Technical training and development in Papua
1894-1941
Preface

This series is published on a limited scale by the Pacific Research Committee of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. The purpose of the series is to make available to libraries, research workers and people with special Pacific regional interests, the results of research that would otherwise be difficult of access. This will include works that are too long to be published as articles, but of too restricted a potential readership to warrant normal book publication. It will also include works that may be in a format unsuitable for more formal book publication, but which are nevertheless works of substance and sound scholarship, and will be useful to the limited readership for whom this series is designed.

Further monographs in this series are in preparation. They will be published somewhat irregularly, as they come off the press, probably at the rate of two or three volumes a year.
Summary

The sparse literature on educational development in pre-war Papua has stressed the extent to which education in the territory was neglected. Australia's pre-war colonial record in education was unquestionably poor. The parsimonious grants made available for Papua's development meant that no government schools were built before World War II. Nevertheless, it is apparent that some notable achievements of the period have been overlooked.

This study shows that significant advances were made in the area of technical education. The training of skilled and semi-skilled artisans was a feature of mission education in Papua as far back as the 1880s. The initial impetus for this training was provided by a number of enthusiastic mission educators. Subsequently, Hubert Murray, Papua's Administrator for over three decades, provided the financial support necessary for the operation of five mission-run technical schools. In addition, numerous small-scale, low level training schemes were implemented by the missions with government financial support.

*Technical Training and Development in Papua 1874-1941* describes the growth that took place and analyses the reasons for that development. The author suggests that the effects of the training on Papua's development have been understated. The impact of the training on Papuan villages was often marked and the contribution of skilled Papuan artisans to the colony's post-war development was probably much greater than has hitherto been recognized. Furthermore, not only was the self-confidence of Papuans enhanced as a consequence of the skills they developed; so was the esteem they were accorded by the white residents of the territory. This constituted a significant break-through in race relations in the colony.
Acknowledgments

This study was carried out originally for a Master of Education degree at the University of Papua New Guinea. The present monograph is an edited version of that thesis.

A number of people provided invaluable assistance at the time the initial study was made. Hank Nelson and Nigel Oram, then at UPNG, Kevin Green, who was Chief Archivist in Papua New Guinea, and my wife Carol read the text critically and were responsible for many improvements. Several representatives of missions gave me access to valuable mission documents: Rev. Fr Hubert van Lamsweerde, M.S.C., Rev. W. Bache of the United Church, Rev. C.F. Gribble of the Board of Methodist Overseas Missions and Cecil Abel, formerly of the Kwato Extension Association, are all people to whom I am indebted. I hope that this study does justice to the wealth of material they so readily made available. And to the large number of Papuan informants who willing agreed to be interviewed I say thank you. In particular I should mention Archbishop Louis Vangeke, and Messrs Athanasius Aoae, Michael Beni, Joe Lebasi, Tom Nou, Joshua Pita and Mick Taligatus.

This study is dedicated to Carol and to my mother and father.

Tony Austin
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## Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>A.B.M.</td>
<td>Australian Board of Missions</td>
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<td>AMMR</td>
<td>Australian Methodist Missionary Review</td>
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<td>Annals</td>
<td>The Annals of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart</td>
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<td>AP</td>
<td>Abel papers</td>
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<td>BNGAR</td>
<td>British New Guinea Annual Report</td>
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<td>CAO</td>
<td>Commonwealth Archives Office</td>
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<td>DP</td>
<td>Dogura papers</td>
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<td>KEA</td>
<td>Kwato Extension Association</td>
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<td>LP</td>
<td>Letters of Papua, microfilm of Council for World Mission archives held in the Mitchell Library, the National Library and the University of Papua New Guinea Library</td>
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<td>MEA</td>
<td>Methodist Mission District minutes, estimates, accounts, circuit reports and home auxiliary balance sheets</td>
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<td>MH</td>
<td>United Church papers, Metoreia House, Poreporena</td>
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<td>MMDM</td>
<td>Minutes of annual district meetings of the British New Guinea (Papua) District</td>
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<td>MOMB</td>
<td>Methodist Overseas Missions Board</td>
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<td>NAPNG</td>
<td>National Archives of Papua New Guinea</td>
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<td>New Guinea</td>
<td>Refers to British New Guinea unless otherwise stated</td>
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<td>NGDC</td>
<td>New Guinea District Committee of the London Missionary Society - until 1906</td>
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<td>PAR</td>
<td>Territory of Papua Annual Report; Papua Annual Report</td>
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<td>PDC</td>
<td>Papua District Committee of the London Missionary Society - after 1906</td>
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<td>P.I.</td>
<td>Papuan Industries Limited</td>
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<td>Code</td>
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<td>PL</td>
<td>Papua letters, microfilm of Council of World Mission archives held in the Mitchell Library, the National Library and the University of Papua New Guinea Library</td>
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<td>UPNG</td>
<td>University of Papua and New Guinea</td>
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<td>YA</td>
<td>Yule Island Archives of the Sacred Heart Mission</td>
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Introduction

Educationists are commonly heard bemoaning the nature of colonial education in Papua New Guinea on the grounds that it has been too 'bookish' and divorced from the practical needs of the country - at both national and village levels. What many people fail to realize is that their demand for 'relevance' in education is not new. It is a demand that has been expressed both by mission educators and government officials almost from the time the first white settlers imposed themselves on the country.

In the separate colony of Papua the place of technical, or vocational, or industrial training in the colonizing process was debated at length from the 1890s until World War II. The relative importance of scholastic and technical education was frequently discussed both within the Government and missions and between the Government and missions. Indeed it was sometimes a cause of friction within missions and, in the case of the London Missionary Society, heated conflict. Between 1905 and 1941 the stand taken by Papua's Lieutenant-Governor J.H.P. Murray (later Sir Hubert) was unequivocal: practical, industrial training was to be preferred to scholastic education.

Until the 1920s the term 'industrial training' encompassed many of the activities carried out by vocational centres in P.N.G. today, and by technical schools. At one level, low-grade practical skills were taught to villagers who were expected to return to improve their homes by applying their newly-acquired skills. Such industrial training also covered agricultural and plantation activities; these are dealt with in this paper only to the extent that they illustrate a point of mission or government policy relevant to trade training. At a more advanced level skilled tradesmen such as carpenters, boat builders, plumbers, motor mechanics and blacksmiths emerged. 'Industrial training' was the term used most frequently during the nineteenth century and for the first two decades of the twentieth, after which 'technical training' came into vogue. During the earlier period 'technical' or 'artisan training'
seems to have been used most frequently to differentiate between formal institutional training and on-the-job industrial training that took place in a productive enterprise such as a factory or plantation. The difference between the two was officially recognized about 1920, though in reality the distinction remained blurred. As time went by the term 'technical training' increasingly excluded agricultural training which had formerly been encompassed by 'industrial training'.

Technical training is a term with a variety of meanings. In this study it refers to the development of manual skills which enable people to produce, make or build things. Examples are carpentry, house construction, plumbing, boat building, shoe making and the like. Apprenticeship and certification of acquired skills is commonly associated with technical training. However, training of a more elementary kind also took place in Papua and is dealt with here. Basic formal training of clerks, domestic servants, etc. is not encompassed, though by some definitions it could be.

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first 25 years of the twentieth was a period of educational history marked by the emergence of industrial missions throughout the colonized world. The period was also notable for the growing awareness on the part of colonial governments of a need to encourage in their subjects the development of manual skills.

The London Missionary Society made proposals, as early as the 1830s, to open industrial schools in India; a small start was made and government-run schools also began to operate from the 1850s. In 1846 the Basel Missionary Society established an Industrial Commission to develop industries among its converts in India; the Commission grew into a large organization with diverse industrial interests in India and West Africa known as Missions-Handlungs-Gessellschaft. By the turn of the century bodies such as the Church Missionary Society, the Catholic Missions, the Baptist Missionary Society and the United Free Church of

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1 Holmes, 1967:29
Scotland had developed industrial branches of varying sizes in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and an Industrial Missions Aid Society with strong L.M.S. affiliations had been formed in England 'for the purpose of developing the industrial element in missionary operations'.

The first general statement of British educational policy in colonial areas was a report made in 1847 by the Education Committee of the Privy Council to the Colonial Office. It encouraged, among other things, the establishment of industrial schools in the colonies. In subsequent decades the growth of industrial education in the British colonies was given impetus by ordinances providing for financial support for industrial schools, e.g. in Fijí in 1880, the Gold Coast Colony in 1887, and Lagos and Rhodesia in 1889.

With increased awareness in the twentieth century of the need to develop better education in the colonies, more attention was paid to technical education. For instance, in 1908 the Pan Anglican Congress in London discussed the subject of industrial missions, though not in any detail as did the Imperial Education Conference in 1914, the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1928 and the Seminar - Conference of Educationists and Social Scientists in Honolulu in 1936. In the 1920s reports made by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, and the Phelps-Stokes Reports, were milestones in the development of colonial education.

In 1919 the American Phelps-Stokes Fund resolved 'that a survey of educational conditions and opportunities among the Negroes of Africa, with a special view of finding the type or types of education best adopted to meet the needs of the Natives, be undertaken by the Phelps-Stokes Fund ...'.

3 Ibid., 22 Nov. 1900.
4 Missionary Notes, article on Pan Anglican Congress, 9 Sept. 1908.
7 Keesing, 1938; Williams, F.E., Impressions Gained From the Conference on Education in Pacific Countries, mimeo, n.d.
A report on West, South and Equatorial Africa was made in 1922, and in 1925 a second commission reported on East Africa. The reports, highly regarded by educational historians, had considerable influence in the colonies. Included among their proposals was an expression of the need to establish a system of elementary trade schools to 'teach the simpler elements of trades required in Native villages and to prepare for the less skilled occupations in industrial concerns'.

The Advisory Committee made similar recommendations. It reported in 1925 and 1935 and it too suggested that more emphasis should be placed on technical, vocational and agricultural training at the expense of more 'traditional' subjects in the curriculum.

In Papua all the major missions - the London Missionary Society (established 1871), the Sacred Heart Mission (1885), the Methodist Missionary Society (1891) and the Anglican Mission (1891) - became involved in industrial education. The Kwato Extension Association, which broke away from the L.M.S. in 1918 following a dispute over the place of industrial training in mission activities, became a famous centre for technical training. And from the earliest days the Government in Papua, influenced by developments abroad, encouraged the missions in this aspect of their activities.

This development was accompanied by a good deal of soul-searching by educators and administrators. What was the purpose of the training? Should the Papuan be trained to work for himself or for the white man? Should he be trained as a skilled craftsman or as a semi-skilled handyman? The missionaries argued amongst themselves about the place of technical training in relation to their evangelizing role. Would it interfere with evangelism or supplement it? Would it help to create a totally new society or simply help to improve the existing manner of village life? What skills should the Papuan develop to enable him to work in a new society and help him to improve village life?

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8 Quoted in Foster, 1967:158.

This study analyses the attempts made to answer questions such as these: it outlines the development of technical training in Papua up to 1941 and the reasons why the development took place. The study covers the work of the missions and the Government; an analysis of on-the-job training that must have been provided by private enterprise has not been made. Little is said about the effects the training had on Papuan development after the war; such a study remains to be made.

However, it is apparent that the training did, in some respects, inhibit the colony's development. A major unarticulated reason for developing technical education was that this was all that Papuans could cope with or aspire to. Academic education was considered to be beyond them. The colonial mentality demanded that the lives of these ignorant brown heathen could be, and must be, improved - materially, spiritually and intellectually. But it was widely believed that there were severe limits as to how far their intellectual abilities could be developed. Some administrators and a number of missionaries hoped that Papuans could aspire to the intellectual heights of Europeans; few could really bring themselves to believe it. Most other white settlers would have been affronted by the suggestion.

As a consequence a good deal of money was expended on the development of technical training; relatively little was spent on other forms of education. By the war, Papua possessed an army of semi-skilled and skilled tradesmen. In addition, there were Papuan teachers and clergy, lowly clerical assistants and health orderlies. But a basis on which a cadre of administrators and decision makers could be built had barely been established.
Chapter 1

**The Murray policy on technical training**

Prior to the establishment of the Australian administration of Papua in 1906, and for some years afterwards, there was no government policy on education. Most of the missions were unhappy about having to bear the entire brunt of financial responsibility for education, but with government income severely limited it was to be many years before official encouragement of education was anything more than verbal.

The earliest record of this 'moral' encouragement of technical education was provided by the first Administrator of British New Guinea, Sir William MacGregor. In the Annual Report for 1893/94 he praised the work of two lay sisters of the Methodist Mission and Mrs Bromilow - the wife of the first head of the Mission, W.E. Bromilow - for conducting a sewing class that 'could hold its own with that of any ordinary European village'.¹ Although somewhat vague, such a comparison was high praise indeed in the late nineteenth century. In addition, MacGregor expressed satisfaction with the attempts of a London Missionary Society preacher, Charles Abel, to establish industrial settlements in Milne Bay, and in doing so helped to formulate mission policy by his note that:

> Mr Abel shares my own belief that religious instruction by itself is only a lopsided education for natives, and ... should go hand in hand with industrial teaching in order to turn the native to good account.²

In 1896 MacGregor thought that he might be able to assist the L.M.S. with the establishment of an institution

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¹ *BNGAR*, 1893/94, p.xxvi.
² Ibid., p.12.
which would include in its activities boat building and working with native timbers. The administrator hoped that a few boys might be apprenticed 'under mandate for five to seven years'. However, nothing came of the proposal.

There were a number of other occasions in the first twenty years of European administration on which officials favourably compared Papuan craftsmen with Europeans. The Honourable George Le Hunte, who followed MacGregor as Lieutenant-Governor in 1899, praised the work done by Kwato students under the tutelage of Abel, and spoke highly of one boy who had completed 'an excellent extension of the Mission house in a way which would have put some trades union artisans to shame'.

In 1906 Francis Barton, the Administrator, in praising Abel and the technical work at Kwato, did so 'particularly for having clearly demonstrated that the Papuan is capable of so great advancement'.

Hubert Murray, as Lieutenant-Governor, first raised the question of practical education in 1910 in a passing reference in a letter to E.L. Batchelor, the Australian Minister of State for External Affairs. The possibility of establishing state schools for Papuans had been discussed in the Australian House of Representatives. Furthermore, Papua's Executive Council had agreed that:

it would be desirable, in the interests of the native population, to establish elementary schools for Industrial education, and for teaching reading and writing in English, and the elements of arithmetic.

However, Murray explained that a lack of funds prevented action. The same year Staniforth Smith, in the Administrator's Report, opposed the training of too many clerks as positions did not exist for them; the Acting Administrator felt that:

A native who has attained some proficiency in school education is less inclined to voluntarily

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3 P.L. MacGregor to Thompson, 16 July 1897.
4 BNGAR, 1900-1, p.xii.
5 BNGAR, 1905/06, p.20.
6 NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 4 March 1910, Despatch 23, G76-5.
engage in steady manual labour than those whose education has been of a technical or industrial nature. The objective is to educate the Papuan in such a manner as will conduce to its true welfare. In his present somewhat primitive stage of evolution, the acquisition of a good practical knowledge of agriculture and handicrafts, is probably the best asset the majority could possess.  

At the end of the year, the question was again raised in the Australian House of Representatives by a Mr Higgs who contended that Papuans should be taught trades 'so that they may produce wealth for themselves in a co-operative way'. However, the Minister of State for External Affairs denied that the teaching of trades to the Papuan was at that time the business of the Government. Instead it had to develop his potential as an agricultural worker. An editorial in the *Papuan Times and Tropical Advertiser* about the matter was even more negative:

To learn a trade means intelligence and perseverance, combined with application, and we would ask the whites of Papua who have resided in this country some time, and others who have dealt with natives elsewhere, and are now residents in Papua, how many of these natural qualifications the Papuan Natives possess. Intelligence they have, which at present is used as cunning; perseverance they have from a gastronomic point of view, and there [sic] only application seems to exist in getting as much as possible out of the white ... and giving as little in return.

In 1911 Murray, unimpressed by such negativism, forwarded to the Minister comments made by the Chief Surveyor, John Richmond, about a proposal for the establishment of a government school for Papuans. Richmond said:

There should be a separate building arranged and

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7 *PAR*, 1910/11, p.28.
8 *Papuan Times and Tropical Advertiser*, 28 Jan. 1911.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid., 22 Feb. 1911.
provided and conducted similarly to military Engineers Workshop, where the elder boys could be taught and trained in precision, order, care and use of tools, handling of materials, etc., and those who prove capable and willing selected to learn trades such as carpenters, plumbers, sail-makers, blacksmiths, gardeners, etc.

It is evident that at any time only a very small proportion of the children would be strong enough to do the work of the trades, and that, as they become useful they would readily obtain outside employment. Yet in their period of preparation they would do much useful work for the Government.11

Murray was obviously interested but, noting that the scheme would be expensive, submitted the matter to the Minister 'in order to ascertain whether something in the nature of the scheme suggested would be approved if financial matters could be satisfactorily arranged.12 The Minister would not sanction the scheme for a school on the grounds that no estimates of costs were provided, but undertook to give favourable consideration to a proposal if it was financially feasible.13 Apparently no estimate of costs was subsequently forwarded to him.

It was not long before Murray was forced to admit that it would never be possible for the Government to provide a comprehensive scheme of education for Papua, although he maintained a desire to build some government schools. However, by 1912 he expressed the hope that he would be able to subsidize mission schools even though this 'would be quite opposed to public opinion' in the Territory and Australia. He saw government support of higher education as undesirable, but suggested that the 3R's plus technical education would be sufficient for those who showed special aptitude. Money for this, though, could only be raised through the imposition of a tax to be paid by Papuans. Undeterred by anticipated opposition to the idea by the white community, he went on:

An objection might be raised from the European point of view that the native tradesmen would, in

11NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 22 July 1911, Despatch 132, G76-8.
12NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 22 July 1911, Despatch 132, G76-8.
time, tend to supplant the white man; but the European tradesmen are few in number, and it would take some time to bring about this result - a result which indeed must come sooner or later unless the Papuan is never to rise above the level of an unskilled labourer.14

He added that the matter was not urgent but was sufficiently important to warrant seeking the Minister's opinion. Indeed, Murray had been so interested in technical training that he contacted Hahl, the Governor of New Guinea, to get details of the technical school in Rabaul.15 Six months later he included in a despatch to the Minister a letter from Hahl who, with some enthusiasm, outlined the activities of the Rabaul school.16 Murray had also asked L.L. Bell, the Chief Inspector of the Department of Native Affairs, to report on technical education in Java and the Malay states. Bell described three technical schools established by the Dutch in Java and a small class in Kuala Lumpur. He expressed the optimistic view that eventually technical schools for Papuans could be as successful as the Javanese schools.17

Murray now sought from the Minister, P. McM. Glynn, an expression of opinion on a proposal to provide a government subsidy for missions. It would be paid for by the introduction of native taxation, which Murray hoped would be law by 1914.18 He had sought the advice of several people on this point and among the recommendations he received was one from B. Bramell, Commissioner for Native Affairs, who supported mission subsidies and the establishment of a mission-run technical education scheme at a cost of £4,000 per year.19

In 1913 R. Dubois, the manager of a sisal hemp plantation near Port Moresby, and a friend of Murray, contacted the

14 NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 20 July 1912, Despatch 202, G76-10.
15 Murray, J.H.P., Diary 1912-April 1917, entry for 20 October 1912, p.35.
16 NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 30 Dec. 1913, Despatch 434, G76-12, enclosure Hahl to Murray, 22 Jan. 1913.
17 NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 30 Dec. 1913, Despatch 434, G76-12, enclosure Bell to Murray, 19 Feb. 1913.
18 NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 30 Dec. 1913.
19 NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 31 July 1914, Despatch 103, G76-14.
Lieutenant-Governor with a plan for a government technical school of which he would be headmaster. He envisaged 'a simplified curriculum of the Working Men's College, of Melbourne', initially with instruction in carpentry, painting, blacksmithing, plumbing, and building, followed later by boat building, cabinet making, copper and brass work, cooking, etc. Three-year courses would be run for young boys and short courses were to be designed for men. Dubois felt confident that in three years he could turn out competent tradesmen who would readily find employment at from £4 to £6 per month and who would be welcomed by employers. He estimated the initial cost at £1,500 with running costs of £1,800 per year. Murray appears not to have been particularly interested in the proposal. Nevertheless, he sent a copy of the letter to the Minister as further evidence of a demand for technical education and of the desirability of instituting government subsidies for technical schools.²⁰

Another development at this time involved negotiations between F.W. Walker and Murray to establish a technical school and industrial settlement on Ainoro Island in the East Central Division of Papua. Walker was a former L.M.S. missionary who had founded, and was managing director of, Papua Industries Limited (P.I.), a Christian trading company closely associated with the L.M.S. and designed to assist Papuans to adjust to modern civilization. This was to be achieved through the establishment of plantations and other commercial undertakings. The altruistic Walker also envisaged establishing schools wherever it was possible to do so.

One of them was to be a technical school - the Papuan Technical School and Industrial Settlement - which was to open in 1915 in the charge of Walker himself. The Government would pay a subsidy of £1,000 a year for ten years, and P.I. would contribute a like sum during that time. Operations would be conducted on 'business principles'; half the profits would be spent on the school and half would go to the company. Students were to be Papuans although there was a provision to permit some mixed-race and South Sea Island students to attend. There would be 15 students in the first year rising to 50 in the third and the number would thenceforth be maintained at least at that level. It was planned eventually to provide instruction for the wives of married students.

²⁰ NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 30 Dec. 1913.
Murray and Walker agreed that the courses should run for at least three years. Course details were not prepared but the school was intended to start with a sawmill, a boat-building yard and a joiner's shop, and later on blacksmithing, plumbing and tinsmithing would be taught. It was felt necessary to stress that the school was not to be regarded as a reformatory, but admission would be looked on as a privilege and would be put forward as 'an object of ambition for the better class of young native'. After a student had finished his course the Government or P.I. reserved the right to require him to work for either body for up to three years at a 'reasonable' wage.

Murray sent the draft agreement to the Minister together with the Executive Council's recommendation for its approval, subject to an arrangement ensuring the continuation of the school after the initial ten years. The Minister agreed that the scheme ought to be encouraged but cautiously stipulated that there should be no government payment until P.I. had spent between £1,500 and £2,000. Walker agreed to this but at the same time asked that the scheme be postponed because of the war. The Minister agreed to let the matter drop for the time being and that was virtually the end of it.

The outbreak of World War I may have interfered with the scheme. But it is also very likely that Walker was deliberately delaying its introduction. Papuan Industries was not on a sound financial footing at this or at any other time and £2,000 was probably more than Walker had hoped to pay out in the very early stages of the scheme; this view is supported by the vague wording in the draft agreement as to when P.I.'s contribution would have to be made. A couple of years later there was further talk of P.I.-Government co-operation in a scheme involving 'a sort of peasant proprietorship combined with technical education'. But nothing

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21 NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 31 July 1914.
22 NAPNG, Atlee Hunt to Murray, 2 Sept. 1914.
23 NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 5 Nov. 1914.
24 NAPNG, Atlee Hunt to Murray, 1 Dec. 1914.
25 Austin, 1972.
26 NAPNG, Murray, J.H.P. to Murray, G., 10 May 1916.
came of this either.

The Australian Government was slow to respond positively to plans for native taxation which Murray wanted to be used 'to help the natives of Papua to raise themselves to the highest state of civilization which they are capable of attaining'. But eventually Ministerial approval for native taxation and education came in 1917. In giving his approval the Minister of State for Home and Territories sought an undertaking that the main aim of the tax was to obtain funds for the general and technical education of the people. He expressed support for the teaching of suitable trades but insisted that a detailed educational scheme be drawn up and approved before the Taxation Ordinance was proclaimed. The Minister made other stipulations relating to general education and even suggested that in the future education might be supported from general revenue.

D. Dickson has noted that this was the first direct committal of the Commonwealth Government to a system of education for Papua. It revealed the unwillingness of the Commonwealth to assume any financial responsibility for education (Dickson 1969/70:20). Murray, on the other hand, believed that if the Papuan race could look forward to nothing better than to be always 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' they would not have very much to thank the Government for. It was necessary, he felt, to discover a form of civilization which would prove attractive to the Papuan people. Less altruistically, he wrote in the 1918 Annual Report:

It would seem necessary that eventually the artisans and skilled workmen generally should come from the natives, for I do not expect that it can be expected that Papua will ever be a 'white man's country' in the sense that white men will marry and settle down and make their lives here. Thus I do not think we shall ever

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29 NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 12 March 1918, Despatch 32, G76-20.
have a resident population of European artisans and mechanics, and the only alternative to the European is the Papuan.

Murray was aware 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'.

The Native Taxes Ordinance was passed in 1918, giving the Government the power to impose a £1 tax on male Papuans between the ages of 16 and 36. The proceeds were to be used 'for the general and technical education of the natives', and 'for such purposes having as their object the direct benefit of the natives of Papua as may be prescribed'. Total revenue raised between 1920 and 1941 was £307,259 (Dickson 1969/70:21). It now became possible for the missions to receive considerable grants from the Government for education and, more particularly, for technical education, which included the establishment of village plantations. In addition the tax revived government hopes for the establishment of its own industrial school, hopes which were expressed occasionally as late as 1938.

In 1920 the Government indicated its willingness to grant to the L.M.S., Kwato Extension Association and the Sacred Heart, Methodist and Anglican Missions £1,000 a year for five years for purposes of primary and technical education. The missions were quick to respond to a request to outline how they expected to spend their grants. All the replies were considered by the Government to be satisfactory. But Murray made a point of urging that 'special attention be given to industrial training', as this point would be 'considered of high importance' when the renewal of the subsidy was considered. The following year the first special grants, totalling £4,000, were made to the L.M.S., Kwato Extension Association and the Methodist and Catholic

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30 PAR, 1917/18, p.11.
31 PAR, 1918/19, p.5.
32 Murray, 1930:37.
33 CAO, Murray to Williams, G.J., 19 Sept. 1923; Williams to Murray, 20 Sept. 1923; Murray to Williams, 11 Dec. 1923. Series A518, Item 818/1/5; Murray to Minister, 21 Apr. 1938.
34 CAO, Murray to Minister, 29 Sept. 1921; PAR 1921/22, p.23.
Missions for the establishment of educational schemes in which it was stipulated that technical training must be provided. At 30 June 1921, the Government had reserves totalling £22,962 which enabled Murray to make the offer, perhaps in an effort to reduce the surplus.

Murray outlined the Government's hopes for the scheme:

The technical education of natives is intended by the Government to result in the training of natives to be more or less skilful artisans, able to turn out reasonably good work with the use of ordinary tools, and without European superintendence. 35

He insisted that output was of secondary importance; it was far more desirable to spend money on 20 items of carpenters' tools than on some motor-driven machine. Anticipating by 50 years the 'appropriate technology' movement, Murray imposed constraints which were severe but down-to-earth:

The Government would be more gratified at the instruction of half a dozen natives in the use of a few simple tools than in the production, by the aid of machinery of an indefinite number of articles however useful and however skilfully made. 36

In 1921 H.W. Champion, the Government Secretary, was sent by Murray to Fiji 'to see the Government system there, with a view to introducing into our own Service new methods which would lead to greater efficiency at less expense'. In addition he was 'directed to inquire into the educational system, both general and technical, of natives'. In a thoroughly negative and superficial report Champion devoted a couple of paragraphs to a description of Fiji's education system but made no recommendations. 37 The report had no impact on technical education in Papua, although Murray thought enough of the document to have it printed in the Annual Report. However, Murray's enthusiasm for technical

35 AP, copy of memorandum by Lieut-Governor, titled 'Technical Education of Natives'. Undated but inserted in C.W. Abel diary c. 1922.

36 Ibid.

37 PAR, 1920/21, Report of a Visit to Fiji by the Government Secretary, 30 June 1921, p.131.
training was now beginning to wane. He continued to hope that industrial education would help Papuans to develop a fresh interest in life, but by 1923 had arrived at the conclusion that agricultural training would better serve their interests.38

In 1923 Murray showed that he had grown suspicious of the work being done by missions when he sought to 'tighten up the technical education a lot'.39 That year the Native Taxes (Funds Establishment and Application) Regulations, 1923, replaced earlier regulations made in 1921 under the Native Taxes Ordinance. A Native Education Fund and a Native Benefits Fund were established consisting of £25,000 and £5,709 respectively. Under the new provisions the missions and the Kwato Extension Association were entitled to receive up to £1,000 per year for primary and technical education to a total of £5,000. In addition, they could apply for £250 a year 'for the purpose of being expended in any special industrial or other training of natives'.40 This latter sum seems to have been used primarily for enterprises like the L.M.S. knitting and rope-making industries in the delta region, as distinct from formal technical training.

The following year Murray, anxious to improve the quality of training, made use of a regulation in the Ordinance which empowered the Government to appoint an officer to enter schools and workshops to 'make such investigations as may be necessary for the purpose of ascertaining whether the approved schemes or purposes are respectively being carried out'.41 Victor Green from the Technical Branch of the New South Wales Education Department arrived in Papua in 1924 to inspect and report - on behalf of the Papuan Government - on the technical education of Papuans in missions and to advise on the establishment of a government technical school.42

38 Murray, 1922/23:16.
39 Murray, J.H.P. to Murray, G., 17 Nov. 1923.
41 Ibid.
Green reported on each technical school and submitted a syllabus for technical education in primary schools which was to provide a foundation for senior work. His proposals were obviously very similar to those he might have been expected to make for technical education for Australian children and, in the lower grades, involved a lot of 'play' activities which were not likely to be favourably received by pragmatic missionaries with a particular job to do. Their work was not to be diverted or retarded by 'frivolous' activities such as Green was unjustly accused of suggesting. Green's chief criticism was that output rather than learning was a primary concern of the mission technical schools — an accusation that was particularly directed at, and applicable to, the Methodist Mission.\footnote{Green, V., Report of inspection, Salamo, Methodist Mission, 17 June 1924, MEA, 1924.} Students generally were being asked to do too much too early and hence were not getting an essential grounding in basic concepts. He disapproved of the fact that setting out of work had to be done by the technical instructor as happened, for instance, in the Methodist Mission. It would be preferable for students to work from plans and learn scale work and drawing if they were to develop basic skills. Benchwork should be arranged 'so as to take the form of graduated exercises of a utilitarian nature'.

Drawing, Green insisted, was the universal language of the artisan and should form the backbone of the whole course of every technical school. Furthermore, it cultivated the habit of observation, taught the student to reason and made him careful and accurate.

Green outlined six aims of Educational Handiwork in Primary Schools:

1. To develop manual dexterity
2. To train the power of observation
3. To develop physical strength
4. To afford scope for self-expression
5. To create pleasure in bodily labour and to keep the child in touch with its environment
6. To cultivate the habits of independence, order, accuracy, attention and industry.
He expressed what in those days was a progressive belief that attempts should be made, as early as the infants' schools, to encourage initiative and resource. Children should be given the opportunity of expressing their ideas through a variety of materials and they should be encouraged to 'use hand and brain together'; but the child should continue to be regarded as a child and interest must be the motivator for its work.

Green's report was a mixture of the down-to-earth, the idealistic and an expression of needs relevant to the Australian situation. He failed particularly to appreciate the problems caused by a lack of trained technical instructors and made proposals, particularly in relation to technical drawing, that were beyond the competence of many existing teachers to carry out. Instructors were frequently missionaries whose own trade training was rudimentary or non-existent. Others were partially trained South Sea Islanders, and later on, Pauans. White lay workers occasionally were fully trained tradesmen; just as often they appear to have been enthusiastic handymen only, or taught skills outside their specialities. Few, if any, came with any teaching experience. There were some exceptions to these generalizations, especially in the Kwato and Catholic Missions. But they were exceptions.

Nevertheless, the Inspector could be excused for expressing the more idealistic of his notions. He felt that the missionaries had gone too far in stressing the production of useful commodities in preference to the education of young people. He was an educator eager for improvement. He worked in a secular state system of education. So it was hardly surprising that Green should display little awareness of the realities of a penurious Papuan situation where there were few real technical instructors and fewer still, who, given the straitened circumstances of the missions, could devote more attention to teaching than to producing for the mission.

Green's inspection ought to have proven a milestone in the growth of technical training in Papua. But there is little to suggest that his report had far-reaching immediate effects on the work of the missions, and it did little to alter government policy on technical education. Charles Rich, who ran the L.M.S. technical school at Fife Bay, must have been impressed; he was to attempt to implement Green's
But most missionaries were inclined to dismiss the report as being too concerned with the theoretical basis of trade work to be suitable for Papuans. Charles Abel of Kwato, for instance, spoke disparagingly of 'Mr Victor Green's proposals for messing about with sand and plasticine and cutting up pieces of cardboard as a means of educating Papuan kids'. On the other hand Abel appeared to be prepared to concede the validity of Green's concern about the absence of plan drawing and the emphasis on production rather than education. Green's most trenchant criticisms were reserved for the Methodists. But M.K. Gilmour, who had been a missionary in Papua for 25 years and had long been an active supporter of technical training in the Mission, dismissed the report on the grounds that:

ready-made Technical Schemes meet but very poorly the needs of these people. Any successful scheme must be adapted to the needs of the people, their aptitudes and the environment of the race – it must be Papuan.

Today few would disagree; in fact, however, Gilmour was probably smarting from the justified criticism Green had made of the Mission's work. Only the Sacred Heart Mission seems to have fared reasonably well at Green's hands. He left Archbishop de Boismenu with the feeling that he was particularly pleased with the Mission's work.

The Government, in the expectation that Green would recommend the building of a government technical school, had set aside £1,700 for this purpose. Now, however, they postponed the project indefinitely after Green's report convinced them that it would cost too much. In fact Murray's growing disillusionment with technical training in Papua was
so deepened by the report that he was prompted to announce that in future priority was to be given to agricultural education.50

In 1924 Colonel John Ainsworth, in a report to the Commonwealth on Native Affairs in New Guinea, had expressed the belief that an agricultural institution should provide the only type of industrial education undertaken by the Government.51 Murray did not entirely agree. He contended that technical education 'brightens the intelligence, and makes a lad generally more capable, and quicker in picking up other subjects'. He felt that carpentry and boat building would be just as useful in the village as agriculture.52 So his disillusionment with technical training was not extreme. Nonetheless, agriculture was to receive greater emphasis in Papua but would neither replace technical education nor be given the priority that Murray had promised.

The next significant step in the growth of technical training came in 1929 when J.T. O'Malley, the Commissioner for Native Affairs, introduced into the Legislative Council 'a Bill for an Ordinance to Provide for the Technical Education and Training within the Territory of Native Apprentices and for Regulating the Terms and Conditions of such Apprenticeship'.53 An Ordinance to consolidate and amend the enactments relating to apprentices had been passed in 1912, repealing the Queensland Apprentices Act of 1884 which had up till then been observed in Papua. Under the provisions of the Ordinance Papuans between the ages of 14 and 21 could be apprenticed to 'Any person resident in and exercising any trade, art, business, or manual occupation upon his own account within the Territory'.

O'Malley explained that as a result of 'the keen demand on the part of employers in general for any kind of skilled

50Murray, 1924:4.
52Murray, 1924:13.
labour', Papuans were being offered a 'high rate of wages' which induced students to cease their training in order to take on jobs. This, he insisted, was in the interests of neither the students nor the educational institutions. His Bill was designed to enable the missions to refuse to take trainees unless under contract of apprenticeship. This appears to have been the only alteration O'Malley wanted to make to the old Ordinance. Private employers were not covered by the Bill because, O'Malley believed, they had not taken advantage of the old Apprentices Ordinance which had been in operation for many years. He made the telling point that there had never been a privately recruited Papuan apprentice because the employers were not interested, and it 'was too cumbersome from the native's side of the question'.

The Commissioner went on:

The white tradesman, I am confident, has an eye to his own interests just as keenly as the tradesmen of Australia, and he realizes, equally as well as we do, that the more qualified native tradesmen there are the less work there will be for the European tradesman.

Another member of the Legislative Council, L.M.S. pastor J.B. Clark, argued that private employers should be allowed to take advantage of the Ordinance. He sought also to reduce the stipulated working day from ten to eight hours. However, his proposed amendments came to nothing as further consideration of the Bill was postponed for a week and subsequently withdrawn 'for the time being'. The Papuan Courier gave as the reason for the withdrawal:

Apparently rather than run the risk of outside employers having the privilege of engaging native apprentices, the Government were prepared to let the whole question go by the board.

The logic of this statement is difficult to follow, as the old Ordinance remained and it did make provision for apprenticeship.

In 1931, when he began to find fault with the operation of the technical education subsidy scheme, it became clear

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55Papuan Courier, 27 July 1929.
that Murray's reservations about the effectiveness of mission technical training had increased. The missions were informed of criticisms being levelled at their technical training, presumably by people outside the Government, but in all likelihood, by government officials also. There were two main grounds for the criticism. First, it was alleged that mission teaching was ineffective, an accusation which Murray rejected. Secondly - and here the Government was genuinely concerned - the object of technical education was not being fulfilled. This object was to train tradesmen and mechanics who would work in the government service or with private enterprise or, failing that, return to their villages to improve the quality of life there. The trainees, it was alleged, were nearly all remaining to work with the missions that had trained them. This, said the complainants, with some justification, amounted to subsidizing the missions by paying them to train Papuans to be their servants.

The Government conceded that, on the face of it, it was not the function of the missions to find their students work elsewhere. Nevertheless, Murray exhorted them to 'endeavour to strengthen this weak point in their position, and to encourage their trainees to seek work away from the Mission', for the policy would be more seriously attacked in the near future and the continuation of the subsidy questioned.56 It is clear that Murray himself was annoyed by the failure of the missions to take a broader view of their educational responsibilities. What is not clear, is where he thought Papuans could obtain employment.

