

Social and Spiritual Development
Social Science

Unit 3: Transition and Change

Module 3.4 Power, Control and Change



Student Support Material

Acknowledgements

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Cover photograph: Thomas Kasiko, a pupil-teacher of the Anglican mission, and his class at Wanigela on Collingwood Bay, c.1908. Kasiko received a wage of fourpence a week in addition to food, according to the Rev. A. K. Chignell, the missionary at Wanigela. He usually taught a class of about thirty-five big boys and girls. 'His class had read and re-read all the printed matter that is available, and now he has got them translating from Ubir into Wedauan and back into Ubir, with a running commentary of his own in the English he so persistently affects and so intelligently uses.' Chignell commented on mission education generally: '... The establishment of schools is no easy matter. We have taken it for granted, apparently, that what is supposed to be good for English children must also of course be suitable for children in Papua, and so, we have been trying to give everywhere along this coast, a sort of European primary education, consisting of the "three Rs" with the addition of a fourth "R" – Religion.' Gash and Whittaker (1975) Plate 345 p 169.

Layout and diagrams supported by Nick Lauer.

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Unit outline

<p style="text-align: center;">Unit 3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Transition and Change</p>	3.1	Skills for Investigating Change (Core)
	3.2	Independence (Core)
	3.3	PNG History – an Overview (Optional)
	3.4	Power, Control and Change (Optional)
	3.5	PNG at War (Optional)
	3.6	Technological Change (Optional)
	3.7	Pre-history and Archaeology (Optional)

Icons



Read or research



Write or summarise



Activity or discussion

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Module 3.4: Power, Control and Change

This module aims at developing an understanding of the powers of colonial administration, companies, churches and individuals and control mechanisms used by each in Papua New Guinea and other colonial countries

Objectives

By the end of this module students will be able to:

1. Identify the different colonial powers and their administrative practises in PNG.
2. Compare and contrast the influences and impact of different colonial powers and their administration on PNG and other countries.
3. Compare different aims, functions, and responsibilities of colonial administrations, missionaries and companies.
4. Critically analyse the negative and positive effects of change in PNG and other parts of the world.

Topic 1: First Contact

In the three hundred years preceding permanent European settlement in New Guinea, only the fringes of the mainland and the adjacent islands were examined. By the end of the eighteenth century enough had been discovered by European navigators about the shores of New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland and adjacent islands, reefs and waters to enable commercial sea traffic to sail through the region with a fair degree of safety. Contact between European ships' crews and the people of the coasts and islands close to shipping routes changed from an occasional to a sustained form. Until 1870, there was no thought of pushing into interior or of establishing any sort of permanent settlement. However, for almost a century of time before the assumption of political control by a European power, some people in coastal and islands regions were in sustained contact with Europeans of various nationalities.

Traders

The lure of New Guinea as a source of wealth was attractive to Europeans even before the time of first contact. The early Spanish explorers were looking for the legendary wealth of the kingdom of Solomon, which they mistakenly thought they had discovered in the Solomon Islands. However, with the exception of the disastrous de Rays expedition to New Ireland, there was no influx of Europeans before the annexation of 1884. No one commodity of great value which could have attracted large numbers of foreigners was ever found. The discovery of gold in 1877, on the Laloki River near Port Moresby, caused a minor rush but the initial promise was not sustained. The only constant source of saleable wealth was commodities such as whale oil, beche-de-mer, trochus shells, bird of paradise plumes, pearls and pearl shell, turtle shell, sandalwood, cedar and copra.

Early trading ventures were in the hands of individuals and small companies. The traders were often driven off by hostile villagers. The 1870s and 1880s saw the formation of large trading companies such as Godeffroy and Sons and the Deutsche Handels-und Plantagen-Gesellschaft (German Trade and Plantation Company). Godeffroy's managed to establish a permanent station in the Duke of York group in 1875. By 1879, rival companies had entered the New Guinea market: Thomas Farrell and Co and Hensheim and Co. Then in 1884 Adolph von Hansemann, a leading German banker who had brought about the takeover of Godeffroy and Sons, formed a consortium that was to become known as the Neuguinea-Kompagnie (New Guinea Company).

Thomas Farrell, an Australian, and Emma Coe Forsayth, his Samoan-American de facto wife, were employed by Godeffroy and Sons at their Mioko station from 1878. The couple later established their own company. Emma Forsayth, foreseeing that eventually plantations rather than trading stations would dominate the economy of the area, purchased large parcels of land on the Gazelle and on the outlying islands of the archipelago. Known as "Queen" Emma because of the splendid life-style she adopted, holding court in her tropical mansion "Gunamtambu" near Kokopo, she became a legendary figure. In February 1908, Emma (Forsayth) Kolbe described her Blanche Bay holdings thus:

'Ralum: has at present 500 acres full bearing in cocoanuts and producing an average annual crop of from 125 to 145 tons of copra.

'Tokuka: adjoins the above and has 625 acres planted with cocoanuts, $\frac{3}{4}$ bearing and produces from 75 to 95 tons of copra per annum.

