may be discharged at any time, on a short notice. Naturally the former system requires much more stringent and much more detailed Regulations than the latter.

Indentured labour is common in the Pacific, e.g., in the Solomons, Fiji and the former German New Guinea, and it exists side by side with free labour in the Federated Malay States and elsewhere; free labour exists in, among other places, Ceylon, the Federated Malay States and Java.

Indenture system open to objection, but necessary in Papua.

The importation of labour from other countries under indenture is probably doomed in the Crown Colonies throughout the Empire, if one may judge from a recent debate in the House of Commons (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 28th April, 1920). But this does not directly concern us in Papua, and the indenture system as applied to indigenous labour is free from many of the difficulties which are inseparable from the importation of indentured labour from abroad.

Still, any system of indenture is open to objection, for there is too much compulsion about it on the side both of the employer and of the employee; and as a permanent institution it cannot be looked upon as satisfactory.

Free labour, however, postulates certain qualities which the Papuan lacks, but which we hope he may eventually acquire, that is, determination and perseverance—the power of making up his mind as to what he wants and then sticking to it.

Free labour the ideal to be aimed at.

Free labour was, therefore, out of the question in Papua, and the only alternative was to adopt the system of indenture that was already in existence, and to try to work through that system to an ultimate ideal of free labour. This can only be done by a very gradual and careful modification of the restrictions incidental to indenture, and by an avoidance of anything that might have the effect of stereotyping that system as a permanent part of our policy. It will not be in this generation that we shall be able to substitute free labour for indenture, but free labour is surely the system which we must seek to establish eventually.

As I have said again and again, there is not, and, so far as I know, there never has been, any systematic ill-treatment of labour in Papua; but in spite of this fact, and in spite of the fact that many employers go out of their way to make indentured labour as little irksome as possible to the native, I do not think that labour under indenture will ever become popular with the natives of Papua, or will ever be adopted by them as part of their ordinary scheme of life. I am, of course, aware that a certain amount of cruelty and oppression is probably inseparable from the control by a superior race of an inferior race of different colour, but, even if all this could be abolished, although more men would doubtless come to work than are coming now, I should still feel doubtful as to the ultimate success of the system.

Thus indenture is not altogether a popular institution in Papua, and although, so far, there has always been, up to the present year (1919-1920), roughly speaking, enough labour available to carry on the work of the Territory, still, the employer is in a state of constant anxiety; he has enough labour for the moment, but perhaps 30 of his boys are time-expired in six weeks, and 20 more in three months, and how can he be sure that he will be able to replace them in time to prevent his work from going back? This is a real difficulty even if, as a matter of fact, he always does replace them, because the uncertainty makes it impossible for him to be sure of carrying out a definite programme.

There seems to be no remedy for this uncertainty, which is probably inseparable from the settlement of a sparsely-populated country dependent entirely upon indigenous and voluntary labour. Certainly it would be no remedy to increase the term of employment from the present maximum (three years) to say five or seven, and with still greater certainty the state of things would be no better if the indenture system were abolished.

Progress towards the establishment of free labour must be very slow, partly for the reason that, as recruiting extends, fresh tribes of raw and utterly-ignorant natives will come in as labourers who must be bound strictly or they will never do their work, and who, on the other hand, require all the guidance and protection that the existing law can give them. The most important advance in the direction of free labour has been by a provision exempting certain natives from indenture under certain circumstances, but I understand that no one, either employer or employed, has so far made any use of this provision. It has been thought sometimes that it would be possible to exempt the natives of certain districts from indenture altogether, or to increase the period (now fixed at three months) during which such natives might work as free, or, as it is called in Papua, "casual," labourers, but the general opinion has been against it.

(c.) Working of the Indenture System in Papua.

Native Labour Ordinance and Regulations.

The Native Labour Ordinance and Regulations in force in Papua are much the same as those in force in other countries where labour is employed under indenture, and indeed this is generally admitted by the most hostile of our critics; but it has been complained that we enforce them too strictly, whereas, we have been told, in more favoured lands they are not enforced at all. Such complaints have generally been in connexion with inspections of plantations by officers of the Department of Native Affairs, who, it has been said, are too fond of "coddling" the native and of harassing the employer.

I have been able to find no justification for this complaint, which is not an unusual one in tropical dependencies, and I think that the more far-seeing employers would now admit that, if there had been more "coddling" in the past, there would be more labour available to-day.

Usually no economic compulsion on Papuan to work.

For it must be remembered that our natives, unlike, e.g., the Tamils in India, are usually under no strong economic compulsion to go to work, for they can, as a rule, live fairly well in their villages; that is to say, they well, generally speaking, have enough to eat, though they may have to do without the various European articles to which they have been accustomed. They suffer severely, at times, and in certain parts, from drought and famine, but as a rule they can get enough bush food (even in times of drought) to keep themselves alive; and in fact it is often at these times that they are least anxious to go to work—they prefer, they say, to stay with their wives and children and help them through. And their answer to any cruelty or ill-treatment would be simply a refusal to work, which (if persisted in) would speedily bring the Territory to ruin, for all our development depends upon the native.

But there has been no such general refusal, and in the Annual Report for 1914-15 I was able, after dealing with the satisfactory state of the labour supply and explaining that most of the recruits seemed still to come from the old recruiting grounds, to attribute the increase in the number of labourers to "the fact that the natives are getting more familiar with the white man's ways and more dependent on the white man's goods, and to the fact that the labourer, in the great majority of cases, can rely upon receiving fair treatment." Then, after saying that there had never, so far as I knew, been anything like systematic ill-treatment of natives either by miners or by planters, and that I thought that the treatment received by labourers was better than it used to be, I went on—"The improvement is partly due to the fact that planter and plantation labourer have come to understand one another better, and partly to the activity of the officers of the Native Affairs Department in seeing that the requirements of the Native Labour Ordinance and Regulations are carried out. Hitherto it has not often been considered necessary to prosecute; in many instances where the Ordinance and Regulations have not been complied with it has been thought sufficient to call the attention of the manager to the omission. As a result of the action of this Department the condition of the labourers generally (especially as regards their housing) has distinctly improved of late years, and work on plantations has in consequence become more popular. The ample provision which is made on so many plantations for the supply of native food

has also an important effect in the same direction, for many labourers were no doubt repelled by the monotony of the daily rice ration.

(*ii.*) *Number of Labourers Available.*

There is no means of ascertaining the exact number of labourers at work during any given year. It has been said that there were nearly 13,000 natives working in 1914, just before the war, but the figures are apt to mislead unless it is remembered that included in that number are 3,702 "casual" labourers—that is, labourers, not under indenture, whose number can only be guessed at, and who work for any period not exceeding three months. Probably the correct number would be about 10,000, an increase of about fivefold since 1906.

This is certainly a very encouraging record, but the important question is, what further increase is possible? And it is a question which is very difficult to answer, because, though the number "signing on" each year has remained about the same, and certainly of late shows no indication of an increase, one can not be sure how far (if at all) this is due to a disinclination to "sign on" consequent upon the rise in prices, and the resulting decrease in the purchasing power of the wage of ten shillings a month. Nor is it certain what effect the native tax will have in increasing the labour supply as it is gradually extended through the Territory. There has been a marked decrease during the present year, 1919-1920, caused in my opinion principally by the impossibility of providing rice, and the dissatisfaction of the natives with the substituted foods; but I do not apprehend that the decrease will be permanent. In 1918-1919 the number of natives recruited was the highest on record.

All that we can be sure of is that the labour supply is not capable of indefinite expansion, and, further, that, as a matter of administration, it is not desirable to allow the villages to be depleted of their young men, even if they are willing to go.

Various suggestions have been made with the view of increasing the supply. Government recruiting is one of them, but there is no reason to suppose that the Government could get labour for other people any more readily than a private recruiter could; and Government recruiting would, I fear, only be successful if the natives got it into their heads that it was a matter of compulsion, and that, of course, would be the very thing which we should wish to avoid.

Government recruiting.

Indenture of women.

A suggestion which has received careful consideration is that women should be "signed on" as well as men. Under the present law a woman may accompany her husband on to a plantation where he has contracted to work, and, if she likes to work, she may, but she must be paid for it; also she must be provided with food and decent accommodation. Few women take advantage of this permission, and I should think that, unless regular employment can be found which they are willing to accept, they probably cause more trouble than they are worth. They cannot be "signed on."

The advantages of keeping the family together are obvious; the men are more contented if they have their women folk with them, husband and wife live together, and children may be born to them, the villages escape the evil effect of the constant drain of young men which goes on under the present system, and there is more labour available, for there is a lot of light work on plantations which can be done by women and even by children. It is, however, worthy of note that native women are not "signed on" under indenture in any British Possession or Protectorate in the Pacific—not in the Gilbert and Ellice Group, nor in the Solomons; and even in Fiji, where the importation of Indian women under indenture has been allowed, the native Fijian women are expressly excepted from the Labour Ordinance.