Badly hit by the Depression, the Government was, in fact, starting to have misgivings about the subsidy. Expenditure on education reached its peak in 1930/31, the balance in the Education Account had fallen from nearly £28,000 in 1930 to £24,315 in 1931, but the number and quality of students being produced continued to be unsatisfactory given the existence of the subsidy. Hence an exasperated Murray resolved to send an officer of the Public Works Department to the schools to report on the practical side of the instruction as distinct from the work viewed by the inspectors 'who have perhaps been more interested in theory'. He then foreshadowed a reduction in the subsidies.57

56 CAO, Murray, J.H.P., memorandum to Missions, 8 Dec. 1931, CRS A518, item D923/1.
57 Ibid.
G.M. Turnbull, the Public Works Department architect, was asked to make the investigation and he did so in 1932. Murray considered that the resulting report on the Primary Technical Schools at Kwato, Fife Bay, Salamo and Yule Island was 'very favourable'; and overall, in relation to the individual schools, it was. Nevertheless, Turnbull found a good deal wanting in the technical education being provided in Papua. More particularly he was concerned with the milieu in which training was taking place.

He reflected Victor Green's thinking in perceiving that there was a tendency to forget that the course was 'primary' and was never designed to turn out fully skilled craftsmen in four years. He noticed an inclination, 'more often implied than expressed', to expect more from Papuans than from Europeans of the same age. This interesting observation probably contained more than an element of truth; in fact it may well have been a source of satisfaction for some missionaries. The highest praise that whites could bestow on Papuans was to compare them favourably with Europeans; at least some missionaries, most notably Charles Abel of Kwato, were at pains to demonstrate that the comparison was not hollow: every youth successfully trained in a Kwato boatshed or workshop established the point. In addition, as Green had shown nearly a decade earlier, some missionaries, especially the Methodists, were concerned more with output than with training. Hence, at a young age, Papuan technical trainees were in fact building boats and erecting houses in a manner that was probably unknown in Australia and other metropoles.

It is apparent that the missions were not greatly concerned to train Murray's 'bush carpenters'. For Turnbull was delighted to find that the students were learning to use their brains as well as their hands, to understand 'why' as well as 'how'. This suggests that in the years since the Green report more theoretical training had crept into syllabuses. Students were learning habits of neatness and accuracy and developing an appreciation of:

those minor details which mark the difference

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58 CAO, Murray, J.H.P. to Prime Minister, 1 June 1932, CRS A518, item D923/1.

59 In 1932 C.W. Abel had been dead for two years, but his work continued in the hands of members of his family.
methods of the craftsman, in short, as against
the amateur's way and ... [they] work with that
added touch of care and pride in [their] task
that the handyman never knows and no machine can
ever produce.

Yet Turnbull was concerned that trainees had few
opportunities to put their knowledge to use upon the
completion of their training. He was aware that:

if you educate him [the Papuan] to be a craftsman
and, at the same time, cannot hold out to him the
prospect of a useful and profitable future, you
merely make him dissatisfied with his native life
and his last state is worse than the first.

In Turnbull's opinion the dilemma was exacerbated by the
absence of evidence showing that ex-students usefully applied
their knowledge in their villages when they returned there
unemployed. The change in house construction that had become
evident in the last 20 years had been for the worse; houses
lacked both attractive design and sturdiness. Canoes were
now being built with modern tools but, he said pessimistically,
'whether they are better-built seagoing craft than the old­
time hewn canoes may well be doubted'.60 It is apparent
that many of the dilemmas that remain unresolved in the 1970s
were recognized thirty years earlier.

The report forced Murray to acknowledge that in these
Depression years employment opportunities were few. And
this, together with a decline in receipts from native
taxation, led him to conclude that the current rate of subsidy
would probably have to be discontinued in 1933.61 Indeed,
things looked so grim in Papua that another of Murray's
dreams was shattered - his desire to establish an agricultural
school for Papuans.62

As it happened, the order to withdraw the subsidies was
not made until 1936 and then it was announced by the Acting
Lieutenant-Governor, H.W. Champion. However, only the
'Special Industrial' grants seem to have been affected.

60 CAO, Turnbull to Government Secretary, Report on Primary
Technical Schools.

61 Murray to Prime Minister, ibid.

62 PAR, 1932-33, p.27.
This amounted to a mere £500 per year and apparently the only school affected was the Fife Bay Technical School run by the L.M.S. Later, as Government Secretary, Champion explained that the action had become necessary because annual revenue had for some time continued to fall short of annual expenditure. During the first four years after the inception of native taxation revenue had totalled £70,608, but this had fallen to £56,823 for the four year period to 30 June 1936. The depressed price of copra meant that villagers had been unable to pay their taxes which, in turn, had had to be reduced; in addition the number of indentured labourers, who also were tax payers, had declined. The Government Secretary commented that, should the reserve recover, the extra money would probably be better employed in providing improved medical attention for Papuans. However, Murray was quick to add that this was 'but an expression of opinion by the Government Secretary'. A point that Champion did not make was that in the year he reduced the subsidy, receipts from native taxation had recovered almost to the 1930/31 level. He must have known this at the time of the subsidy reduction.

But it is apparent that the Government's disappointment about the tangible results of subsidized technical training obviated a return to the pre-Depression levels of government support. Murray's latter-day doubts about his achievements must have included regret at his failure to motivate the missions more in the area of technical training (West 1968:3).

Nevertheless, Murray took the opportunity to declare that he was not entirely happy with the decision. He thought that education should be paid for by general revenue and that if the proceeds of native taxation could not bear the costs of education the 'deficiency might have to be made up from the general revenue'. However, as the matter had already been decided in his absence he was not prepared to reverse the decision. But he did go on to express something of a renewed interest in technical education, especially as oil companies were making their presence felt and demanding skilled labour. Murray hoped that an oil strike might provide sufficient revenue to make it possible to set up a technical school similar to the administration school in New Guinea.

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63 CAO, Government Secretary to Murray, J.H.P.
64 CAO, Murray, J.H.P. to Minister, 14 Nov. 1936.
65 CAO, Murray, J.H.P. to Minister, 21 April 1938.
The reinvigoration of Murray's interest in technical education was again evident in 1937. Bignold, the Crown Law Officer, had suggested to Murray that, with proper instruction, Papuans could enter commercially into the business of constructing cane furniture; there would be a fair demand in Australia and he recommended that Papuans be sent to Manila for instruction, or that an instructor be brought to Papua. Murray was sufficiently interested to ask Cecil Abel at Kwato whether he thought the plan a feasible one and whether he would co-operate by organizing the training. Upon receiving a favourable response from Abel, Murray asked the Minister if 'a preference upon such furniture would be granted in Australia' in the form of low duty. Unfortunately the Comptroller-General of the Department of Trade and Customs replied that cane furniture was already made in Australia. The Australian Government's lack of concern about Papuan development is clear from his warning that:

obviously it would not be advisable to encourage native labourers to engage in production in the expectation of finding a ready market in the Commonwealth. If the trade grew to such dimensions as to compete seriously with Australian factory production, the competition would almost certainly raise an outcry which, having regard to the differences in labour conditions, would probably be difficult to disregard.

Between 1921 and 1941 the missions received government grants totalling, for general and technical education, £60,220/5/- and for special industrial £10,189/15/- . It was divided as follows:

| Special Industrial - Anglican Mission | £1,550 |
| L.M.S. | £8,639/15/- |
| General and Technical Education - Methodist Missionary Society | £7,185 |
| Catholic Mission | £17,000 |
| L.M.S. | £20,035/5/- |
| Kwato Extension Association | £16,000 |


67NAPNG, Memorandum, Abbot, E. to Atlee Hunt, 12 Nov. 1937, enclosure G69.
This amounted to about 22 per cent of net revenue from taxation for the period. A proportion of 'Special Industrial' was probably spent on plantation work, but just how much is not known.

Throughout this period the Government contributed to the education of Papuans by training a number of Public Works Department employees. In 1907 no Papuans were employed by P.W.D. but by 1911 six assistants were working for a salary of £12 a year. The following year that number had increased to twelve and there were, in addition, three Papuan carpenters, one painter and one overseer of works. In 1927 Murray, reflecting on the number of Papuan Government employees, commented that 'twenty years ago any one who predicted the present evidence of native capacity would have been regarded as mentally deficient'.

A definite policy of training Papuans was adopted by the P.W.D. Apprentices were indentured for five years, and European candidates for positions with the Department were expected to be 'willing and competent to undertake the training of young apprentices', a remarkably progressive requirement for the time. On the other hand, no guidelines existed for assessing applicants' competence to train. Still, the Department had some success in its training program. In 1930, it employed 40 skilled Papuans and was training ten apprentices - two carpenters, four plumbers, one blacksmith, one boat builder and two machine-shop mechanics. The number rose to 67 artisans, four of whom were apprentices, in 1939. The Department claimed to have less trouble than most employers inducing their trained people to continue using the skills they had acquired. The Director also boasted that carpenters 'and others' who trained in the

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68 Territory of Papua, Government Gazette, vol.6, no.16.
69 Ibid., 21 Oct. 1912.
70 PAR, 1926/27, p.11.
71 NAPNG, Turnbull to Treasurer, 28 Mar. 1929; Government Secretary to Murray, J.H.P., 25 June 1929; Acting Director of Public Works Department to Government Secretary, 29 May 1929, A32 628.
72 PAR, 1929/30, p.13.
74 PAR, 1930/31, p.6.
Department were more efficient than those trained elsewhere. 75 No evidence was produced to support this assertion.

As time went by Papuan tradesmen were given increasing responsibility. In 1935 Murray praised the P.W.D. workers who:

had more responsibilities cast upon them owing to the absence of most of the European staff on leave, and I am glad to report that they measured up to expectations. This reflects great credit on those members of the European staff responsible for their training. 76

The Lieutenant-Governor omitted to add that it also reflected great credit on the diligence and skill of the apprentices themselves; that degree of praise had to wait until the 1939 Annual Report. The Department was pleased that it had 'the cheap services of its native artisans' during the Depression. But notwithstanding their increasing competence and improving work, they were not felt to be sufficiently skilled to replace European tradesmen entirely. 77 A continuing problem lay in the fact that many of the workers would not leave their home districts 'partly through fear that evil may befall them if they venture away from their villages, and partly through a disinclination to upset family arrangements'. The solution was to train mixed-race people and employ them on outside jobs. 78

In 1941, Papuan carpenters were doing most of the government construction work. 79 Lyons, the Director of P.W.D., resisted attempts in the Legislative Council to reduce the amount spent on Papuan artisans and labourers. He announced that although there would be insufficient work to keep Papuan carpenters fully occupied he was not prepared to break up a team of artisans who had been painstakingly trained in recent

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75 PAR, 1930/31, p.6; see also Turnbull, Report on Primary Technical Schools; PAR, J937/38, p.4.
76 PAR, 1934/35, p.10; see also NAPNG, Minute, Director, P.W.D. to Government Secretary, 12 Feb. 1935, A32 630.
77 PAR, 1935/36, p.5.
78 PAR, 1937/38, p.13.
79 NAPNG, Lyons to Government Secretary, 31 Oct. 1941, A32 630.
years. The time was, in fact, fast approaching when there would be more than enough rebuilding and construction work to employ all trained Papuans and more.

Generally speaking, European reaction to Murray's attempts to provide technical training for Papuans was hostile, especially in the years up to 1920. The attitude of Port Moresby's newspaper, the *Papuan Times and Tropical Advertiser*, was generally condescending and intolerant and seems a fair representation of the European attitude, outside the missions, to Papuans and Papuan education. An editorial in 1911 decried the Australian Government's contention that in the colony it was primarily concerned with the interests of Papuans. The writer insisted that:

> the Government of Papua should be primarily in the interests of the white pioneers of this new country, which after all is an out-post at the door of Australia.\(^{81}\)

The paper then could hardly be expected to support measures to provide trade training for Papuans. Thus, in 1915, an article referred derisively to the Government's 'newly hatched scheme' for the advancement of Papuans.\(^{82}\)

An improvement in the newspaper's attitude is evident in a 1924 editorial which, in commending a private businessman's proposal that a Labour Exchange for Papuan mechanics be established, noted that 'there is no doubt as to the intelligence and adaptability displayed by some of the native boys where machinery of any kind is concerned'.\(^{83}\) However, a less positive attitude was displayed only a month later when, owing to an error on the part of Papuan assistant mechanics, T.D. Ryan's power plant broke down, causing the town to be without ice and movies for some time. This prompted the editor to complain of the need to have 'a competent white man in charge. Natives, however adaptable, cannot be entirely depended upon'. Besides, 'native intelligence' could not cope with the range of Ryan's

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\(^{81}\) *Papuan Times and Tropical Advertiser*, 8 March 1911.

\(^{82}\) Ibid., 6 Jan. 1915.

\(^{83}\) *Papuan Courier*, 7 May 1924.
machinery, added the *Papuan Courier* as the paper was now known.

A provincial newspaper inevitably reflects the thinking and prejudices of its readers, and the Port Moresby paper was no exception. In his early years as Lieutenant-Governor, Murray and his policies were very unpopular and were criticized vehemently in the newspaper's editorials and correspondence.

Until 1924 the paper was run by Murray's implacable enemy, W.C. Bruce, who had lost his job as Commandant of the Armed Constabulary following opposition to Murray during the 1906 Royal Commission. Bruce's editorials were less than sympathetic both to Murray and to Papuans. He was encouraged by many of Port Moresby's white residents. One correspondent, 'Vexatious', complained about 'handymen' being employed for jobs rather than carpenters. 'Surely', he declared, 'the ancient and historical trade of Joseph the Carpenter must have deteriorated greatly and became demoralised when employers of labour expect to find expert tradesmen among the cannibals of Papua!' 85

In 1920 'Fresh Food', in a letter to the paper, lamented the fact that European tradesmen were forced either to leave Papua or to get other jobs, because of their poor working conditions and low pay. To add to this indignity, he pointed out that:

The Papuan will never turn out a skilled artisan; he lacks brain for any work that requires thinking out. They can't even keep their tools in proper working order. He may work when he likes at straight-forward work if he has a practical man over him to watch every move he makes. Otherwise he may do work which to a layman looks alright and it may serve its purpose, but in the eyes of a practical man it would be termed a botch. 86

That same year Murray created a furore in Port Moresby by declaring that European artisans and other skilled workers in Papua 'are not very efficient, or, if they are, they soon

84 Ibid., 20 June 1924.
85 *Papuan Times and Tropical Advertiser*, 29 Sept. 1911.
cease to be from the influence of the climate'. Papuans were being successfully trained, but in insufficient numbers as yet. Chinese, Japanese or Malays would be better but they were excluded from working in Papua.

The *Papuan Courier* expressed extreme annoyance at the suggestion. The Returned Soldiers and Sailors' League was outraged by such a 'grave and unmerited slur upon Europeans here' and a public meeting was held to discuss the remarks. The meeting resolved that the Prime Minister be contacted with a view to removing the Lieutenant-Governor. This comment of Murray's was only a spark, however. The outcry was part of a continuing and vitriolic harassment of Murray which had been carried on for years by a group of Murray's adversaries led by Bruce and fanned by a worsening economic crisis in the colony. These men took the opportunity presented by Murray's statement to mount another attack on the Lieutenant-Governor. So the issue was far more complex than a mere dispute arising from criticism of European tradesmen; nevertheless, that criticism was an issue.

Murray back-tracked, insisting that he was not reflecting upon individuals and that while Europeans did less work because of the climate their work was no less skilled. But the damage had been done and the *Papuan Courier* took the opportunity to accuse Murray unfairly of failing to mention a proposal 'to educate the Papuan to enable him to cut wages as artisans in the near future'. Education, the paper pontificated, should be left to the missions.

Murray's views about the importance of technical training are likely to find favour in the mid 1970s, with educationists who support community and low level vocational education, and at a time when the problem of unemployed school leavers is worsening. Employment problems, the need to improve village life and the need for relevance in education undoubtedly influenced his thinking. Furthermore,

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88 Ibid., 5 Mar. 1920.
91 Ibid.
during the first decade and a half of his governorship, Murray, together with the Australian Government, believed that white settlement was necessary for the progress of Papua (West 1968:62-9); the provision of cheap skilled and semi-skilled labour would help to encourage such settlement. And there was at least one other factor influencing him. The widely-accepted view that technical education was (and is) for the less intelligent - those unable to cope with scholastic studies - in all likelihood helps to explain Murray's bias. He believed the Papuan to be less intelligent than Europeans, although his pronouncements on the subject are inconsistent.

This belief is most apparent in a despatch to the Minister in 1912 in which Murray argued against providing higher education or political rights to the Papuan on the grounds that 'He is inferior to the European'.\(^{92}\) The view was modified over the years and in 1925 he had come to the conclusion:

that the differences between backward and advanced races lie, to quote Lord Bruce, 'not so much in intelligence as in force of will and tenacity of purpose'.\(^{93}\)

A similar view was maintained towards the end of his life when he made the assessment that:

the mental processes of the Papuan are the same as ours, for I have never found any evidence which, so far as Papuans are concerned, would support the theory that the 'mentality' of the savage is generically different from that of the civilized man. Papuans seem to me to reason in exactly the same way as ourselves, and apparent differences can generally be explained as being due to differences in the premises from which we argue.\(^{94}\)

In 1938 he continued to regard Europeans 'as a whole' as having 'an innate superiority over Papuans'. Papuans and

\(^{92}\) NAPNG, Murray, J.H.P. to Minister, 9 Dec. 1912, Despatch 42, G76-10.


\(^{94}\) Murray, J.H.P., Address delivered at the Hague, June 1936, Murray Papers, Mitchell Library.
Europeans did, however, overlap, the best Pauans being superior to the worst Europeans. Impressed by the elevation of Louis Vangeke to the priesthood, Murray had arrived at the conclusion that:

there is no reason to suppose that another Papuan could not qualify for medicine or law. Personally I have no doubt that Papuans could be found who could be educated to the standard of an ordinary professional career ...

Nevertheless, he remained utterly opposed to the creation of a Papuan intelligentsia, preferring to spread elementary education as widely as possible. For one thing, the 'colour bar' in Papua restricted employment opportunities; 'it would be unwise to give the Papuan a first class education unless the way to advancement is to be fully opened to him'. If the colour bar were ever to disappear in Papua then the higher education of Papuans would become practical 'and even perhaps a burning question'. Of course Murray could not foresee the development of a Papuan civil service such as began to take place after World War II, and especially during the 1950s. There were few openings for clerks (although increasing numbers were employed in the Papuan Administration) but there was a continuing, if limited, demand for tradesmen who could be employed in both the private and government sectors. It was a sensible policy to educate people in areas that would be of obvious economic benefit to them.

Don Dickson has suggested that the length of negotiations between Murray and the Australian Government regarding education and native taxation resulted in a rigid educational policy. This was increased by the 'tendency to rigidity' in Murray's own thinking. Consequently Murray's education policy 'did not change to meet the new conditions it was creating'

Without doubt there is room for criticism of Murray's policies on education. In particular his failure to provide financial support for students continuing beyond the fourth year of elementary education cannot be condoned; any financial burden would have been slight. Some of the most progressive ideas of his adviser on education, Government Anthropologist F.E. Williams, were ignored, as is shown in the next chapter.

95 PAR, 1937/38, p.21.
It is likely that the technical education subsidies caused Murray to become preoccupied with the success of individual schools and so not to press for the wider provision of education. In fact, this preoccupation may, in the longer term, have been inimical to Papuans' development. Not only did it add to the neglect in the colony of other areas of education; it also probably helped to maintain popular beliefs in the intellectual inferiority of Papuans. Still, it must be recognized that Murray felt, along with missionaries like Abel and Gilmour, that technical training improved character, bringing out such virtues as self-reliance, leadership and perseverance. Furthermore, it developed a person's ability to reason. Murray shared Victor Green's view that all students would benefit from some technical work; as Green put it:

Experience enables me to say that positively, that [sic] technical work would so develop their mental faculties that they would be able to cope with their other studies in a far shorter space of time.96

There were vicissitudes in Murray's enthusiasm for technical training. Other things, such as agricultural training, took precedence from time to time. In this regard Murray, though not an educationist, behaved as many do. Education is so often the product of waxing enthusiasms. The invariable waning of these enthusiasms in the face of failure of the emergence of new theories has typified aspects of post-war educational policy in Papua New Guinea. Similarly, it was a characteristic of Murray's policy. Murray, however, lacked the expert advice of an educationist. From the late 1920s he relied heavily on the advice of F.E. Williams who in fact combined the roles of educational adviser and anthropologist in Papua. Murray employed a specialist to advise him on technical education for only a short period. His other advisers were itinerant Inspectors from the Department of Public Instruction in Queensland who visited the mission schools from 1926. Murray could have employed an educationist to advise him. Such a man could have worked closely with the Government Anthropologist. That he failed to recruit such a person is a criticism of his policy and an indication of where education was placed in his list of priorities.

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96 Green, Report of Inspection.
But education was only one part of an entire scheme. Numerous other priorities, including pacification and health, merited a share of the pitifully small amount of money at Murray's disposal. Within the particular scheme of education technical training fared well. Grants were made to pay for teachers' salaries, the costs of keeping and housing boarding students, school materials, the upkeep of school buildings and housing for staff. Subsidies for general and technical education and for special industrial work totalled around 22 per cent of net revenue out of a total of 29.5 per cent of revenue spent on education.\footnote{Territory of Papua, \textit{Government Gazette}, vol.37, no.1, pp.11-2; Dickson, 1969-70:28.}

Dickson makes a number of valid criticisms of Murray's policy on education. However, on technical training, Murray was not as rigid as is suggested. For one thing he did alter his education policy to favour agricultural training when he saw the need for it and when he began to have doubts about the efficacy of trade training as it was developing.

Furthermore, in relation to educational policies and systems elsewhere his thinking was not entirely inflexible. The closest education system - geographically - was that in Australia. Murray's emphasis on expensive practical training did not reflect the academic system of schooling there. To that extent he was somewhat independent in his thinking. Indeed, the development of education in Papua during Murray's administration was less akin to the Australian systems than it was after the war. He did consider education in other dependent countries, for example in Asia and Africa,\footnote{NAPNG, Murray to Minister, 25 Nov. 1916, Despatch 211, G76-18.} where the tendency was to move away from the academic to the practical. His emphasis on technical training was greater than that in many countries. In short, he was not so inflexible that he felt he must adopt any single system of schooling from elsewhere. Murray built no government schools for Papuans but it is noteworthy that the only suggestion he made for establishing such schools involved the construction of technical and agricultural institutions. This was not the case in neighbouring New Guinea, where the six government primary schools built before 1942 followed closely a Victorian primary syllabus which was chiefly notable for its irrelevance in the colonial situation (Colebatch 1968:112). If anything, rigidity in Murray's educational thinking became evident a decade after the acceptance of native taxation and after the
formulation of a scheme for spending large sums of money on education - in the late 1920s and especially into the 1930s. Dickson also complains that large accumulated reserves of unspent funds existed up until 1941; he suggests that the money should have been spent.

Certainly Murray failed to devise any new schemes which might have reduced the surplus. But the excess did decline steadily until 1935 when it totalled £15,816, after which it rose again to £26,200 in 1941.\footnote{Extracted from Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the Trust Fund, Territory of Papua, Government Gazette, 1923-41.} Even this sum was meagre in the total scheme of things. A point that Dickson overlooks is that for ten years previously authorized expenditure on education exceeded actual spending by considerable amounts - in 1935 it totalled over £4,500.\footnote{Ibid.} The same year, expenditure on education in fact exceeded receipts by about £1,200. The only years in which the missions went close to spending the full authorized sum were 1930/31 and 1933/34. So Murray committed larger sums for education than might at first appear, money which the missions did not spend - whether for want of sufficient enrolments, or because of the inability to recruit enough teachers to cope with more students, or unwillingness to expand technical and other teaching - is not clear. Had they spent the money the balance would have been used up very quickly.

Perhaps Murray was reluctant to go back on promises made until the missions had had time to establish their education systems. By the time these schemes had been established at the end of the 1920s and into the 1930s, uncertainties due to the Depression were sufficient reason for maintaining reserves. There was less excuse for doing so from the 1930s, however, especially as new and interesting ideas were being proposed by the Government Anthropologist. At that stage Murray should have taken an even tougher stand against missions whose co-operation was only half-hearted.

Dickson speaks of the education system not changing to meet the new conditions it was creating. There is a lot in this. However, in the short run at least, external conditions impinge more on education than education does on those conditions. The 'external' influence that most affected education in Papua was financial, and the parsimonious
attitude of the colonizing country gave little encouragement to educational development or to any aspect of development. The annual grant to Papua before the war never exceeded £50,000.

Other impinging factors came in the less tangible form of colonialist and racial-supremist attitudes. Murray's limited regard for the Papuan intellect imposed, even unconsciously, restraints on educational development. A further restraint arose from the negative, indeed antagonistic, attitudes of the white settlers towards the Government and more particularly the villagers. Any administrator is enmeshed in the system in which he operates. Accordingly, he is likely to reflect the attitudes and aspirations and desires of that system. And the lobbying group that could immediately bring pressure to bear on the Papuan system was not Papuan - it was European.

The other significant expatriate group in Papua consisted of the missionaries. The Church is essentially a conservative institution and so too are its missionaries, although there were obvious exceptions in Papua. Apart from these exceptions pressure for a progressive, innovative form of education was not forthcoming. Financial stringencies imposed on and by the Government determined that education must essentially remain the province of the missions. The missionaries were trained proselytizers whose main aim was to convert the people to Christianity. They were not trained educationists in a broader sense of the term. They tended to regard education merely as a means to the end of evangelism. Conservative churchmen tended also to be conservative educationists.

Among the most progressive of the Protestant missionaries in the field of education were men like Abel of the L.M.S., Gilmour of the Methodist Missionary Society and an Anglican, S.R.M. Gill, all of whom were in favour of technical training. The ideas of men such as these undoubtedly influenced Murray to regard technical education as being fundamental to his education policy. The L.M.S., in particular, had established a number of stations where technical education played a significant part in mission activities before Murray came on the scene. Murray did not, however, merely maintain a system that already existed. He encouraged the system to continue and to expand. He tried, with limited success, to impose controls on the educational work of the missions. On the
other hand, when he saw that the missions were placing less than the desired emphasis on the strictly educational aspects of technical training, he modified the subsidies scheme.
Chapter 2

An anthropologist's view of technical education:
F.E. Williams

Any work on the development of education in Papua is incomplete without reference to F.E. Williams, Papua's Government Anthropologist.¹ He has been neglected by educational historians. Yet, though not a professional educationist, he was the only member of the Murray administration who could in any sense be regarded as an educationist. Williams explored many aspects of education—vernacular literacy, agriculture, teacher training, moral education and also elementary trade training.

Francis Edgar Williams, M.A., D.Sc., was Assistant Government Anthropologist from 1922 to 1928 and then Government Anthropologist until his death in 1943.

When he arrived in Papua he was a firm advocate of the 'functionalist' theory of anthropology. The essential feature of this theory was that minor changes in the culture of a people were sufficient to alter fundamentally the entire fabric of society:

You have only to remove one wheel to stop the watch, or one stone from the social structure to have it tumbling about your ears (Williams 1923b:64).

However, his experience in Papua caused Williams to modify this belief considerably. In his best-known work, The Blending of Cultures: An Essay on Native Education, he explained that Papuan culture needed to, and would, change, and for the better. Not only was European civilization

¹ For a more detailed account of his thoughts on education see Austin, 1976. This chapter is a condensed form of that article, though it elaborates on Williams' ideas about technical training.
'incomparably richer than the natives'; European contact had already resulted in traumatic changes to the Papuan way of life and amends had to be made (Williams 1935:3).

By 1935 Williams had arrived at the conclusion that what was required was a blending of European and Papuan cultures. Three processes were involved:

The first is that of maintaining all that is good in the old culture, or all those parts of it which can find a place in the ideal blend which we contemplate. This we may call the Task of Maintenance. The second is that of removing from the old culture its evil elements, or such as are incompatible with the new blend and likely to hinder its functioning. This may be called the Task of Expurgation. The third is that of making positive contributions from our own culture such as will make the new blend something richer and fuller than the native has hitherto known. This finally may be called the Task of Expansion (Williams 1935:7).

The culture should be fitted for the man, not the man for the culture (Williams 1935:4). But Williams opposed an 'out-and-out' policy of 'Europeanisation' (Williams 1935:5) and insisted that the Papuan must remain a 'native' (Williams 1935:6).

The blending of cultures thesis developed as the result of long periods spent working in the field during which he wrote detailed descriptions of the situation as he found it. The new belief became fundamental to his interpretation of his job and his attitude to government policy. From the late 1920s he began to make specific suggestions for educational activities which should be part of that policy.

He saw a three-fold justification for government involvement in education:

It is in part altruistic: it will be an act of grace to open the gates of understanding and to remove incompetence and unhappiness. It is in part a matter of justice: it is 'up to us' to help the native in difficulties which we have thrust upon him. And it is in part a matter of expediency: it will be at least sensible to
equip the native for a life of mutual understanding and co-operation with ourselves (Williams 1935:3).

So education had a dual role. It was an instrument of, and would equip Papuans to cope with, change; it had also to help maintain desirable aspects of the culture and life of the people. But Williams added the important qualification that neither culture nor race could be regarded as ends in themselves nor ultimately necessary. The individual, though, was an end in himself.² It followed that the essential purpose of education was 'to provide means for the full and balanced development of human personality with proper regard to the conditions imposed by society' (Williams 1935:30). He developed this idea further when, in 1933, he explained that in the final analysis education was primarily concerned with the health, comfort and happiness of Papuans; all presupposed an increased standard of living (Williams 1933:1).

By the mid-1930s Williams had begun arguing for the establishment of what then, as now, were sometimes known as community schools. He quoted approvingly the words of W.C. Groves, who was an experienced anthropologist and educationist and was to become Papua and New Guinea's first Director of Education after the war. Groves said of 'native education':

Its institutions must be more than mere schools; they must fit themselves into the native environment, pursue a broad social-development purpose, and aim to become indispensable to the native people in their everyday (rural) life.³

It was this sort of thinking that caused Williams to recommend the establishment of Garden Boarding Schools in Papua. Influenced by events in Asia and Africa and the reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commission, he concluded that agriculture was the most important aspect of education. This realization was in keeping with Murray's view at that time. Garden Boarding Schools would be designed primarily to reach new horticultural techniques and would aim:

²NAPNG, Series 447, Government Officer's Collection (Williams, F.E.) Anthropologists of Papua - Correspondence, etc. - Returned from Mitchell Library, MSS 5/1, Item 2, Notes on the Future Development of New Guinea and its People, written about 1943.
³Williams, F.E., Impressions gained from the Conference on Education in Pacific Countries, mimeo, UPNG, p.38.
first at arousing a number of useful wants, at training the Papuan how to satisfy them, and at thoroughly engraining them in his mind and body so that when he goes home he will continue to want and to satisfy his wants (Williams 1933b:56).

Williams wanted to encourage villagers to garden for profit. He was convinced that a system of shifting agriculture was a major cause of village and clan disintegration and so advocated the cultivation of a single area which would facilitate the use of better methods and enable European instructors to work more easily. Further, a badly needed spirit of competition might be engendered; so might the idea of individual property leading eventually to private ownership of land. Settlement would result in larger aggregations of people and, in turn, to greater social and economic complexity and social differentiation:

If we would wish to see a home-grown development of native civilisation, it must lie in the direction of differentiation of labour and the evolution of social grades (Williams 1928b:155).

In this, Williams was clearly in support of an important aspect of the work of Charles Abel's Kwato Extension Association which had long encouraged the formation of 'Christian Settlements' in Milne Bay. The Garden Boarding Schools would take students who had completed Standard Five at mission schools. And, while agricultural training would dominate the syllabus, there would also be some elementary trade training and scholastic work would continue. Williams considered arithmetic, reading and writing to be important subjects. The teaching of English was essential (Williams 1935:23 and Austin 1976). Curricula should also include moral and character training. To this end Christianity served a useful purpose. Williams was a rationalist and was critical of some of the moral teachings of the missions and of mission activities that interfered unduly with the arts and customs of Papuans. Nevertheless he contended that Christianity was much further along the path to intellectual excellence than Papuans' superstitious beliefs in magic and

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4Williams to Cecil Abel, 25 Jan. 1936, AP.

5Williams 1940:442; NAPNG, MSS 5/1, Item 5, Native Art and Education, uncorrected proof of paper read to the ANZAAS Congress, 1937; Williams 1923b:41ff; 1935:26-30.
sorcery (Williams 1935:16-8). Christianity would be a vital part of the blending process.

But, while moral and intellectual training were important, Williams felt that scholastic education tended to occupy too important a place in school curricula. Both agricultural and technical training were no less important. In 1933 he applauded the knowledge that:

Instead of the previous flooding of a small employment market with clerks, who sometimes had a cocksure pride in their new learning and a rather disloyal contempt for their rustic brothers, we now find a saner attempt to educate in accordance with the necessities of economics, and to give native pupils a training which will be more useful to themselves (Williams 1933b:1).

Nevertheless, an evaluation only four years later, of mission industrial training seems to have convinced Williams that it did not cater sufficiently for the needs of Papuans. He agreed with Murray and with the Turnbull report that, while thorough specialist training was necessary for some, a much greater need existed for:

a kind of training at once more modest and more generalized. In so far as it dealt with European tools and methods it would produce, for example, not the finished craftsman qualified for European employment, but what we call a 'bush carpenter', and probably a rough one at that. In general it would be fitted for application to Native life and would aim at elevating the villager's standard of living, improving his health, and increasing his happiness in home surroundings.7

Williams feared a surfeit of tradesmen for whom there would be no jobs.8 In the Depression years during which he wrote, his fears were being realized already.

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6 NAPNG, Williams, F.E., Miscellaneous Notes, A447, Item 162, Native Art and Education.
7 Native Art and Education.
8 Ibid.
The Government Anthropologist's main justification of manual training was materialistic. He agreed with the commonly held belief that manual training was in itself useful character training for Papuans. But he felt that the missions overemphasized the moral justification for training, that is, that it taught Papuans to work hard. This was a worthwhile outcome. But Williams was more concerned that any training should improve Papuans' standard of living (Williams 1933:4), while the virtues could be trusted to look after themselves (Williams 1933:2). Besides, while it was important that Papuans live 'an improved and elevated life', it must remain 'a native life' (Williams 1933:9). And this required that the pace of change be gradual:

There is always the need for sober Toryism in our guardianship of the native. We should rein in our enthusiastic steeds and go sedately instead of bolting and perhaps trampling (Williams 1933:28).

The 'bush carpenter' should learn to improve his house and his furniture, but the house should remain 'native' in style; it must be improved but not transformed. Williams lamented that:

Too often we have seen the distinctive and charming styles of native architecture displaced by that nondescript rectangle with a ridged roof which passes as the 'white man's fashion'. Where this has happened it has almost invariably meant a real aesthetic loss (Williams 1933:44).

Thus, while Papuans should learn to build 'more substantially', the dwellings would remain traditional. They might contain windows, shelving, cupboards and chairs, but in a 'native' style without too much concern for ventilation which made houses too cold for villagers (Williams 1933:47).

Williams put considerable emphasis on the preservation of arts and crafts in his education scheme. 9 One of the real values in manual training, he observed, was derived from the 'real satisfaction that comes of doing things well with one's hands'. 10 But, arts and crafts being a vital element in the culture of the people, it follows from the blending of

9 Native Art and Education.
10 Ibid.
cultures idea that they would require more than mere preservation; they would have to develop.

Pointing to a decline in arts in some parts of the colony, the Government Anthropologist insisted that educators were duty-bound 'to interfere, to guide, and in some degree to control'. Nevertheless, Papuan self-determination was an ideal to be pursued as far as possible:

We should ... endeavour to educate him [the Papuan] to the point where a critical choice is possible, and then abide by the choice he makes.11

Training in arts and crafts should be made part of the curriculum of the schools, each school tending to specialize in those arts in which the particular district excelled. Williams dismissed any suggestion that the work would be restricted by a shortage of mission teachers equipped with a knowledge of arts and crafts, explaining that the teaching could be done by 'those older Natives of proved talent who are masters of the technique required'.12 Again, he was not anxious to see too great an adherence by teachers to established art forms, but rather hoped for an 'imaginative application of old techniques and designs to new uses'.13 Nor was there any reason why, if they were available, European tools should not be used.14 Furthermore, Williams said that he would have no hesitation in introducing 'the commercial incentive in order to revive the arts and crafts'.15 He saw problems in this, but felt sure that as other cultural incentives to maintain arts and crafts were removed some incentive must be introduced. He believed that shoddy work could be avoided if a shop were set up in Port Moresby to sell things; the shop would reject anything that was of poor quality. Such a sales outlet would not quickly be available, but in the meantime the schools must press on with this part of their educational obligation.16

11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
15 Native Art and Education.
16 Ibid; see also DP, Williams to Champion, H., 25 Jan. 1935.
It was undoubtedly as an outcome of Williams' proposals that in 1933 a provision was inserted in the Native Taxes (Funds) Regulations permitting a sum of money to be paid for the encouragement of native crafts. However, by June 1940 only £12/10/- had been spent for this purpose. In short, Williams anticipated the day when Papuans would become entrepreneurs in their own right. This contrasts with a statement he had made in 1923 in which he appeared to deplore what he saw as too great an emphasis on 'material reforms to the neglect of matters spiritual', noting of the material reforms that 'the native does not seem very keen to have them' (Williams 1923b:43). But five years later he looked forward to the day when Papuans would be involved in commerce.

In addition, Williams was imbued with what is loosely called the Protestant Ethic - the belief that work is a good and necessary preoccupation of fulfilled man. Throughout his writings are calls for the development of habits of hard work. It was good in itself. It would provide monetary benefits. And, presumably, it would engender in Papuans a spirit of competition, one of the ingredients necessary for 'a home grown development of native civilization' (Williams 1928b:155).

