THE HISTORY OF MISSION EDUCATION IN THE TERRITORY OF PAPUA-NEW GUINEA FROM 1872 TO 1962 WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE YEARS 1932 TO 1952

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39430

EDUCATION

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PREFACE

The area that is now called the Territory of Papua and New Guinea has been aptly termed the "land time forgot".[1] One of the last lands to be opened up, its first civilised settlers arrived in 1871 and 1872[2] - the vanguard of the London Missionary Society in the Territory.[3] These pioneers of modern settlement in Papua and New Guinea were termed "teachers" by their European mission supervisors. The title for the first few years applied less to what went on within the walls of a classroom than to the processes of civilisation, socialisation and evangelisation. The national teachers[4] of the London Missionary Society were followed within twenty years by European and national teachers and other workers of four further missionary organisations - those of the Methodists,

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[1] For example see the use of the term in A.G. Stewart, "The Life Story of Captain G.F. Jones - Part 9 - New Guinea, The Land Time Forgot", Australasian Record, August 31st, 1959, p.8.

[2] The London Missionary Society placed its teachers on several islands in the Papuan Gulf in 1871. Teachers were left on the mainland of Papua in 1872. See London Missionary Society, Chronicle, July, 1873, p.149 and ibid., August, 1873, p.177.

[3] Hereafter the expression "the Territory" will designate the whole of the present day Territory of Papua and New Guinea unless otherwise indicated, e.g. "Territory of Papua", "Territory of New Guinea".

[4] The expression "national" for the purpose of this thesis refers to a non-European native of any of the islands of the Territory or of the nearby Pacific islands.

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Lutherans, Roman Catholics and Anglicans.[1] These missions and those that followed them after the turn of the century launched, as a vital part of their work, a system of day schools which grew to cater for 168,000 pupils by 1962 in a land with a population of just under two million.

In the growth of this system of mission-sponsored education in Papua and New Guinea there have been some interesting and enlightening developments. Some of these have been the evolution of the mission school system through a pattern of phases, the processes by which a non-government school system may become self-propogating, and the relationships which may emerge between breadth (overall population coverage) and depth (advancement along scholastic lines for selected persons) in a religiously-based system of education aiming to meet the needs of the total population and at the same time to prepare future leaders from amongst the natives themselves. This thesis sees as one of the more important of the developments which occurred in mission education in the Territory the process by which the Papua and New Guinea Administration was able effectively to relate itself to the church-sponsored system so that the mission schools would contribute directly to the Government's ends in education. The lesson provided by this Administration-initiated process is the more

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[1] vide infra p. 33

remarkable when it is noted that the mission school system had goals in education distinct from the Government's goals for education in several important respects.

In order to be most helpfully related the differences between the Administration's and the missions' systems are best studied over the full range of ninety years from the launching of the first mission schools in the 1870's. While the Government had a small system of schools operating in New Guinea before World War II it did not launch into education in an effective way until after 1945. On the other hand, mission schools had been developing since 1872 a broad social-cultural-vernacular approach which, as will be noticed, was at its strongest by the 1930's. A noteworthy achievement of the Administration in the post-War era was to re-direct the efforts of the mission personnel so that their broad vernacular system was largely channelled into a programme aimed at literary and academic advancement in English.

The major purpose of this thesis is to define and describe the phases through which the religiously-orientated mission system of education evolved. The earliest phases deal with the setting up of the system, the intermediate phase deals with its consolidation, especially in the 1930's; and the final phase treats its challenge from the Administration after World War II. The phases have been termed

Establishment, Expansion, Consolidation, and Re-assessment. Inasmuch as the thesis pays special attention to the years 1932 to 1952 the third and fourth phases will receive closest treatment. Coupled with this historical phase study is a critical strand which aims at assessing the achievements of mission education. This strand emerges most clearly at the commencement of the more purely chronological section (Chapter Five - The Developing Professional Outlook) and is tied off in the closing chapter where conclusions are drawn concerning the success of mission education.

The opening chapters of the thesis are deliberately topical and are designed to create a setting and provide an overall view of the period under study. Dealing with matters such as the national scene, the objectives of mission education, life at the mission school, and the problems of mission education, these early chapters scan most of the time range from 1871 to 1961 in terms of a particular area of background importance. After chapter four the approach becomes chronological and provides a close-up view of mission education during the crucial years of transition from the Consolidation Phase of the vernacular approach to the Re-assessment Phase with its subsequent re-committal to the use of education and re-direction in terms of the Administration's goals.

Existing studies in the field of history of mission education in Papua and New Guinea are limited, with nothing covering the whole range of time from the 1870's to the present decade and attempting to treat all of the missions involved in education. R. Pearse in his Education for Advancement in the Territory of Papua[1] includes a chapter on "The Role of Christian Missions in Education in Papua and New Guinea, 1946 to the Present (1964)" in a study which picks up the subject of education at the point where government education in the Territory commenced to be important - 1946. Communications from the Administration to the missions are well treated. Some years earlier R. Wilkinson presented a thesis on Methodist Missionary Influence on Native Education in Tonga, Fiji and Papua-New Guinea.[2] The section on Papua and New Guinea is confined, understandably, to the work of the Methodist Mission. The important historical mileposts are planted conspicuously from the inception of Methodist work in the Territory.

Recently several references to the history of mission education in Papua and New Guinea have appeared in journals in Australia and in the Territory. R.C. Ralph wrote, in

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[1] R. Pearse, Education for Advancement in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, unpublished thesis, University of Sydney, 1964.

[2] R.C. Wilkinson, Methodist Missionary Influence on Native Education in Tonga, Fiji and Papua-New Guinea, unpublished thesis, University of Sydney, 1959.

1965, an article on education in New Guinea under German occupation (1884 - 1914).[1] The German annual reports for the period and (Lutheran) J. Flierl's writings appear to have been his main sources. Realising that his source material had been confined Ralph invited his readers to contribute any relevant material, arguments and criticisms. More recently P.V. Meere wrote for The Australian Journal of Education an account of "The Development and Present State of Mission Education in Papua and New Guinea."[2] With less than a page being devoted to the years prior to 1942, the article lays vastly more stress on the final stage of the development of mission education to the neglect of the important preceding stages. Meere makes good use of his familiarity with the New Guinea situation to throw light on the present condition of mission education.

The amount of source material available for a thesis on the history of mission education in Papua and New Guinea is extensive. This includes official Administration reports and monthly journals for many of the missions. These, together with mission minutes of relevant committees, mission correspondence and diaries, and Administration minutes and correspondence, have made it possible frequently

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[1] R.C. Ralph, "Some Notes on Education in German New Guinea, 1884 - 1914", Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education, July, 1965, pp.71-77.

[2] P.V. Meere, "The Development and Present State of Mission Education in Papua and New Guinea", The Australian Journal of Education, March, 1968, pp.46-57.

to check mission and Government claims against each other. A regrettable omission in the source material has been Government correspondence with missions prior to World War II. This it appears was either lost or mislaid in the fall of Rabaul in January, 1942, and in the removal of documents from Port Moresby at the commencement of hostilities. Recompense for this loss is provided to a degree in the detailed personal accounts of mission education provided in the annual reports for the two territories in pre-War times.

Secondary sources, consisting mainly of biographies of mission personnel and personal accounts by missionaries, have been drawn upon to a limited extent where they have dealt with matters of education more directly.

For the purposes of preparation of this thesis a visit was taken to the Territory of Papua and New Guinea during November and December, 1966. The itinerary included the localities of Port Moresby, Lae, Goroka, Mt. Hagen, Madang, Wewak and Rabaul. Appreciation is here expressed for the warmth of reception provided in each of these places by mission leaders and teachers. Wide access was provided to mission plant and proceedings, and on some occasions classes were especially convened at unscheduled times to provide, as far as possible, a picture of normal operating conditions. Acknowledgement is given also to the hospitality of the Administration at Konedobu. The resources

of the Education Department's library there were made available, as were all files of relevant minutes, memoranda and correspondence dating from 1946 to most recent times. Special acknowledgement should be given to the Mitchell Library which provided the largest single source of research material. Journals and papers were available there for most of the missions operating in Papua and New Guinea. These included the Methodist, Anglican, Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches, and the London Missionary Society. Additional materials were made available at the separate offices of the London Missionary Society at Petersham, the Seventh-day Adventist Church at Wahroonga and Cooranbong, the Society of the Divine Word (Roman Catholic) at Epping, the Baptist Church in Sydney and at Epping, the Lutheran Church at Ipswich, Queensland, and the Unevangelised Fields Mission in Melbourne. Acknowledgement is made to the National Library, Canberra, for access to translations of the German annual reports made prior to 1914 for the New Guinea area.

The most important task faced in tracing the combined history of six separate mission organisations over a period of ninety years was the discovery, where warranted, of a common pattern of development. The work was made more difficult in that the mission groups were launched at different times, for different reasons and under differing

conditions. The solution chosen was to see the systems of mission education passing at their own rates through three naturally evolving phases and then being forced abruptly and concurrently into a fourth phase by a change of international conditions, native outlook and Government policy. The "repeated phase" thesis outlined in the initial chapter has been chosen as a workable hypothesis within the framework of which the extensive array of evidence may be organised and by means of which this new ground may be broken. There is, clearly, room for further study in the field entered by this study. One promising area would appear to be an examination of the interactive influences of the Administration and missions systems upon each other in educational policy and practice in Papua and New Guinea. This has been treated in this account briefly - mainly for the post-War era. A further area for future research would be a comparative study of existing education in the two separate territories (Papua and New Guinea) in the light of their differing backgrounds.

A brief comment should be made concerning the attitude which ought to be taken towards the primary source material provided in the writings of the mission supervisors and teachers themselves. There could well be a temptation to accept uncritically at face value the contemporary reports and accounts of a group of persons with such an

apparent degree of dedication and self-sacrifice. It should be borne in mind, however, that at times the writers were not trained educators themselves, they were most frequently not writing for professional educators and that usually they were writing in order to build up the interest of home church members in providing much-needed financial support. Due to these factors, allowance should be made for the couching of much of the mission-initiated comment in non-professional language and for the natural tendency of a writer to choose to report on those features of his environment which will best serve his purposes.

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ABSTRACT

While the Territory of Papua and New Guinea from the year 1884 passed through several forms of British and German, civil and military government, mission native education, first set up in the Territory in 1872, developed through four consecutive phases. The first of these, the Establishment Phase, aimed at winning the confidence of the native people, eliminating the worst forms of violence, mastering the local language, and conducting the beginnings of what came to be the second level of mission schooling in the Territory - the district school typically situated at mission district headquarters and taught by well-educated but untrained European teachers. The second phase, Expansion, aimed at spreading mission influence as widely as possible into the area surrounding the district school by use of the native pastor-teacher system and the setting up of what came to be the first level of mission schools - the village vernacular school which aimed to provide the earliest years of the pupils' education, consisting mainly of simple vernacular literacy and calculations together with religion. On completing the village school work the native child was intended to go on to the district school which may have had boarding facilities. From the district

schools the process of developing the lives of the young mission believers was to continue at the training school which was set up in the third phase. Consolidation was the next phase to emerge in mission education. It became possible when the various district schools of a particular mission had so many students capable of continuing their education and becoming pastor-teachers themselves that it was most efficient to call in trained instructors to teach in centralised boarding training schools. These schools constituted the top level of mission schooling in the Territory and were aimed at speeding up the self-propagation process by the more efficient preparation of pastor-teachers with an improved background of general education.

By the 1930's all of the missions reaching the Territory by 1920 had moved confidently into the Consolidation Phase and were enjoying a good deal of success in the achievement of the goals of vernacular education. Then World War II came with its far reaching changes in native, national and international outlook. This precipitated mission education into its fourth phase: Re-assessment, which involved examining and then striving towards the Administration - imposed objectives of an academically-oriented, English-speaking education.

Despite a succession of serious problems centred first in the nature of the Territory and its people,

then in the financial limitations of the homeland constituencies, and finally in the scholastic and linguistic limitations of the native village teachers, the missions were able to provide a workably complete system of education achieving the majority both of its own goals and those imposed by the Administration in the post-War period.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PHASES OF MISSION EDUCATION IN PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA AS SEEN AGAINST THE POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS IN THE TERRITORY (1872 - 1962)

Missions and mission education first reached mainland Papua in 1872 twelve years before any government was set up.[1] Missions, in 1875, also provided the initial civilized settlement in the New Guinea area.[2] Up till that time the indigenous population had contacted Europeans mainly as traders "calling off the coast and purchasing food and tortoise shell from the natives, who put off to them in canoes."[3]

By the year 1884 the lack of official administrative control was made up when both British and German forms of colonial government were instituted in what is now called the Territory of Papua and New Guinea and what was first called British New Guinea to the south and German New Guinea to the north.[4] The two territories developed distinctive

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[1] London Missionary Society, op. cit., July, 1873, p.149, and August, 1873, p.177.

[2] vide infra, p.33.

[3] British Administration, German New Guinea, Government Gazette, November 15th, 1914, p.5.

[4] vide infra, p.3.

forms of administration each with its own relationship to missions and mission education. The first section of this chapter makes an outline study of the political, administrative and general educational developments in each of the two areas as a background against which to examine the establishment and growth of mission education.

Papua and New Guinea - Background Study

European contact with the mainland of Papua and New Guinea dates back to the early sixteenth century. The Portugese de Abreu sighted its shores in 1512 and his fellow countryman de Meneses also accidentally came up against the coast in 1526 while sailing between the Malay Peninsula and the Spice Islands. The latter gave it the name "Papua".[1] The name "New Guinea" was given in 1545 by the Spaniard de Retez who imagined some likeness between the natives and those he had seen on the Guinea coast of Africa.[2]

Jansze (1606), Torres (1606), Tasman (1644)[3] and Dampier (1700) were other European visitors, the last mentioned leaving England's mark in the name "New Britain".[4]

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[1] J. Moresby, New Guinea the Sentinel, Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1943, p.7.

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1963-1964, p.20.

[3] J.E. Heeres, The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia 1606-1765, London: Luzac and Company, 1899, pp.v,vi.

[4] Bonner, W.H., Captain William Dampier, Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1943, p.22.

Captain Cook also sighted the coast after his epic 1770 voyage along the coast of eastern Australia.[1]

One hundred years after Captain Cook's visit, around the time when the London Missionary Society extended its work from Polynesia to Papua, coconut oil was becoming a highly marketable product in Europe. During the late 1870's the Hamburg (Germany) firm of Godeffroy's commenced copra trading in the Pacific in earnest.[2] The presence of representatives of various European countries and especially of the Germans (so recently come to nationhood under the leadership of Bismarck and his militant Prussians) so close to Australia led to the raising of a clamour by the Australian colonies.[3],[4] As things developed, in 1884 both Britain and Germany proclaimed a protectorate - the British to the south with headquarters at Port Moresby (the head station of the London Missionary Society from whose buildings the major proclamation was made),[5] and the Germans

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1963-1964, p.17.

[2] ibid. p.21.

[3] See, for example, A.K. Collins, Lecture on New Guinea at the Masonic Hall, Sydney, April 13th, 1867, published at Sydney, by the Caxton Steam Printing Office, 1867.

[4] In 1883 Queensland attempted an annexation of New Guinea which the British Foreign Office subsequently declared null and void. In December, 1883 an intercolonial convention was convened at Sydney, which called for the annexation of all New Guinea but that part occupied by the Dutch. Great Britain, Foreign Office, German Colonization, London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1920, pp.74,75.

[5] C. Lyne, New Guinea, An Account of the Establishment of the British Protectorate over the Southern Shores of New Guinea, London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1885, p.1.

to the north operating until 1899 through a chartered company, the German New Guinea Company, with headquarters first at Finschhafen, then at Madang, at Kokopo and finally at Rabaul.[1]

British New Guinea (Papua)

The form of government proclaimed in British New Guinea in 1884 was a Protectorate administered by a special commissioner. This gave way in 1888 to full annexation of the area with Britain sharing the responsibility for controlling British New Guinea with the colonies of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria.[2] After Federation the Commonwealth Government of Australia assumed joint control with Great Britain until 1906 at which time the Commonwealth assumed full control of British New Guinea changing its name to Papua.[3]

Through the years British New Guinea (or Papua) has had several distinguished administrators with two in particular having longer terms of office and exerting an important influence. William Macgregor held office from 1889 until 1898 - ten important formative years under joint British and Australian colonial rule.[4] Macgregor's interest

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[1] Great Britain, Foreign Office, op. cit., p.77.

[2] J.D. Legge, Australian Colonial Policy, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956, p.1.

[3] ibid.

[4] British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1889-1890, Introduction, and 1898-1899, Introduction.

in the welfare of the native peoples and his appreciation for the efforts of the missions is evident in the reports which he made through the years.[1,2] At the time of Australia's assuming full control in Papua, J.H.P. (afterwards Sir Hubert) Murray became Acting-Administrator.[3] He was given full official control in 1908 as Lieutenant-Governor, which office he held until his death in 1940.[4] Murray's long term of office together with the fact that he persistently saw the native people as part of "our common humanity" and that he saw the welfare of the natives as "one of the first objects of administration" meant that for over three decades the Territory of Papua had a quiet and steady progression towards pacification and civilisation.[5] The atmosphere created by Murray's administration was noteworthy for its good-will and co-operation, especially with regard to the efforts of the missionaries. Some in the Territory of Papua charged that the Government was "too ready to collaborate" with the missions in work for the natives.[6]

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[1] See, for example, ibid., 1893-1894, p.xxviii, and 1891-1892, p.23.

[2] Macgregor "had been in the habit of saying that he looked upon himself as being an honorary member of each of the missions." Methodist Church in Australia, The Missionary Review, January 6th, 1892, p.12.

[3] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1906-1907, Introduction.

[4] ibid., 1939-1940, Introduction.

[5] J.H.P. Murray, "Anthropology and the Government of Subject Races", ibid., 1919-1920, p.105.

[6] J.H.P. Murray, "Approximation of Administration and Missionary Methods", ibid., 1930-1931.

Certain expectations were urged upon the missions by the Papuan Administration, such as keeping to fixed spheres of influence in their mission work (from 1890 on) and giving stress to English (from 1896 on).[1,2] However, there were some compensations such as Administration backing in pacification efforts and, from 1920 on, payment of a small subsidy from the Native Taxation Fund for students who successfully passed an examination conducted generally annually by a visiting inspector.[3]

In the year 1914 the Papuan Education Ordinance was passed giving the Administration statutory authority over all education with the power to enforce attendance of native children.[4] The Papuan Administration showed a further interest in education in 1931 when it prepared a syllabus of work for Papuan primary schools.[5] During the 1930's considerable attention was paid by the Administration to the examination results of the pupils in the Government-assisted mission schools.[6] The Administration still had

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[1] British New Guinea (later Papua), Annual Report, 1889-1890, p.18.

[2] ibid., 1895-1896, p.29.

[3] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1919-1920, p.22.

[4] Commonwealth of Australia, Territory of Papua, Laws of the Territory of Papua 1888-1945, 2 vols., II, 1774.

[5] vide infra, pp.180 ff.

[6] vide infra, pp.184 ff.

no plans for conducting its own schools and apparently was relying upon the missions, with whom it had close and co-operative relations, to develop the literacy of the natives for the foreseeable future.

The Japanese invasion of the Territory of New Guinea in January, 1942, and the subsequent launching of an attack over the Owen Stanley Range marked the passing of an era for the Territory of Papua.[1] Civil government was suspended in February 1942 and did not resume until October 1945 at the handing over of authority by the military authorities.[2] The post-War Administration had control of Papua and New Guinea combined.[3] The link with a mandated territory was highly significant for education in Papua as it was to be influenced by the demands of the United Nations regarding the Territory of New Guinea.

New Guinea

National affairs in the Territory of New Guinea by contrast with affairs in Papua underwent several striking changes up to the time of administrative union with Papua in 1945. As already indicated, the first rule in New Guinea was in the hands of the German New Guinea Company

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[1] vide infra, pp.209 f.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946 (Roneoed), Introduction.

[3] ibid.

from 1884 to 1899. The company founded for commercial reasons had no deep interest in either mission advancement or mission education work. Pioneer Lutheran missionary, J. Flierl, was faced by delaying tactics when he first sought entry to the Territory in the mid-1880's. He won through eventually when he challenged the leaders of the new colony with "Can the New Guinea Company bear the responsibility for withholding the Gospel?"[1] Two German Protestant missionary societies were soon working side by side with the Company which had become willing to share the security of its establishment.

When the German Imperial Government took over direct control in 1899 it worked vigorously for the pacification of the natives and for the protection of the traders and the missionaries in their work.[2] Understandably the German Administration, whose first interest was in trade, encouraged plantation work on mission land and expressed appreciation when the missions extended their work inland.[3]

Late in 1914 Dr. George Brown, of the Methodist Missionary Society, New Britain, spoke well of Dr. Hahl, the German

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[1] F. Braun, South of the Equator, Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1937, p.29.

[2] German Imperial Colonial Office, Annual Report on the Development of the Protectorates in Africa and the South Seas, (Hereafter termed German New Guinea, Annual Report), trans. H.A. Thomson, 1901-1902, p.62. (The paging given for the German New Guinea reports, throughout this thesis is as for the single bound volume of all of the translated reports in the National Library, Canberra.)

[3] ibid., p.65.

administrator for the greater part of the time of Imperial rule in New Guinea. Brown described him as not of the "military caste" but "peaceful", "methodical" and "philanthropic" towards his "ignorant, primitive children of the wilds."[1] On the other hand, many of the German settlers considered that his ideas regarding responsibility towards the natives had "greatly checked the development of the possessions."[2] Similar complaints were to be made against British administrators in Papua and New Guinea who were putting the good of the indigenous population before the advancement of the prosperity of ex-patriate Europeans.[3]

The reported benevolence of the German Administration towards the natives did not prompt it to unite obviously with the efforts put forth by the missions. However, while there was no noteworthy unity between the two bodies there was no ill-feeling either. The only direct authority which the Government exerted was the encouragement of the teaching of German as a second language in mission schools.[4] The missions were willing to conform; the desirability of staying on good terms with the administration appears to have been a prime motive in developing this response. As

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[1] British Administration, German New Guinea, loc. cit.

[2] ibid.

[3] J.H.P. Murray, loc. cit.

[4] German New Guinea, Annual Report, 1900-1901, p.8. and ibid., 1910-1911, p.435.

well, it was understood that natives with some knowledge of German would be more likely to fill useful positions in a German colony.[1] One authority reports that the Government paid a small subsidy to those mission schools conducting classes in the teaching of German.[2]

The German Administration entered the field of native education itself in September, 1907, with a school built on Namanula Height, Rabaul.[3] There were twenty-seven pupils at the opening. Teaching was in the Blanch Bay dialect for the first years. Mechanics and German were to be included in the syllabus for higher grades.[4] By 1909 the enrolment had climbed to sixty.[5]

Just prior to the outbreak of World War I the German Administration was planning to work for a unified syllabus for its own and the mission schools. The last of the German annual reports stated: "An effort will be made to find a uniform basis for school instruction, and by unification of all the forces engaged in educating the people, to attain an increased result."[6] However, such a development was not to be.

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[1] J. Flierl, Christ in New Guinea, Tanunda, South Australia: Auricht's Printing Office, 1932, p.58.

[2] R.C. Wilkinson, op. cit., p.54.

[3] German New Guinea, Annual Report, 1907-1908, p.319.

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid., 1909-1910, p.398

[6] ibid., 1912-1913, p.590.

By August 4th, 1914, Germany was at war with Russia, Belgium, France and Britain. Australia played an early part by despatching a task force to Rabaul to annex German New Guinea on September 11th.[1] The Territory of New Guinea was placed without resistance under British-type rule.

A puzzled group of native New Guineans gathered on September 12th, 1914, to hear the victorious Australians make a unique Pidgin English announcement. The text of the proclamation is well worth preserving as an interesting document in Australian political history. It read in part:

> All boys belongina one place, you savvy big master he come now, he new feller master, he strong feller too much, you look him all ship stop place .... Suppose other feller master, he been speak you, 'You no work alonga new feller master' he gammon. Suppose you work good with this new feller master he look out good alonga you, he look out you get plenty good feller kai-kai (food) ...
>
> You look him new feller flag, you savvy him. He belonga British (English); he more better than other feller ....
>
> You no fight other feller black man other feller place you no kai-kai* man. You no steal Mary belongina other feller black man. He finish talk alonga with you soon ....
>
> Me been talk with you now, now you give three good feller cheers belongina new feller master.
>
> NO MORE 'UM KAISER.
> GOD SAVE 'UM KING.[2]

The military ships of the "new feller master" stayed until 1921 when an Australian Civil Government took over New

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[1] British Administration, German New Guinea, op. cit., November 1st, 1914, p.7.

[2] ibid.,

* kai-kai = food, i.e. "don't eat other persons."

Guinea under mandate from the League of Nations "conferred upon His Britannic Majesty, for and on behalf of the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia."[1]

Life for the missionaries in New Guinea does not appear to have been drastically changed from 1914 to 1921. A study of The Missionary Review for these years indicates that school work continued as usual in the Methodist area centering on Rabaul though expansion appears to have been checked. It could be expected that the predominantly German Lutheran missionaries on the mainland of New Guinea would not fare so well. Interestingly, Dr. Braun in his account of Lutheran work at Madang reported that though the military authorities conducted a "strict regime" the "German missionaries, traders and planters were allowed to continue their labours."[2] However, the Rhenish Missionary Society at Madang was not allowed to receive funds from the home base so that many native employees had to be dismissed.[3] The neighbouring Lutheran society at Finschhafen (Neuendettelsau) was more fortunate in that it had contacts with Lutheran church groups in Australia and the United States. The latter society shared its resources and the two groups maintained their work.[4]

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1963-1964, p.21.
[2] F. Braun, op. cit., p.90.
[3] ibid.
[4] ibid.

The civil Administration which came into power in New Guinea on May 9th, 1921, was bound by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles concerning territories under mandate. Of particular interest are three "safeguards in the interests of the indigenous population";

> (i) Freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals;
> (ii) Prohibition of abuses, such as the arms and liquor traffic and the slave trade; and
> (iii) Prevention of fortifications ... [1]

The first was to have a far-reaching influence upon the spread of mission education by opening the door to any mission desiring to enter New Guinea (in contrast to the exclusive policy in Papua determined in 1890) and the third was to leave the Territory unprotected from any attack from the north. The Japanese were to take advantage of this in 1942.

The prospects of the German missions on the mainland of New Guinea looked bleak in 1920 when the Treaty of Versailles was signed. It seemed that the German missionaries, who had spent many years familiarising themselves with local language and customs would need to leave and that their property would be taken over.[2] After sustained efforts in Australia a specially arranged union of Lutheran churches throughout the Commonwealth was given control of

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[1] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 24 vols., Chicago: William Benton, 1961, XIV, p.790.

[2] F. Braun, op. cit., pp.100-140.

the mission assets and after a time there was a relaxation of the requirement that the German personnel should leave.[1]

The new Administration of New Guinea was promptly given statutory authority in the field of education. Section 5 of the Education Ordinance 1922 reads:

> For the purposes of this Ordinance the Administrator may -
> (a) establish and maintain or abolish Government schools;
> (b) approve any school as an assisted school;
> (c) sanction grants to assisted schools from the Native Education Trust fund (in 1933 amended to 'from moneys appropriated for the purpose');
> (d) establish compulsory education;
> (e) establish education in agriculture; and
> (f) issue directions as to the management of Government schools.[2]

Section 6 of the Ordinance provided amongst other items that regulations could be issued concerning:

> (a) the instruction to be given, and the books and apparatus to be used in schools;
> (b) the routine and discipline to be enforced therein;
> (c) the standard of education;
> (d) the terms on which grants may be made to assisted schools.[3]

The Administration promptly commenced its own school system in 1922. Three schools were set up in the first year: "an elementary school for children from eight to ten years", a technical school and a school of domestic

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[1] Of the 254 missionaries in the Territory of New Guinea on June 30th, 1922, 222 were of German nationality. Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1921-1922, p.90.

[2] Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, The Laws of the Territory of New Guinea 1921-1945 (Annotated), 2 vols., II, p.2032.

[3] ibid.

economy.[1] The stated objectives of the schools centred around the "general betterment" of the natives; the fitting of the natives to take their place in the Territory as "domestic servants", as "workers in the various handicrafts" and as teachers; and the provision of "assistant teachers in schools to be established in other parts of the Territory (of New Guinea)."[2] By the year 1924 there were 104 pupils in the elementary school drawn from all of the districts throughout the Territory, and there were forty-two in the technical school.[3]

It is interesting to note that the elementary school opened near Rabaul at Kokopo was placed under the charge of a young teacher from the Education Department of Victoria, Australia - William Charles Groves. In the following decade he was to carry out anthropological research in the Territory and in the decade after that was to become the first Director of Education for Papua and New Guinea.[4,5]

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1921-1922, p.89

[2] ibid.

[3] ibid., 1923-1924, p.20.

[4] ibid., 1922-1923, pp.25,26.

[5] vide infra, p.265

During the 1920's the New Guinea Administration paid little attention to the education work of the missions. Writing of the situation in 1947, Groves claimed that the Australian Administration "gave no official recognition, assistance or oversight to the educational work of the missions whose European personnel represented a dozen different nationalities and not all of whom had a thorough knowledge of English."[1] Apart from the language barrier, which is commented on more extensively in chapter five, other reasons for the lack of interest of the New Guinea Administration in mission education work could be sought in the apparent desire for independence on the part of both bodies to handle their schooling situations alone, which in turn may have been underlined by the religious liberty clause of the Treaty of Versailles just noted.[2]

By 1927 the New Guinea Administration was aiming to provide from its own resources schooling facilities for all of the natives in the Territory. At the time it was catering for 108 elementary school pupils and 58 technical school pupils. A significant part of the policy statement on education is quoted at length to illustrate the lack of

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[1] W.C. Groves, Data paper on native education in certain South Pacific territories, prepared for South Seas Regional Conference, 1947, "New Guinea", p.1. (From the original on the files of the Education Department, Port Moresby - ED/1/586).

[2] The independence of the Administration in the 1920's in education work is illustrated immediately below, and that of the missions, especially in the 1930's, is examined at length in chapter five.

a common sense of purpose in education which was apparent between the Administration and the missions during the 1920's.

> It has been decided to open Government Elementary Schools in all districts of the Territory.
>
> To these schools the native children of the various districts will be admitted as boarders, and those who attain a prescribed standard of proficiency will be transferred to the School at Malaguna (Rabaul), which will be converted into a Secondary School ....
>
> A proposal that pupils for the administration Secondary School should be drawn from the Mission Schools was considered but was not adopted, principally for the reason that instruction in the Mission Schools is given in the vernacular of the particular areas in which the missions operate, whereas a knowledge of English is deemed to be essential for a native intended for an economic or official career, English being the official and commercial language of the Territory.
>
> The Missions were informed, however, that, if they were to teach English, the pupils who attained the necessary standard of proficiency would be admitted to the Administration Secondary School.[1]

This attitude of disinterest in mission education was to continue for up to five years by which time the Depression was to turn the eyes of the Government towards the existing school facilities of the missions.[2]

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1926-1927, p.35.

[2] The financial situations for both the Territory of New Guinea and the Commonwealth were stated as early as 1929-1930 to be prohibitive of advancement in Administration education work. Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1929-1930, p.28.

In 1928 the Administration re-asserted its intention of establishing a system of education adequate for the Territory.[1] During July and August, 1929, Mr. B.J. McKenna, Director of Education for Queensland, visited in the New Britain area, reported on the state of education and made recommendations for the future.[2] He advised amongst other things the adoption of the Torres Strait Islands syllabus, "adequate provision for the education of the native population", and the "granting of subsidies to Mission schools on condition that they teach English and throw their schools open to government inspection". He stated: "Conditions in the Territory, however, have not yet reached that state when the Government can take direct control of all education ..."[3]

The McKenna Report was accepted by the Administration "as the basis for the future educational policy of the Territory."[4] McKenna's suggestion that the time had not come for a direct Government take-over in education is reflected in the subsequent course of events. The condition of finances in both the Commonwealth and Territory led to what was practically a reversal of outlook during the thirties. There had been no increase in the number

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[1] ibid., 1927-1928, p.19.

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1929-1930, p.27.

[3] ibid., pp.29,180.

[4] ibid., p.27.

(four) of Government schools for natives between 1930 and 1933. In this latter year the Administration decided that there might be a "more rapid expansion of educational facilities" should the "Missions undertake entirely the education of the natives of the Territory" with the Administration maintaining school attendance and providing a subsidy.[1] Such an offer was made to the missions, but two years later was turned down after a committee made up of Catholic and Methodist Mission representatives (chaired by the Director of Native Affairs) had examined it.[2] It would appear that the Methodists in particular would not have been favourable to the scheme. Rev. L.A. McArthur, writing of mission work in New Britain in 1936, saw the "organisation and control of a system of day schools suited to the needs of the people" as the responsibility of the Government. The Methodist Mission was willing, due to the financial difficulties of the Administration, to provide and maintain village schools, however, Rev. McArthur saw it desirable "that the Mission should be willing to relinquish them as soon as the Administration is able to assume the responsibility for the education of the children in the villages. The Church would thereafter be able to throw all its strength into its religious

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[1] ibid., 1932-1933, p.45.
[2] ibid., 1934-1935, p.37.

teaching."[1] Had the Roman Catholics been accompanied by a mission other than the Methodist Society with this particular attitude towards the role of mission education the course of education in New Guinea might have been vastly different.[2]

As things turned out the Administration in 1935 chose to retain its native schools (three in number at that time) and to extend them when possible.[3] It was reported: "Development must be slow, and will be dependent on the availability of funds and a suitable staff. The Malaguna elementary school will become a training school for future native teachers."[4] At that time the missions in New Guinea were running 1,848 village schools, 110 elementary schools, 56 high, intermediate and technical schools and 35 training centres, none of which was under Administration supervision. There were 55,425 pupils in attendance.[5]

By 1940 the Administration had 588 pupils in seven schools which included a day school in the New Guinea highlands in the Chimbu area.[6] By then missions had

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[1] L.A. McArthur, "Our Village Schools in New Britain", The Missionary Review, December 5th, 1936, p.1.

[2] The following chapter examines in detail the attitude of the Methodist Mission to education.

[3] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1934-1935, p.35.

[4] ibid., p.37.

[5] ibid., pp.37,95.

[6] ibid., 1939-1940, p.41.

65,598 pupils attending 2,329 village schools, 158 elementary schools, 44 high, intermediate or technical schools and 35 training centres.[1] For all practical purposes education in New Guinea up to World War II, as in Papua, was in the hands of the missions. The Administration had not been able to provide more than a token system of education which Groves described further as having been stultified by stress upon instruction in English.[2]

Such relegation of education by the New Guinea Administration to what appears to be a minor role was possible under the rather indefinite League of Nations injunction "to promote to the utmost the moral, social and material advancement of the Natives of the Territory;"[3] Administration outlook was to undergo a marked change under United Nations supervision.

Papua and New Guinea after World War II

One basic objective of the trusteeship system after World War II as defined in article 76 of the charter reads:

> ... to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence ...[4]

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[1] ibid., p.42.

[2] W.C. Groves, op. cit., p.2.

[3] ibid., p.1.

[4] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 24 vols., Chicago: William Benton, 1961, XXII, p.521.

As will be indicated in a later chapter in discussing the causes for the changed attitude towards mission education after 1945, the relationship with the United Nations was not the only factor in bringing about a new relationship between Administration and missions in education. However, the particular reference in the above quote to educational advancement and development towards self-government, the tenor of comments from the Trusteeship Council to the New Guinea Government, and the Administration's response to these communications leave no doubt that the national scene with regard to schooling was being keenly affected by the international body.[1] United Nations Visiting Missions came to the Territory of New Guinea in 1950, 1953, 1956, 1959 and 1962. By way of the administrative union of Papua with New Guinea the Territory of Papua could not help but be affected by United Nations influence. There were other influences, too, which the two territories had in common and which had an important bearing upon Administration-mission relationships in education. Some of these were the enlightening effect of the War on the native peoples, the depleting of the financial resources of the missions and the appointing of an insightful and energetic first Director of Education in the person of W.C. Groves.

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[1] See, for example, Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1952-1953, pp.94-100.

These factors are dealt with at length in chapters five and six.

The attitude of the post-War Administration (combined Papua and New Guinea) to missions and education was clearly stated in the first Annual Report on education after Groves' appointment in June, 1946, as Director of Education. There was clearly foreshadowed a new interest in education on the part of the Administration with the missions being closely involved with the Government in the earliest proposals:

> Education is a major item in the plans that have been approved for the future development of the Territory, and the advancement of its inhabitants. Previously much of the education of the natives has been in the hands of the Religious Missions. The plans that have now been adopted provide for a vigorous programme of education in its broadest sense controlled and directed by the Administration.
>
> The Religious Missions which have performed very valuable service in the past have not been excluded from the present plans and they will continue to take an important part within the framework of the programme that is being developed.[1]

Such a policy as this was significantly responsible for the marked improvement in both the quantity and quality of the education provided for the native peoples of both Papua and New Guinea.[2]

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1946-1947 (Roneoed), p.23.