*'Ravalien: also adjoining consists of 1000 acres of cocoanuts (half bearing) and *Ficus elastica*. The former returning an annual crop of from 100 to 130 tons of copra. The *Ficus elastica* range from 5 years to two years and 12 and 6 months old.*

*'Matanata: is 750 acres or more in extent, 470 acres being planted with cocoanuts and 280 acres with *Ficus elastica*. (from: A Pictorial History of New Guinea)*



Portrait of "Queen" Emma in 1892. (from Queen Emma)



Gunamtambu – Emma's house at Ralum, near Kokopo (1913). The house was destroyed during the Japanese occupation 1942-45. (from Queen Emma)

Scientists

Scientists were the first people to explore the inland areas. They were not looking for spices or gold, but were interested in looking at the birds, animals, insects and plants that were not found anywhere else in the world. The scientists were interested in learning more about them

and collecting some to take back to Europe. They were also interested in seeing the way that the people lived.

During the 1870s, Luigi D'Albertis, an Italian scientist made several journeys up the Fly River in Papua. He met many people who had never seen a white man before. They attacked his small boat many times but D'Albertis frightened them away by letting off fire-crackers and dynamite. He and the crew of his small boat became very sick with malaria and others fevers during their journeys but they continued to explore the river and collect plants, insects and small animals to take back to Europe. While D'Albertis was exploring the Fly River, German scientists and Russian scientists were exploring the north coast of New Guinea near Madang. Nicolai Maclay explored the area just north of Madang. Dr. Finsch travelled up the Sepik River and other Germans explored the Ramu River.

3.4 Activity 1

Research - select a trader, a trading company or a scientist involved in colonial development in PNG and provide a one-page profile.

Missionaries

New Guinea was low on the scale of missionary priority in the Pacific islands. It was not brought under permanently sustained missionary contact until the 1870's. The Christian missions entering New Guinea in this period followed the lines of entry already much used by commercial shipping, and Christian missionary contact started with people who had already absorbed European influences from a variety of sources. Missionaries in the Bismarck Archipelago and in Papua established themselves in these areas only a short time before permanent European settlers.



Talili, the first of the Tolai leaders who sought to oppose European penetration of the Gazelle Peninsula. Talili's country was inland from Kabakada and it was here that four Fijian teachers of the Wesleyan Methodists mission were killed by Talili's followers in April 1878. In retaliation, the Rev. George Brown armed the few Europeans in the mission area, engaged local auxiliaries at Nudup and then waged war against Talili over a period of six days. (from A Pictorial History of New Guinea)

The chronology of Christian entry

1847	<i>The Society of Mary (SM)</i>	Under the leadership of Bishop Epalle, a party of Marist missionaries came to San Christobal Island in the Solomons group in 1845 with a plan to advance from there towards New Guinea. In September 1847, under Bishop Collomb, SM., a mission party established itself on Guasupa Harbour, Woodlark Island, and from there in 1848 a further advance was made to Rooke (Umboi) Island between New Britain and New Guinea.
1852	<i>The foreign Missions of Milan (FMM)</i>	The FMM. took over responsibility for the mission on Woodlark and Rooke Islands from the Society of Mary and continued evangelical effort there until they withdrew in 1855.
1871	<i>The London Missionary Society (LMS)</i>	Under the leadership of the Rev. Samuel MacFarlane, a LMS party made up of the Rev. AW Murray and some South Sea islands teachers sailed from the Loyalty Islands to Darnley Islands in Torres Strait Teachers were placed on Darnley, Dauan and Saibai Islands, and in 1872 at Katau and at Redscar Bay on the Papuan coast.
1875	<i>The Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society</i>	Under the leadership of the Rev. George Brown, a mission party sailed from Sydney to Fiji where South Sea islands teachers were recruited. From Fiji, the party went to Port Hunter on Duke of York Islands. Here they established the headquarters of the New Britain mission.
1882	<i>The Sacred Heart Mission (SHM)</i>	Under the leadership of Rev. Louis-Andre Navarre, a party of missionaries of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart based in France went to Port Breton (Gower Harbour), the capital of the Free Colony of New France. Finding the colony abandoned, the party crossed over to Matupit Island in Blanche Bay and then went to a site called Obei, near Nodup, where a French secular priest, the Rev. Rene-Marie Lannuel, had previously worked. In 1883, Father Navarre purchased land at Kokopo on Blanche Bay. This was developed as mission headquarters and came to be called Vunapope. In July 1885, Father Verjus was sent by Father Navarre to begin work on Yule Island.
1886	<i>The Lutheran Mission (LM)</i>	Two Lutheran mission societies entered New Guinea. One sent the Rev. Johann Flierl to Finschafen, the new headquarters of the Neuguinea-Kompagnie in Kaiser-Whilelmsland. In 1887, the Rhenish Mission sent two missionaries to the Astrolable Bay region and in November 1887, a permanent station was established at Bogadjim.
1891	<i>Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia (MMSA)</i>	Formerly the Australasia Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, this society sent a mission party under the leadership of Rev. W. E. Bromilow to Dobu Island in the D'Entrecasteaux group. In 1890, Sir William MacGregor had arranged with the LMS. and the Anglican and Methodist missions for each to work in an area of British New Guinea allocated to it. The entry of the Methodists into southeast New Guinea was undertaken as a result of this arrangement.
1891	<i>The Australian Board of Missions (Anglican)</i>	Under the arrangement of 1890 between the LMS, the Methodist and the Anglicans, the latter sent a mission party from Sydney in 1891 under the leadership of the Rev. Albert Marlaren and the Rev. Copland King. The party landed at Kaieta on the northeast coast of southeast New Guinea, and land for the headquarters was purchased at nearby Dogura.
1896	<i>The Society of the Divine Word (Societas Verbi Divini), SVD</i>	This society, based in Steyl, Holland, was entrusted in 1896 with newly erected Prefecture Apostolic of Wilhelmsland. In August 1896, a mission party led by Father Eberhard Limbrock arrived at Friedrich-Wilhelmslafen (Madang) and in the same year, the first station was established on Tumleo Island near Aitape.