One of the most important of Williams' practical attempts to ensure that his ideas in education were applied was the publication of a newspaper, The Papuan Villager, which first appeared in 1929. Designed as a paper to be read by Papuans who would also contribute articles and items of news, it became a vehicle for the propagation of Williams' ideas among the villagers. At one time he ran a full front-page article on the need to improve Papuan houses but to maintain, at all costs, the traditional style and materials of building.

Other issues included articles on carpentry at home, government apprenticeships and one item included a list of

19 Williams 1933:47-8; 1933:4; NAPNG, Miscellaneous Orokolo Notes, MSS 5/9, Item 81; Williams 1940:434.
20 The Papuan Villager, vol.1, no.6.
21 Ibid., vol.4, no.12.
22 Ibid., vol.6, no.9.
the 'Workshop Laws' - a practical means of producing good work and maintaining tools.\(^{23}\)

It is difficult to assess the impact Williams' writings had on the development of technical training. His ideas were formulated just as the Government was losing interest in trade training and was preparing to reduce the subsidy, so his influence was lessened. Nevertheless, he may well have been responsible for preventing a more extreme reaction by the authorities. He was responsible for the introduction of a scheme to support arts and crafts. And during the 1930s, soon after the publication of his report on the need for Garden Boarding Schools, Murray supported a short-lived Methodist Mission scheme to establish on Kirivina what closely resembled such a school. It is not difficult to conclude that this support arose in response to the Government Anthropologist's pressures, coupled of course with Murray's pre-existing preference for agricultural and technical training.

Williams was a man ahead of his time in his attempts to accord a measure of respect to Papuan people. He was realistic in his recognition of the need to provide for the material needs of the people. He anticipated and faced up to the fact that Papuan life would change and would approximate increasingly to European life. At times he was prepared publicly to criticize government inaction.\(^ {24}\) This is not to say that all his suggestions were laudable or practicable. A fuller criticism of his ideas on education has been made elsewhere (Austin 1976). But several points are worth reiterating here.

His encouragement of competition and the development of a socially stratified community may be questioned. It represented an attempt to transplant in Papua a capitalist ethic not necessarily in the best interests of the people. Williams was by no means alone in his assumption that this aspect of the Australian way was equally appropriate in the colony. Many missionaries and Government officials were at pains to develop such a new society. But not only did they simply accept that such a system was right by definition. They, Williams included, also failed to consider the extent to which such ideas strike at the very root of most Papuan societies.

\(^ {23}\) Ibid., vol.4, no.11.

\(^ {24}\) Williams 1936 and 1940:446.
Williams was unrealistic in his hope that Papuans would continue to build their houses from bush materials. Easy though it is, in retrospect, to claim that this hope was forlorn, it should have been clear from the experience of other places where colonized people had come in contact with the affluence of the colonizers and the greater durability of their commodities, that Papuans would be unimpressed by suggestions that they continue to make do with thatched roofs on their houses. Papuans saw, if Williams did not, the incongruity of the plea that they learn to build sturdier homes - at the same time being advised to reject that what appeared as the ultimate in sturdiness - a sheet of iron.

Hindsight enables us to realize that it would be difficult to avoid the increase in 'shoddy' art and craft work in the wake of the introduction of a commercial incentive. It was naive to suppose that a government-established shop would prove to be the only outlet for such products. The market for commodities would have remained small for many years and there would have been few pressures to hurry the village artist into producing inferior work. But it is undeniable that the Trobriand carver today hurriedly produces work that is greatly inferior to that of a few years ago, and that as the demand for carvings has grown, so has the quality deteriorated. Williams recognized that there were risks; but he gave no indication of how they could be avoided.

Williams' attitude towards the Papuans themselves was ambiguous. While his regard for the people was far in advance of that of most Europeans at the time, a belief in Papuan inferiority can be detected. It is much more evident in his early writings than the later ones. Such a deep-seated view of Papuans may have led, even unconsciously, to the imposition of significant limitations on the education to be provided for them. For instance, soon after his arrival in Papua he expressed the view that 'owing to the ingrained dilatoriness of the native character, one cannot expect rapid or intensive work'.25 He was later to recognize the cultural and environmental reasons for this preference for 'leisure' and was less inclined to make an adverse value judgement (Williams 1933a:67). In 1928 he came close to accepting the popular European belief that Papuans were a child race, when he spoke of the need for a 'child's Bible, greatly shortened and clothed in the simplest language'. He was quick to add, 'not that the native

25 Williams 1923:42; see also Williams 1932.
adult is a child in any fundamental sense [my emphasis] (although he is continually said to be), but that he is no better fitted than a child, in that trend of education which can make him understand the actual language of the Bible' (Williams 1928a:19).

In 1933, when arguing the need for training in reasoning, Williams commented: 'Whether we decide that his reasoning is prelogical or simply illogical we find that he is constantly on the wrong track' (Williams 1928a:16).

So Williams was paternalistic. He did regard Papuans as being somewhat inferior. And this helped to determine the sort of education that should be provided for them. However, compared with Murray and others, whose belief in Papuan inferiority was more extreme, Williams had greater faith in Papuans' intellectual capacity. Thus he sought, in vain, to convince Murray of the need to educate an intellectual elite (Williams 1936b:6). He proposed the establishment of a teachers college for Papuans. Technical and agricultural training would prove most beneficial to villagers. But Papuans could also aspire to greater intellectual heights.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, Williams made a great contribution to educational thought in the colony. He never claimed to be an original thinker. But his ideas were progressive and, for the most part, down-to-earth and realistic. Murray admitted this (Elkin 1943:101), and while the Lieutenant-Governor did not always act on Williams' advice, he could not have failed to be influenced by it. Williams does not appear to have suffered the same disillusionment as Murray about the development of technical training. It is possible that through his influence the cut-back in the subsidies for training was much less severe than had been promised.

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26 Williams to Groves, W., 17 Mar. 1937, Groves Papers, UPNG.
Chapter 3

The work of the London Missionary Society

The climate is extremely trying to Europeans, and the inhabitants prior to 1870 were among the most savage and degraded upon the face of the earth. But the very qualities in them which repelled the trader and squatter and globe-trotter only rendered them more attractive in the eyes of Polynesian Christians and European missionaries. The harder the field the more needful to win it for the Saviour (Lovett 1899:1:431).

These words, reminiscent of the King of Brobdingag's unflattering view of English society, nonetheless reflect also the zeal, endeavour and altruism of the London Missionary Society pastors who sought to spread 'the Word' in British New Guinea.

Established in 1795, the L.M.S. declared that 'The sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations'. The various interpretations of this aim led to significant disagreements about the educational objectives of the Mission in New Guinea. For the L.M.S. missionaries were characteristically outspoken, individualistic and intransigent in their thinking.

In 1871 the Mission was established in Torres Strait. The following year the first South Sea Island missionaries settled on the New Guinea mainland at Tureture. The first European missionary to settle in New Guinea was the Rev. W.G. Lawes who arrived in Port Moresby in 1874.

In 1890 the Wesleyans, Anglicans and L.M.S. accepted a division of British New Guinea into mission areas. The

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Fig. 1 Main stations of the London Missionary Society
Fig. 2 Kwato Extension Association Mission District
L.M.S. took control over a vast section covering virtually the entire south New Guinea coast from the border with the Dutch possession in the west to Milne Bay in the east. This large area, the recurring financial crises in the Mission and the small number of European missionaries serving at any one time (never more than 16 before 1945) made the attempt to convert and educate Papuans very trying. But it became clear to a number of the missionaries that mere proselytizing would not engender a flock; more was needed— for one thing, manual training.

The pattern of industrial activities was established in the 1870s, not in New Guinea, but on Murray Island in nearby Torres Strait. There Rev. S. McFarlane established the Papua Institute, later called the Papuan Industrial Institution and Teachers' Seminary. Initially nine of the most promising converts were despatched there to receive training in boat building and house construction (McFarlane 1888:82-9). The training ended in 1886 when McFarlane left, but before then it had as many as 93 students at one time.²

The scheme was ephemeral, but proved to be the start of a strong movement which would cause much dissension and bitterness in the Mission and result in a partial disintegration of the L.M.S. in Papua before it was 50 years old. Central to the controversy was Charles Abel and his work on Kwato.

Charles Abel of Kwato

Kwato is a small island two miles from Samarai in the China Strait at the south-eastern tip of the Papuan mainland. In spite of its small size it is widely known in Papua for the educational work done there and particularly for the technical training which was started in the early 1890s by Abel and Fred Walker.

Abel was born in 1863. He went to New Zealand in 1881 where he associated and traded with the Maoris. He returned to England and in 1884 entered the Congregational Cheshunt College. In 1891 he was posted to Suau at the east end of Papua, but was there only a short time before moving to nearby Kwato where he worked initially with Walker. In his first report, written only months after arriving at Kwato, ²PL, McFarlane to Thompson, 16 June 1882.
Abel expressed a desire to make the island an educational centre. The following year, while noting that little educational work had yet been done, he was able to report the erection of a 'large native workshop and smithy'. Already he was encouraging young men in the Milne Bay area to form industrial settlements for the cultivation of cotton 'and such like commodities' and was encouraged in this by Sir William MacGregor. Plantations were to be a central feature of Abel's policies in Papua.

In the first few years technical work developed steadily and by 1897 20 to 30 boys were doing 'manual work' of various kinds. Girls were learning needlework and mat making under the guidance of Mrs Abel. Abel reported that six boys were able to support themselves with the money received from their industrial work. He was encouraged by Sir William MacGregor's offer to give the boys an order for 100 trade boxes and the girls an order for 100 police uniforms. Indeed Abel hoped that Kwato would, before long, be in a position to supply a large Australian firm with fancy needlework which it then imported from Japan.

By the turn of the century the industrial activities were seen to be having a marked effect on the lives of the villagers. The Kwato people had 'built, furnished, and paid for their improved model cottages' which Abel believed showed the villagers 'that they can rise, if they like, by their own energies, to something vastly superior to their low native level'. Abel noted that the outstation schools in his district were well attended only so long as he could offer students the prospect of places at Kwato; otherwise they were reluctant to attend the schools. Technical activities were proving attractive to the Milne Bay people.

At the turn of the century Kwato carpenters were already being contracted to do building work and fencing for Europeans on Samarai. That the practical work done by the

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3 Abel, C.W., East End District Report, 1891, 1 Jan. 1892.
4 Ibid.
5 BNGAR, 1893/94, p.xxvii.
7 See Abel 1900:4.
boys was often of good quality was attested to in Lieutenant-Governor G. Le Hunte's 1900-1901 Report, in which he praised the construction work of one youth whose work 'would have put some trades union artisans to shame'.

Numerous items of furniture were also being made. Abel was soon aware of the potential of boat building in Milne Bay, and by 1900 work had started on an industry which continues to this day.

From 1902 the Kwato industrial activities developed markedly following the donation to the L.M.S. of £10,000 by the Hon. J.H. Angas, a South Australian who was anxious to see the industrial work at Kwato develop. The New Guinea District Committee of the L.M.S. approved, and recommended to London the development of an Industrial Branch of the New Guinea Mission in the charge of Abel at Kwato, using part of the Angas gift. The branch would supply inter-station requirements. But a contentious provision was that any surplus products could be sold outside the Mission. A percentage of any profits could be used for capital requirements and the accounts were to be separate from those of the rest of the L.M.S. Thus Kwato became known as the Angas Industrial Mission.

In a very short time Abel was supplying boats to Samarail and four Papuan boat builders were earning between 5/- and 15/- a month as well as their keep. The Papuan overseer, Josia Lebasi, received £3 a month, about half of what he had been offered to work elsewhere. In addition, Abel took seriously his responsibility for undertaking work

8 BNGAR, 1900/1901, p.xii.
9 LP, Thompson to Abel, 27 Sept. 1901.
10 John Howard Angas was a wealthy pastoralist, politician and philanthropist from a well known South Australian family. A staunch Congregationalist, he donated large sums of money to the Church, the L.M.S. and numerous charities.
11 NGDC, Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1902.
12 PL, Abel to Thompson, 31 July 1902 and 15 Sept. 1902; Abel, C.W., The Aim and Scope of an Industrial Branch to the New Guinea Mission: A paper read before the members of the New Guinea District Committee in March 1903 by the Rev. Charles W. Abel, p.33 (L.M.S. microfilm).
13 Ibid., p.36.
for the rest of the Mission, and the Kwato builders drew plans for and erected buildings and churches in several parts of the colony.\(^{14}\) Attempts to establish a timber industry met with less success.

By 1905 the reputation of Kwato as a centre for technical training was well established. In the Annual Report for 1905/6 Barton wrote:

At Kwato may be seen a shed full of whizzing wheels and hissing straps, and circular and vertical saws, besides a planing machine and lathe - all this machinery, as well as the engine and boiler, being conducted by Papuan youths without any help from Europeans. The needlework of the girls is said, too, to be of superlatively good quality. Great praise is due to Mr and Mrs Abel for the work they have achieved, and particularly for having clearly demonstrated that the Papuan is capable of so great achievement (PAR, 1905-06:20).

By 1919 there were 200 students at the Kwato educational centre, most of whom were doing some technical work (Abel, R.W., 1934:173), which by now also included printing.\(^{15}\) Now the Mission was known as the Incorporated Kwato Extension Association, having broken away from the L.M.S. in 1918. The reasons for the split are examined later in this chapter.

The methods of teaching trade work to students at this time were practical rather than theoretical. Indeed Abel spoke disparagingly of Victor Green's proposals.\(^{16}\) Nevertheless, Abel was prepared to concede weaknesses in his scheme for training older students when he admitted that Green:

\[...\] sees where we fail ... as we have not seen this ourselves. He finds our boys doing work which is beyond them, and working to no drawn plans. At Salamo, he says, the idea is first production, not education. And I suppose to a

\(^{14}\) PL, Abel to Thompson, 30 July 1904.

\(^{15}\) Kwato Extension Association Report 1919-20; Minutes, Overseas Committee, Sydney, 17 March 1919, AP.

\(^{16}\) AP, Abel, C.W. to Abel family, diary letter, 15 Sept. 1924.
less extent he sees that here too. His idea, which seems a right one, is that the boy who makes a simple tool box should first be taught to draw a plan of the simple thing he is to construct, and then he can go on making tool boxes from the same plan and is doing his work intelligently.17

In 1927 Abel was in a position to report that a number of his skilled workers were finding employment with the Government and private enterprise. The Kwato boatshed carried out repairs on government boats and the carpenters were 'kept fairly permanently employed with government building work at Samarai'.18 During these years other technical training was commenced at Koebule, a plantation of 200 acres on the northern shores of Milne Bay.19

In 1930 Abel was killed in a road accident in England. However, Kwato had become (and until the 1960s remained) a family concern and the work was continued by the remaining members of the family.

A significant advance was made in the training in 1930 when the technical work was divided into three departments. First there was a technical department in which students were taught to read plans, draw them to scale and construct models from them. Second, there was a practical training department for teaching a trade to the boys who had passed through or were attending the technical department. This part of the training lasted for five years. Finally, there were the construction and repairing departments in which trained men were employed as carpenters, builders and boat builders. Students in the first two sections spent two days a week at theoretical training, drawing, etc., and three and a half days a week doing practical work. There were eleven seniors and thirteen juniors all following the scheme recommended by Green, and the Government Inspector, Mr J. Hooper, declared that 'The drawings are remarkably clean, neat and correct and the models are particularly well made'.20

17AP, Abel, C.W., Diary, Kwato, 11 June 1924.
18AP, Abel, C.W., Report for Quarter Ending March 31st, 1927; Report for Quarter Ending December 31st, 1927.
20CAO, Hooper, J., Report of Inspection of Technical School of Kwato Industrial Association (sic), Inspected 8 Sept. 1930, CRS A518, item D923/1.
In addition to the students several Papuans were working in the carpenters' shop and in the boat-building shed. Some were described as 'skilled tradesmen, able to deal with timber from the log to the finished article and to work from plans without supervision'. Several were said to be expert in engineering and in concrete work.

In the 1932 Report of the Government Inspector, G.M. Turnbull was not quite as uncritical as Hooper. Following an inspection of a European residence recently completed in the area by Kwato tradesmen, Turnbull commented that:

A certain lack of 'finish' was noticed. Kwato are better boat builders than house carpenters. The owner also complained of lack of supervision and the length of time the job took to complete.21

Three years later, Hooper attested to their boat-building prowess when he reported that:

while the work done is equal in appearance to the same class of work done in white boat building yards, more care seems to be taken at Kwato to prevent 'scamping'.22

But the problem of finding regular employment for Kwato graduates remained. In 1933 eight trainees left the workshop and were either employed by or worked as contractors for expatriates.23 But when Abel's younger son, Cecil, offered to the Government the services of six trained men - carpenters, boat builders and engineers - jobs could not be found for them.24 Already there was a school leaver problem and Abel realized that unless jobs could be found for these men they would soon begin to lose their skills.25

22 CAO, Hooper, J., Kwato Technical School, inspected 11 July 1935.
23 CAO, Hooper, J., Technical School at Kwato, inspected 18 August 1933.
24 CAO, Abel, C.C.G. to Champion, 18 Jan. 1933; Murray to Prime Minister, 21 Feb. 1933.
25 CAO, Abel to Champion, 18 Jan. 1933.
By now the Kwato training was having a perceptible influence on village life. The Abels felt that among the students who had been through the boat-building department there was 'a strong tendency to improve the technique of their canoe building and [take] a pride in the best finish'. For over 30 years Papuan-style houses had been replaced by houses built along European lines and the Mission claimed that these residences were beginning to appear elsewhere around the district. By 1938 the people were being encouraged to incorporate in their new houses the 'old curved ridge and high gables which were a feature of the old houses'.

However, overall it was felt at Kwato that 'Much that comprised the old crafts and gave significance thereto is now meaningless or rapidly becoming so. To attempt to revive this would be hopeless'.26 Thus little was done at Kwato to maintain traditional arts and crafts.

In 1938 a European instructor was employed to teach engineering to Kwato boys, making three European and two Papuan instructors in all. But the war was fast approaching and so was the decline of the technical work.

Abel's earliest and fullest justification of his industrial work was made in 1903 when he presented to the New Guinea District Committee a paper - The Aim and Scope of an Industrial Branch to the New Guinea Mission. The Papuan, said Abel, occupied a very low place in the scale of humanity, hence the need for an industrial auxiliary.27 He was at a low moral and intellectual level,28 and had to be raised from the deprivation he was accustomed to. Christianity itself was making little progress29 which, said Abel, was not surprising. The Mission was tackling the problem from the wrong end:

the only way to evangelise degraded men, is to pay immediate attention to the degrading environment in which they live ... The best seed will rot and die if it is planted in unwholesome ground. It is as much a part of our work to till

26 NAPNG, Smeeton, J.M.
27 The Aim and Scope, p.3
28 Ibid., p.4.
29 Ibid., p.7.
the ground, and make it fit to receive the seed, as it is to plant the seed itself.30

Foremost in Abel's thinking then, was the need to have an industrial policy in order to bring Papuans to Christianity. Having encouraged men to participate in mission-established enterprises and remain at mission stations and at school, Abel could then work on the characters of the men, for 'Mere hard work will never make men morally stronger or better'.31

The education provided by the Mission must be useful and relevant to the villagers. Hence Abel questioned 'whether the time spent in our mission, teaching children to write copper-plate, and to parrot off the multiplication tables, could not be put to better use industrially'.32 In addition, Papuans must be protected. No great admirer of white settlers in Papua, Abel insisted that villagers must be given the wherewithal to withstand the exploiting European traders:

If we do not boldly champion the cause of these natives, whom we are here to befriend and help in every way, and insist upon their right, in their own country, to competition with the white man, we shall lend our hand to their destruction, and a white New Guinea, will, at no distant date, reward our pains.33

In short, Papuans had to be 'trained to a life of usefulness and independence' if they were to live 'side by side with the European'.34

Abel was at pains to stress time and again that Christianity always came first. Industrial work was a means to the end of converting the masses by bringing them under mission influence and especially by enabling the Mission to

30 Ibid., p.8
31 Ibid., p.19; see also Paper read before the Southern Committee on 13 July 1909, by Rev C.W. Abel, in Support of Resolution of the Papuan District Committee with Reference to Indistrial Work, p.1.
32 The Aim and Scope, p.29. (L.M.S. microfilm)
33 Ibid., p.52.
34 AP, Abel to Booker Washington, 6 May 1906; Abel to Thompson, 4 Sept., 1907.
'break up the system which has produced them'. 35 But he also believed that the Government and missions had caused problems for Papuans by suppressing tribal warfare and thereby worsening the villagers' 'natural indolence'. 36 Industrial work would provide an adequate substitute for war. 37

Abel also saw industrial work as one of the means whereby mission stations could be made self-supporting and the salaries of teachers and preachers paid for. He denied that the primary idea was to provide mission revenue, but certainly saw this as one of the aims. 38 He seems to have stressed this argument at times in an effort to make the idea of industrial activities more palatable to his colleagues in Papua and the Directors in London. However Abel did not see formal education as being in any way separate from life in general. He stressed that life, health, religion and education were inseparable from one another. As he once put it: 'Religion comes second. Life first and in order to have Life = health'. 39 Though admittedly an isolated comment, this suggests that Abel was not as narrowly evangelistic as he has sometimes been made out to be. He strenuously opposed any suggestion that a missionary's work should be solely religious. 40

Abel felt that the old village life had been so adversely affected by the incursions of government and mission that it had become necessary to replace it completely with a new and better life. 41 Added to this was the paternalistic belief that the life of the village was a bad influence anyway and that the young should be taken away from it. Abel's students were to do their elementary schooling at a Kwato boarding school. Then they would go on to the technical school where they would learn to be entirely self-supporting. 42 Or they

35 Paper read before the Southern Committee, p.2.
36 The Aim and Scope (L.M.S. microfilm).
37 Paper read before the Southern Committee, p.2.
38 Ibid., p.4.
39 AP, Abel to Mrs Abel, undated, but attached note indicates 1904.
40 The Aim and Scope (L.M.S. microfilm).
41 Minutes of Meeting of Sub-Committee on Industrial Work in Papua, 9 Oct. 1917.
42 Ibid.
were expected to go out to mission plantations or establish their own, and would there build 'Christian Settlements' in which there would be no reversion to the old anathema way of life. The Mission would have instilled in the people a desire for European-style houses and a very 'English' way of life - English customs, habits, activities, values. In short, Charles Abel considered that little in the life of the Papuan village was worth retaining. The people would now permanently be under mission influence. In 1915 Abel wrote:

Our first idea of secular education is to place the Word of God in the hands of the Papuan and enable him by mental training to grasp its meaning and to use it in personal study. But latterly beyond this we educate him to take his place as a British subject under British rule, living in touch with British civilization (Prendergast, 1968:295).

Abel's thinking clearly affected that of the Directors. A letter from the L.M.S. Foreign Secretary accurately reflected the Abel attitude:

It is most important that converts should learn to read in order that they may attain to a fuller knowledge of the Scriptures ... but I think it even more important that they should learn to live self-respecting, progressive and Christian lives. The mission that turns out good carpenters and blacksmiths does more among such people as you have ... than that which turns out good readers and writers.

In his educational thinking, Abel was decidedly elitist. If this policy of technical education was to be followed he realized it would not be possible to educate large numbers of children. He sought to concentrate on a few only in the hope that they would 'later on extend the influence to an ever increasing and widening circle'.

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43 PL, Abel to Thompson, 4 June 1905.
44 Thompson to Schleckner, 22 Apr. 1907, quoted in Prendergast, p.304.
45 AP, Abel, Diary entry, 12 Oct. 1916.
Abel's desire to change Papuan life through the creation of 'Industrial Settlements' was the main cause of the establishment of the best-known and most effective technical education scheme in Papua before the war. If Papuans were to live changed lives they would require the skills to create 'superior' houses, furnishings and boats. If they were to compete for their livelihoods with Europeans, the residents of the Christian Settlements would require skills equal to those possessed by Europeans.

The Kwato Extension Association was never really a financial success. It always relied on support from Britain, Australia and the U.S.A. and was unable to function as a commercially viable enterprise. But too much was attempted. The K.E.A. was first a religious organization, second an educational one and only third a commercial one. The Association seems always, during and after Charles Abel's lifetime, to have relied heavily on the efforts of a single leader who had to divide his energies between these three broad activities. It is not surprising then, that the commercial side always struggled. This in turn affected the training.

The development of the Kwato Extension Association was such that before long the Mission was Kwato. All were involved in its activities, live at, were educated in, and usually employed by, the Association. Except for those who came in from other areas in Milne Bay and could eventually return there, and except for the few who sought employment elsewhere, the Kwato people had to rely for their prosperity on that of the Mission. Life had altered so dramatically that the people had to depend on the activities that Abel had established at Kwato. The old life was irrelevant.

Consequently it became inevitable that should the commercial activities and technical education decline as they have in recent years, the people would find themselves in considerable difficulties, much more so - in an immediate sense - than most Papuans faced with a similar dilemma. For technical education was part of a total scheme, an all-encompassing life-style which dramatically transformed the life of the islanders, and deliberately set out to make their former life distasteful to them. The attempt to instil in the people a very English way of life was very successful.

Abel was accorded considerable respect by Administrators in Papua and by visitors to the country for the educational work he did. (Of course he received a lot of criticism too - from traders, who in general he detested, and from others
who objected to his strict and doctrinaire educational and social ideals.) Of far greater importance though was the praise and increased respect for Papuans which resulted from education on Kwato. The Papuan who could build with great expertise and in addition speak excellent English was a cause for wonder, certainly, but was, more importantly, a clear manifestation of the capacity of Papuan people. This respect for the Kwato continues today as disproportionate numbers of them succeed in Papuan commercial and government enterprises.

Abel was an exceptional man who realized that things would alter fundamentally and that the Papuan would one day be, if not master of, them an equal partner in, his own country's development. He was one of the few men to believe that this ought to be so. His system of education was based on an abhorrence of most things Papuan and as such as lamentable. Nevertheless, industrial activities which became basic to the Kwato way of life did offer an alternative to the elements of Suau culture that Abel helped to destroy.

The demand for technical education clearly existed in Milne Bay - the school often had more candidates for positions than it had places to offer. Abel's elitist concept of education will be criticized by many. However, it should be remembered that his resources were limited. Furthermore, present difficulties imposed by a largely dysfunctional attempt at mass education perhaps suggest that Abel made a realistic appraisal of how many well-educated people the economy could absorb.

Some historians are bound to write of Charles Abel in harsh terms. In a number of respects they should. Nevertheless, his contribution to the training of skilled artisans in Papua was considerable.

F.W. Walker and Papuan Industries Limited

Abel's early colleague and friend at Kwato, Fred Walker, was another determined advocate of industrial work. He founded an ambitious industrial enterprise which, however, failed to realize his ambitions.

Frederick William Walker was born in 1860, the son of an English boat builder. In his youth he worked, among
other things, as an ironmonger and carpenter. In 1888 he arrived as a missionary in New Guinea and was posted to South Cape; there he immediately began small-scale carpentry activities, asserting that the work would be of great benefit to his students in later years when they became teachers and had houses and schools of their own. Later that same year he established the Mission at Kwato. The arrival of Abel delighted Walker and their friendship became warm and lifelong.

In 1896 Walker resigned from the L.M.S. following a dispute over the purchase of a new mission boat on which he had badly over-spent. For several years he worked as a trader in Papua before being invited by the N.G.D.C. to rejoin the Mission in 1901. During the latter part of his time as a trader Walker began to think seriously about a scheme he had long entertained - the establishment of a Christian Trading Company in Papua. Fearing the revival of labour traffic in Papua, and the dehumanization of Papuans as the result of the establishment of vast plantations with hordes of labourers, Walker regarded as the only hope for Papuans, 'The promotion of independent native enterprise and the creation of innumerable small peasant proprietors all along the coast ...'.

Upon rejoining the Mission Walker returned to England where he sought the approval of the Directors for the establishment of his company in British New Guinea. He wanted to invite Christian businessmen to form a company with a view to promoting the advancement of Papuans through its profits. It was to be organized by businessmen and conducted on strictly business lines, 'working in avowed alliance with the London Missionary Society whilst not being under its responsible control'.

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46 Form filled out by Walker for L.M.S., 5 Oct. 1886. For further details of his activities see Austin, 1972.
47 South Cape District Report, 1890.
48 PL, Walker to Thompson, 22 May 1898.
49 PL, Walker to Thompson, 22 June 1898.
50 Ibid.
Walker felt that such a company would favourably impress Papuans with the practical benefits of Christianity for, he said, 'anything which approaches the savage from the material side, appeals strongly to him'. He also argued that a moral order would be created, the Society would become more popular with the natives, traders would be disadvantaged, the number of Christian men sent into the field would be increased, money would become available for educational and evangelistic work, native rights in regard to land and labour would be protected, and Christian capital, released from non-Christian hands would be 'a great power for the conversion of the world'. 52

Members of the N.G.D.C., including Abel, were less than enthusiastic about the project. They feared the accusations concerning trading that would be, and subsequently were, hurled at the Society from outside. 53 The Directors of the L.M.S. on the other hand were enthusiastic. They 'expressed satisfaction' with the plan 54 and in January 1905 Walker resigned to become manager of Papuan Industries Limited (P.I.). 55 With an initial capital of £24,000, the company was registered and established its headquarters on the island of Badu (now Mulgrave) in Torres Strait. 56 Walker made it clear that the idea was not to make large profits but to promote the material, moral and spiritual welfare of Papuans by encouraging them to make efforts for their own improvement, through the cultivation of marketable products and by other industrial pursuits. 57 The emphasis from the outset was on the establishment of coconut plantations, but for some years money-making activities necessarily centred on trading in Torres Strait.

52 Ibid.
53 Pryce-Jones, E., Toaripi District Report, 1903; Papuan Times, 12 May 1915; Papuan Courier, 19 Sept. 1918; see also P.I.L. defence against accusation of recruiting irregularities, Papuan Times, 20 August 1913.
54 L.M.S. Board Minutes, 29 Dec. 1903.
55 Ibid., 10 Jan. 1905.
The only significant technical training activities seem to have been connected with boat building. In 1927 a boat slip was erected on Thursday Island, and by 1929 100 dinghies are reported to have been sold (Yonge 1930:179). A technical instructor taught boat building at Daru to young Torres Strait Islanders and probably to Papuans also. The Queensland Government arranged with the company to teach youths from the various islands how to build boats and subsidized this part of the work until forced by the start of the Depression to stop, at which point the company, too, was compelled to give up the training side of its work (Freshwater 1936:8).

Walker was among the first people in the country, ahead even of Abel, to really contemplate the possibilities of technical training for Papuans. In 1902 he had sought the establishment of an L.M.S. Industrial Training Institution in Torres Strait, but without success. Then in 1914 Walker negotiated with Hubert Murray to establish the technical school which was outlined in Chapter 1. Both Walker and Murray were particularly interested in the possibilities of technical education, so it is a little surprising that this particular scheme was abandoned. A couple of years later Walker had some vague plans to co-operate with the Government in a scheme involving 'a sort of peasant proprietorship combined with technical education', but otherwise does not appear to have pursued further the matter of Papuan Industries—Government co-operation in this field.

At no time did Papuan Industries really flourish, and the reasons for this can best be laid at the feet of the company's management. Perhaps the greatest mistake, as at Kwato, was trying to combine missionary activities with business. Both were full-time activities and neither was likely to be carried out properly if both were attempted. And business activities certainly required a more hard-headed approach than was likely to be made by altruistic missionaries. The company survived the collapse of the copra market in 1920, cashed in for a short time on the post-war 'boom'

58 NAPNG, Le Hunte to Governor of Queensland, 21 March 1902, British New Guinea Despatches to Governor of Queensland, G32-5.

59 Murray, Hubert to Murray, Gilbert, 10 May 1916, Murray Family Private Papers, microfilm, National Library.

60 Lyons, A.P., Resident Magistrate's Report, Western Division, PAR 1920/21, p.64.
in Papua, but found the economic slump from the mid-1920s to 1930 to be more than it could stand. Walker had retired in 1922,\textsuperscript{61} ill and undoubtedly disillusioned at the company's lack of success. He died in 1926. The company struggled along until 1930. But it seems likely that, while its demise was only a matter of time, the departure of its founder and inspiration proved to be more than the project could stand. In 1930/31 the Queensland Government took over the business in Torres Strait, forming the Island Industries Board for the benefit of the islanders, while the Unevangelized Fields Mission assumed control of the Papuan Plantations.

P.I.'s achievements were essentially non-material. In relation to Walker's vision of the magnitude of the enterprise and the considerable material benefits that were expected to accrue to the people, success was limited.

Charles Rich at Isuleilei

Charles Rich had the satisfaction of establishing the best-equipped and most practical technical school run by the L.M.S. before 1940.\textsuperscript{62} Rich himself was a supreme optimist and individualist. Influenced in his early years in the Mission by Abel, he developed a similar, if less marked, ability to incur the displeasure of the Papua District Committee (P.D.C.) by acting without their approval. His work suffered the same vicissitudes of fortune as that of other industrial missionaries in Papua, but he appears to have had a fair measure of success with students gaining outside employment and being in constant demand.\textsuperscript{63} Effects were also noted in the villages where teachers had supervised church building and had improved their own furnishings as a result of technical training.\textsuperscript{64}

Isuleilei in Fife Bay is on the Papuan mainland west of, but close to, Kwato. Rev. Charles F. Rich arrived in Papua in 1900 and was posted to Fife Bay. Within months of his arrival he sought information about the Board's policy

\textsuperscript{61}Murray, J.H.P. to Murray, Gilbert, 7 Jan. 1922, Murray Family Private Papers, microfilm, National Library.

\textsuperscript{62}With the exception of Kwato.

\textsuperscript{63}MH, Fife Bay Report, 1937.

\textsuperscript{64}Hurst, H.L., Report after a Secretarial Visit to Papua, September 1936-January 1937, Sydney, 1937, p.17.
on industrial work on the grounds that not all the students could become teachers and unless 'some scope for their energies could be found' when they returned to their villages they would relapse into their 'old heathen vicious and lazy ways'.

Rich was greatly influenced by the Kwato experiment - so much so that he sought to combine his industrial activities with those at Kwato and reported that Abel was keen to do so too. This never happened. Both men jealously maintained an independence of mind and spirit throughout their lives which precluded such an alliance. Rich's earliest activities involved the teaching of modest skills. Boys built boxes and made a little furniture. Mrs Rich taught the girls mat making, sewing and lace work; the latter was to establish a considerable reputation in the colony.

For a long while development was slow and was hindered by the opposition of Europeans in the area. At one time Rich's enthusiasm suffered a setback when he was accused by a white trader of price cutting. Several years later he complained that it was difficult to keep students at school because whites in the area were inducing them away with offers of unskilled employment. Nevertheless, the variety of trades taught grew and Rich was able to show a small profit from his industrial work from about 1915 onwards. By 1920 he had arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to be an industrial missionary or not a missionary at all. But Rich parted company with Abel with respect to the extent to which youths should be divorced from village life. He opposed Abel's settlement scheme which he described as 'a kind of Spiritual Hothouse where exotic blooms of abnormal culture are forced, sheltered from the rude blasts of coarseness and vice of the village'.

65 MH, Rich to Thompson, 23 Jan. 1901.
66 MH, Rich to Thompson, 22 June 1903 and 24 Nov. 1904.
67 MH, Rich to Thompson, 24 Nov. 1904; Rich to Cousins, 12 Jan. 1906.
68 MH, Rich to Thompson, 1 Dec. 1913.
69 Answers to questions of the Board in relation to the Proposed Deputation to the South Seas and Papua, 1915-1916.
The comments of the Government Technical Adviser, Victor Green, added drive to the work at Fife Bay in 1923. He spoke of the 'remarkable work' of Mrs Rich, praised the boat building which he said was done on very sound educational lines, and reported:

You are inculcating in the minds of the people a sympathetic attitude towards labour, teaching them the fundamentals of good craftsmanship and teaching trades by which they may earn a livelihood.
But, above all, you are teaching them habits of independence, order, accuracy, attention, cleanliness and industry, and thus forming character.72

Green recommended that the Government grant to the Fife Bay technical school be increased.73 He said that some very creditable cabinet work had been done, although, predictably, he felt that the course should be reorganized and special emphasis placed on drawing.74

Rich indicated that he was happy to adopt Green's suggestions and in particular to introduce trade drawing. He asked the Government to pay the salary of an instructor and to fund the erection and equipping of a suitable European building.75 Accordingly, in the 1924-25 year the government grant to the technical school was raised from £200 to £950, declining to £540 the following year.76 Rich's boat-building instructor was sent to Australia for a three months course of teacher training.77 Thus Fife Bay, at the suggestion of the Government, became the focal point for technical education in the L.M.S. A Government Inspection report in 1929 noted that the work done there would stand comparison with any similar work done in Australian schools.78

73 MH, Rich to Dauncey, 19 Aug. 1924.
75 MH, Rich to Champion, 18 Aug. 1924.
76 Territory of Papua, Government Gazette, vol.21, no.3, 1926, p.130.
77 C. Fisher had been appointed a year or two earlier.
78 Champion, H.W., Appendix to Murray 1929b:49.
Turnbull's report three years later, though more reserved, also praised the work. By now the school had adopted the Green Syllabus in its entirety. The primary class contained 20 students who were being 'well and carefully trained at the bench ... as well as in the more practical work of the sawmill, boatbuilding shed and carpenter's shop'. A house for the instructor was being built in which no faults of workmanship or construction were to be found and the report added that the students employed were 'fairly well versed in the technical terms of the trade, had been properly instructed in the care and use of their tools, and were making a sound job under the supervision of the Instructor'.