[2] vide infra pp.267 ff.

The Papua and New Guinea Education Department was organised along uncomplicated, effective lines. Within a year of the resumption of Civil Government the Director had organised the Department into four inter-related divisions as outlined in Figure 1.

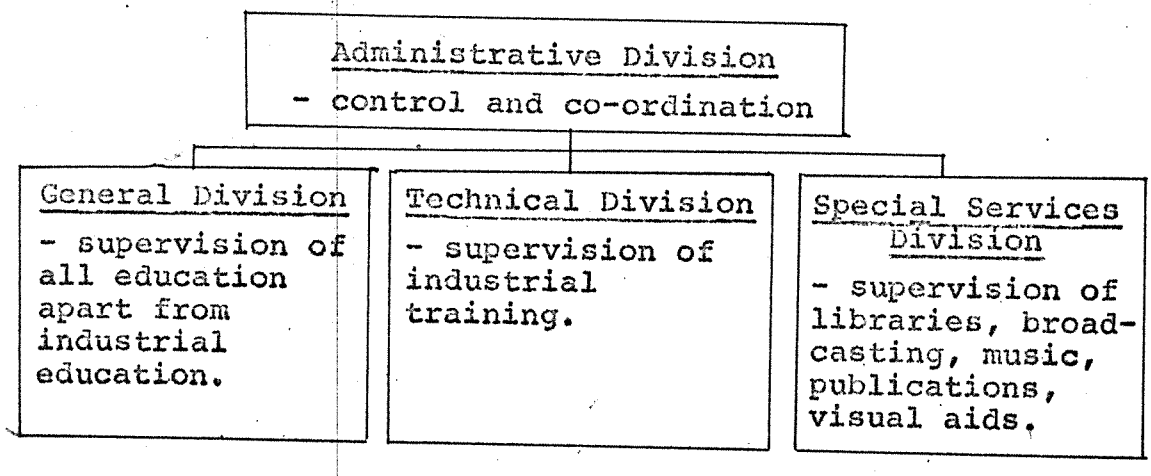

Figure 1[1] Government Administration of Education in Papua and New Guinea.

Overall control was vested in an Administrative Division which co-ordinated the efforts of three other divisions: A General Division for the direction of all school work apart from technical-type classes, a Technical Division for the supervision of technical-industrial teaching, and a Special Services Division for the direction of such services as library, visual aids and broadcasting. This form of organisation remained until 1958-1959 when it was changed to suit a growing diversification of school types. The main

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1946-1947 (Roneoed), p.23.

divisions then were Primary Education, Secondary Education, Teacher Training, and Technical Education.[1]

The Administration made it possible for mission education supervisors to gain access to the Education Department at all levels. There was provided "close and continuous liaison" through advisory boards and committees[2] and administration-mission conferences. By the year 1958 the main missions had "appointed education liaison officers to ensure effective co-operation" with a specially appointed "Missions Relations Officer of the Department of Education."[3]

During the immediate post-War years given special stress in this thesis the Government of Papua and New Guinea matured significantly along political lines. An Executive Council was inaugurated on November 30th, 1949.[4] It consisted in 1950 of ten Government officials, one of whom was the Director of Education.[5] Constitutional history was made for Papua and New Guinea at the inauguration on November 26th, 1951, of the combined territories' first Legislative Council.[6] It was the first Council either

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[1] ibid., 1958-1959, p.80.
[2] ibid., 1957-1958, p.78.
[3] ibid.
[4] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1949-1950, p.6.
[5] ibid.
[6] ibid., 1951-1952, p.15.

Territory had seen with either elected members or native members. The total of twenty-nine members was made up of the Administrator of the Territory, sixteen government officials (which included the Director of Education), three members elected by the constituency, three representatives of the "Christian Missions of the Territory", three native members, and three other non-official members.[1] One of the early tasks of the Legislative Council was to pass, under the leadership of the Director of Education, the important Education Ordinance 1952 which is dealt with at length in the second last chapter of this thesis. It should suffice to say at this point that it was under the provisions of this Ordinance that the Administration was able to re-orientate and re-direct the educational programme of missions in the Territory.

A survey of the national background to mission education would be incomplete without some reference to the Directors of Education for Papua and New Guinea who have held this office since its inception in 1946.

The first Director of Education for Papua and New Guinea, Mr. W.C. Groves, appears to have been particularly well qualified for his work. His early teaching experience was with the Victorian Education Department giving him an

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[1] ibid.

insight into European-type education. This was followed by experience in the New Guinea Administration's earliest schools at Kokopo and Malaguna, both near Rabaul, New Britain.[1] Groves had a strong link with mission education in the person of his wife, a former teacher for the London Missionary Society, whom he met on his way through Port Moresby in 1922 while travelling to his first post as a Territory teacher.[2] After some time back in Victoria, Groves was awarded a Fellowship to carry out anthropological studies in New Ireland.[3] One important result of this study was his book Native Education and Culture - Contact in New Guinea, which stressed the importance of an education for the New Guinea native adapted to his needs, and preserving the worthwhile in his culture while leading him on to an improvement of his environment.[4] With such a wide experience and with many sensible recommendations to his credit for native education, Groves was a natural choice for the first Director. He was in office for twelve important, formative years.

The successor to Groves, Mr. G.T. Roscoe, took over in September, 1958.[5] He had been in the Territory since

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1 G.T. Roscoe, "Men Who Helped Education Grow in Papua-New Guinea", The Teacher in the Primary 'T' Schools, June, 1966, p.10.

2 ibid.

3 ibid.

4 W.C. Groves, Native Education and Culture - Contact in New Guinea, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1936.

5 Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Press Statement No. 59, "Director of Education Appointed", June 27, 1962.

1947 and had worked closely with Groves for part of that time. During his term of office Roscoe laid plans for the widening of opportunities for primary education, stepped up the training of native teachers, introduced an effective "short-term training programme for ex-patriate teachers"[1] and moved strongly into the beginnings of secondary education.[2] Roscoe retired in June, 1962, after almost four years in leadership. He was succeeded by Mr. L.W. Johnson.

The new Director had been Deputy-Director of Education in the Territory since January, 1962.[3] Earlier Johnson had taught in Western Australia at primary, secondary and teacher training levels. During 1958-1959 he had travelled abroad on a Fellowship awarded by the State Department of the United States. After a little over four years Johnson was called to the position of Assistant Administrator for the Territory. His successor, Dr. K. McKinnon had given wide service in the Territory up to his previous work as Director of Primary Education.

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[1] As chapter seven points up clearly, the acceptable training and recruitment of teachers was the key to the solution of the problem the missions faced in meeting the rising demands of the Administration in matters of education. The short term course was for European missionaries unqualified as teachers but already in teaching work. It involved correspondence study, the preparation of articles on Territory education, an understanding of the Territory syllabus and a practical teaching test. The course was an emergency measure and was not offered as a means for gaining teacher registration for more than two or three years. For further details vide infra, p.314.

[2] Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, loc. cit.

[3] ibid.

A significant feature of the work of each of the Directors of Education for the Territory from the viewpoint of the history of mission education, has been the impressive degree of consideration extended towards mission schooling. Mission leaders have made numerous references to the cordial relations which exist between the two bodies leading out in education in the Territory.[1]

This chapter thus far has provided a generally broad and sometimes more detailed view of the background of political, educational, and administrative life from 1872 to 1962 against which the missions' schooling systems have had to operate. Attention can now be given to an overview of the development of mission education during this same period.

The Phases of Mission Education in Papua and New Guinea

It is possible to trace a common cycle of change and development for mission education in Papua and New Guinea despite the fact that political life in Papua continued undisturbed under Australian rule for fifty-eight years to 1942 while the situation in New Guinea sustained no fewer than four types of administration during the same period. It is true that the missions in Papua benefited in the

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[1] For example, see C.F. Gribble, "Speaking Together - Government and Mission in New Guinea", The Missionary Review, July, 1957, p.2.

pioneering years especially from the paternal outlook of the Administration there, while the missions in New Guinea were left largely to themselves.[1] However, for the purposes of this study, the most significant interaction between the national and the religious bodies came when the two territories were combined for Administrative purposes after World War II.

Before the development of the religious groups as a whole is examined, some attention should be paid to their marked differences. Most missions commencing work in Papua and New Guinea were extending earlier missionary efforts in the Pacific area and were able to pioneer their work with Polynesian national teachers;[2] however, some missions had no such advantage and had to rely on expatriate Europeans as their early educators; indeed one mission (the Roman Catholic) at first refused to consider the advisability of using nationals for mission teaching work.[3] A further difference in outlook and practice between the missions was that some regarded week-day schooling as an integral part of their mission approach, while others saw the full-time mission classroom as serving their purposes for a time but to be abandoned when the Administration could take over.[4] Some missions (the most influential)

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[1] vide supra, pp.4,5,8,9,16,17.

[2] C. Northcott, Guinea Gold - The London Missionary Society at Work in the Territory of Papua, London: Livingstone Press, 1936, pp.17,18.

[3] British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1887, p.24.

[4] vide infra, pp.62 ff.

were established strongly before World War I; others were established much later - many after World War II. In spite of these contrasts a useful typical pattern of development is apparent for mission education as a whole. The differences may have the effect of shortening some phases of development for some missions and, even at times, apparently eliminating a phase. Notwithstanding this, it is held that the pattern is sufficiently undisturbed to be discernible.

Four major phases are to be isolated, defined and described for the purposes of this thesis. As well, the critical strand of the thesis will make use of these phases in an effort to determine the success of mission education in terms of its objectives. These phases are here termed: Establishment, Expansion, Consolidation and Re-assessment (including re-committal and re-direction).

The first phase apparent in the development of mission education in Papua and New Guinea is termed Establishment. This phase had three main goals: the gaining of the confidence of the people, the learning of the local language and the eradication of the worst manifestations of barbarity. At times schooling as we know it was quite incidental during this opening phase.[1] The missionary might gather the children into his make-shift home in the evening and teach some reading or counting by lamp-light, or the young men hired to clear the mission property might be

[1] For example, see pp. 76, 77.

given some instruction for a hour or so in the afternoon. On the other occasions where the entry into an area was by invitation and for the main purpose of conducting school, at times in a ready-provided building, then classwork was the first work of the day and various pioneering activities might have to fill second place.

The length of the Establishment Phase varied according to the depravity and receptivity of the people and other factors such as the facilities available for mastery of a new language and the resources of the supporting missionary society to keep personnel and equipment at an optimum level of efficiency. To illustrate: the Methodist Church opened its Establishment Phase in New Britain in 1875 with the arrival of Rev. George Brown. By the middle of 1879 the mission was able to enter phase two with the arrival of Rev. B. Darks and the commencement of regular classes.[1] By contrast, the Methodist Mission moved into the Southern Highlands of Papua-New Guinea in November, 1951, and was able to complete a first survey of a hitherto unknown language within twelve months.[2] They were assisted in their study of this new tongue by Dr. Capel, linguistics

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[1] B. Darks, Daily Journal, 1878-1882, p.55., Papers and Minutes of the Methodist Church. From the original journal in the Mitchell Library.

[2] Methodist Church in Australia, The Missionary Review, October, 1952, p.12.

expert of the University of Sydney.[1] Further, this young mission was able to report within the year: "We commenced school instruction on the 3rd instant, with Setepano as teacher .... The building is thirty feet by fifteen feet."[2]

Each time a mission opened its work in Papua and New Guinea or pushed into a new area, this Establishment Phase was repeated. Between 1871 and 1961 there have been five main pioneering waves of an extensive kind. The first of such waves came between 1871 and 1876 when the London Missionary Society opened up the work on the south coast of Papua and the Methodists entered New Britain. The second pioneering wave came between 1881 and 1887 during which time Roman Catholic Missions commenced in New Britain and at Yule Island off the Papuan coast and Lutheran missions opened up the work on mainland New Guinea near Finschhafen and Madang. Between 1891 and 1896 the third Establishment wave set in with the Methodists' entry to the populous islands off the east coast of Papua, with the Anglican commencement in the northern part of the Papuan peninsula and with Roman Catholic pioneering around the Sepik area.

The fourth noteworthy period of pioneering came between 1931 and 1936 during which time the Seventh-day Adventists established in the Solomons and pushed through to the St. Matthias Group and the Admiralty Islands, and the Lutherans,

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid.

Catholics and Seventh-day Adventists became established in the New Guinea Highlands. The post-War wave of "establishment" commenced with the launching of five smaller groups in the Sepik and the Highlands of New Guinea in 1949. From 1950 to 1960 a new small mission body was added almost every year.[1]

The second phase of mission education, Expansion, usually commenced from one to four years after the arrival of the first missionaries. It was made possible by the setting up of regular school classes with a more-or-less full-time teacher. The special objectives of this phase of mission education were to bring a widening circle of the indigenous people and their children under mission influence, to develop literacy for religious purposes (especially for the reading of the scriptures in the mother tongue), to refine further and develop the characters of both the parents and the children, and to prepare as quickly as possible a group of indigenous teachers from amongst the school students to branch out and set up new schools in the waiting villages nearby.

The native teacher during this Expansion Phase could be characterised as possessing a maximum of dedication and zeal, a bare minimum of formal education and no training at all as a teacher apart from what happened to rub off

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[1] See section for each Annual Report, "Religious Missions Operating in the Territory".

during his education for religious literacy. Of this kind were twenty-one boys of whom G.F. Jones, trail-blazer to the Koiaris of the Owen Stanley Range, reported in 1922:

> They have now been with us seven months and can count in hundreds, do additions, subtractions, some multiplication tables, and also simple divisions. After making an alphabet to fit the sounds of their language, we taught them phonetically and they are now beginning to read sentences off the blackboard in their Koiari tongue. The Bible stories which they are taught every day are much enjoyed by them, and they are not unruly and unmanageable as they were at first .... the first twenty-one have stood by us in all our trials, and now it looks as if it will not be long before we can place some of them in villages as primary teachers.[1]

There is considerable variation in the length of this Expansion Phase as described here. Some missions by-passed it altogether and some did not move out of it until some twenty years after first arrival. The event that indicated a mission was moving out of this primary Expansion Phase of education was the organisation of a centralised training school.

The third phase of mission education, Consolidation, became necessary and possible when the European missionaries could no longer keep up with the demand for national village teachers in their incidental training programmes on the various stations, when there were enough promising lads from the various stations to make centralised training

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[1] G.F. Jones, "Report of the New Guinea Mission", Australasian Record, October 30th, 1922, p.92.

worthwhile, and when the mission could afford to bring in a trained instructor or two to specialise in the preparation of native teachers. As implied by the foregoing, the purposes for the Consolidation Phase of mission education were the centralising of facilities for teacher training by each mission to cope more effectively and efficiently with the supply of teacher trainees and the demand for teachers, to make use of professionally trained European teacher instructors, and to make possible a more rapid penetration and coverage of the field. To illustrate, the London Missionary Society set up its training college in 1894 at Vatorata not far from Port Moresby as a result of a "decision to centralise ministerial training. Hitherto each missionary had given informal training on his own station to potential ministers and teachers; it was now intended to supplement this with a more systematic two- to four-year course ..."[1] The Anglicans had their first training college by 1905 and the Lutherans by 1906.[2,3] Methodists opened a training school near Rabaul before the turn of the century and at Dobu Island, Papua by 1896.[4,5]

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[1] N. Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society 1895-1945, London: Oxford University Press, 1954, p.423.

[2] Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council for 1905, p.3.

[3] Flierl, Forty-five Years in New Guinea, Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 2nd ed., 1931, p.131.

[4] R.C. Wilkinson, op. cit., p.54.

[5] W. Macgregor, "Missions", British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1895-1896, p.29.

The Seventh-day Adventist Mission laid down a policy in 1930 which led its missionaries to move as promptly as possible to the Consolidation Phase of mission education:

> Voted that we encourage our missionaries to conduct their work on educational-evangelical methods by establishing village schools, and district schools; and when the field is sufficiently developed, advanced schools should be established.[1]

The policy of setting up these advanced (or centralised training) schools paid well. Seventh-day Adventists reached Mussau in the St. Matthias Group late in 1931.[2] Within two years the Boliu Training School was built there.[3] They were on into the New Guinea Highlands by August, 1934, and were able to establish a further training school there by 1941.[4]

The major achievements of the Consolidation Phase of mission education were at the one time to economise on teacher training efforts, to provide some improvement to the background knowledge of the teacher in general studies, to bring about some improvement to the standard of teacher training, and to strengthen the growth and spread of mission influence (including mission education) by making the mission more directly self-propagating. While the missions regarded the training college of the Consolidation Phase as

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[1] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Australasian Union Conference, Executive Committee Minutes, September 12th, 1931, p.21.

[2] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Australasian Record, February 29th, 1932, p.8.

[3] ibid., August 7th, 1933, p.8.

[4] ibid., September 24th, 1934, p.8., and ibid., May 5th, 1941, p.5.

an improvement on the standards of the Expansion Phase, Government authorities considered them significantly lacking along scholastic lines. The second last inspector's report for Papua before World War II stated:

> The necessity for expanding numbers of well-equipped native teachers grows more urgent every year and the only adequate solution is the establishment of a training centre in each mission. Such training schools cannot be delayed much longer. True some training is given at present, but I think it will be granted there must be a unified system of training to produce a unified educational system.[1]

It is of interest to ask what the mission training schools had achieved in this pre-War Consolidation Phase by way of teacher standards. The previous education of the teacher trainees would appear to have been up to the standard V level - something like the equivalent of the second last grade of most Australian primary schools.[2] To this might be added up to three years of further education and training.[3] The bulk of this time would be spent in improving the trainee's background knowledge and some time would be spent in inculcating something of method in teaching.[4] If the Consolidation Phase of mission education were to be matched against C.E. Beeby's "Stages in the Growth of an

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1939-1940, p.15.

[2] ibid.

[3] L.A. McArthur, "Native Teachers in the Making at George Brown College, New Britain", The Missionary Review, July 5th, 1934, p.5.

[4] ibid.

Education System"[1] it would appear to belong somewhere between the "Dame School Stage" (with teachers "ill-educated and untrained") and the Stage of Formalism (with teachers ill-educated and trained to a rigid syllabus and rigid methods with 'one best way' of teaching).[2] It would be misleading to suggest that the Consolidation Phase saw mission education in Papua and New Guinea as fully realising the Formalism Stage and that the Re-assessment Phase saw the gaining of Beeby's third stage - "Meaning". In fact, much of the work done under pressure of rising government standards between 1952 and 1960 led to the generally clear attainment of the Formalism Stage only, with teachers for the duration of the post-war period (1946-1962) being trained more as technicians than as teachers.[3] The following description of mission teacher training during the Consolidation Phase (written in 1934) would appear to be a picture of mission education at its pre-war best.

> During the past two years the subject of Native Education has received a great deal of attention from the Administration and from the Missions operating in

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[1] Beeby's three stages are:
1. Dame School Stage with ill-educated untrained teachers.
2. Stage of Formalism with ill-educated teachers trained to a rigid system.
3. Stage of Meaning with educated teachers trained to a varied and flexible system.

For a good description see, C.E. Beeby, "Education in Emergent Countries", Papua and New Guinea journal of Education, January, 1964, pp.1-5.

[2] vide infra, pp.185 ff.

[3] vide infra, pp.305-309

> the Territory of New Guinea, and the re-organisation of schools and revision of methods have been prominent features of this period. Our own Institution has been well to the fore in this revival ...
>
> It was felt that the time had come when professional studies should be separated from the more general foundation subjects. Accordingly it was decided that of the three years spent in the College, the first two would be devoted to the continuation of the study of reading, writing, arithmetic, Scripture, hygiene, geography, history and handwork ....
>
> The third year class is now under the continual instruction of the Principal, and in this year the general subjects give way to the teacher and preacher training ... They include Theology, Homiletics, Old and New Testament History Introduction, Exegesis (of the Four Gospels), Agriculture, Woodwork, Principles of Teaching, and First Aid. The work done is necessarily of an elementary standard, adapted to the need of the trainees.[1]

It is apparent that the professional side of the teacher's work was given a small proportion of the total class time during the Consolidation Phase of mission education. Two factors operating to produce this result were the need to build up the trainee teacher's own background of knowledge even in some elementary areas and the fact that the teacher had to be given ministerial preparation as well as pedagogical training. It should be noted from the continuation of the article quoted above that the practical side of the teaching was given some useful attention:

> Each week two students from the College assist in (this) little school ... Daily visits are paid by the Principal, bringing the remainder of the student teachers with him to afford them an opportunity of

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[1] L.A. McArthur, op. cit., pp.5,6.

> seeing the practical work, and hearing the advice given to the two who are assisting for the week.[1]

The above programme of practice teaching could be criticised for lacking organisation and a planned sense of direction, however, it would benefit significantly from being based continually on the immediate classroom situation and from the amount of individual attention available. In years to come the "methods of supervising teaching practice" at mission training schools were to receive continued commendation as being "particularly sound".[2]

The Consolidation Phase was well established in missions generally throughout Papua and New Guinea by the close of World War I. Its three-school pattern suited the missions well. They broke new ground with the national teacher at village school level. They organised and controlled operations at the district school level usually with a European teacher in charge who was able to extend the pupils' education into the upper primary area. They prepared new young workers at the training school level so that the village school system could be pushed farther into needy regions. First World War II and then the pressing demands of the newly formed Government Education Department brought mission education out of what Groves described as a

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[1] ibid.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1958-1959, p.88.

programme of education "more or less geared to the general plan of non-disruptive progress of the Natives from their primitive way of life."[1]

During the Consolidation Phase mission education was practically the only education in Papua and New Guinea. However, after World War II the Administration was committed to providing a vigorous and expanding education system - partly by its own direct efforts but mostly by facing the missions with the option of up-grading their standards of teacher-competency or of becoming ineligible for the Government grant and virtually vacating the field of education.[2]

The years between 1952 and 1955 saw the beginnings of the fourth phase of mission education in New Guinea - Re-assessment. This was a time of serious upheaval for the various religious systems. The Education Ordinance of 1952-1957 together with the subsequent regulations, required teachers to be competent in English and required that instruction be given in English in most grades.[3] Government grants were to be given for registered teachers only. Registration was dependent upon the native teacher's character, health, ability with English and the holding of

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[1] W.C. Groves, Data paper on native education ..., loc. cit.

[2] vide infra, p. 284

[3] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Regulations under the 'Education Ordinance 1952-1957', No. 13 of 1958, p.6.

an approved Teacher's Certificate.[1] By 1953 missions were receiving over $170,000 in Government grants for education. This had grown to $201,000 in 1957 as against $920,000 provided by missions from their own funds. In the face of threatened reductions in their operating budgets the missions had to re-assess their reasons for operating their day schools. As shall be noticed more closely in the next chapter, some missions stated their willingness to vacate the field of education as soon as the Government could take their schools over. The majority, however, renewed their committal to the work of Christian school teaching as basic to their overall evangelistic programme. It is noteworthy that none of the missions dropped its education work during this Re-assessment Phase and left its constituency without schools at all.

The objectives of mission education during the Re-assessment Phase appear to have been: to maintain the confidence of both the native constituency and the Government Education Department, to lift the standard of both the general education offered to the prospective teacher (especially by way of ability to use English) and the effectiveness of his training, and to continue the work of evangelisation through the schools.

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[1] ibid.

Towards the end of this last phase (Re-assessment) in mission education there was emerging a distinctly better educated, English-speaking, national teacher, howbeit mainly with no more than a grade six or seven education. Training to the end of the Re-assessment Phase and to the end of the period under study (1872 to 1962) hardly went beyond the teacher-technician stage. The trainees were prepared to teach an inflexible syllabus which in many cases was sub-divided into weekly and even daily allotments.[1] The course of training stressed a stereotyped method of approach to the various lessons which too frequently were entering the fringe areas of the teacher's knowledge when he was teaching by rote rather than insight. Evidence for this can be found in a study of the allotment of time to the various sections of the course which was covered by most mission trainee teachers in the Re-assessment Phase. Of twenty-five hours per week spent on the course no time was spent on the theory of education while over half (fifteen hours) was spent on the method of teaching particular subjects.[2] As the detailed study of this period (made in the second last chapter) suggests, much of this time was spent in ensuring that the students had grasped the subject matter and the remainder of the time in developing mastery of a stereotyped lesson plan for each teaching task.[3]

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[1] vide infra, pp.309-313

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1955-1956, p.101.

[3] vide infra, pp.305,306

An interesting way of reviewing the four phases of mission education in Papua and New Guinea is to note the time taken to produce a teacher from the raw material in each phase. Under the Establishment Phase there was virtually no teacher training. Under the Expansion Phase the whole of the educative process from grade one beginner to "trained" teacher could be carried out at the one station school and at times in as short a time as twelve months. In the Consolidation Phase the pupil might spend two years at a village school with a national teacher, two or more at a district school under a European missionary and then several more at a centralised training school from which he could emerge as a trained minister-teacher. Under the Re-assessment Phase the process was further lengthened and deepened especially with regard to the learning of English. The student then spent at least seven years in general schooling and then one or more years in teacher training, after which he was given a certificate of competency.

During its first three phases mission education indicated (especially in the New Guinea area) that it was pedagogically viable with regard to objectives, curriculum, supervision and finance. The post-War Re-assessment Phase saw this educational independence threatened and the future of mission education bound closely with that of Departmental education. The following chapter examines, in

particular, the basic objectives of mission education in both pre-War and post-War times.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RELATION OF MISSION EDUCATION TO THE TOTAL PROGRAMME OF MISSION WORK IN PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

The initial chapter of this study outlined four consecutive phases of development in mission education in Papua and New Guinea and provided some of the immediate objectives of each phase. The discovery that the missions in the Territory established day schools early in their history, fostered them wherever they spread their influence and adhered to them in spite of the rising standards which the Administration applied suggests a basic question that should be asked at this stage: What relation did the mission systems of day schools have towards the total programme of mission effort in the Territory? The answering of such a question should provide a sense of direction for the thesis as a whole, help to account for the considerable degree of committal and re-committal of the missions towards their schools, and be useful in assessing the success of mission education in terms of its own overall goals.

In order to bring to light the objectives of mission education in relation to the objectives of general mission work in Papua and New Guinea this chapter aims to discuss three questions: Why were the Christian missionaries in Papua and New Guinea? Why did the missions in Papua and

New Guinea make such wide and sustained use of week-day schooling? How closely was the spread and growth of general mission work followed by the adoption of the week-day classroom?

1. Why were the missionaries in Papua and New Guinea?

A variety of factors led to the establishment of the various missions in the Territory. It has already been noted that German Lutherans were attracted to New Guinea immediately after Germany had acquired the area:

> A general conference was called in October 1885, and all participants agreed that the Gospel should be brought to the natives placed under the protectorate of the empire.[1]

In a similar fashion the Anglican Church in Australia had its attention drawn to Papua:

> It will be remembered that at the last session of the General Synod in October, 1886, the following resolution was agreed to: That the recent annexation of a portion of New Guinea imposes direct obligation upon the Church to provide for the spiritual welfare both of the natives and settlers.[2]

While the primary motivation of the Anglican Church, especially, would appear from the above to be the carrying out of a pastoral responsibility several other mission bodies had more of an evangelical basis to their approaches.

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[1] F. Braun, op. cit., p.26.

[2] Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council, Presented to the General Synod, September 22nd, 1891, p.8.

The Methodist Church in Australia accepted an invitation from Sir William Macgregor to commence mission work in the "eastern end of British New Guinea and the adjacent island groups believing it to be a providential call ..."[1] Methodists had at that time been at work in New Britain for fifteen years. The basic reason for their entry into both of these unentered areas is clearly indicated in an address delivered by pioneer worker, George Brown, at the 1891 General Conference:

> You have reminded us, Mr. President, that we are here to celebrate John Wesley's death.* Well, we cannot celebrate it better than by doing what he would rejoice in if he were among us now. If he were with us he would be foremost in starting this New Mission. But while we look to his example for guidance and stimulus, we look higher still. We look to Jesus Christ, our Lord, who left us His charge to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.[2]

A similar attitude of compulsion is in evidence in the outlook of the London Missionary Society. It had been in existence for seventy-six years (since 1795) when it opened up mission work in Papua. The Wesleyan evangelical revival of the middle and late eighteenth century had blossomed appropriately into an upsurge of foreign mission endeavour.[3] The multi-denominational London Missionary Society

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[1] Methodist Church in Australia, The Missionary Review, May, 1891, p.2.

* March 2nd, 1791.

[2] The Missionary Review, op. cit., p.7.

[3] N. Goodall, op. cit., p.v.

had pioneered Christian mission work in Madagasgar, China and the South Pacific and was early on the field in South Africa and India.[1]

Murray, of the London Missionary Society, visited Mabuiagi Island in 1872 to place some Polynesian teachers. After viewing the burial ground on the island he recorded the following words, indicating the impression he wished to give regarding his reason for being in Papua:

> O Son of Righteousness! Thou who art the resurrection and the life, arise upon their darkness, and extend to them Thine own Almighty aid, and grant them a resurrection to a new and spiritual life.[2]

The Seventh-day Adventist Mission reached Papua in 1908 after the territory had been divided up amongst the L.M.S., the Methodists and the Anglicans, with the Roman Catholics working on Yule Island and the area directly inland.[3,4] Despite the understanding between the Administration and these missions, the Seventh-day Adventists were allowed to purchase a rubber plantation twenty-six miles inland from Port Moresby.[5] The work went slowly until 1922 when the small-statured, big-hearted G.F. Jones arrived.

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[1] ibid.

[2] London Missionary Society, op. cit., July, 1873, p.152.

[3] The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Union Conference Record, July 27th, 1908, pp.2-4.

[4] See, British New Guinea (later Papua), Annual Report, 1889-1890, p.19, for an early report on the division of Papua amongst the four major missions in that Territory.

[5] S.W. Carr, "A Rubber Plantation that Grew into a Union Mission", Australasian Record, November 10th, 1958, p.2.

It was clear that the Seventh-day Adventist Mission, with a belief in the imminence of the return of Christ to the earth, was not in Papua and New Guinea to grow rubber. Jones reported to his constituency:

> Dear friends, there are tens of thousands of people living there in heathen darkness, and they will remain in this condition unless God raises up someone to preach to them.[1]

The gospel of Christ was believed to be the only remedy for such darkness.

Not alone from Protestant missions come clear statements of the central purpose behind mission activity in the Territory. The Roman Catholics opened up their work in Papua in June, 1885, settling on Yule Island, eighty miles north-west along the coast from Port Moresby.[2] The London Missionary Society had worked the island in the previous decade but had left in 1876. Fever struck the Roman Catholic pioneer workers so that they had to retire to Thursday Island. Upon their return in January, 1886, they found that the London Missionary Society had re-occupied the island.[3] In a letter of explanation to John Douglas, Special Commissioner for British New Guinea, the leader of the Roman Catholic Mission, Father L.A. Navarre, provided a clear

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[1] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Australasian Record, October 30th, 1922, p.66.

[2] See, J. Douglas, Letter to W.G. Lawes, British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1886, p.47.

[3] ibid. The L.M.S. soon after relented and raised no further objection to the Roman Catholics' staying on. See, W.G. Lawes, Letter to Fr. Vergus, ibid., 1887, p.27.

statement of the objectives of his church in Papua:

> Our objects, as you know, are the conversion and civilisation of savages. The former regards their eternal destiny, the latter is concerned with their temporal well-being .... As formerly Augustine, Patrick, Denis, were sent to convert our fathers who were called barbarians by the then civilised nations of the world, and whose manners, in reality, differed little from those of our savages in New Guinea, so also are we sent to carry this same light of the Gospel into these far-off lands.[1]

Added to the direct statements of the missionaries themselves, that they had gone to Papua and New Guinea to give the natives the "good news" of eternal life through Christ, is the evidence of the type of life they lived. John Douglas reported on missionary enterprise as follows in the first of the annual reports in 1886:

> A great and noble enterprise has been conducted by a set of most self-sacrificing men, who have carried the message of Christ to a savage race of inhuman murderers. The first stages of this transmutation have been effected at the cost of a great sacrifice of life among the devoted South Sea Island teachers ...[2]

Again in 1904 it was reported:

> The four Christian missionary bodies have unfalteringly continued their valuable and devoted work among the natives.[3]

Why, then, were the missionaries in Papua and New Guinea? From the foregoing it would appear that some

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[1] ibid., p.24.

[2] ibid., 1886, p.7.

[3] ibid., 1903-1904, p.18.

generalisations covering all of the mission bodies would be safe. The missionaries went to New Guinea because they believed they were directed to go by the words of Christ:

> All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.[1]

Further, the missionaries went to relieve suffering, to prevent cruelty and death, and to offer eternal life beyond death to all who would accept Christ.

The common sense of purpose amongst the missionary societies was underlined by a ten-day worldwide Ecumenical Missionary Conference held in April, 1900. Every Protestant Foreign Missionary Board but the High Church of England was represented. It was reported that "the great fact of the conference was the oneness, the one aim of every denomination to plant Christ in the hearts of men."[2]

It is clear, then, that the stated reasons of the missions for being in Papua and New Guinea were evangelical and pastoral. In the light of this it is opportune to consider the second question raised earlier in this chapter: Why did the missions lay such heavy stress upon week-day schooling? What role did the classroom have to play in a

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[1] Matthew 28:18-20

[2] F.B. Whitman, "Report on the Ecumenical Missionary Conference", The Missionary Review, August 6th, 1900, p.6. Abridged from Beacon Light.

system which sought to find the heathen, to tell them of the love and forgiveness of God, to invite them to turn their backs upon an evil and violent life, and to grow up into Christian manhood? The question is interesting and important. It ought to be borne in mind while likely answers are being sought that the systems of mission education that had grown to cater for the schooling of over 168,000 pupils by 1961, were in no wise committed to providing classrooms, of themselves, for the children of Papua and New Guinea.

2. Why did the missions in Papua and New Guinea make such wide and sustained use of weekday schooling?

This question with regard to New Guinea has already been commented upon with a fair degree of assurance. R.C. Ralph provided "Some Notes on Education in German New Guinea, 1884-1914" for the Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education. Ralph quotes from Forty(-five) Years in New Guinea by pioneer German Lutheran missionary, J. Flierl.

> 'The missionaries had not come to the heathen land merely to establish schools for the children, but to bring the Gospel to the people. The school should be only a means to this great end;' and again, 'To maintain and strengthen the Lutheran Mission in New Guinea our schools and our (native) helpers were important contributing factors.'[1]

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[1] R.C. Ralph, op. cit., p.72.

After outlining some of the circumstances leading to Flierl's taking up mission work in New Guinea and after indicating the difficulties experienced in getting the children into school, Ralph states:

> The founding of schools and emphasis upon schooling were simply a means to an end, the bringing of the Gospel to the people. It was hoped through the children to soften the hearts of the adults.[1]

Ralph goes on to indicate from Flierl's book that the children were hired into boarding schools by the "lure of iron tools". (The officiating New Guinea Company was similarly hiring lads for commercial reasons) and that "From the pupils of the boarding schools and the influence of the schools were won the first applicants for baptism."[2] Ralph seems to be endeavouring to develop a case for a somewhat ulterior motive for conducting schools on the part of the missions in German New Guinea. He later generalises:

> The general pattern developed by the Lutheran Mission at Finschhafen seems to have been adopted or developed independently on similar lines by all the Missions. They varied in detail, but basically the lines of development were much the same. Schools were a means to an end, the end of inducing as many as possible to accept Christianity.[3]

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[1] ibid., p.73.

[2] ibid.,

[3] ibid., p.74.

Were the motives of the missionaries in running schools in New Guinea as shallow as this? Was their reasoning: "If we provide advantages for the children, the heathen parents will recognize this and be more ready to listen to us, and, further, if we place the children in our own exclusive environment then we can work upon them more effectively in converting them to Christianity"? The answer is not simple. It can best be reached by paying attention to a wide sampling of evidence.

A closer examination of Flierl's book indicates that the Lutherans of New Guinea did not see their schools merely as a means for gaining influence over the parents:

> True enough, the missionaries had not come to the heathen land merely to establish schools for the children, but to bring the Gospel to the people. The schools should be only a means to this great end. We remembered the words of Woltersdorf: 'Budding youth, thou art the hope of the times of the future!' and we realised the truth of the saying: He who has the youth, has the future! But we could not have the youth unless we had their parents, unless we had won them at least to a certain extent. Therefore we diligently visited the people in their villages, encouraged their visiting us, and showed a keen interest in all their affairs, in order that cordial relations of mutual confidence might gradually be established.[1]

Flierl, here, has not very aptly related the use of the schools as a means for bringing the "Gospel to the people" and as an opportunity for developing the lives of the

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[1] J. Flierl, Forty-Five Years in New Guinea, Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 2nd ed., 1931, pp.128,129.

scholars, however, the latter idea is provided for in the remark: "Budding youth, thou art the hope of the times of the future!" Further, this passage makes it clear that so far were the schools from being regarded merely as a means for softening the parents that their successful operation in the first place was dependent upon parental interest. Flierl further stresses this idea in the following passage:

> We missionaries did what we could to make the people realize the value of the schools. When the congregations at the various stations began to increase, when men and women, old and young, in large numbers applied for instruction, baptism, and membership in the Christian congregations, there was ample opportunity in this instruction, in the sermon, and in the pastoral care of the individual, to emphasize the duty of Christians to send their children to school and not let them grow up as in the old heathen times like cattle, like wild pigs in the dark forests of New Guinea. Such admonitions found willing response and the zeal for education and schools in our growing mission church became even greater.[1]

Before the deeper purposes for the conducting of mission schools are studied further it ought to be noted, in fairness to the Ralph contention, that some missions (and quite likely all on particular occasions) did at times see their schools as a means for establishing or extending their influence in certain areas. From the New Guinea Administration in 1938 came the report:

> The Missions are doing good work, as the conduct of their schools no doubt introduces many essential

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[1] ibid., p.131.