(From: *A Pictorial History of New Guinea*)

By the early years of the twentieth century missionaries were working in nearly all the coastal areas of Papua, New Guinea and the islands. Most of the interior was yet to be visited, and many areas of the coast rarely saw a representative of a mission; but it is still true that the missionaries were by then the most numerous occupational group among the Europeans in New Guinea, and they were often the villagers' only contact with the outside world. The work of the missionaries in peacefully exploring new areas and meeting new peoples is widely known. Of equal importance was the early social work carried out by the missionaries. Their scholarly studies of language and customs had been major contributions to anthropology. The missionaries learnt local languages, wrote them down, and used the languages in the schools they established. Education, apart from that in the government school in Rabaul, was in their hands.

Health services were provided by the missions. Most missionaries were given some medical training before their coming to New Guinea. In addition, some hospitals with qualified doctors and nursing staffs were set up.



Dobuan boys watching the landing of the first missionaries, members of the Methodist mission party, in 1891. (From: A Pictorial History of New Guinea)

By 1914 mission stations were widely dispersed on the coasts of German New Guinea. The Gazelle Peninsula and the Duke of York Group had been the scene of intensive missionary effort for over thirty years. On the mainland mission outposts studded the coast from near the Dutch border to the Waria, with a concentration of activity at three points, the Huon Gulf, Astrolabe Bay and the Aitape area. The baptized Christians in the indigenous population numbered about 33,000 in 1914; almost two-thirds of them belonged to the Catholic mission at Vunapope. A far greater number had been in touch with the missions without having been accepted for baptism. The Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia, for example, having only 4,768 baptized Christians, reported that its services, conducted by native helpers in several hundred village churches, were attended by 30,000 worshippers. Nor can the work of the missions be measured only in terms of their successes and failures in winning converts.

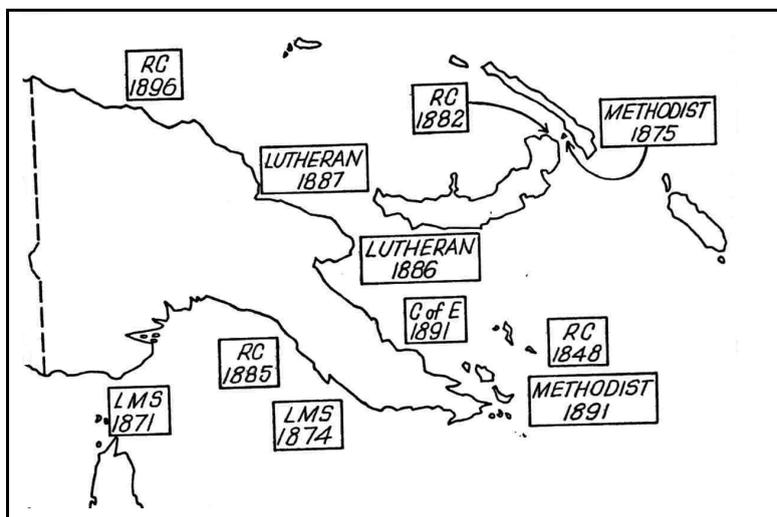
3.4 Activity 2

Select one of the missionary groups in the table above, or a missionary group active in your local area. Trace the arrival of that group and describe some of their main activities

Interview an older person who went to a mission school. Ask her/him to describe some of her/his experiences.

Interview a missionary or church member who has been in PNG for more than 20 years. Ask him/her to describe his/her early experiences.

Talk to a national missionary. Ask her/him how she/her became involved with the church.



Map showing location of main mission groups prior to 1900

It was to the credit of the missionaries that they regarded the people of New Guinea as fellow human beings who were important in the eyes of God. They corrected the opposite view held by the worst of the labour recruiters who looked upon the villagers as just a cheap source of labour. In order to teach the people about God and to protect them from abuses, many of the missionaries were prepared to die, yet at the same time some failed to treat the people with the respect which human beings deserved.

Most missionaries taught the people to live what they believed to be the good life. However the ideas taught at the missions were often not ideas accepted by the majority of Europeans. As a result, when the villagers left the mission, they were unprepared for the types of Europeans they met in shops, on plantations, or in government offices.

The missionaries have been accused of destroying too much of village life. Many of the missionaries believed in a strict code of behaviour which they wished to impose on the people. They did not approve of people working on Sunday, using sorcery, wearing few clothes, or

enjoying dances which the missionaries thought obscene. Yet the majority were aware of the need to replace old beliefs and customs rather than just ban them. Not all the mission workers who lived among the people were considerate but in most areas the missionaries did not thoughtlessly change old ways. The changes that occurred were partly the result of direct bans, but even more important were the inevitable effects following the arrival of European society. Exposure of a people to another group with a more sophisticated technology causes loss of faith and confidence in their own - a process going on since the world began. It was amazing that the island of New Guinea was left so long in isolation, a situation which could never have lasted.