But the Depression hit the school hard and the work declined. Nevertheless, a new mill and boat shed were built, a four-year training course was instituted, and some of those who completed their courses continued to gain outside employment. By 1936 there were 15 in each of the senior and junior classes and Rich was able to report an improvement in drawing and good general progress. Several months after this report was made, however, the £500 government subsidy was withdrawn and the school declined further. An additional set back came in the form of reservations expressed by the Australian Secretary of the L.M.S. who, on a visit to Isuleilei in 1936, wondered whether 'the financial and other results that accrue, are worth the expenditure of time, energy and money entailed'.

1938 was Rich's last year in Papua, and one of his last written statements about technical education and industrial work was a lament that his profits had declined markedly. His previous occupation as a shoemaker doubtless gave him his inclination towards trade work. He started off enthusiastic about it. He ended up equally enthusiastic after nearly 40 years in the colony. By and large the skills taught were relevant to Papua, even if those imparted by Mrs Rich were more a reflection of her own abilities and background than they were of use to Papuan girls.

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79 Turnbull, Report on Primary Technical Schools.
81 Hurst, Report after a Secretarial Visit to Papua.
Reverend John Holmes

The Reverend John H. Holmes arrived in British New Guinea in 1893 and remained until 1918. Before becoming a missionary Holmes was a decorative painter which helps to explain his interest in technical education. In 1894 he was posted to Elema, then three years later he went to Orokolo in the Gulf of Papua and in 1906 moved further west to Urika where he remained for the duration of his stay in Papua.82

Following an unpromising start Holmes went on to become one of the best known, albeit reclusive, of the Papuan missionaries. He was noted for his anthropological work and became one of the foremost and most outspoken advocates of industrial work in the Mission. He first began industrial work in 1903 at Orokolo but his views on the matter really developed when he moved to Urika and established his station on Namau Island. He was conscious of the need to sell the idea of industrial work to the Directors so he sought permission, in 1908, to go ahead with a bigger scheme for industrial work 'on remunerative lines'; the scheme, he said, would make Namau self-supporting in five years. So, in addition to the carpentry activities which characterized the activities of all industrial mission stations, he began to develop a fibre and mat-making industry on Namau. Holmes was adamant that industrial work must one day become an accepted and necessary part of missionary work in Papua.83

The Directors had failed to define precisely their policy on industrial work and in 1909 Holmes began what was to be an eloquent, concerted and prolonged campaign in support of industrial work. He justified the work on a number of grounds. Uppermost in his mind was the need to use the industrial activities to help Christianize the people. The people had resisted Holmes' attempts to convert them but he quickly perceived that they were receptive to the materialistic approach. He explained:

The natives in our delta villages are waiting for us to give them the lead in Industrial work. In other words they will trust us, will do our

82 Orokolo was put in the charge of Rev. R. Bartlett whose activities are not well documented. However, it is known that some carpentry and boat work were carried out.
83 PL, Holmes to Thompson, 26 Nov. 1908.
bidding in this matter, and are keen to have the opportunity to improve their social conditions whilst they will not have our spiritual teaching in their villages.84

On another occasion he wrote:

this industrial work must have no other aim, no other end, than to help our people ... toward the Cross. If we had a fear of its ever becoming any other we should not entertain an idea of it.85

He was also afraid that the Urika community would come to be supported only by philanthropy, so that individualism would not develop and a community would be established that was 'entirely lacking in enterprise'.86 By 1911 he was starting to feel uneasy about the 'big commercial companies' which were 'rushing' to the area and felt that if the people were to be protected, presumably from the dividend company exploiters and labour recruiters, they should be enabled to make their own money.87 During 1911 activities consisted of knitting, mat making and some fibre treatment. Boys as young as ten years old made mats which, together with the jerseys knitted, were distributed in England, but not sold, on the grounds that:

we want to do the most good with our industries and [that] does not seem to us [to be] in making money but in showing to the world that missionary work can be made something more practical than the growing opinion at home seems to think.88

Holmes was very much on the defensive against those of his colleagues who questioned the emphasis being put on industrial work. He charged them with being ignorant of the work he was doing largely 'because they never deign to come to Urika unless when we are absent'.89 He sensed correctly that there was a general hostility towards himself arising from the fact that he rarely attended Committee meetings.

84 PL, Holmes to Thompson, 30 Nov. 1909; Namau Report, 1910.
86 PL, Holmes to Thompson, 30 Nov. 1909.
87 Namau Reports, 1910 and 1911.
88 PL, Holmes to Thompson, 21 Nov. 1911.
89 PL, Holmes to Thompson, 18 Apr. 1913.
But, as often happens to someone living in isolation, he probably exaggerated the antipathy.

Holmes was stung by the knowledge that one of Abel's conditions for District Committee control over his own work was that 'Urika must come into line'. Precisely what Abel was alluding to is not clear. But the comment both angered and confused Holmes and evoked from him a condemnation of some of the activities of several of his colleagues, most notably Charles Abel:

'Irika must come into line'?
Into line with what? Into line with industries that are in a chronic state of insolvency? Into line with [questionable] methods ...? Into line with special grants approved by the Committee without any definite knowledge if those special grants of sums of money are actually spent on industrial work?
Into line with the possibility of individuals being able to exceed their annual warrants?
Into line with the claim of ownership of certain properties supposed to be used for industrial purposes and the individual missionary be allowed to dispose of products from such properties to his monetary advantage?
No, I cannot think that I have yet found an intelligible interpretation of 'Urika must come into line'.
If Urika, i.e. myself must come into line with any of the above queries I must say frankly what is in my heart, I cannot come into line with the present system of industrial work as it is pursued by my colleagues in Papua.90

There are some serious allegations implied in this outburst, particularly those suggesting monetary malpractice on the part of others in the Mission - a reaction to similar accusations that had been made against himself. But Holmes had in fact over-reacted and was less than fair to some of his colleagues. For just as his work was not fully understood by those who omitted to go and see for themselves, so did Holmes, by reason of his scarce contact with others, 91

90 Ibid.
91 PL, Holmes to Thompson, 18 Apr. 1913.
fail to appreciate the subtleties of their problems.

Holmes was especially upset by the knowledge that others, Abel in particular, sought financial assistance from the Society for industrial work. Given the Society's poverty, Holmes could see no justification for such claims. Indeed, so concerned was he for the state of L.M.S. funds that for some years he had returned to the Society unspent part of the annual grant. On the other hand, he had come to the conclusion that any suggestion that mission industries should contribute financially to the general work of the L.M.S. in Papua should be regarded purely as a secondary matter.92

Holmes felt he had achieved real success when, in 1915, village men started to come in with small parcels of prepared fibre for the mat and cord industry. Boys who had returned home had taught them how to prepare it. Only high quality fibre was accepted and quality and quantity improved until the mat industry was being provided with all its raw material by the villagers; eventually most of the Urika village men were assisting in the work. This in turn motivated other villages to begin fibre production. Holmes was pleased:

Hitherto our work and its influence has been largely restricted to the young people; this seems to us the first real breach into that stolid reserve of indifference which has always kept us apart from the adult life of our villages.93

Average output of cord by now was 700 yards daily; the work was done by boys aged between 12 and 15.94 Meanwhile, the knitting activities continued sporadically.

The beginning of the end of Holmes' work came when the Board of Directors sent a deputation to Papua in 1915. The deputation struck a severe blow at the work by expressing its disapproval of the mat industry. It was suggested that Holmes, who was ailing, should ease up, advice which Holmes took to be a polite way of telling him to discontinue the industry. This he was not prepared to do. Plainly, pride was involved in his resoluteness; he declared the mat industry to be 'my own child exploited for the glory of God'.

92 Answers to questions of the Board in relation to the Proposed Deputation to the South Seas and Papua, 1915-16.
93 Namau Report, 1915.
94 PL, Holmes to Lenwood, 7 Oct. 1915.
Far from ceasing the activities, he expanded them as an increased volume of orders came in, for, as he put it, 'this industry is not ours any more than the Gospel we live and preach daily'. Holmes stressed the broad educational effects of an industry which began with the people in their villages and formed a practical link between them and the Mission.

In 1916 all the senior boys at the station were involved in the mat making and in his report for that year Holmes expressed his commitment to industrial work in extreme terms:

if our Directors decide against industrial missionary settlements in Papua it will be tantamount to a confession that our Society has no longer a mission to the backward races of this great island.95

That year Holmes resigned although he stayed on for two more years before taking his final furlough. In 1917 he was able to report that the knitting and fibre/rope industries were paying for themselves. The following year, though, on the eve of his retirement, he reported that he had had to curtail the work.

Holmes bitterly resented the fact that in London the success of industrial work was judged by monetary return:

Balance Sheets! who dares to judge industrial effort for the Kingdom of God by the sordid standard of a balance sheet? Who dares to condemn industrial settlements on the mere possibility of their becoming other than they now are and should be? Let us be wary and tardy in banishing this branch of work from our Mission in Papua ... Of this we may be sure as fellow workers, our scope for evangelistic work will not expand much in the future; all the probabilities are it will be considerably limited ... in course of time our village school will go from us, the influence we now have on the children of the villages will be restricted and if we have not settlements for the young people the most promising feature of our work will be gone from us.96

96Namau Report, 1917.
Holmes' 1918 report was his last, and after his departure the industries declined. By the time the Rev. B. Butcher took control of Urika in 1920, the industrial activities had all been dropped.97

The work done by Holmes at Urika was primarily industrial work as distinct from technical education. The emphasis was more on the production of manufactured commodities than on the learning of a craft. Nevertheless, learning did take place in the form of on-the-job training. Some of the industrial work was only marginally relevant to the Papuan villager. Carpentry which relied on the use of simple, fairly easily-acquired tools could be beneficial to villagers. Mat and rope making, using bush materials were also activities which could be useful - even commercially - to Papuans; but not if they required the use of machines. Knitting, while providing work for youths and women, was unlikely to continue without the presence of a European and suffered from the added deficiency of requiring a market outside Papua. The common missionary claim of a need to fill the gap created when Europeans stamped out fighting was all too true. But Holmes failed to see that the problem would, if anything, worsen if the occupations which replaced warlike activities were also brought to an abrupt end, in this case because the machinery deteriorated and the markets could not be maintained.

The fact that the industries were of a type likely to fail without constant European control can largely be attributed to the narrowness of Holmes' justification of industrial work. Only as an afterthought did he propound reasons for the work other than narrowly religious ones.

Reverend Ben Butcher at Aird Hills98

Rev. Ben Butcher followed Holmes at Urika. Initially he was in charge of several mission stations and let the Urika industrial work decline. His first posting had been in Torres Strait in 1905 then, in 1913, he went to Aird Hills in the Delta region.

97 Report, 1920, Aird Hill, Urika, Orokolo.
98 For further details see Austin, 1974.
Like many other L.M.S. pastors, Butcher's interest in trade work can largely be explained by his background. He was born in England in 1877, the son of a liveryman. He left school at 16 and worked for a time with his father. In his youth he developed a love for tools and handicrafts and at one time planned to become an engineer. For four years he worked in the wholesale fish trade and at the same time studied Latin and Greek for he wanted to go to theological college; he also did a blacksmithing course part time.

In the first year of his time in Papua Butcher expressed keen interest in industrial work designed to help the people develop the resources of their islands. In 1909 he settled at the mouth of the Fly River, taking control over a considerable length of mangrove-covered coastline to the east and west of the Fly. At first he confined his industrial activities to some plantation work, but within a year had some people working with coir and other fibres.

Butcher opposed the Directors' 'weak' disapproval of trading. Although the industrial work he was doing at this time was slight he became deeply involved in the Mission's debate on the subject. He had been impressed by Abel's success with plantations and believed that profitable industrial activities should be encouraged, especially as the Board was faced with the need to reduce the annual allocation to Papua. He argued:

we are face to face with the alternatives either to rigidly limit and curtail our work, and consequently resign ourselves to leaving large tracts of Papua unevangelized and large portions of our work feebly done - or else so to change our methods that the labour of those among whom we work shall be utilised, not to swell the dividends of trading and Plantation Companies, but to the help and uplifting and evangelisation of the Papuans themselves.

99 PL, Butcher to Thompson, 23 May 1905.
1 L.M.S. Board Minutes, 9 Feb. 1909.
2 PL, Butcher to Thompson, 29 June 1910.
3 Butcher, B.T., Notes on Industrial Question in Relation to our Mission, 16 March 1912, submitted to P.D.C., 16–22 March, 1912.
Butcher was more willing than some of his colleagues to work as part of a team in Papua. He felt that industrial work could not be left to the individual missionary to carry out as he saw fit, for not all of them were qualified to impart technical skills. So he proposed that those who did have some trade or industrial experience should advise those who did not and so save the cost of experimentation. He sought the establishment of an industrial sub-committee of the P.D.C. to control the work, examine proposals for new industrial ventures, allocate funds for industrial work and give advice.4

In 1913 Butcher settled at Aird Hills north of Goaribari where Chalmers had been killed ten years earlier. He had recently been 'delighted and surprised' by the work at Kwato and he quickly made plans to introduce industrial work at Aird Hills to save Papuans from their 'idleness'.5 Two years later the work included furniture making and the making of grave stones; this surprising activity was not very successful as business was bad.6 By now Butcher's concern had broadened so that Papuans, 'a naturally indolent people', were to be helped for their own material sakes rather than just so that they could be converted. They had to be encouraged to develop their own resources 'instead of letting whites do so', for, said Butcher, 'I do not see why the native should ever be the servant of the white man'.7 With these words he displayed a liberalism that was not characteristic of expatriates of the period.

In 1921 he received a government grant of £100 for technical training and became the first of the L.M.S. missionaries to press for the use of the name 'technical school' rather than 'industrial mission'. His 1922 report shows Butcher operating the Urika Industrial Mission, the Delta Technical School (at Aird Hills) and Veru Plantation. The technical school taught boys from the Purari and Kikori deltas mat making, cane furniture making, the manufacture of bamboo blinds, cord spinning and carpentry. All boys and girls at the Aird Hills mission did some technical work and Butcher contended that while students could stand only two

4 Ibid.
5 PL, Butcher to Thompson, 14 March 1913.
6 Ibid., 1916.
7 Answers to questions of the Board in relation to the Proposed Deputation to the South Seas and Papua, 1915-16.
hours a day on the 3Rs, they would happily spend six hours on trade work.\textsuperscript{8} The following year, with the help of an increased government grant of £200 he introduced general metal work into the curriculum. By now the school had a large, well equipped workshop. Work included house construction, boat building and plumbing in addition to basket making.

For a decade from the mid 1920s the work suffered vicissitudes as students waxed and waned in their enthusiasm for training. They were probably dissatisfied with the material returns, and were thus apathetic. Butcher was disheartened, but he persevered with the work in the belief that:

One of our difficulties is to keep them out of mischief when school is over and here the technical school provides an outlet for surplus energy.

He added despairingly:

If the cane work did nothing else than instil the need for care and accuracy it would justify itself for both traits seem lamentably absent from the make-up of the average Papuan. They are capable of really beautiful work at times but it is a kind of slap dash beauty. You admire their wonderful houses but when you put your foot on one end of a floor plank and the other end rises suddenly and hits you in the face your thoughts concerning their carelessness are even more eloquent than your words.\textsuperscript{9}

In 1938 E.R. Fenn took up residence at Aird Hills and Butcher noted with pleasure that the technical school was to be continued by the new arrival.

Butcher was one of the most realistic and down-to-earth of the missionaries of his day and one of those most dedicated to the cause of technical education. He knew nothing of boat building when he arrived in Papua, but acquired the knowledge from books, and two launches were built and their

\textsuperscript{8}MH, Aird Hill and Namau Report, 1921.
\textsuperscript{9}MH, Aird Hill District Report, 1935.
engines installed at Aird Hills under his supervision. The Aird Hills boat slip, the only one west of Port Moresby, had some boat on it for repairs most of the time. Butcher had access to cane supplies but did not know how to make cane furniture; he learnt by pulling a cane chair to pieces and putting it together again. He learnt the art of basket making from books. He knew nothing of hydraulics and electricity, but he read enough to enable him to erect a concrete dam and small hydro-electric power plant at Aird Hills. He experimented with oil palm and used the oil to make soap. In short he utilized his talents to put the resources of the Delta to use.

In 1921, while regretting the fact that the mat-making activities were never likely to pay for themselves, he sought to persevere with them because of what he considered to be their distinct educational value. He looked forward to the possibility of Papua becoming self-supporting in the production of cane furniture but noted that the most cheering aspect of the work was that the boys were making items for themselves and their friends, outside the school, and this Butcher regarded as being 'a much greater contribution to the district than that the Mission should make the work a commercial success'. The Government was sufficiently impressed with the work at Aird Hills to consider paying the salary of a qualified Chinese instructor to help with the cane work, but a suitable man was never found.

Butcher was compassionate, concerned for the people and also tolerant - much more so than some of his colleagues. He acknowledged that Europeans had 'destroyed much that was picturesque and good as well as much that was evil' in Papuan life. His attitudes mellowed and he ceased to regard Papuans as lazy. He was most impressed by the sentiments

10 Butcher 1963:197.
11 PAR, 1921/22, p.52.
12 PAR, 1926/27, p.35.
13 Ibid.
14 MH, L.M.S. Circular No.6, 1924, Champion to Dauncey, 1 Oct. 1924.
16 Ibid., p.105.
expressed in F.E. Williams' *The Blending of Cultures* and held that:

Old arts and crafts tend to die out as a younger generation discovers that money will buy better things than those their parents fashioned with so much pride and skill. They may be better things for the purpose required, as a galvanized bucket will last longer than an earthenware pot, but how much has gone from life if the art of the potter is lost? A metal spoon will be more convenient than the one carved and fashioned from the shell of a coconut, but what can make up for the loss of the craftsmanship that filled hours with delight for many a worker?\(^{17}\)

Of course he fails to acknowledge the extent to which his own technical work must have exacerbated the situation he describes. Furthermore, he was writing over two decades after he had left Papua, and at a time when it was fashionable to see more good in Papuans and Papuan ways than most Europeans had seen before the war.

Other work east and west of Port Moresby

Other men who had some connection with technical training west of Port Moresby were Revs. E. Baxter-Riley (arrived 1899) and H. Schleckner (arrived 1895).

Both men were encouraged to provide limited training, mainly in building, because of the needs of the Mission and because of their low regard for Papuans. But training must not be allowed to interfere with spiritual activities; and there was a need to guard against the Papuans' 'innate love of money for money's sake'.\(^{18}\) Schleckner expressed the fear more forcefully:

if we introduce commerce amongst a lot of raw savages who have of course no moral backbone we will turn out a crowd of thieves and rogues.\(^{19}\)

\(^{17}\) Ibid., p.104.

\(^{18}\) Baxter to Riley, E., paper titled Fly River. Answers to questions of the Board ...

\(^{19}\) MH, Schleckner to Thompson, 25 March 1904; Orokolo Report, 1921.
Indeed Schleckner showed himself to be one of the most extreme critics of Papuan nature when he supported industrial work on the grounds that:

People of this lazy lethargic temperament are practically lost if they cannot be brought to see the good in work, and a good far beyond their drumming and dancing with their specious and useless decorations – this they must see & will see if they are ever to realise how blind & poor and lazy & filthy & naked they are.\(^{20}\)

East of Port Moresby minor attempts were made to provide some training on Mailu Island and at Hula.

W. Saville introduced some elementary building activities on Mailu at the turn of the century. He was primarily concerned to get his Papuan flock 'out of the kindergarten rut' in which they were otherwise doomed to spend the rest of their lives.\(^{21}\) By the time he retired in 1933 his activities included basket, mat and crochet work for the girls, and for the boys, building, furniture making and boat construction. By now he had concluded that it was because of these industrial activities that 'we have been able to hold together intact our community of boarders'.\(^{22}\)

At Hula, Rev. C. Beharell began manual training soon after arriving in 1906. Activities included boat building, house construction and printing. It seems that the Hula were quick to acquire manual skills. The 1940 Hula Report made the point that 'The youth of the district are restive with a desire for training ...'. N.D. Oram has shown that a scarcity of land contributed to this proclivity. A migrant people, the Hula live in a dry belt; much of their land is poor and population growth has increased the pressures on land. At times they suffered famine. They became traders and made long trading expeditions before the first world war. Indeed at a time when other villages were declining, says Oram, the Hula were forging ahead under the impetus of extending their fishing and trading activities (Oram, 1968: 254). According to one scholar, the Hula began to supply

\(^{20}\) Oroko lo Repo rt, 1921.
\(^{21}\) Mailu Repo rt, 1915.
\(^{22}\) MH, Mailu Report, 1933.
canoes to people in the Port Moresby area as early as the start of this century.\textsuperscript{23}

The introduction of native taxation acted as an incentive to earn money; one way of doing this was by working for short periods as casual labour in towns.\textsuperscript{24} This may in turn have been a further motive for learning a profitable activity. There is evidence that the Hula would work in Port Moresby as carpenters or plumbers for periods of eight or nine weeks and then return to the village with a fair amount of money. The Hula themselves say that it was difficult to obtain skilled work before the war.\textsuperscript{25}

Rev. W.G. Lawes and developments in the Port Moresby area

The bulk of the industrial and technical work carried out by the L.M.S. was done either west of Port Moresby - in the Gulf and Delta regions - or to the east. In the central region, which for a long while came under the control of the conservative Lawes, there was much less activity.

W.G. Lawes, the first European missionary to settle in Papua, was, from the outset, opposed to the suggestions of the 'industrial' missionaries but in time he recognized the need for compromise. Lawes had three main objections to industrial activities. He was adamant that the L.M.S. should not compete with white traders as the mission boys had an unfair advantage and, more importantly, because the reputation of the Mission would suffer. Second, industrial work must endanger evangelical endeavours. Third, it would put students on the path of greed.\textsuperscript{26}

On the trading question Lawes claimed, in 1902, that already there was a marked diminution of interest in Sydney in L.M.S. affairs. Businessmen, he said, lacked confidence in the Society and this was due partly to reports of its trading activities. He feared that the Society would lose contributions as a result.\textsuperscript{27} He did not believe that a

\textsuperscript{23}Seligman, 1910, quoted in Oram 1968:257.
\textsuperscript{24}Oram 1968:258.
\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., p.260.
\textsuperscript{26}PL, Lawes to Thompson, 16 Apr. 1902.
\textsuperscript{27}Ibid.
missionary could divide his energies and do justice to his evangelical work; nor did he regard industrial work as the only hindrance to evangelism: the same applied to any educational activity which took up excessive time. It was for this reason that Lawes commented about Walker's plans that 'workshops obscure the cross'.

Lawes' fear of putting Papuans on the road to greed was similar to that of the Anglican missionaries of the time. He maintained that by starting young converts on the road to money-making the Mission would be 'introducing them to a slippery path on which few have been able to walk safely'.

Lawes saw some justification for technical training but was more concerned with its benefits to the Society than to Papuans:

The expense of Rich's & Dauncey's houses ... emphasize the need for practical work but I wait in vain for anything in that direction. Soap & rope, boats & boxes do not help us.

Eventually in 1905, just before his retirement, he proposed a scheme for industrial education which he felt met the needs of the Mission and would not interfere with evangelism. Now he insisted that the people should be taught only those industries that they could take into their villages. They should learn 'nothing that is only of use to foreigners, and nothing that is only of use to get money'. He continued,

Our object should be not to benefit the scholars themselves merely, nor yet to benefit the Mission, but to benefit the people as a whole by improving their conditions of life.

Only boys and girls who had proven that they had 'given up heathenism' should be eligible to receive training. Further, to avoid any adverse effects on the religious aspects of the work Lawes insisted (unsuccessfully) on the need to employ a qualified superintendent of industrial work. Until such an appointment was made no new scheme should be

28 Ibid.
29 PL, Lawes to Thompson, 1 Aug. 1902.
30 Ibid.
31 PL, Lawes to Thompson, 23 March 1903.
undertaken by unskilled missionaries. Initially the superintendent would devote his time to teaching basic skills to missionaries, setting up adequate carpenters' benches and assessing the suitability of the students and the stations for industrial activities.

Lawes wisely insisted that no tools should be purchased that were 'beyond the means of natives to acquire for themselves'. Less far-sightedly, he never envisaged the skills acquired by Papuans as being of use to them in any commercial enterprise; they would not eventually be in a position to purchase and use even moderately complicated or expensive tools. The superintendent would select 'a few lads' who would train for two or three years and eventually return to their villages to teach others. In spite of his criticism of many of the practical activities being carried out in the Mission, Lawes' own outline of skills that would be imparted was comprehensive if unambitious. It included needlework, mat making and domestic duties for girls, and carpentry and blacksmithing for boys. There is little doubt, however, that it would have dealt a severe blow to the work already being done at Kwato, Isuleilei and Urika. It seems to have been a last-ditch attempt to compromise with the realities of the situation; the major battle had been lost already.

There is no escaping the conclusion that Lawes' antipathy towards technical work was exacerbated by the personalities with which he had to deal in Walker and Abel. Walker was amongst the earliest to develop and champion the cause of practical education, and he was the first to incur Lawes' displeasure to any marked degree. That this early acrimony only partly grew out of the two men's feelings concerning industrial work does not mean that it had an equally small effect on Lawes' thinking on the issue. Walker's and Abel's tendencies to make individual decisions behind the back of the P.D.C., more often than not in connection with industrial schemes, must have added to Lawes' existing dislike of such schemes.

Other early missionaries in Port Moresby - Cullen who arrived in 1902 and Lawrence who came in 1904 - did little

33 PL, Cullen to Thompson, 24 May 1903. Cullen did some printing but it is not certain that any training was done.
technical training, although Lawrence did see the need to make Papuans economically independent for fear that they would be wiped out.\textsuperscript{34} The Rev. J.B. Clarke had arrived in Papua by 1908 but it was a decade before he became seriously involved with trade teaching. However in 1920 the Port Moresby station received £100 from the Government for the erection of a carpentry shop.\textsuperscript{35} At this time there were only three days of compulsory schooling at Poreporena (the site of the station) and technical training would require an extra day of teaching for those who volunteered to do it.\textsuperscript{36}

In subsequent years Clarke and P. Chatterton undertook some minor technical training for boys and girls and by 1924 there were some signs that the girls were making use of their basket making, lace work and sewing in their own homes.\textsuperscript{37}

By 1932 a fully trained senior boy from the Fife Bay school was responsible for five boarders who were at Poreporena school to learn carpentry. Each afternoon of the school week Chatterton taught boys from the local day school the 'rudiments of carpentry'.\textsuperscript{38} There appears to have been virtually no expansion of the training up to 1940, though in his 1939 report Rev. O. Parry was able to say that the students' cabinet making had 'positively delighted' the Government Storekeeper and others who had placed orders with the school.\textsuperscript{39}

Finally, it is worth mentioning the work done at Vatorata - the L.M.S. Institution responsible for the final training of Papuan teachers and preachers. The school was opened in 1895 at Kapakapa about 30 miles east of Port Moresby and remained the teacher-pastor training centre until Lawes College opened at Fife Bay in 1924. In spite of the fact that the college was under the control of Lawes, industrial work began almost immediately. It included house building and furniture making for the men, and for the women,

\textsuperscript{34} Answers to questions
\textsuperscript{35} PAR, 1919/20, p.23.
\textsuperscript{36} MH, Clarke to Murray, 31 March 1920.
\textsuperscript{37} PAR, 1924/25, pp.18-9.
\textsuperscript{38} MH, Port Moresby Report for half year ended June 30th, 1932.
\textsuperscript{39} Port Moresby Report, 1939.
sewing and mat making. Thus teachers were developing skills that were useful and which they would be able to impart themselves.

By 1905 R. Lister Turner had arrived to conduct academic training. Although initially reticent about manual training his attitude moderated as students came to the college from other stations. He became concerned that students would lose the skills they had acquired. Furthermore, he was disturbed that:

some of the Samoans, and perhaps others from the South Seas have come to Papua with the idea that manual work is infra dig, and I am afraid that the Papuan pastor is rather apt to fall into the same idea.

At the same time he feared lest industrial work foster a commercial spirit in Papuans.

In 1917 the Industrial Tutor at Vatorata was a Papuan appointed on a salary of £14 per year rising to £16 after four years.

The dispute over the place of industrial work

In time all the L.M.S. missionaries in Papua came to accept the importance of some industrial work. But in the period up to 1918 - after which the debate lessened in intensity - they could be divided into three groups. The first - those who were strongly in favour of industrial work - consisted of Abel, Walker, Rich, Holmes and Butcher. A second group undertook or were in favour of small scale industrial activities; these men were Dauncey, Bartlett, Beharell, Harries, Lawrence, Clarke, Baxter-Riley and later on Saville and Turner. The third group of men was prepared to sanction a little technical work but only if it could be demonstrated that it was of use to the Mission and would not interfere with its proselytizing role; these men continued though to be very suspicious of the whole operation.

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41PL, Turner to P.D.C., 1 Aug. 1913.
42Answers to Questions.
43P.D.C. Minutes, 20-27 March 1918.
The group comprised Lawes, Pryce-Jones, Schleckner (whose attitude did liberalize), Pearse (whose thinking gradually altered and who had allied himself with the second group by 1903) and Turner (who also came to view technical activities more favourably).

The debate occupied countless hours of the P.D.C.'s time, and appeared in numerous items of correspondence to London over a period of many years. The Directors in London were similarly concerned with what was happening, though surely confused by the numerous expressions of conflicting opinions and the behind-the-scenes manoeuvring that is evident from the correspondence of individual missionaries. This lengthy debate concerned trading activities especially in relation to the disposal of plantation produce, the amount of expenditure on technical work, the emphasis to be put on the work vis-à-vis evangelical activities, and it was concerned with Abel's increasing autonomy and failure to co-operate with the Papuan L.M.S. as a whole. It is not possible to separate the debate in relation to plantations and that regarding the other aspects of industrial education with which we are concerned. The two issues were closely connected in the thinking of the main combatants.

Industrial work became an issue in 1893 when Abel tried to induce the N.G.D.C. to make a definite decision in favour of 'our mode of work'.44 Plantations were uppermost in his mind at this time. Fortuitously, this came at a time when the L.M.S. was suffering from a shortage of funds and the Society had urged on its missionaries the need for self-help.45 Abel could demonstrate that his scheme could be beneficial in this regard. However, the District Committee did not commit itself.

In 1897 the Society's Board of Directors in London began to show more concern about industrial work and sought information from the various District Committees about the industrial work being done. The New Guinea District Committee explained that it was involved only spasmodically with industrial work but indicated a willingness to do more if the Directors would appoint a suitable artisan missionary.46

44 PL, Abel to Thompson, 30 Dec. 1893.
45 MH, Thompson to Abel, 20 Sept. 1893.
46 Minutes of N.G.D.C., 11-14 May 1897.
But the Board already had reservations about the desirability of missionaries devoting very much time to such work, not only in New Guinea but elsewhere.\(^{47}\) They must have become particularly concerned in Abel's case for not only did he owe money to the Society largely as the result of efforts to develop plantations, but disclaimed any responsibility for the greater part of the debt.\(^{48}\)

At this time the N.G.D.C. did not have a financial stake in Abel's scheme and was much more favourably disposed towards it than was London. So when Abel outlined his proposal in 1901 to teach handicrafts, supply the stations with low-priced timber, bricks, rope, soap, etc., and reduce the expenditure of the Mission by the sale of surplus goods,\(^{49}\) members of the N.G.D.C. applauded.\(^{50}\) So far no-one was making an issue of industrial work, for Abel's claims were for the moment relatively modest. He sought an annual grant of £200 over three years for industrial work and approval to employ a carpenter. After a few months of doubt the Board agreed to support Abel following the offer of the Angas money.\(^{51}\)

However, Abel and the Society's Foreign Secretary, Thompson, differed at this time over who the industrial school should serve. Abel wanted it for the people of his area, while the Board more far-sightedly was looking for one for the entire Mission.\(^{52}\) The N.G.D.C. agreed with the Board. It went on to resolve that an Industrial Branch should be approved which would supply inter-station requirements and sell any surplus outside the Mission. A percentage of the profits from sales would be used for capital requirements; the accounts would be kept separate from those of the L.M.S.; it would start at Kwato with the aid of the prospective Angas donation. But a crucial rider was appended:

we strongly deprecate trading operations on the part of the Industrial Branch of the L.M.S. which teach no new art, and are carried on solely for gain.

\(^{47}\) L.M.S. Board Minutes, 4 Oct. 1898.
\(^{48}\) AP, Abel to Thompson, 19 Feb. 1899.
\(^{49}\) PL, Abel to Thompson, 25 June 1901.
\(^{50}\) PL, Hunt to Thompson, 23 March 1901.
\(^{51}\) L.M.S. Board Minutes, 29 July 1902.
\(^{52}\) LP, Thompson to Abel, 31 Jan. 1902.
Lawes' influence is clear: such activities were bad both for the teachers and the converts. The Directors agreed.

Lawes noted that Walker, Abel and Rich did not agree with the N.G.D.C.'s view of trading. And he was right. He might in fact have added Holmes to the list.

Abel in particular wanted to trade. He had long held most white traders in low esteem and had fought vehemently to protect the interests of Papuans in legal cases in Milne Bay. He expressed disappointment at the Directors' resolution. He agreed that there was conflict with the traders and that there had been some opposition in Samarai to his sale of boats; but he accused the Directors of trying to avoid collision and competition with the whites. Abel announced that he would 'sweep the Bay clear of these blackguards in three years' if he was not hindered by the Directors. He felt confident that the building he had done for Europeans in Milne Bay, including Burns Philp and Whitten Bros. meant they 'could hardly take up the position that they objected to missionary industrial operations'. How, he wanted to know, could the Board acquiesce in his sale of boats but oppose the sale of copra? Copra making did involve the teaching of a skill. Thus the breakaway of Kwato became a distinct possibility as early as 1902 when Abel declared:

I must not further risk the success of my endeavours by blind acquiescence in a policy which I cannot understand.

This attitude of Abel's strengthened over the years and his overt opposition to traders and justification for competing with them in boat building and plantations remained a firm aspect of his policy until his death in 1930. As he once put it:

the Papuan was here first & he is working in his own country. The white mechanic can go across to Australia & get his living, whereas the

53 N.G.D.C. Minutes, 1902.
54 PL, Abel to Thompson, 18 Oct. 1902.
55 PL, Abel to Thompson, 7 Feb. 1903.
56 Abel, Paper read before the Southern Committee.
57 PL, Abel to Thompson, 18 Oct. 1902.
However, the trading question continued to torment the Directors and a number of missionaries until the war.

In 1904 the Board experienced something of a change of heart. While reiterating that it did not regard copra trading as legitimate and continued to disapprove of trading 'pure and simple, however advantageous such trade might, in special cases, be to the natives, or however desirable it may seem under special circumstances to protect the natives from unscrupulous traders', the Board recognized:

that the sale of the products of industrial work done at a Mission station, or of surplus produce raised on a Mission station, or of contributions made by the people is perfectly legitimate and necessary, and that profit accruing from such sources may very properly be taken by the Mission and applied either to the enlargement of the work or the support of the workers ... They [the Directors] heartily approve of the development of industrial work as a missionary agency, and with the idea that when the industrial training is completed those who have been trained shall go forth to earn their own living as independent members of the community. 59

This resolution was made subsequent to a visit to London by Walker which led to the formation of Papuan Industries, and following the presentation of Abel's persuasive paper, 'The Aim and Scope of an Industrial Branch to the New Guinea Mission'. The Directors were greatly influenced by these two forceful men.

However the dispute in the N.G.D.C. flared again in 1904. The discovery that Abel had ordered machinery for a sawmill without reference to the Committee caused dissension. At the same time the Angas Bequest brought £10,000 to the Mission and arguments concerning its distribution added to an already tense situation. The money was to have been for evangelistic, educational and industrial work, but there was disagreement over the proportions to be devoted to each; it

58 PL, Abel to Hawkins, 20 March 1915.
59 L.M.S. Board Minutes, 29 March 1904.
was finally decided that equal proportions would be expended on each aspect of the work. In fact the greatest proportion was spent on industrial work over a period of some years—£10,000 out of a total of £12,000 (capital + interest) spent to 1917.60

The purchase of the sawmill and the expenditure by Abel of an earlier donation by Angas caused a storm, with the N.G.D.C. demanding to know where its powers lay in relation to mission expenditure.61 Abel received a mild but firm admonition from the Board over his actions. But his colleagues must have been chagrined by what amounted to a vote of confidence by Thompson and the Board in Abel's work. The Foreign Secretary wrote to Lawes:

I have often felt that the members of your Committee were scarcely fair to Mr Abel in the way in which they manifested their evident lack of sympathy with his special methods of carrying on Mission work. In such a Mission as yours [sic] especially, it seems very desirable that there should be room for men of very different methods, and I for one look with very great interest and hopefulness upon the idea of an Industrial Settlement of young people such as Mr Abel seems to me to be trying to develop ...62

However much the Board may have displayed breadth of vision and understanding, they failed to resolve the conflict concerning the respective rights and powers of the individual missionary and the District Committee. Still, satisfied with the statement regarding control over funds, others now began to suggest plans for the expenditure of the Angas money and the control of industrial work.