A closer investigation shows arguments against the indenture of women. Clearly, I think, no British Government would allow the indenture of any but married women, accompanying their husbands and working with them at the same place, and the result would be that the number of women recruited would be very small. In German New Guinea to a labour force of over 20,000 "boys" there are but 1,400 women—that is, about 7 per cent.—so that the number of labourers is not materially increased by recruiting women, and there is a danger of a state of domestic chaos arising such as that which has been reported to exist among the Indians in Fiji. Then there is the question of desertion. At present a male deserter is punished with imprisonment, but a female deserter is not—she can only be fined. A fine not backed up with imprisonment is not very effective, and would be no deterrent to a woman who wished to run away; and yet there is a natural unwillingness on the part of the local Legislature to sanction the imprisonment of women for what, after all, is really only a breach of contract. Again, if the husband was imprisoned for

any offence e.g., breach of duty the wife would be left absolutely unprotected on the plantation: and it is the consideration of difficulties such as these which has induced us to follow the precedent set by the other British Territories.

There is also a fallacy in the idea that women "signed on" with their husbands would bear and rear families. It is probable that, among the strange surroundings of plantation life, but few women would bear children; they would miss the traditional precautions which surround a pregnant woman in her village, and few of such children as might be born would be likely to survive.

Plantation settlements.

Another suggestion that has been made is that labourers should form settlements or villages of their own on the estates on which they are employed, signing on from time to time, but going home at night to their families, who would be living in this plantation settlement. Schools would be provided and a church, and the women and children might be employed at such light work as was required, in addition to which they might be allowed a plot of land for each family as a garden. The scheme sounds attractive, but it is feared that the result would be to transform the present race of peasant proprietors into a landless proletariat, entirely dependent on the plantation for their livelihood.

Child labour.

As regards child labour, which has been advocated with some reason as a useful education for the native, the general principle we have arrived at is that a child of school age, i.e., under 14, should go to school and not to work. In this again we agree with the other British Possessions in the Pacific.

Real labour difficulty comes from the sparseness of the population.

But these suggestions, even if they were all adopted and all proved successful, could not amount to more than temporary palliatives, for, after all, the real labour difficulty arises from the sparseness of population, and is one which no legislative or administrative skill can remove. All the Administration can do is to see that a "boy" when he does sign on is fairly treated, sufficiently fed, and decently housed, so that he and his friends may be encouraged to sign on again, and, further, to see that the Government influence is extended throughout the Territory so as to enlarge the area for recruiting. This has been done; but the facts remain that out of a population of 250,000 we can never hope that more than 20,000 will ever be regularly employed, even if the whole Territory were completely pacified and if recruiting were organized on the most effective system, and that, as a matter of fact, we are not

Danger of over-recruiting.

likely, at any rate for some time to come, to get nearly so many. Further, it should never be forgotten that over-recruiting may have a disastrous effect upon the future of the Territory, and may necessitate the absolute prohibition of recruiting in the districts affected.

This is one of the points where the Government and the employer are likely to come into the sharpest conflict. Any one, of course, will admit the abstract proposition that the Government should take care that recruiting is not carried so far as to cause a diminution of population in a district, and, further, that, if such a result appears probable, it is the Government's duty to prevent it, even, if necessary, by closing the district altogether. But in any particular case the action of the Government would almost certainly be loudly condemned.

Subject to what I have said above, the labour problem is really one which, in a large degree, may be solved by the employers themselves; and those employers, and they are many, who treat their labour well are all assisting to solve it. But it should never be forgotten that the limiting factor is the lack of population.

So much for the quantity of Papuan labour; as to its quality it is really impossible to express an opinion, for it varies so much according to the district from which it is drawn. Some of the labour from the sago swamps of the Western rivers is, I think, admittedly very bad indeed. These people, many of them, have no gardens and live principally on sago and grubs, and their physique and apparent intelligence are such as one might expect.

Labour from other parts of the Territory is very much better, but it is hard to say how it compares with, e.g., Tamil labour, as I have no common measure. *A priori*, one would expect the industrial races of Asia to be immeasurably superior to the non-industrial tribes of Papua who, barely a generation ago, were still in a state of utter savagery, but, in fact, it would appear that the difference is not so great. Thus I have been told by a planter, who has had experience of both, that, for the upkeep of a plantation, 100 Tamils would be equal to 125 Papuans of the better sort, but that, for clearing, the stronger Papuans, e.g., natives of the Mambare district, would be at least equal to Tamils. In mining work the Papuan seems to do better, and I have heard of individual "mining boys" who,

it was said, could do as much work as an European, the general efficiency in some places being rated as high as half of that of an European.

It is said that in ordinary navvy work a native of Kiwai Island in the Fly River will get through a bigger task than a Tamil, but an argument based on casual statements of this kind should not be pressed too far. It is, I believe, generally acknowledged that Papuan labour is improving, but on the other hand, as the demand increases, inferior labour will inevitably come forward.

D.—Agricultural Development.

There was practically no agricultural development in Papua when the Commonwealth took over the administration. The statistics show that on 31st March, 1907, the total area planted was less than 1,500 acres—1,467 to be exact—and that by 1914 this area had increased to 42,921 and by 1919 to 58,513. It is, however, improbable that this very gratifying increase will continue; the general dislocation of trade caused by the war, the lack of shipping, the industrial unrest, and the high price of commodities, will all combine to check it, though it may be hoped that the check will be but temporary.

Coconuts, rubber and hemp.

The principal cultures are coconuts (43,560 acres in 1919), rubber (8,598 acres) and hemp (5,824 acres). With the variations of rainfall, soil and altitude that Papua offers it would be possible to grow any tropical product, but, with a limited labour supply, and a total absence of agricultural traditions, it was not thought prudent to encourage such plantations as would require abundant and highly-skilled labour, and planters very wisely decided to devote most of their attention to a culture which was practically a certainty, and for which no great amount of labour was required. Both these requisites they found in the coconut; coconuts are indigenous to Papua, and, as they are usually grown in the Pacific, do not call for more than about a "boy" to ten acres. Rubber was more or less of an experiment, which, however, has fortunately proved highly successful. Hemp has also done well, but, I believe, the return per acre is less than elsewhere, probably because, as in the case of rubber, less attention is paid to clean-weeding.

There are many very attractive forms of agriculture which one feels tempted to try in Papua, but it is probably wise to follow the principle outlined above, and to keep to those kinds

which do not demand either a large number of labourers or highly technical knowledge or skill. Tea, for instance, would certainly grow well and would pay handsomely if it could be produced, but there would probably be a difficulty about the labour required for the picking; and the same objection might also apply to cotton.

Tea.

Cotton.

Rice.

Rice, however, is a culture which might do well under skilled and experienced management, and is perhaps deserving of consideration by planters. Certain kinds of rice, I understand, do not require much labour, for nearly all the work can be done with mechanical appliances.

Whether it could be sold at a remunerative rate in Australia and the Pacific would depend upon freights and shipping.

E.—Mining Development.

Gold mining was the original industry of Papua, especially alluvial mining; agriculture had, when the Commonwealth took control in 1907, hardly attracted any attention at all. The total value of the gold extracted from the Territory may be taken to be between £1,500,000 and £2,000,000, but no large fortunes were made and no rich mines were discovered. It is perhaps through this devotion of the pioneers to the glorious gamble of the gold field, to the exclusion of the more homely attractions of coconut cultivation, that Papua has gained its thoroughly undeserved reputation for stagnation and lack of development. Doubtless, had the money and the energies of the early settlers been devoted to agriculture instead of mining, they would have done far better for themselves, and the Territory would show a far larger export of copra; but it seems doubtful whether the miners, by calling attention to the mineral possibilities of Papua, have not done more for the Territory in the long run than they would have done if they had settled down to the planting of coconuts in the ordinary humdrum way.

It is true that alluvial mining, so far as one can judge, is practically at an end, and that in nearly every year, with monotonous regularity, the export of gold shows a decline in comparison with the year before; but it is nevertheless quite possible that the future of Papuan development may, like its beginning, be mineral rather than agricultural. The gold mine at Misima and the Laloki copper mine near Port Moresby have not yet become productive, but when they do, a great

impulse will be given to mining in Papua, and the mineral possibilities of the Territory will be fully investigated. It is considered that when these two mines become productive their yield per annum will exceed the total amount of the present exports.

F.—Absence of an Intermediate Race in Papua.