Thomas Kasiko, a pupil-teacher of the Anglican mission, and his class at Wanigela on Collingwood Bay, 1908). He usually taught a class of about thirty-five boys and girls. (from: A Pictorial History of New Guinea)

Explorers

In the Samberigi valley the natives had not seen a European before. They were so amazed at the colour of our skins. When they came down out of their stockade they licked their fingers, thinking well, what's that? They looked at the police: the same colour as they were. They just couldn't make it out. From then on we were really good friends, and they helped us in every way possible. They were easy to get on with as long as you didn't interfere with their gardens or their women. If you interfered with either of those, then you'd had it. **Claude Champion** (from: *Taim Bilong Masta*)

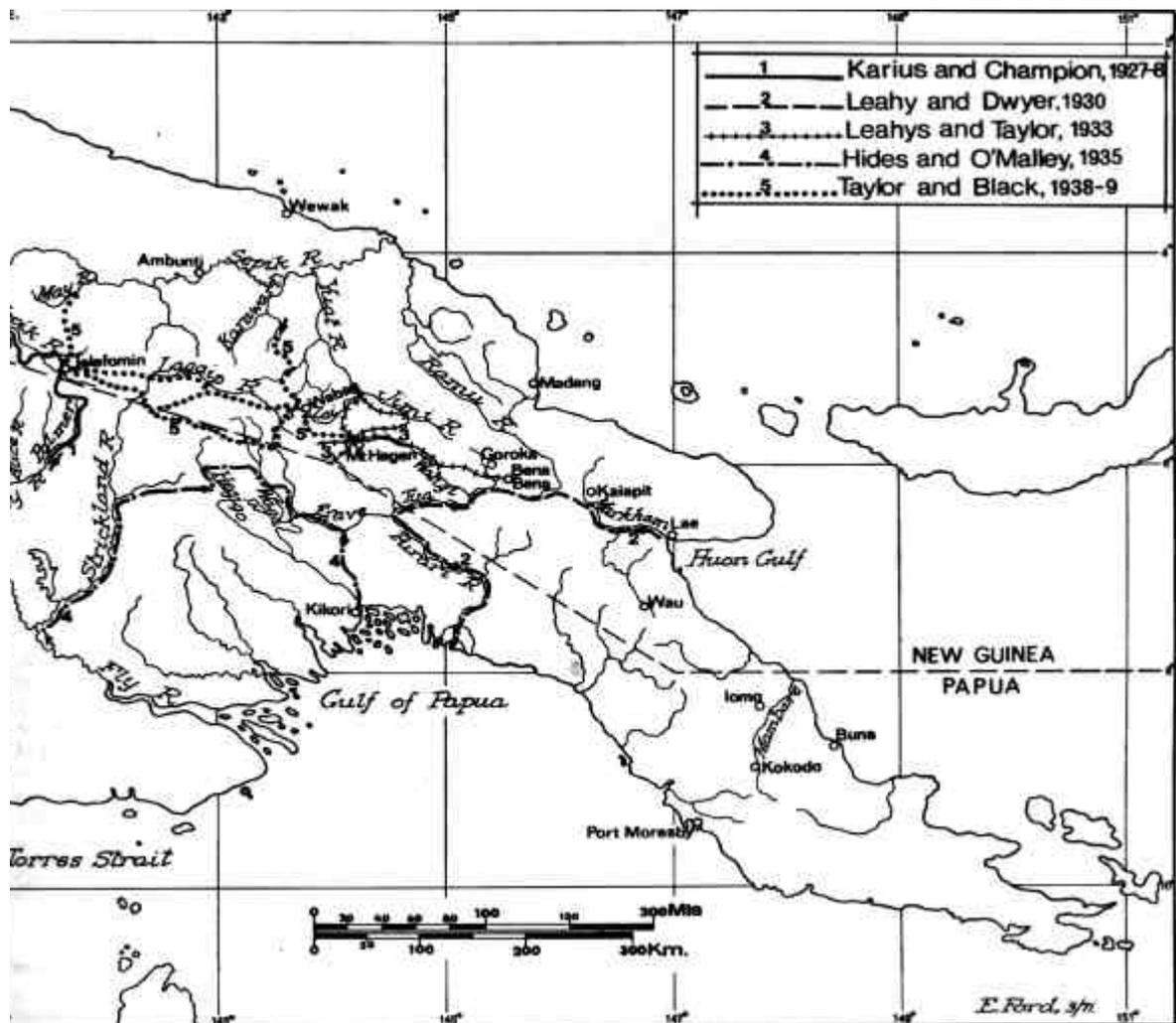
In the years of Australian rule in Papua New Guinea, over one million people were brought under the influence of the central government. Because of the nature of the country and the small scale of the village political units, the process had to be repeated over and over again. Even the islands of New Britain and Bougainville in the 1930s there were still isolated communities beyond the reach of the Australian administration.