> features of the western civilisation into ordinary village life. The main objective of the Missions, however, is religious instruction and the schools conducted by them are for the purpose of preparing the mass of natives to receive instruction in the tenets of the particular creed, and to train selected native personnel to a stage which will enable them to impart such religious instruction. Education in its broader sense is incidental to the main objective.[1]

As shall be noted later in this chapter, the assessment of the purpose of mission education by the Administration here is shallower than the majority of missions envisaged in their own school work. Even where a mission used education as a means of gaining access to a village and winning the confidence of the people the possibility that deeper and more important motives were also operating should not be obscured. The Seventh-day Adventist Mission with an impressive background of educational philosophy[2] placed on record:

> Our teaching work is the lever by which we place a permanent worker in a village. The barrier-breaking medical work, though often of a broadcast seed-sowing nature, and the schools are powerful brothers through which we can work for the direct and obvious welfare of the people, while we none the less surely give them the more abiding, but often less apparent benefits of eternal peace.[3]

There was one significant purpose of mission education held generally by all of the missions, which bore a direct

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[1] Commonwealth of Australia, Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1937-1938, p.45.

[2] vide infra, pp.73 f.

[3] S.H. Pennington, "Summer Schools for Teachers, Papua", Australasian Record, March 2nd, 1936, p.34.

relation both to the meeting of the immediate evangelistic objectives of the missionaries and to the meeting of the immediate goals of the development of the children. This purpose was the gaining of literacy in the vernacular.

> In the early days of Missionary Enterprise - especially among people without letters - it was obviously necessary that the missionary should start simple schools wherein the natives - adults and children could be taught to read and write. This was necessary in order that they might be able to have access to the Word of God, and also that a wider intellectual life might be possible to them ...[1]

Here can be found a further important answer to the question under study. The missionaries of Papua and New Guinea made such wide use of weekday schooling because they considered that a growing Christian needed a personal encounter with God through a reading of the Bible in his own language, and that the most effective way to develop the ability to read the Word of God was to gather the children, and adults where possible, into schools and teach them to read by the best means known to them. Was this purpose of literacy in a vernacular a mere "means to an end" - a process not valued in itself, to be discarded when the end of conversion was gained? It need not be.

The goal of literacy through education suggests that the missions were not seeking merely nominal adherents.

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[1] The Missionary Review, op. cit., December 4th, 1922, p.1. - an editorial on "The Problems of Education in the Mission Field."

They wanted persons both emotionally and intellectually convinced. This meant that the overall development of the individual had to be fostered as well as that the individual or group had to be brought to a religious decision. Many missionaries saw the intellectual, spiritual and personality development of the individual native as dependent upon his ability to think, first in his own language. For example, R.V. Grant in Papua made a plea in 1955 for an education for the people that included literacy in the vernacular on the grounds that the people do their thinking in their mother tongue and that the development of personality was dependent upon such vernacular thinking.[1] W. Lutton of New Guinea further pointed out in 1958 that:

> ... some of us feel that while English is most desirable it is not the complete key to learning for the native peoples. Literacy in English does not mean education but the vernacular can reach deeper and wider.[2]

Evidence such as this should not be accepted uncritically, of course, for the missions had a vested interest in retaining the vernaculars as their native teachers were able to use these freely in education and were generally inadequate with English. Should the vernaculars have been banned in 1955 when Government pressure was imminent most

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[1] R.V. Grant, "Education in Papua", The Missionary Review, May, 1955, p.4.

[2] W. Lutton, "Education in New Guinea", Factual Report on Education in New Guinea presented at the Australian Council of School Organisations, held in Melbourne, November, 1958, p.11.

of the missions schools would have been closed.[1] On the other hand the missions had traditionally argued for the vernacular before the Administration had made teaching in English an issue,[2] and, as well, it should be noted that the missions by the 1950's were arguing not for education solely in the vernaculars but for the right to use them along with English. It is conceivable that if they were seeking mere adherents then education in English would suffice; however, if they wanted their adherents to relate Christianity to their daily village lives and to their traditional culture then it was necessary to use the language of the gardens, the fireside and the hunting expedition. Further, if the missionaries wanted individual intelligent conviction with possibilities of sustained persuasion and personal development backed up by daily reading of the scriptures then the vernaculars (in which the native did his best thinking) would serve their purpose best. Thus it can be argued that the goal of the education the missions were providing approached the heart of the generally-accepted purpose of education - the overall development of the individual to prepare him for life in its fullest extent.[3]

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[1] vide infra, pp.270,271

[2] For example, see Australian Board of Missions, A.B.M. Review, December 1st, 1917, p.164.

[3] See for example, N.S.W. Department of Education, Curriculum for Primary Schools, Sydney: Government Printer, rev. 1961, p.ix.

At this stage in enquiring why persons obeying a heavenly commission adopted the traditional earthly classroom it is important to differentiate between three groupings of mission bodies in terms of degree of committal to the use of schools in mission work. There would appear to be a gradation of attitudes leading up to those with a clearly stated basic philosophy regarding their education work. In the first group are to be found the London Missionary Society and the Methodist Missionary Society.

The Methodists made their position on the goals of the mission school clear quite early and have maintained it consistently. Missionary A. Ballantyne, from the Papuan area, wrote the following comment in 1912. Its length here is justified by the helpful relation it gives of the mission school work to evangelistic goals and by the helpful background details it provides on the justification of mission withdrawal from school work when the Government is able to take over.

> It cannot be too frequently or too plainly said that the main objective of all Missionary effort is to bring the non-Christian races into vital touch with Jesus Christ. Everything else must be subservient to that, and all our plans and enterprises must contribute to it. A well-known writer, discussing the duty of the Missionary and his relation to the education question, says: 'In the case of "Native peoples", his duty is clear. He is required, where necessary, to reduce the language to writing, to translate into it the Christian Scriptures, and to teach the people, young and old, to read and write. Where there is no government that can, or will, undertake the duty, the Missionary must be willing to become a schoolmaster to lead the people to Christ." We are

> in entire sympathy with these sentiments, and as the Missionary in Papua is labouring amongst 'Native Peoples', and amid conditions such as are indicated by the writer just quoted, it will be recognized that educational work is likely to prove a valuable ally in the strenuous endeavour to win them to the faith and service of our Lord. Such education as our Missionaries and their helpers are giving, is aiming definitely and persistently at the Christianisation of the natives under our influence.[1]

This attitude regards education conducted by the mission as a valuable but not essential ally in the work of Christianisation. As has already been noted in chapter one the Methodist Mission in 1936 regarded education as an Administration responsibility and was not willing to encourage the Government in its plan to have missions take full charge of education with outside finance and control.[2] The Methodists, however, believing that the evangelistic task included seeing that the Church's adherents were becoming adequately equipped to cope with the world around them, considered that they ought to conduct schools where the Administration could not. They made it clear in 1963 that they regarded schooling as essential for the children of their adherents but that they did not require that those schools be administered by the mission:

> ... the Mission, since the achievement of its primary task assumes a right relation of the native to the physical world and the social order, and since adequate institutions are not already established to

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[1] A. Ballantyne, "School Examinations", The Missionary Review, July 4th, 1912, p.7.

[2] vide supra pp.19 f.

> bring this about, must undertake their establishment as a matter of expediency. This is the reason, therefore, for the building up through the years of the present network of village schools. It is desirable, however, that the Mission should be willing to relinquish them as soon as the Administration is able to assume the responsibility for the education of the children in the village. The Church would therefore be able to throw all its strength into its religious teaching.[1]

The writer of this article went on to outline the objectives of those Methodist mission schools which were being run to provide a facility which the Administration was unable to provide. The goals included assisting the natives to achieve a "right relationship to God", "to develop character and citizenship", "to acquire those skills which will assist them to provide for their material welfare", and to raise the standard of their health.[2] Such a programme might be criticised for having little foundation in basic educational philosophy such as some others of the missions could offer but it could not be criticised as being confined to a mere "means to an end, the end of inducing as many as possible to accept Christianity".[3]

By 1955 in the challenging Re-assessment Phase of mission education when the Administration made new demands with regard to required standards of teachers the Methodist

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[1] L.A. McArthur, op. cit., p.2.

[2] ibid. pp.2,3,

[3] R.C. Ralph, loc. cit., and vide supra p.55

Mission laid down quite predictably:

> ... unless we are prepared to make the effort, we should vacate the field of Education and concentrate wholly on the spiritual needs of the people.[1]

This was stated at a time when the Administration was expanding its system considerably.

The London Missionary Society conducted schools almost from its inception and used the native pastor-teacher system very widely.[2] It is difficult to find a statement of objectives for their education work apart from those immediately implied in the widely stressed three-fold aim of the Society "of building up a Native Church that would eventually be - (a) Self-supporting, (b) Self-propagating, and (c) Self-governing."[3] By 1919 the L.M.S. work at Port Moresby was well on the way to achieving the first two of these goals. Two-thirds of the money used in the district had been raised there and sixteen of the seventeen pastors at Port Moresby were natives with but one being from the South Seas.[4] By 1961 the process was complete. The London Missionary Society handed over "its work in the Territory to the newly formed Papua Ekalesia".[5]

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[1] B.M. Gesling, "Education in New Guinea", The Missionary Review, February, 1955, p.13.

[2] R. Beevers, Historical note and policy statements on the education work of the Papua Ekalesia, Received in the Sydney offices of the L.M.S. in October, 1966.

[3] Commonwealth of Australia, Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1918-1919, p.99.

[4] ibid.

[5] R. Beevers, loc. cit.

By 1966, at least, the policy of the Papua Ekalesia had close resemblance to that of the Methodist Mission:

> This is the place to state that the Papua Ekalesia feels that it is the responsibility of the Department of Education to provide full primary education for all Papuan children. The responsibility of the Papua Ekalesia exists only in so far as the Department is incapable of fulfilling its overall responsibility; but we will cooperate in every way possible to the limit of our resources in assisting the Department to discharge its responsibility.[1]

Along with the views that schooling was the responsibility of the Government and that missions should conduct schools only where necessary, the Papua Ekalesia (successor to the London Missionary Society in Papua), it can be inferred from the above, saw education as essential for the children of its adherents. That the Papua Ekalesia saw the pedagogical and religious functions of education as operating separately is suggested by the fact that it considered the latter could operate in Departmental schools:

> We have a responsibility to discharge in the provision of religious instruction in Administration schools for children belonging to our Church. This responsibility will become heavier as the Administration school system expands.[2]

So then it can be seen that this first group of missions (the Methodists and the London Missionary Society) considered that schooling was imperative for the children of its adherents but that it was not imperative ~~that the~~

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid.

that the missions conduct those schools. Understandably such a group would not have a well developed religiously-oriented philosophy of education, but, on the other hand, they can be cleared from the charge of conducting schools merely for the purpose of gaining adherents. There was an understanding that the pupils needed schooling for the sake of their individual development and that the religious side of their training could be additional to their secular education.

It is the matter of the relation of religious education to secular education which distinguishes the objectives of the second group of missions from the first. The Anglican Mission is representative of the second group. In common with all of the Missions in Papua and New Guinea the Anglican Mission looked to its schools to provide simple literacy for evangelistic purposes:

> We are not humanists - we do not ask our people at home to empty their pockets generously in order that we may 'educate the natives', nor merely to bring them the benefits of modern medical science. We ask people to give in order that these people for whom we are responsible may know the truth which 'will make them free'. We should be immoral if we did not put the Faith first, for we should be betraying our trust - literally in the economic sense.[1]

The Anglican Mission made it quite clear that the schools were designed to prepare the way for the establishing of the Church:

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[1] Australian Board of Missions, op. cit., November, 1958, p.151.

> We should face the fact squarely, honestly and unashamedly, that in all the Pacific fields the village school has been the primary base for evangelism. The pioneer missionary in a heathen village is the native teacher, who sets up his school, teaches reading, writing and arithmetic in a very simple and elementary manner, but regards as his primary and most fundamental duty the establishment of the Church in that area - the native teacher-evangelist precedes the priest .... our teachers spend at least fifty per cent of their training time in learning to be efficient and devout evangelists.[1]

Unlike the first group of missions this second group regarded the union of the religious subjects and the non-religious subjects within the one room and the one learning situation as imperative. A further statement from the Anglican article "Education and Missions" referred to above makes the point clearly:

> The mission cannot do without its schools in these primitive countries. Religion is caught rather than taught, and a half-hour a week in a secular school is almost useless - we need our schools wherever the Gospel is to be spread, and any real attempt to interfere with them must be fought to the last inch.[2]

There is evident here the beginnings of a philosophy of Christian education in which religious education is not satisfied by the learning of a special subject (i.e. scripture) but requires a special approach to learning throughout the whole curriculum. Anglicans believed that their

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid.

native pupils must have education and, if the mission was to be true to its evangelistic ideals, that education had to be in mission hands. Religious instruction in Administration schools was quite inadequate for the satisfaction of their objectives.

The attitude of a third and final group of missions towards its educational programme ought now to be examined. This group, represented in the first place here by the Roman Catholics, appears to have gone the farthest towards the development of a philosophy of Christian education.

One of the first Roman Catholic missionaries in Papua, Fr. L.A. Navarre, indicated that his church regarded the work of mission education as deep enough to require very well educated leaders:

> Pope Gregory did not think it unworthy of the religion of Christ to send to our fathers those of his subjects who were most remarkable for science, and virtue, and sanctity .... Down to the present day the Roman Church continues to send only well-tried priests into savage and barbarous countries.[1]

Roman Catholic education in common with that of the other missions in the Territory saw its objective integrally related to the evangelistic goal of the overall mission programme:

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[1] L.A. Navarre, Letter to John Douglas, British New Guinea (later Papua), Annual Report, 1887, p.26.

Predictably Navarre regarded the South Sea Island teachers employed by other mission societies as "very bad teachers", totally devoid of training. ibid., pp.25,26. It will be noted in the concluding chapter that it is

> The reason why the missions must aim at this standard (similar to that in Australia) is the same reason as Catholics have for providing their own schools in Australia, namely, to safeguard the Faith of the children and to give equality of opportunity equal to non-Catholic children who have the advantages of Government schools for their future careers.[1]
> From the Catholic viewpoint it is perhaps more necessary in this country, than even in places like Australia, to have a Catholic atmosphere for native children in education. Natives have not, in most places, the Catholic tradition or home influence which may be found elsewhere. Hence the necessity of Catholic schools for native children.[2]

With its emphasis upon a religious atmosphere in the classroom, Catholic mission education clearly saw the necessity of the full classroom time's being in the hands of the mission teacher - as did Anglican mission education. As well the Catholics looked for a Christianizing of all learning and not merely an addition of religion to a secular curriculum. Archbishop Carboni in commending an appeal for education in Papua, New Guinea and the north Solomon Islands remarked:

> Much more is demanded than merely the baptism of pagans by apostolic missionaries. Pagans must not only be told about Christ and baptised into the Mystical Body of Christ. They must be educated as disciples of Christ .... They must have schools and higher colleges to provide an education centered around Christ as the focal point of all created reality.[3]

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[1] Roman Catholic Church in Australia, Association for the Propagation of the Faith, Catholic Missions, February, 1957, p.6.

[2] ibid., p.8.

[3] Archbishop Carboni, "It Is a Glorious Work", Catholic Missions, February, 1957, p.16.

Roman Catholics it appears saw their schools as a means not merely for gaining adherents but as a means for developing a total life outlook. To the credit of their missionaries they sought to apply an idealistic philosophy, which gave attention both to the nature of man and to the difficult day to day routine of their school work for the native. Rev. T. L'Estrange, writing of "Education in the Northern Solomons" (which included Bouganville in the Territory of New Guinea) had sufficient vision to see the work in Bouganville as progressing towards the goal laid down by Pius XII: "'an education that consists essentially in preparing man for what he must be, and the end for which he was created.'"[1]

The other two long-standing mission groups, the Lutherans and the Seventh-day Adventists ought to be placed in one of these three groups with regard to their purposes for mission education. The Lutheran Mission would appear to find its place in group two (which sees it imperative that the children of its adherents remain in mission-conducted schools for right development whether the Administration can provide schools or not) if not group three (which sees education in terms of a basic philosophy of the nature of man and unquestionably to be conducted by the mission).

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[1] T. L'Estrange, "Education in the Northern Solomons", Catholic Missions, April, 1958, p.17.

In 1943 a writer for the American Lutheran Church stated: "We may say our school is the very heart of our New Guinea Mission. If it stops beating our mission will die."[1] Further evidence that Lutherans saw the mission day school as essential to the developmental work of the mission as a whole is found in a remark by Dr. W. Flierl:

> I am of the opinion that we are in duty bound to retain for the native Church as many Christian schools as we can, as long as we can .... Such schools provide by far the best opportunity that the child be fortified against secularising influences, through the Word of God which can be administered in a multiplicity of ways day by day, so that under divine blessing, God can become and remain a living reality to all who are receptive, and also because such schools provide the best opportunity to inculcate a consciousness of what membership in the Church means .... If we are determined to keep before us as our paramount aim the furtherance of the inner growth of the Church, as an indigenous Church, firmly rooted in New Guinea soil, then our educational service will be an essential factor in building the Church.[2]

Such an outlook as this suggests that the Lutheran Mission was seeing the day school as more of a means of retaining the faith of its people than as an aggressive form of front-line evangelism. Writing in 1925 Flierl, who first used iron tools to entice young men to his school, indicated that he saw the mission schools as filling this safe-

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[1] American Lutheran Church, Mission Auxiliary, The Lutheran Missionary, January, 1943, p.7.

[2] W. Flierl, quoted in H. Hage, "The Changing Role of Education in Missions and Younger Churches", presented as a conference paper for the Lutheran Mission, New Guinea, January, 1963, p.17.

guarding function: "To maintain and strengthen the Lutheran Mission in New Guinea our schools and our native helpers were important contributing factors."[1] At a Conference of the Lutheran Church in 1963 H. Hage was arguing that the keeping and developing roles were the foremost functions of the mission schools - that to use them for the purposes of original conversion was to leave open the possibility that Christianity would be associated with Western civilisation, so that if Western ways were ever doubted so might Christianity, too.[2] Hage argued, too, that a person could not receive a Christian education unless he were a Christian. Viewpoints such as these would appear to qualify the Lutheran Mission (later Church) of New Guinea for inclusion in group two as described above.

The Seventh-day Adventist Mission is a little difficult to place with regard to the groupings in use in this chapter. Seventh-day Adventist education as a whole appears to have a clear philosophical basis for its school work. Writing in 1903 E.G. White, foremost exponent of educational philosophy for the church, forged a strong link between the nature of man and the purpose of education:

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[1] J. Flierl, op. cit., p.128.

[2] H. Hage, "The Changing Role of Education in Missions and Younger Churches", presented as conference paper for the Lutheran Mission, New Guinea, January, 1963, p.17.

> Man, created for fellowship with God, can only in such fellowship find his real life and development. Created to find in God his highest joy, he can find in nothing else that which can quiet the cravings of the heart, can satisfy the hunger and thirst of the soul.[1]
>
> In the highest sense the work of education and the work of redemption are one, for in education as in redemption 'other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.'[2]

The Seventh-day Adventist Church called, in education, not only for building up Christian character and for leadership development[3] but also in the terms of the passage above for "a fellowship with God" or a human-divine encounter made possible by the nature of man's creation. Such an outlook would appear to qualify Seventh-day Adventists for inclusion in group three; however, although the church holds such a view of the purpose of education, it is interesting to note that Seventh-day Adventist missionaries in writing about their school work refer to its objectives more noticeably in terms of the immediate goals of group two. To illustrate, five years after their entry to New Guinea and twenty-two years after their entry to Papua, the Seventh-day Adventists laid down the following policy:

> Whereas it is our experience that educational and evangelical work go hand in hand in conducting work in mission fields:
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> Voted: That we encourage our missionaries to conduct

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[1] E.G. White, Education, Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1952 (Original copyright, 1903), p.124.

[2] ibid., p.30.

[3] ibid., p.46.

> their work on educational-evangelical methods by establishing village schools, and district schools; and when the field is sufficiently developed advanced schools should be established.[1]

Reference in Seventh-day Adventist mission literature to the more philosophical side of the objectives of mission education is difficult to find.

By way of summary in this section it would seem that all of the missions operating in Papua and New Guinea saw their education work as making a direct contribution to their evangelistic goals but that none of them saw the function of the schools as merely a way of gaining adherents. Even those missions which were willing for the Government to take over the schools and for mission education work to be confined to scripture classes saw the schools which they were conducting as filling an important overall developmental function in the lives of the pupils. The majority of missions believed that they ought to remain in the field of education, whether the Administration could manage the situation or not, in order to have a religious atmosphere pervade the whole of the learning process. Those mission bodies with a more advanced philosophy of education saw Christian education in a mission day school as the only way for the developing life of the believer to be truly fulfilled.

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[1] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Australasian Union Conference, Executive Committee Minutes, September 12th, 1930, p.21.

3. How closely was the spread and growth of general mission work followed by the adoption of the week-day classroom?

With objectives for education such as have been noted above it could be expected that all missions in Papua and New Guinea would use schools practically from the outset and that most would want to see the education system expand and improve its offerings as the mission community grew. The evidence is generally supportive of this view.

N.F. Cocks and D.E. Ure reported for the London Missionary Society in 1958 that: "From the commencement of our work in Papua in 1871 education has been considered essential to the establishment of the Christian Church."[1] Methodists opened their work in 1891 on the Papuan islands. Promptness in opening up education work is indicated in the report for 1892 which stated:

> Schools have been started where our churches are built, and we hope during the year to have a book printed in Dobuan, for the use of our teachers. It will require patient earnest toil, before we can lead the children and their parents to appreciate the advantages of education.[2]

Seventh-day Adventist missionary, W.N. Lock, moved into Efogi in the Owen Stanley Ranges of Papua to inspect the

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[1] N.F. Cocks and D.E. Ure, "Education in New Guinea", Factual Report on Education in New Guinea presented at the Australian Council of School Organisations, op. cit. p.12.

[2] W. Bromilow, "Report for British New Guinea District", The Missionary Review, February 4th, 1893, p.4.

mission property on August 21st, 1924.[1] The following day the party commenced felling the trees. By the beginning of 1925 he reported that he was planning to commence school as soon as the floor was complete on the front verandah of his house.[2] This was to serve as class space until other arrangements could be made.

The sense of urgency to open the mission classroom was no less pronounced in the post-War establishment of missions in Papua and New Guinea. To illustrate: two new mission bodies, the Baptist New Guinea Mission and the New Tribes Mission, moved into the Highlands of New Guinea in 1950. The annual report for the year ending 30th June, 1951, stated for both these missions: "No schools opened yet, but the necessary preliminary field work has been completed."[3] One year later the Baptists had two village schools (one European teacher between them) operating and catering for seventy-two pupils; the New Tribes Mission had 150 pupils in four village schools (six European and two native teachers).[4]

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[1] W.N. Lock, "Opening a New Mission in the Interior of New Guinea", Australasian Record, November 10th, 1924, p.2.

[2] W.N. Lock, "Preparing for School", ibid., March 30th, 1925, p.3.

[3] Commonwealth of Australia, Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1950-1951, p.161.

[4] ibid., pp.199,200.

Evidence noted here is supportive of the successive-phase framework hypothesized in the initial chapter. The urgency of the Establishment Phase was a pressing demand, as much as any other consideration, to bring the children under classroom influence. The Expansion Phase was made possible when the district station, with its European teacher functioning at the district school, was in operation and turning out "graduates" who were able to move as teachers into the surrounding areas to establish mission influence and prepare pupils in an elementary way in village schools to move on later to the district school.[1]

Further evidence that the spread and growth of general mission work was followed closely by the adoption of the week-day classroom is found in a comparison of the members of mission personnel engaged in teaching with the total number of mission personnel. In New Guinea in 1922, the year after the Australian civil administration took over, the roll call of missionaries was as follows:

German	=	222
British	=	21
Other European	=	11
Total	=	254 [2]

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[1] vide supra, p.34

[2] Commonwealth of Australia, Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1921-1922, p.90.

Of these 254 European missionaries, 208 were engaged in teaching work. Accompanying them were 850 native teachers who with the Europeans staffed 676 schools with an enrolment of 22,199.[1]

In 1892, the year after Methodists commenced work in the eastern islands of British New Guinea, they reported:

Churches	8
Schools	8
Missionaries	4
Lay Missionaries	1
Missionary Sisters	2
Teachers	26
Local Preachers	1
Scholars	240
Native Members	44
Attendants on public worship	5790 [2]

There is indicated again a close development of schools alongside churches and a predominance of mission workers engaged in teaching work. The Anglican Mission maintained a similar relationship between the church congregation and the school. The Australian Board of Mission report for 1938 stated:

> Each mission station has its school .... Most of the licensed Papuan teachers have passed through St. Aidan's Training College, followed by two years' practical experience as trainees at one of our central stations, before receiving their licences .... Our teachers are trained not only for school work but also to be lay-missionaries, able to take services, look after a mission station, give religious instruction not only in school, but also to hearers, catechumens, and Confirmation candidates, and to do evangelical work in neighbouring villages.[3]

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[1] ibid.

[2] W. Bromilow, loc. cit.

[3] Australian Board of Missions, op. cit., August 1st, 1939. pp. 124.125

An account such as this indicates that not only was the school room generally erected wherever there was a place of worship but that the office of pastor and teacher might reside in the one person so that the work of education was following the development of general mission work very closely indeed.

This link between general mission expansion and the growth of mission education is substantiated by a study of the accompanying graph of Mission School Enrolment in New Guinea.

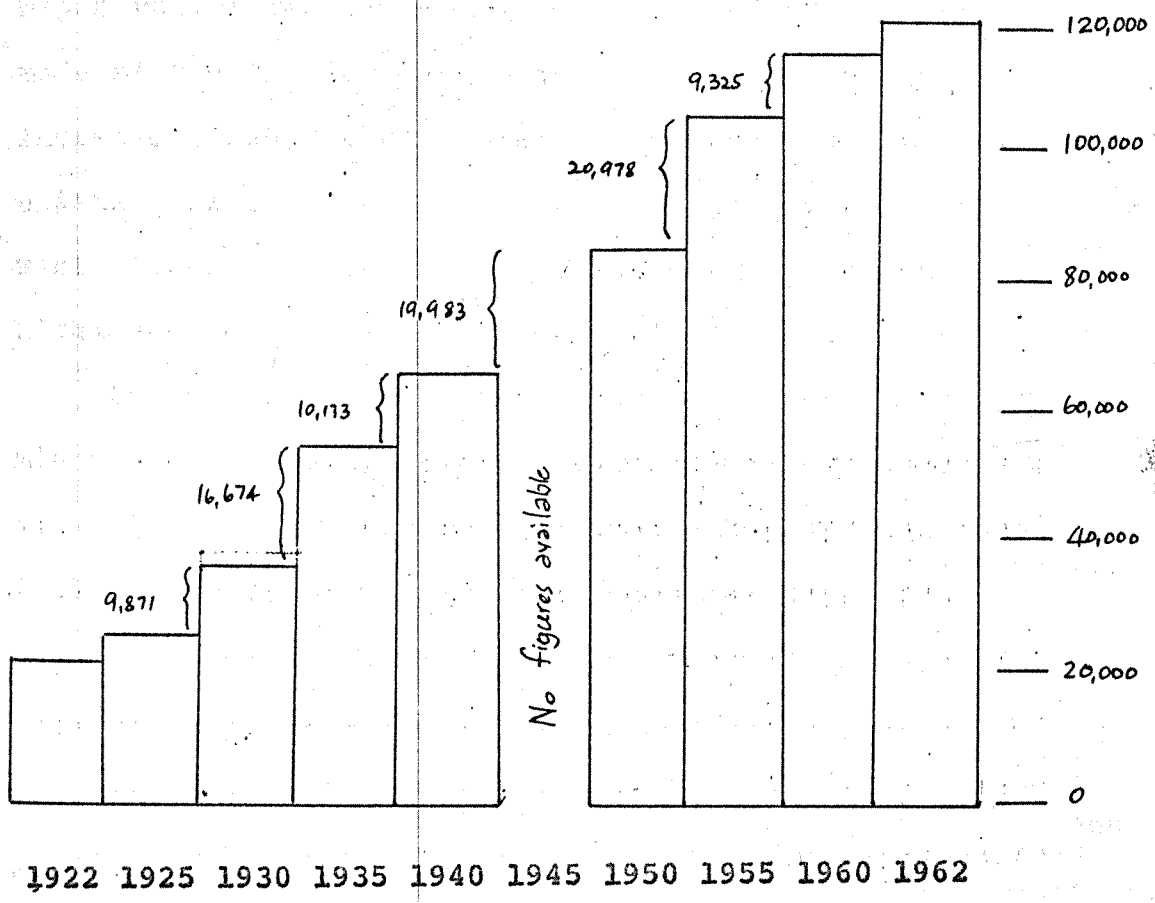

FIGURE 2: MISSION SCHOOL ENROLMENT NEW GUINEA [1]

[1] Statistics compiled from Annual Reports.

Between 1922 and 1962 the enrolments grew six-fold from around 20,000 to a little over 120,000.[1] During all but two of the given five-year periods the pupil increase was approximately 10,000; during two five-year periods (1930-35 and 1950-55) the increases were 16,600 and 21,000. Significantly, these periods of marked growth in attendance, at mission schools come at precisely those times when the missions were branching out into new areas: 1930-35 with an increase of 16,624 saw the movement of missions north and west from Rabaul to the St. Matthias Group and the Admiralty Islands and inland from Lae, Madang and the Sepik to the New Guinea Highlands with special use being made of the fast-growing air-services; 1950-55 with an increase of 20,970 witnessed marked expansion by both existing missions and four new mission bodies to the south-west of New Britain, to the West, Central and Southern Highlands and to parts of the Sepik.[2]

Collectively there is impressive evidence that the missions followed up their advances into new territory promptly with the mission pastor-teacher and his simple but influential classroom. In one sense mission education has been a "means to an end" in that it has been part of the

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[1] Calculated from the Annual Reports for New Guinea

[2] Sources for the information provided here have been the sections of the Annual Reports for New Guinea headed "Freedom of Conscience and Religious Missions" and "Religious Missions Operating in the Territory". See especially, Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1931-1932, p.93. and ibid., 1951-1952, p.167

basic mission task -- the evangelisation of the natives of Papua and New Guinea. This chapter has shown, however, that is is misleading to call mission education merely a means to an end for, in the main, the "means" was intended to continue once the "end" of conversion had been attained. From there on the convert was to be developed according to his personal needs, the needs of his church and, (some would argue) also the requirements of his country.

The first chapter of this thesis has laid down a background against which the evolution of mission education might be traced and has hypothesized a framework within which the various phases of the development of mission education can be placed. Whereas the successive-phase hypothesis suggested the direction in which mission education moved, this chapter has indicated the motivation behind that development - generally the conversion of the native and his acquirement of a mature Christian personality together with the ability to serve his people as a Christian leader or teacher. The following two chapters examine a line of thought emerging from both of these early chapters by studying the following question: Given the Christian maturity objective and the three-school system framework, what type of school life developed at the mission-education institutions in Papua and New Guinea? What was the daily programme? What were the qualities of the pupils and the teachers? What problems were faced?

CHAPTER THREE

LIFE AT THE MISSION SCHOOL - TYPES OF SCHOOL, DAILY PROGRAMME, TEACHERS AND PUPILS

This examination of life at the mission school and the chapter following on the problems of mission education are intended to provide an idea of the day-to-day realities of mission education. The human element in mission education is studied in the setting of the various forms of mission schooling in Papua and New Guinea. There is no single mission educational institution; however, the schools can generally be classified under one of three fairly distinct types.[1]

Types of Mission Schools

At the base of the system of mission education is an extensive system of village schools, taught generally by either South Sea or local native teachers,[2] providing what

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[1] For examples of each of the three types of mission school see The Missionary Review, November 4th, 1912, and J. Flierl, op. cit., p.134.

[2] These native village teachers were typically males aged from the late teens to middle age and beyond. Their training before the 1952 Ordinance was a meagre rule-of-thumb course as described supra. p.38 . After the Ordinance came into force the village teacher's training improved appreciably as studied infra pp.304ff. At that time, too, young ladies studied teaching for the lower grades in significant numbers.

would be called infant schooling under a European system but lasting up to four years in the Papua and New Guinea setting. The predominance of the number of village schools over the number of mission schools of other types has been noteworthy through the years. In New Guinea the situation was as follows in 1933:

Village	1,656
Elementary	159
Other	92 [1]

These village schools have fed their product into a district school situated at a European mission station and conducted either by the missionary himself, by other European mission personnel of either sex, or by a particularly capable national.[2] Typically the district school has catered for two to four of the remaining years of primary schooling.[3]

At the peak of the three-school system is the centralised training school which draws the most promising students from the district schools, sometimes provides them with some further general education, and then gives professional training in preparation for teaching and/or pastoral work back in the villages.[4] As noted in the

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1932-1933, p.112.

[2] Australasian Record, June 5th, 1939, p.3.

[3] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Department of Education, Circular Memorandum No.9 of 1954, "Organisation of Schools and Teaching of English", File A/15-4-1.

[4] For example, see Australasian Record, October 20th, 1941.

initial chapter it was the organising of a training school which has been taken in this thesis as an indication that a system of mission education had moved into phase three of its development - Consolidation - from the earlier phases - Establishment and Expansion.

Interestingly, although the village school is at the base of the system of mission education it was not the first to emerge historically. In the Establishment Phase when the mission party was erecting buildings, mastering the language and gaining the confidence of the people it was the district school that was to be found in its embryonic form in the incidental teaching carried on after work hours. In the Expansion Phase of mission education two types of school were in evidence: the district school now set upon a regular basis and the simple village school conducted either by specially procured national teachers from Polynesia and the Solomon Islands or by the poorly-informed though zealous products of the district schools which provided virtually no teacher training.

Four years after the setting up of the Methodist Mission at New Britain in 1875 a district school was placed under the care of the newly-arrived Rev. B. Danks. His journal includes the following entries:

> Wed. June 24th, 1879. I have commenced a day school and have had an attendance of 23 scholars the past three mornings...
> Fri. June 27th, 1879...I now place on record the names of my scholars and I intend to keep account of their doings and hope by the blessing of God to be able to

give a good account of each one at the last great day.[1]

Working with very little precedent and in a country at that time devoid of European governmental control and leadership in education Danks laid down the following course of instruction. There does not appear to have been any immediate and direct outside influence on his choice of subjects:

Monday	-	Writing and spelling
Tuesday	-	Reading out of lesson book
Wednesday	-	Figures and 1st multiplication table
Thursday	-	Bible stories and History
Friday	-	Writing and spelling
Saturday	-	Ten Commandments
Sunday	-	General religious instruction [2]

Entries on the same page as the above indicate that Danks was striving in this early district school to be the school teacher and the missionary at once - to find an appropriate combination between firmness and fervour:

> As order is necessary for the success of any undertaking I have framed two rules only
> 1. Punctuality. When the drum strikes they must come at once.
> 2. Regularity. Any scholar staying away three consecutive mornings without a legitimate cause... must return both slate and book to myself and he or she is no longer a scholar.
>
> O! that God would remind me continually that I am dealing with immortal souls and that He would help me to spend and be spent for those who have not yet my saviour known.[3]

From the earliest years of mission education in Papua and New Guinea the point of promotion from the village school to the district school was reached when the pupil

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[1] B. Danks, op. cit. pp.53,55.

[2] ibid., p.5[illegible]

could read simple words in his own language, count and do very simple calculations. In 1889 the London Missionary Society had both a village school and a district school at Port Moresby. William Macgregor visited the schools and provided these details:

> Teaching is carried on in two separate buildings, one close to the houses of the principal village, used for beginners, nearly all small children; the other at the mission premises, a few hundred yards from the native villages, and set apart for advanced pupils...the children's school...is but a very plain structure, with rough naked walls, and unprovided with forms or seats.
> ...as soon as they can fairly read words of two to four syllables they are passed into the upper school.[1]

By the time the missions had reached the Consolidation Phase they were using the complete three-school system with teacher training being conducted in specially instituted centralised quarters. The Consolidation Phase and the separate training school system were well under way by 1910 in all of the main missions which had reached Papua and New Guinea before the turn of the century.

The London Missionary Society led the way into the use of the centralised training school by the setting up of the Vatorata college near Port Moresby in 1894. The course gave stress to the pastoral side of the teacher's work and lasted from two to four years.[2] The Methodists in British New Guinea had centralised their teacher training by 1896

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[1] W. Macgregor, Despatch reporting visit of inspection to schools of the London Missionary Society at Port Moresby, British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1888-1889, p.46.