There is one rather interesting point in which Papua differs from most other tropical territories, and that is the absence of a race intermediate between the white man and the native—like, e.g., the Chinaman in the former German New Guinea—a race that can do work of which a native is not yet capable, but for which it is not possible to pay a white man's wage. Eventually this place will, it is hoped, be filled by Papuans who have been educated up to the necessary standard. The Immigration Restriction Ordinance, which is framed on the same lines as similar legislation in Australia, exempts labourers of special skill whom the owner or manager of a plantation may desire to bring into the Territory to act as overseers or foremen, but so far, I believe, advantage has not been taken of this exemption. Effect of the absence of an intermediate race.

The absence of this "intermediate race" is important in connexion with the question of roads and public works as well as plantations and other private enterprise, for it necessitates the employment of a white man, of course at a white man's wage, in a position of any but very minor responsibility. This means an increase of expense and is often the cause of delay, for, in a small community like that of Papua, with a population of only about a thousand Europeans a suitable white man is not always easy to find. Thus the construction of roads, for instance, is a very expensive business in Papua (for the native labour is not particularly cheap compared with Asiatic labour, nor is it, at any rate at first, particularly effective), and the maintenance, after the heavy downpour of the North-West monsoon, is, in the absence of suitable metalling, still more so.

G.—Policy of Roads and Public Works.

The road policy in Papua has been influenced also by the rather distinctive nature of the country and of its inhabitants, differing altogether from the natives of Asiatic countries, such as India and the Federated Malay States. In the latter country, according to Sir Frank Swettenham in "British Malaya," as soon as a road was traced out opportunity was Roads.

taken by Malays, Chinese and Indians to put up houses in the middle of a few acres of land along the track where the road would eventually pass, so that "a bridle road was no sooner completed than small houses, plantations, and fruit and vegetable gardens sprang up along its whole length." In Papua it is not so; there is no "intermediate race" to follow the example of the Malays and Chinese of Malaya, and it would not pay a white man to do so. There are four main inland roads in Papua, varying in length from 100 to 35 miles and comprising a total of, say, 240 miles, most of which would be classed as "bridle roads," though part is open to vehicle and motor traffic. Yet, with the exception of an accommodation house and a store on one of them, near the copper mine and about 17 miles from Port Moresby, there is no settlement on them, so far as I know, of any kind whatsoever.

Thus it would be a wrong policy in Papua to build roads vaguely, on the general principle that they will "open up the country." They will not, in fact, have this effect, and no road should be constructed except with a definite purpose, either to provide access to a plantation or to a known mineral field, or to open up a district which contains good land that is certain to be developed: the expense of construction and maintenance is so great that, with a small revenue, it is not wise to take any risks.

Sea the main highway.

As might naturally be expected, most of the plantations in Papua are on or quite close to the coast, and with regard to these the question of roads hardly arises; their highway is the sea, and even if a road were made, say from Port Moresby to Samarai, it is unlikely that it would be used for commercial purposes.

These, therefore, are the considerations that have guided the road policy in Papua:—(i.) difficulty of construction; (ii.) cost of maintenance; (iii.) necessity of a certain and definite objective; (iv.) the fact that traffic by sea will be preferred to traffic by land.

Even if our revenue were larger than it is, it would be necessary to adhere to these principles; it is doubly necessary under existing circumstances, when we have barely enough to carry us along, and certainly nothing to play with.

Public works in general were practically suspended during the later years of the war, partly on account of the difficulty in obtaining material, but principally because it was realized from the first that extreme caution was necessary in view of the possibility that the war might be indefinitely prolonged, and of the danger that, working as we necessarily do on a very narrow margin, we might find ourselves involved in serious financial difficulty. It was thought for these reasons imperative to maintain a surplus of revenue over expenditure as a precaution against eventualities, according to the policy laid down in the Annual Report for 1914-15 (*See* that Report, pp. 5 and 8). Suspension of public works during later part of war.

This plan was carried out successfully, and, in addition to paying off a debt of £10,000 to the Commonwealth, we ended the year 1918-1919 with a surplus of over £8,000.

With the end of the war it appeared that a more active policy might be pursued, and in the year 1919-1920 an application was made to the Commonwealth for a small loan, which was granted on condition that the money should be advanced by instalments and that the first advance should be made in 1920-1921. It is hoped, therefore, that from this date some at any rate of the many urgent public works may receive attention. More active policy now possible.

Thus, to recapitulate what has been said, the chief duties towards the white population appear to be—(i.) the maintenance of law and order; (ii.) duties which arise in connexion with land, the duties of assuring the settler a good title to his land, and of giving him as wide a selection of land as is consistent with the pledged policy of the Government to respect the rights of native owners; (iii.) those which arise in connexion with labour, such as the duty of extending Government influence so as to increase the area of recruiting, and the duty of inspecting the indentured labour for sanitary and other reasons, for it is clearly to the interest of the employer that the labour should be healthy and contented. Recapitulation.

H.—Miscellaneous Duties to European Settlers.

But in addition to these there are other duties more difficult to enumerate which are imposed upon a Government by the presence of an European population, especially a population which includes women and children. Such is the sanitation of the small towns—very small indeed according to Australian or European standards—in which some 400 of our Sanitation of towns.

population habitually live; these towns must be kept healthy, and in particular they must, if possible, be kept free from malaria. This has been done; there is practically no malaria, no dysentery, no typhoid—in fact, there is hardly any sickness at all—in either Port Moresby or Samarai, and we have so far been fortunate in keeping out of the Territory small-pox, cholera, plague and the other diseases of Malaysia. Even influenza, which has come very near us, both at Thursday Island and, it is said, in Dutch New Guinea, has so far, thanks to a careful system of quarantine, never reached Papua.

Aesthetic postponed to practical considerations.

German practice.

Little can be done in the way of adorning and beautifying these towns until the development of the Territory is assured, for in settling a new country the æsthetic must yield to the practical. This is one of the distinctions between British and German colonization. It has been the German practice to build fine towns with commodious offices and residences first, and to extend into the hinterland afterwards: the British practice has been just the reverse (*See* Evans Lewin, "The Germans and Africa," p. 281; Sir Hugh Clifford, "German Colonies," p. 88), and we have naturally followed the British practice. Thus the Germans at Rabaul built a very handsome town, but they had, I believe, never even attempted the quite inconsiderable feat of crossing the island of New Britain: we in Papua have only just begun to try to soften down the rather rugged environs of the town of Port Moresby, but we have had for very many years a regular mail service from one side of Papua to the other (nearly a fortnight's journey), crossing the Main Range at an altitude of 7,500 feet. Samarai is naturally a gem, and to attempt to beautify it would be "wasteful and ridiculous excess"; but it is not so with the capital, though the waters of Port Moresby and the surrounding hills are very beautiful. A few hundred pounds have been spent yearly on the improvement of Port Moresby, but this year it has been possible to take the matter in hand seriously; and, in addition, a scheme is being carried out for the reclamation of the foreshore, which will take probably three years to complete, but which, when finished, will make a handsome approach to the town from the harbour, and will also give us a considerable area of valuable land for building purposes.

Roads and wharves.

The questions of roads I have dealt with elsewhere (*See* p. 17). As regards wharves, arrangements are at this moment being made to extend the wharf at Port Moresby and to build a new wharf at Samarai; so far no justification has appeared

for the construction of a Government railway, even if our finances permitted, but two private lines are being constructed to connect the copper and gold mines with the sea—one at the back of Port Moresby and the other at Misima.

Government hospitals have already been provided at Port Moresby and Samarai, and there is a Government school for white children at Port Moresby; free public swimming baths are provided at both places. A rest house has long been in existence on Hombron Bluff, on the road connecting the Astrolabe tableland with the coast; the road has now been diverted and goes up the other side of the Laloki River, and a more extensive and more convenient site has been selected near Rouna Falls, and a sanatorium will be erected there, on a larger and a more commodious scale.

There are, of course, many points in which the residential conditions of Papua could be improved if money were available, but as yet we are in the pioneer stage, and we must put up with the incidental inconveniences, which, after all, are not very serious compared with the hardships that our parents or grandparents endured in the early days of the Australian bush. It is the British method of colonization, and, after all, it is the British method which has succeeded best. General.

I may summarize what I have said about the duties to the European settler by classifying them as follows—(i.) law and order; (ii.) land; (iii.) labour; (iv.) health and sanitation; (v.) wharves, roads, etc.; (vi.) education. These have all been provided for, so far as circumstances have permitted, and it is hoped that it will be possible to provide more liberally for them in the future. But it is only recently that we have felt justified in giving any serious attention to (vii.) the æsthetic improvement of our towns.

II.—FINANCES.

Exports and imports.