When Australia took over the government of New Guinea from Germany, only a small part of the territory was under government control. The Germans had made their authority strong only in areas where plantations had been established: around Rabaul and Kokopo in New Britain, on Manus and some parts of Bougainville, around Kavieng and Namatanai in New Ireland, and around Aitape and Madang on the mainland. The Australian military administration did not explore new territory. This was begun only under the mandate. During the 1920s exploration of the inland was often combined with the search for gold. The Germans had allowed private persons to go where they wished, at their own risk and the result was frequent murders of Europeans or villagers. This policy was continued under the mandate.

In 1922 prospectors began to search for gold on the Waria and the Bulolo rivers. In 1926 rich gold deposits were discovered at Edie Creek, and soon some 200 white miners had established themselves in the vicinity. The track from the coast was in poor condition, and there were only a few government officials on the goldfields. Sometimes the carrier lines were ambushed by the villagers. In one particularly bloody raid the people of Kaisenik village fought back; their village was surrounded by ditches and hidden traps, and the miners had to use dynamite bombs to conquer the village. It was burned to the ground, and many villagers were killed in the fight.

Outsiders were led towards the Highlands by the search either for people to convert to Christianity, or for gold. Apart from non-Highlanders with traditional trade links into the Highlands, probably the first outsiders to see any part of the Highlands were Lutheran catechists from the Morobe coast. Between 1927 and 1929 they came up from the Ramu, over the range and down the Dunantina Valley, and from ridge-tops there could see to the west the wide valleys of Goroka and the Asaro. In September 1929, they and the local people showed this view to the first two Europeans to see the Highlands, the Lutheran missionaries Willi Bergmann and George Phihofer.

Soon after the discovery of gold in the Morobe district the government adopted a new rule as regards exploration. The first men to go into unexplored regions had to be patrol officers, and private persons could enter the so-called uncontrolled areas only with government permission. This was very similar to Murray's Papuan policy of peaceful penetration. But the task was difficult because the government did not have enough money to appoint all the patrol officers needed.



Journeys of exploration undertaken in Papua and new Guinea, mainly in the 1930's. Some journeys were joint expeditions conducted by the Administration and gold prospecting companies. (From: A Pictorial History of New Guinea)

By the early 1930s the administration started to explore the central ranges of New Guinea. In 1933 a patrol officer, Jim Taylor, accompanied the Leahy brothers on their westward trip from Bena Bena, near Goroka. One of the Leahy brothers, Mick, had already explored the headwaters of the Purari, in 1930. Accompanied by another prospector, Dwyer, he ascended the Markham, crossed the Bismarck Range, and travelled down the Purari to the Gulf of Papua. In 1933 the Leahy brothers and Jim Taylor left Bena Bena. Using a light plane, they discovered a chain of grassy valleys inhabited by people whose existence had not been suspected. They also established a base camp near Mount Hagen. In the following years, more of the Wahgi River area was explored. In 1938-9 Taylor led a patrol from Mount Hagen to Telefomin, and back to Wabag. The exploration of New Guinea, like that of Papua, was completed just before the Japanese invasion. Many parts of the country had yet to be visited by patrols for the first time, but the geography of New Guinea was already known.

Relations between the highland people and the patrols were mostly peaceful. The first reaction of the villagers was usually one of fear. But they soon became accustomed to the new wonders, and patrols on return trips sometimes had to shoot to kill. The missionaries who followed the prospectors and patrol officers went around armed. If a villager stole from a mission the missionaries would shoot one of the village pigs and take it in compensation. In

1934 two Roman Catholic missionaries were killed in the Chimbu Valley in reprisal. About the same time there was fighting between the miners and the villagers on the Youat River. One of the miners was later convicted for murder and hanged - the first time a white man had been hanged in the territory. To stop further fighting, the government closed the highlands to all white people except patrol officers. The ban remained in force up to the time of Japanese invasion. This meant that in the highlands the establishment of law and order was largely for the benefit of the villagers and not, as elsewhere, mainly for the benefit of white settlers.



Explorer dies

Post Courier, 19 November 2001

A Morobe man who was a vital part of the patrol that opened up the Highlands 70 years ago died in the Highlands on Wednesday. Ewunga Goibo (pictured), believed to have been in his 80s, died in his adopted homeland surrounded by wives and descendants. It is believed he was the last survivor of the main core of the expedition led by gold prospector Mick Leahy and patrol officer James Lindsay Taylor in 1933.

 **3.4 Activity 3**

Choose one of the journeys mentioned above or described in another source and write two journal entries – one from the point of view of a carrier, and one from the point of view of a villager seeing patrols for the first time.

Select an explorer or scientist not mentioned in this module and draw a map of the area explored.

Select one of the individuals mentioned in this section and produce a one-page profile. Include information about their nationality, background, role in PNG and achievements

Sustained contact and exploration

It is possible to divide the European penetration of the Highlands into two broad periods: the European discovery of the Highlands in the 1930s (before World War II), and the economic development of the Highlands in the 1950s and 1960s (after World War II). Of course, this was only a broad division, as some economic development began before the war while much exploration took place after war. In parts of the Southern Highlands and Enga provinces, both European explorers and European economic activity came at virtually the same time. Also, both European exploration and European economic development went on during the war.