[2] N. Goodall, op. cit., p.423.

giving attention to the practical aspect of agriculture as well as to simple scholastic studies.[1] [2] Regarding the two days a week spent in gardening at Dobu Macgregor commented approvingly:

> They are being educated in their own climate; they grow their own food; and by the example of industry they put before their countrymen they are already teachers.[3]

As the various missions set up their training colleges a fairly common pattern of studies began to emerge. An effort was made to strengthen general studies undertaken in the district schools with special attention to scripture, sermon preparation was given stress, attention was given to elementary approaches to classroom teaching, and gardening was emphasized.[4] The nature and bases of these approaches are more closely studied later in this chapter under Life at the Mission School.

The three-school system was retained in mission education during World War 1, was in vogue when civil administration took over in New Guinea from the Germans[5] and was still serving well in the 1930's.[6]

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[1] The Missionary Review, November 6th, 1897, pp.8,9.

[2] W. Macgregor, "Missions", British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1895-1896, p.29.

[3] ibid.

[4] For example, see The Missionary Review, November 6th, 1897, pp.8,9.

[5] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1921-1922, p.90.

[6] J. Flierl, op. cit., p.134.

In 1947 W.C. Groves, newly appointed Director of Education, prepared a data paper on "Native Education in Certain South Pacific Territories".[1] He gave special stress to the years 1922 to 1942 during which years he was able to make personal observations in Papua and New Guinea and elsewhere. In reporting on schooling in Papua he outlined the three types noted above. At the base of the system Groves described the village vernacular school as aiming at literacy in a vernacular, taught by pastor-teachers with limited training, open for a "short period on certain days of the week" and visited occasionally by resident district European missionaries who generally had no teaching background. Above these Groves outlined the district station school as he had known it - taught by Europeans in a chosen vernacular, and offering boarding facilities. These were followed by the teacher training centres which aimed at "training selected natives as village teachers or pastors".[2]

As well Groves described two other types which can be seen as modifications of the above. Assisted or recognised schools he saw as following the "Government syllabus and specialising in the teaching of English as prescribed for Government subsidy". This type would almost invariably have been a special instance of the district school or have been situated on the same grounds as a training school.

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[1] W.C. Groves, op. cit., pp.2,3.

[2] ibid.

The mission literature from Papua makes frequent reference to examination day at these schools when an inspector (usually from Queensland) would visit at the schools to determine the number of passes for the various grades[1] on the basis of which a Government subsidy was paid. A further type of school was a variation on the training school. Technical training centres were "established at certain mission stations under European direction, and assisted from time to time by Government grants. They gave practical instruction in boatbuilding, carpentry, elementary mechanical and electrical work, and cane furniture making".[2]

It is clear then that the basic three-school system continued during the thirties and up to World War 11. As shall be noted when study is given to the situation during the War the system ceased to operate from the top down commencing 1942 and hardly resumed by the end of 1945.[3]

Attention to the types of schools operated by the missions in the post-war period provides an interesting study in the direction in which mission education was moving. A basic four-school system for mission education was foreshadowed in 1947 in the second Annual Report prepared by the new Department of Education. Now answerable to the United Nations

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[1] For example, see A.B.M. Review, October 12th, 1925, p.120.

[2] W.C. Groves, loc. cit.

[3] vide infra chapter six

the New Guinea Administration commented:

> Education is a major item in the plans that have been approved for the future development of the Territory, and the advancement of its inhabitants... Sub-primary education will be provided in Village Vernacular Schools, rising to primary in Village Higher Grade Schools, higher primary in Area Schools and secondary education in Central Training Colleges and Technical Colleges. In implementing the scheme, the existing village school organization of the Missions is the basis for development and extension, and opportunity will continue to be afforded the different Missions to conduct religious instruction in all Government schools.[1]

The previous year the Administration had made a decision to open up Government schools (their first of any type in Papua) which they referred to as Central schools, for the specific purpose of satisfying the natives' newly-developed desire for an education in English and about European ways.[2] They had already inherited from the military administration a collection of buildings in the Sogeri Valley some miles into the foothills close to Port Moresby. The institution opened for work in December, 1947.[3] The success of the Administration's work at Sogeri (covering all ranges of education from primary to teacher training) led to the adopting, prior to the important 1952 Education Ordinance, of a new type of primary school for mission as well as for Administration education.

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1946-1947, p.27.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946, (Roneoed) pp.20,21.

[3] ibid., 1946-1947, p.80.

The new type of school was termed "Central" for a time; at one stage it was regarded as "Secondary" in nature but was finally classified as "Intermediate" to indicate a stage between primary and secondary schooling and intended to bridge the gap between the two.[1]

To cater for the new type of school some of the mission groups erected new buildings specially appointed to provide for an additional grading system from grade VI or VII on to grade VII, VIII or IX - such was the Martyrs' School erected by the Anglicans at Sangara in 1948[2] (shifted to Gona after the 1951 Mt. Lamington disaster), and the Wesley Boys' School opened by the Methodists in 1954.[3]

It is difficult to find a precise record of the growth of the new Intermediate School because schools first listed under this title in 1948 and 1949 in the difficult rehabilitation stage obviously included what had been referred to as district schools prior to the War. The statistics given below (Figure 3) come from the Annual Reports and hardly become realistic until the government commenced its official inspections of the schools for registration purposes in 1956-57 and applied a new grants-in-aid procedure in January 1957 based not on mission school enrolment but on the

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[1] ibid., 1953-1954, p.56; 1954-1955, p.65; 1955-1956, p.69.

[2] A.B.M. Review, May 1st, 1948, p.74.

[3] B.W. Brown, "Old Doors-New Building", the Missionary Review, May, 1957, p.4.

mission teachers' professional qualifications and "their ability to teach English".[1]

Year	Mission Intermediate Schools in Papua and New Guinea	Mission Intermediate School Enrolments
1949	164	15,406
1951	188	17,331
1953	249	18,528
1955	307	20,938
1956	146	14,699
1957	26	1,223
1958	11	522
1959	15	641
1960	11	871[2]

Figure 3: Mission Intermediate Schools in Papua and New Guinea

In contrast to the above, the total number of pupils attending all schools at a lower than intermediate level showed steady growth during the same period:

1949	85,498
1954	104,919
1955	128,814
1956	140,089
1957	156,294
1958	148,525
1959	168,884
1960	172,132 [3]

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1956-1957, p.76.

[2] Statistics compiled from Annual Reports of both Papua and New Guinea.

[3] ibid.

It is clear that between 1950 and 1957 the missions were pushing ahead with their schools at the village level in particular. 1957 marks a turning point in this emphasis due to the closer application by the Administration of its rights within the terms of the 1952 Ordinance.[1] The Government achieved its ends by commencing the inspection and registration of schools and by applying the new grants formula - both in 1956-57. Between 1957 and 1962 two new types of mission school were to emerge: the exempt school and the secondary school.

The exempt school was made possible by the 1957 amendment to the 1952 Education Ordinance. The 1952 terms provided for existing schools either to be registered (in particular on the grounds of teacher qualification) or recognized (in particular on the grounds "that a reasonable standard of instruction" would be maintained in secular subjects) or to be closed.[2] The missions could see that vast numbers of their schools could no longer remain open under such a direction, as the majority of their teachers in the village schools were not proficient in English, were teaching in local vernaculars and were not in possession or recognized teaching certificates.[3] The missions argued strongly that

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[1] vide infra chapter seven.

[2] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, An Ordinance Relating to Education, No.121 of 1952, p.5.

[3] vide infra, pp.270,271.

the village vernacular schools were performing a legitimate and helpful function; they were subsequently allowed under the 1957 amendment to continue the work of the village school as before under the title Exempt School or Religious Literacy Centre.[1] However, Government assistance was speedily withdrawn from this type of school.[2] The missions in many cases sought to replace them.

Registration, recognition or exemption was granted on the basis of inspection. Schools yet to be inspected were classified as exempt. The numbers of schools (primary) in the three categories were as follows (Figure 4) from 1958 to 1962:

	Registered and Recognized	Exempt
1958	260	3,129
1959	617	3,141
1960	904	2,669
1961	1,040	2,005
1962	1,201	2,130[3]

Figure 4: Registered, Recognized and Exempt Mission Schools in Papua and New Guinea.

The growing number of schools in the registered and recognized categories indicates a willingness on the part of the missions to co-operate with the Administration in providing a better educated teacher for the primary schools of the Territory. On the other hand it is obvious that the number of exempt schools did not diminish by the same number

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[1] vide infra, p.271

[2] vide infra, p.250

[3] Statistics compiled from the Annual Reports for both territories.

as the others increased indicating that a significant group of missions saw the religious village vernacular school as still of great importance in the reaching of their objective of a mature Christian citizen.

The other new type of mission school that emerged during this same 1957-1962 period is the fully recognized secondary school run along subject lines similar to those in Australia. One was classified as such in 1959.[1] By 1962 there were nine mission schools classified as Junior High and five as Secondary. These schools were staffed by ex-patriate Europeans almost solely, with Australia and the United States (through the American Lutheran Church) providing most teachers.[2]

It is important to note here that the Re-assessment Phase of mission education commencing with the setting up of the new Papua and New Guinea Education Department witnesses development in two pairs of opposite directions - a decision by two bodies largely to withdraw from the field of education when the Government could take over, while the bulk of the missions decide to renew their committal; - a decision by some bodies to press on with the old vernacular approach as before while most missions work towards providing secondary education for as many as possible of those students who completed the primary and post-primary courses. Most

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1958-1959, p.232.

[2] vide infra pp.315-317.

missions chose to move along both vernacular lines and official lines at the same time.

The Daily Programme at the Mission Schools

Often set away in remote areas, confined until the 1950's to the use of native vernacular languages, and taught by nationals with limited education and training, the mission village schools have been least subject to change of all types of mission schools.

These first level schools have been conducted mostly for the very young and carefree who have traditionally been subjected to a minimum of parental restraint. Missionaries report that their national village teachers have been faced at times with absenteeism when children insist that they accompany their parents to the family sweet potato gardens instead of attending classes. In the early days before schooling was highly valued, when the teacher rang the school bell some of his pupils might regard this as a signal to hide in the forest or amongst the bushes at the beach-front.[1]

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[1] "It is hardly possible for one not on the spot to realise or appreciate the difficulties the teachers have to contend with, especially in the lower school. The little roguish Papuan greatly prefers his liberty to his lesson. The sounding of the school bell is too often the signal to him to dart away to the beach, or into the reeds or bush round the village. When the teacher even goes to fetch them they will sometimes run into the water, where they know he cannot follow without wetting his clothes and then enjoy the fun of his embarrassment. Then they are all very frequently absent in search of food..." W. Macgregor, "Despatch reporting visit of inspection to London Missionary Society's School at Port Moresby", June 12th, 1890, British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1889-1890, p.86.

Of all the descriptions of mission school life available those concerning the youngest children are the most affecting. The teacher is clearly filling a parent-substitute role in most cases. In one instance children were pictured as waking early in their village huts, unceremoniously fossicking in the overnight fire for a piece of cooked taro,[1] and making off along the beach towards school nibbling as they go.[2] If the sea were calm six-year-old mites could possibly be seen paddling small dug out canoes across stretches of open water and converging on the classroom.[3]

In the early days village schools may have been open for about half of the week only to allow their teacher-pastor instructor to go on with other pressing duties such as visiting in the homes of the natives in his area and attending to the supplementing of his food supply in a practical way such as gardening or fishing. This was the case along the Papuan coast in the 1930's when the London Missionary Society's village schools were open for just three days each week.[4]

Before the ringing of the nine o'clock bell the class might take a last minute swim in the surf or the river and

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[1] Taro is a fleshy root vegetable providing a staple diet along with sweet potato and a type of sago in other places.

[2] A.B.M. Review, April 15th, 1911, p.6.

[3] ibid., January 1st, 1935, p.157.

[4] H.L. Hurst, Papuan Journey, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1938, p.101.

then arrive in line with beads of water glistening in their frizzy hair and running down their bare chests. If the children did not appear so obviously well washed the teacher might enquire whether they had bathed since the previous day. If they had not then the first school activity might be a morning bath supervised by the teacher.[1]

Following this check for cleanliness the village school usually joined in fifteen to twenty minutes of fairly formal physical "drill" supposed both to promote bodily fitness and to be conducive to good school discipline.[2]

The class was then ready to move "indoors". The building might be a simple structure made up of three-inch bush posts supporting a thick grass thatch roof. The walls if used were confined to brush-wood or bamboo plait. Schools in the steamy coastal areas did best when the majority of the wall space was left open to the breeze. Typically the floor was the existing beach sand or the natural earth. To the present day many village schools have this natural flooring and have no furnishings but a desk and simple cupboard for the teacher. At times logs would be provided for seats and the children would place their slates on planks

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[1] D.P. Bembrick, "Kindergarten at Ubia, Papua," The Missionary Review, April 4th, 1915, p.24.

[2] Something of the nature of this drill can be gathered from the native term for the activity: "pall in" (i.e. "fall in line")

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nailed onto posts driven into the ground.[1] Whatever the structure and equipment of the village school it was readily recognizable as belonging to the village setting and at the same time was most likely the finest building the children had seen along with the village church. Indeed, it was not uncommon for the church itself to be the place of meeting for the school.

Village school classes in the unhurried atmosphere of the Territory might be convened for just three or four hours for the day. Scripture (largely the telling of stories from the Old and New Testaments[2]) took first place followed by simple work in counting and calculation and in vernacular writing and reading. Rote work was the main method employed until very recent times. The children would chant their tables or bend over their slates in deep concentration to the accompaniment of fairly incessant sniffing in a land where the carrying of a pocket handkerchief has been one

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[1] Catholic Missions, August, 1957, p.9.

[2] The natives of New Guinea have taken readily to the stories of the Old Testament especially. "They make the stories their own and clothe them in New Guinea dress. They know all about Adam and Eve but it was in a New Guinea garden in which the fall took place. They are thoroughly conversant with Abraham and Isaac, but they were New Guineans. Themselves hunters and agriculturalists, they make Esau hunt the wallaby and Jacob plant yams and bananas. It is a little startling to hear that Noah and Lot rang the bell every morning for school and service and no one came..." The Missionary Review, June 1st, 1892, p.12.

of the last European customs to be adopted. Where a cloth was not available for cleaning the slate the pupil might draw it across his woolly hair.[1]

Many questions could be asked concerning the effectiveness of schools such as have been described here. With such limited equipment, casual attendance and ill-informed teachers how could these village schools, which have constituted the bulk of the education endeavour of the missions be regarded as doing a satisfactory teaching work?

Both the weakness and the strength of the mission village school system lay in the native teacher. Apart from the fact that he could not speak and understand English, the main concerns, up to the 1950's, from the viewpoint of the efficiency of mission education, were that he did not know very much of his classroom studies and that he had practically no knowledge of accepted teaching methods.[2] On the other hand the village teacher did have considerable insight regarding the children whom he taught and the social system in which he was working. Macgregor saw real worth in a village school in the hands of a native Papuan teacher.

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[1] Australasian Record, May 17th, 1937, p.5. This particular description came from a missionary's wife recently arrived in the Territory. New arrivals frequently write the most useful reports on mission life - perhaps because the things they see are so fresh to them.

[2] For example see A.B.M. Review, January 1st, 1935, p.156.

He stated that "it is doubtful that Europeans ever so thoroughly gain the sympathy of these natives and understand them as fully as their own trained countrymen would, or even as South Sea teachers do".[1] This being the case, the village schools were admirably suited to the work of civilising and socialising the children of the Territory - functions of considerable importance in a system of education in a newly-entered territory (if not in any land).

Life at the mission district school and the mission training school has been more noticeably subject to change through the years than has life at the village school. The changes came most obviously during the 1930's when Government syllabi were introduced in Papua[2] and during the 1950's when the post-war Administration began to lay down firm lines for curricula at all levels.[3] The effect has been to strengthen attention to topics of study, timetabling and attendance. This desirable change was much more readily achieved at more senior types of mission school as Europeans (possessing a greater sense of urgency than most of the national teachers) were in charge there.

A typical day at a mission training school (boarding) could have commenced at about 5.30a.m. Morning religious exercises, communally prepared breakfast and possibly an hour in the school gardens might take place before classes

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[1] British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1895-1896, p.xxv.

[2] vide infra pp.180ff.

[3] vide infra p.263.

commenced at about 8.30a.m.[1] Before the introduction of the more exacting syllabi of the 1950's half of the morning might have been spent in religious and scriptural instruction and the other half in secular and professional instruction.

Pastoral training at one training college centred mainly around sermon preparation and presentation:

> Every student has to prepare and deliver sermons, which, before the day of delivery, are submitted to the Principal by the student for advice and criticism. After this delivery all the students are given a lecture upon the sermon, which the Principal often supplements or makes clear when necessary, and upon the mode of delivery. As a result, many of our third year boys have a knowledge of the great Book that many a student in our Bible Colleges in Australia might envy.[2]

Such preparation for preaching was vital for native teachers who were responsible for the spiritual guidance of the adult villagers as well as for the education of the young.

Teacher training appeared to be of a limited yet practical nature. For example the group at the George Brown College, New Britain, in the 1930's spent periodic weekly sessions at an adjoining village practising school.[3] Two students would assist the teacher for the week and the remainder of the class would at times observe the work done

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[1] For example see The Missionary Review, October 3rd, 1925, pp. 6,7 and A.B.M. Review, June 1st, 1948, pp. 84,85.

[2] E.G. Noall, "George Brown College in New Britain", The Missionary Review, October 3rd, 1925, p.6.

[3] L.A. McArthur, "Native Teachers in the Making at George Brown College, New Britain," The Missionary Review, July 5th, 1934, p.6.

and listen to the advice given after the lesson.[1] The system would not provide for much insight into the principles of the learning process as such from the pupil's viewpoint but it did ensure that all of the teacher training was based strongly on real classroom situations. The means used was appropriate for gaining a grounding in a number of stereotyped approaches.

Afternoons might have been given over to manual pursuits such as agriculture and building maintenance. Work of a practical-technical kind was given stress in virtually all of the mission training schools from the early days of mission education in Papua and New Guinea. At times this work was regarded as comprising an important area in the school teaching programme,[2] while at other times it appeared to be merely a desirable facet of school life as well as an economic necessity. It was reported of the Methodist Training College in New Britain: "Afternoons are devoted to agricultural work, every boy having a garden of his own where he grows most of his food, such as yams, bananas, sweet-potatoes, coconuts, etc... the mission garden also receives attention".[3]

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[1] ibid.

[2] The Missionary Review, December 5th, 1936, p.2.

[3] ibid., October 3rd, 1925, p.7.

It is of interest to inquire how much influence the nineteenth century European educators of the "Nature School" had upon an agricultural programme such as this. The resemblance of the above to the practice adopted by Philippe de Fellenberg (1771-1844) at his school of classical education for sons of the wealthy in Switzerland in 1811 is striking: "they were made to spend some of their time cultivating the land. Each pupil had a small garden, which he was required to till with care, whilst the entire school was made jointly responsible for a patch of ground that provided the school vegetables".[1] Both de Fellenberg and Pestalozzi saw great educative value in the "nurture of the soil", believing it would promote "physical health", "bodily strength", "intellectual growth" and "moral worth".[2]

The mission group to come closest to the de Fellenberg viewpoint was the band of London Missionary Society workers to develop work on the island of Kwato in eastern Papua. They were led by F.W. Walker (arrived 1888) and C.W. Abel (arrived 1890).[3] Both "saw educational and spiritual possibilities in the development of industrial work on a large scale".[4] It is interesting to note that the Society's

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[1] H.M. Pollard, Pioneers of Popular Education, London: John Murray, 1956, p.50.

[2] ibid., pp.45,46.

[3] N. Goodall, op. cit., p.429.

[4] ibid., p.430.

board in London became concerned over the stress which Walker and Abel were placing upon plantation and trade work (fearing a related slackening of efforts in more direct evangelistic areas) and advised against the groups continuing at the scale then in operation. Both men were so strongly convicted that they severed their direct connections with the Society and continued their activities independently.[1]

There is good evidence that interest in agricultural and practical work in mission education most generally was first on economic grounds. If the students could not be fed they could not remain at the schools; food could not be provided unless the gardens were tended daily.[2] Apart from the Walker and Abel stand the closest approaches to the de Fellenberg teachings would be a general desire to promote healthy habits of industry and economic independence.[3]

It is important to observe that a church body conducting its own system of schools in various "home lands" on the basis of a clear philosophy regarding practical-technical-agricultural pursuits could conduct mission schools in which agricultural work was a necessity, and not view such work clearly in the light of its philosophy. For example, the Seventh-day Adventist system of education has stated clearly in its foremost guide on schooling:

EDUCATION

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[1] ibid.

[2] For example, see Australasian Record, August 25th, 1941, p.6.

[3] For example, see The Missionary Review, November 5th, 1931, p.8.

> True education...is the harmonious development of the physical, the mental, and the spiritual powers...
> At the creation labour was appointed as a blessing. It meant development, power, happiness...
> ...it is still a source of happiness and development. And it is a safeguard against temptation. Its discipline places a check on self-indulgence, and promotes industry, purity and firmness. Thus it becomes a part of God's great plan for our recovery from the Fall...
> No line of manual training is of more value than agriculture...
> Practical work encourages close observation and independent thought.[1]

In spite of a clear stand such as this on practical education, in the Seventh-day Adventist mission literature, gardening work at the mission schools is commonly related to the immediate needs of feeding the students and not to a basic philosophy of education. Following are two samples. The first is from G.F. Jones working to establish a school in inland Papua: "...we are very busy just now in getting everything on a better foundation here, as well as attending to food production, which is always the all important matter in island missions".[2] D.H. Gray on Bouganville also reported the agricultural situation from the economic viewpoint without mentioning the matter of purposes in education:[3]

> We are pleased to have an older class than last year... We wondered how we should feed them all, but we stepped out in faith, knowing that if the people have a mind to work it can be done, and that in a very few months,

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[1] White, E.G., op. cit., pp.1,2,4,220.

[2] G.F. Jones, "Papua and Its Opportunities," Australasian Record, October 22nd, 1923, p.3.

[3] D.H. Gray, "School on Bouganville," Australasian Record, March 19th, 1934, p.2.

> working hard, there would be more than enough food for them.
> We put the position before them. We welcomed them to school, but told them that they must work hard to get their gardens producing, as there was not enough food on the mission to last all the time. They accepted the position.[1]

Two factors may be responsible for this difference between "homeland" theory and front-line practice on the agricultural question in mission education. In the first place the mission superintendents up to the 1930's at least were not trained educators but were usually church pastors largely unaware of educational philosophy. Further, the serious nature of the circumstances under which some scores of students had to be kept in food, would bring attention to bear on the immediate practical issues at the expense of the philosophic ideals.

After morning classes and afternoon gardening the mission training school typically would enjoy relaxation in games or swimming and finish off the day with evening worship and an early retirement to bed.

Many local exigencies might pertain to alter this routine at the mission boarding schools, but the proportion of time spent in the various activities appears to remain something like that given above. To accommodate to the climatic conditions at Omaura in the New Guinea Highlands the Seventh-day Adventist school there spent the morning in gardening while they could work outdoors uninterrupted and the afternoon in studies while the rains came down.[2]

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[1] ibid.
[2] Australasian Record, May 31st, 1948, p.5.

A study of the life experienced at a mission school would be incomplete without some attention's being paid to the nature of the teaching staff.

The Teachers of the Mission Schools

The first mission representatives in Papua and New Guinea were native teachers from Eastern Polynesia in the South Pacific. They were placed upon some of the islands in Torres Strait on July 1st, 1871 as the pioneers in Papua of the London Missionary Society.[1] In the first group of eight was Tepeso who upon being advised not to land upon Murray Island asked, "Are there men there?" When told there were, he replied, "Wherever there are men, missionaries must go".[2] Tepeso and his associates were the sons of cannibals. The following year when A.W. Murray of the London Missionary Society returned with reinforcements Tepeso had died.[3] Within four years twenty-one of the South Sea Island native teachers had been lost - "seventeen by the diseases of the climate, and four by the clubs of the savages".[4] After fifteen years (1871-1885) ninety London

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[1] C. Northcott, op. cit., p.20.

[2] ibid. p.17.

[3] London Missionary Society, Chronicle, August, 1873, p.149.

[4] C. Northcott, op. cit., p.23.

Missionary Society natives of the South Seas (teachers and their wives) had met their death in British New Guinea. Seventy-six had died of fever and other sickness and fourteen had died at the hands of the Papuans.[1]

Of what stamp were these first teachers of Papua and New Guinea? It would be easy to over-glamorise persons with such an apparently self-sacrificing outlook. This being the case the contrary evidence can well be studied at the outset.

The first Administrator of British New Guinea, John Douglas, commented upon the South Sea Island teachers in his first report in 1886. As well as describing their work as a "great and noble enterprise", he recorded:

> The South Sea Island teachers require sometimes to be controlled. I found it necessary to administer a severe caution in the case of a native lad who was killed by being pushed from the platform of the teacher's house...
> One of them had also spoken very disrespectfully of me and my officers.[2]

To be added to this charge of impulsiveness is a claim of incompetence made in 1887 by Fr. L.A. Navarre of the Mission of the Sacred Heart centred on Yule Island. In quite a long letter, aimed at justifying the presence of the Catholic Mission on Yule Island, Fr. Navarre commented that "Down to the present day the Roman Church continues to send only

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[1] A. Musgrave, "Returns of London Missionary Society's Teachers Associated with British New Guinea, British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1888, pp.20-22.

[2] J. Douglas, "Missionary Enterprise," British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1886, p.7.

well-tried priests into savage and barbarous countries".[1]

He continued some few paragraphs later:

> Needless to say that I do not consider their South Sea Island teachers as missionaries - these men, in whom I recognise the merit of exposing their health and their lives to the inclemency of a climate which to them is deadly for want of the care necessary to preserve their health or restore it when sickness overtakes them. They are, however, not equal to the task imposed upon them... I know a large number of them. There are amongst them some good fellows, but they are very bad teachers... for the most part in need of conversion and are totally devoid of training.[2]

It is interesting to note that the Roman Catholic Church in New Guinea had chosen by 1907 to employ national workers themselves in contrast with the stand mentioned by Fr. Navarre. It was stated in the German Annual Report:

> The mission of the Sacred Heart of Jesus has extended its sphere of work in the Bismarck Archipelago by the establishing of a number of subsidiary stations and by the appointment of coloured Catechists.[3]

The evidence in support of the South Sea teachers is impressive. In 1889 Macgregor described them as "generally of a superior class and character".[4] Reports from both British New Guinea and German New Guinea comment approvingly of the way the Polynesian teacher was able to come close to the natives. The Methodists at New Britain in 1905 included their Samoan teachers with a group of nationals who

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[1] British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1887, p.24.

[2] ibid.

[3] German Colonial Office, Annual Report, 1906-1907, p.259.

[4] British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1888-1889, p.xxii.

were providing "an invaluable link between the natives and the whites"[1] Macgregor reported:

> ...it is doubtful that Europeans ever so thoroughly gain the sympathy of these natives and understand them as fully as their own trained countrymen would, or even as South Sea teachers do.[2]

Tentative judgment upon the South Sea teacher might well be that he had some limitations of education and temperament but that his dedication, courage and sympathy made him of outstanding value in the Establishment and Expansion Phases of mission education.

While the role of the ex-patriate coloured teacher is under discussion it is worth observing that, even after the flow of these persons into Papua and New Guinea was checked, certain of them filled vital positions as pioneers and leaders. Groves in the early 1930's reported glowingly of the leadership capabilities of mission teachers he saw at work from Samoa, Fiji and the Solomons:

> Over at Tatau to-day, the people speak with affection of the Samoan native Methodist teacher who first introduced Christianity to them, and who exerted a strong and lasting influence on their lives... More recently, I was surprised to see the improvements and new interests introduced to native life at the island of Emira by Naptalai, a happy middle-aged Fijian teacher of the Adventist Mission... No highly trained European could have done more. Few would have done so well.[3]

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[1] German Colonial Office, Annual Report, 1904-1905, p.220.

[2] British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1895-1896, p.xxv.

[3] W.C. Groves, Native Education and Culture-Contact in New Guinea, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1936, p.104.

After a visit to the island of Mussau Groves commented:

> I was particularly struck with the faithfulness of the Solomon Island teachers, - such black-skinned joyous types as Oti, whose genuine Christian belief was apparent in his every action. Truly the S.D.A. stations will become, have become already, the focal points of new interests, the radiating centres of new life.[1]

Robert Salau, a Solomon Islander from the Maravo Lagoon carried out pioneering work with Oti in several localities in New Guinea. Something of his calibre is indicated in a letter he wrote to Australia from Ramu in the New Guinea highlands in 1934:

> There (at Mussau) my wife and I had lots of works to helped the young people, boys and girls. Later on my wife had very terrible fever. I helped her what I can, and asked God to help her, but it is not God's will, so she died on June 16 /34... So there we gathered together to bury my dear wife near the beach, in sight of the ocean. I am very sorry, but Jesus will help me. This thing not make my heart different, but I am still strong in my faith to God.
>
> And now I am in Ramu where no man know about Jesus...[2]

Tongan, Isikeli Hau'ofa, of the Methodist Mission in Papua proved his worth when the Europeans had to evacuate to Australia as the Japanese approached. The natives had been stunned by the formidable circumstances. Isikeli "moved out among his people, quietening their fears, re-assuring them and restoring their confidence".[3]

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[1] W.C. Groves, "An Anthropologist Looks at the Seventh-day Adventist Mission Work in Mussau," Australasian Record, August 27th, 1934, p.2.

[2] R. Salau, Letter to A.H. Piper, Australasian Record, October 1st, 1934, pp.2,3.

[3] E.A. Clarke, "Welcome Back to Papua," The Missionary Review, April 5th, 1944, p.5.

After the ex-patriate South Sea Island teacher the second type of teacher to reach Papua and New Guinea was the European missionary - usually untrained in classroom work in the early stages but settling readily into the classroom teaching work anyway. The forerunner of this band was the scholarly W.G. Lawes who walked up the beach at Port Moresby, with Ruatoka an able Raratongan, on November 21st, 1874. Lawes was the first white settler the Territory had known.[1]

Something of the rugged, buoyant nature of the successful European mission teacher of the pioneering stages at least is illustrated in comments written by Lawes' fellow-worker James Chalmers who was to fall victim in 1901 to a tribe of Papuan cannibals:

> Leave the twaddle of sacrifices for those who do not appreciate the sacrifice of the Cross. Let the Church give her very best in heart, mind and body, for Christ's world work. The best and greatest of all work demands the best and greatest of men.[2]

> We want all-round men just such as we have been getting don't care men, you know, who like anything that may come, on shanks, their own or others; in a boat bowling along before a stiff breeze, or flying on the top of a sea to be chucked out, lose everything, and get to the shore by the skin of the teeth. It is grand work this.[3]

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[1] C. Northcott, op. cit., p.23.

[2] J. Chalmers, Letter to R.W. Thompson, 1882, London Missionary Society, Chronicle, 1951, p.50.

[3] J. Chalmers, "The Pioneer Speaks", ibid.

A useful report on the scholastic standing of the white mission teachers was made by E.W.P. Chinnery who was Government Anthropologist and Director of District Services and Native Affairs in New Guinea during the 1930's. While missionaries and anthropologists in some primitive lands have found themselves working towards conflicting goals the two groups in Papua and New Guinea appear to have enjoyed a co-operative relationship at all times. Chinnery stated in 1932:

> "Most of the missionaries are extremely able and well educated men, and some of them have been instructed in anthropology or in other sciences"[1]

A strong academic background was necessary for the work of reducing a new language to writing and then of translating into that language lengthy portions of the scriptures. W.E. Bromilow was awarded a Doctorate of Divinity for carrying out a translation of the whole of the Bible into the Dobuan language of the islands of Eastern Papua. The translation of the gospels was completed in seven years (from his arrival in Papua in 1891) and the whole of the Bible in thirty-six years.[2]

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[1] E.W. Chinnery, "Applied Anthropology in New Guinea", Address to the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, August 18th, 1932, British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1932-1933, p.160.

[2] M.H. Hodge, "The Bible for Papuans", The Missionary Review, August 4th, 1927, p.7.

While many of the European missionary teachers had college or university education, most of them in the Establishment and Expansion Phases do not appear to have been professionally trained for teaching work. In spite of this absence of a pedagogical background the white teacher seems to have produced quite pleasing results in the classroom. Colonel John Hooper, visiting inspector to Papuan mission schools from the Queensland Education Department for a number of years, reported in 1936:

> Some of the white teachers are highly-trained, very capable and earnest workers. Others, though not trained teachers, from long experience and zeal in the work, are able to produce very satisfactory results.[1]

In the post-War era and in what is termed in this study the Re-assessment Phase this lack of professional training in the white teacher was remedied in three ways: the placing by the missions from their home churches of newly enlisted ex-patriate Australian teachers with university diploma and degree qualifications in key positions in teacher training especially, the provision by the Papua and New Guinea Education Department of a special teachers' qualifying course for mission personnel who had been engaged for some time in native teaching and who needed formal certificate qualification to be eligible for registration under the Educational Ordinance,[2] and the short term enlistment (usually two years) by the missions of well trained

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1935-1936, p.12.

[2] ibid., 1960-1961, p.116.

Australian and American teachers on a near-voluntary and unsalaried basis.[1]

The third main type of teacher, after the South Sea national and the ex-patriate European, to be employed in mission schools is the native of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

As was noted in an earlier chapter in a study of the Consolidation Phase of mission education the first school set up in Papua and New Guinea for the specific purpose of training the natives as teachers was in 1894 at the London Missionary Society's Vatorata College. True to phase, however, the Society had been using native Papuans as teachers for some years. In 1888-89 the mission staff was:

	Men	Women
Europeans	7	3
South Sea Islanders	34	33
Papuans	17	17
	58	53[2]

Figure 5: London Missionary Society Staff in Papua in 1888-1889.

As the supply of South Sea Island teachers gave out the Papuans stepped into their places. The Anglican Mission working in north-eastern Papua had secured "the help of some fifty South Sea Islanders" from the sugar plantations

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[1] vide infra, pp.315-317.

[2] British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1888-1889, p.xxiii.

of Queensland.[1] By 1913 the mission staff of seventy was made up of:

Europeans	26
S.S. Islanders	27
Papuans	17[2]

In 1918 the Anglican staff stood at 114 with the marked increase accounted for by a lift in the number of Papuan teachers:

Europeans	26
Native Priest	1
Native Deacons	4
S.S. Islanders	23
Papuans	60[3]

Extensive use was also made of native teachers in the Territory of German New Guinea during the pioneering years especially by the Protestant missions. In 1905 the Methodists in that field were employing 31 Samoans and Witti natives along with 108 natives of the Bismarck Archipelago (the area to which the Methodists in German New Guinea confined their work) who were employed as "village pastors, village teachers and village evangelists".[4]

What was the nature and quality of these native teachers? A partial answer to this question has been given earlier

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[1] Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council for 1910, p.7.

[2] ibid., 1913, p.11.

[3] ibid., 1918, p.11.

[4] H. Felimann, "Report on the Activities and Position of the Methodist Mission in the Bismarck Archipelago, 1904-05", German Colonial Office, Annual Report, 1904-1905, p.219.

in this chapter under a study of life at the village mission school. The best that can be said for these teachers is that they were self-sacrificing and frequently dedicated and earnest in their work and that they understood the material upon which they were working. During the Expansion Phase they were very limited in general education and almost totally lacking in an understanding of teaching method. During the Consolidation Phase they were given an improved general education - with special attention to the scriptures - and some elementary formal-type instruction in teaching approaches.[1]

In the pre-War era the native teacher (always at village level) was the foremost factor in making mission expansion possible. In the post-War Re-assessment era his academic and linguistic inadequacy was the particular point of difficulty faced in mission educational efforts. The missions sought to maintain the schools as primary means towards the achieving of their overall objectives while at the same time to satisfy the imposed objectives of the Administration as it progressively raised the standard required for Territory teachers.[2]

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[1] vide supra, pp.38ff.

[2] vide infra, pp.317-318.

From the earliest times when missions first used native teachers in Papua and New Guinea constant and detailed supervision has been called for. The Methodists in Papua commented in 1909: "We have at present 46 Papuans out as teachers... Overseers for these teachers we must have, that they may be helped and their work conserved".[1]

London Missionary Society worker Bartlett also observed in 1908 that the native teacher was suitably effective only when closely supervised:

> The one disappointment of the year has been the almost complete failure of the staff of New Guinea teachers... At the head station under constant supervision they do good work, but away from the head station they at once prove too weak to withstand the atmosphere that surrounds them.[2]

A more encouraging note was sounded towards the close of the Consolidation Phase of mission education. After his last annual inspection tour (1935-36) of Papuan mission schools which presented pupils for examination (for the purpose of provision of a Government grant) the examiner, Colonel John Hooper, spoke hopefully of the native Papuan teacher.[3] "Intelligent Papuans", he said, "have a much greater aptitude for teaching" than the South Sea teachers.[4] Hooper's successor

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[1] The Missionary Review, January 4th, 1909, p.11.