The possibilities of expenditure are, of course, limited by revenue. Now the Territorial revenue, that is the revenue raised locally, without counting the subsidy of £30,000 granted annually by the Commonwealth, amounted in 1906-1907 to £21,813; after ten years of Australian control it stood at £63,568. Exports in 1906-1907 were £63,756, ten years later they were £156,535; imports for the same years were £87,776 and £271,640 respectively. Some deduction must be made from imports on account of the rise in prices, and corresponding deductions from the revenue so far as it is drawn from *ad valorem* duties, and also on account of an increase in the duty on tobacco and spirits, but allowing for all this the advance is satisfactory—really remarkably so, considering that three of the ten years had been years of war.

Rapid advance in spite of shipping difficulties.

The next year, 1917-1918, was also a prosperous year, and shows a further increase of revenue (about £5,000.—*See* Annual Report, p. 9), an increase of £12,000 in imports, and an increase of over £60,000 in exports. The exports had, in fact, nearly doubled in two years. But then came strikes and shipping troubles, affecting the trade, not only of Papua, but also of German New Guinea, and presumably of other territories, and the figures sank again; but only temporarily, for with the partial removal of the cause of the depression, the trade, both export and import, began to revive, and it seems safe to prophesy that, if shipping is available, both exports and imports will increase more rapidly than before. The complete statistics for the year 1919-20 are not available, but it appears that the exports show an increase of over £90,000, or more than 50 per cent., in comparison with the previous year, and the Territorial revenue an increase of between £18,000 and £19,000, or more than 25 per cent. I am aware of the dangers of prophecy, but I venture to predict that (providing always that the shipping is available) the exports in two or three years will amount to £500,000 and in four or five years to between £800,000 and £1,000,000. This I argue from the mining prospects, both copper and gold, and also from the natural increase of the plantations; I leave out of account the possibilities of the Vailala Oilfield, and I assume

Forecast of the next few years.

what may, I fear, be the case, namely, that the present opportunities of export will not improve, and that there will, in consequence, be little more agricultural development. I am also leaving out of account the export of timber, and the possible utilization of the huge areas of sago in the Gulf of Papua.

Revenue.

But, though exports and imports may increase, it is doubtful whether (leaving out of account any royalty or other return which we may receive from the oilfield) the revenue will ever be a large one. It is derived principally from customs duties; the tariff is a low one, mostly five or ten per cent. *ad valorem*, and there is a royalty on timber, but there have been, so far (up to 1919-20), no export duties, though it is hard to see how they can be avoided any longer. Now, it is a characteristic of tropical dependencies that the earnings and profits of local industries are not distributed among the residents, but are paid away as profits or dividends to persons who live in Europe or elsewhere. The wages are, of course, paid, and to a large extent spent, in the country, but the profits usually go to shareholders outside. Thus we may hope that in a few years the mines and plantations now in existence in Papua will be paying handsome dividends; but the dividends will be spent in Australia or in Europe, not in Papua, and will have no effect on the Papuan revenue. Some slight assistance to the revenue may be obtained from the Government plantations, which are just reaching the producing stage, and the small plantations which have been established round most of the Government stations will, in time, contribute a little, but the total can only be small: while the expenses of administration have increased enormously and seem likely to increase still further, for salaries must be raised to meet the cost of living, and the rise in the price of materials has vastly increased the cost of public works.

Subsidy.

Hence the necessity for the continuance of the subsidy. At one time, only a few years ago, it was thought that, if necessary, it might be possible to arrange for its gradual reduction and final extinction, but I fear that this is out of the question now, unless the Commonwealth would consider a suggestion, which I made before the war, and advance the Territory a lump-sum in lieu of the subsidy, to be expended on approved objects.

Peculiar difficulties of Papuan Administration.

The need of a subsidy is to be explained by the rather peculiar character of Papuan colonization. In the Annual Report of 1890-91 Sir William MacGregor (who had had previous experience in the Seychelles, Mauritius and Fiji) speaks of the Territory of Papua as offering "administrative difficulties that are probably unique in the history of the Empire." "Never before," he adds, "has any systematic attempt been made to bring into the paths of civilization and industry a race covering so large an area and so far behind other aboriginal races in civilization and political organization."

Thus it is misleading to compare our task in Papua with that of the Administrations of other colonies, whether Dutch or British, that have been founded in the East. A comparison, e.g., between Java and Papua would be vastly detrimental to Papua, but it would be manifestly unjust and absurd, for not only has Java been settled by Europeans for many times as many years as Papua, but the Javanese had a settled form of Government long before the Europeans arrived. The comparison should rather be between Java and Ceylon, and between Papua and Dutch New Guinea, and that comparison we need not fear, for in Dutch New Guinea there has been practically no settlement at all; nor, as I have shown elsewhere, need we fear a comparison with the former German New Guinea as it was administered by the Germans before the war. (See my report on an article on "Three Power Rule in New Guinea," printed as a Commonwealth Parliamentary Paper, 24/10/19.)

It is to be noted also that both the other New Guineas have received similar assistance. Dutch New Guinea produces, I think, no revenue, and German New Guinea always had a subsidy, amounting the year before the war to nearly three times that granted to Papua. It would, no doubt, be possible to administer the Government of Papua without a subsidy, but the administration would be of a very rough and primitive kind, and it would not be wise for the Commonwealth to withdraw the yearly grant unless absolutely compelled by the exigencies of finance. At the same time it is, I presume, intended that the Territory should, eventually, be self-supporting, and an indefinite continuation of the subsidy should not be contemplated. In fact, this is the danger of a subsidy—instead of being appreciated as an act of generosity it may come to be regarded as a matter of course, as something which can be claimed as a right, and claimed indefinitely. From this point of view the grant of a lump-sum is preferable.

III.—DUTY TOWARDS THE NATIVES.

Papuans and Melanesians.

To understand the native question as it exists in Papua it is necessary to have some idea of the kind of natives with whom we have to deal. The natives of Papua are usually distinguished as (i.) Papuans and (ii.) Melanesians. The distinction is perhaps linguistic rather than racial, but doubtless it is fairly correct. According to Dr. Haddon, who is the recognized authority on these questions, the Papuans are the descendants of a black race who were probably the first inhabitants of the East Indian Archipelago; other descendants of this race are the Tasmanians, who are said to have walked to Tasmania from New Guinea, and the original inhabitants of Australia, who were exterminated by, or amalgamated with, subsequent immigrants of pre-Dravidian stock.

The Melanesians are said to be the result of a mixture of this black race with subsequent immigrants from South-East Asia.

The Papuan and Melanesian languages are entirely different: the latter are all connected with one another, but the former are not, and cannot be referred to any single root language.

Slow development of natives of Papua.

Thus the natives of Papua are by no means homogeneous; but, though they differ among themselves, they all alike fall into an entirely different category from the semi-civilized inhabitants of, e.g., India, Ceylon and Java, and unless one bears this fact in mind, any argument drawn, for instance, from Java to Papua, and any comparison between these countries, must be entirely fallacious.

Uninfluenced by Asiatic civilization.

In Java one finds natives who, before the white man came, had been long subject to a settled form of Government, and who had been moulded by Indian and Arab culture, while in Papua one has to deal with a population still in the Stone Age, who, a generation or so ago, were in a state of barbarism. It is not that the natives of Papua 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.

ce the Papuan is centuries behind the Malay or
He has, indeed, advanced from the nomadic state
settled habitations, but there he has stopped. Some
espotism seems to be a necessary stage in human
ent, and the Papuan never reached this stage. He
o chiefs who possessed any widespread authority,
no powerful rulers, and he has never known slavery,
s never acquired habits of sustained industry. I have
ly asked natives who had taken part in a raid on
ge why they killed all their enemies, and why they
e them prisoners and make them work; they agreed
uld be a great idea, but explained that they had
ght of it. The conditions of his life prevented the
most parts of Papua from being a very lazy man,
onditions did not exercise the continuous pressure
have come from a system of slavery.

sudden advent of Nineteenth Century Europeans
munity such as that of the Papuans must necessarily
reat disturbance, both moral and material. Old
itions and customs, tabu, totem, and all the rest of
to become disintegrated and to disappear, and we
that it is a good thing that they should disappear.
yes they seem rather ridiculous, and so, no doubt,
ut still, whether ridiculous or not, they have, during
rations, been the refuge and protection of men and
imes of stress and trial, and, when these customs
ns are weakened, the *moral* of those who have to
gh life without them must surely be weakened also.

the purely material side. Before the white man
apuan lived in a state of more or less constant war
bouring villages and tribes; he had to be ready to
s life at a moment's notice, he had no metals, and
cultivate the land, to build houses and canoes, and
apons, with no better implements than sticks and
shells. His life, therefore, as may be conceived,
a strenuous one. Then the white man came along
Pax Britannica, telling him that he must not fight or
ds any more, and providing him with steel tools,
le him to do his work in as many days as it used
s; and the result is that the necessity for strenuous
ne, and the tenor of his life is changed for the
s some new activity be found to take the place of
ity of head hunting and bloodshed.