European historians still tend to be influenced by the image conveyed by newspapers at the time, and so see the 1930s as the time of exploration, and the years after the 1930s as quieter years of consolidation and development. For many Highlanders, however this was not the case at all. Some, especially in the Eastern Highlands, were experiencing the European economy in the 1930s, whereas others were not contacted by Europeans until the 1960s.

What their purpose was in coming (prospectors, missionaries, traders, blackbirders, government officers) partly affected how Europeans acted towards the people they met, but in any case all Europeans had two great advantages: They had more powerful weapons and they were prepared for the shock of first contact. Papua New Guineans usually did not expect the encounter. Coastal people had more chance of having experienced foreigners, perhaps Malays or peoples migrating from one area of the Pacific to another. There are many legends of canoes drifting thousands of kilometres, often from Micronesia to Melanesia. But in the Highlands there had been no entry from outside racial groups. Europeans had the advantage of surprise in all first contact situations. Many first contact situations were actually quite peaceful and the reaction was that of great curiosity and friendliness.

Resistance to contact

During the 1970s historians began to re-assess the initial reactions of the people of the Pacific to European invasion and settlement of their lands. Earlier historians looked at first contact as a sort of fatal impact where the natives, with inferior technology and a limited knowledge of the

world, had no chance against the Europeans. The view is of 'the other side of the frontier', from the eyes of the Europeans, not from the view of the local inhabitants.

There are several reasons for this. One reason is that early historians were inclined to write history from the top: they concentrated on the kings, governors, kiaps and politicians rather than on the common people. Another reason is that earlier studies used Europeans as their major source, and did not attempt to get information from the largely illiterate common people. It is only in recent times that Europeans have had sufficient knowledge of Pacific languages and cultures to be able to begin to understand the evidence available: Papua New Guinea historians have a language and cultural advantage when researching history, particularly in their home areas. Their research can interpret occurrences in the colonial period from the other side of the colonial frontier.

In many of the cases of first contact occurring after the establishment of colonial government in Papua New Guinea, it was Papua New Guineans who played the leading role for the government. The names that history records are those men like Ivan Champion, the Leahy brothers and Jim Taylor. The names of their carriers and guides have often been forgotten. We get a picture of the lone explorer or kiap, facing the wild rivers, mountains and tribes alone. Too often we forget that the first explorers were accompanied by, guided by, protected by, even carried by, their carriers, interpreters and police. These men behaved bravely and faced great physical hardship for very little reward.

The carriers, the interpreters, the police were essential to any government patrol, but as well the police in particular often determined what happened when a patrol contacted villagers. The police frequently went ahead of the patrol officer and what they did determined whether the patrol had a friendly or a hostile reception. For example, if the police stole food or molested women, the local people might either hide from the patrol or attack it. Again, in the Northern Province and elsewhere some Binandere joined the police so that they could use the patrol to attack their traditional enemies. On the other hand, the bushcraft and experience of many a police sergeant saved his patrol officer from making mistakes which might have led to an attack. Generally, the skill and courage of the bush policeman did much to bring together the people and the government.

Sometimes Papua New Guinea police and others went by themselves into new areas. Morobe and Sepik policemen went into parts of the Highlands, Papuan coastal village constables went into the Papuan mountains, under the Germans Bukas and other police went into the interior of New Britain. All these and many others went on government work, but all represented the first contact with the outside world for some Papua New Guineans.

 **3.4 Activity 4**

Record one example of a first contact experience. You may interview a person who experienced first contact or read extracts from journals or books describing first contact.

Use history books in your college library to find information about one incident describing resistance by the local people. Describe what happened.

Topic 2: Colonial administration

The decision by Germany to claim north-eastern New Guinea and by Britain to claim south-eastern New Guinea in 1884 is best understood if regarded against events taking place in the rest of the world at that time. During the second half of the nineteenth century European powers obtained control of more overseas territories. The three powers most concerned were Britain, France and Germany. The new colonies were established in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. In the Pacific Britain obtained Fiji, Rotuma, Papua, the British Solomon Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Cook Islands, Niue, Ocean Island, Tonga, and shared the administration of the New Hebrides and Samoa. Germany annexed New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, the Marshall Islands, shared control of Samoa, and purchased the Carolines and the Marianas (except Guam) from Spain. France obtained New Caledonia, formally annexed Tahiti and Wallis Island, and shared in the administration of the New Hebrides.

The work of Dr Albert Hahl

Dr Albert Hahl (1899-1914) was the best known of the German administrators. The means at Dr Hahl's disposal in 1899 were meagre: a secretary and a police force of thirty or forty natives were the sum of the human resources he could command. Convinced by his observations on the spot and his study of local institutions that stability within each of the small villages and hamlets was a prerequisite for a more general peace in the peninsula, he decided to create a link with the villages by recognizing headmen, who were to be responsible for law and order within their respective communities. It was difficult to find such leaders and impossible to find men who commanded a following wider than that of the single village. Hahl's solution to the problem of dispersed authority was to require each village to nominate a leading man as headman, or, using one of the local terms for village leader, **luluai**. The luluais were to adjudicate and impose small fines in village disputes and report more serious cases and breaches of the peace to the German courts.