[2] London Missionary Society, Report, 1908, p.265.

[3] vide supra, p.6.

[4] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1935-1936, p.12.

Mr. Thomas Inglis, who had previously been connected with Government Education in Queensland, presented an interesting report on mission education in 1939. Along with other national teachers the native Papuan received a deal of approbation. There were said to be "a goodly number with more than ordinary skill and application".[1] Inglis stressed, however, that the qualifications of native teachers should be raised.

In the following year (1939-40) the importance of upgrading the missions' native teacher training work was again emphasized:

> ...some training is given at present, but I think it will be granted there must be a unified system of training to produce a unified educational system.[2]

The Administration commented that neither the missions nor itself had the funds necessary for establishing of such a unified system,[3] which was not to come until ten years after the close of World War II.

The last report on the examiner's visit to Papua before the War (1940-41) included an optimistic comment on the success which four native Papuan teachers (London Missionary Society) had achieved in successfully presenting candidates for Standard V. The examiner expressed confidence in the native instructors and looked forward to the day when they would be "professionally trained".[4]

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[1] ibid., 1938-1939, p.27.

[2] ibid., 1939-1940, p.15.

[3] ibid.

[4] ibid., 1940-1941, p.20.

The native teachers who took up the village mission school instruction after the War were of the same group which had been forced gradually to lay it down during the three years of hostilities.[1] The immediate post-War native mission teacher worked under such severe handicaps as having little or no equipment, being faced by children with quite poor background for anything but the most elementary work, and having lost touch with the little sense of methodology which he might have once possessed.[2]

By 1950 there had still been no standards laid down for native teachers,[3] although students were being enrolled back in the mission training schools. Enrolments in mission teacher training courses fluctuated as follows in Papua and New Guinea between 1950 and 1962:

	Mission Teacher Trainees	Mission T.T. Centres
1950	1913	50
1951	2001	60
1952	3288	63
1953	2963	52
1954	3129	50
1955	2339	45
1956	1887	39
1957	904	31
1958	464	21
1959	431	18
1960	561	21
1961	394	21
1962	536	26[4]

[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1947-1948, p.47.

[2] vide infra, pp.219ff.

[3] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1949-1950, p.65.

[4] These statistics have been calculated from the Annual Reports for both Territories.

The generally uninterrupted growth in enrolments to 1954 could be interpreted as the result of concerted effort on the part of the missions to re-staff their village schools at a time when the Administration was not requiring specific standards from the trainee teachers. The plunge in enrolment from 1955 on is accounted for by the bringing into effect on March 1st, 1955, of the 1952 Education Ordinance and its consequent regulations.[1] The Administration exercised its prerogative under the Ordinance of controlling and directing secular education in the Territory in laying down definite standards of entry to teachers' courses.

The standards for the native trainee teacher were outlined under three courses: A, B and C. The A Course was for teachers qualifying for work in the village schools. The prerequisite for this course was the successful completion of standard six of the primary school. The B Course qualified teachers for the village higher schools and required the completion of standard nine. The C Course also had standard nine as its prerequisite but was expected to qualify teachers for teaching through to the intermediate level.[2]

The year 1955, then, can be regarded as ushering in a new era for the Papua and New Guinea native mission teacher. While the entry standards were still not high at least the door had been closed to the type of teacher

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1954-1955, p.63.

[2] ibid., p.65.

with very poor schooling and without a grasp himself of much of the material he was intended to have been teaching.

The Administration was instrumental in the first place in raising the standard of the native mission teacher's work by providing subsidies where the Administration syllabus (or an approved equivalent) was in use and where the teachers held the necessary certificates. By 1959 the subsidy rate had become "£60 per annum for each Papuan teacher holding the 'C' Class Teacher's Certificate" (as against £400 for a European fully qualified), £60 for each 'B' Class, and £40 for each 'A' Class.[1]

The missions from 1955 on were faced with realising in their native teachers two sets of objectives: their own set of goals which required as many as possible of the children of their constituents to be given the best possible opportunity for development, and the Administration's set of goals which required a higher quality education in English first, with the higher quantity of pupils reached to be pursued subsequently. The missions resolved the problem by concentrating mainly on the 'A' Class Certificate trainee who received the minimum qualification in the minimum time.[2] In 1961 the missions in Papua had eighty-two indigenous teaching trainees. Seventy-eight of these were working on

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[1] ibid., 1958-59, p.82.

[2] ibid., 1960-1961, p.124.

the 'A' course, three on the 'B' course and one on the 'C' course.[1] By so working they were able to satisfy more readily the growing demand for teachers in their village schools and at the same time were able to satisfy the Administration's requirements for registration and financial subsidy.

By the end of the period under study the native teacher emerging from the mission training centres was still quite limited in his own scholastic background (grade 6 primary), in his ability to pursue an insightful course of study, and in his grasp of the principles of teaching. However, by 1962 there was definite attention given in training to a good number of the facets of teaching. The 'A' course of 1956 provided for ten hours per week in the teaching of methods, four to the management of the school and eleven to such practical pursuits as teaching practice, blackboard work, singing, gardening and sport.[2]

An interesting facet of the examination of life at the mission school is a study of those persons for whom the schools were primarily organised - the native pupils.

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[1] ibid.

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1955-1956, p.101.

The Pupils of the Mission Schools

The population of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea grew by the end of the period under study to approximately 2,000,000 with three quarters of the population in the New Guinea section. Throughout the Territory the basic racial type is Melanesian with differences distinguishable in the "interior lowlands", where the type has been termed Papuan, and in the mountainous interior where the Negritos group has been distinguished.[1] A small number of islands in the Manus District have the lighter colouring of the Micronesian type and two small island groups in the Bouganville District show Polynesian characteristics.[2]

These racial types have arranged themselves into village social groups usually with between two and three hundred members. Traditionally the homes from which the young Papuan and New Guinean has come have been simple timber structures thatched with palm leaves or grasses.[3] There might be one family to a single room dwelling or several related families in larger structures. Buildings

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[1] M.W. Stirling, The Native Peoples of New Guinea, Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies Number Nine, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1943, p.10.

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1963-1964, p.17.

[3] ibid., p.18.

in low-lying areas are commonly raised from the ground to allow for easy ventilation. Buildings in the highland environment, some between 7,000 and 8,000 feet above sea level, are commonly low circular huts with a diameter of about twenty feet, with one door (in modern times securely padlocked) and no windows.

The pupils aged between about six and twelve come from these homes daily. Pupils of the boarding district schools and training colleges might be away from their homes from nine months to four years.

A highly significant background characteristic of the students of the mission schools is a natural tendency to a magico-religious way of life.[1] Ancestors and spirits are objects of veneration and propitiation. An appeal to what Europeans regard as the supernatural is to the native mind a natural way of overcoming or preventing crop failure, misfortune or sickness.[2] Writing in 1931 J.H.P. Murray in Papua used the fact of the "inherently religious life of the Papuans" as an indication that the Government was wise in collaborating with the missions in their work for the indigenous people.[3]

The tendency to magic and religion has frequently produced an interesting ritualistic approach to the carrying

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid.

[3] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1930-1931, pp.18,24.

out of the significant happenings of everyday life. A tribal group in New Ireland had a noteworthy touch of dramatic art in its burial proceedings.[1] Two stones were attached to the feet of the corpse which was placed into a canoe and paddled out to deep water. There the body was placed overboard and allowed to sink with a man holding each hand as it plummeted to the bottom. When they could endure no longer the farewell party loosened its grip and darted to the surface. The men quickly climbed into the canoe and immediately threw a stone to "each quarter of the wind".[2]

A similar sense of the dramatic was observed in the courtship practices of the natives of the Morobe District in 1940 by patrolling officer D.G.N. Chambers:

> ...a girl who admired the diligence of an eligible man would plant a shoot of taro in his garden and tell his sister of her action, well knowing that the information would reach the desired destination. This would be done without reference to the parents, who remain in complete ignorance until it is known that the man has elected to allow the plant to grow to maturity in his garden, thus indicating his wish that preparations for the marriage begin. Should his thoughts be elsewhere, however, he would quickly uproot the plant...[3]

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[1] The Missionary Review, October 8th, 1901, p.10.

[2] ibid.

[3] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1939-1940, p.20.

Where the young man wished to initiate the proceedings there would be a related type of dramatic play in the roundabout passing over of a gift of a cowrie shell.[1]

Not only has the native way of life prompted an artistic type of self-expression in the day-to-day lives of the pupils of the mission school, but as well there is evidence from the very early reports that free expression was given to anger and brutality when self-control was threatened. From the German Report for 1901 came a comment, concerning one village group, of "boundless self-will and purposeless outbreaks of anger".[2] Lack of restraint in wrong-doing was accompanied by an absence of necessity in industry. The language of the area contained no word for "must".

Lack of self-control under stress was manifested in a cruel impulsiveness by a native charged with murder in 1903 in the Eastern Division of Papua. He confessed:

> I am a native of Paulu. It is true I speared my wife. She came to me in my sleep, and she wakened me. This was in the day when the sun was high. I was wild because of this, and I rushed for my spear, and I darted it at her. It entered her back near the spine, and I do not know if she shall live... This woman was for all time talking, and her tongue she never let it rest. Even as you see, she must awake me from my sleep. I was angered, but I did not mean that she should die by my spear.

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[1] ibid.

[2] P. Limbrock, "Report for the Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost", Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1900-1901, p.44.

She was a good woman, but for one thing, her tongue, as I have said.[1]

The development of self-willed impulsiveness in the native can be traced back to the child's earliest years. In her Growing Up in New Guinea, Margaret Mead outlines the "typical psychology of the spoiled child" in describing life in a Manus village. "The parents... become wax in the young rebels' hands when it comes to any matter of social discipline. They eat when they like, play when they like, sleep when they see fit... The veriest urchin can shout defiance and contempt at the oldest man in the village... They can rally the devoted adults by a cry, bend and twist their parents to their will. They do no work".[2]

A competitive relationship between parents towards the native offspring appears to have given the smallest child a balance of power which he is quick to exercise. Margaret Mead pictures a three-year-old child refusing to give up to her mother some green fruit which she is biting. An older woman intrudes:

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[1] A.M. Campbell, "Report from the Eastern Division", Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1902-1903, p.26.

[2] M. Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea, Middlesex: Penguin, 1967, p.43.

> "It is bad that she should eat that thing. It will make her sick".
>
> "Well, then, do thou take it from her. If I do she will hate me". The older woman grasps the wrist of the screaming child and wrenches the fruit from her.[1]

In spite of this obvious "spoiling" in childhood it is interesting to note that once the young native was placed in the school environment his personality and behaviour was generally attractive to the classroom teacher. Groves, the first teacher in New Guinea's first Administration school indicated a good response on the part of the lads he had at Kokopo. He wrote of the native's "unfailing faith in his master and desire to please him".[2] A typical response to the native pupil was made by Methodist, Bruce Walkden Brown on his arrival in Papua to take charge of teacher training at Salamo:

> The people? Well, I love them. They are very, very human... The children were my first love, and I think will be my last. There is something entirely captivating about their wide, brown eyes, white teeth, brown skin and curly hair, their lithe bodies, straight-backed and square shouldered.[3]

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[1] ibid., p.20.

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1922-1923, p.30.

[3] B.W. Brown, "A Teacher in Papua", The Missionary Review, May, 1948, p.7.

It is of interest to inquire concerning the intelligence of these native pupils in the mission classrooms of the Territory? Much has been asserted at both the official and the non-official levels. The mission teachers discovered early the marked difference there was in the learning ability of the quite young children and the more mature natives. "Sister Jessie", again of the Methodist Mission reported in 1907:

> It is sad in school to see how little these folks know. Such numbers of the married women don't know their letters, and they do not seem to have the power to learn them now. It is this fact that makes the educating of the children so important. The children are intelligent.[1]

Generally, it was found that should the natives not be introduced to the skills of calculating and of literacy while they were young children then they did not appear to have the intellectual capacity to master school work in later life. In spite of there being, at times, a lack of a common cultural background between the teachers and the pupils and in spite of some lack of interest in school attendance the younger children proved readily educable.

During the 1930's there would appear to have been a popular impression that "negro intelligence" made no progress beyond the age of puberty. Murray commenting on this in 1938 indicated that he could not see that this

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[1] The Missionary Review, April 4th, 1907,

applied to the Papuan natives.[1] Murray quotes E.B. Reuter ("Race Mixture") who is reported as leaving on record, that "at present practically all sound scholarship in social phenomona assumes an essential equality in the native mentality of racial groups".[2] Murray could see, rightly, that current comparisons of intelligence between races were all unsatisfactory. These ranged from skull measurement to use of "cultural achievements" and "intelligence tests". (Such skepticism was confirmed by researchers in the sixties, influenced by Piaget's ideas of the equating of intelligence with adaptability. P.E. Vernon, for example, argued it was reasonable to assume that each culture produced an intelligence of its own related to the achievement of adaptability as demanded by the environment).[3]

In spite of the weight of enlightened opinion, Murray held to a view which relegated the Papuan native to a somewhat inferior intellectual standing:

> My own opinion...which probably coincides with that of most of the European residents of Papua, is that Papuan and European overlap; that is I think that the best Papuans are superior to the worst Europeans, but that Europeans as a whole have an innate superiority over Papuans.[4]

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1937-1938, p.20.

[2] ibid.

[3] P.E. Vernon, "Ability Factors and Environmental Influences", American Psychologist, September, 1965.

[4] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1937-1938, p.20.

This discussion in Murray's day had been occasioned by the return to Papua of a native, Father Louis Vangeke, who had been ordained to the priesthood in Madagascar and had shown that a member of his race was capable of benefiting from higher education.[1] From time to time natives had left to study at Australian educational institutions. Reports on such ventures should be given some consideration.

Two boys, Salin and Lue, from the Government Elementary School at Rabaul were in Australia in 1929. There is no indication of what level of schooling they were carrying out except that it was "a course of advanced tuition". It could be assumed that the work was either upper primary or lower secondary. There is no indication of how Salin and Lue's ages compared with those of their classmates. The headmaster of the Australian school involved gave a commendatory account of their efforts:

> Their progress is splendid - they keep pace with their white schoolmates. Indeed, their writing and neatness of work are better. Their conduct is perfect both in class and outside. They are punctual, regular and polite. At sport they are good, Salin excelling Lue. In a match against Fairfield School recently, Salin took six wickets.[2]

The post-War Government of the Territory commenced sending native holders of the secondary education scholarships

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[1] ibid.

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1928-1929, p.22.

to Australian schools in 1954.[1] By the end of 1963 there were 103 students who had completed their secondary schooling as far as they could benefit in Australian schools. "Of these 103 students, 45 passed the Junior (Intermediate) Examination in four or more subjects including English, after four years at school and a further nine have subsequently passed in additional subjects making the total number of subjects passed four".[2]

Twenty-five of these students continued on past Junior Examination level. Eleven were able to sit for the Senior Examination after the normal two years with the following results:

Passed at first sitting	3
Passed following year	2
Passed in one or two subjects	4

Of the eleven, four had qualified for matriculation and three had gone on to an Australian university.[3]

From reports such as these two, thirty-four years apart, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions concerning the relative intellectual ability of the native students of the Territory. On the basis of the 1929 complimentary report it cannot be said that the Territory native is as apt as his Australian student counterpart

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[1] W.J. Neve, "Scholastic Achievement of Papuan and New Guinean Students at Australian Schools", Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education, January, 1964, p.17.

[2] ibid.

[3] ibid., pp.17,18.

for the lads were most likely of outstanding ability amongst their own people, and it cannot be claimed with assurance that they were working with Australian pupils of their own age.

On the basis of the 1963 report it ought not to be asserted that the intellectual ability of the Territory native is below that of the Australian in spite of the fact that the students sent to Australia performed scholastically below the level of their European classmates, for the lads were working in an educational environment for which they had scant social, emotional and intellectual preparation.

It can be seen, however, that the native of the Territory may very well benefit from an Intermediate-Junior-type level of education even as conducted for Australian students, but that he finds quite difficult the studies as presently conducted at the terminal secondary level. There is no reason to doubt the ability of the native pupil to cope with advanced secondary or tertiary education.

Whether the native pupil is backward in scholastic prowess or not it is clear that many are not lacking an impish brand of wit. Such was a lad who denied to H.W. Nolan, Seventh-day Adventist missionary, that he had put water in the missionary's milk. Some "further questioning revealed that the water was put in the bucket first and the milk came afterwards".[1] Ability of this kind

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[1] Australasian Record, December 8th, 1941, p.3.

at juggling the words of a foreign language is worthy of a better cause.

It would be expected that schools of such varied types as have been noted, conducting a demanding daily programme, taught by teachers ranging widely in ability and catering for pupils subject to a wide variety of aptitudes and moods, would be faced by significant problems through the years. The following chapter examines the more significant of these problems of missinn education.

Chapter Four

The Problems of Mission Education in Papua and New Guinea

During the ninety years since 1871 the problems facing mission education in Papua and New Guinea have undergone considerable change. At times the bulk of the difficulty lay at the front-line where workers faced illness, isolation and threat to life; at other times the most serious difficulties lay in the home base where voluntary financial support was not adequate to the needs of the field. In the mission schools themselves the problems were first centred in limitations set by the pupils with their bewildering variety of languages and lack of interest. Time saw the front-line problem area swing to the province of the teachers with their limitations in general educational background and in the grasp of the English language. The changing pattern of problems can be grasped more readily when the ninety year period under study is broken into shorter lengths of time. The first most obvious way of sub-dividing the period would be to do so along the lines of the phases already defined and described: Establishment, Expansion, Consolidation and Re-assessment. It is suggested however that, as these phases were repeated each time a mission group was launched and as the problems for a particular phase changed with the passing of

time, a more strictly chronological subdivision of time be adopted. It should be noted, however, that the repeated-phase hypothesis is still useful and referred to in this study of the problems of mission education in Papua and New Guinea.

The periods isolated within the ninety year span of mission education in the Territory are as follows. Period 1 (circa 1871-1910) - The main pioneering period during which the major missions passed through both the Establishment Phase and the Expansion Phase. Period 2 (circa 1911-1930) - The main strengthening period when the leading societies etched deeply a helpful functional line of approach to their education work under part of the main Consolidation Phase. Period 3 (circa 1931-1941) - The time of mission education's greatest optimism when extensive territorial expansion (under the important pre-War Establishment wave) was achieved together with a significant lifting of professional outlook and standards in spite of the economic problems of the day. Period 4 (circa 1942-1952) - The disruptive period of war and rehabilitation. Period 5 (1953-1962) - The period of challenge, re-assessment and re-direction of mission education in the face of new demands from within the native constituencies and from the Government Education Department. Each of these periods is to be examined in terms of its

special problems.

Period 1: 1871-1910.

The most serious problems of the main pioneering period centred around the maintaining of health, communications and travel, the diversity of native languages, and native disinterest in schooling.

Diseases to which mission newcomers to Papua and New Guinea were unaccustomed took a heavy toll upon life and health during the pioneering years especially. The enervating tropical climate was a further aggravation. The Roman Catholic Mission of the Sacred Heart centred on Yule Island off the Papuan coast suffered from illness from the first especially amongst the Sisters.[1,2] During 1893 and 1894 thirty-one new missionaries reached Yule Island at the personal direction of Pope Leo XIII.[3] Within ten years twenty-eight of the staff had met their death - malaria being the main killer.

The first Annual Report for German New Guinea (1900-1901) indicates that mission after mission was suffering from the effects of the climate and tropical disease. Dr. Frobenius of the Lutheran Rheinische Mission

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[1] British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1890-1891, p.xxi.

[2] ibid., 1895-1896, p.xxvi.

[3] E. van Rensselaer Wyatt, "Mission Pageant of Papua", Catholic Missions, June, 1945, p.12.

had that year to return to Germany "on account of ill health".[1] No substitute was found for him. The sister society of Neuen - Dettelsauer in the same year lost by death the young missionary Held from black water fever while Father Spolgen of the Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost (S.V.D.) was similarly lost.[2] Not until around 1910 did the general health position show marked improvement. During 1904-1905 the Rheinische Mission lost six of its personnel due to ill health - "two missionaries by death, and one missionary and three missionaries' wives through illness".[3]

A further serious problem faced during the pioneering stage of mission education was a paucity of means for travel and communication leading to isolation with its attendant difficulties of loneliness and poor access to important services. The situation is well illustrated by reference to Methodist missionary Danks' journal.

Danks had reached New Britain late in 1878 to open the first regular day school German New Guinea had known. In May, 1880 he moved from the Duke of York Islands to the still more isolated Kabakada region. On Friday, October 22nd in his twenty-eighth year and

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[1] German Colonial Office, Annual Report, 1900-1901, p.36.

[2] ibid., pp.41,42.

[3] ibid., 1904-1905, p.226.

with his wife in her eighth month of pregnancy he made the following entry in his journal just after setting out on an extended visit in his district:

> She (Mrs. Danks) fears some accident will befall me and has got it into her head that we shall not see each other again - I cannot forget the look of anguish and unutterable love she gave me as the tears streamed down her face when she told me her fears. May God comfort her...[1]

The difficulties of poor travel facilities and inadequate communication were further highlighted six weeks following the above record. The entry for Sunday, December 5th, 1880 was an introduction to five stressful days for the small isolated mission group:

> Labour commenced this morning and Mrs. D. was in pain all day. I pray God that she may come through her time of trial in safety.[2]

The succeeding entries tell their own story:

> "Monday, 6th. Mrs. D. passed a fearful night.
>
> Not yet delivered...
>
> Twelve o'clock Child not born yet...
>
> 6p.m. Still the same. Mrs. D. quite exhausted. God be merciful to us and bring her through her trial.
>
> 12p.m. Matters are yet in the same condition... My heart is full of dreadful anticipations.
>
> Tuesday, 7th.
> 6a.m. Still no sign of improvement. The pains becoming weaker and weaker and so is my dear wife.
> 12 noon. At last there is some sign of the child being born for which mercy I am, and all of us are, devoutly thankful to God our Father...

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[1] B. Danks, op. cit., pp.236,237.

[2] ibid., p.249.

> 6.25a.m. The child, a boy, is just born. What a load what a burden has been taken from me... A little time before the child was born we sent the boat away to the New Colony for the French doctor who is stationed there in the hope that he would be able to cut the child out...[1]

The following entries emphasize the problem of isolation from the medical care which even the late nineteenth century could afford:

> Wednesday 8th
> A dark cloud has again cast its shadow over us, and now we are in the midst of despair...a fearful thing stares us in the face - The speedy death of my dearest wife...All our remedies have failed to urge the Womb to expel the Placenta!... Already a foul smell fills the room...Putrefaction of some kind has set in.
> Thursday 9th
> Another night past. No doctor...
> 3p.m. He has arrived, thank God. He had to... take out the placenta by hand. He said that if he had been a few hours later he could not have saved her life. How much I owe to God and that man. She lives...
> Mrs. Danks was calm and trustful in that dark and trying hour...
> "Thanks be unto God, Who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ".[2]

A problem felt by all of the missions during the pioneering stage to 1910 (and since) was the difficulty of reaching the people with an education in their own tongue when Papua and New Guinea appeared to be a direct transplantation from Babel. "The linguistic pattern is varied and so great is the diversity that members

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[1] ibid., pp.249,250.

[2] ibid., pp.250, 251.

of villages only a few miles apart are often unable to understand one another without the aid of an interpreter. In coastal areas language groups exceeding 5,000 are unusual and a great many are well below that figure".[1] Such a confused situation was a major problem to a group largely committed to presenting the gospel to all persons in their mother tongue.

The Lutherans in the Madang-Finschhafen area found that even in their limited district there was considerable difference in language.[2] Writing of an "incredible confusion of languages" a Roman Catholic missionary claimed there were "300 different languages and dialects from Vanimo to Madang".[3] The problem was heightened at the centralised training schools where young people from a wider area than ever before in the Territory were being brought together to be taught by European educators who might not know any of their languages.

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1963-1964, p.17.

[2] F. Braun, op. cit., p.40.

[3] From an anonymous paper written during World War II by an S.V.D. (Roman Catholic) missionary: "The Catholic Mission on the Mainland of the Territory of New Guinea", p.2. (Held at the offices of the S.V.D., Epping, N.S.W.)

Apart from desiring to speak to the people intelligibly the missionaries generally wished to place reading matter in the hands of the newly-trained literates in their schools. It was to be argued cogently that of the various solutions suggested to the language problem the teaching of English was the only feasible way to make available an extensive range of literature.[1]

Another solution was to confine the work of a particular mission to a particular language area. This was practicable in the Highlands especially where the largest language groups are to be found. For example, the Baptists in selecting their area for mission work in 1949 looked forward to confining themselves to people who spoke the Enga language - "one of the largest groups in New Guinea, the number of those who speak it being variously estimated between sixty and ninety thousand people".[2]

A further solution was to take a local native language and teach it widely in the schools to children who had no earlier knowledge of the tongue. Literature could then be printed in a native language and be useful for a large group of persons. It was argued that although the natives were being exposed to a different language from their own it was still a native

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[1] The Missionary Review, February, 1955, p.13.

[2] Baptist Church in Australia, The Australian Baptist, July 19th, 1949, p.9.

language and was easier to grasp. This solution was used by the Lutherans especially - by the Rhenish society at Madang and by the Neuendettelsau society at Finschhafen.

> In Madang the Graged language was used, in the Finschhafen area Kotte was used, and in the coastal area between Finschhafen and Lae, as well as the present-day Morobe District, Yabbim was used.[1]

When Lutherans commenced their work the Graged, Kotte and Yabbim languages were spoken by fewer than one thousand persons each. By 1958, there were 50,000 persons in the Madang area fully literate in Graged, another 50,000 with complete facility in Yabbim in the Lae area, and 100,000 using the Kotte language equally divided between the Finschhafen area and the Highlands[2] whence it was taken for educational and evangelistic purposes in the 1930's.

It should be noted that Pidgin, the practical lingua franca for New Guinea, and Motu, the best known language of Papua, have always been of great use in tackling the language problem but at first were not regarded as adequate for general printed use.

A further serious problem facing mission education during the main pioneering stage was that of maintaining the attendance of pupils at school. Typical is the

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[1] R.W. Gerhardy and M. Heist, "Education in New Guinea", Factual Report on Education in New Guinea presented at the Australian Council of School Organisations, held in Melbourne, November, 1958.

[2] ibid.

situation at Port Moresby in 1890, when Macgregor reported that the London Missionary Society lower school taught by Ruatoka had an average attendance of between forty and fifty during which time the enrolment had ranged from twelve to one hundred. Macgregor went on:

> It is hardly possible for one not on the spot to realise or appreciate the difficulties the teachers have to contend with, especially in the lower school. The little roguish Papuan greatly prefers his liberty to his lesson.[1]

Concerning mission schools in German New Guinea the annual reports present a similar picture of lack of interest in school attendance during the pioneering stage. One Catholic school in 1901 (Monumbo at Potsdomhafen) was "attended by 60 pupils, although still with insufficient regularity".[2] At the same time the Lutheran school on the island of Tami indicated that "certainly the regularity of school attendance leaves much to be desired".[3]

The reasons for the poor regularity in attendance seem to be traceable back to the parents in the first place - their failure to see material or other advantage in school life (this outlook was to change dramatically

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[1] W. Macgregor, Despatch reporting visit of inspection to schools of the London Missionary Society at Port Moresby, British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1889-1890, p.87.

[2] German Colonial Office, Annual Report, 1900-1901, p.39.

[3] ibid.

during the 1940's) and their permissive attitude towards their children in allowing them to come and go as they pleased.[1] Flierl looking back over forty-five years noted:

> The young people had no ambition whatever to learn and could not be persuaded to give even one hour a day of their precious freedom to sit in the school room and listen to the white teacher, who murdered their language and talked about things that did not interest them.[2]

The British Governments in both Territories after 1914 gave thought to making attendance compulsory[3] [4] and did achieve this in some parts of Papua.[5] The most effective solution to the problem, however, appears to have been by way of winning the confidence of the parents and by setting up boarding schools where the day-to-day movements of the children could be more closely regulated.

Period 2: 1911-1930.

By 1911 the main missions had reached the Consolidation

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[1] vide supra, pp.130f.

[2] J. Flierl, op. cit., p.128.

[3] Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, The Laws of the Territory of Papua 1888-1945, 2 vols, II, p.1777.

[4] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1932-1933, p.45.

[5] London Missionary Society, Report, 1908, p.270.

Phase in education and were ready to use their full three-school system to strengthen their overall work. The immediate difficulties of the first waves of Establishment and Expansion had been significantly reduced in the winning of the confidence of the people in the mastery of many local languages as needed at that time, in the building up of a supply of native teachers, and in coming to suitable terms with the tropical climatic conditions. The time had come to consolidate these earlier gains.

About this time a further problem began to be especially prominent - the maintaining of an inflow of finance adequate for keeping up a growing work or even for continuing to operate the already established stations and schools. To illustrate: almost from its inception in 1891 the Anglican Mission had faced financial problems along with illness and staff shortage. In 1893 word came through that "funds have been greatly needed for strengthening and extending the work, and,... those funds have not been forthcoming to anything like an adequate extent".[1] The following year the Anglican leader in Papua wrote again:

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[1] Australian Board of Missions, Report of the Executive Council for year ending March 31st, 1893, p.7.

> We cannot extend our work here among those who would be willing to accept us as teachers, unless we receive more support both in men and money from our fellow Churchmen.[1]

In spite of an effort in 1910 to place the Anglican's Australian Board of Missions on a better organisational footing for raising finance[2] the 1914 report saw grounds for "not only regret, but penitence and heart-searching" that Australian Anglicans' gifts for missions had not improved on the previous year.[3] The continuing financial difficulty had by 1915 led to the sounding of the following disquietening note:

> A constant strain in endeavouring to effect economies is the only sad feature of our work in New Guinea, and for this the Church at the Home Base is responsible.[4]

It has already been noted in an earlier chapter that the Anglican Church moved into Papua on the basis of its recognized pastoral responsibility ("to provide for the spiritual welfare both of the natives and settlers[5]). Other Protestant Churches that had a more directly evangelical purpose had less of a financial problem. Even these, however, faced difficulties in keeping up the free-will contributions of their homeland supporters by 1910.

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[1] ibid., 1894, p.9.

[2] ibid., 1910, pp.4,5.

[3] ibid., 1913, p.4.

[4] ibid., 1915, p.3.

[5] ibid., September 22nd, 1891, p.8.

In 1909 the London Missionary Society for the whole of its mission programme faced a deficit in its budget of £40,000 which had to be withdrawn from capital reserves.[1] The directors saw their difficult position as arising out of the centenary celebration "Foreward Movement" in 1891. The advances made then in a wave of enthusiasm were proving difficult to maintain. The Society was receiving support at that time "from some 3,420 Churches in the United Kingdom, besides 276 foreign and colonial churches".[2]

The year 1909 saw some financial problem, too, for the Papuan Synod of the Methodist Mission. For the previous three years expenses had been around £5,200. It had been estimated that £6,000 would be needed for 1909: a reduction to £4,500 had to be faced which included 20% off educational allowances.[3] The centre of the problems of missions and mission education was swinging to the homelands - mainly Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom with the United States becoming more and more important during 1910-1930.

During this strengthening stage of mission education

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[1] London Missionary Society, Report, 1909, p.319.

[2] ibid., p.317.

[3] The Missionary Review, January 4th, 1909, p.15.

there were two other problems firmly centred in the field itself: maintaining the teacher supply and keeping up adequate supervision of the native teachers in the village schools. The problem of teacher supply was made the more pressing the more parents there were won to Christianity as this meant that more pastor-teachers were required. The failure of native village teachers in their work might lead to dismissal or voluntary vacation of the position. In 1914 the Daru section of the London Missionary Society's work reported that:

> No fewer than eight out-stations have been without teachers, and the people have constantly been asking when the new teacher would come; other villages just beyond the area of regular work are pleading for teachers, but they cannot be got.[1]

At the same time the Society's Namau section called for a "larger and more efficient supply of teachers" as "one of the great needs of the mission". The proximity of "European traders and others" had increased the problems and temptations of the native teachers. It was reported that "Lapses into sin are not infrequent".[2]

One of the most serious recurring problems was found to be maintaining close guidance of the native teacher in the villages. Themselves the product of

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[1] London Missionary Society, Report, 1914, p.343.

[2] ibid., p.342.

a society that did not stress individual industry and sense of responsibility the native workers in many cases needed constant visits and supervision to keep their educational programmes moving satisfactorily. Best progress educationally was made in those missions which were able to maintain the most efficient village school visitation programme.[1] The Methodist Mission in Papua which had one of the most successful developments in both the pioneering and strengthening stages was commended from the first for its close supervision of its teachers. The early plan there was to spread no more widely than effective visitation by the resident European district missionaries would allow.[2] The work of supervision of native teachers was made the more difficult by the load which the supervisor had to manage. Oversight of up to sixty native village teachers might be in addition to the European teacher's regular work which would be as demanding as being governor and main teacher of a training college.[3]

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[1] For example, see British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1893-1894, p.xxvi.

[2] ibid.,

[3] W.H. Cox, "New Britain District", The Missionary Review, December 4th, 1922, p.19.

Period 3: 1931-1941.

As was noted earlier under a study of the phases of mission education the 1930's saw a renewal of pioneering work (Establishment Phase) in the Territory of New Guinea, especially, with the opening up of the Highland areas.[1] This being the case it is reasonable to expect the problems of the 1871 to 1910 stage to be repeated. In fact, where earlier problems did recur they were in all cases much less serious. The situation with regard to language and travel is indicative of the vantage ground from which missions and mission education worked in the decade before the war.

Many new languages were encountered in the Highlands by the advancing workers of the missions; in many cases, however, the population density was much greater than in coastal areas so that the various missions could work within the bounds of fewer language types.[1] Further, missions could tackle new languages with a strong background of experience and good advice in the construction of orthographies and in translation work.[2] As well the transferring of a coastal language to the Highland classrooms and the use of Pidgin played their part in relieving the situation.[3]

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[1] vide supra, pp.33f. and p.145.

[2] vide supra, p.32.

[3] vide supra, pp.145ff.

The inaccessability of the New Guinea Highlands had held up mission advance to the inland tribes for sixty years. The coastal groups were contacted promptly by means of launches and other available shipping but access to the Highlands was gained only by weeks of walking even after the areas had been declared safe by Government patrols. Then came the aeroplane.

Regular air flights in New Guinea were commenced in 1927 by Guinea Airways Limited in order to fly gold mining equipment into Wau and Bulolo and to fly the gold out to Salamaua and Lae.[1] By 1933 there were four companies operating twenty-one planes, flying 5,954 hours and carrying 8,802,706 lbs. of freight per year.[2]

Travel inland was revolutionised. For the laying down of a suitable regular strip of earth a mission station and school could be within several hours of the Territory's main centres. Use was made of chartered flights[3] and mission-owned aircraft. The Lutherans who had concentrated their efforts on the Madang-Finschhafen-Mt. Hagen area purchased "The Papua" in this pre-War era of fast expansion.[4] The luxury of air travel for

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[1] Controller of Civil Aviation, "Air Transport in New Guinea", Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1932-1933, p.165.

[2] ibid.

[3] Australasian Record, August 13th, 1934, p.8.

[4] F. Braun, op. cit., p.143.

missions it should be noted was an expensive convenience. The Seventh-day Adventist mission in New Guinea budgetted £244 for air transport in 1939 out of a total budget of £5,290.[1]

It might be expected that finance would have been a major problem during a decade which saw the closing throes of the Depression. The mission most affected appears to have been the one with its headquarters farthest from Papua and New Guinea - the London Missionary Society. The Society's report for 1932 called for a reduction in spending of £15,000 (for all L.M.S. Operations around the world) "to be accomplished by economies and withdrawals, if necessary".[2] The London Missionary Society's work in Papua was required to operate on £2,000 less in that year.[3] The missions generally appear to have been little affected by the general shortage of money especially after 1933 and 1934 when some of their most impressive forward thrusts were made.[4]

The years 1931-1941 saw the recurrence of an earlier problem to missions - that of danger of attack by the

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[1] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Australasian Union Conference, Executive Committee Minutes January 25th, 1939, p.520.

[2] London Missionary Society, Report, 1932, p.17.

[3] London Missionary Society, Chronicle, 1933, p.191.

[4] vide supra, pp.33f.

newly-encountered Highland natives. Government Officer, J.L. Taylor led the first patrol into the Mount Hagen area in 1933. He reported:

> Day after day we encountered large numbers of hostile or contemptuous people, who shouted insults at us, and howled with derisive laughter when told to desist...
> Twice, the hostility assumed such serious proportions - bows were drawn and spears raised - that it became necessary to use firearms to protect the party. On both these occasions I fired, and a native was killed.[1]

In December, 1934 and January, 1935 some missionaries were murdered in the Chimbu area, underlining the problem which the missions faced in making initial contacts with the people.[2]

During the 1930's the mission educators became more acutely aware of a problem which had been with them from the commencement of their work - that of developing a pedagogical outlook in their native teachers. Mission education was developing to the place where well-qualified European educators were in charge of the training schools and general supervision of teaching, and attention was being turned as never before to the quality of teaching in the mission classroom. The principal of the Methodist College in New Britain wrote in 1934 of an education revival in New Guinea with special

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[1] J.L. Taylor, "Mount Hagen Patrol", Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1933-1934, p.117.