It seems probable that this disturbance, moral and material, in the life of the native is the reason (apart altogether from introduced disease and other causes) for the decrease in vitality that has often been noticed among coloured races after the arrival of the white man. For the former, that is the moral disturbance, the Government can do nothing directly; it is for the missionary, not for the Government, to supply a new religion in place of the old. But for the latter, that is the material disturbance, the Government can do something—it can encourage industry among the natives, and so may eventually transform a tribe of disappointed warriors into a race of more or less industrious workmen. Decrease in vitality.

Nature of This Duty.

Now it is our plain duty to assist the natives in their rapid transit from the Stone Age to the Twentieth Century, and to see that they should at least not be injured by the change in their life brought about by the arrival of Europeans; and, further, as they are now British subjects, it is also our duty to establish law and order among them, and to preserve life and property. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the most obvious of our duties towards them are—(i.) to pacify the Territory, i.e., to establish law and order; (ii.) to prevent the spread of imported disease and to prevent the native population from dying off before the white man; (iii.) to encourage habits of industry, so as to avoid the effects of what I have called the "material disturbance" caused by the white man's arrival among them.

Pacification of the Territory.

The pacification of the Territory has not yet been completed, but a very great deal of useful work has been done in recent years, and in the Annual Report, 1916-17, I was able to say that "thanks to the untiring energy of magistrates and patrol officers more had been done to extend the Government influence in the last five years than in any similar period before." At that time practically the whole of the Territory East of Cape Possession (that is the Mambare, Kumusi, North-Eastern, Eastern, South-Eastern and Central Divisions) had been roughly mapped out, as well as nearly all the Gulf and much of the Delta and Western Divisions, especially between the Fly and the Dutch boundary; and nearly all the country that had been mapped out had been brought under control. Since that date a lot has been done, especially in the Gulf and

ta Divisions, and also in the West; but the work has urally suffered from the absence of so many of our officers he war.

The work of pacification is commonly carried out without odshed, even among the fiercest tribes. The patience. ick and determination displayed by officers in carrying out s task have never been fully appreciated.

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For in Papua the "punitive expedition," with its swift stice, does not exist. If a man is murdered we arrest the rderer and punish him; we do not punish the village or tribe, any more than the New South Wales Government, instance, declares war on Riverina when a crime is mitted in Deniliquin, or the Imperial Government upon tland when a murder is reported from Glasgow. We do ctly what the New South Wales or the Imperial Govern- nt would do in the cases suggested; that is, we make uiries, collect evidence, arrest the persons who appear to mplicated, and bring them to trial. This is often a very cult task, and it is to the credit of the police, both officers men, that it is invariably accomplished, though often r weeks and perhaps months of strenuous work, great omfort, and even hardship and danger.

Native Population: Increase or Decrease.

With regard to the native population we are, I think, ified in the conclusion that it is increasing, though slowly. s not a matter on which one can speak with any certainty, use definite information is so scanty; and it is not a ect on which it is safe to generalize, for the circumstances ne part of the Territory are often quite different from those nother. It is, I think, always safe to assume that the first mate of population is a great deal too high, and an apparent rease, when more accurate figures are available, often ns nothing. I remember, e.g., that the population of the ri Delta was thought to amount to 20,000, and 5,000 was sidered quite a low estimate for the biggest villages; in fact, ough I was fully aware of the tendency to exaggerate, I otted, in my estimates, 5,000 to at least two villages. As a tter of fact, none of them contain as many as 2,000.

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Again, it sometimes happens that natives migrate from place to another, so that one who knew the old village, ing the spot years afterwards, finds no village there, and

from this draws the inference that the villagers are all dead; but this is not necessarily true, for they may be living quite happily somewhere else. Or someone, arriving in unexplored country, sees a very large native population, and afterwards, when the district is better known, it is found to be rather sparsely inhabited. The explanation is not necessarily that the natives have died out it may be that there was never much of a resident population, but that crowds assembled from all around, perhaps two days' journey or more, to see the white man when he was an object of curiosity, and that, when the novelty wore off, they came no more.

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Still, in some places, the population undoubtedly is decreasing, occasionally, perhaps, at a rather rapid rate, and there is ample evidence from elsewhere that this is a not unusual effect of European settlement; but there is also evidence from other parts of the world that, after the population has sunk to a certain level, it tends to rise again—that is, the race has adapted itself to the changed conditions and is able to assert itself once more. An interesting fact which seems to be an illustration of this theory is stated in the Annual Report of 1914-15, p. 15. Mr. O'Malley, the Resident Magistrate of the Central Division, gives the population of twenty-two villages in the years 1900, 1910 and 1915, and the satisfactory point is that, while the first ten years show a decrease, the whole fifteen years show a decided increase, as though the original tendency to diminution had spent its force. The total figures given are 10,423 for 1900, 10,023 for 1910, and 11,490 for 1915.

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Such a result as this is very encouraging so far as it goes, but there are other tribes who, apparently, must disappear before long, and, when one considers their habits, the only cause of surprise is that they should ever have come into existence at all. Such are the people described by Mr. Beaver, Resident Magistrate of the Western Division, in the Annual Report of 1908-09, p. 12. "It is easily seen," he says, speaking of the district between the Fly and the Palioturi, "that the few people are rapidly decreasing in numbers. The men are absolute weeds and do not live to any age. The birth rate is small, due to the lack of women—and a practice of marrying little girls to grown-up men. I saw several wives who could not be more than eight or ten years old." Mr. Beaver also mentioned the probability of "unnatural offences and other filthy customs."

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No evidence that population was increasing before arrival of Europeans.

People of this kind must die out in any case, whether white men come or not, and their existence shows how the problem is complicated by the absolute lack of evidence whether the population was increasing or decreasing before we came to Papua. It is difficult to imagine that people with such habits as those mentioned by Mr. Beaver should ever increase, but even the better class of native had a big handicap to carry in his struggle to survive. He lived in a state of almost constant war—it has been no very uncommon thing even within recent years for whole villages to be destroyed, with their inhabitants; there were droughts and famines; there was, of course, no idea of sanitation; and in case of sickness there was hardly even the most rudimentary knowledge of any remedy beyond the skill of the sorcerer.

War, famine and sickness.

Imported disease.

Of imported diseases the most dangerous have been dysentery and venereal disease. It is assumed that dysentery is imported, though I believe that the point is a doubtful one, and it is, I believe, probable that a certain form of venereal disease existed here before the white man came. The steps taken against dysentery may fairly be described as successful, for though cases occur sporadically there are no epidemics nowadays, and a good fight is being made against venereal disease, which, though it is still bad in places, is, it is considered, not increasing generally. As more money is available, further efforts will be made.

Analogy of Fiji.

Low birth rate in Papua.

It appeared, by the Report of the Fiji Commission to inquire into the decrease of the native population (1893), that the beginning of the decrease was anterior to European settlement, and it may be that in Papua also the population was not increasing when the first white man arrived. The birth rate was probably always small; it is said to be smaller now than it used to be before we came, and it is likely enough that this is, generally speaking, the case. The reason for the small birth rate is, I suppose, the fact that neither men nor women want many children, which I take to be the chief cause that limits population elsewhere. The reason why they do not want them is, I think, partly that they find them a nuisance (which is a consideration that was probably effective at all times), and partly that, in their present state of transition from one stage of development to another, they do not exactly see what there will be for their children to do. In the old days the children would take their place in the village life, and go hunting, fighting and fishing, if they were boys, or drawing

wood and water and working in the garden, if they were girls; but the question is more difficult to answer now that the old village life seems to be passing away, and the new life of industry, which we hope will follow, is not yet clearly realized. I think that this feeling of rather hopeless uncertainty has a good deal to do with the small birth rate, and that when it is removed the rate will increase.

The question of population, however, is very largely one of conjecture, and the conjecture is almost inevitably coloured by preconceived ideas as to the probable effect upon the native race of the arrival of the white man; that is by theories as to what might have happened rather than by observation of what actually did happen. I think that in Papua we may say that there is very little reliable evidence, but that, so far as it goes, we are justified in drawing the inference that the race is certainly not dying out. Personally I do not believe in the theory that contact with European civilization brings with it the death warrant of the inferior race, though, as I have already said, I think that such contact is likely at first to have a harmful effect; and (though I do not altogether agree with it) I think that there is a great deal of truth in what Sir Sydney Olivier says about the alleged "mysterious law of Nature, which causes native races to die out before the white man." "The causes," he says, "of the extinction of native races are only a mystery at a distance. On the spot they are easily recognizable as violence and starvation, and civilized drink and diseases." Disease is the only one of these causes that exists in Papua, and disease can be checked; and, if the feeling of "hopeless uncertainty," which I have just mentioned, can be removed, there is no reason why the population, in time, should not show perhaps even a rapid increase.