Hahl had no illusions about the gap between his luluai system and traditional notions of leadership in the villages. He recognized that he was not reinforcing an indigenous pattern of authority so much as manipulating it in order to create village leaders with whom the government might deal. Despite its inadequacies, the system worked well. By the time the Reich took over, Hahl had reduced overt friction in the villages and created points of contact between them and himself. From the first he tried to strengthen his hold by requiring roads to be built to the inland plateau, for which the luluais had to furnish quotas of unpaid labourers, and by reducing some of the friction over land. Settlers were encouraged to define more precisely the areas that they intended to plant. Where the lands they claimed included areas actually occupied or used by the villages he created a small number of reserves by persuading settlers to surrender their more dubious titles or accept compensation elsewhere. It was clearly a temporary and piecemeal remedy for a land problem that was to endure. Hahl's own dissatisfaction with it was expressed in the recommendation that he made in 1899 to the home authorities for legislation to provide for confiscation when settlers refused to negotiate.

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of German rule in its last years was not so much what was accomplished, although that was considerable, as what was envisaged. Early in 1914, before he left the colony, Hahl laid before the Government Council a blueprint for the next three years. A systematic

extension of control was contemplated, particularly into the interior. The new stations at Angoram and Lae were to serve as bases for a chain of posts to connect the Markham and the lower Sepik and open up the area behind the coastal ranges of the eastern mainland. New stations on the coast west of Madang and in southern New Britain and the Solomons were to strengthen the administration on the coasts and lead to the penetration of their respective hinterlands.

At the same time Hahl planned to widen the range of the administrative services within the opened area. Between 1908 and 1914 the number of officials in German New Guinea increased from fifty-six to about a hundred, approximately the same number as in Papua at the time. Where the German colony differed markedly from Papua was in the professional qualifications possessed by its officials. Most of its senior administrative officers held university degrees- About one-third of the entire staff was made up of men qualified to provide specialist services: among them were doctors, medical assistants, agricultural officers, a veterinary officer and various technical and engineering experts. In 1914 Hahl gave high priority to technical development, particularly in the extension of health services and the promotion of indigenous agriculture. Well informed and wide-ranging, his planning in this respect was not matched again until after World War II.

 **3.4 Activity 5**

Choose another administrator and provide a time line showing the activities/development undertaken by that administrator

The legacy of colonialism

Economic effects

Supporters of colonialism argue that it benefited colonial peoples as well as the ruling nations. Certainly, colonial rule brought about a number of important and lasting changes. Among these were the creation of modern transport and communication systems, the building of harbours, schools, colleges, and hospitals, and the spread of Western science and technology. However, many opponents of colonialism claim that these developments would have happened without colonial rule. Opponents of colonialism also maintain that with the help of Christian missionaries, colonial governments helped destroy or undermine many traditional cultures and beliefs. Colonialism helped to establish new systems of agriculture, but some of these involved enormous hardship to the local population and turned them into slaves or indentured labourers.

Political effects

The political legacy of colonialism was a very mixed one. Colonial rule ended many local wars and created a new sense of security among many of its subjects. However, the boundary lines drawn by the colonial powers often made little sense in terms of local ethnic identities. The partition of Africa in the late 1800's provided many examples of this, where people with the same culture and traditions found themselves divided between two different colonial states, each with its own language and political system.

Social and cultural effects

The impact of Western educational and cultural influences has been a mixed blessing to former colonies. By spreading the use of Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, and other European languages across the globe, colonialism enabled more people to share in the benefits of Western culture and to communicate with others outside their own societies. Yet, colonialism also created a form of cultural dependency, where people despised their own culture and looked instead to the United States, the United Kingdom, or France in such matters as food, dress, and music. Many former colonies have had to struggle to redefine their cultural identity.

Colonising powers have invariably sought to administer colonial dependencies through the political structures, mechanisms and social values of the home country. Confronted in Papua by tribalism, continuous small scale warfare, linguistic fragmentation and numerous, repugnant practices including cannibalism, the need to interfere quite arbitrarily with native social custom must have appeared overwhelming. It seemed a deceptively simple solution, for example, to replace traditional group decision-making processes-in so far as Europeans recognised them as such-by the appointment of village constables.

Early governments failed to recognise the mechanism by which group tensions were resolved. They appointed individual village leaders (most unrecognised as such by the villagers), but proceeded to strip them of all real power by telling them that they must report all disputes and breaches of the law to the Magistrate who became official arbitrator in all disputes brought before him. Government-appointed village officials were frequently neither more nor less than spies in many instances using their position to bully, receive bribes or extort. Often they were merely used by the villagers as front-runners to frustrate or modify the bewildering, uncomprehended requirements of the government.

Paternalism and detribalisation in PNG

The New Guinean was subject to an enduring master-servant relationship and to an unbending paternalism, however wise or well-meaning, that only began to show some signs of change in the 1960s. However, the grosser aspects of white supremacy familiar to Africa and to some parts of Asia have been absent in New Guinea.

One of the most obvious social and cultural changes resulting from European settlement was detribalisation. Detribalisation means the loss of the security of being anchored in a culture whose traditional values provide sustenance and support. Educated Papua New Guineans in government service and in business before independence spoke and wrote fluent English. Many of them travelled to Australia and abroad and had an increasing knowledge of the great world beyond the village from which they came. But for many this brought a sense of loneliness and cultural displacement arising from alienation from the traditional village culture on the one hand and being merely on the threshold of a western expatriate culture on the other.