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1934-1935, p.23.

attention to "reorganisation of schools and revisions of methods".[1] Seven years later, after closer attention to professional studies, J.W. Trevitt, M.A., leading Methodist missionary educator, reported after visiting young teachers in the village schools, that "despite training, they show little understanding of what is meant by teaching, but are content to place work before a child and then ignore him till it (and the lesson) is finished".[2]

In the next chapter special attention will be paid to a growing professional outlook on the part of mission educators in Papua and New Guinea. An interesting case could be developed to show that the thirties were transition years for mission education in the Territory with a clear development towards professional strengthening and up-grading. World War II cut short what was a fairly natural development and the subsequent years saw new influences brought to bear which speeded up and re-directed the process of making the classroom teaching of the missions more efficient.

Period 4: 1942-1952.

The years 1942 to 1952 are to be given close treatment in chapter six where World War II and subsequent rehabilitation are to be studied. For this chapter it will suffice to summarise the problems encountered

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[1] L.A. McArthur, "Native Teachers in the Making at George Brown College, New Britain", The Missionary Review, July 5th, 1934, p.5.

[2] J.W. Trevitt, "Primitive Education", The Missionary Review, October 6th, 1941, p.14.

during that time.

The first problem encountered by mission education during 1941 when the Japanese attack appeared imminent was how to provide for an organised system of supervision and administration under combat conditions usually without the accustomed European direction and at times in the face of the invader.[1] Where schools were able to remain open the problem of maintaining essential school supplies of chalk and simple text books became serious to say nothing of the problem of keeping the teacher's wages up to him.[2] [3] The years 1942 and 1943 saw the fiercest fighting with "mopping up" extending into 1944. The missionaries returned during 1945 with a heavy assignment on their hands to restore their work to pre-war levels.

The immediate problem facing mission education after the War was the provision of new buildings and equipment in the face of shortages, rationing and difficulty in finding transport.[4] A still more serious

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[1] For example, see Australasian Record, March 30th, 1942, p.3 and ibid., September 21st, 1942, p.4.

[2] ibid., April 5th, 1943.

[3] vide infra, chapter six, for details.

[4] For example, see United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia, Lutheran Herald, January 20th, 1945, p.26.

problem was the setting in motion of the basic three-school system. The village schools had to be manned by native teachers and a supply of these was dependent upon a continuous flow from the district and training centres.[1] The blank training years from 1942 to 1945 meant that the teacher shortage had to be remedied by pupil education as far back as the district school level and by waiting for the personnel to reach the training schools. Those teachers who could go back to their posts presented the missions with the problem of supervising workers who were seriously out of touch with classroom practices.

It is interesting to note that while the War presented mission education with many serious problems it solved one problem that had been pressing for seventy years - that of maintaining pupil attendance at and interest in school. Exposure to new persons and new experiences had taught the native that his children would make progress (especially materially) only through education and this came to mean education in English. The native after the War was said to be "queued up for education" and to be ready to "rush every possible opportunity to learn".[2] This new development is discussed at length in chapter six.

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[1] ibid., August 17th, 1946, p.263.

[2] A.B.M. Review, August 1st, 1947, p.115.

Period 5: 1953-1962.

The years 1953 to 1962 were characterised at the outset of this chapter as a period of challenge and re-thinking for mission education in the face of newly-imposed rising standards. They constitute the Re-assessment Phase of mission education and brought problems in one sense more stressful than any encountered before. These years are treated in detail in chapter seven, but a summary of the problems encountered at that time is in order here.

Increasingly after 1952 the Papua and New Guinea Administration was under pressure from the United Nations to work steadily towards providing a good quality education in English to as many as possible of the school-age children of the Territory.[1] In its own schools the Administration concentrated at first on very few schools with well qualified personnel while steadily goading the mission schools to step up the quality of their extensive system. The Administration effected changes in mission education during these years by both positive and negative means.[2] Positive inducement

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[1] For example, the report for 1956-57 indicated: "The (Trusteeship) Council (of the United Nations) notes with satisfaction that the Administering Authority has established a revised system of grants-in-aid to missions in order to raise the standards of their indigenous teachers and to ensure a greater concentration on the teaching of English". Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1956-1957, p.109.

[2] vide infra, chapter seven, where these approaches are developed at length.

was provided in the form of grants-in-aid according to the qualifications of the teachers; negative inducement came in the form of regulations progressively applied, laying down that the schools could not remain open unless certain standards were reached - and these standards applied especially to the native teacher and his ability to use English.

The Administration during these years had to tread a fine line between, on the one hand, making the requirements regarding mission schools so demanding that their finances and staffing would lead to a breakdown of the systems of mission education and, on the other hand, have them continue to multiply the number of their schools at the expense of the quality of the teaching.

Pushed on the one side by the Administration and on the other side by many of their native constituents who wanted the apparent advantages of an education in English, mission educators were faced with some pressing problems.

Mission education's first problem under the new challenge was a philosophical one: that of deciding whether their own goals for education (including literacy in a vernacular, the development of mature Christian character, and the ability to serve one's fellow people effectively) were being challenged or obscured by the

new goals (with stress on literacy in English) imposed by the Administration. For some missions the problem went deeper still. It meant deciding whether their approach to mission work really necessitated the conducting of day-schools by their own teachers. The majority of the missions decided they needed their schools and that they could work towards the Administration's goals for education and their own at the same time.[1]

Once the situation had been re-assessed and a new committal to mission schooling had been made during the 1950's, the problems of mission education centred around blocking up the school work to keep it in line with the rising standards being progressively imposed by the Administration under the terms of its authority provided by the 1952 Education Ordinance.[2] The problems particularly involved providing money for buildings and equipment and producing (or importing) teachers with the required qualifications. During this prolonged time of adjustment it was in the best interests of the Administration to keep the mission schools open and operating at the highest possible efficiency. The sympathy of the Administration towards the problems the missions faced

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[1] vide infra, chapter seven for details.

[2] For example, see R. Pearse, "Mission-Administration Relations in Education in Papua and New Guinea", Journal of Christian Education, September, 1963, pp.85,86.

was indicated in an increasing amount of financial grant-in-aid. The following table (Figure 6) indicates the extent of this grant [illegible]ew Guinea along with the extent to which the missions [illegible] to lift their own investments to satisfy the new demands:

Year	Mission Expenditure (N.G.) on Education from their own Funds	Gov.Grants to Missions (N.G.) for Education
1952	$182,078	$ 97,758
1953	$270,266	$100,948
1955	$639,302	$140,080
1957	$751,720	$120,008
1959	$865,088	$267,780
1961	$840,000	$566,190
1962	$1,192,000	$476,680[1]

Figure 6: Expenditure on Mission Education in New Guinea, 1952-1962.

The above table indicates that during the decisive testing years between 1952 and 1959 the missions carried the problem of finding additional finance more and more on their own. The Administration was providing approximately one-third of mission education finance in 1952. This fell to less than a quarter in 1955 and to less than a sixth in 1957. As the Administration's grant was being paid on the basis of mission staff qualifications the missions were able to claim more subsidy as their staffs came more into line with regulations. The figures in the table suggest the 1960's saw an impressive

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[1] Compiled from Annual Reports for Territory of New Guinea.

improvement in mission teacher qualifications.

The missions tackled the problem of upgrading their teachers' qualifications in three ways. Firstly, they tried to overcome the immediate problem by calling in extra European teachers especially from Australia and New Zealand to relieve the immediate problem.[1] Secondly, they brought their training syllabi into line with Administration requirements to allow their graduates to receive official registration.[2] Thirdly, they took advantage of the Administration's offer of a correspondence study course in teacher training for European members of mission staffs who had been teaching for some time but who had no official qualifications.[3] Fourthly, they conducted numerous in-service courses for native teachers to improve their efficiency.[4] And, fifthly they brought volunteer teachers in on a short-term basis to cater particularly for the emerging secondary schools.[5]

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[1] H. Hage, op. cit., p.7.

[2] G.T. Roscoe, Letter to D. Dobson, October 4th, 1957, Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Department of Education, File A/13-1-1C, Archives Access: Edu. 17.

[3] ibid.,

[4] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1961-1962, p.127.

[5] Lutheran Herald, September 8th, 1956, p.272.

It is clear that the Europeans brought in occupied key positions where one man could have a wide influence over a considerable number of native teachers. In 1952, in New Guinea only, there were 205 European mission teachers. The number had grown to 364 in 1957 and settled back to 341 by 1962. The number of native teachers working under the guidance of these teachers during the above years were 3,043, 3,784 and 3,100.[1]

This study of the problems of mission education in Papua and New Guinea has indicated that the difficulties centred in the earliest days in the mission territory itself and particularly in the nature of the country and the material upon which the teachers had to work. Then the problem area has been shown to have swung to the home lands with its difficulty in keeping up the supply of men and money. Finally it has been indicated that the problem area has moved back to the mission territory where the difficulty has shifted from the former unwillingness of the parents and the pupils to the academic, linguistic and professional shortcomings of the native teachers. The last mentioned - the professional outlook of the mission teachers - is given particular attention in the next chapter.[2]

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[1] Statistics taken from the Annual Reports for New Guinea.

[2] The present chapter is the last in the thesis to be structured topically and to be deliberately ranged over the whole period under study (1872-1962). The remaining chapters have a more clearly chronological approach from chapter to chapter and provide for the reference in the title "with special attention to the years 1932 to 1952".

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEVELOPING PROFESSIONAL OUTLOOK - CURRICULUM, METHODOLOGY, ADMINISTRATION AND INSPECTION - WITH SPECIAL STRESS ON THE YEARS 1932 TO 1942

Since World War II the professional[1] effectiveness of mission education in Papua and New Guinea has frequently been called in question. The Trusteeship Council of the United Nations has queried the degree to which mission educational effort could contribute to its demands for the educational, political and national advancement of the people.[2] The Administration has had to decide what standard of work should be reached by a mission school before it becomes eligible for Government registration

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[1] The term "professional", as applied to mission education in this and succeeding chapters, is to be understood as designating an outlook characterised by such features as attention to the goals of education, awareness of the needs of the learner, interest in the learning process, implementation of competently developed syllabi, concern over teacher qualification, and maintenance of school inspection.

[2] The Comments of the Trusteeship Council became more and more insistent during the fifties: see Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1953-1954, p.98; 1956-1957, p.109; 1958-1959, p.131; and 1959-1960, p.139. The final reference includes the statements: "The Council considers it important that all mission schools be brought under more effective government inspection and supervision in the next three or four years, in order that the standards of instruction in mission schools be raised to those prevailing in Administration schools. "...the Council considers that too great a reliance is being placed on missions for the dissemination of education in the Territory".

and/or financial aid;[1] where the native people themselves, since the War, have had a choice between mission education and Administration education they have been prone to question the scholastic attainments of the mission schools.[2]

It is interesting to note that the degree of disparagement which mission education received for some years after the War is in contrast to the appreciation it received generally, during the 1930's and earlier.[3] This and succeeding chapters aim to lay down a basis for determining why this change in reaction to mission education occurred and for judging the efficiency of the system of mission education. To do this, study will be given to the way the missions developed or failed to develop a professional approach to their teaching work. The areas of curriculum, methodology, administration and inspection would appear to be the most promising for this investigation.

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[1] vide infra, chapter seven where the matter of raising mission standards is dealt with in detail.

[2] Australian National University, New Guinea Research Unit, Research Bulletin Number 12, Education through the Eyes of an Indigenous Urban Elite, pp.74-85.

[3] vide infra, this chapter where the examination of this optimistic side of mission work is a major theme.

Prior to 1914.

There was no Government direction in curriculum content in either Papua or New Guinea before 1914. Before that time the various missions chose their own subjects,[1] set their own standards in those subjects,[2] and decided the number of hours which would be spent in school work.[3]

The choice of subjects to be taught at the various levels was determined by the evangelistic goals of the missions (basically to build up mature Christians with literacy in their own language allowing for a deepening knowledge of God, and capable of providing their own people with leadership[4]) and the limitations of the teachers available. The village schools studied scripture, vernacular writing and reading and simple computations, and, generally, singing.[5] At the district school under the direction of the resident European missionary, to these basic subjects might have been added geography and a European language - English for Papua and German for

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[1] For example, see H. Hage, op. cit., p.7.

[2] For example, see basis for promotion from lower to upper L.M.S. schools at Port Moresby in 1889, British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1888-1889, p.46.

[3] For example, see B. Danks, op. cit., p.83.

[4] vide supra, chapter two for a study of the objectives of mission education.

[5] German Colonial Office, Annual Report, 1901-1902, p.9

New Guinea.[1] [2] The curriculum of the training schools up to 1914 was largely an enrichment and extension of the work of the lower schools with a knowledge of method in teaching being picked up incidentally. In 1912 the Methodist District Training Institution at Ubia, Papua, reported:

> The curriculum* is not an elaborate one, but it is of a practical kind. Reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English, Scripture, history, and general knowledge, are the principle subjects attempted.[3]

As well the day-to-day running of the training school usually required that the students gain a practical study of agriculture, carpentry and painting.

For many years teachers and evangelists did the same training course and, indeed, both functions were usually carried out by the one person.[4]

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[1] ibid., 1909-1910, p.399.

[2] C.W. Abel, Savage Life in New Guinea, London: London Missionary Society, 1901, p.191.

* The term "curriculum" is taken here as used broadly to refer to the "course being offered". No official printed curriculum as such has been located for Methodist schools in this period.

[3] The Missionary Review, November 4th, 1912, p.6.

[4] H. Hage, op. cit., p.8.

The missions were ready to admit up to 1914 that the standard of methodology in the village school classrooms was not high.[1] The main pioneering stage saw attention to such tasks as the gaining of the confidence of the people, the mastery of local languages, and the development and extension to new areas of a native teacher work force through the establishing of the basic three-school system. The finer points of pedagogy had to wait until these more fundamental matters had been settled. (As will be discussed in the final chapter, the tendency to wait too long before taking more decided steps, independent of Government requirements, to improve pedagogical standards in the village schools can be raised as a major criticism of the systems of mission education in Papua and New Guinea).

During these early years supervision and inspection of native teachers was an urgent necessity and where possible was maintained at short intervals and dealt with close detail.[2] [3] Generally, however, it would appear that the type of administration pertaining was not of a high professional standard. The "inspectors" were typically

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[1] The Missionary Review, January 4th, 1909, p.11.

[2] British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1893-1894, p.xxvi.

[3] London Missionary Society, Report, 1908, pp.265,270.

the European missionary leaders at the district headquarters and their visits would involve themselves with maintaining pupil and teacher attendance and enthusiasm, and with examining the pupils at the close of the school year where the standard of work warranted it.[1]

1914-1930: Papua.

Between 1914 and 1930 there were several significant developments in the curriculum and administration of mission schools. The Territory's first Education Ordinance was passed in Papua in 1914 giving the Government official control over education in the Papuan area. It was then laid down that the subjects to be taught were:

Reading	Elementary Mechanics
Writing	Object Lessons
Arithmetic	Drill and Gymnastics
English	Vocal Music, and
Grammar	(in the case of girls)
Geography	Sewing and Needlework [2]
History	

The Ordinance was intended to provide for future Government education as well as for the developing mission systems. Mission schools and future "State schools" with but one teacher were to cover at least: "English, Mathematics, Nature Knowledge, Drill and Gymnastics,

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[1] For examples, see London Missionary Society, Report, 1909, p.293 and British New Guinea, Annual Report, 1893-1894, p.xxvi.

[2] Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, The Laws of the Territory of Papua 1888-1945, 2 vols, II, p.1776.

and, where practicable, Needlework.[1] The "standard of proficiency" to be reached was to be as laid down in the syllabus for Queensland schools of the day.[2] By 1925, in Papua, there was reported to have been added to this list of subjects a graded course of instruction, apparently especially prepared for the Papuan situation.[3] The missions raised no objections to receiving the syllabus. The London Missionary Society station at Aird Hill commented that it had "long felt the need for a carefully-graded course of instruction" and that it would do its "utmost to follow" the one received in 1925.[4]

While the district schools of the missions, under immediate European supervision, would have been influenced by the new Government regulations and courses there is no evidence to suggest that the extensive system of village schools would be affected.[5] There the teachers' limited grasp of the various subjects fields would prevent

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[1] ibid., p.1794.

[2] ibid.

[3] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1924-1925, p.30. Note: The writer has not been able to locate this 1925 graded course of instruction for Papuan schools.

[4] ibid.

[5] For example, see London Missionary Society, Report, 1915, pp.332,333.

branching into new study areas and immature understanding of teaching method would preclude the attainment of high standards of proficiency.

There commenced in Papua in 1921 a system of Government subsidy to mission schools payable by result in examinations conducted on the native children by an inspector usually brought in from Queensland for the purpose.[1] The examination was conducted in English for children who were in a school where some English could be absorbed. The main effect upon the system of mission education was to give greater prominence to the examinable subjects - arithmetic and the reading and writing of English.[2] [3] The effect of Papua's examination-subsidy system upon the village schools taught solely by national teachers would appear to have been indirect and undramatic: where they were feeding promptly into the district schools it could be expected that there would have been greater incentive to give the village teacher closer supervision and extra assistance to improve the scholastic standard. It is worth noting that the successive reports of examiners indicate a steady general growth in educational standards in the Papuan mission schools examined, with a persistent problem in oral arithmetic.[4]

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1920-1921, pp.27,28.

[2] ibid., 1925-1926, pp.22,23.

[3] ibid., 1923-1924, p.15.

[4] ibid., 1925-1926, pp.22,23.

The subsidy-examination system in Papua developed the professional outlook in mission education in two other significant ways: the improvement of text books and the drawing of attention to teachers' books of record.* In 1923 and in 1924 the inspector complained of the unsatisfactory nature of the classroom readers available in English.[1] By 1928 W.J. Saville of the London Missionary Society had written "at the suggestion of the Government" an "extremely good" Papuan School Reader.[2]

The 1923 inspection (conducted by Mr. D.H. St. Barbe Smart, teacher at the European school at Port Moresby) urged the need for eliminating the examination system and for instituting an inspection of the whole year's work including a study of quarterly programmes and weekly lesson registers. He drew attention to the basic problem in the lower grades in the remark: "Infants' department should be especially considered, as that is where the foundation is laid". There is no indication that his recommendations were carried out.

1914-1930: New Guinea.

In the Territory of New Guinea between 1914 and 1930 there was little change in the professional outlook of mission education. In common with the missions in Papua

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* As inferred in the following paragraph these books of record applied particularly to weekly lesson registers and quarterly programmes of work.

[1] ibid., 1923-1924, p.15.

[2] ibid., 1927-1928, p.10.

the missions to the north up to 1914 laid down their own curricula as best suited their objectives at each level (with the exception that encouragement for teaching German was given[1]). As has already been noted in an earlier chapter the German Administration in New Guinea was planning to develop a common curriculum for its own schools and those of the missions in its territory at the time when the Australian task force took control in September 1914. The goal was to "find a uniform basis for school instruction, and by unification of all the forces engaged in educating the people to attain an increased result".[2] This goal was not realised until the 1950's.

When the Australian Civil Administration took over New Guinea under the terms of mandate with the League of Nations, an Education Ordinance was passed (1922) which gave it authority to set up its own schools, to approve other schools as assisted schools, and to make regulations regarding courses of instruction, school routine, school discipline and the standard of education.[3] Interestingly the New Guinea Administration did not ever

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[1] German Colonial Office, Annual Report, 1900-1901, p.8.

[2] ibid., 1912-1913, p.590.

[3] Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, The Laws of the Territory of New Guinea, 1921-1945, 2 vols, II, pp.2031,2032.

succeed in coming to terms with the mission schools in any of the areas in which the Ordinance gave it jurisdiction. For its own part the New Guinea Administration, in the elementary school which it ran near Rabaul and later elsewhere, followed first of all the Victorian curriculum,[1] then, after the McKenna report, it followed McKenna's advice in adopting the syllabus for the natives of the islands of Torres Strait,[2] later it compiled a syllabus of its own.[3] There is no indication that any of these syllabi had any effect upon the teaching practices of the mission schools.

In 1927 at an Administration-Missions Conference the New Guinea Administration made an effort to bring its influence to bear upon the mission school systems in offering to provide a subsidy for mission education and to make attendance compulsory (two offers which normally were of themselves quite attractive) in return for the opening of mission schools for Government inspection

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1926-1927, p.36. Note: No apparent reason for the adopting of the curriculum of Victoria has been located apart from the fact that one of the earliest teachers selected for the school was W.C. Groves, a teacher in Victoria at the time of his appointment.

[2] ibid., 1929-1930, p.29.

[3] ibid., 1939-1940, p.21.

and the maintaining of a satisfactory educational standard.[1] The missions declined to accept the offer. At a further conference in 1929 the offer was rejected again.[2] Reasons for these refusals may be inferred from a discussion conducted later in this chapter.

While the missions in New Guinea were declining Government assistance and intervention on the one hand they were developing on the other the professional side of their education work in a way that they hoped would allow them to become more effective in the village classrooms and at the same time allow them to retain their original objectives of a vernacular religiously-oriented education for all. This was preferred to a Government-controlled system of education stressing English for the few. The new way was the ready-prepared, detailed day-to-day programme to be placed in the hands of the native teacher to be followed as closely as possible. Although such an approach might do little for improving the native teachers' methods of instruction it could contribute to the realisation of more of the objectives (limited though they might be) of the mission-authored programmes and to the "firming up" of administration and inspection. The following from Lutheran pioneer leader, Flierl illustra the point:

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[1] ibid., 1926-1927, p.38.

[2] ibid., 1928-1929, p.123.

> For these village schools and their teachers an exact plan of studies has been worked out, so that every teacher knows just what lessons to teach every day of the school year. Once a year during his long vacation the missionary at the head of the teachers' training school makes a tour of inspection and examination through all the village schools of the district.[1]

So, then, by 1930 the missions in Papua and New Guinea had commenced to adopt a more obviously professional outlook in their teaching practices especially regarding administration of the mission schools.

Inspection and syllabi were somewhat less advanced while methodology was the most neglected at least at the village school level. In Papua the change had been largely due to Government regulation, inspection and subsidy, while in New Guinea the process had followed the more natural lines of development according to the typical pattern of an emerging country (spreading educational opportunity widely with the beginnings of a gradual improvement in standards[2]). The growing awareness of a need for a more pedagogically professional approach was developing against what has been the most sound of all the features of mission education in Papua and New Guinea: a generally clear background perspective of the objectives of mission education. The following decade looked promising for further advancement.

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[1] J. Flierl, op. cit., p.134.

[2] vide supra, Professor Beeby's description of a developing education system, p. 39.

1930-1942:

As far as meeting the current requirements of sound educational theory and practice the 1930's were the best years in mission education in Papua and New Guinea. The pattern of differences between mission education in the two territories during the late 1920's was etched still more deeply in the 1930's: Papuan mission teachers followed the Administration's lead and strengthened the scholastic achievements of the relatively small number of district schools, while New Guinea mission teachers worked independently of the Administration and made impressive progress in vernacular and social-cultural areas. A study of the situation in Papua will be treated first.

1930-1942: Papua

The professional outlook of Papuan mission education at the district school level was given a boost in October, 1931 with the publication of a new "Syllabus of Work for Assisted Primary Schools".[1] A new grade had been added and this was received with approbation. The interest of the Papuan missions in obtaining explicit guidance for teaching from the Administration is suggested in a report from the Methodist school at Salamo:

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[1] Territory of Papua, Syllabus of Work for Assisted Primary Schools and Suggestive Syllabus for Preparatory Classes, title page. (From the original in the Education Department Library, Konedobu, Papua).

> We hope to see the Government syllabus re-written and filled out in such a way that it will become a real guide to teachers. Its vagueness is, at present, the outstanding feature of it.[1]

As amended in July 1939, this 1931 Syllabus for mission schools in Papua was a thirty-four page booklet covering each standard to V and outlining material for English, Arithmetic, Geography, Agriculture, Drawing, and General Knowledge which covered Physiology, First Aid, Domestic Hygiene, Civics and Morals, Arts and Crafts, and Projects. The syllabus had no introductory preamble and further lacked general objectives for the subject areas. There were, however, useful statements of immediate objectives within each subject under the heading "Requirements". Most of these were prescriptive statements such as:

> To be able to name at least 100 common objects.
> To read the whole of the Papuan Junior Reader, No.1...
> To recite forty lines of poetry (From English, Standard I).[2]
> To know the names of the principal physical features in the school locality (from Geography Standard III).[3]

The notes and suggestions which accompanied many of the topics give the impression that this 1931 syllabus was providing mission education in the 1930's with an enterprising and well-advised course of study. These notes urge the teacher to reach a high professional

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[1] The Missionary Review, November 5th, 1931, p.10.

[2] Territory of Papua, op. cit., p.1.

[3] ibid., p.14.

standard in methodology in particular. The comment for Projects reads:

> In Projects questions give place to quests... The pupil is keen to solve problems that appeal to him. Make use of this attitude as much as possible. Mere memorisation of facts is not educative. Experiences must be thrown in the way of pupils by the teacher so as to make up for definiteness and reality.[1]

The influence of John Dewey (1859-1952) and the progressivists of the early twentieth century is apparent in a guide-line such as this. The call for the solving of genuinely felt problems is an echo of the following from Dewey: "Unless the child appreciates the end of what he is doing, unless there is some motive or reason realised by him for the activity, and for mastering the facts presented, real interest and attention are elsewhere, no matter how thoroughly the external appearances of interest are simulated".[2] Again the comment above, on the importance of guiding the pupil into learning experiences, in in line with Dewey's assertion that the "problem of educators, teachers, parents, the state, is to provide the environment that induces educative or developing activities, and where these are found the one thing needful in education is secured".[3]

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[1] ibid., p.5.

[2] J. Dewey, "Plan of Organisation of the University Primary School", privately printed (not published) circa 1895 and appearing as an appendix in A.G. Wirth, John Dewey as Educator, New York; John Wiley and Sons, 1966, p.30

[3] J. Dewey, Interest and Effort in Education, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913, p.96, quoted in A.G. Wirth, ibid., p.99.

The first consideration of importance to be observed here is that mission education in Papua was being provided with an enlightened guide to education by means of which it was able to make some useful progress along professional lines.[1] A second significant consideration to be noted regarding the 1931 syllabus for assisted mission schools in Papua is the source from which it came - the Administration. Independent as mission education may have been in areas such as philosophy of education, objectives, culture-contact, finance, and administrative structure, it appears to have been generally slower to move, of itself, in the area of advanced pedagogy. An effort to account for this lag should be made in the final chapter of this thesis.

Professional progress in mission education in Papua is apparent in the 1930's subsequent to the issuing and revising of the above syllabus and the continuance of Government inspection of the schools. Evidence for this is found both in the growing number of schools open for inspection and in the terms of the successive inspector's reports. The number of mission schools inspected in Papua in 1939 was forty-five, made up as follows:

L.M.S.	13
Anglican	11
Roman Catholic	10
Methodist	8
Seventh-day Adventist	3 [2]

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[1] vide infra, this chapter.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1938-1939, p.27.

This number had grown from 27 in 1935, 28 in 1936, and 38 in 1937. Passes in 1939 were gained by 2,473 pupils or 85.5% of candidates. Earlier percentage passes had been:

1935	78.9%
1936	80.0%
1937	80.3%[1]

One less progressive feature was that the number of pupils gaining the primary final certificate (Standard V) was still not high in 1939 at 77. In 1937 there had been 66 Standard V passes. The problem appeared to be that insufficient pupils were commencing Standard I at an early enough age (8 years desirable) to be able to complete the primary grades before reaching physical maturity.[2]

In his important 1939 inspector's report Mr. Thomas Inglis, a Queensland inspector brought in on an annual basis, paid glowing tribute to the professionalism of the European teachers in Papua:

> I wish to bear record of the zeal, industry and intelligence of the white teachers, both trained and untrained, men and women with good qualities of character and personality having strong belief in their work and fine breadth of vision. In the case of the former - the trained teachers - outstanding work has been done, in the case of the latter they may not always be fully alive to the appreciation of educational principles or have real teaching ability, but what they lack in these they usually make up in zeal and industry.[3]

Inglis' report is of interest not only for its account of the professional qualities of the European

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid.

[3] ibid.

teacher but also for its reference to the pedagogical standing of the native Papuans and Polynesians. He indicated that a fair number of these nationals in the village schools were doing satisfactory work but that the time had come when the level of competence should be raised generally for the group. His comments suggest, by the way, that European mission administration and supervision varied in 1939 between very good and unsatisfact

> Native teachers vary as white teachers in skill and the will to succeed, yet among the Papuans, Samoans, Fijians and Tongans, are a goodly number with more than ordinary skill and application. The native village schools did best where the teachers were given most help in organization in lesson preparation and (sic) what is most essential, in steady regular supervision from their centre. Having visited all parts of the Territory and seen the results of the native teachers in village schools connected with the different missions, I have come to the conclusion that there is need for the raising of the qualifications of the native teachers.[1]

In the following year Inglis again called for a unified training system to improve the standard of mission education.[2] The Administration commented that neither the missions nor itself had funds sufficient to satisfy the need described.[3]

Inglis' reservations on the general classroom teaching ability of the nationals in the village schools are echoed by comments from the missionaries themselves.

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1 ibid.

2 ibid., 1939-40, p.15.

3 ibid.

An Anglican administrator gave the following report in 1935:

> Tables are a joy to the native teacher who, with his class, will chant them "ad lib". But to build them up with sticks or shells is something they don't understand and see no sense in! ... The white teacher may have shown him (the pupil-teacher) how to teach the mysteries of "from" sums or "carrying", supplying him with coloured chalk and various "aids", but after giving a cheerful assent he goes back to his own ways.[1]

With a group reputation such as this to live down, four native Papuan, London Missionary Society teachers achieved noteworthy professional distinction in 1940-41 when each in his own school and without European assistance gained a Standard V pass for a Papuan pupil. Inglis subsequently suggested that more responsibility could well be given to the Papuan in teaching and that it could be hoped for the future that the "Papuan child will develop graciously in the hands of the Papuan teacher". He reported with an even stronger note of optimism regarding the pedagogical possibilities of the native:

> When we have an army of intelligent, trustworthy, and thoroughly trained Papuan teachers, working contentedly under carefully chosen district teacher helpers then inspection may usurp the place of examination.[3]

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[1] A.B.M. Review, January 1st, 1935, p.156.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1940-1941, p.20.

[3] ibid.

Further professional development amongst mission teachers in Papua was cut short in 1942 by the Japanese invasion of the island to the north and the evacuation of most of the European mission personnel. The work was to be taken up again with poorer human and material resources but with much more urgent and pressing motivation in the late 1940's.

1930-1942: New Guinea.

In the 1930's missions in New Guinea developed their professional teaching approaches along quite different lines from those that have been noted in Papua. During the early 1930's, as was noted earlier, mission leaders consistently declined the New Guinea Administration's offers of subsidy for mission education in return for syllabus control and inspection.[1] While the Administration in the 1930's was developing a small system of Government education for natives centring around the teaching of English (and expected to grow into a complete system of education for the whole school-age population[2]) the New Guinea missions maintained their independence and continued to foster a vernacular-cultural approach.

The year 1933 was crucial for the possibilities of a change of direction for the professional approaches of mission education in New Guinea. It seemed quite

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[1] vide supra, pp.19ff.

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1927-1928, p

likely in that year that the New Guinea mission classrooms might become even more closely tied to Government regulation and inspection than were the district school classrooms of Papua - as close as the arrangement under the combined Papua and New Guinea Administration in the 1950's.[1] In the 1930's the New Guinea Administration became disillusioned of its chances of providing a universal system of education for the mandated territory - finance being the major problem. The Government saw in the already functioning mission systems of schools an avenue for achieving its desired (but, apparently, not too pressing) objective. The Administration was willing to abandon its own small system and place its financial administrative and supervisory resources at the disposal of the missions so long as they were willing to meet the Government's educational standards. The report of the action read in part:

> The proposals formulated by the Administration and submitted for the consideration of the several missions make provision for the whole of the education of the natives to be in the hands of the missions, who would be required to train, supply and control the teachers for the schools, and for the Administration to issue the necessary regulations for the attendance of natives and to assist the missions by means of subsidy. The curriculum and the hours to be devoted to secular instruction would be prescribed by the Administration and the schools for which a subsidy is granted would be subject to inspection by officers of the Administration.[2]

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1932-1933, p.45

[2] ibid.

Had the missions in New Guinea accepted this offer then the arrangement in education between the Administration and the missions which developed during the 1950's would have had its roots firmly planted twenty years earlier. Interestingly (even, surprisingly) the missions declined the offer in the second year after it had been made.[1] When the missions showed no early enthusiasm for the suggestion the Administration apparently chose to form a committee to study the proposals further. The chairman was the Director of District Services and Native Affairs and there was a representative each from the Catholic mission and the Methodist mission.[2] It was this committee that gave the final refusal.

As part of a study of the development of a professional approach in mission education three questions ought to be asked about the 1933 mission-education-takeover offer and its subsequent lapse. What were the factors operating which favoured the missions' accepting the new proposal? Why did the missions not accept this offer of an apparent boost to their professional approaches? What effect did the missions' refusal have upon the professional quality of mission education in the years that followed?

Firstly, <u>what factors favoured the missions' accepting the Government's proposal</u> to provide finance for mission

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[1] <u>ibid</u>., 1934-1935, p.37.

[2] <u>ibid</u>., 1933-1934, p.42.

education with accompanying direction and supervision? Clearly, the missions were aware that the 1922 Education Ordinance of New Guinea gave the Administration the authority to lay down standards of proficiency and courses of instruction should it so desire.[1] It would appear that the missions would have been prudent to have accepted such Government supervision while it had financial attractions as well. Further, the missions at the time of this offer of Government subsidy were in the throes of one of their most pressing times of financial difficulty. The November 5th (1932) issue of the Missionary Review carried a special supplement which advised its Methodist readers:

> As a missionary society, we have been obliged to adjust ourselves to the economic conditions of our day, and one result has been a tragic curtailment of activity on the field at a time when it was more than ever necessary...
> We must strive to extend the area of interest and sacrifice here at home.[2]

Another advantage which the New Guinea missions could have expected from the closer ties with the Administration in educational matters was the gaining of improved Government support in the matter of school attendance. This they had been seeking for some time.[3]

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[1] vide supra, p.14.

[2] The Missionary Review, November 5th, 1932, Special Supplement, pp.2,3.

[3] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1928-1929, p.1

It has already been noted that irregularity of attendance had been a serious problem to the missions in providing effective schooling.[1]

When the missions apparently had much to gain in joining forces with the Government in education it is of interest to inquire why they declined the proposal. At the outset it should be noted that the missions might have been well aware that they were unlikely to be co-erced in the matter of accepting Government dictation in education as mission education was closely allied to religion - an area in which there was to be no co-ercion under the terms of the mandate and of the New Guinea Act, 1920, of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia. The New Guinea Administration frequently stressed the manner in which it was carrying out the "Liberty of Conscience" requirements.[3] In view of the yearly account which the Administration had to give to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations it is understandable that New Guinea Government officials were non-assertive in their approaches to the missions from 1933 to 1935 regarding the administration, the curriculum and the inspection of mission education.

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[1] vide supra, chapter four.

[2] The Missionary Review, November 5th, 1932, Special Supplement, pp.2,3.

[3] For example, see Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1925-1926, p.33. "None of the Ordinances that have been made limits the free exercise of religious worship or instruction".

A further factor contributing to the missions' reluctance to accept the Government's offer may be sought in the nature of the New Guinea missionaries themselves. In contrast to the missionaries in Papua, who were very largely from Australia, New Zealand and Britain, those in New Guinea were largely of non-British descent. In 1913, just before the German Administration gave way to the Australian, of the 232 priests and missionaries in New Guinea 204 were German and German speaking.[1] By 1926 the number of missionaries in New Guinea had grown to 361 of which 199 were German, 77 were from non-English speaking countries such as Holland, France and Austria, 22 were from the United States of America, and 49 were of British nationality.[2] The language barrier, apart from any hidden national barriers, could be expected to hinder the development of active co-operative planning between the Government and missions in education or any other field despite the fact that relations between the two bodies were cordial.[3]

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[1] German Colonial Office, Annual Report, 1912-1913, p.610.

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1925-1926, p.3.

[3] The New Guinea Administration reported in 1938: "Of the 682 mission workers in the Territory, 586 are of other than British nationality...It is not suggested that there is any objection on the part of this personnel to give such instruction (in English); rather is it a fact that the missions are moxt ansious to co-operate". Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1937-1938, p.46.