Encouragement of Habits of Industry; Education; Native Plantations.

The third point, which I have called the encouragement of habits of industry, involves wider and more difficult questions. Clearly the easiest and most obvious way to encourage such habits is to give the native the opportunity of working for the white man. This opportunity he has in abundance, and he has taken advantage of it to a really remarkable extent when the smallness of the available population is considered; and I think that on the whole he has benefited,

at any rate individually, for he comes back from work a stronger, and, as a rule, a better and more capable man than when he left his village. Whether the native population as a whole has benefited by the practice of the young men going off to work for twelve months or three years is another question; personally I think that it has.

Good as a beginning; less inviting as an end.

Labour in the service of a white man on a plantation at what, I suppose, must be considered a reasonable wage for a native, however absurd it may seem to an European, probably offers as good an industrial training as a native could have, by way of a beginning—but only by way of a beginning; for chopping wood and scrub and picking weeds, at ten shillings a month, cannot seem very exhilarating to the more ambitious among the natives, when regarded as an end. A young native, who has no particular trade, probably could not do better than go and work for a term on a mine or a plantation, but I think that he should be able to look forward to the time when he will be able to make use, for his own advantage, of what the plantation or mine has taught him. If the whole race can hope for nothing better than to be, till the end of time, hewers of wood and drawers of water for European settlers, I do not think that they will have much cause to be grateful to the democracy of Australia. It is probable that modern industrialism will offer but little attraction to the Papuan, and we should therefore try to discover a form of civilization which may appeal to him more readily; and this, I think, we shall find in a life based upon the cultivation of the soil for the benefit of himself and others.

Native plantations.

This is a matter to which I invited attention in 1907, but which for various reasons it has been impossible to deal with until quite recently, in connexion with native taxation. (*See Native Plantations Ordinance*, 1918.)

In a concrete form the system will work out very much as follows—the Government will resume an area of land near a village and declare it a native plantation; the villagers, or a certain number of them, will work out their tax by clearing, planting, etc., while the Government superintends, and perhaps supplies seed and tools. The crop is to be divided between the Government and the villagers, and the proceeds of the Government's share are to be paid into a fund, and to be expended for the benefit of the natives generally, and for no other purpose.

This is on something the same lines as the "culture system" formerly established in Java, with this all-important difference, that the proceeds do not go into general revenue and cannot be used for general purposes of administration; and that there is, therefore, no temptation to a hard-pressed Government to increase the Government's share, and consequently no possibility of abuse such as, it is said, arose in the Dutch colonies. An interesting account of the advantages as well as the dangers of the Dutch system is given in Wallace's "Malay Archipelago" (*See* Chapter VII., p. 73, and Chapter XVII.).

"Culture system" of Java.

For many years, since the time of Sir William MacGregor, the cultivation by natives of their own lands has been enforced under a Native Regulation which directed the plantation of "useful trees." The "useful tree" insisted upon is usually a coconut, but of late years rubber and kapok have been planted, and quite recently (under an amendment of the Regulations) rice. This Regulation has had a good effect, and, though a large number of the young palms die, it was estimated in the Annual Report for the year 1917-18 that there were over 250,000 growing coconuts which had been planted in the preceding two years, and twice as many which had been planted in the preceding five years. Since then the numbers have increased at least proportionately.

Cultivation of coconuts and other "useful trees."

Of late more care has been taken to see that the natives plant the nuts at proper intervals, and keep their plantations reasonably clean, but even now the best of them are probably inferior to the most carelessly-kept European plantation. Still, they are in advance of the ordinary native grove, and it is hardly possible that an increase in the number of coconuts should not eventually bring about an increase in the export of copra; though it must be remembered that, when coconuts are plentiful, an enormous number are used for food.

The system of "native plantations" will, it is hoped, be an improvement upon the rather sporadic efforts at planting under the Native Regulation, and it will be more directly under European supervision and control. It must be introduced slowly and with great care, but if prudently managed it will, in time, solve many problems of Papuan administration. The advantage that the natives may derive from these plantations is obvious, but the system is also of importance from the point of view of development. It is clear that the lim-

Combination of the present "capitalistic system" with "native plantations."

itation of the labour supply will prevent the full development of the Territory by what (without using the word in any invidious sense) I may call the "capitalistic" system, that is, the present system of indentured labour under European control. For getting the greatest return from the land actually occupied the capitalistic system is probably better than any other, but it ceases to be effective when there is a scarcity of labour. Consequently, as it is likely that there will be a scarcity of labour in Papua, it follows that this system should be supplemented by some other, unless the Territory is to be left undeveloped. And that other system should, in my opinion, be based upon the native plantations which I have suggested, or upon something of the same nature.

The effects of the native plantations cannot show themselves for some years, but eventually a considerable area of land might be brought under cultivation in this way—land which in all probability would never be touched by capitalistic enterprise. It is the only way I can imagine in which the mountainous districts of the interior can be developed. These districts contain many small pockets of land rich enough and suitable for cultivation by native owners; but they do not offer many areas which will attract European settlement, and, even where they do, the cost of transport to and from the coast would probably be a deterrent. Probably all the mountain districts, up to 4,000 or 5,000 feet, are suitable for coffee, and there are certainly places in favoured parts where coffee could be grown at a profit by Europeans. But in the majority of cases the cultivation can only be by natives, for the native is not worried by labour troubles; he does not depend upon the plantation for a living; and he is but little concerned about transport, for he grows his own food and can carry his crop down to the coast himself.

There is a large area in Papua that is perhaps hardly worth developing; and from the rest of the Territory the best value is to be achieved by the two systems combined. Of course the development will be slow, but in any other way there will hardly be development at all, except of picked areas along or near the coast.

Effect of "native plantations" on labour supply.

The only objection, so far as I know, to the "native plantation" scheme is that it may result in the withdrawal of labour from plantations worked under what I have called the capitalistic system. This objection would be of very great

weight as regards that part of my argument which deals with the development of the Territory, however little it may affect the part which deals with the welfare of the natives; and, if I thought the objection a valid one, I could not argue that ative plantations would do much to assist development, for, while we should gain in one way by the establishment of such plantations, we should lose in another, if we thereby made it impossible for capitalistic enterprise to take up further areas, and perhaps even to extend plantations already in existence. However, I do not think the objection a valid one; I do not think that the supply of labour will be affected (especially if the system is introduced gradually, as I have suggested) any more than I think that the supply of labour has been affected in the past by the enforcement of the Regulation under which natives are compelled to plant coconuts. Many hundreds of thousands of coconuts have been planted under that Regulation, but the number of "signed-on" boys in 1918-1919 was greater than ever before.

Native Taxation.

Native taxation.

I have perhaps anticipated matters in dealing with the village plantations before native taxation. The Papuan system of native taxation differs in principle from that in force in other countries. Elsewhere, I believe, the tax is imposed, partly at any rate, for the admitted purpose of inducing natives to work. In Papua it is imposed solely for the purpose of raising money. Thus in Papua an indentured labourer has to pay the tax, whereas in most other countries he is exempt.

In Papua it was thought that, if you impose a tax in order to induce natives to work, you are practically admitting the principle of forced labour. There is something to be said in favour of forced labour, though the precautions against abuse must be so strict that it is probably better left alone; but at any rate, if there is to be forced labour, it was thought that it should be introduced openly, and with those precautions, and not secretly, disguised as something else. So that the native tax in Papua is a tax, and a tax only.

Not paid into general revenue.

Further, it was thought that the special taxation of a certain class could only be justified if the proceeds of the tax were expended for the benefit of that class. The natives were already paying in customs duties an amount usually estimated as equal to a half of the local revenue, and it was thought that they would certainly have good cause to complain if the special

tax levied upon them were appropriated for purposes of general administration. Consequently a provision was inserted in the Native Taxes Bill that the money raised by the tax should be paid into a separate account, and that, after deducting costs of collection, etc., the balance should be expended on the general and technical education of the natives of Papua, and for other purposes having for their object the direct benefit of the natives. One of these purposes will be the sanitation of villages and the treatment of village diseases; of course this has always been done so far as our means have allowed, but there are almost unlimited possibilities of extension.

Expended on native education and similar purposes.

It is to this account that any profits accruing to the Government from the "village plantations" will be paid.

Native education.