Adapting to a different culture has meant some Papua New Guineans:

- Avoid going on home leave to their villages
- Grow up in the towns instead of village communities
- Intermarry
- Speak Pidgin and English but not the language or place talk of their father or mother
- Are cut off from exercising effective leadership at grass roots or village level



3.4 Activity 6

In groups discuss the conflict of being between two different worlds. Listen carefully to those who have experienced this conflict first hand.

Talk to wantoks who have a village background and those who have a town background. Describe the main differences in their lifestyles.

Topic 3: Changing communities

As far back as Murray's rule, village life was changing, even in areas not under government control. Patrol officers in villages contacted for the first time had found steel axes which must have come by trade. A man who possessed a steel axe did not have to spend as much time as before clearing new land; if he was a big *man*, his power increased. In areas under government control life was never the same again. By preventing warfare, the government made some customs pointless. The trade of the warrior was lost. The people could go to enemy country without fear of attack.

The patrol brought guns, food in tins, perhaps a radio, and other marvels. Later, labour recruiting upset village life in other ways. Young men came back from plantations with new beliefs and new riches. This undermined the authority of the old men. Some returned workers found village life dull, so they left again, never to return.

Christian missions made a deep impression on village societies. Missionaries discouraged village dances and ceremonies as pagan practices; some missions prevented all dancing, while others banned only certain ceremonies. Without these, some of the traditions were lost. Even the introduction of Sunday as the day of rest was a great innovation in village life. The missions made many converts, but there was often a difference between what the missionary taught and what the converts heard. When he promised them wealth in heaven, they took it as a promise of riches in this world. Competition between the various missions only added to the confusion of the villagers.

In most cases, the first change brought by Europeans was the banning of all fighting. As peace between villages became more common, people began to move more easily between villages. The rapid growth of general languages such as Pidgin, Hiri Motu, and, more recently, English, greatly increased the ease with which people could communicate with each other.



An event in Rabaul – the arrival of the weekly plane from Sydney via Cooktown and Port Moresby, 1935. (from: A Pictorial History of New Guinea)



The interior of the WR Carpenter & Co store in Mango Avenue Rabaul in 1924. (from: A Pictorial History of New Guinea)

Other major changes brought by Europeans were the introduction of money and the cash economy, and government-controlled education structures

Despite the changes, many people still live in small villages and do not often travel far from home. Rivalries still exist, particularly among older people. Each group still proudly preserves its own customs and language. Many children have no school to go to and have had few

opportunities to learn about the people who live in other parts of the country. Many of these small villages are remote and are difficult to develop.

The development of towns

One of the most significant changes in PNG has been the development of towns. Many of these started as trading stations. The establishment of stations were mainly done by the planters and plantation owners and they were many used for trade and transit many of the stations grew up to be bigger towns and cities such as Port Moresby.



Map of the territories showing the various facilities available at the main population centres in 1921 (from *A Pictorial History of New Guinea*)

Rabaul became the capital of German New Guinea in 1910. It had good wharves, a botanic garden and well-planned streets. It was over-looked by the governor's house on Namanula Hill.

Samarai was the main port serving the goldfields and by 1906 it handled over three times as much trade as Port Moresby. Imports for the goldfields and most exports were channelled through Samarai which, with its hotels and its three stores, had become by 1906 British New Guinea's nearest approach to a town.

In Papua, an Englishman John Moresby located a large natural harbour and a village, Hanuabada. This harbour and the town that replaced the village is now known as **Port Moresby**. The future capital, however, grew very slowly. Its European population remained fairly static except for a brief invasion by gold prospectors in 1878. Reports of gold on Laloki River outside the town spurred more than a hundred hopefuls to travel from Cooktown in North Queensland. Within six months they were all back in Australia again. By 1897, Port Moresby had a resident white population of only 33.



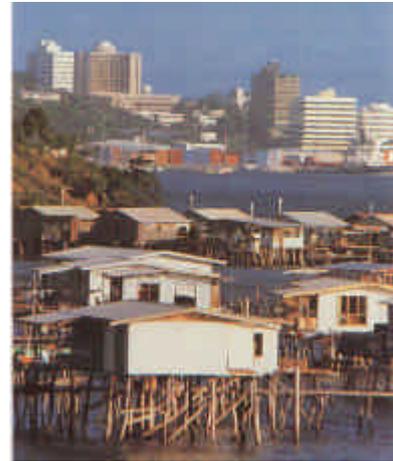
Street scene in Chinatown, Rabaul in 1916. All the Chinese had to live in Chinatown under the terms of a lease granted by the German Governor in 1907. (from: *A Pictorial History of New Guinea*)



Samarai waterfront in 1920. (from: *A Pictorial History of New Guinea*)



The water front at Port Moresby looking towards Paga Point (1913). (From: *A Pictorial History of New Guinea*)



Port Moresby today, looking towards Paga Point

3.4 Activity 7

Select one of the towns pictured above or another main town in your local area or province and research the formation and development of that town.

Identify and describe historical buildings and monuments in a nearby town.

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