The N.G.D.C. then accepted Butcher's suggestion that all industrial work should be carried out under the control of an industrial sub-committee, and Abel agreed to incorporate the Angas Industrial Mission into the general Scheme.63 The

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60 L.M.S. Board Minutes, 11 Dec. 1917.
61 N.G.D.C. Minutes, March 1904; Lawes to Thompson, 22 March 1904.
62 LP, Thompson to Lawes, 1 July 1904.
63 N.G.D.C. Minutes, March 1905.
N.G.D.C. went on to request the appointment of a lay missionary to teach plumbing, carpentry, etc. The Directors approved but added, clearly as a warning to Abel, that no industrial mission or work should be started without the approval of the District Committee.64 The 1906 annual meeting of the New Guinea District Committee appointed Abel, Holmes and Lawrence to an industrial sub-committee. But Abel was having second thoughts about the decisions of the previous year. He now wanted London to put off 'for a couple of years' the amalgamation of the industrial work of all the head stations. Fearing that it would be an easy thing to bring the industrial work to ruin he now sought a free hand and time to demonstrate his ideas. He even went so far as to talk of the possibility of amalgamating with P.I. rather than hand over to the less than sympathetic District Committee.65

Matters moved slowly. And Abel's belief in the need for plantation activities strengthened. The 1906 Royal Commission in Papua, he claimed gloomily, called for the economic exploitation of the country, and Abel feared for the welfare of the villagers.66 But the P.D.C. was able to report no advance on the industrial question; the sub-committee had been unable to meet owing to Holmes' absence in Australia.

In 1908 a representative of the Board, Rev. A.N. Johnson, visited Papua to enquire into mission activities including the industrial issue. He failed to come to grips with the central problem, and managed only minor recommendations to the effect that profits from industrial missions should be applied to the upkeep of mission stations and to general mission purposes. Further than this, however, Johnson made only a half-hearted warning:

> the matter is full of difficulty, and at present we seem to be following the dangerous policy of drifting.

Johnson failed to make any proposals that might halt the drift. He did add that the missionaries in Papua felt that the instructions of the Board regarding industrial work were 'either impossible or wanting in clearness', and noted that

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64 L.M.S. Board Minutes, 28 Nov. 1905.
65 PL, Abel to Thompson, 13 June 1906.
66 PL, Abel to Thompson, 27 July 1907.
the whole question needed careful reconsideration and wise
decision.\textsuperscript{67} It never really came. The Directors continued
to make half-hearted rulings which satisfied neither side in
the dispute. As Abel, secretary of the industrial sub-
committee, explained:

So far as we can find the Directors have never
given the District Committee their views on the
points raised with sufficient definiteness to
enable us to formulate a plan of Industrial work
with the certainty that we were carrying out the
instructions received from headquarters. As a
sub-Committee we are unanimous in recommending
the Directors to take up the Industrial Branch
as an integral part of their work, and we know
this is the view held by the District Committee.
But up to the present, in the Directors' resolutions we find that, while giving their
consent to the general idea of an industrial
mission within our Mission, they are opposed to
whatever interpretation underlies the term
'trading concern' and to any operations which
brings [sic] this branch into 'competition with
traders'. We were therefore obliged to adjourn
our meeting till Decr. next in the hope that in
the meantime we shall have a clear expression of
the Directors' views on the questions raised in
this letter.\textsuperscript{68}

In the meantime Abel sought to develop his own work further.
He wanted some of his married converts to establish model
villages and work plantations. He sought the permission of
the Directors to raise a loan to finance the project, but
did so before raising the matter with the P.D.C. This was
another step in the termination of Abel's membership of the
L.M.S.\textsuperscript{69}

In 1909 the P.D.C. decided that further grants from the
industrial fund would cease until all the questions relating to
the establishment of the industrial branch of the Mission

\textsuperscript{67}Report by Rev. A.N. Johnson, Deputation to New Guinea
\textsuperscript{68} Abel to P.D.C. members, 27 March 1907.
\textsuperscript{69} Abel to Thompson, 4 Sept. 1907.
had been satisfactorily settled.70 Furthermore, an important distinction was made between industrial branches and technical schools. The committee, including Abel, now insisted that the idea of a technical school which taught students a trade, after which they would go off to earn themselves a living, would not work. Europeans would merely exploit Papuan tradesmen71 while in the villages there was no demand for their labour. The incidents leading up to the separation of Kwato from the rest of the Society gained rapid momentum in 1909. They can be summed up quickly for they relate specifically to plantations which are not included in this paper, although they were the concern of the industrial sub-committee and a similar body established that year by the Board.

The debate became increasingly heated and personal differences widened. Abel, convinced that his only hope of success lay in convincing the Directors of the worth of his proposals, continued to by-pass the local controlling body and this intensified feelings in Papua. Abel's desire to enter into a business relationship with two European owners of considerable plantation holdings in Milne Bay aroused strong opposition. These Enesi Plantations would provide the basis of his Industrial Settlement scheme enabling him to place Kwato-educated people on the land but away from the influence of the village. He required large sums of money to enable him to implement the plan. The specific dispute in relation to the Enesi holdings lasted for nine years, from 1909 to 1918. Abel was in fact permitted to develop the plantations but had to sever his business connection with the original owners of the land. However, no one was happy about letting the development take place. Apart from the personal jealousies involved, the old fear of trading persisted, missionaries resented the disproportionate expenditure of Kwato, and prophetic fears concerning the disintegration of the Mission were voiced.

The 1915 Deputation of the Board decided to limit the size of future plantations and warned Abel that when his Enesi plantations came into bearing he could expect to have to sell them 'to make sure of the large capital sum involved'.72 On this issue Abel went to England to plead his case before the Directors, and so the Kwato Extension Association was

70 P.D.C. Minutes, 1909.
71 Abel, Paper read before Southern Committee.
born in 1918. Abel would not give up any aspect of his industrial work, and he wanted differential treatment for his head station which the Directors would not approve.

During these years, as the P.D.C.'s attitude to Abel's rebellion hardened, it nonetheless liberalized its thinking about industrial work generally, principally as an outcome of attempting to compromise with Charles Abel.

The industrial sub-committee had done little, but in 1913 the P.D.C. continued to hope for a solution to its problems through such a body. Now the P.D.C. argued that a separate Industrial Department should be established under its control. A sub-committee of four should continue to be the Industrial Department; Abel, Dauncey and Schleckner were nominated with the Chairman of the P.D.C. (ex-officio) a member. All extensions of the industrial work would have to be sanctioned by the sub-committee and confirmed by the P.D.C. which would also have to approve grants 'and so advantage would be taken of past experience and continual experiments avoided'.

The appointment of the most vocal and active proponent of industrial work to the committee was a natural and necessary one; the fact that his colleagues were such lukewarm supporters of industrial work suggests an attempt to keep Abel's enthusiasm in check. Once again, however, the sub-committee failed to meet 'owing to the failure of the coastal service', and probably owing also to Abel's unwillingness to attend meetings where he would be bound by the decisions of such a body.

The 1915 Deputation was critical of the industrial activities of the Papuan Mission. They said some kind things about some of the missionaries involved in industrial work, including Rich and Abel, but showed more concern for the religious side of the work. Indeed they regretted the low number of students being sent to Vatorata by the individual stations. They thought that one of the chief reasons for the paucity of numbers was:

the somewhat insidious tendency, increased by the industrial operations of some of our stations, to keep the most capable boys on the plea that they can do better work for Christ in practical every-

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73 P.D.C. Minutes, 1913.
They distinguished between teaching an industry and organizing it on a large scale and opposed suggestions that a Commercial Department be organized in Papua under an Industrial Superintendent. They were also against appointing industrial managers for individual stations. As a result the Board restricted the size of plantations, and instructed Abel to close down his sawmill. The Board did encourage smaller scale industrial operations in Papua 'whenever they can be carried through with local resources and without crushing the intellectual side of the Boarding Schools into the background'. At the same time, Lenwood, the Foreign Secretary, believed there was a need to produce boys 'fitted to take commercial positions in the settlements or in the plantations'. A proposed new high school at Vatorata would teach a combination of literary and industrial subjects, 'understanding industrial in a sense of training in hand and eye work rather than for any immediate commercial profit to the Mission'.

The attitude of the Directors caused a great deal of unhappiness in a number of members of the Papuan Mission. Holmes resigned, and if his resignation was not prompted by this issue alone, it was nevertheless probably the last straw. He was in fact to remain another two years before leaving Papua. The entire issue threw the Papuan Mission into a turmoil which subsided only after the Kwato breakaway was complete.

The bitterness within the L.M.S. over the breakaway can be well imagined. Elsewhere reactions were mixed. Sir Hubert Murray expressed the sympathy of the Papuan Government for the Kwato Association. But the Papuan Courier, in a vitriolic article which must have reflected the thinking of much of the white community, condemned the whole business.

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75 Ibid., p.220.
76 Ibid., p.228.
77 Ibid., p.230.
78 Ibid., p.233.
79 Ibid., p.240.
80 NAPNG, Lenwood to Atlee Hunt, 27 Apr. 1916, G71-19.
81 PL, Holmes to Lenwood, 14 Nov. 1916.
The writer spoke sneeringly of Abel, 'one of the boss magic men of Papua', carrying on successful commercial activities with the aid of 'cheap nigger labour'. Self interest is apparent in the accusation that Kwato was responsible for exploitation under the guise of Christianity in its printing activities, or else was being run as a benevolent institution for cheap printing 'for certain business firms in Samarai'. Religious enterprise was always repugnant, said the writer, who went on to call for a government enquiry 'as a precaution against the exploitation of their brown wards'. Words such as these would be disturbing to the L.M.S. But Abel had long been accustomed to such attacks from Papua's trading interests.

After 1919 the industrial question ceased to dominate P.D.C. thinking. Two of the chief participants in the debate, Holmes and Abel, had gone. Rich soon lost any reason he might have had to complain as the Government lent support to his efforts. The others were permitted to continue with their limited industrial activities. It had taken over two decades for the L.M.S. to arrive at an acceptable policy.

From the early 1920s there were fewer squabbles over the use of funds and fewer objections to industrial work and technical education: the government grants saw to that.

**Summing up**

Apart from the specific issues involved, the causes of the conflict in the Papuan branch of the L.M.S. were largely managerial. In Papua there was lack of leadership; the formal structure of the organization was such that no one really had any authority and with a Mission made up of so many divergent and individualistic personalities problems were certain to arise.

The administrative structure of the L.M.S. was based on Congregationalist principles. They believed in a decentralized system without a hierarchical bureaucracy such as characterized some other Christian denominations. Overall, in the Mission in Papua, the result may have been advantageous. In the short and medium term, however, problems resulted.

Lawes, the grand old man of the Mission, had only limited

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82 *Papuan Courier*, 8 Aug. 1919.
powers and had to rely on his personal influence to direct the activities of the P.D.C. As he was the oldest member of the Papuan Society and had a background of experience in the South Seas, one wonders whether his opposition to industrial work was motivated largely or increased by the apparent undermining of his authority by young radicals, Abel and Walker in particular.

For leadership then, the Papuan men had to look to London where, however, it was not to be found. It could hardly be otherwise. The huge distance between London and Port Moresby (and between Port Moresby and any other station in Papua) caused such acute communication problems that it became a very simple matter for missionaries to act independently in the knowledge that rebukes must necessarily be a long time in coming, by which time acts had become irrevocable. The Directors were reluctant to use the powers they had. In fact they repeatedly permitted individuals to negotiate privately with them, thereby opening the way for unhappiness and the constant expression of recriminations which had an adverse effect in the field. The Directors were influenced more by personalities than by issues.

Lack of financial controls, either in Papua or in England, also caused problems. Again, this permitted independent and uncontrolled action by individuals. It led also to accusations of financial malpractice within the Papuan wing of the Society.

In Papua the result was conflict and administrative decisions determined by the strength of the personalities involved. Issues were discussed in committee. But real sanctions to prevent unilateral action were missing. So when Abel intimated, in the face of opposition from the P.D.C. and the Directors, that his technical school should be for his people, he won. If he, or others, did not want to send students to the L.M.S. Training Institution they did not do so. The L.M.S. was insufficiently bureaucratic to be able to ensure co-operation.

On the other hand, the expression of individualism did lead to the considerable development in technical education which took place within the Mission. It allowed the 'empire builders' like Abel to experiment, waste money, disregard their failures, ignore opposition and do something different which they themselves considered worthwhile. This caused debate. The debate gave people the opportunity to outline
their own activities. This in turn encouraged other missionaries, less original and less committed to technical education, to undertake similar work. The outcome was a proliferation of small-scale technical training schemes along the entire length of the southern Papuan coastline. It also led to errors as over-zealous men sometimes rushed into undertakings without considering their full ramifications.

Successes were considerable, but were limited by the fears evoked over the trading question. Some traders were in Papua to take as much as possible as quickly as possible, and in the process they would 'develop' the country. Interference with profit-making by the missions sent the business lobby rushing off to seek government protection. If the Murray Government was loathe to provide the protection sought, it was also unprepared openly to support mission competition with the free enterprise on which a penurious administration had to rely. Further, a middle class mission relying on businessmen's contributions to maintain evangelistic activities would think twice about undertaking activities which might cause a reduction in the contributions.

The L.M.S. was never rich. Hence it was necessary to insist (generally without success) on self-supporting head stations. The danger here was that the educational element in technical training would be placed second to moneymaking. This did, on the other hand, pave the way for men of originality and some business acumen to organize worthwhile industries. In fact the need for self-support was a major influence in the development of trade teaching. It led to an emphasis on industrial work as distinct from technical education.

An over-riding motivator sprang from European beliefs about the Papuan. He was heathen; industrial work would help bring him to Christianity. His ways were wicked and filthy and must be destroyed. He was unintelligent compared with Europeans, so it was necessary to find activities with which he could cope. He was lazy so he had to learn to work. He was at the mercy of exploiters; he had to learn to cope with a world of modern technology, develop new skills, and so protect himself. He was a child who was 'born and bred, grows grey-headed and dies in the kindergarten';\(^{83}\) he must be taught adult skills. In short, a major justification of

\(^{83}\)Mailu Report, 1915.
technical work emerged from most missionaries' low regard for the villager.

Many of the missionaries of the L.M.S. and Methodist Missionary Society were concerned that Christianity should serve the whole man; it should serve his physical as well as his spiritual needs. So religious doctrine became inextricably interwoven with a policy of helping the people through industrial work and commerce. Middle class missionaries with middle class/commercial values sought to integrate social, economic and spiritual development.

The previous occupations of most of the missionaries were outlined in 1905 by Lawes:

Abel - no trade or profession. 84
Rich - shoemaker.
Saville - draper's assistant.
Pearse - printer.
Lawes - draper's assistant.
Schleckner - hardware warehouseman.
Turner - student.
Dauncey - reporter.
Pryce-Jones - chemist.
Holmes - decorative painter.
Riley - office worker.
Butcher - unknown. 85

All were good lower middle class positions and it follows that people with such backgrounds would be more sympathetic to the need for manual training. Significantly, those not connected with manual trades included those least concerned with manual education - Lawes, Turner, Dauncey, Pryce-Jones and Riley. Beharell was an exception.

The L.M.S. in Papua was willing to innovate. This is most clearly shown in the amount of technical education carried out. There was a demand among Papuans for technical training. It had been the carrot which drew students to Kwato in the early days and also to Urika, while Saville maintained at the end that it had kept his station going. And the Mission was sufficiently flexible to accommodate

84 He was in fact a student but had worked as a trader in New Zealand.
85 PL, Lawes to Thompson, 13 April 1905.
the demand. Unfortunately the Mission and the people were victims of the colonialist/capitalist dilemma — work was often not available for those who completed their training; where work did exist it frequently went hand in hand with exploitation.
Chapter 4

The Sacred Heart Mission

Though doctrinally very distant from one another, the L.M.S. and Sacred Heart Mission shared a number of similarities in their justification of education and especially technical training. The most significant attitude they shared was an abhorrence of most things Papuan. This attitude does not appear to have liberalized until the 1930s when F.E. Williams made such an impact on the expatriate view of Papuan culture. Meanwhile, it was believed that education, and the Christian teachings it made possible, would save a degraded race of people.

The Congregation of Missionaries of the Sacred Heart began work in Papua in 1885 when Fr. Henry Verjus landed on Yule Island to start the Mission. The southern coast of Papua had become the preserve of the L.M.S. and the Sacred Heart Mission moved inland from its headquarters on the coast and developed a mission district encompassing a large area in the Papuan highlands. This area remained the main Catholic mission district after the Protestant denominations agreed on the spheres of influence policy, although the policy was never accepted by the Catholic Mission.

Like the L.M.S., the Sacred Heart Mission, by necessity, pursued an elitist concept of education. Village schools sent 'the best gifted children, intellectually and morally' to three Regional Schools, one of which was in Port Moresby. Children were admitted to these schools by the parish priest at from six to twelve years of age, under a contract by which parents agreed to leave them there at least until the end of their fourteenth year and for a minimum of four years. At least from 1923 the children were taught exclusively in English and, as at Kwato, use of vernaculars was prohibited among them.

It is clear that they were to be kept right away from village life: they could not leave their quarters without
Sacred Heart Mission District
permission, and, except occasionally, could be visited by their parents only on Sundays. They were to be sheltered from an early age from the pagan life of the village. As Bishop de Boismenu explained:

The best way to protect them (against bad influences which prevent Christian life from blooming) is in the orphanages and parish schools where the children who have been taken away in their early childhood from the pagan environment, are brought up in an atmosphere of intense Christian Life ... ¹

Papuan children were regarded as 'little savages' without the least notion of obedience and discipline and it was thought that the only way to change their unwholesome lives was to separate them from the *kanaka* village ('village canaque'). But the going would be difficult. Like the L.M.S. pastors, the priests found that parents resisted 'almost to the point of folly' efforts to attract children to the schools. Papuans were 'indifferent and frivolous' and not responsive to moral exhortations. The task then was to civilize 'small savages', train people who lived at a lower level than beasts, reform the criminal leaning of the people, ² and lead a lazy child-race along the road to maturity and hard work. ³ The change to be wrought on Papuan life was to be far-reaching:

Let us replace all that is bad, directly or indirectly in the Papuan life with habits proper to Christian civilization; consequently, let us transform this life in the innermost part of its being (Dupeyrat 1936:422).

¹ de Boismenu, A., quoted in Dupeyrat 1936:426.
Papuan songs should be suppressed. They were morally repugnant, and even where they were not terribly bad nonetheless nourished the old tribal mentality. One of the missionaries, Fr. Dupeyrat, felt they should be replaced by 'Christian' songs which should, however, be those that sounded more like the indigenous ones. He saw also a 'criminal leaning' manifest itself in Papuan ornaments and regarded the painting of bodies as bad.4

The schools would be small families designed to create new but simple needs in the students and to develop new habits. Even those students who did not remain long at school would go back to the village armed for 'le bon combat'. The pupils of these ideal homes - the schools and orphanages - would be encouraged, as they grew up, to marry among themselves and to raise Christian families which would be an example to the villagers. Because they were educated and had lived for many years in a religious environment, they would become properly civilized, not from the outside, which would only produce proud super-negroes (surnegres) excluded from their social background; their entire natures should be affected (Dupeyrat 1936:423).

This desire to separate students from the village helps to explain the technical training that took place in the Mission. If Papuans who had been 'properly civilized' by the Mission were to avoid the old ways they would have to live in communities where different standards were observed; for instance their houses would have to be superior. Technical skills would facilitate the development of new, improved, Christian communities. This attitude was similar to that expressed by Charles Abel in his blue-print for the establishment of 'Christian Settlements'. And, like Abel, the Sacred Heart missionaries were leaders in the training of highly efficient Papuan tradesmen.

It was always the aim of the Mission to produce tradesmen who would be of use to the Mission. As this need was satisfied more encouragement was given to trainees to develop skills which would enable them to satisfy their desires to earn money by working outside the Mission. They would also

4 Ibid., p.423. For the attitude of one M.S.C. priest in the Gilbert Islands regarding the evils of dancing see Fr Dupey, M.S.C., 'Maiana: An Island Mission in the Gilbert Islands', Annals, vol.24, no.8.
be useful to the Church by spreading Catholic influence in a country where large areas were closed to the Sacred Heart evangelists. As Bishop de Boismenu once explained:

Our vocational schools will chiefly be powerful centres of Christian influence and of Catholic expansion in a country where the politics of spheres of influence closes so many districts to us (Dupeyrat 1936:432).

As early as 1887 the Superior of the Mission, L.A. Navarre, had expressed a need for industrial training of Papuans:

Civilization [of the Papuan] consists in social and industrial training ...
Industrial training consists in giving savages, who are generally indolent and lazy, habits of labour proportioned to their strength and to the exigencies of the climate, especially agricultural labour so favourable to the establishment of homes, to morality, and even to health, and which would be the source of a well-being with which they are at present unacquainted - labour which I may say is so necessary to the prosperity of this Colony. For in the climate of New Guinea it is very difficult for the white race to work in the sun either for the cultivation of the soil, the exploitation of the forests or even of the mines which may be found hereafter. The native when broken-in to work will be the necessary aid of the white man who will bring to him the benefits of our civilization ...

For the present, industrial activities would be of a simple kind and the Papuan would be a helper only. Nevertheless, it was apparent that practical education would be an important part of the Mission's activities in Papua for, as Navarre explained:

Our objects are ... the conversion and civilisation of savages. The former regards their external destiny, the latter is concerned with their temporal well-being.5

5Navarre to Douglas (H.M. Special Commissioner for British New Guinea), 5 May 1887, in BNGAR, 1887, p.25.
Elementary agricultural work started almost immediately for the Mission sought as soon as possible to become self-sufficient but for a time non-agricultural activities were confined to the teaching of simple handicrafts which had commenced by 1893. For a number of years technical schools, as such, were not established. As with all the other missions young men were trained as tradesmen, but the training took place on the job, the aim being to satisfy mission needs rather than those of the students themselves. In 1912 the term 'Apprentices' appeared for the first time in mission statistics. Now an apprenticeship scheme was recognized as part of the schooling system. Results, however, were poor (Dupeyrat 1936:426).

Staff losses as the result of World War I, when a number of the French missionaries returned home, awoke the Mission to the need to take more seriously the training of Papuans, for there was no sign of an early increase in the numbers of European priests and brothers. De Boismenu (who had become Bishop on Navarre's retirement in 1908) outlined the need to train indigenous helpers:

Have no illusion; there are no valid reasons for doubt; the fact is clear: for us whitemen alone, it is impossible to maintain the Mission, and still less to secure its future. Indigenous help has become a condition for living. It would thus prove to be foolishly blind to be contemptuous of this help, to distrust it, to be offended by it, to regard it as rivalry. It is no longer the time to discuss its merits, to use it as amateurs or to neglect it as imperfect; let us resolutely get rid of these prejudices. They have cost us too much exhaustion, they made so many precious lives shorter.6

So it was a number of years before the value of technical training to the students themselves was a major concern of the Mission. Technical education was expected to teach Papuans the dignity of labour and would enable them to develop skills which would lead to improved standards of living. But it was more important that trainees help to lighten the work load of the missionaries, for de Boismenu saw large numbers of his staff die or become seriously ill at a time when it was difficult to recruit replacements.

In other missions technical training was often encouraged by people who felt that it, rather than academic education, was something Papuans could cope with. One of de Boismenu's problems, however, was to overcome the feeling among his staff that Papuans were incapable of developing the required skills; or if they were capable, their pride in their newly-acquired skills made them unbearable. This was a common attitude among Europeans at the time; the Papuan who showed that he was proud of his skills, who had concluded that he was not quite the inferior being he had been brought up to believe, was scorned - to use today's idiom - as a 'big head'.

The Bishop exhorted the mission staff to overcome these prejudices and to apply themselves to the difficult job of training the Papuans to carry out the onerous tasks which hitherto had fallen to themselves:

So set your intelligence to care for this training (of an auxiliary staff) to push it as far as possible. Put your heart into it. This task has its difficulties. Which task hasn't any? It demands a clear intelligence to which obstacles don't hide the aim being pursued. It demands a methodical effort, a constant firmness which nothing puts off. It still demands discrimination, a lot of discrimination to distinguish the blooming talents and cultivate them, without ever bruising them; to leave a good margin for initiative, even to the bold ones, to be generously confident and willing. ...

Fastidiousness of the educator, whose supreme ambition is to see that his student comes up to his level, surpasses him and so can replace him.7

7 Ibid., p.428.
There was still little suggestion that the training was designed primarily to assist the students directly. However, this statement reveals an optimism in the capacity of Papuans not often expressed by the Sacred Heart missionaries, most of whom shared the demeaning view of Papuans held by the vast majority of whites. In 1919 Fr Van Goethem (who arrived in 1902) organized an arts and crafts section at St Patrick's School on Yule Island. Older children continued their ordinary classes in the mornings and were apprenticed to follow a trade of their choosing in the afternoons. Girls were trained by the sisters in domestic duties, sewing and cooking. Meanwhile, some training continued on the inland stations.

On leaving school students wishing to take a job in the Mission committed themselves in writing to stay for two years as catechists or apprentices. The priest in charge was given £1 per student to hand out as he pleased in the course of the year. The trainees were fed and clothed and smokers received a stick of tobacco and a box of matches each week. They were expected to avoid too much contact with the indigenous environment because of the danger of returning to the life of the village. During these years work continued to be hampered by a lack of professionally qualified teachers. Both training and production were affected since the trainees were reported to be neither sufficiently strong nor skilled to carry on the work.

Around 1920 there developed in the Mission a greater appreciation of the need to train Papuan craftsmen not merely for the sake of satisfying the needs of the Mission, but more for the sakes of the students themselves, who would be enabled to take paid jobs in Papua. In his five-yearly Report to Rome for the period 1915 to 1920 de Boismenu wrote:

The need for superior indigenous schools is urgent. The time has come to provide indigenous schools with superior education. As much to prepare better instructed aides for Apostolates as to open to our Christians the access to jobs which are offered to them in plenty by the Government tradesmen and planters, it is necessary to create some special schools which

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8 YA, de Boismenu, A., Catechist Students and Apprentices, 4 Oct. 1919.
would prepare them for those occupations (Dupeyrat 1936:429).

But the problem remained of attracting more trained teaching brothers from Europe.

The prospect of government subsidies brought from the Mission an undertaking that it would be prepared to establish a boarding school at Veipa in the Mekeo district, the pupils of which would be provided with technical instruction 'either at Yule Island, or at the Mission's sawmills, or elsewhere'. The Bishop had hoped to equip several technical schools but because of the lack of staff decided to concentrate on one school only which would be better equipped and provided with qualified teachers. However, the work already being done on the island stations would continue without the expectation of government assistance. De Boismenu felt that young students should, during their early schooling, be initiated 'little by little' in craft work, so that later on they would be able to go on to technical education at a more advanced level. In the mornings boys did their 'academic' studies and in the afternoons their trade work. They could choose from carpentry, plumbing and tinsmithing, blacksmithing, motor engineering, baking, printing and book binding.

Senior children who had completed their primary education were to spend each day training in their trade. Boys were to have evening lessons on theoretical work such as mathematics, geometry and mechanics, and would occasionally be sent to various places to build and work under the supervision of a brother. It may be inferred from this that the theoretical aspects of the training were relegated to a lowly position. Evenings could hardly be regarded as the students' most productive period. Nevertheless, attempts were being made to provide a theoretical foundation for the training.

A strict routine was imposed on the 20 or so apprentices at St Patrick's on Yule Island, as the following set of rules shows:

Boys who engages (sic) as APPRENTICES must:
1. Make up their mind to seriously set to LEARN A TRADE, and not to leave before they really know their trade.

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10 CAO, Murray to Minister, 29 Sept. 1921.
2. Keep exactly the WORK TIMES, viz.:
   Morning, from HALF PAST SEVEN to HALF PAST ELEVEN,
   Afternoon " TWO O'c to HALF PAST FIVE.
3. Come IN TIME and STRAIGHT from the School house
   to the shops and go back STRAIGHT after work to
   school house, without loafing and strolling about.
4. Do exactly the KIND OF WORK given to them, and
   do it in THE WAY they are told to do it.
5. RESPECT and OBEY the Brother in charge of them.
6. Never leave the work without his permission,
   even if they are called elsewhere by somebody
   else.
7. See to use their TOOLS with care, to keep them
   clean and to carefully store them away, when
   work is finished.
8. The Apprentices assist every week at a special
   class given to them in view of their trade.
9. The Econome gives them, each week, some money,
   not as a salary but as a PRESENT, more or less
   important, according to their application at
   the work and conduct.
10. The Mission gives them freely: Food, Clothes,
    Lodgings, Training and Instruction; if they
    want something else, they can buy it with their
    weekly monies, at cost price, from the store.

OUTSIDE WORK TIME:

Apprentices, being the eldest boys of St Patrick
School, must:
1. STAY at the School House and NEVER LEAVE it
   without PERMISSION of the DIRECTOR.
2. Follow the RULES of the School, and be, for
   their younger brothers, an EXAMPLE of respect,
   obedience and good conduct.¹¹

Notwithstanding the Dickensian flavour of this injunction,
the results were pleasing. Victor Green, when he inspected
the school, left de Boismenu with the impression that he
was generally satisfied with the work done by the apprentices.
The Bishop said that Green was particularly impressed with
a technical class which was taken twice a week by Bro.
MacIan. In the class MacIan taught elementary arithmetic,
measurement, the description and use of instruments such as
calliper-square, compass, etc., and copying and drawing of

¹¹ YA, de Boismenu, Rules for the Apprentices, 1 Jan. 1923.
simple plans.12 The last of these must have delighted Green for, as we have seen, he regarded the absence of drawing classes as a serious fault in the technical training in Papua.

A complaint made by one of the mission brothers in the early 1930s was that apprentices could be very trying 'not because they are stupid, but rather because they do not see the end aimed at'. Thus the carpentry instructor had to:

set his work out and teach the apprentices to do the same, giving them the rougher work to do, reserving the finer for himself, so that a job when completed will be neat, with a good finish.

Nevertheless, the work of the apprentices was advanced in that they had to work from plans which they themselves had drawn, without any active assistance from the instructor; his explanations were said to be sufficient.13

Turnbull's report in 1932 also was generally favourable. He thought that the workmanship and the finishing of the work presented to him for inspection was very high. He remarked particularly on two former pupils who were 'remarkable' blacksmiths, turners, fitters and tinsmiths. Both had received offers of outside employment. Turnbull was shown a list of about 50 former trainees who were, or had been, in outside employment, but many of them were now unemployed.14 Sixteen former apprentices had remained in the employ of the Mission (Dupeyrat 1936:432). His most serious complaint was that only nine students currently attended the school of whom a mere three were full Papuans. This prompted the Government to announce its intention of cutting back the subsidy the following year; as the Official Secretary, Leonard Murray, wrote:

The Government will be most reluctant to take any such course, but obviously the fund cannot afford the expenditure of anything like £1,000 a year on

12YA, de Boismenu, Ecoles Techniques et Inspection, Yule Island, 18 July 1924.
14CAO, Turnbull, Report on Primary Technical Schools.
three natives.\textsuperscript{15}

In reply the Mission was at pains to point out that in addition to the three students referred to by the Inspector, all of whom were carpenters, there were four Papuan black-smiths and a shoemaker. Furthermore, a number of apprentices were under the instructor's supervision. Nevertheless, they reluctantly conceded that student numbers were small, explaining that Papuan parents had been 'backward' in sending their children to boarding school. But they believed that things were improving. As well as the students at the technical school there were 117 primary students — at St Patrick's school (Yule Island) and St Joseph's (Inauaia) — following the course of instruction suggested by Green. In addition, elementary training continued on the inland stations where students learnt 'to turn out reasonably good work with the use of ordinary tools'.\textsuperscript{16} One such school was opened at Sideia Island in Milne Bay in 1933.

The following table taken from Dupeyrat's book, \textit{Papouassie}, shows the number of students receiving industrial training in 1933 and previous years. This table though lacks clarity for several reasons. First, Fane station, where there was some trade training, is not mentioned. Secondly, the figures for 1931 and 1933 bear no relation to the situation described by Turnbull in 1932. In addition, the numbers certainly include youths engaged in the Mission's agricultural program. Finally, the table possibly includes also a number of people actually employed rather than taught by the Mission.

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Yule Island & Port Moresby & Kouni & Mafoulou & Ononghe & Total \\
\hline
1912 & 2 & - & - & 1 & 1 & - & 4 \\
1915 & 12 & - & - & 2 & 1 & - & 15 \\
1918 & 21 & 10 & - & - & - & 2 & 33 \\
1921 & 11 & 10 & - & 2 & 4 & 12 & 39 \\
1924 & 20 & 22 & - & 6 & 15 & 20 & 83 \\
1928 & 26 & 31 & - & 2 & 7 & 8 & 74 \\
1931 & 30 & 22 & 4 & 7 & - & 1 & 64 \\
1933 & 21 & 31 & 19 & 4 & 7 & 10 & 92 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Number of students receiving industrial training in 1933.}
\end{table}

\textit{Source:} Dupeyrat 1936:433.

\textsuperscript{15}CAO, Murray, L. to Rev. Fr Chabot, 13 May 1932.

\textsuperscript{16}CAO, Chabot to Murray, L., 22 May 1932.
In 1938 Dupeyrat notified Murray of the work being done by the Mission in relation to Papuan arts and crafts, noting that 'it is less an instruction than an education we give on artistic matters'. General technical work consisted of use of tools, carpentry, cabinet work, drawing, painting, etc. In addition a study was made of 'the elementary principles of Art', and 'native arts' were insisted upon. The work included making Church furniture (tabernacles, altar steps, candle sticks) carved according to Papuan designs.

Work of the girls doing technical training consisted of:

- wooden tray carved and coloured in native designs;
- tea cloths, tray-cloths, table mats with native designs; embroidery of native designs on linen;
- lace made according to native fashion; wooden tray and mats with banana coloured fibre borders;
- hand bags worked with banana fibre; cane works;
- 'kiapa'.

Under supervision of Sisters: Church vestments (chasuble, stole, alb, etc.) with ornamentation according to native mind and designs.

Pupils not actually doing a technical training course included in their activities the interior decoration of churches according to local art traditions. Villagers also participated in the decoration of churches.

F.E. Williams' influence is unmistakable in the following statement of the Mission's motives:

we hope to educate and favor the native artistic mind wherever it is without imposing european [sic] ways but in letting these ways, ruled by centuries of universal experience, penetrate and guide native arts and crafts whose evolution will develop by itself according to its internal nature.17

By 1941 the activities of the Mission were many and varied. In addition to carpenters and blacksmiths there were shoemakers who, a brother said:

though they may not be able to make you a pair

17 NAPNG, Dupeyrat to Murray, undated, G69.
of shoes 'a la mode de Paris', ... could turn you out a good, strong pair of shoes 'a la mode missionaire'.

Printers and book-binders did some good work with poor equipment. But the boat builders were essentially helpers; their instructor 'was the real builder'. Girls, after they had completed their elementary education, could stay on at the Mission 'for a certain time' and learn sewing, embroidery, drawing, painting and carving. A number of them went to work for Europeans as domestics or shop assistants.

This account of the training carried out by the M.S.C. is unavoidably sketchy and general owing to the inaccessibility of the documents. However, several Papuans trained by the Mission threw some further light on the training at Yule Island.

Bishop Louis Vangeke (1904–) was the first Papuan Catholic priest. In 1970 he became the first indigenous Catholic Bishop in Papua New Guinea. His early education prior to World War I included a certain amount of technical training. Around 1911 he went to the Sacred Heart boarding school, on Yule Island, where he learnt the 3R's. His book-learning formally ended when he was about 14 and he then did a year of trade work along with a number of other students instructed by brothers of the Mission. Vangeke chose to do carpentry, and spent a year in the Mission carrying out building assignments on various stations, and then spent four years in the village before deciding to become a brother. Three Papuan brothers then worked under Brother Camillus and Brother Paul to build a convent at Kubuna; a large three-storey building which took a year to build. Their equipment included a water-power sawmill built by the brothers and which housed a circular saw.

Louis Vangeke was then invited to become a priest. He was sent to found a mission at Teropo in 1926 where he put his carpentering prowess to use by building, from bush

18 'The Natives of Papua', *Annals*, vol.52, no.6, June 1941, pp.169-70.
20 'The Natives of Papua', *Annals*, p.171.
materials, a chapel of essentially European design. His days as a carpenter ended the following year when he was sent to Madagascar to train to become a priest. When Vangeke was a child, about 100 of his peers did some technical training, which was considered to be 'useful for life'. Apart from carpentry, students could choose between plumbing, blacksmithing, tinsmithing, printing, shoemaking and engineering. Boat building did not commence until some years after. Training included work in elementary measuring and drawing although they did little in the way of model making; this came after Vangeke's time.

The Bishop feels that there was little change in village life and buildings as a result of technical training before World War II. Brothers had workshops in many places so there was some elementary training taking place in many villages. This led to some changes in housing styles after World War I but they were slight and few.

Athanasius Aoae was born in Veipa village in 1896. He was orphaned and taken in by the parish priest. After a couple of years in the village school he was sent to boarding school on Yule Island and was a primary school pupil for six years. In 1910 he was apprenticed to the Mission and for four years he and five others, including his brother, learnt a variety of trades - carpentry under Bro. Henry, blacksmithing under Bro. Phillip, plumbing or tinsmithing under Bro. Theodore. The students did not specialize but became Jacks of all trades. They did not attend classes but learnt all their skills on the job. Nevertheless, Aoae feels that they were well taught. The teachers were strict but helpful; the boys enjoyed school although boarding school life was a 'hard life'. In these early years there was no drawing done but they did learn to work from plans. They worked an 8-hour day and received 10/- a month for pocket money.

Although Aoae learnt a variety of skills he put some emphasis on engineering. Before World War I he spent much of his time working on the mission launches helping to maintain the engines. Initially the work was under the control of a French engineer but after he left Aoae took over completely the inter-station run on the launches. In 1914, after he had learnt 'all he could' Athanasius Aoae went to Port Moresby where he got a job with British New Guinea Trading Company.