Allied to the communications problem indicated above was the practical problem of meeting the New Guinea Government's predictable stand on the teaching of English in a Government-subsidised system of education. Flierl of the Lutheran (German) mission writing in 1932 expressed both the foreigners' and the evangelists' viewpoints:

> In 1931 the government sent a questionnair (sic) to our Lutheran Mission Finschhafen and Finisterre: "Why not teach the Natives in the English language?" The replies from the two districts were in accord with the Lutheran Mission principles: "The elementary and religious instruction of the natives to be in his own vernacular. In the course of time selected intelligent students might be taught the English language after having received thorough schooling in their native tongue. We feel confident that our American bretheren with their command of the English language will be of great help to us in this difficult language question".[1]

The reticence of the New Guinea missions can thus be further appreciated on two counts: They were concerned about teaching to the natives a language foreign to both the pupils and the majority of the European teachers to say nothing of the native teachers; and, they were anxious to remain within the terms of their original and basic objectives for mission education: literacy in the vernacular leading to maximum pupil understanding and development. The Administration's subsidy offer would have been placed in a poor light on both of these counts.

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[1] J. Flierl, op. cit. pp.59,60.

A further reason for the New Guinea missions' declining the Administration's subsidy-takeover offer in the early 1930's can be found in the outlook of one of the major mission parties close to Government headquarters at Rabaul: that of the Methodists. As has been noted in an earlier chapter the Methodists from earliest times in Papua and New Guinea did not regard education as an essential part of their missionary enterprise.[1] Rather they considered schooling to be largely a service to the people which should rightly be handed over to the Administration when it could manage it. They, clearly, could be regarded as seeing the offer of a mission take-over in education as a beckoning into an area in which they could see no permanent future for themselves. Had the Roman Catholics been accompanied at the 1933-34 Missions-Administration Conference by a Protestant group (such as the Lutherans) with a broader view of the objectives of mission schooling the course of mission education in New Guinea may well have been different.

On the other hand there appears to be a final reason for the missions' declining the Government offer which suggests that their action was consistent with a quite fixed purpose of realising the educational-social-cultural advantages of instruction in the vernacular for the children of all adherents. The missions might well have expected in accepting Government subsidy and supervision that their

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[1] vide supra chapter two.

national teachers with a poor knowledge of English would soon become unacceptable and that the broadly based process of gradual development of the native peoples would need to move towards a speeding up of the development of a comparative few pupils who were advanced in English - such as was to be seen at the existing Government school at Malanguna.

The effectiveness socially, culturally and intellectually of the New Guinea missions' vernacular educational programme in the 1930's will be attested to in the answering of the final question to be raised in this section: what effect did the missions' refusal to accept the Government's subsidy-supervision offer have upon the professional quality of mission education? Viewing the situation in New Guinea prior to 1942 the answer might very well be that the missions' decision was the wisest for native education. In the light of what took place during and after World War II it might be concluded that the decision to stay by vernacular mission-controlled education during the 1930's led to an unfortunate loss of a whole decade in professional advancement in education. The pre-War view will be dealt with in the remainder of this chapter; the post-War view will be covered in the succeeding chapters.

Evidence for the professional worth of mission education in 1930's is found most clearly in the writings of W.C. Groves: pioneer teacher at the Government school

at Malaguna (Rabaul), research anthropologist in New Guinea and first Director of Education for the combined Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

During 1933 Groves gave close study to native life in the New Ireland district of New Guinea under a research fellowship from the Australian National Research Council.[1] His special interest was a study of the social-cultural development of the people which included attention to native interaction with Europeans. Part of his work involved an investigation of the "relation of the Christian missionary enterprise to native society".[2] In 1936 Groves published some of his findings and conclusions in a book most significant to the development of education in Papua and New Guinea: Native Education and Culture-Contract in New Guinea.

In his book Groves called for a continuance in education of the recommendations of Government Anthropologist, F.E. Williams, for a blending of native and European cultures. Groves did not expect that the old ways of the natives could be retained but he did recommend an adaptation of European ways to suit the native at his present stage of development.[3] This means that education

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[1] Sydney Morning Herald, August 1st, 1934, p.9. "Anthropologist, Study in New Guinea".

[2] ibid.

[3] W.C. Groves, Native Education and Culture-Contract in New Guinea, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1936, p.105.

"must be organised in such a way as to be part of the life of the mass" of the people and set against their "Natural life-background".[1] Groves saw but one way of achieving such a link between the European-sponsored educational programme and the day-to-day life of the people: take the schools into the villages and have them manned by sympathetic instructors with a good understanding of the native outlook and a deep interest in village communal life:

> "...education must be village-centred; and all the projects for higher training of selected natives, whether practical or literary, must be directed towards fitting into the plan of village education. Higher education, therefore, will take the form mainly of preparing certain individuals to fit into the general system as village leaders, as visiting or resident teachers and instructors, and as specialists in different sides of village developmental work.[2]

The ideal product of such a school-system Groves described as "good-charactered, hard-working, decent and satisfied... with enough variety of interests and activities in their village life to make it attractive, and to give it zest".[3]

Along with his call for binding education to the village life pattern Groves argued that successful education for New Guineans ought to give a "fundamental place"[4]

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid.

[3] ibid.

[4] ibid., p.106.

to religion:

> ...there is need in the natives' own make-up or personality for a pervasive and satisfying sense of religious experience and for forms of emotional expression that only real religious faith can give. Religious teaching, therefore, must be associated with all forms of education, and the natives must have before them always in their educational work, the constant example of life lived according to religious principles.[1]

With regard to literacy, Groves' first concern was with literacy in a vernacular. Village schools, he claimed, should use the vernacular and pidgin exclusively. The regional schools could add English as a subject of instruction in the last two years of the course, while the "finishing courses" might use English as the medium of instruction.[2]

Having developed a number of principles such as these Groves placed to the forefront of his conclusions to his thesis a recommendation that the centralised, city-orientated Government school at Rabaul be discontinued. He claimed that Malaguna's European teachers were not adequately prepared for New Guinea teaching conditions, and that its programme of instruction (based, on McKenna's recommendations, upon the curriculum for the Torres Straits islanders) was not related to "New Guinea conditions of life".[3] Writing in 1947 Groves added, further, that the making of English the chief subject of instruction in

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[1] ibid., p.105.

[2] ibid., p.118.

[3] ibid., p.160.

the Government approach "stultified the work of the schools in their effect upon and relations with the Native people and their general development".[1]

While Groves' book largely detracted from the work of the Administration in education in New Guinea it gave both direct and indirect support to the basic professional approaches in education followed by the missions in New Guinea since their inception: a winning of the confidence of the people in the local community, the provision of a national (during the 1930's most usually local native) teacher working directly in each village setting and concerning himself with the totality of the communal life, the stressing of religion in all phases of the teaching work and the gaining of literacy in a vernacular.

Typical of Groves' evaluation of the basic educational (and, for him, truly professional) outlook of the missions is the following comment:

> It cannot be gain-said that the most successful schools, and those that have had the deepest and most permanent influence upon the natives in their everyday lives, are those of the missions. One has only to spend a time in the school compounds, and to visit the school gardens and workshops, to see something of the enthusiasm of the natives' own participation in educational activities, and to realize what the institutions have come to mean to their students, and through them to the wider native communities. There is a consciousness of purpose about the students, and a pride in the knowledge that the institutions exist for their own benefit and good. These things are lacking in

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[1] W.C. Groves, Data Paper on Native Education in Certain South Pacific Territories, op. cit., Section on New Guinea, p.2.

> institutions under purely secular control. From my own observations of the religious influence of the mission teachings in the villages, I have no doubt that Christianity is more than capable of taking the place of indigenous religion.[1]

Groves gives a particular instance of how he arrived at conclusions such as the above (concerning, it may be assumed, a basic professional soundness of mission education in New Guinea in the 1930's) in an account of a visit he paid to the islands of Mussau and Emira where the Seventh-day Adventist mission had been at work for two years. The Government Anthropologist for New Guinea had reported in 1927 that the inhabitants of the islands were decadent and suffering from an inexplicable malaise threatening to bring on depopulation and racial extinction.[2] Groves' first impressions were favourable:

> From the moment we dropped anchor at Emira, where we met "old" Naphtali, fine, honest, hard-working, true Christian, Fijian teacher, and saw the whole of the island's population hurriedly and excitedly gathering together at the point on the beach where our dinghy was landing us, from that moment of enthusiasm and joyous welcome, I knew that the "Seventh-day mission" had these people; knew, unmistakably with my very eyes, that here was no decadent people...[3]

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[1] W.C. Groves, Native Education and Culture Contact in New Guinea, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1936, p.105.

[2] W.C. Groves, "An Anthropologist Looks at the Seventh-day Adventist Mission Work in Mussau" Part 1, Australian Record, August 20th, 1934, pp.2,3.

[3] ibid., p.3.

As Groves continued his description of his investigation on Emira and Mussau he made it apparent that he saw the social and economic situations as part of the basic educational approach:

> ...I soon got off alone amongst the natives themselves, in their settlement. I told them my purpose - or at any rate, let them know that I was not a missionary and certainly not a Seventh-day adherent. From every angle I approached them - trying suggestion, cajolery, ridicule, upon individuals and groups. Fast they stood, fast for the new life, with no regrets, and, as far as I could see no possible ill-effects on their social or economic lives... I went amongst the children; tried them with organised games, played with them. There was no game I introduced which they had not met before...[1]

That Groves was convinced the mission was attacking the problem of native education in a sound basic way professionally is indicated in his concluding remarks to his article:

> The problem of education must be attacked scientifically, in the light of modern thought and principles, and this can only be done by one who is thoroughly conversant with such modern educational thought and practice. What a unique opportunity has the S.D.A. Mission at Mussau, starting in these days of educational enlightenment, to show all other organisations the way.[2]

To keep the professional picture of mission education in New Guinea in the 1930's in proper balance it ought to be noted that Groves did not regard the missions as having arrived at any final stage of the development of native education as he envisaged it ought to be. Rather

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid., Part 2, August 27th, 1934, p.2.

he regarded the work of missions in education as having commenced where it ought and having been aimed in the correct direction with gratifying results. It should also be noted that Groves considered that the work of missions in education should be supplemented by the Government - especially in the area of supervision. Writing of missions in New Guinea in general he commented:

> For their own special purpose, mission schools follow a limited secular programme. This it is the province of the Government to regulate, co-ordinate and supervise. If every regional mission station (where European staff are resident) were to become a central rural educational institution, with assistance in the form of advice and visiting supervision from expert Government educational and technical officers; and if certain phases of the training of village teachers were to be undertaken by the Government, this would surely strengthen the work of the missions in relation to both native and Government and it would at the same time assure the intimate association of religious and secular teaching.[1]

The official Government estimate of the professional side of mission education in New Guinea in the late 1930's followed that of Groves fairly closely in that the Administration recognized that the missions were developing along appropriate lines which ought not to be unthinkingly disrupted. The following extract from the Annual Report for 1938, while recognizing a basic worth in the professional side of mission education work, appears in the light of the conclusions of earlier chapters in this

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[1] W.C. Groves, Native Education and Culture - Contact in New Guinea, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1936, pp.106,107.

present thesis to underestimate the goals of mission education and, in the light of Groves' observations, to overestimate the primary importance of the teaching of English:.

> The missions are doing good work, as the conduct of their schools no doubt introduces many essential features of the western civilization into ordinary village life. The main objective of the missions, however, is religious instruction and the schools conducted by them are for the purpose of preparing the mass of natives to receive instruction in the tenets of the particular creed, and to train selected native personnel to a stage which will enable them to impart such religious instruction. Education in its broader sense is incidental to the main objective.
> It is not desirable that this phase of mission work should be disturbed by the untimely introduction of a scheme of education which has not been scrutinized most closely to ensure that there will be a minimum interruption in the present developmental work...
> The Administration considers that any system of education should aim at the teaching of English.[1]

The New Guinea Administration was instrumental in 1938 in providing a further boost to the professionalism of mission education in the distributing of a "tentative syllabus of work considered suitable for a five years (sic) course in village schools".[2] The objective of the

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1937-1938, pp.45,46.

[2] ibid., p.46.

syllabus was to aid in the "arriving at a common basis" of co-operation in education between the missions and the Government. It was reported: "The missions have demonstrated that they are anxious to assist and are incorporating as far as possible this syllabus into their general plans".[1]

Just prior to the outbreak of hostilities in New Guinea the education work of the missions was becoming more closely bound up with the educationally professional outlook of the Government despite the absence of the financial-subsidy tie. The actual tie appears to have been one of a common bond of sympathy for native welfare and progress. In using the Government attitude towards mission education as a guide to the professional standard which the mission schools were reaching in the late 1930's and after, considerable care must be taken. It should be noted that the Administration was being torn between the practical desirability of providing an education in English for a leadership elite and the ideal of developing the masses gradually from the old culture into the new by means of education based first on the vernacular. Prior to 1942 the Administration seemed to be favouring the "ideal" so that mission education was being seen in a good light professionally. This is

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[1] ibid.

indicated in the following statement of Government policy in Education made in 1938 - a policy quite clearly built around the existing system of mission education:

> Development must necessarily be slow, but there is no doubt that progress is being made. By careful examination of local conditions it is anticipated that a system of education will be brought into being having for its objectives character development, health and hygiene, agriculture and gardening, industrial skill, knowledge of home economics and recreation, collateral with training in the fundamentals of reading, writing and arithmetic. The preliminary stages will be covered in the village school during a five years (sic) course of study, during which the native's mind should be developed to appreciate the possibilities of a new order of things but which will not take the native so far as to cause a disruptive influence in his general outlook on village life.[1]

After the war the Administration's attitude swung strongly towards the practical desirability of providing an English-oriented education and away from the policy of acquiescence with mission education which developed during the 1930's. This swing, accounted for in chapter seven, saw the schools of the missions facing their most serious challenge.

1930-1942: Papua and New Guinea - Conclusions.

It has been shown that the professional approaches in mission education in Papua and New Guinea between 1930 and 1942 received increasingly wide recognition and official approval. In Australian-owned Papua this had been achieved by the missions' moving towards the goals laid down by a traditionally paternalistic and co-operative

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[1] ibid.

Administration: the Government wanted English-speaking natives and these the missions provided in return for an annual financial subsidy. In mandated New Guinea recognition of the professional-educational efforts of the predominantly non-British missionaries came after the missions resisted Government subsidy and control and the Government moved towards largely accepting the missions' mass-developmental, non-disruptive, social-cultural-intellectual approach.

The years just prior to the Japanese invasion carry the high-water mark of professional optimism in mission educational effort in Papua and New Guinea. Under changed conditions - especially socially within Papua and New Guinea and politically on the international scene - mission education was to recede from confidence to a struggle to maintain itself in the face of changing and rising demands. The remaining chapters have as basic objectives the tracing of and accounting for these developments in mission education.

CHAPTER SIX

WAR AND REHABILITATION AND THEIR INFLUENCES ON MISSION EDUCATION (1942-1951)

A study of the influence of World War II and the subsequent rehabilitation is important to an understanding of the apparent professional retrogression of mission education in the 1950's as compared with the 1930's. By 1950 the outlook had been deeply and indelibly changed in a number of fundamental ways respecting the native school system conducted by the Christian missions. The Government's attitude towards mission education followed a much more inflexible line than was adhered to in the pre-War era. The native people and the missions themselves had experienced a highly significant shift, too. The objective of this chapter is to account for and describe these and other transitions which occurred in mission education between 1942 and 1951.

The Course of the War from Military Point of View.

The hostilities which led Japan into World War II had commenced in July, 1937 when, encouraged by the attitude of non-intervention in Europe, her expansionist leanings prompted her to launch a small-scale attack

on the ancient Chinese capital of Peiping.[1] By the end of 1938 Japan, unhampered by a hesitant League of Nations, had blockaded the south China coast and was ready to launch into a plan for a Nippon-dominated "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere".[2] The "sphere" was to include China, Manchuria, Korea, Burma, Malaya, French Indochina, the Philippines and the Netherlands East Indies. After the commencement of hostilities in Europe in September, 1939, Japan was able in the prevailing atmosphere of appeasement to gain agreements from Great Britain (June, 1940), France (July, 1940) and the Soviet Union (April, 1941) despite Chiang Kui-shek's accusing the Japanese of international gangsterism.[3]

With China fighting for her existence and Europe turning a blind eye Japan had only to account for the United States. This she planned to do in three ways: destroy the U.S. Pacific fleet, develop a series of defence outposts to the east (one of which was to be Rabaul the existing capital of New Guinea and undefended under the terms of the mandate), and quickly occupy and develop the area-whereupon a predicted negotiated peace

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[1] G. Cant, War on Japan, New York: American Council, Institute of Public Relations, 1945, p.6.

[2] Encyclopaedia Britannica, 24 vols., Chicago: William Benton, 1961, xxiii, p.792W.

[3] ibid., p.792S.

would leave her in control of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.[1]

The first of the three objectives was achieved at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, on December 7th 1941.[2] The Philippines was attacked by air and Malaya by land on December 8th. Hong Kong was attacked the same day and Bangkok was occupied on December 9th. The Netherlands Indies with their coveted supplies of oil were occupied at Sarawak on December 17th. To the east, Wake Island was taken from its U.S. garrison on December 23rd. With Guam and the Gilberts secured the final strategic outpost needed was Rabaul which was taken in the early morning of January 23rd, 1942.

Thus far, for the Japanese, all had gone according to plan. With the fall of Rabaul, however, there failed to materialise the hoped-for peace negotiations. Already the U.S. had commenced setting up bases in Australia for a strike back.[3] This led Japan to launch into a second stage of advance unplanned at the outset. To provide protection from attack from the south and to enhance the prospects of a negotiated peace by conducting

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[1] ibid., p.792W.

[2] H.S. Commager, The Story of the Second World War, Boston: Little, Brown and Coy., 1945, pp.232,233.

[3] ibid., p.272.

an exhausting perimeter war eastern New Guinea, western New Britain and Port Moresby would need to be secured. Western New Britain was taken February 10th, Lae in eastern New Guinea was taken early March and Bouganville and the Admiralty Islands were entered early April.

With virtually the whole of the New Guinea coastlines subjugated the Japanese at Rabaul were poised by early May, 1942 for a sea attack on Port Moresby. The Battle of the Coral Sea commenced May 7th.[1] As a result of the battle Japan's most serious losses were in aircraft which were essential for air cover to her attack on Port Moresby. The invaders (but for four midget submarines which went on to attack Sydney Harbour) were forced to turn back to Rabaul. While the Battle of the Coral Sea checked the Japanese advance southwards in May, 1942 the main turning point of the war appeared to come in early June when the bulk of the Japanese fleet was rebuffed near Midway Island.[2]

In July the Japanese determined to capture Port Moresby via a land route. They landed at Gona in Northern Papua and set out late in August to cross the peninsula and the Owen Stanley Ranges using the Kokoda trail.[3] Despite the efforts of the Australian Infantry Forces

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[1] ibid., p.273.

[2] ibid., pp.274-282.

[3] ibid., p.493.

the invaders fought through to a ridge within thirty-two miles of Port Moresby by September 17th, 1942.[1] Then, having difficulties with supplies they were forced to retreat to Gona where they were defeated during December 1942 and January, 1943.[2] The war in Papua was then virtually over. By July 1944 the Japanese had been practically driven from the New Guinea Mainland.[3] Mopping up proceeded during the following twelve months so that by the time of the Japanese surrender in August, 1945 Rabaul and parts of New Ireland were the main areas untaken.[4]

During the war years the functions of government in Papua and New Guinea were carried out by a specially constituted Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (A.N.G.A.U.).[5] For the whole of Papua and much of New Guinea, A.N.G.A.U. gave way to the civil administration of Colonel J.K. Murray in October, 1945. The whole of the combined territories was under civil direction by June 24th, 1946.[6]

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946 (Roneoed), p.1.

[2] G. Cant, op. cit., p.38.

[3] Territory of Papua, op. cit., Introduction.

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid.

[6] ibid.

Immediate Effects of the War on Mission Education (1942 to 1945)

Well before the war in the Pacific brought its catastrophic results to Papua and New Guinea and the missions there, the war in Europe was presenting its problems. These were felt in the mission schools, especially by way of difficulty in getting personnel to their fields of work and by way of rising prices for essential commodities.[1] A report from an Anglican station indicates that the Europeans were not the only persons aware of the necessity for economies in the months prior to 1942:

> The boys appreciate the general situation. The following was overheard in the dining room. One scamp to a little one who had just broken a cup: "Wasting, wasting! Helping Germany! Do you want Hitler here tomorrow?"[2]

Hitler did not arrive the following day but the Japanese, as has been noted, did commence pouring in very swiftly soon after, bringing on a further serious effect on mission education: the loss of European leadership and teaching staff. The effect was felt at the training school and district school levels first where the conducting of classes was very largely dependent on European teachers.

The loss of the European teachers came about in several ways. The first to leave were some of the women

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[1] For example, see A.B.M. Review, November 1st, 1940, p.176.

[2] ibid.

teachers and the wives of the missionaries prior to the outbreak of hostilities in the territories themselves. A second and quite extensive loss of European mission personnel came from a fairly prompt and usually hazardous evacuation after Rabaul was taken in January 1942. Four days after the fall of Rabaul the Australian-based Seventh-day Adventist mission committee voted: "That as a committee we view with favour the recall of our missionaries from areas threatened with invasion".[1]

On many mission stations arrangements had been made earlier with capable national leaders, natives of such places as Samoa, Tonga, Fiji and the Solomon Islands, to take over the direction of the mission work - including that which might continue in the village schools.[2] Evacuation was at times accomplished across the open sea in mission launches. A favoured route was via Port Moresby, Dalrymple Island and Thursday Island to Australia.[3] One valiant Protestant Highland group, with the normal outlet to the Madang or Salamua areas cut off, trekked two hundred miles westward[4] to be flown south in

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[1] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Australasian Union Conference, Executive Committee Minutes, January 27th, 1942, p.134.

[2] For example, see Australasian Record, February 23rd, 1942, p.8.

[3] For example, see ibid., March 30th, 1942, p.3.

[4] ibid., July 13th, 1942, p.3.

mid-1942 under threatening conditions by Father Glover, the flying priest.[1]

The third and most tragic loss of mission personnel came by way of death. Missions situated near Rabaul, elsewhere in the Bismark Archipelago, along the coast of mainland New Guinea, and on the northern coast of peninsula Papua were hit most seriously while those situated along the southern coast of Papua were hardly touched. Consequent upon the fall of Rabaul, the Methodist mission lost ten of its workers[2] and the S.D.A. mission four.[3] The vast majority of losses from Rabaul were due to the sinking by the allies in July, 1942, of the Japanese prisoner-of-war ship the Montevideo Maru en-route to Japan with 800 servicemen and 300 civilians aboard.[4] A similar tragedy occurred in February, 1944 when the Japanese were transferring 140 Roman Catholic and fifteen Lutheran missionaries from the north coast of mainland New Guinea to Hollandia in Dutch New Guinea in the Dorish Maru. Catholic priest

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[1] ibid., July 9th, 1945, p.5.

[2] The Missionary Review, September, 1952, p.12.

[3] Australasian Record, January 7th, 1946, p.1.

[4] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946 (Roneoed), p.4.

John Tschauder lived to describe the horror of wave upon wave of strafing by American war planes. "Almost sixty of the evacuees died outright" from gunshots and explosives: the ship was not sunk.[1]

Other loss of mission personnel life came as a result of enemy atrocity and war action. For example, two Lutheran missionaries H. Dott and W. Wenz were "violently put to death by the Japanese in January, 1943" - one was shot and the other beheaded.[2] Catholic missions along the north coast of mainland New Guinea sustained fearful loss: a total of 166 from the Vicariates of Wewak and Madang. The number was comprised of the Bishop, priests, and teaching brothers and sisters.[3]

The Anglican mission with regard to loss of personnel through death is somewhat of a special case. From well over a year before the invasion of New Guinea, Anglican missionaries were informing their leader (Bishop Strong) that they intended to remain with the natives should the

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[1] J. Tschauder, "The Attack on the Dorish Moru", Catholic Missions, June, 1946, pp.10-12. See also Lutheran Herald, June 3rd, 1944, p.180.

[2] Lutheran Herald, November 18th, 1944, p.376.

[3] Catholic Missions, August, 1954, p.8.

Japanese attack. One priest advised the Bishop that "he and his staff had no intention of deserting the natives" should the land be invaded.[1] He went on: "We are here for the extension of the Church, and intend to stick to our job as long as God gives us the strength to do it". True to their word the staff of the Anglican mission stayed on when the onslaught came. The heavy July-August (1942) offensive launched on and from the north coast of Papua with a view to taking Port Moresby from the inland took place with heavy loss of mission lives within Anglican territory. Word of the first Anglican mission war death reached Australia in September, 1942. The Rev. H. Matthews, a man in his late sixties who had lost his wife a short time before, met his death on August 7th in a boat which was understood to have been torpedoed by the Japanese.[2] Seven more Europeans were killed by August 22nd. The Anglican missionaries left areas immediately occupied by the invader but kept their work going wherever possible.[3] By October of 1942 most of the European teachers had needed to be evacuated in the Anglican field.[4] The authorities had demanded the

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[1] A.B.M. Review, August 1st, 1940, p.136.

[2] ibid., October 1st, 1942, p.145.

[3] ibid., February 1st, 1943, p.23.

[4] P.N.W. Strong, "Extracts from the Bishop of New Guinea's Educational Policy", ibid., June 1st, 1945, p.84.

moving all remaining women missionaries. Speaking to his Diocesian Conference in June, 1947, Bishop Strong listed ten missionaries whom he regarded as war martyrs. Two of them were native Papuans, four were European women and four were European men.[1]

A further immediate effect of the War upon mission education in Papua and New Guinea was the thrusting of authority upon national leaders. Such a development was a direct consequence of the loss of European leadership. Initial bewilderment amongst the native constituency appears to have been followed by an impressive will to do the best possible under difficult circumstances.[2] An early letter from Seventh-day Adventist national worker Ngava, left in charge in Papua, indicated lack of personal confidence but a good fighting spirit:

> It is hard for me to pick this work when I start I will try if I can...
> ...some Aroma boys they came and asked me about the meeting, someone who want married. So I told these boys if anyone like married that's all right.
> ...if some of these boys from Mirigeda they want to be a teacher I will sent to look after some new villages east coast of Domara seven new villages they ask a teacher: I will do these things if I can.[3]

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[1] P.N.W. Strong, Out of Great Tribulation, East Cape, Papua: Methodist Mission Press, 1947, p.102.

[2] For example, see E.A. Clarke, "Welcome Back to Papua", The Missionary Review, April 5th, 1944, p.5.

[3] Australasian Record, May 18th, 1942, p.5.

A letter from Ngava written over a month later indicated that he had succeeded in providing morale-sustaining leadership and in attending to the practical details of the mission school classroom:

> We visit all the different villages where our teachers are...
> All our teachers they are strong to do the work of God. But some other things make our schools very poor. We have no slate pencils and chalks; but never mind about these things.
> ...So I put some new teachers in some of these villages, because the heathen men want some new teachers to help them. So I send five new teachers in this district.[1]

A similar encouraging situation was in evidence in the letters from Salamo, Papua where Tongan, Rev. David Mone had been left in charge of Methodist work. He reported in March, 1942 that after an initial time of "fear of the war" the children returned to school.[2] The following year Mone distinguished himself in re-opening the training school for his area:

> We started the District Training Institution and the primary schools and we are happy...Our teachers came and they told me that the people are all right in the villages...It made me happy to see the teachers who did their work without ceasing in a very hard time like this.[3]

The closing of the majority of the mission schools in Papua and New Guinea was a further immediate effect of

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[1] ibid., June 28th, 1943, p.3.

[2] The Missionary Review, July 6th, 1942, p.10.

[3] ibid.

the War. While a number of Papuan schools were able to remain open for a considerable time many of the mission schools in New Guinea were forced to close almost from the outset of hostilities either because of the forced dispersal of whole village communities, including the mission teachers, the wholesale destruction of school buildings and gardens, or the running out of supplies of necessary classroom materials.

Forced dispersal bringing school work to a halt was to be found at Port Moresby where the whole of the native township had to evacuate[1] the area which was a prime target for projected Japanese bombing. Evacuation from the school location in the Lutheran area was made necessary by the direct entry of the invader. The tenacity of the teachers was illustrated in two instances where the classroom was re-assembled in the jungle and in a cave.[2] At times the national mission leaders and teachers were the special objects of pursuit by the invaders. Tati a Solomon Islander given the responsibility of leading the Seventh-day Adventist mission in Bougainville fled into hiding several times. On one occasion, when his party was informed on, his hideout was ringed by the craters of thirty-two bombs.[3] Tati tells on a

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[1] London Missionary Society, Report, 1945, p.37.

[2] Lutheran Herald, November 4th, 1944, p.361.

[3] Australasian Record, July 10th, 1950, p.4.

teacher-friend a story which greatly amused his fellow fugitives. His friend was called "the teacher who prayed with his eyes open".

> While the bombs were falling he prayed as he had never prayed before, and loud enough for all to hear. At the same time he kept his eyes on the falling bombs trying if possible to get out of their way.[1]

A further factor in dispersing school populations was the call by the Allies for men to work on the labour lines for all-out war effort. Bigger lads and the teachers themselves were urgently wanted in many places.[2]

The closing of schools due to wholesale destruction of buildings was by no means unusual throughout the whole of New Guinea and along the north coast of Papua. Schools, school equipment and school gardens shared the common lot of all establishments in the fighting zone down to the simple possessions of the native villager. The first post-war Annual Report placed on record:

> The devastation caused by modern weapons is so well known as scarcely to merit emphasis in this Report, other than perhaps to say that in those areas where land fighting occurred and in those attacked from the air while occupied by the enemy no pre-war installation or establishment remained when the 'cease fire' was sounded. To the devastation caused by active combat has to be added the damage caused by the construction of military establishments, camps, aerodromes, etc., ancillary to active combat.

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[1] ibid.

[2] For example, see J.R. Andrew, "Papua", The Missionary Review, November, 1946, p.10.

> Lastly, there has to be mentioned in particular the damage done to the property of the indigenous population - their garden lands, villages, homes and canoes;...
> Thousands lost their all in the ebb and flow of advancing armies, and in consequence were forced to subsist on what could be found in the jungle.[1]

An illustration of the complete devastation of mission station plant in the combat zone can be found in the appearance of the Anglican station at Gona, the first and last area held by Japan on the mainland of Papua. Driven back from Kokoda the Japanese resisted the onslaught of the Allies right on the mission grounds in the last weeks of 1942 and the first of 1943. Bishop Strong pointed out that "there remained only of what had been before, three things, the Station Cross, the Predella upon which the Altar had stood in the former Church of all Soul's Gona, and the stump of the Font".[2] A similar situation pertained at the Lutheran school at Amron, near Madang. What had not been destroyed by bombs had been dismantled by the Japanese for rebuilding elsewhere. "Absolute, total destruction had been visited on this educational institution of our Church", wrote Lutheran Dr. Theile, after his post-war visit, "Native leadership, pastors and teachers, had been trained there, and now, what remained? A concrete floor, a cistern and some tropical trees!" [3]

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, (Roneoed), 1945-1946, p.1.

[2] P.N.W. Strong, op. cit., p.73.

[3] Lutheran Herald, January 20th, 1945, p.26.

Where mission schools were not subjected to the evacuation of village populations and building devastation they generally suffered from lack of essential supplies before the War had been going for long, so that even those schools most safely situated were generally subject to closure at some time during the hostilities. The London Missionary Society school at Orokolo, helpfully placed at the head of the Gulf of Papua, reported after twelve months of war little effect upon mission life. They obviously were expecting problems, however:

> A letter from Rev. S.H. Dewdney, of Orokolo, written in January and received in April, gives the news that things are not so very far from normal. Educational and medical work continues and will continue so long as any supplies remain.[1]

The shortage of supplies hit all missions eventually and seriously hampered rehabilitation efforts after 1945.

Five main immediate effects of World War II upon mission education in Papua and New Guinea have been noted: the creation of difficulty in moving mission personnel, the raising of the cost of essential supplies, the removal of European leadership from the schools, the thrusting of authority upon national leaders, and the general closing down of the great majority of mission schools. With the possible exception of the fourth effect (to do with national leadership) these would be regarded as greatly detrimental to the work of the schools.

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[1] London Missionary Society, Chronicle, July, 1943, p.92.

in carrying out their immediate programme. Cause for deep concern as they were, these results were by no means as serious as the far-reaching effects of war and rehabilitation which will be examined in the final section of this chapter. Before this the story of rebuilding the mission system needs to be told.

Rebuilding Mission Education (1945-1951).

The rehabilitation of mission education in the face of generally wholesale destruction and deterioration of buildings, of serious depletion of the work force, of a build-up of children re-established with their families in village life and now clamouring for an education,[1] and of alarming disruption of the teacher-development process, was of necessity a demanding and many-sided affair. For example, the secretary of the Seventh-day Adventist mission board saw the challenge as one of the greatest in the experience of his church: "Now that the tide of invasion has been rolled back a stupendous task lies before us. The work of rehabilitation has only just begun".[2] With his mission's fleet of four ships gone, all mission establishments devastated or under disrepair and all of the training schools

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[1] vide infra, this chapter, final section.

[2] Australasian Record, October 14th, 1946, p.6.

destroyed he confided in his constituency: "...we have never faced a greater task in our history".

The work of rehabilitation was to commence with a return of the available European staff to encourage the native teachers left in charge, the villagers and the students, and to survey the situation. Then money, building supplies and builders had to be made available preparatory to the actual erection of general mission premises and classrooms. As well bush had to be cleared and gardens planted. A further vital task in the programme of rebuilding was to find personnel to man the classrooms in the face of teachers lost by death, and of a training system out of gear for three or more years. As well mission educators had to rehabilitate their system professionally in the light of the expectations of a vigorous and hopeful, newly-appointed Government Department of Education.

The Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (A.N.G.A.U.) "principal agency of military government in the Territories"[1] co-operated in allowing mission personnel to return as the military situation would allow. This meant that missionaries had returned to some parts of the Territory while others were undergoing heavy war action. War in Papua was over as was noted earlier, by

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946, Introduct

early 1943. By September of that year a limited number of European missionaries was allowed to resume responsibilities in Papua.[1] By April 1945 the New Guinea Highlands and most of the coastal areas of the New Guinea mainland were cleared.[2] Southern New Britain was reopened by June 1945[3] while northern New Britain was not available until after the Japanese capitulation up till which time Rabaul and parts of New Ireland were under enemy occupation.

Understandably there was considerable variation in the time taken to rebuild the mission educational work of the various sections of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The generally unscarred London Missionary Society could report a return to fairly normal conditions as early as 1947:

> The Papuan mission is well on the way to recovering from the effects of invasion and military administration. Civil Administration has been restored, dispersed populations have come back to their former habitations, and institutions have started work again.
> The return of the launches, that had been commandeered by the military authorities, has been a great help in the mobility of missionaries.[4]

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[1] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Australasian Union Conference, Executive Committee Minutes, September 1st, 1943.

[2] Lutheran Herald, April 14th, 1945, p.123.

[3] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, op. cit., June 26th, 1945, p.868.

[4] London Missionary Society, Report, 1947, pp.30,32.

The longest and worst affected area was that at Rabaul. There, by September, 1952, the Methodist Mission still had to report that its pre-War levels had not been regained.[1] The work of rebuilding the George Brown Training College was delayed until mid-1954.[2]

The Anglican Church received a serious set-back in its rehabilitation programme on January 21st, 1951, when Mt. Lamington erupted and tragically destroyed over 3,000 Papuans and the staff and buildings of the new Martyrs' School at Sangara. The disaster occurred in the area where the Anglican martyrs had been lost at the time of the Japanese offensive at Gona in August, 1942.[3]

Some indication of the year of general rehabilitation of mission education work in Papua and New Guinea can be found in a study of pre-War and post-War figures for enrolment at mission schools in New Guinea. These were as indicated in the accompanying figure (Figure 7). The precise enrolments for 1948 and 1949 were 50,920 and 64,516 respectively by comparison with 65,598 in 1940. This means that mission schools were catering for virtually as many pupils in 1949 as they had in 1940 and that by

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[1] The Missionary Review, September 1952, p.12.

[2] ibid., August, 1954, p.16.

[3] A.B.M. Review, February 1st, 1951, p.21 and ibid., March 1st, 1951, pp.24-27.