Even from the purely material point of view it cannot be to the best interests of a country that the bulk of its population should be plunged in ignorance, and for this reason alone (apart altogether from the higher motives which have always influenced the Commonwealth in dealing with native problems) it was imperative that the Government should take its share in the work of native education, which has hitherto been carried out by the missions alone, without any assistance whatever. It seems probable that the differences between backward and advanced races lie, to quote Lord Bryce, "not so much in intelligence as in force of will and tenacity of purpose." It is doubtful how far these qualities can be developed, but with the Papuan it is well worth trying.

The question of native education was raised as long ago as 1911 and 1912, but it was decided, wisely, I think, by the Commonwealth Government, "that, for the present, the work of obtaining and maintaining control over the whole Territory is paramount even to the claims of education." A few years later it was considered that the extension of Government influence had been so satisfactory that the question of education might be further considered. Of course, as in all Papuan matters, the question of finance was the stumbling block—how could we find money to educate the natives, when we had a difficulty in finding enough to provide even the simplest accommodation for them when they were sick? And the obvious answer was that we should raise it by native taxation.

It might be argued, of course, that we educated European children free, and that the natives, as British subjects, were entitled to free education also, to be paid for out of the

general revenue, just as they are entitled to the free protection of our laws. But the cases are not quite analogous; education is absolutely essential to a white man, but it is not absolutely essential to a Papuan.

Suggested subsidy to missions for educational purposes.

Native education was obviously part of the policy which had been approved by the Commonwealth from the first—the policy, that is, of helping the natives of Papua to raise themselves to the highest state of civilization which they are capable of attaining: but so far nothing whatever had been done by the Government in the way of education. The little that was done was all done by the missions, and under these circumstances it was thought that the money which could be spared for education would go further, and would produce better results if it were used to subsidize the missions, than if it were expended in the construction and maintenance of Government schools.

Precedents in Crown Colonies.

There were good precedents for the payment of a subsidy to the missions. From the Colonial Office List it appears that mission schools are assisted in Nigeria and the Gold Coast and other African colonies, and though it is not always safe to act upon the analogy of these colonies (for they are in every way far more advanced than we are in Papua) it was thought that in this case, at any rate, their example might be followed. There was also this further consideration—that the missions, by their services in carrying on native education for so many years without Government support, had earned our gratitude to this extent, that we should at least offer them assistance, which they might accept or decline, according as they might approve or disapprove of the conditions attached.

Nature of subsidy.

The policy which we have decided upon will probably prove acceptable to all concerned; two standards have been fixed of elementary English education, and a small grant is paid to the mission for each pupil who can pass either of these standards. Neither standard is a very high one, but it must be fairly difficult for a native who learns English as a foreign language, and whose mother tongue is much less like English than English is like ancient Greek. Direct subsidies will also be offered for elementary and technical education, including agriculture and elementary hygiene; later on it may be considered advisable to start a Government Industrial School at Port Moresby or some other central point.

Industrial training.

There can be no doubt that the natives will take full advantage of any opportunities of industrial training which may be offered to them, and it is fortunate that it is so, for I do not think that Papua will ever be "a white man's country," in the sense that white men will marry and settle down and make their homes here in any numbers. There has hitherto been little or no industrial training of Papuans, and yet in the Annual Report of 1917-18 I was able to say that "At the present time nearly all the oil launches in the Territory are run by natives, many of the sailing boats are sailed by them, they build boats and houses, they are beginning to find employment as clerks, and, as will be seen from Dr. Strong's very interesting report, they can be taught such delicate work as skin-grafting; indeed, the Medical Officer at Samarai even has a native whom he entrusts with the administration of anæsthetics when he has to perform an operation. And it must be remembered that very few of these 'boys' have had any regular training. Some, no doubt, have learned their trade at a mission, but the greater part have picked it up from watching a white man—for instance, the native who administers anæsthetics learned in this way. It must be remembered that it does not often happen that a white man wants to teach a native his trade, and, even if he wants to, he rarely has the necessary patience; and in any case there is the difficulty arising from the difference of language—a difficulty which is all the greater from the fact that so many of us cherish in our hearts a secret conviction that anyone, wherever born, can understand English if he really tries, provided that the English is spoken in a very loud tone, and (some of us appear to think) is plentifully garnished with adjectives."

Natural skill of Papuans.

Skin grafting by natives; native anæsthetist.

Necessity for confirming the natives in their land.

If we or our successors succeed in carrying out the policy which I have outlined, and at which we have been working steadily for more than ten years, Australia will, I think, have deserved well of the Papuan after all. The great asset that our natives possess is their land; they are all land owners, and their land has been secured to them, and so long as they keep their land no great harm can befall them—that is, no great economic or social harm, for I am not referring to dangers from epidemics of new diseases. For this reason it is not likely that there will ever be any very serious systematic ill-treatment of native labour in Papua; if there were, the native would simply retire to his village and his garden and would refuse to work, and there would be an end, not only of all ill-

treatment, but of all European enterprise of any kind. But if he once loses his land he cannot do this—he becomes a labourer dependent on his employer for his daily bread, and with no defence against possible ill-treatment and oppression. It is for this reason that the system of "plantation settlements," in many respects so attractive, has not been approved.

Native agriculture.

If you are going to confirm the native in his land, it is as well to go further and to encourage him to improve it. Native cultivation is inefficient, and native produce is generally inferior; but this can to a large extent be obviated by a proper system of instruction and inspection. The principle of Government encouragement to native agriculture seems to be accepted in many parts of Africa, particularly on the West coast and also in Nyasaland. In fact almost the whole of the agricultural development of the West African Colonies has been effected by native enterprise (*See* Enock, "The Tropics," pp. 43, 76, 78, 104; Sir Sydney Olivier, "White Capital and Coloured Labour," p. 155; Colonial Office List, "Gold Coast." There is an article on the subject of native-grown cacao in the "Nineteenth Century and After," of March, 1914, and on cotton growing in Nyasaland in the Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, April—June, 1919. *See* p. 239). The process is accompanied by all kinds of disappointments and failures, as is the case with most attempts to improve the condition of any people, whether black or white, and this is shown even in the official papers from the Gold Coast, where the native cultivation of cacao has been so successful. In that colony an official goes round instructing the natives in improved methods of cultivation; the natives listen with deference and attention, cheerfully admit that the new way is far better than the old, but do not make the slightest attempt to follow it, and eighteen months afterwards are found by the same official cultivating in exactly the same way as before. Still, progress is evidently made eventually; and apparently quality improves and quantity increases.

Native Policy in General.

Outline of policy.

If the Papuan is (as he has been) confirmed in his title to his land; if he is shown how to make reasonable use of it; if he is taught to read and write; and if, in addition, he has the opportunity of learning a trade, and is shown how to keep his village clean and free from infection—if all this is done for him he will have as good a chance as any native ever had, and

Australia will have shown that it is possible to introduce civilization among these primitive peoples in such a way that it may enure to their lasting advantage. And if, at the same time, we increase the total agricultural production as I am convinced we shall do by the adoption of the system of what I have called native plantations, we may rest satisfied in the conviction that Papua, at any rate, has given the world "that economic contribution" (to quote Alleyne Ireland) "which it has a right to expect from every territory which nature has endowed with economic resources."

However, it is a policy which has taken a long time to inaugurate, and will take a much longer time to establish. I do not suppose that those who helped to start it will ever see it as a going concern; and it is a policy which may excite bitter opposition, on the pretext that it will discourage the native from working for white men. I have already stated that I do not for a moment believe that this will be the result, and in any case it is hardly likely that it will come into full operation in time to affect even the longest-lived of present employers of labour; and, further, I should be sorry to think that life will never hold anything better for the Papuan than to work as a "signed-on" labourer for a wage of a few pence a day. The objection which I have indicated rests, in fact, upon the assumption, long since abandoned in British colonies, that a native population exists solely for the benefit of its white employers. The same objection was raised in Nyasaland to a similar policy in connexion with cotton growing and tobacco planting, but it was found to be groundless. (Enock, p. 158.)

Papuans must move with the times.

It is clear that the Papuan cannot remain as he is; he must move along path of civilization unless he is to die out altogether, and we believe that the path I have indicated is the safest and surest for him to follow. I do not think myself that argument and moral persuasion have very much influence on a people at so low a stage of evolution; there must always be the power to compel, behind the exhortation and advice—a power which, perhaps, need rarely be exercised, but which must be there all the time. And for this reason the advance must be made under the sanction of Ordinances and Regulations which provide a penalty for disobedience. Still, progress will be more willing, and consequently more rapid, if the Papuan understands and concurs in what we are doing, and

for this reason a knowledge of Papuan manners and customs and Papuan mentality generally is very desirable in those who undertake this task.

"Thinking black."