22 Interviewed Bomana, 21 May 1972.
There he did a range of skilled jobs - tinsmithing, plumbing, etc. - before being given the job of driving the company's steam tractor between the Hector copper mine near the Laloki River, and Port Moresby. He was also responsible for the maintenance of the machine. The tractor was condemned in 1916 after its sparks started many grass fires. Aoae then drove a company lorry which he was also responsible for maintaining and repairing. He claims to have been the first Papuan to learn to drive a motor car. Subsequently he taught some Europeans how to drive when they imported motor cars. For several years, from 1921, he drove lorries for several employers, then in 1925 he was employed by the Government Secretary's Department to take a tractor down to an experimental rice plantation near Orokolo in the Gulf. At one stage he actually managed the plantation for a year.

In 1931 he went to the Government's agricultural station at Orange Bay where he remained until 1945. His last job with the Administration was as an Angau 'employee', following which he was engaged for short periods in a variety of positions in Port Moresby, doing carpentry and other skilled work as the need and the opportunity arose. He now lives at Bomana beside the Laloki River where he, his wife and daughters produce vegetables for their own consumption and for sale.

Aoae maintains that there was little change in the villages as the result of ex-technical students returning home. Those who went back to the village soon forgot the things they had learnt. Of his five colleagues in technical training in the early years one (his brother) became a teacher, although not of trade work, one was killed by villagers, one became a mission brother, one went to live in his village and only one other went to work in Port Moresby - as a carpenter.

In the years after Aoae left Yule Island a number of trained artisans from the Mission came to Moresby to work. However, they would not, he said, stick at their jobs. But he insists that the Sacred Heart trained tradesmen were clearly superior to those from other missions.

In 1927 J.H.P. Murray said of Aoae:

Athanasius ... is exceptionally intelligent, and can keep his monthly journal and other necessary records in English. He has also some skill in
engineering, and can use and keep in repair a motor car and a Fordson tractor and plough.\(^{23}\)

Michael Beni, aged 53\(^{24}\) was born in the Kairuku sub-district at Geabada village. He is of Papuan and Indian ancestry. He started school in 1927 and after five years of elementary schooling at the boarding school on Yule Island went on to the technical school. He chose to do carpentry, as did most of the 17 or so technical students in the Mission at the time. Beni remained at the technical school for four years. He says that there was no fixed time for attendance at the school and students could stay for as long as they liked. The training took the form of on-the-job training, in the main, as distinct from formal classroom work. They had no machines to speak of, and their work was based on the use of 'elbow grease'.

Training seems to have been of a very practical kind although students did work from plans. Beni does not recall that there was a great deal of teaching connected with the plans. They could read them, he said, because it was one of the skills that arose from their elementary schooling; they did not learn to read plans in school, rather the knowledge derived from Mathematics, etc. enabled them to grasp quickly the fundamentals of plan-reading. Nor did they do very much trade drawing. This suggests that the Mission was not following the Green syllabus (in which drawing assumed an important place) as closely as they wanted government authorities to believe.

The students spent the bulk of their time making school furniture and church furniture. They were not concerned a great deal with house building but did a lot of maintenance work. All the items made went to the Mission and none appear to have found their way into the houses of the villagers. Nor did students make their own items of furniture after-hours as the workshops were closed up and students did not have access to tools. However, the students did some carving in their spare time.

In 1937 Beni left Yule Island and travelled to Port Moresby where he found work with B.N.G. Trading Company. He says there were very few Papuan carpenters in Port Moresby

\(^{23}\text{PAR, 1926/27, p.11.}\)

\(^{24}\text{At the time of the interview - Hohola, 20 May 1972.}\)
at that time. He was the only carpenter with the company, and had two Papuan assistants working for him. He started on a salary of £1 per month rising to £5 after about three years. He helped build the 'Bottom Pub' in Moresby, and the Port Moresby Freezer. In 1940 he returned to Yule. He took over the mission workshop for several years, worked as overseer of the wharf, spent three years working in the mission sawmill, and was occupied for most of the period to 1962 doing maintenance work at Yule Island and on the outstations. His starting salary was £4 a month. In 1962 Beni returned to Port Moresby where he has been ever since, working as a carpenter. When interviewed in 1972 he was a foreman with the Dillingham Corporation with five Papuans under his control.

The situation described by Beni is supported by a relative, Mick Taligatus, who attended the technical school several years earlier. Both men maintain that the technical training done by students of the Sacred Heart Mission had little effect on the villages of the area before the war. Many students went back to their villages instead of getting jobs but their skills did not result in changed house-building styles or 'improved' furnishings in the homes. The cost, they say, was prohibitive and students could buy neither the tools nor the materials needed to carry out such work.

Beni and Taligatus believe that they had a good education. The brothers were strict ('as they should be') but talented and helpful. Both are adamant that virtually all the good tradesmen in Port Moresby before and immediately after the war were Catholic (Yule Island trained) men. They disparaged the abilities of L.M.S. trained tradesmen.

The work done by the Sacred Heart Mission is the least known aspect of the development of trade training in pre-war Papua. The problems of documentation have been mentioned. In addition, they appear to have lacked a publicist like Abel and others in the L.M.S. and Methodist Mission; they kept more to themselves whereas there was constant interaction between the various Protestant missionaries; and, being 'foreigners' and so objects of suspicion, they probably interacted much less with Europeans generally. So less was said and written about their activities.

But there are signs that qualitatively their training

activities were superior. There seems little doubt that they were the first of the missions to recognize the importance of providing a theoretical base to their training. At a time when Abel, for instance, and the Methodist, Gilmour, were ridiculing the impractical nature of Green's proposals, the Catholics were already teaching theory. Reports both by Green and Turnbull support this view. What we do not know is whether the Mission went through a period of questioning and doubt about the place of trading in industrial activities. It is clear that their motives for teaching manual skills were very similar to those of the L.M.S. and Kwato. But for the first two decades of this century the L.M.S. tortured itself over the place of industrial work and, more especially, the place of trading. This acted as a severe brake on the work. It was also a major inhibiting factor in the work of the Methodists in the south-east.
Chapter 5

The Methodist Mission

In the Methodist Mission, as in the Catholic, there was no great struggle to have the need for technical training accepted in principle. When, in 1891, at the invitation of Sir William McGregor, the Wesleyans began work in British New Guinea, they were able to look to a tradition of industrial work in other colonies. Suggestions for agricultural and industrial education had been made in the Methodist Church as early as 1839 in The Gambia and government-supported industrial schools had been established by the Mission in Natal in the 1850s.

In the absence of any decrying of the need for such work in New Guinea, all that was required to start and maintain such a training scheme was the impetus of a determined advocate. Such a man was M.K. Gilmour. In fact, in the Methodist Mission, the development of manual training depended more on the influence of a single man than it had in any other mission. But in spite of the tradition of involvement which provided some impetus for development, industrial training was much less a feature of mission policy than in the Sacred Heart Mission and the L.M.S. It developed with little financial support from the Mission because of limited funds which had to be spread over a large district; this covered a small strip of coast on the southeastern extremity of the mainland and the widely scattered island groups in the Solomon Sea including the Trobriand, D'Entrecasteaux and Louisiade groups, and Woodlark Island.

A further, and major inhibiting factor arose from the hotly-debated trading issue. A grasping trading community, supported to a degree by an Administration anxious to maintain

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1 Findlay and Holdsworth 1921:133.

2 Ibid., vol.4, p.289.

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Fig. 4 Methodist Mission District
a semblance of credibility with its white subjects, caused the L.M.S. to behave very cautiously. Similarly, the Methodists shared the complications and constraints arising when a religious institution engaged in competition with secular businessmen.

As early as 1898 the Mission felt it necessary to insist that none of its workers was permitted to buy for the purpose of selling again at a profit, and to demonstrate the point, the following year three South Sea Island pastors were disciplined for trading and making copra. Some years later, when a mission teacher sought permission to sell timber, a Mission Superintendent of Education, G. R. Holland, refused for the reasons that it would interfere with teaching and more especially that:

The English supporters give us a reasonable sum. To seek more would mean to show our disapproval of their allocation and our dissatisfaction at their well-meant support.

Like the L.M.S. the Methodist Mission feared the disaffection of their middle class supporters overseas; it was accepted that the trading classes in Australia and England would tolerate no mission activities that would disadvantage traders in the islands. The Government took up the issue in 1903 and raised questions concerning the legality of producing and selling copra on mission lands, the relevance of this to other industrial activities and the attitudes of mission supporters. Bromilow, Chairman of the New Guinea Mission, queries the legal definition of 'Religious purposes' in a section of the 1899 Land Ordinance, which stipulated that land grants under Section xviii of the Ordinance could be made only to corporations having as their objects the establishment of Christian missions, and also for religious purposes. He insisted that Sir William MacGregor, under whose administration the relevant Act had been passed, had advised the Mission to establish coconut plantations.

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3 British New Guinea District Journal, 1891-1911, entry for 1898.
4 Panaeti Station and Circuit Minute Book, 1894-1911, Minutes of Quarterly Meeting, Feb. 1899.
5 Minutes of Teachers' Meetings, 2 March 1910.
6 Richmond, J. to Bromilow, 19 Nov. 1903, File of Methodist Mission correspondence with Government.
Accordingly, he felt that the Mission should be permitted to make and sell copra to help support its activities.  

Meanwhile the Government Surveyor, J. Richmond, disputed the right of the missions to produce copra; his interpretation of 'Religious purposes' made it illegal for Papuans attached to missions to participate in the production of copra on mission lands. His Excellency (Robinson) concurred with the view, said Richmond:

because apart from the point that to put the lands to such a purpose would be contrary to the intent and object with which the law was made, and contrary also to judicial decisions involving a point of law similar to that raised here, to permit such a thing might tend, speaking generally, to divert the main object of Christian Missions, and would obviously give them an unfair advantage over the lay community at present engaged in the Copra and other local industries [my emphasis].

In short, if the missions wanted to trade they would have to do so under the same conditions as lay people.  

What must really have caused concern to the supporters of technical education was the phrase 'and other local industries'. This might have meant the demise of several early schemes for industrial education already started. However, nothing more appears to have been written to suggest an extension of any prohibition beyond trading in copra. Bromilow, in 1905, used the existence of other profit-making activities in the Mission to support his case. He noted that mat making was an industry, and that it was accepted that mission girls could take in washing, sewing, etc. 'Surely', he argued, 'the boys and men can grow produce for sale?' He was equally concerned about the teaching of carpentry and house building.  

At first the Secretary of the Commonwealth Department of External Affairs, Atlee Hunt, was opposed to missions selling copra made from coconuts grown on mission lands. 

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7Bromilow to Richmond, 9 Aug. 1905, ibid.
8Richmond to Bromilow, 4 Nov. 1903.
9Bromilow to Hunt, 10 Aug. 1905, file of Methodist Mission Correspondence with Government.
10Bromilow to MacGregor, 17 Aug. 1905, ibid.
But he was not prepared to act on his objections and, while continuing to disapprove of proposed mission activities, he wrote to Bromilow:

I shall take no exception to the course you propose, my only concern is whether you may not risk the influence of the mission for a saving of a very few pounds per year rent of a coconut lease & as Mr. Deakin [the Prime Minister] says that is a question entirely for you.11

From a legal stand-point then, the missions could set their minds at rest on the question. However, they were as conscious of their reputations as Atlee Hunt suggested they ought to be and the problem remained.

Some years later, in 1916, the M.O.M. Board sought to defend itself with the resolution:

That this Board disapproves of purely commercial undertakings on the Mission Fields and declares that all industrial activities must be directly associated with the work of the Mission.12

This was also to result in the placing of restrictions on students' sale of the things they made as it was resolved (precisely when is not known) that a teacher desiring to sell any article must first obtain permission from his superintendent. Subsequently it was declared that this regulation applied also to technical students with articles to sell.13

Fears of accusations by traders about mission trading were realized as late as 1932 when one E.W. Harrison wrote a vitriolic letter of complaint to the Mission asserting that white traders were being injured by its commercial activities. Gilmour and others admitted to only a little selling.14 They denied that any member of the Methodist

11 Atlee Hunt to Bromilow, 28 Sept. 1905, ibid.
12 MOMB Minutes, 2 Feb. 1916; see also resolution arising out of Report of the Committee on Industrial Missions, MOMB Minutes, 7 Feb. 1917.
13 Book without cover or title, U.P.N.G.
14 MMDM, 1932, p.678; see also Guy to Burton, 30 March 1932, Bunama letter file, April 1924–Nov. 1932.
Mission had ever traded for personal profit in Papua (which was untrue although offenders had been harshly dealt with) or that trading was carried out to augment the funds of the Mission. They did, however, concede that students were expected to be self-supporting by selling goods or produce they had made; and Gilmour's justification of this was a non-placatory, 'It may savour of trading but is a necessity'.

Once again the problem spread beyond plantation work and an unfortunate outcome of these pressures was the Mission's decision in 1934 - prompted also by the Depression - that the Technical Department of the Central Training Institution should do no work for outside white people 'so as to avoid the criticism, which has been levelled at other Missions which are competing with the white tradespeople at present in the country, and who are feeling the effects of bad times'. This ruling was not lifted until 1937.

There can be little doubt that the controversy over trading had a stifling effect on the development of industrial and technical work in the Mission in Papua. But there was development.

The first record of practical work for boys dates from 1896 when Bromilow, at Dobu, was concerned that students should learn canoe repairing and house building, among other things, and generally be led into 'industrious habits'. However, in practice little thought was given to industrial work as staff concentrated on establishing the Mission. In 1906 the British New Guinea Synod of the Mission, while obviously sympathetic to the need for industrial work, noted that it would not submit to the Overseas Mission Board in Australia an industrial scheme as it would cost at least £600. Nevertheless, the same year the Reverend M.K. Gilmour (who had arrived in 1901) began 'a very amateurish informal' technical training scheme on Kiriwina in the Trobriand Islands.

15 Minutes of Special Synod of the Papua (B.N.G.) District, 28 April 1932.
16 Gilmour, M.K., Notes on Minutes of Special Synod, April 1932.
17 MMDM, 1934.
18 MMDM, 1937.
20 MMDM, 1906.
Gilmour selected students who had a special aptitude for technical work and organized them to work around the mission stations, building and doing repairs. His limited aim was 'to train them to be generally useful with tools, not perhaps to train them as carpenters pure and simple, as to train them to be handymen'. Further, he made the telling comment that 'we would not take the trouble to train them to be carpenters apart from their becoming teachers. The prospect of their being able to earn a livelihood in congenial circumstances is not inviting enough.' It is clear that the students did become handymen with a variety of skills. 'English' methods of building and working timber were learnt together with some boat repairing.\(^{21}\) In 1906 the Mission budgeted a considerable sum for the purchase of boats and equipment\(^ {22} \) and this doubtless prompted Gilmour to take up boat building.\(^ {23} \) Within a year his students had built a motor launch.\(^ {24} \)

In 1908 the Assistant Resident Magistrate of the South Eastern Division, R.L. Bellamy, praised Gilmour's work:

> the inculcation of habits of cleanliness and obedience, combined with schooling and instruction in some useful industrial branch, cannot but result in awakening to activity the dormant cerebral cells of the Trobriand natives.\(^ {25} \)

During these early years other handcraft work, of a minor nature, was taught on Ubuia Island, a small island of 360 acres in the D'Entrecasteaux Group. Here the Mission had established a plantation where, apart from the normal plantation activities, intermittent efforts were made to instruct school pupils and plantation workers in practical activities. Over the years work included mat making, rough carpentry for plantation labourers, boat repairs, sail making, recoppering, painting and rerigging. During 1908 Gilmour and his band of technical trainees transferred to Ubuia which became the site for the Mission's main educational establishment. But again a lack of time precluded Gilmour from providing more than a smattering of instruction, and

\(^{21}\) Gilmour 1907:16.

\(^{22}\) MMDM, 1906.

\(^{23}\) Gilmour 1907.

\(^{24}\) Industrial Missions, *The AMMR*, 4 May 1908, p.15.

\(^{25}\) *PAR*, 1907/08, p.82.
little more was achieved during the next decade or so. Furthermore, there was hardly a time when the Ubuia Industrial Mission, as it came to be known, was not struggling financially, and this, coupled with lack of managerial continuity, helped to ensure that little consistent trade training took place.

By 1908 the matter of industrial training became an issue amongst Methodist missionaries elsewhere. It was claimed, in an article in the *Australian Methodist Missionary Review*, that missionaries in Fiji were suffering because they had not faced adequately the question of Industrial Mission work and that 'something must be done in this direction if we are to render our best possible service to the people':

> New and better systems of agriculture, house and boat building, may be made the means of reducing Mission expenditure, but what is better still: it will afford many a young man the opportunity of living a better life because more independent, manly, and useful than is at present possible.

The writer further declared that Church members must be redeemed from 'a worklessness that is truly hurtful'.

The Methodist Overseas Mission Board was impressed by suggestions such as these and in 1909 recommended:

> That the Advisory Committee consider and report upon the advisability of submitting to the consideration of the Missionaries of New Britain, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, during the ensuing year, the question of the establishment of Industrial Mission Settlements, for the Natives, of a suitable character in those Districts.

Thought was to be given, also, to the need for District Technical Colleges but there is no evidence that a report on this proposal was ever made. The absence of further deliberations on this specific proposal was due largely to financial stringencies. In 1908 the Board had cut the Papuan

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26 'Industrial Missions', *The AMMR*.
28 Ibid., 4 Nov. 1909.
Synod's estimates by one third, a total of £2,200. In 1910 the total expenditure on education by the Methodist Mission was only £300, a figure which included expenditure on a variety of items which were not strictly educational.

Nevertheless, by 1910 it was realized that if missionaries were to provide trade training and other practical work they would have to be specially trained. So the following year saw the first call for training 'on special practical lines' of candidates for mission workers. Men should have an elementary knowledge of the care and management of boats and engines and of carpentry; lay sisters should possess some competence in domestic science, tropical cookery and needlework. It was hoped, especially, that any assistant manager recruited for Ubuia would have an interest in and knowledge of handicrafts.

In 1915 the Methodist Overseas Mission Board established a committee 'to investigate the whole question of industrial missions in relation to our own Society and report to the Board'. The report itself, which was not made for two years, is not extant, but on the strength of it the Board resolved:

that Industrial Work in connection with our missions should always be conducted with due regard to the educational and spiritual interests of the natives employed therein, and not solely with the object of commercial profit. The Board is also of opinion that Industrial work may not only be made self-supporting, but should be so managed as eventually to provide funds for the extension of missionary work.

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29 MMDM, 1908.
30 MMDM, 1910.
31 MMDM, 1911.
32 MMDM, 1912; see also Development Scheme for Papua, Synod 1919. Endorsed by the Board.
33 MMDM, 1914.
34 MOMB, Minutes, 3 Feb. 1915.
Furthermore, financial arrangements for industrial work were to be on a 'different basis' from those for other mission activities so as to avoid as far as possible the expenditure of current revenue for its establishment and running.\(^{36}\)

In 1918, when it became clear just how interested Murray was in technical education, and with prospects of the government employing an expert to advise the missions, an added impetus was given to technical education. Murray's request that the Mission suggest to the Government how best the two bodies could co-operate to provide technical training for Papuans stimulated discussion.\(^{37}\)

The following year the Papuan Synod recommended 'That we make some small start in developing Technical and Industrial Training' in order that the Mission be 'worthily represented' in the proposed government scheme. It was recommended that the Mission establish 'a great Central Education Institution' which would enable teachers to have some technical and medical training suitable to their future work, and so that technical (and medical) trainees could have the advantage of 'the warm spiritual atmosphere which ought to characterize a Training Institution for Teachers'.\(^{38}\) The institution eventually opened in 1921. Meanwhile, a board was established to formulate a scheme for technical training and in 1919 mission estimates included £100 for the establishment of an Industrial Sinking Fund, funds for the setting up of a printing office to be run by a Fijian, recruitment of a lay technical instructor on a salary of £266 per year, £250 to set up six technical stations, and £150 for a workshop and outfit for the District Training Institution.\(^{39}\)

In 1921 the Government made its first grant (totalling £450) for technical education. In addition a new item, 'Technical', appeared in the mission estimates. It matched the government grant and included the sum of £300 for workshop and equipment at Salamo. The District Training Institution opened in 1921 and incorporated the technical school. Technical education of some significance now took place in the Papuan Mission. Gilmour was put in charge of industrial education.

\(^{36}\) MOMB, Minutes, 7 Feb. 1917.  
\(^{37}\) MOMB, Minutes, 2 Aug. 1918; MMDM, 1918.  
\(^{38}\) Development Scheme for Papua, Synod, 1919.  
\(^{39}\) MEA, 1919, pp. 79–83.
and technical training and a new lay technical instructor was appointed. In addition a Papuan, Mataio Topivai, was appointed to the mission staff as a technical instructor. Gilmour had been training Topivai as an instructor for many years and described him as a capable workman, an efficient teacher and a very fair supervisor.

So far the Methodists had paid scant attention to the theoretical side of the work, but hopes were held for the development of this aspect by the new instructor. In the meantime Gilmour was convinced that:

As a builder and moulder, and maker of men, the influence of this Industrial and Technical Training has been exceedingly good. There is quite a development in character when a boy finds that he has actually created something. It is a noticeable fact that those who have become outstanding and successful teachers and preachers, have all passed through these classes.40

This was the year in which technical students were definitely enrolled for the first time in the technical school. They did their technical work during the day and at night they attended elementary education classes.41

By now the desirability of technical training was almost completely accepted within the Mission in Papua, though none appears to have been nearly so enthusiastic as Gilmour who, echoing the sentiments of several of his L.M.S. counterparts, declared himself:

convinced that for our people, scholastic training should not be divorced from manual training, and that a scholastic training which fails to inspire a scholar with a love for manual toil, and an idea of its dignity and nobility, will be a curse to these people.42

Bromilow saw that the people had been deprived of many of the activities that had kept them fit and alert in pre-contact days. Together with government officials and many missionaries of the time he argued that a substitute for

40 MEA, 1922, p.591.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
these activities had to be provided. By developing the hands and brains of Papuans the Mission would be supplying the means for living a higher life. In 1923 the Mission received the Special Technical grant of £1,000 which permitted the formulation of ambitious plans. But activities continued to centre on serving the immediate needs of the Mission and there was little formal education 'as so much time had to be devoted to boat building and repairs and development of buildings, roads, etc.'.

In 1924 in his report on the Mission's technical training, Victor Green said that he was 'impressed by what the Papuan lad could do under white leadership'. But criticism of the methods employed was implicit in the syllabus he proposed and overt in the particular report on the Mission. Green was satisfied with the workshop, store and work benches and praised unreservedly the motor launch building, adding that the whole of the technical work carried out was of a high standard. But there the praise ended. Green was disappointed that:

when considered from an educational point of view it [technical education] loses much of its value, for after spending several days at Salamo, one cannot but be forcibly struck with the fact that the output is considered more than the student.

The inspector felt that the work was far too advanced for the students who, instead of setting out their own work from their own plans, had most of their setting out done by the technical instructor.

Green said that until graded exercises were produced which enabled trainees to set out their own work, students could hardly be expected to gain the confidence and self-reliance that would enable them to handle advanced work skilfully without European supervision. An extremely weak point in the course, he felt, lay in the fact that drawing had not been taught. He was further disappointed to find that only twelve students were being given technical training, and suggested that the mission staff was not alive to its

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43 MEA, 1923, p.184.
44 MEA, 1924, p.600.
importance. Green's overall assessment of the work done at Salamo was expressed in harsh terms:

I should like to say that until the work at Salamo is organized on sound educational lines the students will always be severely handicapped. Under the present method of teaching they will certainly learn to skillfully [sic] handle the tools, and will be able to take their places as local village experts, but they will never reach that standard when they could be regarded as efficient technical teachers, nor will they be able to take their places as skilled artisans. 46

However, the Methodists were not interested in producing large numbers of highly skilled people and Gilmour was less than enthusiastic about the Green scheme. He felt that:

ready made Technical Schemes meet but very poorly the needs of these people. Any successful scheme must be adapted to the needs of the people, their aptitudes and the environment of the race - it must be Papuan. 47

In short Gilmour would not be satisfied with a white man's scheme for black 'white' men; he was adamant that help for Papuans must be offered in the light of 'a very deep understanding of the Papuan and a big sympathy with him'. 48

But the Green report did influence events. While the work of the technical school continued to provide for mission needs, the rationale for carrying out technical education changed in the 1920s. Much more emphasis was given to the needs of Papuans. In 1924, for instance, the Tutor of the District Training Institution, J. Arnold, saw the need to develop the 'all round man' asserting that 'the training of the hand and the eye stimulates habits of attention and quickens the intellect, awakening the critical faculty and giving precision of thought'. Arnold echoes the belief of Walker and Abel two decades earlier that if the Papuan was to survive the growing contact with an industrial civilization he would have to be qualified to

46 Ibid, p.3.
47 MMDM, Report of Technical Department, 1926.
work 'not as the bonded labourer, but as the white man's colleague in the humbler services of the race'. This was reinforced by the technical instructor's claim, also in 1924, that:

The ultimate goal at which we aim, is to equip the boys who come to us from outside villages, that they will be able to go back to their homes and construct their own whale-boats, copra-sheds, etc., on sound principles and so become independent, wealth producing citizens, with a desire for a life above their present one.

Boys who came from mission stations would be trained as technical instructors and go back to their own circuits where they would form the nucleus of local technical training centres that would feed the central school in the future. This proposal was not so extreme as the 'Christian Settlement' plans of the Kwato and Sacred Heart missions. The students were taught to obtain their raw materials from the bush. They were paid on 'a sliding scale of wages varying from a few shillings a month, in their first year, to several pounds', from which they were expected to provide their own tools. All twelve students were given intensive training that would enable them to become assistant teachers in the school. Again, mission self-interest was paramount.

From 1925 to 1928 the work declined following the arrival of a new technical instructor, T.W. Cannon. Cannon was frequently ill and all the signs suggest that he was a poor teacher. This was reflected in a decline in students' enthusiasm for training and caused Gilmour to comment that while he was 'a very friendly hardworking obliging little fellow', he 'is not suited for his job, he can't manage boys and he can't teach for sour apples'. Nevertheless, during Cannon's period as technical instructor there were some developments. In 1927 Green's proposal that all students at

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49 MMDM, 1924, pp.602-3.
51 Ibid., p.88.
the Institution should do some craft training was implemented and 28 juniors and 41 teacher trainees received instruction. Lessons in drawing were introduced in 1927 also. Cannon noted that students were skilful in the use of tools and quick to acquire practical knowledge. However, they were slow and they took a long while to grasp the theoretical side of the work.53

For most of 1928 the work was again under the guidance of Gilmour. This almost certainly resulted in some reversion to a more practical, less theoretical approach, for in an apparent reference to the Green/Cannon plan, Gilmour expressed his belief that:

the 'Manual Training' type of thing is quite inadequate and the trainee has to be taught to do real work, and do it under conditions as they really exist outside the Institution.54

However, Green's report had influenced Gilmour. While reiterating that the boys were not interested in theory until they could see its practical application, Gilmour noted that many of them read plans well and were making furniture from their own plans. Indeed the influence of the 1924 Report of Inspection may be inferred from the fact that Gilmour regarded his training scheme as:

the 'Dalton' system applied to technical training, in which students were encouraged to work from plans of their own, and to use the teachers to solve difficulties.

While this allowed for more individual instruction and under conditions which 'made it most effective', it also suited Gilmour because it meant no set time in classrooms.55

These changes were brought about partly as the result of government pressure. By now regular government inspection of the schools had been instituted and Gilmour was anxious to see the desires of the inspectors acceded to at least in part,56 especially as the authorities did not seem to be

53 MEA, 1928, p.565.
54 MEA, 1929, p.711.
55 MEA, Technical Department Report, 1929, pp.700-1.
56 Gilmour to Burton, 22 Sept. 1928, UPNG, Bunama letter file, April 1924-Nov. 1932.
satisfied with the work being done by the missions. The Government's attitude did not please the Society in Australia, and J.W. Burton, the Secretary of the Society, wrote to Gilmour complaining about the government report on Papuan technical education and lamenting the fact that:

Governments are causing us a lot of trouble these days, and particularly in Fiji they are interfering in education in a way that we do not like.  

The Methodists were not receptive to the thought that government support of education entitled that government to help determine the direction education should take. 

By 1929 the number of full-time technical trainees had risen to 32. In addition 45 senior boys from Salamo schools and 39 juniors were attending classes which were held irregularly. Five of the students acted as pupil teachers or assistant pupil teachers with some success. Once again the Papuan technical instructor gave fine service and proved himself an excellent teacher. The problem remained that new students could be encouraged to go to Salamo Technical School only if they could be put on to practical work; they wanted to learn to build boats and houses. 

Technical students now spent two hours every morning learning arithmetic, English, and other subjects, and then spent the rest of the day in the workshop or on jobs. The Mission's concept of education had improved since the days when subjects other than those directly connected with a trade were studied in the evenings. Students were paid a daily rate according to the value of the work they did and the time they worked. Gilmour felt it necessary to teach Papuans the relationship between output and remuneration, between work well and economically carried out and profit; he also impressed on them the fact that wasted time and wasted material led to loss in monetary return. He reported that there had been a noticeable development of 'a real love of work for it's [sic] own sake; and a growing pride in work well done'.

57 Gilmour to Burton, 27 July 1928, UPNG, Bunama letter file, April 1924–Nov. 1932.
58 Burton to Gilmour, 4 Sept., 1928, UPNG, Bunama letter file, April 1924–Nov. 1932.
59 MEA, Technical Department Report, 1929, pp.700–1.
60 Ibid., p.702
Three of the advanced students, with some of the younger boys, had formed themselves into a band of carpenters and the work they undertook included the completion of the Girls' School at Salamau. They also built, from plans and without supervision, a dispensary on one of the outstations. This work particularly pleased Gilmour 'as the design was an entirely new one, and they had never worked before where they were quite removed from any possible white help'.

Gilmour was clearly delighted to be able to report:

The work in this department shows that the Papuan can go far as a craftsman, that he does not lack in initiative or skill, and that he can organise to undertake concerted effort, that there is a latent gift of leadership.61

But within a year the Depression was affecting the Mission and a decline in activities was inevitable. While the government grant continued, the Mission's own expenditure on technical training, rarely great, declined largely and, paradoxically, at the insistence of Gilmour. In fact the technical school was forced to close for a short period.

Notwithstanding the general decline the Government Inspector of Technical schools for 1931/32, G.M. Turnbull, was able to report that the building work of Gilmour's construction gang would 'stand comparison with any construction of its kind in the Territory', and that the design and finish of articles inspected by him which were produced in the technical school showed a very high standard of workmanship.62 However, the general criticisms which he made of the missions and which were outlined in Chapter 1 applied also to the Wesleyans. During 1933 Gilmour left Papua taking with him much of the impetus behind technical education in the Methodist Mission District.

In 1934 it was decided that the Technical Department should do no more work for outside Europeans in order not to be criticized for competing with white tradesmen. This was certain to reduce output and hence to reduce profit too. On the other hand, it forced the District Committee to consider the educational aspects of the training rather than

61 Ibid., p. 704.
production, and it was decided that the technical course should be a 'definite one of six years'. Interestingly this renewed concern about trading came at a time when it had all but ceased to be an issue in the L.M.S. The decline in the training reached its nadir in 1940 when Synod resolved to discontinue the furniture and joinery work at the institution. Priorities had changed by now and the emphasis in the Mission was much more on agricultural training. It was encouraged in this by the changing philosophy of the Papuan Government.

During the period to 1941 training for girls was given a low priority. One indication of this is the patchy nature of available information. Nevertheless, some training was provided, mainly in sewing, embroidery and basket and mat making. These activities appear to have been taught at virtually every station where there was a woman missionary.

In 1914 the Mission syllabus laid down that at the first grade level all classes of girls should be taught sewing at the circuit schools; it further recommended that sewing be taught in the village schools 'as far as possible', that all classes learn to plait mats and make rain mats and that basket making and/or fan making be taught in District or Circuit Institutions. Teachers' wives were to encourage all women to grow sita and plait mats. More generally, girls were to be encouraged 'in any branch of work that will develop them physically or help them improve their homes'. The syllabus mentioned no specific practical work in classes beyond Grade 1.

On Kiriwina girls were rostered to do cooking and to clean the sisters' quarters for the expressed reason that they 'might be brought nearer to the European principles of life'. In addition, the traditional subservience of women to men was reinforced as girls were taught not only to make their own clothes, but also to sew and mend for the boys.

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64 MMDM, 1940.
65 Syllabus of Instruction for Schools, Methodist Mission, Papua, Sept. 1914.
66 MEA, 1922, p.579.
Overall, education for girls had a strong practical bias. Naturally any training depended on the presence of a lay sister with a knowledge of skills that could be imparted to pupils. The skills taught were more a reflection of the backgrounds of the teachers than they were of relevance to the instructed.

The pattern of development of industrial and technical training in the Mission was broadly similar to that in the Kwato and Sacred Heart Missions but there were distinct differences in the motives for providing training. The clearest difference arose from the fact that the Methodist Mission did not try to change completely the Papuan way of life or to transplant a foreign culture into the Papuan village. The policy of the Methodist Department of Overseas Missions which was stated shortly after the war reflects that which generally existed in the Papua Mission from the start:

The policy of our Church is to maintain and extend our Mission stations for evangelism, educational, medical, agricultural and industrial work. We aim at building a truly native Church in all our areas, and leading the people to accept more and more responsibility. We work towards a raised status for women. We believe in the development and preservation of moral and social sanctions, customs, and traditions within native life.

Evil customs would be eliminated. Christianity would be instilled. But village life would remain. Nevertheless, it was recognized that over a period of time far-reaching changes would take place for, it was said, 'It may be that the only ... changeless condition is change itself'. But the policy of the Mission was one of adaptation such as that sought by F.E. Williams. For instance J.W. Burton, the paternalistic Secretary of the Overseas Mission Board, criticized the personal decorations of the people, but he realized that the Mission had to compromise:

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68 MMDM, 1928.
69 Methodist Church of Australasia, Department of Overseas Missions, Restitution, n.d., post-war, p.11.
70 Methodist Church of Australasia, 1940:5. Methodist Missionary Society Publications.
The race is vain, and fond of show of any kind. Much of this is the artlessness of the child seeking praise, and much of it is due to the competitive instinct, which is often quite strong. This is something that must always be taken into account as we seek to plot out any educational scheme for the race ...

Education had two primary functions. First the needs of the Mission and the role of evangelism must be considered. In this connection Gilmour, in 1929, said of the technical students:

The thing that has specially delighted us as we think of these technical boys is their deep interest in the development of the Kingdom of God. This growth of grace is marked — in making things they are making men. I have thought at times that their work had given them wider vision. Forward movements find in them their readiest supporters.

In peering into the future, in dreaming dreams, I see them as men who will have a far-reaching influence, and play an important part in shaping and hastening that indigenous Church we dream of, and work for.

The second function was to equip Papuans to take their place in the new Papua that was developing. Gilmour, Murray and Williams all shared Bromilow's hope that the student was:

Becoming fitted to face the development which the impact of civilization is already bringing to bear upon his native life. In this way he may equip himself to make and hold his place in his own land, instead of being doomed to be a mere undeveloped, deteriorating hewer of wood and drawer of water (Bromilow 1929:310).

In the 50 years to 1941 the Methodist Mission formulated a policy on technical education and industrial work. The activities which took place in Papua were of a pioneering nature in that they established the facilities, attitudes

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71 Burton 1926:25.
72 MEA, Technical Department Report, 1929, p.704.
and ideas on which technical education could later build. Yet in relation to the considerable growth of the Mission during the same half century developments in technical education were limited. There were rarely more than 20 technical students in the strict sense of the term although the growth of the Mission itself was considerable as the following figures show:

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local preachers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholars</td>
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</table>

Source: Extracted from MMDM, 1891-1941.

It is clear that technical studies remained low in priority and in real development. However, the number of Europeans employed in the Mission was always small and there were few of the specialists needed by a technical school.

Generally there was only limited interest in the place of technical education in the Mission in spite of the formulation of a policy and the establishment of trade classes. The missionaries were there to proselytize; formal education - the 3 Rs - was a tool in the evangelizing process. Technical education could not be regarded as the same sort of tool; it could not, in itself, be nearly so useful to the evangelistic cause in the minds of most missionaries. Gilmour was perhaps the only exception among the ordained workers. Nevertheless, it was mission needs that provided the justification for maintaining trade education although the needs were physical not spiritual. So we find that teaching all too readily took second place to producing commodities needed by the Mission. Practical education was not directed towards village needs to any great extent, notwithstanding several high-flown statements to that effect. The teaching work of
the trade instructors was always severely limited by the work they had to do to meet mission requirements.

Finance was a problem. Technical education is costly. In its early stages the Mission could expect that technical training would pay for itself by providing services to the Mission and through the sale of commodities outside the Mission. However, the government grants - large in relation to previous mission allocations for technical education - might have been expected to obviate the less altruistic justification for trade training. It is not surprising to read of the Government's gradual disillusionment with the Mission's acceptance of the grant and with its continuing deployment of technical students on jobs not strictly educational in nature, let alone purpose. There were repeated calls from church workers for specific cuts to mission expenditure on technical education and for the utilisation of profits derived from the work of the technical department on projects unrelated to trade training. This amounted to an effective redirection of government funds to religious activities; increased government contributions committed a redeployment of mission funds expended on technical training to religious activities. And profits accrued from government subsidised education were used not to improve the training further but to advance other areas of the mission's work.

Like the Anglicans the Wesleyans were resentful of any suggestion of government interference in education even when they accepted the government subsidy. In fairness though, the missions did provide the education that ought to have been the responsibility of the Government and they had some reason for regarding themselves as providers of a service, rather than recipients of funds from an altruistic government.

One reason for the restricted development of technical training was the belief that the Papuan lacked the ability to respond to advanced education. The attitude manifested itself in statements (reminiscent of those made by Murray, to the effect that students were to learn 'all they could'73) and references to the 'humbler services of the race' and the 'small minority' of students who could be expected to become really skilled artisans.74

73 MEA, 1922, p.591.
74 MMDM, Report of Technical Department, 1924.
This attitude changed as time went on and Papuans continued to amaze Europeans with their obvious skills and ability to learn. Men like Gilmour, if they ever held such beliefs, soon saw the incipient talents of Papuans in connection with 'European' activities, and developed more positive attitudes towards the villagers. Gilmour, for instance, held the view that Papuans could carry on alone in the absence of a technical instructor.\textsuperscript{75} He believed that most of his junior students had a:

co-ordination of hand with eye which is more nearly perfect in the average village bred Papuan boy than in the average European of the same age. They also have that greater manual dexterity and more sensitive and finer touch. These are acquired in the natural life of the village, and enable these boys to skip some of those elementary steps over which European boys have to spend so much time.\textsuperscript{76}

Gilmour was realistic in rejecting a thoroughly theoretical approach such as Green sought. There was no pressure on students from employers or from a developed economy to instil in the trainees a theoretical knowledge which the students must have thought to be of little value. But the danger in the Gilmour conception lay in the development of the handymen he had once sought to train rather than the skilled workers he could educate. Gilmour wanted his students to learn how to 'do real work, and do it under conditions as they really exist outside the Institution'. He was right. But it was also true that work involved in making and repairing for the Mission and, after Gilmour departed, work in making ecclesiastical furniture, could hardly be expected to be persevered with outside the Institution. Once again, it is evidence of the Mission taking priority, not the students.

\textsuperscript{75}MMDM, 1930.
\textsuperscript{76}MMDM, 1928, p.711.
Chapter 6

**Technical Training in the Anglican Mission**

The mission that was least involved in technical training was the Anglican Mission. As with the other Protestant missions, what development there was depended on one or two individuals. But they received little active support from the church hierarchy and their activities were extremely limited. There were a number of reasons for this, including the poverty of the Mission and the doctrines, attitudes and background of the missionaries.

The Anglican Mission in British New Guinea was established in 1891 when Revs. Albert Maclaren and Copland King landed at Bartle Bay on the north coast of the colony. Under the terms of the 'Spheres of Influence' agreement the Anglicans took control of Papua's Northern Division. For a long time they concentrated their efforts on the 300 miles of coastline running from Mitre Rock on the border with German New Guinea down to Cape Dulcie near Milne Bay. For many years the Mission, starved of funds, was involved in a struggle for its very existence and at no time before World War II was it in any degree financially well-off. The missionaries too, unless they possessed private means, were very poor, receiving, in the early days, stipends of about £20 per year (Wetherell 1970:61) compared with L.M.S. payments of £150–£240 in the 1880s and about £280 in the early years of the twentieth century.¹

Struggling as the Mission was, with a high staff turnover, constant trouble recruiting new people and with staff incapacitated by frequent attacks of fever, its activities, particularly those relating to education, developed very slowly. As far as technical education is concerned, the history of Anglican efforts up to 1940 is mainly one of talk ¹MH, Thompson to Lawes, 12 June 1885; Report of Revs. A.J. Viner, G.J. Williams and Frank Lenwood, Deputation to the South Seas and Papua, June 1915–June 1916, p.70.
Fig. 5 Anglican Mission District
and promises; very little of substance was achieved. The Mission's achievements in technical education seemed even less impressive seen as they were in relation to the work being done in nearby areas by the Wesleyan and Kwato Missions and the L.M.S. Nevertheless, the attitude of mind towards technical training - the way it should develop, the problems involved, and the purposes of it - are strikingly similar to those of the protagonists of like activities in the neighbouring missions. This is not surprising given the amount of contact the various missionaries in the area must have had with one another.

Bishop Montague Stone-Wigg - consecrated the first Anglican Bishop of New Guinea in 1898 - very quickly realized the need for technical education. As early as 1899 he confessed that the Mission would soon have to face the question of Christian Industrialism, noting that:

> A very brief acquaintance with the native of New Guinea will convince anyone that the Christian Religion has a manifold work to do for him. It needs to set him upon his feet, to prepare him for contact with the white man, to brace him for service, to train him in useful knowledge, and to fit him for some work, in which he can usefully hold his own, and lead a self-respecting, growing and expanding life.

Missing from this view is any indication that Papuans should one day be able to work independently of Europeans. Missing too, is the optimism about the Papuans' future development that is evident in the writings of Charles Abel.

Still, less narrowly evangelistic than some of his colleagues, Stone-Wigg expressed the belief that the most solid results of missionary activities were attained when the appeal was made to the whole man, intellectual, spiritual, physical. A short while earlier Sir William MacGregor had

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suggested boat building as something which could usefully be taught to Papuans. The Bishop agreed and looked forward to the time when the Mission would turn out carpenters, printers, book binders and clerks 'to take a useful place in what may be a rapidly developing New Guinea'. But his hopes were tempered by the now familiar concern lest the Mission put itself in a position whereby it could be accused of trading and thus indulging in unfair competition with traders already on the coast. His close neighbour, Charles Abel, would not have concurred with the Bishop's contention that the 'interests of whites and natives need in no way conflict with one another'.

By 1899 Stone-Wigg was able to report that girls were learning mat making and that an efficient trade instructor was teaching the boys; the Mission sought to train them to act as carpenters, boat builders, blacksmiths, cooks and printers. But the 'efficient trade instructor' appears only to have been one of the carpenters employed by the Mission, usually for short lengths of time, and the educational work was relatively minor. There would be no early commitment to industrial education on a large scale.

As with the Catholic and some of the L.M.S. missionaries, the thought of establishing industrial settlements was appealing. Thus the first significant step in the development of industrial education came in 1901 with the establishment of the Hioge Industrial Settlement. In 1900 the Bishop had purchased 96 acres of land between Taupota and Cape Frere, and shortly after applied for another 1,000 acres to be used for the establishment of a Christian Industrial Settlement with a view to catering for the increasing Papuan desire to work for white men and in order to offer converts 'a career higher than the mere animal life of the village'. However, there is no evidence that the settlement developed significantly or that it enjoyed much success although some Papuans did settle there. It is known that by 1920 the scheme had failed. Contributing factors were destruction caused by a hurricane and the fact that a single manager could not supervise the industrial work and act as a spiritual leader.

6 Ibid.
7 Missionary Notes, 16 Nov. 1899, no.59, p.102.
and teacher at the same time.\textsuperscript{9}

On-the-job training in carpentry, printing and boat building continued during the early years of the century. Girls, too, were catered for with the usual instruction in sewing and lace making (Chignell 1913:64). At this time the chief difficulty appears not to have been in attracting trainees but rather a high turnover of students who were all too quickly recalled to their villages.\textsuperscript{10} Furthermore, high staff turnover frustrated any attempts to develop the training.\textsuperscript{11} Thus at a time when the Wesleyans and several of the L.M.S. stations had facilities for repairing and building their own boats, the Anglicans were constantly hampered in their work by an inability to keep their launch running.

For the first ten years of the century there was very little training. The interest was there, and it was fertilized by developments overseas and elsewhere in New Guinea. The Universities' Mission to Central Africa for instance, in advertising for volunteers, stressed the great usefulness of people with a trade.\textsuperscript{12} During a trip to Ceylon Bishop Stone-Wigg had been impressed with the technical training carried out by the Anglican Mission there.\textsuperscript{13} The Pan Anglican Congress, held in London in 1908, and attended by Stone-Wigg, had displayed interest in the subject of industrial missions, and Stone-Wigg had himself spoken of the need for technical education, reiterating the need to disarm the suspicions of the white settlers that the Papuans were being trained to undersell them.\textsuperscript{14} Further, the Bishop spent a lot of time with Gilmour, Abel and Walker, so he could hardly help but be influenced by the technical training schemes that were starting to develop in New Guinea. He was also encouraged by the Resident Magistrate of the Ioma District, A.P. Lyons.

\textsuperscript{9} Announcement of R.H. Daker's death, \textit{A.B.M. Review}, 7 Aug. 1920, p.91. Doker was the manager of Hioge.

\textsuperscript{10} DP, Report, 1900, p.10.

\textsuperscript{11} DP, Report, 1903; ibid., 1904, p.5.

\textsuperscript{12} DP, The Universities' Mission to Central Africa, Paper of Conditions for those who desire to join the Mission.

\textsuperscript{13} Diary of Bishop Stone-Wigg, entry 7 Feb. 1902.

\textsuperscript{14} Missionary Notes, article on Pan Anglican Congress, 9 Sept. 1908, p.52.
After a visit to the mission station at Mambare River, Lyons recommended that:

funds permitting, the addition of a class of elementary carpentry for house construction to the present syllabus would, by appealing to the native mind, increase the attendance at schools, infuse interest, improve the villages and consequently the general health.  

Nor was it only the Bishop who expressed an interest in the problem; it was also raised at meetings of mission members who sought to determine the relative importance of industrial and spiritual work on a mission station. The general feeling at one meeting in 1906 was 'that manual training of some kind should be given to the children but should be kept in strict subordination to spiritual work'. The formation of habits of industry should, it was felt, be the object of all instruction and training. Another motive of mission staff can be inferred from a complaint by Rev. John Hunt in Hioge about the need to constantly rebuild 'native-style' houses and churches for this interfered with important mission work.

In fact 'the formation of habits of industry' was a very popular reason given for industrial activities. A.K. Chignell recounts that the Bishop always had an answer for the critic who questioned the usefulness of 'teaching little niggers to make d'oyleys [sic]'. The Bishop is said to have replied invariably to the effect that:

It is not the d'oyley that matters, it is what the d'oyley represents - the patience, perseverance, and concentration of mind which are so difficult and yet so necessary to develop in this tropical land (Chignell, 1913:64).

He might well have added that this reflected the sort of manual work that mission workers knew about and so could teach.

The problem of recruiting adequately-trained missionaries, and more particularly some who could undertake industrial

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15 Report, Ioma District, PAR 1908/9, p.78.
16 DP, Notes and News from the Staff, 1906.
17 Ibid.
work, was being faced by Anglican missions elsewhere in the world. In Papua, however, a change came when the Rev. S.R.M. Gill arrived in 1908. He was to remain until 1954. Gill came from an English family that had already sent two pioneer missionaries to the South Seas. His grandfather and great uncle had both been Congregational ministers and his father, later a Congregational minister also, was born in the Cook Islands (which were supported by the Congregational Church). Gill himself was born at a time when the family had begun to react against the restrictions of the non-conformist Church and were moving towards Anglicanism and Catholicism (Wetherell 1970:48). Gill became an Anglican minister but was born into the class of English society that was producing the industrial missionaries of the L.M.S.; so it is not surprising to find that he was intensely interested in providing industrial work for Papuans. He had at one time expressed a desire to become an engineer (Wetherell 1970:47), and he brought to Papua a knowledge of carpentry and bookkeeping (Wetherell 1970:49).

Posted to Boianai, Gill lost little time in starting some manual training for his charges and by 1917 had established a lime kiln, saw pit, smithy and carpenter's shop (Feetham 1917:26). Some years later an enthusiastic visitor to the station praised Gill and his work, stating:

> Here I had ample opportunity of observing the remarkable degree of attainment effected upon a primitive race by moral suasion and scientific development. Gill, in himself, is a unique character - a combination of spiritual and mechanical genius, which particularly adapts him for evangelization, as well as practical training and development. Without exercising dogmatism, the magnetism of his personality exerts a subconscious control over the native mind, and his influence is manifest by the betterment of his people ethically, mentally, and practically. Boianai is his hobby and the pride of those who dwell there. The gravelled paths that lead to model villages and improved homes are trod by model and improved people. I found an interesting character in his own home, where in spare moments his mechanical self has found relaxation in bizarre yet clever innovations (Hurley 1925:79).

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18 DP, Memorandum from the Archbishop of Brisbane on the subject of the Training of Missionaries, 1913(?).
The knowledge that the Government of Papua was to pay up to £1,000 p.a. for education schemes which included technical education gave, in 1921, some impetus to the development of technical training in the New Guinea Mission. By now the Mission had a new Bishop in Gerald Sharp, and in response to his desire to start a technical training school, the Candidates Committee of the Australian Board of Missions (A.B.M.) recommended that an effort be made to secure missionary candidates who were expert in some branch of industrial work. Murray reacted to Sharp's proposal by approving a government pay-out of £750 to cover initial expenditure. That same year came the first concrete plan for the formal establishment of a technical school and it came from Gill. Recently he had expanded the carpentry activities at Boianai and the Government had already provided the first £250 for development of 'Special Industrial' work. Gill had a limited conception of the role of the institution, which he thought should be Mission-oriented in its aims and scope; handymen were to be trained who could make items needed by the Mission. He added that he did not think a very high standard (such as the ability to carry out complicated carpentry requiring special tools) was required for those who came forward. This was in keeping with Murray's thinking.

The school was to be close to the Teacher Training College to enable teacher trainees to attend short courses, developing in them a certain amount of manual skill and usefulness in 'soldering, lamp repairing, painting, the various uses to which old cases and nails can be put, the dozen odd ways of utilizing old kerosene tins, etc. etc.' He also envisaged apprenticing mixed-race boys to the mission carpenter in order to fit them to go out into the world as proper carpenters. Bishop Sharp was half-hearted about the idea, particularly as it was proposed on the eve of his retirement from Papua. Moreover, he worried that the Government would not approve the £1,000 a year for the technical school on the grounds that the instructor was not a skilled professional. (The Government Secretary was shortly to concede that some of the smaller missions would have to rely

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20 CAO, Murray - Minister, 29 Sept. 1921, A518 File 818/1/5.
21 DP, Gill - Bishop, undated.
'on purely amateur training'). Sharp made it clear that there would be no technical school if the grant was not forthcoming, while he conceded that Gill was quite able to provide the Papuan young men with as much instruction as they were capable of receiving. Two points stand out in this: first, that there were considered to be fairly strict, if not clearly defined, limitations to the capacity of Papuans to cope with technical training; second, that the Bishop displayed an uncharacteristic desire to obtain the government grant. (His successor, Henry Newton, would be very much less willing to accept state aid.) Although in favour of trade training, Sharp would not commit mission funds to start a scheme. The outcome was that Gill's proposals were overruled, he was posted to Mamba, and the Rev. A.P. Jennings who had arrived in Papua in 1917, was given the task, in 1922, of carrying on the pastoral work at Boianai with Homer, a lay missionary, in charge of the existing industrial school.

In 1922 Henry Newton was consecrated Bishop of New Guinea. He had been with the New Guinea Mission for 23 years and so recognized the need to give continued consideration to the question of technical training. He was encouraged in this by a request from the Australian Board of Missions that he submit his views on the subject of communal village industries; the Board was anxious to make the Mission progressively self-supporting. The year Newton became Bishop the New Guinea Mission received only £10,000 from the A.B.M. which, the following year, itself had a debt of £8,500. So any plans the New Guinea churchmen might have had to expand any of their activities had to be postponed. A vicious circle had been created. Self-support was demanded; but funds to establish or expand profitable activities were unavailable.

23 DP, Government Secretary - Bishop, 30 Sept. 1922; see also Report, 1921, in A.B.M. Review, 7 Nov. 1922, p.146.
24 DP, Sharp to unnamed Bishop (probably Bishop of North Queensland), 10 Nov. 1921.
25 DP, Jones, J. (Chairman A.B.M.) to Newton, 31 Jan. 1922.
26 DP, Needham (Chairman A.B.M.) to Newton, 8 Dec. 1922.
28 DP, Newton - Secretary, A.B.M., 17 Sept. 1923.
Further development of technical training would necessitate acceptance of the government grant. But, while this carrot was tempting, the Bishop was 'a little nervous about undertakings that carry moral responsibility towards outsiders such as the Govt. [sic]'\(^29\).

The £1,000 grant was never received by the Anglican Mission although grants totalling £1,150 were made under the 'Special Industrial' provision; these ceased after 1927,\(^30\) some years before the Government abolished such grants altogether. Meanwhile the training struggled along in a desultory fashion. In 1925 printing, together with some book-binding, was done entirely by Papuans under the supervision of Reginald Guise. There were still a number of apprentices working at Dogura (the best being Mixed-race)\(^31\) and Gill continued some training at Mamba as did Rev. C.W. Light (1923-1937) at Boianai.

If the 1920s saw the most significant development of technical education in the New Guinea Mission, followed by a dramatic decline in the work that was being developed, it was also a decade of debate within the A.B.M. on the importance of industrial work. Much of the debate was followed by a considerable audience as it was carried on through the pages of the official organ of the Australian Board of Missions, the A.B.M. Review.

The emphasis in these arguments was more firmly placed on industrial education for Papuans; so often had arguments emphasized the importance of industrial activities to the Mission first and only indirectly to the villager. There were some unavoidable ambiguities centred around the proposition that the Papuan should be enabled to avoid being put in positions subordinate to the white man, and accordingly, should be trained in trades that would enable him to gain economic independence. The Papuan should avoid becoming a rather 'inferior kind of white man' and learn to control the forces that the European had at his disposal. At the same time he should maintain as many of his traditions as possible, particularly in relation to arts and crafts.\(^32\)

\(^{29}\)DP, Bishop's Address, Conference, 1924.

\(^{30}\)See *Papua Government Gazette*, vol.29, no.11, 1934, p.97.


\(^{32}\)DP, 'Saving the Natives: From Headhunting to Printing Presses', newspaper cutting.
This proposition was juxtaposed to the obvious need to use white man's facilities to help in the training. The Papuan, if he was not to work in the Mission, or to return to the village, was bound in all but rare instances to find himself in the employ of Europeans, with the obvious problems which that posed.

The industrial work lobby argued the need to develop technical activities to fill the terrible gap that the cessation of warfare had made in the lives of the people. Work on plantations was one solution, but one which does not appear to have enjoyed much support from within the Mission especially if it required Papuans to work as wage-earners. One writer explained:

the native is termed a "nigger", and is simply a cog in the wheel, which will go round and round until someone's pocket is full; he will retire gracefully and another will come after him, the cogged wheels will go on year after year until the problem of coloured labour resolves itself - it ceases to be.

The picture before my eyes is not such as this. It cannot be God's purpose that all the coloured races, one by one, must go under the heel of the white man. The picture is rather one of an industrialised native, one who has been taught to use the materials that grow at his back door and make them into articles acceptable and welcome on the markets of the world. There is a wealth of material to hand.\footnote{J.E.J.F., 'The Need of Village Industries', \textit{A.B.M. Review}, 7 Feb. 1919, p.172.}

But it was not only the European who was seen as a danger. An article which appeared in the \textit{A.B.M. Review} in 1924, by a man called Percy S. Allen, saw industrial training as part of what might be described as a 'Black Pacific Policy', aimed at Asian exploiters of the area.\footnote{Allen, P.S., 'The Future of the Pacific: Should there be more Industrial Training?', \textit{A.B.M. Review}, 12 June 1924, p.58.} A xenophobic Allen saw (perhaps foresaw) Japanese interests insidiously taking control over the islands. Equally to be feared were Indians and Chinese who, along with the Japanese, were multiplying at an alarming rate. Blame for this state of affairs was...
laid at the feet of islanders themselves, 'because of their indolence', at Europeans generally 'because of all the ills of civilization we have introduced', and at the missions in particular, whose work had 'too often paralysed tribal activities to the hurt of the natives themselves'. But it was the Asians who were taking advantage of this and jeopardizing the racial purity of the islanders. Were natives to be trained in industrial pursuits the need to import aliens to do the work would be obviated.

The need to help maintain native arts and crafts was another issue raised occasionally during these years, a decade before F.E. Williams' writings awoke other missions and the Government to the importance of the matter. So was the need to develop village industries that utilized bush materials - cane work for instance. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing how much impact, if any, these expressions of opinion had on what actually happened. Subsequent developments in Papua suggest that the impact was slight.

There was development of technical education in the 1920s and there was debate. But in the early 1930s there was stagnation, if not regression. Tiny pockets of industrial activity continued. But, as usual, the Mission was preoccupied with problems of keeping on with the jobs of proselytizing and getting money, a situation which was worsened by the Depression. From about 1935 there was little further development. Some technical work was carried on at Dogura, where a few of the older boys stayed on for a year or two and helped 'in various ways'. Indeed, it was boasted that men who had received technical training from Rev. J.D. Bodger, who had arrived in 1931, could turn their hands to almost everything. During 1937/38 a new school and technical school were established at Gona where it was hoped the Rev. J. Benson (arrived 1937) would give some instruction in carpentry. At Duvira, under the foremanship of two Papuans, 

39 Ibid., p.131.
Francis Etobue and Bernard Bareo, carpentry and metal work of various kinds were carried out.\textsuperscript{40} Other technical training of a minor nature, but about which few details are available, was done at Eroro under Rev. R.L. Newman,\textsuperscript{41} and at Hioge under Rev. Peter Routamara.\textsuperscript{42}

On the handicrafts side the Guild of St Mary had been established at Dogura to provide activities for the women. The first Papuan members were admitted in 1935 and a year later 155 Papuan women had joined. All the main stations were involved in such activities as mat and basket making, needlework and embroidery and raffia work, while at Menapi western artifacts such as wallets were made from Tapa cloth. In addition, efforts were made to encourage handicrafts in the villages. The handicraft work carried out by the Mission was praised by the Government Inspector.\textsuperscript{43} However, the Bishop admitted that there was a tendency to concentrate on this work during the weeks before the Inspector's visit.\textsuperscript{44}

At first sight these activities may seem considerable and even systematized. However, the efforts were in fact sporadic, often transitory, and rarely of great moment. Indeed it was admitted in 1938 that:

We have not developed agricultural or industrial work to any great extent. We have not had the money, the education in religion, and the preparation of teachers and clergy has been of more vital importance.

The statement continued:

It is doubtful how far there will be a demand for trained labour as carpenters and engineers and such like workmen.\textsuperscript{45}

During the early years this of course was true, especially in the Northern and North Eastern Divisions where the only

\textsuperscript{40}DP, Report, 1939-40.
\textsuperscript{42}Report, 1936-37, p.123.
\textsuperscript{43}DP, Inglis, T., General Report of the Examination of the Various Mission Schools for the Year 1940, January 1941.
\textsuperscript{44}DP, Bishop's Presidential Charge to Conference, 13 Aug. 1941.
\textsuperscript{45}DP, Church Assembly Missionary Council, Unified Statement, 1937-38.
real alternatives to employment in the Mission were joining
the police force and doing labouring work in mines and
plantations. On the other hand, men like Abel and Walker
realized very early that this would not always be the case.
Unforeseen developments such as the results of the war, were
to prove them right. But the absence of a crisis in the
meantime, just as it engendered a lack of conscience or zeal
or even ambition on the part of the Australian Government,
and a limited view to the future by the Papuan Administration,
did nothing to dispel similarly limited conceptions of the
future on the part of the New Guinea Mission.

To be sure the Mission had its visionaries in Gill and
Bodger, both of whom had the foresight and the tenacity to
do something. But where the L.M.S. had persuaders like Holmes
and Butcher and the Wesleyans had their Gilmour, all of whom
acted and persuaded others to act, on the eve of the war the
Anglican conception of technical activities still resulted
in little more than talk. Bodger declared the need to place
stress on what he called the 3A's - Art, Agriculture and
Artisanship - rather than on the 3R's as at present.46 He
was himself trying to do this. Then the war came. And the
concept of the 3A's was never to get off the ground.

Another explanation of the lack of real development in
technical education is to be found in the background of the
missionaries, which did not lend itself to a mission sympathetic
to middle class concepts of industrial activities. The
religious leaning of the missionaries was typically high
church, which was true also of the Mission's supporters in
Australia.47 It has been said that lack of support from the
large evangelical section in the Australian Church was the
price the New Guinea Mission had to pay for its high church
reputation (Wetherell 1970:44). The A.B.M. itself was
dominated by high church prelates, and the New Guinea Mission
became attached in 1904, as a missionary diocese, to the
Province of Queensland under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop
of Brisbane (Wetherell 1970:41). Further, the Anglican
leaders in Papua were, by and large, gentle-born Englishmen
who either possessed independent means of support or were,
according to one study of the Mission, ascetics indifferent
to the addition of worldly necessities in seeking the Kingdom
of God. As such, says the writer of the study, 'They viewed
with considerable distaste the money-making ventures of

46DP, Education Committee Minutes, 14 Aug. 1941.
47Wetherell, p.40; Stuart, 1970:84.
their non-conformist brethren, a distaste which was accentuated by the fact that they were not 'gentlemen' but artisans and tradesmen of a different class' (Wetherell 1970:176). If this contention is accepted then it was hardly likely that they would pursue a course designed to import technical skills to Papuans, except to the extent that it met immediately discernible needs; the 3R's were far more respectable than the 3A's. Not only did the background of the clergy largely determine their attitudes; it was also reflected in the skills they brought with them to Papua. The background of L.M.S. missionaries was typically practical in the sense that the men were sufficiently adept with tools, for instance, to be able to cope with the rigors of out-station life. The more 'bookish' backgrounds of the Anglicans meant that they were much more at the mercy of Papuan physical and climatic vagaries, and lacked skills applicable to industrial training. Chignell, for instance, arrived in Papua without even knowing how to cook (Chignell 1911:165).

In the light of the general education policy of the Mission during those years it is surprising that there was any emphasis at all placed on technical education. The education provided in Anglican Mission schools appears to have been a curious mixture of aspects of European and Australian school systems transplanted unthinkingly in New Guinea together with isolated practical and sensible efforts to bring the education down to earth. The missionaries were not primarily educationists so it was not surprising that they tended to use an educational system and techniques that had been found to be suitable in other places known to them. Expatriate teachers in the 1970s are frequently found to behave the same way.

A.K. Chignell gives us an interesting insight into one aspect of the school system when he records:

At 9 a.m. the bell is rung – vigorously, but only a few seconds. At 9.20 I blow one blast on my whistle and walk slowly over to the parade ground. When I get there, I call a name (beginning at odd places on the roll, so that no boy can calculate on a few extra seconds, his name may come first any day) & from that moment there is silence. It may happen, once or twice a week, that someone whispers while I am calling the names. If he does, I hear him – see him – know it somehow. It is no use trying to play the schoolmaster unless you have
this sort of extra sense. That is where the S.S.I. fail ... If a big boy talks, he gets a cut over the shoulders - 'pour encourager les autres'. Other people escape more easily, but they all know I mean business. Calling the roll, I go through the names as fast as I can, & as I know the list by heart it doesn't take long. If a child does not get his 'Here Sir' in between the calling of his own & the following name - that's his look out & he knows it & takes good care to get it in, & in a tone that will reach my not very alert ears.48

A dismal picture is invoked of not very happy classrooms and of a school day highlighted by marching and drilling. Teachers should insist on neatness and cleanliness, destroy all torn and tattered books, stop all spitting and 'stop those queer native noises that the children make'.49

On the other hand Chignell was very much alive to the need to make his subjects more relevant to the children. Arithmetic was not to consist merely of putting down long rows of figures and adding them up. It was more important that 'they shd [sic] be able to see 17 coconuts on one tree & 5 on another, and know, almost without thinking about it, that there are 22 altogether'.50 Mathematics must be taught by way of the concrete and there was to be no 'foolish repetition of tables'.51 Similarly in English, Chignell was concerned to eradicate the use of copy books and the copying out of useless statements in high flown prose.52 Not only this, but he lamented the fact that no drawing was taught, seeing the need to develop the artistic instinct which he knew the Papuan to possess, 'though in a quite rudimentary form'.53

50 Ibid., p.39.
51 Ibid., p.40.
52 Ibid., p.42.
53 Ibid., p.48.
The other picture that is conjured up then, shows dedicated, enthusiastic and altruistic teachers, untrained, yet striving to extricate their thinking from the restraints imposed by a knowledge (perhaps only a part-knowledge at that) of an education system that might as well have been of another world. Stone-Wigg, reflecting on his days in Papua, in part summed the situation up when he explained:

It is doubtful whether the Anglican Mission to New Guinea has had any definite theory as to how mission work should be carried on, any thought-out principles. The members of the staff have had little or no definite training for their special work (Stone-Wigg 1912:250).

We need not be surprised then to find that a thoroughly planned and executed system of technical education would have to wait until someone happened along whose background, training and interests were such as to enable a scheme to be properly established. Rationalizing the situation as it stood in 1912, Stone-Wigg explained that:

On the whole we have not felt it our duty to prepare our people by technical training to meet the changes that must come in the near future - in this we may have been wrong - but rather to build up the moral character, and to enlarge the mental horizon, so that the people will be able, or less unable, to meet the dangers and temptations of the new order when it comes (Stone-Wigg 1912:251).

The Bishop's explanation ignores the view that there is no incompatibility within a system which combines both aspects of education. For the moral side of the 'new order' was to be no less significant than - and indeed was to be closely allied with - the cultural and social needs of a society in tremendous upheaval; even if the upheaval was grossly underestimated by most people. Manual skills might have been vitally useful in assisting the transition from one moral code to another and might have helped overcome the replacement of one set of moral 'evils' by another. Stone-Wigg did in fact realize this. But for long periods he could not attract people who could carry out the training required.

The overall aims of the New Guinea Mission were ambiguous. Change was clearly vital to the Mission's cause; but absolute change was undesirable. To this day the question of the
degree to which the lives of the majority of New Guineans should be changed, and the degree to which traditional values and culture should be maintained remains unresolved in Papua New Guinea. The Anglicans also faced but never satisfactorily resolved this problem. The object of the A.B.M. was 'the conversion and civilization of the Melanesian Islanders and the Aboriginals of Australia' (Wetherell 1970: 41). However, not only was this a tall order, it was also an ambiguous one in the absence of a clear conception of precisely what 'civilization' meant.

The difficulty was compounded by the ignorance of the A.B.M. concerning conditions in the Papuan village. This is illustrated by the defence of its call, in 1923, for the development of village industries:

It may be objected that such industries as these would be no use in their [Papuan] daily lives, but after all they would be only spare time industries as were the old home-spuns in the cottages in England and Scotland. 54

The implication seems to have been that even if Papuans did not benefit directly from such activities, at least they would not be harmed, and the Mission itself would benefit. However, the motivations, needs and social structure of the Papuan villager in no way resembled those of the depressed English rural proletariat who at least saw that there was a chance of material improvement in their lives as a result of their home industries. Nor were the English faced with quite such revolutionary repercussions on their entire culture as the result of these activities. But to the A.B.M. officials, far removed from the realities of life in Papua, these differences were not apparent. Nor is it surprising to find among the staff of the mission different and sometimes contradictory pronouncements concerning, and descriptions of, mission activities. For example Chignell once stated:

... in matters which neither concern us, nor are necessarily immoral in themselves, we leave the natives to manage things for themselves.
(Chignell 1911:138).

He explained that:

54 DP, Secretary, A.B.M. to Bishop, 26 March 1923.
We supply our boarders [at Uiabu] with no table furniture, and some of the good folk who help to maintain these boys would very likely be shocked by the absence of tables and cloths and chairs and dishes and plates and forks and spoons in the boys' houses; but it is no part of the Mission policy to civilize the natives [my emphasis] (Chignell 1911:136).

Compare this statement with Chignell's description of the bride at the first Papuan wedding in the Anglican Church in March 1898. She was dressed in:

heliotrope crepon trimmed with cream lace and pink ribbons; she wore a wreath of flowers, but positively refused to carry a bouquet; the bridesmaid, who was beautiful in blue muslin, 'was almost as shy as the bride herself' ... (Chignell 1913:60).

Compare it, too, with Bishop Stone-Wigg's feelings:

To make people Christians and then let them go back and herd together in houses where several families live together, where the sexes are not divided nor the married separated from the unmarried, not to mention a plentiful supply of pigs, seems purposeless, not to say irreverent. If our boys and girls, after months, even years of training in higher knowledge, are to be allowed to go back to the village with no higher aspirations than spearing a wallaby, digging with sticks in the 'wapu', dancing all night to the most monotonous cadence, or taking part in a pig feast, how have we elevated them? It will be necessarily only the few who will be suitable to act as Mission Teachers. Have we no prospect or career of usefulness to offer to the rest?55

Nevertheless, in the village they ought to remain. These attitudes partly explain the slow development of technical education by the Anglicans. Papuans should be discouraged from working for Europeans, and this was one of the reasons for placing so much hope in the Hioge Industrial Settlement which would not presumably have interfered unduly with village

life. It would have differed greatly from the Industrial Settlements proposed by Charles Abel who saw them as instruments for transforming life in Papua; such a policy was not acceptable to the Anglicans. They did not, accordingly, have the same need as Abel to develop technical education.

Perhaps it was feared that by teaching them a trade Papuans would be encouraged to go away to find employment which necessarily meant employment with free enterprise Europeans, except for those very few who might be employed by the Government. Gradually it began to be realized that the 'old native life' could not stand long against the 'new opportunities' (King, C.:11); and as this realization grew, so did attempts to develop trade training, in order that Papuans could see 'that the Mission, while teaching them to pray, trains them also to a career of usefulness, which must prove beneficial to others besides themselves' (King, C.:11). Further, by learning the white man's skills, Papuans would be better able to manipulate the situation to their own advantage.

Nevertheless, training of the mind was always considered to be far more important than training of the hand. After all the 'animal life of the village' referred to earlier, was the antithesis of the development of the mind. But even academic learning was not to be valued solely in its own right. It was a means to the end of Christianizing Papuans. As Chignell explained:

The schools are a valuable arrangement by which we Christian missionaries are able to gather the children together for training in the ways of Christ, with such incidental instruction in reading and writing and 'rithmetic' as is possible (Chignell 1911:106).

This is illustrated even more graphically by a statement in 1899 by Stone-Wigg expressing doubts about government proposals to make schooling compulsory three times a week for certain children. Stone-Wigg's reservations were based on the fears that:

Compulsion during the week might produce license on the day which should most especially be observed. There is also a feeling of objection to lean on the Government at all, for fear of
observing the real work of the Mission.\textsuperscript{56}

In short then, the ambiguities in the assessment of the precise objectives of the Mission are reflected in the educational policies and the direction it was felt they should take. The Papuan was regarded as a child\textsuperscript{57} with the mission assuming the role of the adult mentor. The child was not to be put into a foster home totally different in kind from the village home he knew (as happened at Kwato); but the guardian was faced with the dilemma facing all who have children in their care - which direction should the child's education take, manual or intellectual? And as is usually the case in such instances, intellectual or 'academic' training was preferred.

A shift in emphasis took place in the late 1930s which reflected a similar shift in government thinking, and that was in favour of more agricultural education. As the Mission saw it:

From an educational point of view, industrial training is good, even if not put to any practical use. But it looks as if the Papuan should be mainly an agriculturalist.\textsuperscript{58}

The Mission was frequently short of food and to buy rice was a great burden on mission funds. Agricultural education was cheaper than technical. One of the reasons students attended school irregularly was because of the importance gardening assumed in the lives of the people. Furthermore, the Papuan was to remain a villager for a long while to come.

A final factor which inhibited the development of technical education was the Mission's desire, alluded to earlier, to maintain its educational autonomy. The early expression of Murray's desire to provide grants for education was rebuffed by Sharp who declared:

We should very strongly prefer a continuance of the arrangement which has existed for so many years. We have never asked for nor desired any government grant for we have felt it to be of

\textsuperscript{56}Report, 1899, p.5.
\textsuperscript{57}Strong, P.N.W., 'The Papuan Villager', \textit{A.B.M. Review}, 1 July 1939, p.81.
\textsuperscript{58}DP, Church Assembly Missionary Council, Unified Statement, 1937-38.
the utmost importance that we should have freedom to appoint the teachers ourselves and to arrange what religious instruction should be given - any alteration in these matters which are to us of primary importance would be strongly resented by us and would prevent any co-operation. 59

The realization that acceptance of government assistance would not affect these prerogatives led to a softening of the Anglican's attitude. But the mission never applied for the 'general and technical' grant, which goes part of the way toward explaining the impoverished nature of Anglican efforts in technical training.

Conclusion

Educationists in Papua New Guinea have been at pains to dismiss as inconsequential developments in Papuan education before World War II. H.K. Colebatch's summation is an example:

The educational efforts of both the Administration and the missions came to nothing, mainly because they were not prepared to face the question: did Australia want educated Papuans? If she did, what kind of education was to be given and in what institutions was it to be organised? (Colebatch 1968:109).

Developments in the more specific area of technical training have similarly been dismissed. The 1964 Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea claimed that the root cause of the problems facing planners of post-war technical training was the 'practically complete prewar starvation of education'.¹ In 1969 the Advisory Committee on Education in Papua and New Guinea spoke of pre-war technical education 'which in the mission schools had been confined to simple village skills'. Only when the Education Department was established in 1946 was training 'extended to cover trades and skills that could be practised beyond the confines of the village'.²

D.J. Dickson, however, in a study of Murray's education policy, disposes of the myth of almost total neglect (Dickson 1969-70). In spite of Australian indifference to Papuan development, both the Administration and the missions attempted to face the question of the education of Papuans. They did try to determine what kind of education should be given and in what institutions it should be organized. The answers to the question were without doubt less than satisfactory. The effort made to establish a system of education

was severely circumscribed. But some effort was made. Technical training provides the clearest evidence of this effort. Indeed, technical training was, in large part, the answer arrived at.

Five institutions were established in Papua that could properly be called technical schools— at Aird Hills, Yule Island, Fife Bay, Kwato and Salamo. In addition there were numerous schools in which more elementary training took place. While it is difficult to assess student numbers accurately, it is likely that in the mid-1920s annual enrolments of full-time trainees and apprentices in the technical schools rose as high as 100-150. Though by no means startlingly high by present standards, these enrolments do not amount to 'starvation' given the level of development of the Papuan economy. To this number can be added several hundred children in primary schools and many students in teacher training institutions who also received some manual training. From the 1890s student numbers grew gradually until the early 1920s when the government grants caused them to rise sharply. They stabilized for a number of years, then, in the 1930s, began to decline slowly and continued to do so until the war. There were three main causes of the decline: the Depression, the departure or death of several enthusiastic pioneers of technical training and the Government's growing disenchantment with the form of training provided by the missions.