The capacity of "thinking black" or "brown" is possessed by few, for this is an art which, it is said, "requires more sympathy and insight than is given to most men." It is an art, however, which is very necessary in dealing with native races, for there is always the danger that they may imagine that some policy, which has been adopted for their benefit, is really a device for their undoing: and there is also the danger that an officer, with the very best intention in the world, may deeply incense native feeling against him by a quite unconscious offence against some tribal tradition. The best remedy against such mistakes as these is to be found in a study (even a fragmentary and unsystematic study) of the science of anthropology, so long as the student does not allow the charms of that science to prevail over the claims of duty. And it is partly to encourage this study among our officers, and partly to assist the Government more directly, that arrangements are being made for the appointment of an officer to be Government Anthropologist.

Government Anthropologist.

Incidentally, such an officer will be of assistance in collecting the various objects of interest which are gradually passing out of use in the native villages, but this will not be his chief value. His chief value will be to help us in reconciling an intelligent, though very backward, race to the inevitable march of civilization, and in finding the easiest way for its advance.

This is not altogether a new idea, though it has not, so far as I know, ever been carried out methodically. There is a chapter on the subject, in a book (published in 1918) called "Science and the Nation," by A. C. Seward (Cambridge University Press). The chapter is headed "The Government of Subject Peoples."

Wallace on the Papuans.

We may derive encouragement from what Wallace ("Malay Archipelago," last chapter) said about the Papuan intellect—that he "was inclined to rate it somewhat higher than that of the Malay," and that the great advance made by the latter in comparison with the Papuan was due to the influence of Hindoo, Chinese and Arabic immigration, by which the Papuans had not been affected. It is true that the same writer also predicted the "early extinction of the Papuan

race" if the tide of colonization should be turned to New Guinea; but there has been such a vast improvement in the treatment of coloured races since this was written that we may venture to doubt the correctness of the prophecy. It is no longer true that the white man offers the coloured man "the alternative of slavery or death"; there has been added, especially of recent years, the third possibility of a peaceful development under the protection of a Government sympathetic at least, even if it must be despotic.

SYNOPSIS.

Introductory.

Geographical position of Papua; out of the stream of history, and untouched by any civilizing influence.

General description; in size bigger than the State of Victoria; mountains and swamps.

Scanty population; not more than 200,000 to 300,000.

Mineral and timber resources are unknown; but the soil, though there is plenty of good land still available for settlement, cannot in general be described as remarkably fertile. Nor do the natives lead a particularly easy life.

Problem before the Commonwealth: was it wiser to take the Territory over or to leave it alone?

Nature of the duty assumed by the Commonwealth on taking over the Territory; more difficult now that the theory of native rights is more fully developed. Growth of this theory from the time of Warren Hastings.

Distinction between the British and the German system; the Germans treated their colonies as commercial houses, and so failed in colonization considered as a work of education and elevation of barbarous races.

How far the interests of Europeans and natives can be reconciled. There is no essential difference, but at any given moment they are generally opposed.

I.—DUTY TOWARDS EUROPEAN SETTLERS.

A.—Protection of life and property. This duty exists towards all inhabitants of whatever colour, but it is a duty of stronger obligation towards the white man than towards the native. This duty has been admittedly well discharged in Papua.

B.—Land. Native titles are recognized, and there was therefore a danger that native owners might refuse to sell, and so block settlement. This danger has been averted. There is a large area of Crown land available for settlement. Area of land taken up by lease; little or no difficulty in obtaining suitable land.

C.—Labour. The outlook was discouraging; the population was very small and consisted of peasant proprietors, who, as a class, are usually unwilling to work for others. Alleyne Ireland and his three

solutions—(i.) abandonment; (ii.) forced labour; (iii.) imported labour. Fortunately the natives did not refuse to work, and Mr. Ireland's dilemma was avoided.

Two systems of labour—

(i.) the indenture system: and
(ii.) the system of free labour.

The indenture system is objectionable, but no other system is possible in Papua at present; free labour is the ideal to aim at, but it is impracticable just yet. Indenture system unlikely ever to be really popular; uncertainty of labour supply probably inseparable from local conditions. Advance towards free labour must be very slow.

(i.) Working of the indenture system in Papua.—

Native Labour Ordinances and Regulations practically the same as elsewhere. Response of natives to demand for labour more satisfactory than could have been expected.

(ii.) Number of labourers available.—

Uncertain, but certain that the number is not capable of indefinite expansion, and, as a matter of administration, not desirable to allow villages to be depleted. Various suggestions have been made to increase the supply of labour, but none seem likely to have much effect. The real difficulty comes from the sparseness of population.

(iii.) Quality of Papuan labour.—

Comparison with Tamils. Papuan as a miner.

D.—Agricultural development. Increase in planted area. 1,467 acres in 1907; 42,921 acres in 1914; 58,513 acres in 1919. Question how long this increase will continue. Those cultures preferable which require little labour. Rubber, coconuts and hemp: rice suggested as a paying crop on ground that it requires little labour.

E.—Mining development. Alluvial mining apparently nearing its end, but good prospects of copper and gold mining near Port Moresby and at Misima.

F.—Absence of an intermediate race such as Chinese or Malays; consequences of this.

G.—Roads and Public works. Difficulty of construction and enormous cost of maintenance. The opening of roads in Papua does not necessarily attract settlement as it probably would if there were an intermediate race to take advantage of the means of communication; in

Papua must have a certain objective. Sea the main thoroughfare for Papua. Cessation of public works during the war. More active policy is possible now.

H.—Miscellaneous. Many other duties imposed on a Government by the presence of an European population, especially European women and children—such duties arise in connexion with health and sanitation, roads, wharves, etc., education and so forth. Questions of aesthetics postponed until more practical questions dealt with: this is the British system—the German system is the reverse.

II.—FINANCES.

Increase of Territorial revenue (that is, revenue without counting the Commonwealth subsidy) in 1906-07, £21,813; in 1916-17, £63,568; exports and imports show similar increases. Last year shows an increase over the year before of more than 25 per cent. in Territorial revenue and 50 per cent. in exports. Effect of strikes and shipping troubles. The revenue always likely to be a small one in spite of large increase in exports. Increase in expense of administration.

Subsidy: why necessary. Difference between New Guinea and other colonies in the East, whether Dutch or British: Sir William MacGregor's opinion.

III.—DUTY TOWARDS NATIVES.

Slow development of native races in Papua: uninfluenced by foreign civilization whether Asiatic or European, and without the discipline of powerful rulers or of slavery. Effect of the arrival of Europeans upon races like the Papuans—(*a*) moral, causing disintegration and disappearance of old native customs: and (*b*) material, taking away the necessity for strenuous action that had previously existed. Probable effect of this. Part of our duty is to counteract the evil results of the material change caused by our arrival. We can do little towards modifying the change of *moral*, for this is the business rather of missions than of the Government.

Our main duties may be classified as three—(i.) pacification of the Territory; (ii.) prevention of disease, especially imported disease; (iii.) encouragement of habits of industry.

A.—Pacification of the Territory. How it is carried out; no punitive expeditions.

B.—Imported diseases and tendency of native population to disappear. Rash to assume that the population was increasing at the time of the arrival of the first Europeans; very difficult, in the absence of

reliable statistics, to trace the movement of population in general through the Territory. On the whole justified in coming to the conclusion that there is a slight increase.

C.—Encouragement of habits of industry. Unskilled labour in the service of the white man is an excellent thing to begin with, but it is not much if looked upon as the end of existence. System of native plantations—how distinguished from the "culture system" of Java.

Regulation compelling the cultivation of useful trees and plants, such as coconuts, kapok, rubber, rice.

D.—Native education—general and technical. Subsidy to missions as compared with establishment of Government Schools. Precedents from Crown Colonies. Industrial education generally; natural skill of Papuans.

Native ownership of land essential to the protection of the native.

Native agriculture; cacao on the Gold Coast.

Native education of all kinds closely connected with native taxation.

The Papuan native tax differs from most, if not all, others in that it is a tax which is imposed solely for the purpose of raising money, and in no sense with the object of making the native go to work. If he does go to work so much the better, but that is not the object of the tax. For this reason indentured labourers are not exempt; they pay the tax even though the tax may not have yet been extended to the village from which they come, for they are possessed of the means to pay, and they are accessible, though their fellow-villagers may not be.

The proceeds of the tax are not paid into revenue, but are placed to a special account, and can only be expended for native education and other purposes having for their object the direct benefit of the natives.

Combination of the system of native plantations with the system of cultivation by white capital and coloured labour will go further to develop the Territory than any other method.

E.—Native policy in general. Knowledge of anthropology desirable in dealing with native races.

Wallace's opinion of the Papuan and his prophecy of his "early extinction." Expectation that the prophecy will be falsified.

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