Many of the full-time students did not remain for long in the schools but returned to their villages; some became the 'bush carpenters' that Murray, Williams and others hoped would emerge. Others took jobs as semi-skilled labourers. Numerous other bush carpenters were trained in the primary schools as a matter of mission and government policy—a variation on aspects of the community school, skulanka and vocational centre experiments of the 1960s and 1970s. Of the full-time trainees, a large proportion stayed on and became highly skilled tradesmen capable of first class work. The number of students at any one school was always small which probably allowed considerable attention to be paid to them in the master-apprentice situation. Coupled with the considerable dexterity of many Papuans this resulted in the training of a significant number of fine artisans equipped with very much more than 'simple village skills'—skills which could be, and were 'practised beyond the confines of the village'.
Curriculum development followed similar patterns in the various missions. For the first 30 years there was very little theoretical instruction or classroom teaching. Trainees were virtually mission helpers who developed their skills on the job. By the turn of the century and up to World War I, better educated students undertook additional training beyond primary school and further developed the elementary knowledge of tradework they had learnt there. Training remained practical. These early groups of students were involved primarily in the construction and repair of buildings and in furniture making. The mission buildings constructed and furnished, training commenced in boat building, the next most important need of the missions. The Anglicans did not significantly develop technical training and few students learnt to construct boats; the Sacred Heart missionaries had only a small coastline within their sphere of influence so that boat building was of less importance though it did develop in the 1930s. However, the construction of boats was a very important part of the work of the L.M.S. and the Kwato and Methodist missions.

The basic requirements for boats and buildings met, the missions continued the training by undertaking work for the Government and private firms and individuals.

Following the institution of government grants, visits by inspectors and the Green reports, some attention began to be given to theoretical training - trade drawing, measuring, geometry, the drawing of plans, etc. Only on Yule Island had such work previously been done to any degree. Earlier it had been claimed at Kwato and by the Methodists that students were interested only in making things - that they lost interest as soon as anything theoretical was introduced. However, the main reasons for this state of affairs were the absence of properly qualified instructors capable of teaching theory, coupled with the desire of the missions to have things built rather than to get people trained. Green saw this. Abel admitted it. The tendency to emphasize output never altered, though greater emphasis was put on education after 1924.

The absence of theoretical training meant that only exceptional students were able to work on major projects without European assistance. On the other hand, such ability was of little practical value since European employers, the missions excepted, could not conceive of Papuans supervising their own work. Furthermore, it was difficult enough for a
Papuan to get a job at all. Apart from the need to educate a small number of highly skilled tradesmen, it was generally felt that the aim should be to train handymen who, working with simple tools, could go back to their villages and improve their houses and furnishings; their skills would be fairly unsophisticated.

Victor Green was one of the relatively few people who placed some emphasis on the development of large numbers of highly skilled tradesmen. Murray was more concerned to train handymen, so was Williams; missionaries like Lawes, Gilmour and Gill agreed.

For one thing there was the problem of finding employment for skilled craftsmen. The Government could employ some. The best would be induced to remain with the missions. Elsewhere, employment opportunities were very limited indeed. And, given the small size of the economy, which was very sensitive to global economic conditions, the employment situation was highly volatile. In any case, there was the constant threat and reality of exploitation - a particular concern of some missionaries.

Positions for semi-skilled Papuans appear to have existed during the 1920s, for O'Malley had been induced to try to amend the Apprentices Ordinance to prevent students from ceasing their training in order to take such positions. But in 1932 the Catholic Mission could point to a large number of former trainees who were now out of work (though for reasons which were not explained). And Turnbull warned of the dangers of creating in Papuans unrealistic employment expectations. N.D. Oram speaks of 'the waste of skills in carpentry and allied crafts possessed by the Hula' up to 1940. He notes that the main reason for their lack of employment 'was their dislike of employment as unskilled [my emphasis] labour'. The Hula people themselves say that it was difficult to obtain skilled employment before the war (Oram 1968:260).

Murray grappled confusedly with the issue. He recognized the colour bar which restricted employment opportunities. Then, in 1933, after accusing the missions of failing to supply tradesmen for work with private enterprise and the Government, he was embarrassed when unable to find work for

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3 PAR, 1930-31, p.6.
six Kwato-trained tradesmen seeking government jobs.\(^5\)

The best job prospects were to be found in the Port Moresby area and in Milne Bay where most Europeans lived. Here they were limited enough; but elsewhere - in the Gulf, Western and Northern Divisions - opportunities were scarce indeed and many trainees were understandably reluctant to leave their home areas to find work. The Yule Island and Kwato schools were best able to find jobs for their students as they were close to Port Moresby and Samarai. Significantly, both the Kwato and Catholic missions were less concerned than the others to produce mere handymen. In addition, they received, between them, nearly 55\% of the government grants for general and technical education - a greatly disproportionate amount in relation to the size of the areas they controlled and the number of people for whom they were responsible.

There were several other reasons for this, also. Abel, the driving force at Kwato, was determined to demonstrate that the Papuan could develop skills equal to those of the white man, so he sought to train highly skilled people. The Catholics, trying to establish a self-contained, self-reliant mission, brought in a number of brothers who were specialist tradesmen and who had more opportunity to train a few Papuans as specialists. They were always more concerned with quality than quantity; they rejected the use of South Sea Island teachers and preachers (common in the L.M.S. and the Methodist Mission) on the grounds that they were not properly trained and, indeed, could not be regarded as good Christians. In keeping with their policy the Catholics determined to train their tradesmen fully. This is evident in the late 1920s and the 1930s especially, as the Mission sought also to train people who would then find work elsewhere in Papua and so spread Catholic influence.

A more important reason for the emphasis on technical education and the training of highly skilled people at Kwato and Yule Island derives from the two missions' ideas concerning the fate of village life in Papua. The Kwato Extension Association, in particular, maintained a demeaning regard for village life. Abel's industrial settlements would be new, Christian communities living civilized 'Western' lives. Their housing and furniture, their clothing, their language, would all be British in style. Living together, the people

\(^5\) CAO, Murray to Prime Minister, 21 Feb. 1933, CRS A518, Item D923 1/1.
would reinforce each other in their Christian beliefs. Such a community would require killed people to help produce model European dwellings and other material signs of modern living. Furthermore, Papuans would compete increasingly for their livelihood with Europeans and, in order to do so successfully, would require skills equal to those of their white competitors. Abel's vision of a small, mobilized and well educated elite capable of influencing the masses was essential to the scheme.

The Sacred Heart missionaries did not go as far as Abel, but they too wanted eventually to break down village life which they thought contained elements incompatible with Christianity. A small number of the brightest children were to be educated, marry among themselves and eventually show the way to the rest. Artisans were included among the well educated.

The 'settlement' idea was more feasible in the Catholic and Kwato districts which were much smaller than those controlled by the Anglicans, Methodists and L.M.S. A relatively small number of settlements would soon be capable of influencing an entire district. And they could more easily be supervised.

The mission least concerned with transforming the lives of the villagers, the Anglican Mission, was also that which provided the least technical education. There were several reasons for this as we have seen. But a major consideration was that Papuan village life was not to be substantially altered; accordingly, there would be little opportunity to use advanced skills. Deterred by an ephemeral attempt to establish an industrial settlement at the turn of the century, the Anglicans preferred to create not Christian settlements, but Christian villages.

Of the missions in Papua, the Methodists' view of the village was closest to that of the Anglicans. It follows that their technical training was less developed than it was in the other missions. Their skilled tradesmen, in the main, worked for the Mission. In fact, it is apparent that the Methodists were those most concerned with output for the Mission rather than with education. Further, like the Anglicans, the Methodists were distrustful of government interference in their education scheme. This helps to explain the relatively small grants they sought.
The London Missionary Society lay in between the two extremes of the Anglican and Kwato Missions. And within the Mission there was considerable divergence of opinion. While most rejected Abel's 'hothouse' policy, they nonetheless were eager to transform many aspects of Papuan life. Technical training could help to fill the gap left after the changes had been made – an axiom among the 'industrial' missionaries of all denominations. Generally, the L.M.S. believed that education should be the Government's responsibility (Goodall 1954:470). Hence they were less concerned than the Anglicans and Wesleyans that the acceptance of grants might lead to interference with their education policies.

A number of other arguments were used to justify technical and industrial training in Papua. One of the most commonly expressed was the need for discipline. In 1894 Sir William MacGregor, concerned with the need to impose order in the colony, expressed himself well pleased with the Methodists at Dobu. There he had observed that 'The class rises, sits down, turns, half turns, marches, halts, etc., to the word of command' and in consequence the 'tone of this school leaves nothing to be desired'.6 Thirty years later, Murray, commenting on the technical school at Salamo, spoke appreciatively of the:

almost military order and precision of the whole station, and the good appearance of the natives who are being trained there.7

The allusion to military discipline was also a feature of Richmond's early plans for training.8 The missionaries agreed. Chignell's enforcement of discipline in school has been described. The attitude also helps to explain such things as Rev. R. Bartlett's drum and fife band at Orokolo. More importantly, the development of discipline relates directly to technical training. As early as 1887 Navarre supported industrial activities which instilled indolent and lazy savages with 'habits of labour'. The 1906 Royal Commission concluded that:

The net result of hurling him [the Papuan] into the iron period has been to render him more effeminate, and correspondingly indolent and

6BNGAR, 1893-94, p.18.
8Murray to Minister, 22 July 1911.
wanting in manly self-reliance. To awaken the Papuan from this lotus eater's dream is an imperative and immediate necessity if he is to be saved from the fate of most aboriginal races. 9

Not all the missionaries regarded Pauans as lazy, but most seem to have carried with them the prejudices of their time and to have argued either that there was a need to instil in Pauans habits of industry or that Pauans should become imbued with the 'dignity of labour'. Technical training and the development of habits of industry were part of the mission task of character training. Gilmour and Abel were convinced that training had led to an improvement in the character of trainees, bringing out such virtues as self-reliance, leadership and perseverance. In addition, it was argued that training developed a person's ability to reason—a somewhat vague contention and one which was neither elaborated on nor substantiated.

This need to acknowledge the dignity of labour was stressed increasingly as it became clear that manual work was as distasteful to Pauans as it was (and is) to people in most parts of the world. An illustration of this attitude was reported in 1918 by the wife of L.M.S. missionary Turner:

B was sitting busily doing nothing, when A said to her 'B, do get on with your work, Mrs Turner has told us more than once that the people from our station are the laziest at Vatorata, we don't want our village to have a bad name', B's reply was, 'It is a good thing for you to work hard, everyone knows how stupid you are in school, but there is no need for us clever ones to work in the garden'. 10

Such an attitude was unacceptable to missionaries and government officials alike; it was bad in itself and it would impede the development of the Territory which could not and should not always rely on the white man's skills. The generation of useful technical skills would demonstrate that manual work could have dignity. In addition the dignity of Pauans themselves would be enhanced as they displayed their skills and became less dependent on whites.

9 Commonwealth of Australia, 1907, p.xiii.
10 Mrs E. Turner's report on the work at Vatorata, 1918.
Indeed, there is evidence that European regard for Papuans did improve as the result of technical training. The improvement was limited but no less real for that. Like cricket, trade skills provided Papuans with the opportunity to prove themselves in company with whites. The proof would at best be grudgingly accepted; and whites would compensate by labelling skilled Papuans as 'big-heads'. But then the Papuan could only improve: as a lower form of beast that had to be 'broken in' to work for whites, he might often be admired for the new tricks he learnt. However, this was a start.

Thus Administrator Barton was impressed and probably incredulous to find that Papuans were 'capable of so great advancement'. Colonel Mackay, as early as 1906, praised Abel for showing 'what natives can do' (Mackay 1909:54). Even the racist Papuan Courier once commented favourably on the skills of Papuan mechanics. More significantly, a number of officials and mission educators went so far as to make favourable comparisons between the work of Papuans and Europeans. This was high praise indeed. Le Hunte, MacGregor, Turnbull and other government inspectors, Murray and Gilmour were all guilty of such extreme praise.

Admittedly the commendation was often muted. Thus Murray reported in somewhat negative terms on the L.M.S. trained lad who, 'from a scale drawing and cutting list, made a dressing table and chest of drawers which would not have disgraced a white artisan [my emphasis]', Victor Green would sing the praises of Papuan achievement - while the Papuans were under European supervision. A government official would concede that training awakened dormant cerebral cells; but that was quite a concession since many would have

11 Navarre to Douglas.
12 BNGAR, 1905-06.
13 Papuan Courier, 7 May 1924.
14 BNGAR, 1900-01, p.xii.
16 Turnbull, Report.
17 PAR, 1927-28, p.12.
18 Ibid.
19 MEA, 1924, p.600.
been tempted to deny the cells' existence.

Imagine then the amazement (and often resentment) when virtually all missions saw fit to appoint Papuans as instructors and supervisors and to extol their effectiveness. A Papuan actually taught Europeans to drive their own cars. The Kwato and Methodist Missions employed Papuan carpentry gangs to design and construct buildings and furniture for Europeans - and without white supervision. It would be decades before European admiration for Papuans would be more than superficial and condescending. But technical training nevertheless brought with it a significant break-through in race relations in the colony.

Paradoxically, the same small group of educational planners, administrators and commentators used technical training as the subconscious pretext for restraining Papuans' development. The widespread feeling that the Papuan was intellectually inferior was seen as one justification for providing technical training. A typical view of this inferiority was expressed in 1933 by Dr W.M. Strong, the Chief Medical Officer. Twelve Papuans had attended a course at the School of Tropical Medicine in Sydney and, said Strong, had performed 'remarkably well'. He continued:

> It is the fashion nowadays, I understand, to look upon all races of men as more or less equal in inherited mental capacity ... Personally I must admit that I cannot swallow this theory, and I cannot think that it is, or ever has been, generally accepted. I quite agree that Papuan and European overlap - that is that the best Papuan is superior to the worst European - but I cannot think that they are equal, and I think that most residents of Papua will agree with me.\(^\text{20}\)

Most European 'residents of Papua' plainly did agree. They would have been affronted by statements which in any way equated Papuan and European intelligence and they viewed with displeasure attempts to educate Papuans. Technical training was condemned by many as it put Europeans out of work and elevated the Papuan beyond the competence most Europeans attributed to him. Thus the uproar when, in 1920, Murray appeared to demean the abilities of white tradesmen.

\(^{20}\text{PAR, 1933-34, p.15.}\)
Nevertheless, technical training was generally more acceptable than academic. Not only could employers see benefits for themselves; technical training was less challenging to their conception of the relative merits of the races. Since they were being trained to perform 'the humbler services' tradesmen were less of a threat to Europeans' privileged social position than medical trainees, for instance. The training might awaken to activity 'the dormant cerebral cells' of Papuans; more importantly, it might provide a form of training with which these less intelligent beings could cope. Hence there was less need to provide any higher level of academic education beyond Standard 5; the European could salve his conscience with the knowledge that he had discovered the Papuan's capacity and made educational provision accordingly.

Very few held a more enlightened view. Those L.M.S. educators who themselves had worked as tradesmen may not have considered technical training as quite so limiting, though it is likely that subconsciously they too shared the community's demeaning regard for manual work. Abel was certainly one whose attitude was more positive. Williams sought the establishment of an educated elite but was unable to interest Murray in the idea. The Anglicans favoured academic education but, like the other missions, failed to provide classes beyond Standard 5 except for their own teachers and preachers.

Thus, the provision of technical in preference to academic education, by reflecting European racist views of Papuans, was inimical to the post-war development of the colony. A cadre of tradesmen was established which would play an important role in post-war reconstruction and development; many of these would eventually drift into clerical occupations. But nothing was done to prepare a group of administrators and planners.

Capitalist and white supremacist interests seriously retarded the growth of technical training also. Vociferous complaints about unfair trading advantages caused the missions to slow the pace of development. In this the trading class was aided and abetted by the governments both in Papua and Australia. Just after the turn of the century the Government in British New Guinea - under Robinson, through Government Surveyor Richmond and with the concurrence of the Australian

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²¹MMDM, 1924, p.603.
Government—brought pressure to bear on the Wesleyans to desist from trading in copra. This had repercussions on other industrial activities. As late as 1937 the Australian Government discouraged the development of a cane furniture industry in Papua which might compete with Australian production. And not only did the missionaries tend to succumb to such pressure; some, like Bishop Stone-Wigg, went so far as to declare that the 'interests of whites and natives need in no way conflict with one another'. They did conflict. And the resolution of the conflict involved subverting the interests of Papuans.

In addition, as we have seen, technical education provided by the missions was developed overall in order to satisfy mission rather than village or the colony's needs. It induced people to come to the missions. When they did so their work was designed to benefit the missions. Murray's attempt to train large numbers of people who would benefit their villages and their country was circumscribed by the missions' unwillingness to co-operate fully. Relatively large sums of money allocated by the Government for technical training remained unspent. The missions took as many students as it suited them to and no more, although government funds existed to allow them to develop the training further. To be fair though, opportunities for employment outside the missions were limited, as was shown above.

Murray was disappointed with the impact of the subsidies on technical training. He might have gone ahead with the long-hoped-for government technical school. But the problem remained of what to do with the graduates. There was insufficient industry to employ people and there were too few trained Papuans to permit the establishment of industry; in addition to this, many positions for tradesmen were held by expatriates.

It is apparent that technical training had some impact on the villages— in some places quite marked. This seems to have been felt mainly after World War II. The evidence is, however, ambiguous. Archbishop Louis Vangeke, for instance,

23 Richmond, J. to Bromilow, 19 Nov. 1903, ibid.; Bromilow to Richmond, 9 Aug. 1905, ibid.
feels that the training offered by the Sacred Heart Mission resulted in little alteration to village life and buildings before the war. Other informants educated by the Sacred Heart Mission tend to agree. While a number of trained people went to Port Moresby to find work, many others returned to their villages; but their skills did not result in changed building styles or furnishings as they could afford to buy neither the tools nor the materials needed to carry out such work. Consequently the skills were soon dissipated. The same difficulty was experienced by some L.M.S.-trained people. Turnbull concluded from his investigations that trainees returning home did not appear to apply their knowledge of house and furniture construction in the village. Nor was he convinced that new canoe building techniques had resulted in improved craft.

On the other hand, Anglican, L.M.S. and Kwato informants often tell a different story. Several L.M.S. pastors spoke of the application in the villages of building, furniture making and mat and basket work. In a close-knit society such as Kwato became, the influence was great. There the people constructed and furnished substantial European-style houses as did many in Milne Bay also. Cecil Abel points to the large numbers of boats in Milne Bay today that were built either at Kwato or by men trained at Kwato before the war. Nigel Oram explains that the craft skills learnt by the L.M.S.-trained Hula 'enabled them to improve the structure of their houses in the village and the design of their canoes' (Oram 1968:270). He points out that by the early 1960s Hula villages had a great many houses of European construction compared with other villages in the area.

In addition, Rev. Maurice Nixon, an L.M.S. pastor in Papua for some years, said of the boat-building, carpentry and building courses at Isuleilei:

26Personal communication, Mr Tom Nou, Pari Village, 24 March 1971.
27See, for example, PAR 1924-25, p.18; PAR 1926-27, p.35; Hurst, R.L., Report, p.19.
28NAPNG, Smeeton, J.M. to Murray, 7 June 1938, G69.
29Personal communication, Waigani, May 1975.
These courses were of incalculable value along the south coast of Papua, as I discovered after sending young men from Moru District. Their influence on the improvement of village building habits was outstanding. In the decade following their return, IOKEA village (from which they had gone) became a model village as regards home buildings. These men later entered building trades commercially and the 'building guilds' around towns today, in which Kerema east folk are prominent, stem originally from the graduates of such institutions. It was also through such courses that the Pastors learnt the elements of carpentry and building, and were able to make a significant contribution in the villages where they worked as well as being able to build their own homes and churches.31

Accordingly, not only was the influence of the training on villages sometimes very strong but many tradesmen came to the towns after the war to find work. This indicates that the contribution of trained Papuans to the post-war reconstruction and development of Papua New Guinea was plainly much greater than is generally realised.

31 Quoted in personal communication from N.D. Oram, 10 Sept. 1970.
Appendix A

Extract from Victor Green's report of inspection of Salamo Technical School

The aims of Educational Handiwork in the Primary Schools should be:

1. to develop manual dexterity;
2. to train the power of observation;
3. to develop physical strength;
4. to afford scope for self-expression;
5. to create pleasure in bodily labour and to keep the child in touch with its environment;
6. to cultivate the habits of independence, order, accuracy, attention, and industry.

In the Infants' School attempts should be made to encourage initiative and resource. The child should be regarded as a child, appealed to as a child, encouraged to use hand and brain together, brought into contact with a variety of materials in order to learn their nature and possibilities, and to express his ideas in them. Thus, paper, wool, raffia - in fact many things may be used with which he can experiment and gain experience.

He thus gets perceptions of space relations, weight, distance, colour, and the fitness of certain things for certain purposes. The purpose of this training is not 'skill' in the usual sense of the word. It is to lead children to express their own ideas, not in terms of adult experience, but in terms of their own.

The objects made must be such as will interest the children, and the work should arise out of the desire to make them. If the objects are not interesting to them, and are made at the order of the teacher, because they 'come next in the course' the work loses its chief value.
The work in the Infants' School is expressional, and no attempt should be made to give the child perfect mastery over any instrument or material. All the exercises must be purposeful. Just as every line in the child's symbolic picture drawing has a meaning, so all his first efforts at constructional work should be attempts to make things, things that are real to him.

When the child enters the Primary School he should be required to do work more accurately. Measured drawings should be made of objects that are to be constructed, and this plan should be developed side by side with the constructive work. Planning should always precede construction. The plans should be made in drawing books specially kept for the purpose. It is essential that this work be neatly and carefully set out.

In all classes opportunities should be given for free choice work. With the exception of the Woodwork Course, the models set down are suggestive only. Teachers are free to substitute suitable alternative models.

The Course of Infants' School Work

Sand Table Work. The sand table can be used for recreative purposes and also for illustrating lessons, stories, etc. To be of the greatest service a project should be completed while the subject is under discussion. The first essential is that the work should be the children's own, but the teacher may assist the pupils in the imaginative building up of the project to be worked out, the children then have a definite aim. Suggested improvements may then be made by the teacher, but she may neither plan the project, nor detail the method of procedure.

Modelling. Modelling simple round forms, e.g. balls, beads, fruit, vegetables, cups and saucers, jugs, pottery shapes, etc.

Paper Tearing. This occupation is a valuable means of expression to children. The paper should not be flimsy. Coloured papers give greater satisfaction to children by their brightness of effect. Exercises might include tearing paper in strips, making tassels, tails for kites, common objects, e.g. spinning top, umbrella, ship, house, leaves, fruit and vegetables.
Paper Cutting. Paper cutting includes free cutting and outline cutting. As far as possible bold outline should be attempted first.

Paper Folding and Construction Work. When the children commence paper modelling, simple quick work may be done, illustrating talks and stories by constructing models of houses, tents, tables, etc., which may be made by simple folding without any cutting or fixing. Cover, Manilla and Cartridge paper are suitable for the work, but if these are not available any other thick paper may be used. Parts of the models may be tied with silks, the necessary holes being made with a punch.

Mat Weaving. Should be carried out with strips of paper, raffia, wool, etc.

Raffia Work. The raffia should be wound on cardboard foundations. The work to a great extent will be imitative, but the teacher should whenever possible get the children to suggest the mode of operation before giving instructions to the class. As far as possible the underlying cardboard shapes of the objects should be cut by the children themselves. Whenever possible native grasses should be used. Suitable objects would be: circular mat, serviette ring, photo frame, rectangular mat, and needle case.

Bead Work. Beads of different shapes may be used for this work. They could be threaded with fine wire, string or cotton. Simple patterns may be made, or objects constructed such as a teapot stand, serviette, ring or bracelet.

Infant School Teachers should make a selection from the above occupations, and any others considered suitable may be added.

The Course of Primary School Work

Cardboard Modelling. All models should be drawn to scale previous to construction. The drawings should be set out in books kept for the purpose. Thin cardboard should be used at first, stouter cardboard and strawboard in later exercises. The work permits of considerable accuracy and many objects of interest and ability may be made. Some models may be made with flanges, in others butt joints may be used and paper or bookbinders cloth used to bind the edges. The earlier may be tied with silks. The scissors and knife
are the cutting instruments. It is advisable to work with a cutting board. This may be made with wood or zinc. A suitable adhesive can be made as follows: 1/2 lb flour, 1 oz. alum, boil, add a few drops of oil of cloves. Suitable examples: flat - triangular, circular, hexagonal, octagonal mats, quatrefoil, trefoil bookmarks; folded and pasted together - trays of various shapes with upright and sloping sides, e.g. rectangular tray, triangular tray, hexagonal tray, picture frame, boxes of various kinds of models of articles of furniture, e.g. stool, chair and table.

Reed Basketry. Mats of various shapes introducing different kinds of weaving and borders. Small baskets with upright and sloping sides also with round, oval and rectangular bases. Models, e.g. card tray, fruit basket, work basket, flower basket, cake basket, waste paper basket. Native materials should be used.

Coiled Basketry. Use raffia on cane foundations. Simple weaves, e.g. lazy squaw, simple coil, pura coil and Samoan. Models - baskets of various shapes, with handles, lids, etc. To be constructed with native materials if possible.

Cord Work. Knotting, splicing, binding, plaiting and netting. Use of string, macrame, rope, etc.

Woodwork. The aim of this instruction is to provide a training for the hand and eye with special regard to accuracy and observation in measurement; also to impart a knowledge of the principles of good construction. Accordingly the bench work is arranged so as to take the form of graduated exercises.

Good workmanship and finish are of primary importance, the production of a large number of models is secondary. Teachers should demonstrate the method of using the tools, and they should endeavour to get the pupils to assume good healthy working postures. From the moment a boy commences to use tools he should pay close attention to his drawing, and every opportunity should be taken to show him the necessity for, and the advantages to be derived from frequent comparison of the work with the drawing.

All tools should be properly cared for and the room and all that pertains thereto should be kept in an orderly manner. There should be a definite place for everything
and the scholars trained to keep everything in its proper place. During the lesson many tools are required but they should not be strewn about the bench in an indifferent manner. The benches should not at any time be overloaded with tools, but, as each tool ceases to be required, it should be returned to its place in the rack or cupboard.

Bench notes written on cards corresponding to each model and showing the sequence of development of the different exercises will give the boy sufficient data for proceeding with the work without waiting for the teacher's instructions. When starting bench-work it is a good plan to call the scholars to the demonstrating bench and give any necessary demonstrations. The last two models completed by each boy should be kept at the school for inspection.

Tools and Timber. Lessons of short duration should be given on tools and timber:

1. tools, their construction and use;
2. sharpening tools, e.g. plane irons, chisels, etc.
3. use of screws, nails, and glue;
4. elementary knowledge of timbers. Varieties, conversation (sic) and preservation, defects in timber.

Special reference should be made to Papuan timbers.

Drawing. The inclusion of drawing in an Educational Handwork Course should have for its ultimate object something more than teaching a boy to draw. It should teach him the habit of observation, teach him to think and reason, make him careful and accurate.

The drawings should on no account be mere copies. In the early stages the drawing should be taught from a finished specimen of the object to be drawn. Such a specimen should be exhibited, and the scholars questioned concerning the details and dimensions, the pupils being allowed to measure the different dimensions as the work proceeds. From the information thus gained the teacher should prepare rough sketches, marking in the dimensions, and from these prepare a finished working drawing. Later the scholars should take a model, analyse it for themselves, make their own rough sketches, and then proceed to execute the finished drawings. All drawings must be neat and accurate. Inaccurate or slovenly work is worthless. The cleanliness of books should
receive special attention from the teacher. Pencils should have correct points, and rubber should be used as little as possible.

Drawings will consist of plans, elevations, and sections (if necessary). The preparation of the drawing involves a knowledge of the principles of Orthographic Projection, but it is not advisable to enter into an elaborate explanation of these principles with beginners. At the outset they should be taught on the principle that they are preparing a picture or view of the various surfaces of the particular model to be made, such pictures being sufficient to enable them to obtain an idea of the shape and arrangement of the various parts, and the dimensions of any portion of the work. The title and date should be on each drawing made.
Appendix B

PAPUA
No. XXIV of 1912
AN ORDINANCE

To consolidate and amend the enactments relating to apprentices

J.H.P. MURRAY.
16th July 1912.

Be it enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Territory of Papua, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:

(1) This Ordinance may be cited as the 'Apprentices Ordinance, 1912'.

(2) It shall commence on a day to be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor by proclamation published in the Gazette.

2. (1) The following enactments are repealed:
The Apprentices Act of 1828, 9 Geo. IV No.8 (Queensland, adopted).
The Apprentices Act of 1884, 8 Vic. No.2 (Queensland, adopted).

(2) All indentures and assignments made or executed under any enactment hereby repealed shall be as valid as if the Ordinance had been in force when they were so made or executed, and they had been made hereunder.

3. (1) In this Ordinance unless the context or subject matter otherwise indicates or requires, -
'apprentice' means any child who is bound apprentice by indenture or assignment of indenture under the Ordinance;
'two justices' means two justices of the peace or a magistrate;
'master' means any person or official, male or female, to whom any child may be bound apprentice by indenture or
assignment of indenture under this Ordinance.

(2) Nothing in this Ordinance shall extend to any solicitor or to any person engaged in the tuition of any professional or scientific branch of learning or pursuit, or to any articled clerk of such solicitor, or to any clerk or apprentice of such person.

4. No child shall be bound apprentice under this Ordinance unless he has attained the age of fourteen years, and the term of apprenticeship shall not in any case exceed seven years.

5. Any two justices may by indenture bind, or cause to be bound, any child in respect of whose maintenance an order has been made under any Ordinance enabling justices to make orders for the maintenance of children deserted or left without means of support to be apprenticed to any master.

6. Any father resident in the Territory of any child, or if the father is dead or the inmate of any prison, asylum for the insane, or benevolent institution of any kind, then the mother so resident, and not under any such disability, or if the child has not such parent but has a guardian, then such guardian, and if there is no guardian any two justices, may by indenture bind, or cause to be bound, any such child to any master, to be instructed by him in any trade, art, business, or manual occupation.

7. Any person resident in and exercising any trade, art, business, or manual occupation upon his own account within the Territory may by indenture take any apprentices coming within any of the preceding sections to be instructed in such trade, art, business, or occupation.

8. Any official in the service of the Government of the Territory having the direction and control of persons engaged in any trade, art, or manual occupation exercised therein on behalf of that Government, may, with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor, take so many apprentices coming within any of the preceding sections as he may require to serve under him and his successors in office.

9. Before any child is bound or taken as apprentice he may be admitted as and become a probationer on such terms as may be agreed upon for a period of three months to the proposed master in the trade, art, business, or manual occupation as
to which it is contemplated to bind him; and the proposed
master or the proposed apprentice or the parent or the other
person authorised may at the end of such period of three
months terminate such engagement if any or either so desires
or signifies; but if no such desire is expressed the child
may be indentured as apprentice.

10. An indenture of apprenticeship shall be in writing,
with a counterpart thereof, and shall be entered into, signed,
and sealed by the apprentice as of the first part, by the
parent or by such person, guardian, or justices as the case
may be of the second part; and by the intended master of the
third part; and such indenture shall specify the particular
trade, art, business, or occupation in which the apprentice
is to be instructed and the period for which he is to serve,
and shall be in the form as nearly as may be set out in the
First Schedule hereto; and every such indenture shall be
binding both on the master and on the apprentice in like
manner as it would have been if the apprentice had been of
full age at the time of his entering into signing and sealing
the same.

11. Any master, or, if he is then dead, the executor or
administrator of the master, may by endorsement set out upon
the indenture of apprenticeship or on the counterpart thereof,
or if both be lost, then by any other sufficient instrument
in writing under his hand and seal, but by and with the
consent of two justices, testified by their joining as parties
to such endorsement, and after reasonable notice to and hearing
such apprentice, and with the consent of such apprentice,
assign that indenture and the services of the apprentice
thereunder to any fit person (who shall also sign as a party
to such endorsement) for the remainder of the term mentioned
in that indenture:

Provided that such endorsement or other instrument as
aforesaid shall be on the form as nearly as can be, and
contain the declaration and acknowledgement set out in the
Second Schedule hereto; and in such case such apprentice
shall be deemed to be the apprentice of such assignee to all
intents and purposes.

12. Notwithstanding any provision contained herein or in
any such indenture of apprenticeship or assignment, the term
of apprenticeship specified shall, if it is not sooner com-
pleted by effluxion of time, be taken to expire, and shall
expire, when the apprentice attains the age of twenty-one
years, or marries with the consent of the person appointed to give consent to the marriage of minors, under the provision of any Ordinance for that purpose.

13. No apprentice shall be bound to serve his master for more than forty-eight hours during one week.

14. In case of any difference or dispute between any master and any apprentice arising under any indenture or assignment the party aggrieved may cause a summons to be issued out of the court of petty sessions of the district in which the difference or dispute rose, specifying the wrong or injury complained of and the redress sought, and calling upon the other party to show cause, upon a given day before that court, why that party should not be ordered to give or make that redress; and thereupon any two justices may hear the complaint, and make such order upon such difference or dispute as in their discretion equity and right requires, and may impose any fine not exceeding ten pounds upon such master or apprentice as a penalty for any proved misconduct or breach of contract. Such justice may also discharge such apprentice if they think proper by certificate under their hands from the service of such master, and may cancel the indenture of apprenticeship or any assignment thereof, which certificate shall be a bar to any action on such indenture or assignment, and may award such costs of the proceeding as they may think reasonable, and may order the payment of any wages then owing by the master to the apprentice.

15. (1) If any apprentice before the expiration of his apprenticeship absents himself without leave from his master's service for more than a week, such apprentice may at any time be compelled to serve such master for such a time as he has so absented himself, or to make reasonable satisfaction to his master for the loss the latter has sustained by such absence, and so from time to time as often as such apprentice so absents himself.

(2) If such apprentice refuses to serve as hereby required or to make reasonable satisfaction as aforesaid or cannot then be found, his master may make complaint of such offense on oath to any justice of the peace, and such justice may thereupon issue his warrant for the apprehension of such apprentice. Any two justices may hear such complaint in a summary way, and determine what satisfaction shall be made to such master, and if such apprentice does not make or give security to make such satisfaction according to such
determination, such justices may commit him to any gaol for any period not exceeding one month, and he shall also be bound to serve his master for the period during which he so absented himself.

16. It shall not be lawful for any such master as aforesaid to put away or transfer any such apprentice as aforesaid to any other person or in any way discharge such apprentice from his service without such consent as it specified in section eleven or under the certificate provided for by section fourteen hereof; and any master violating the provisions of this section shall be liable to a penalty of not exceeding ten pounds.

17. All proceedings and complaints under this Ordinance shall be had, taken, heard, and determined in a summary way under the provisions of any Ordinance for the time being in force relating to duties of justices of the peace with respect to summary convictions and orders, and all convictions and orders may be enforced and appealed against as in any such Ordinance is or may be provided.

18. Any fine or penalty or any portion thereof paid or recovered under this Ordinance may at the discretion of the court be applied to and for the use and benefit of the complainant as compensation for the injury or wrong sustained by him. Subject to any order of the court for such application such fine or penalty shall be paid into the public revenue of the Territory.

19. No imprisonment shall be inflicted under this Ordinance upon any apprentice under sixteen years of age, or upon any female apprentice.

20. When any child is bound or caused to be bound as an apprentice by justices under this Ordinance, or when any justices shall consent to any assignment of the indenture of any such child, the said justices shall cause the Government Secretary to be immediately informed thereof, and to be supplied with a copy of the indenture or assignment of the indenture of apprenticeship as the case may be.

21 Children bound or caused to be bound as apprentices by justices under this Ordinance shall be liable to inspection by any officer authorised by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council; and such officer shall have right of access to and communication with such children at all times during the
term of their apprenticeship, and shall have full power to initiate and carry out legal proceedings on their behalf, and otherwise provide that the conditions of the indentures and agreements made between such apprentices and their master are faithfully carried out; and such officer shall report annually upon the operation of this Ordinance as far as he is herein empowered to exercise supervision thereunder to the Government Secretary.

Passed in Council this sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twelve.
Notes on sources

Anglican Mission  
Part of the collection of Dogura papers had been sorted and catalogued in the New Guinea Collection, UPNG when this research was initially carried out. The rest remained unsorted.

Kwato Extension Association  
At the time this study was made, the Abel papers at UPNG were held, unsorted, in patrol boxes at UPNG.

London Missionary Society  
The United Church safe underneath Metoreia House contains a large collection of partly sorted material, some in unuseable condition.

Methodist Mission  
The two sources used were the catalogued material in the Mitchell Library and the uncatalogued and unsorted material in the UPNG Library. Thus, in the footnotes, MMDM refers to Minutes of Annual District Meetings of the British New Guinea (Papua) District, in the UPNG collection; MEA refers to the more comprehensive Methodist Mission District, estimates, accounts, circuit reports and home auxiliary balance sheets, in the Mitchell Library.

There is a lack of balance in this study which reflects the material available on each mission. L.M.S. and Methodist material is plentiful. The Anglican Mission lost many of their records during the war. Sacred Heart records are very scarce. Most seem to have been transferred to Europe.
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   (c) United Church Archives, Metoreia House, Poreporena
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4. Methodist Missionary Society sources
   (a) Methodist Church Overseas Mission material, Mitchell Library
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5. Sacred Heart Mission, Yule Island papers

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