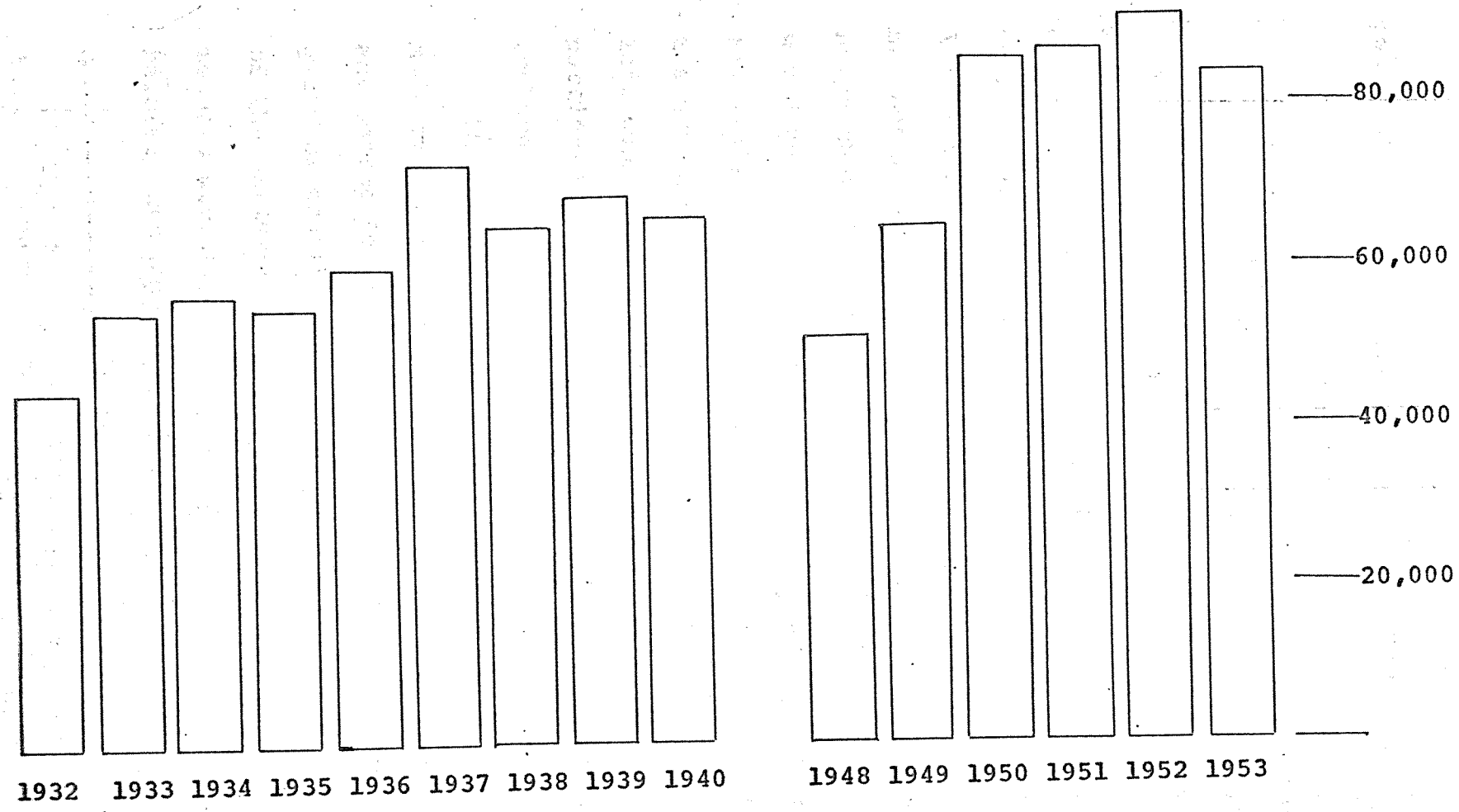

Figure 7: Pre-war and Post-war Mission School Enrolments in New Guinea.

Statistics compiled from Annual Reports.

1950 they were teaching as many (and more) native pupils as they had ever taught. The missions had needed five years to restore the school accommodation situation which existed in the 1930's. Interestingly, the Government regarded these same five years in its own educational work and its educational leadership of missions as experimental.[1] By 1952 the Education Department was ready to lay down the most demanding framework of educational legislation and regulation which Papua and New Guinea had seen. Even prior to 1950 the missions were becoming aware that the former optimistic pattern of the 1930's would be difficult to regain. Before movement is made to the final section of this chapter to note how some of the guide-lines for the new pattern of development were laid down, some attention should be given to the way particular problems of educational rehabilitation were tackled by the missions.

Finance for mission educational rehabilitation was made available in several significant ways. One important source for raising extra money was the voluntary gifts of church members and of the public. The plight of the native peoples under war conditions led church members generally to contribute to missions as never before. The Australian Board of Missions* which had

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[1] W.C. Groves, "Second Reading Speech on the Education Ordinance", Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Legislative Council Debates, October 17th, 1952, p.3.

* For the Anglican Church.

experienced considerable difficulty through the years in balancing its budget reported for 1942-43 a "phenomenal financial year" a record for any year in Australian Board of Missions' history - "with but few exceptions every diocese" had "over-given its quota".[1]

During the War, stories sent and brought back from Papua and New Guinea of the heroism and genuine worth and nobility of the product of the mission school enhanced the mission work in the eyes of the people of the homeland. Non-church-goers everywhere read of the "Fuzzy-Wuzzy Angels" who guided lost Allied airmen out of the jungle and carried the wounded to safety. The Bishop of North Queensland wrote to the Bishop of New Guinea in 1943:

> So far as I know, there is no mission in the whole of history that has had such direct and striking testimony borne to it, by so many and such unlikely witnesses as the Australian soldiers, of the power of Christian Faith in the souls of primitive people.[2]

It is to be expected that the emotional nature of the situation led to an over-idealising of the Papua and New Guinea native, but the fact remains that he and the missions which he frequently represented received much generous acclaim.

An American newspaper the Vallejo "Times Herald" reflected in its columns during 1944 a changing attitude

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[1] A.B.M. Review, July 1st, 1943, p.93.

[2] ibid., August 1st, 1943, p.121.

of the public towards missionary effort brought about as a result of the War. An article entitled "American Fighting Men Benefit from Missionaries" read in part:

> ...natives, trained by missionaries rescued forced-down fliers, treated their wounds, fed them, nursed them, and eventually returned them to safety. ...The American public owes a great debt to gratitude to the churches of this country and to the missionaries who served those churches, not only for the Christianizing of thousands upon thousands of fierce tribesmen in hundreds of islands, but because these islanders have saved - thanks to training by missionaries - hundreds of American lives.[1]

The following statistics (Figure 8) illustrate the way church members and public alike responded to the need for rehabilitation in mission lands. They are for the Seventh-day Adventist Church which conducts a weekly campaign in its churches for support of missions and a yearly public solicitation campaign called "Appeal for Missions". Seventh-day Adventist Church membership in Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific stood at 20,378 in 1940, and had grown to 28,656 by 1950.[2] It is of interest to note that between 1942 and 1944 - the years of fiercest fighting - gifts received both within the Seventh-day Adventist Church and from the public rose by approximately 30% as against increases of approximately 10% for all other two year periods up

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[1] Australasian Record, June 26th, 1944, p.8.

[2] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Secretary's Department, Vital Statistics, 1927-1947, p.79 and ibid., 1948-1956, p.20.

	Gifts Within the Seventh-day Adventist Church for Foreign Missions	Gifts Solicited by the Seventh-day Adventist Church from the Public for Foreign Missions
	£	£
1940	23768	16979
1941	25085	18704
1942	29907	18104
1943	24491	24173
1944	39535	31546
1945	39540	32458
1946	40230	34743
1947	43048	37054
1948	48031	47125
1949	55465	56569
1950	64596	64183[1]

Figure 8: Gifts within, and Solicited by, the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia for Missions, 1940-1950.

to 1947. The increases during the demanding rehabilitation years were even greater.[2]

These gifts were not solely for missions in Papua and New Guinea but they reflect, it is expected, a growing interest in this foremost area of Australian responsibility in the Pacific, and a growing willingness to support it financially.

The other important source of funds for the rehabilitation of mission educational work was the Government. By 1943 the Military Administration was paying compensation to missions for "losses...and for stores and goods that

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[1] J.K. Irvine, Letter to T.G. Lloyd, recd. April 16th,196
Statistics specially prepared from records of Sec. Dept., Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australia.

[2] Note that the figures are taken to indicate a growth of interest during the period and not the relative value of the gifts at 1940 and 1950.

were requisitioned".[1] When the civil administration took over it showed its understanding of the missions' financial need by paying out rehabilitation grants to the various missions for educational purposes. In 1948-49 the grant was made the more impressive by the addition of monies paid to the missions by the Commonwealth Government for the training of mature natives in various lines of practical work. (This was under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme - or C.R.T.S.). The first three years of post-War Government grants to missions were as follows - (Figure 9):

	Papua	New Guinea	Total
1945-46	$ 6,522		
1946-47	$ 12,000	$ 13,000	$ 25,000
1947-48	$ 38,000	$ 43,500	$ 81,500
1948-49	$ 89,200	$126,300	$215,500*

* $129,300 was for C.R.T.S. Services.[2]

Figure 9: Grants to Missions in Papua and New Guinea, 1946-1949.

The problem of finding sufficient teachers for the mission school classrooms was more acute after World War II than at any other time. This was due to the

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[1] Lutheran Herald, November 6th, 1943, p.363.

[2] Statistics compiled from the Annual Reports for both Territories.

loss of European personnel, the three-year break in native teacher training and the intimations received early in the rehabilitation phase that it would be necessary for the qualifications of native teachers to be raised.[1] The problem of teacher shortage was approached from several directions. Pre-war teachers working on Administration labour lines were applied for and were readily regained,[2] and training schools were brought into action again as soon as suitable students could be found. Improved training institutions were planned for and established as soon as funds permitted.[3] The most important means, however, for tackling the immediate post-War teacher shortage was the bringing in of additional ex-patriate European teachers, especially from Australia and New Zealand. Both Protestant and Catholic Missions made calls for lay teachers, at times volunteering for a short while.[4] Just prior to World

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[1] vide infra, final section of this chapter.

[2] For example, see Australasian Record, August 21st, 1944, p.4.

[3] For example, see Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Australasian Union Conference, Executive Committee Minutes, July 29th, 1947, p.510.

[4] For example, see A.B.M. Review, June 1st, 1948, p.83. "The Bishop says how greatly he welcomed the Board's decision at its meeting last November to appeal for temporary short service teachers as well as for permanent teacher missionaries".

War II the Catholic Church considered that "lay sisters" would have a wrong influence in their schools and ought not to be used.[1] They noticed however "the tremendous use made of ... volunteers by Protestant missionaries" and because of serious need used lay workers of both sexes.[2] The Catholic Church in the post-war era saw "qualified lay teachers, volunteering for a number of years of service" as the answer to the Pacific missions' "cry for help in the work of education".[3]

In the post-war rehabilitation era in Papua and New Guinea it was the Administration which took the lead in re-orientating the professional side of the work of mission education. Both future Government education and mission education benefited from a survey made by the Administration's Education Department soon after it was formed:

> The first problem facing the new Department of Education was to survey the Territory for what was needed in the way of education. Some half a dozen European teachers from pre-war days returned, and each was allocated a region and charged with the task of surveying the long-range educational needs of his area.[4]

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[1] Rt. Rev. Monsignor Thomas, "Lay Teachers' Role in the Missions", Catholic Missions, October 1955, p.9.

[2] ibid.

[3] ibid.

[4] R.C. Ralph, "Education in Papua and New Guinea", New South Wales Department of Education, The Education Gazette, December 1st, 1966, p.315.

Even before the termination of hostilities the missions were feeling a keen sense of need regarding the professional side of their education work. Foremost in creating this need was a change in the natives themselves. A Methodist leader reported in 1944:

> That governments can help missions and missions help governments, goes without saying; but we, as missionary bodies must have clear ideas as to the implications of this relationship, and much careful investigation and detailed study must be given to the problem...We believe that governments are sympathetic, as never before, with the work and aims of the missionary; but there will need to be much careful experimenting and patient endeavour before we discover a satisfactory basis of co-operation.
> Some things are becoming clearer in regard to missionary effort. The first is that we must obtain a more capable and better-equipped type of missionary.
> Another point that must not be overlooked is the change that is obviously taking place in the native mind...
> ...The old subservience to the white man is at an end.[1]

This desirable basis for co-operation between Administration and missions in education was first sought for on the initiative of the Government. The earliest post-War Administration-Missions Conference was called in Sydney, in June, 1946 by the Minister for External Territories.[2] A "general outline of the Government's proposals" for "Mission participation in education" in

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[1] J.W. Burton, "The Shape of Things to Come", The Missionary Review, March 6th, 1944, p.3.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946 (Roneoed), p.20.

Papua and New Guinea was given. This introductory session was followed by an important Administration-Missions Conference in Port Moresby, October 9-14, 1946.[1] All of the Christian missions operating schools in the Territory were represented. These were: Anglican, Roman Catholic, London Missionary Society, Methodist, Lutheran, Seventh-day Adventist, Kwato Extension, Unevangelised Fields Mission, Bamu River Mission.

Important communications to the missions included statements of the relations which were to exist between the two bodies in education, of the respective functions of the Administration and the missions, and of the types of schools which were to be developed. With regard to relations between the two groups, the Government indicated that it was willing to give official recognition to the "secular educational activities" of the missions which would be required "to provide instruction at certain prescribed standards and be subject to Government inspection. The Government was to make grants-in-aid to assist the missions to meet the standards which it laid down.[2]

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[1] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Proceedings of the Conference between the Representatives of Government and Missions on Educational, Health, and Agricultural Aspects of Native Welfare and Development, held at Port Moresby, Papua, 9th-14th October, 1946, p.4. (Minutes held at House of Assembly Archives, Port Moresby).

[2] ibid.

Details of the precise functions of the two bodies were as follows:

Government

i To exercise control by regulation and inspection, over all secular teaching undertaken by missions.
ii To provide advice and guidance in all branches of education included in the Government plan.
iii To assist in the provision of essential equipment.
iv To assist in the maintenance of secular educational staff, native and European.
v To provide for approval and registration of mission schools and teachers which conform with Government requirements.

Missions

i To comply with Government regulations.
ii To provide suitably qualified secular educational staff.
iii To co-operate with the Government in fitting all mission secular schools and training institutions into the general educational plan.
iv To conform to standards of instruction and other requirements prescribed by the Government.[1]

In order to maintain a close degree of co-operation in these matters the Government pointed out that "each major mission" was to appoint an Education Liaison Officer whose salary would be paid by the Government.

The types of native schools proposed by the Director of Education at the Conference were as follows:

i Sub-Primary-Village Vernacular Schools.
ii Primary-Village High Grade Schools.
iii Higher Primary-Area Schools.
iv Secondary - Central Training Colleges and Technical Colleges.[2]

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid.

Types i, ii, and iv were based upon the pre-War three-school system operated by the missions. Type iii was based upon an adaptation, for Papua and New Guinea social-educational conditions, of the Tasmanian Area School.[1] Missions maintained their sense of direction in professional matters in education in succeeding years by observing further Departmental memoranda and by attending Conferences in later years - May, 1947 and November 1949.

There is good evidence in the mission literature of the 1947-51 period for a prompt response to the professional lead provided by the Government in education. The following extract from Anglican writings illustrates the efforts put forward directly to allow the mission to come up to the predicted new standards:

> In view of the plans of the Civil Administration to develop medical and educational work among the natives on a much higher level than formerly, and its willingness to co-operate with, and to accept the co-operation of, the missions working in the Territory, the conference spent much time in the consideration of the ways in which these departments of the mission's activities could be brought up to the new standard required by the Administration.

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[1] The Tasmanian Area School up to World War II was a centralised institution for secondary education, generally of a non-academic type, drawing its students from a naturally fairly homogeneous area and catering for the special interests of the location (especially by way of rural industry) as well as for the general educational needs of the adolescent. See Tasmanian Education Department, The Tasmanian Area School, Hobart: Government Printer, 1942, especially pp.11, 12, 41, 43.

> Special committees appointed to consider these matters brought in excellent reports, formulating sound progressive policies which were adopted by the conference. The establishment of a secondary school at Sangara was warmly approved...[1]

Mission response to Government leadership in the professional side of education also included a willingness to look critically at the existing state of affairs. Methodist mission teacher Walkden Brown (with two bachelor degrees and a diploma of education) commented in connection with the setting up of a native "high school" in the Papuan islands:

> I have more than ever realised, since working with these lads, the inadequacy of the standard of the entrants to teacher-pastor training. It is our very fervent hope that many of them will enter this training after their High School course.[2]

It should be noted that mission initiative on the professional side of education was not completely lacking during the rehabilitation period. Syllabi for the village schools in particular were prepared, and renewed attention was paid to school inspection.[3] An innovation which in view of the situation at the outset of the War no doubt appeared timely was the recruiting of native assistants in school supervision. A report by one of these, Wari Kai, of the Seventh-day Adventist mission appeared as follows:

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[1] A.B.M. Review, September 1st, 1947, p.134..

[2] The Missionary Review, June, 1951, p.13.

[3] For example, see Australasian Record, July 3rd, 1950, p.2.

> Plenty seats for pupils, but need to sit together. There are two blackboards. The old building nearly fall over, the teacher must build a new school house this year.
> This teacher is honestly trying to work hard and is appreciated in the village. He is a good missionary.
> All grades count very well, but addition and subtraction are weak. The teacher must try some more drill.[1]

However much such a move towards giving nationals greater responsibility appealed to the imagination, it became apparent in the light of later developments that whereas nationals of the level of education of Wari might have fitted into the evolution of mission education in pre-War days the change of direction occasioned by the War had ruled them out of serious reckoning in the development of the new type of professionalism called for after the War.

What was this new approach to education in Papua and New Guinea which was so clearly foreshadowed during the rehabilitation years? In the first instance it was a swing away from "natural" broad development of the masses to accelerated development of those within access of a more sophisticated type of schooling; further, education in English was to be a far more deliberate and imperative goal; as well, the training qualifications of the mission teacher (and it was for the native teacher

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[1] ibid., October 2nd, 1950, p.4.

that the change was to be the most dramatic) were to be considerably raised along academic lines. In brief, mission education as an entirely mission-oriented and mission-controlled means of developing the religious, social and intellectual lives of the people was being phased out. The broad vernacular programme was being replaced by a system under dual Government-mission control with the Government calling the tunes which it chose in the professional area (and, by the way, paying a more and more significant part of the "piper's" fee) and with the missions remaining in the field of education because they considered that, despite the newly imposed requirements, mission education was still the best available means of providing for religious, social and intellectual development and for the provision of personnel to provide future leadership for the schools and village communities. In defining the direction which mission education took in the post-War era and in assessing its success it is important to realise that such pressures had been brought to bear upon it that it was now expected to satisfy the objectives of the missions themselves and the objectives of a Government Administration under pressure from three sides: the native peoples, the Commonwealth parliament, and, especially,

the Trusteeship Council of the newly formed United Nations with an apparent passion for the development of an educated elite capable of taking over the political control of the Territory.

The forces which brought about this post-War revolution in mission education had their roots in the 1940-1946 period. These important influences will now be isolated.

The Far Reaching Influences of the War on Mission Education.

The War in Papua and New Guinea was a time of remarkable change - change in the outlook of the native peoples; change in the constituency, resources and procedures of the missions themselves; change in the policies of the Administration; and change in the communications possibilities within the Territory. Transition in these areas was sufficiently profound to turn the optimistic, independent missions of the 1930's into comparatively dependent bodies seeking Government direction and financial aid and resorting at times, to defence of their earlier approaches. The four significant areas of change given above will be noted in turn.

The first important influence of the War on mission education was the change it brought to the outlook of the people. An early effect was one of shock. The non-native associates of the people who before had admonished them away from bloodshed and immorality now killed on

a fearful scale before the natives' eyes and at times offered them money for the prostitution of their sisters.[1] There appeared soon after an outlook of materialism. This developed under the liberality of the Australian soldiers, under the influence of the heretofore unheard-of wages offered by the military for work on the labour lines, and under the general apparent degree of affluence in the face of such surplus commodities as military clothing and food. One society reported:

> Missionary after missionary writes of a new wave of money seeking materialism, the get-rich-quickly spirit. As a sympton of this gambling is more of a rage than ever. 'The gambling bug', says one missionary, 'is liable to attack even the youngest of Papuans and it occasionally happens that quite a junior class is discovered with the whole available stock of pencils in the possession of a single scholar. A capital levy is then imposed and the wealth of the community re-distributed on socialistic lines'.[2]

An upsurge of materialism was followed by a clamour for what the native people believed was the key to gaining the material advantages of life: a more-advanced education and above all an education in English. They had never been able to go and see the marvels of twentieth century life, but when those marvels were brought to them so forcefully and insistently they were prompt to recognize them and discerning enough to see how they

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[1] For example, see London Missionary Society, Chronicle, October, 1944, p.119.

[2] London Missionary Society, Report, 1950, p.32.

might be obtained. Evidence for the new cry for education commenced while the War was still on and came from every part of the Territory. Seventh-day Adventist Missionary Campbell reported in mid-1944:

> In letters just to hand from Omana of Bouganville and Simi of Mussau, both state the natives are crowding about them, something they have not known before. The village people are attending worship, and the young people going to school in a manner they have never done previously.[1]

By the end of 1944 Methodist Missionary Bartlett indicated that the attendance at one of his schools "increased from ninety to two hundred and fifty when it was known that English was being taught by a white man".[2] On into the rehabilitation period the accounts from all quarters had a common thread running through them - natives "queued up"[3] for education; young minds with "hunger for learning";[4] boys and girls, young men and young women "call for knowledge".[5]

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[1] A.J. Campbell, "Good News from Inland New Guinea", Australasian Record, June 12th, 1944, p.3.

[2] H.K. Bartlett, "The Changing Scene in Papua", The Missionary Review, December 5th, 1944, pp.4,5.

[3] A.B.M. Review, August 1st, 1947, p.115.

[4] London Missionary Society, Chronicle, August, 1947, p.157.

[5] Australasian Record, October 27th, 1947, p.3.

The insistent voice of the people calling for improved education quickly reached the ears of the Administration. In various parts of the Territory District Officers and the Administrator himself received "deputations and direct representations" on the subject.[1]

It is characteristic of the rehabilitation period (when the call by the natives for education in English became most apparent) that not only did the natives want an education in English but that they were coming to see the Government as the most likely source for such an education.[2] At the Administrations-Missions Conference in May, 1947 the two groups were able to commiserate with each in that they were both faced with the satisfying of the new and persistent demand for improved education. Groves stated at that time in his introductory remarks:

> The greatest of these (problems), I would say, is the widespread and almost clamorous desire of the natives for education...
> It is a stupendous task...
> and one which will require the maximum use of our combined resources, yours and ours, in the back of a well-conceived, long range plan.[3]

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946 (Roneoed), p.20.

[2] For example, see W.C. Groves, Data paper on native education, op. cit., Section on Papua, p.4.

[3] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Minutes of the Conference of Representatives of Missions and Administration, May 21st to 28th, 1947, held at Government House, Port Moresby, p.1. (Minutes held at House of Assembly Archives, Port Moresby).

For the purposes of this study it is important to observe that the brand of education for which the people were calling was not the village-vernacular, socially and culturally adapted type which the missions of New Guinea were giving in the 1930's and which drew praise from the then - anthropologist Groves. It was closer to what the mission district schools of Papua were providing for examination by a visiting inspector and to what the Government school at Malaguna had provided up to 1940. The natives wanted a European-type education.[1]

The effect (of the natives' desire for a "higher" type of education) on mission education was to lead the missions to strive to satisfy their constituencies with a type of education which in the village schools they were ill-equipped to provide; and it should be remembered that the bulk of mission education was done at the village school level where the teachers were generally proficient only in the vernacular.

The second important influence of the War on mission education was the change it brought to the missions themselves. By the close of the rehabilitation period there had (by comparison with the pre-War situation) been a change in the proportion of nationalities comprising the mission personnel, there had been a change in the

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[1] For example, see R. Abel, "Culture and Curriculum", Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Education Department, essay submitted for S Teachers' Course, 1957, p.1. An interesting case is developed for the arguement that the "factor most destructive of Papuan culture today could easily be the rising standard of education".

ability to balance mission budgets independently of outside assistance, and there had developed a new flexibility in the missions' attitude towards the roles of mission education. The first and third of these changes within the missions apply particularly to the situation in New Guinea. The three changes will be noted in turn.

The balance of the various nationalities of the non-indigenous missionaries underwent considerable change due to the war. Understandably, the former German territory whose mission personnel had been little affected by the defeat of the Germans in 1918, would have its German population threatened at the outbreak of hostilities with Germany in 1939. For example, for some years up to 1945 the Lutheran Mission in New Guinea was concerned whether it would be allowed to re-employ non-British subjects.[1] A study of the nationality figures for the non-indigenous population for the years 1939, 1940, 1948 and 1950 is of interest. (Fig.10

	British	Other English Speaking	German	Other Non-Eng. Speaking	Total Eng. Speaking	Total Non-Eng. Speaking	Grand Total
1939	95	43	420	131	138 (20%)	551 (80%)	689
1940	106	57	374	139	163 (24%)	513 (76%)	676
1948	170	48	100	45	218 (61%)	145 (39%)	363
1950	181	117	157	77	298 (57%)	234 (43%)	532[2]

Figure 10: Nationalities of the Non-indigenous Staffs of the Missions in New Guinea.

[1] F.O. Thiele, "Lutheran Mission New Guinea", Lutheran Herald, January 6th, 1945, p.10.

[2] Statistics taken from the Annual Reports for the Territory of New Guinea.

The marked swing away from the number and high proportion of non-English speaking, non-indigenous mission staff members is quite significant in the light of a conclusion drawn in the chapter on the development of the professional side of mission education in the 1930's: namely, that one factor, then, in the unwillingness of the missions to come into line with the Administration's suggestions for a mission-conducted, Government-subsidized and Government-supervised system of education was the predominance of non-English speaking personnel on the mission stations in New Guinea.[1] The change towards a predominantly English-speaking group after the War would, on the basis of improved communication, enhance the prospects of the missions' willingly accepting the Government's re-introduced terms in education.

A further change that had occurred within the make-up of the missions' platform was their apparent inability to cope with the financial problems of rehabilitation as distinct from their earlier ability to pay their way financially.[2] Under conditions of wholesale destruction of mission property and the prospects of a huge cost in immediate rebuilding, the missions were willing to accept Government funds and in so doing set a precedent

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[1] vide supra, chapter five.

[2] vide infra, this section.

of dependence upon grants-in-aid.[1] While the earliest grants were direct payments for rehabilitation purposes, the terms for receiving subsequent grants were gradually made more demanding so that the setting of the grants formula became an effective instrument in the hands of the Administration in leading mission education to ever-closer conformity with rising Government-determined standards.[2] The following table indicates the way the Papua and New Guinea Administration used the grants-in-aid system first to make it possible for mission education to move towards a desired standard and secondly to make the desired standard highly probable by gradually confining the grants to the higher brackets of qualification:

1946-47	Lump sum amounts distributed to the missions in proportion with their educational effort.[3]		
1949-50	$800 to $1000 paid per annum for each European teacher or Education Liaison Officer. Payments made also on the basis of school enrolments. For every fifty students in attendance at		
	i	Village schools	$20 p.a.
	ii	Non-boarding intermediate schools	$40 p.a.
	iii	Boarding intermediate schools	$100 to $120 p.a.
	iv	Teacher Training Colleges	$200 p.a.[4]

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[1] For example, see Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1947-1948, p.xIi and The Missionary Review, March, 1948, p.11.

[2] vide infra, chapter seven for special consideration of this Administration approach.

[3] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1947-1948, p.

[4] ibid., 1949-1950, pp.66,67.

1956-57	$800 p.a. for each registered European teacher. $120 p.a. for each registered, indigenous 'B' class teacher. $80 p.a. for each registered 'A' class teacher. $40 p.a. maintenance allowance for students doing the one-year teacher training course. Certain class equipment to be provided. Payment of allowance for 'A' class certificate teachers to be reviewed with a view to its termination after 1958. Grant for vernacular schools to be retained for 1957 as for 1956. Grant for vernacular schools to be reduced by one-third during 1958. Grant for vernacular schools to be discontinued after 1958.[1]
1960-61	$800 p.a. for each registered European teacher. $240 p.a. for each indigenous 'C' class teacher. $200 p.a. for each 'B' class teacher. $160 p.a. for each 'A' class teacher. $60 p.a. maintenance allowance for students doing the one-year teacher training course. $40 p.a. maintenance allowance for each student enrolled in standards 7 and 8 at approved post-primary schools.[2]

Coupled with the exercising of its right under the Education Ordinance to determine standards of registration of schools, the Administration effectively used the grants-in-aid system to accelerate the development of the professional side of mission education along the lines which had been settled upon.

A final change that occurred within the missions themselves during the period of War and subsequent

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1956-1957, pp.77,78.

[2] ibid., 1960-1961, p.116.

rehabilitation was a willingness to work along other than purely vernacular lines at the primary levels. Important reasons for this change can be found in the clamour of the native peoples for an education in English[1] and the different outlook of the post-War Administration regarding education from the outlook of the pre-War Administration.[2] The staffing of the schools with teachers able to teach in English was one of the conditions of school registration or recognition under the new Education Ordinance and its subsequent regulations.[3] Most of the missions aimed to eliminate the purely vernacular schools (termed "Exempt" after 1957). Two, however, sought to pursue the vernacular approach with renewed vigour alongside the growing system of registered and recognized schools - these were the Lutheran mission in New Guinea and the London Missionary Society in Papua.[4] [5]

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[1] vide supra, pp.245f.

[2] vide infra, pp.252ff.

[3] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Regulations Made under the Education Ordinance 1952-1957, No.13 of 1958, p.6.

[4] M.S. Helbig, Letter to Director of Education, October 31st, 1964, Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Education Department, Education Advisory Board Correspondence.

[5] R. Beevers, loc. cit.

The third important and far-reaching influence which the War had on mission education was the change it brought to the policies and practices of the Administration with regard to education - and mission education in particular. The change in Administration outlook was less obvious in Papua where during the 1930's the Government had been fostering education in English in mission district schools especially.[1] The change was very apparent, on the other hand, with regard to the New Guinea area.

Prior to the War the New Guinea Administration took a cautious non-disruptive attitude towards mission education; as the following extract indicates they considered that a programme of education for the natives should have the teaching of English as one of its aims, on the other hand the Administration was unwilling to unsettle the pattern of development in mission education which was emerging - a religious-social-practical-cultural approach which gave treatment as well to the basic skills. The last Administration statement on education prior to the War read in part:

> It is not desirable that this phase of mission work should be disturbed by the untimely introduction of a scheme of education which has not been scrutinized most closely to ensure that there will be a minimum interruption in the present developmental work.

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[1] vide, supra, chapter five.

> Having regard then, to all the local conditions, it is not the purpose of the Administration to formulate a definite policy in connexion with native education before the matter has been fully investigated. It is essential that true foundations be laid if success is to attend any policy so formulated, and it is realised that progress must be slow if there is to be any definite achievement. The Administration considers that any system of education should aim at the teaching of English...[1]

While the need for English was stressed as having a place in the overall programme of education favoured by the Administration it was not made an inflexible requirement. As the pre-War Government statement on education continued it indicated a undoubted sympathy with the village-based school system of the missions:

> Development must necessarily be slow, but there is no doubt that progress is being made. By careful examination of local conditions it is anticipated that a system of education will be brought into being having for its objectives character development, health and hygiene, agriculture and gardening, industrial skill, knowledge of home economics and recreation, collateral with training in the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The preliminary stages will be covered in the village school during a five years (sic) course of study during which the native's mind should be developed to appreciate the possibilities of a new order of things but which will not take the native so far as to cause a disruptive influence in his general outlook on village life.[2]

Working in an understanding and tolerant atmosphere such as this the missions in New Guinea had been able to develop their existing resources in education optimistically and with a sense of growing confidence. The Education Department (post-War) could not continue to

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1937-1938, pp.45,46.

[2] ibid.

give the missions such a free hand in education.

During the rehabilitation period it became evident that the Administration's Education Department under strong leadership from Groves had formulated its objectives clearly and was ready to launch directly into the implementation of a carefully laid plan. The hesitancy of the pre-War days was no longer discernible. The immediate post-War plan had several important prominent features. There was a re-iteration of the social-cultural adaptation approach stressed so much in the 1930's and now the more necessary after the new widespread and impressive social contacts experienced by the natives during the War period:

> In general, education will seek to assist the native people in adjusting their mode of life to the changed environment and conditions resulting from the increasingly strong impact upon them of the European civilisation and culture...
> (A broad objective was) the development of the native people as a community within their own environment, including all aspects of native culture-arts, music, handcrafts, etc.[1]

As well there was a short-range plan to satisfy the immediate needs of the natives who had made special appeals during the closing stages of the War to be taught English.[2] It was intended that this should be an intensive programme conducted in a "limited number" of Government Central

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[1] ibid., 1947-1948, p.44.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946 (Roneoed) p.21.

Schools "staffed mainly by Europeans".[1] Finally, the newly-formed Education Department formulated a systematic plan to raise the standard of education in all native schools in the Territory. The Government planned to commit itself heavily to schooling in both Papua, where it had no schools before the War, and New Guinea, where it had conducted several schools drawing students from a wide area and specialising in the teaching of English.[2] The pattern of schooling, based largely upon the pre-War mission education approach, was to be obligatory for both Administration and mission schools (in fact, enforcement did not come until inspection for registration was conducted in the middle 1950's). Usefully defined levels of teaching work were indicated by a direction concerning the teaching and use of various languages. The types of native schools as outlined by Groves at the 1946 Missions-Administration Conference were firstly, Sub-primary Village Vernacular Schools where the native pupil was to be taught in his own language and to become literate in this vernacular tongue; secondly, Primary Village Higher Grade Schools where teaching in the vernacular was to continue and

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid., p.20.

the teaching of English as a subject was to be introduced (the level of English to be reached was to be equivalent to the existing Papuan Standard Three); thirdly, Higher Primary Area Schools where English was to be taught progressively and where instruction was to be in "limited English" (Area schools were all to be "under European teachers"); and, fourthly, Secondary Central Training Colleges where instruction was to be fully in English.[1] [2]

In what ways did these changes of Administration outlook present a challenge to the mission system of education during the rehabilitation period? Both the second and third features listed above were disturbing as far as mission traditional approaches were concerned. Government attention even to short-range English education would lead the native population to make comparisons of Administration education with mission education to the detriment of the latter. To justify their remaining in the field of education missions, understandably, might consider they should do something to match the Government's efforts to satisfy native calls for education in English. A further embarrassment to the missions

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[1] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Proceedings of the Conference between the Representatives of Government and Missions...9th to 14th October, 1946, op. cit., pp.2

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1947-1948, p.26.

in the Government's post-War plans in education was to come as a result of the Government's call for the staffing of the village higher schools with native teachers capable of teaching English as a subject of instruction, and for the staffing of the proposed Area Schools with European teachers.[1]

It is of interest to account as far as possible for the changes of Administration attitude to mission education from one of passive willingness in the 1930's to allow mission education to develop its vernacular approaches "naturally" to an attitude in the 1940's of positive and insistent leadership aiming deliberately towards ultimate literacy in English.[2] An important influence was undoubtedly the strong desire of the natives themselves for European-style education[3] which has already been noted. A further important factor, no doubt, was the change in the international situation after World War II. Australia prior to the War was answerable to the unassertive League of Nations for the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. After World War II Australia retained New Guinea (combining it now for

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[1] For example, see Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Bismark-Solomons Union Mission of Seventh-day Adventists, Minutes, in Australasian Record, February 13th, 1956, p.3.

[2] vide supra, under types of schools.

[3] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946, (Roneoed), pp.20, 21.

administrative purposes with Papua) but was now accountable to a relatively demanding Trusteeship Council of the United Nations containing, at times, members intent upon bringing dependent peoples quickly to political maturity and nationhood.[1] Such political maturity, of course, could come only by way of education and was considered best to be facilitated by an education in English.[2] Under insistent supervision of the Trusteeship Council the Administration was influenced to exert pressure on the missions to raise the standard of their education to one leading to literacy in English.[3]

A further important factor in accounting for the change from indecision in the New Guinea Administration prior to the War to assurance and conviction after the War, is undoubtedly the choice made in the selection of W.C. Groves as the first Director of Education. His basic plan of structuring education work had been worked out over many years and resulted from an impressive philosophical approach combined with practical research experience in the Territory. Although the plan Groves outlined in 1946 to the missions Conference gave somewhat

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1952-1953, p.99

[2] ibid., 1956-1957, p.109.

[3] ibid.

more stress to English than his 1930 recommendations outlined, there is clearly discernible in his writings of the 1930's the basis of later plans.[1]

The fourth (and last to be noted here) important and far-reaching influence of the War on mission education was the change it brought to the communications and transport systems of the country. Unlike the other three changes, which have been studied, this change did not increase the weight of the immediate load of the task to be tackled but rather it facilitated the bearing of both the old and the new burdens.

All forms of transport suitable to the Territory-road, sea and air - had been enhanced to meet the exigencies of war, and the post-War period benefited from the use of the improved and extended roadways, wharves and airstrips which remained when the military withdrew. The problem of isolation noted in an earlier chapter was minimised by an extended use of wireless and more frequent mail and travel services. Appreciation for the new facilities was expressed by a Catholic

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[1] For example, see especially W.C. Groves, Native Education and Culture-Contact in New Guinea, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1936, pp.117,118.

[2] Catholic Missions, May, 1946, p.4.

writer in the following terms:

> Rapidity of communication means multiplication of work and energy. Had St. Francis Xavier known the aeroplane and wireless telegraphy, he would not have had to spend three of his ten years of missionary life travelling by sea, nor wait nearly two years for replies to his Roman letters.[1]

The new transport facilities came at times as a surprise; Seventh-day Adventist missionary Boehm reported as follows on his return, after over three years' absence, to his station inland from Port Moresby close by the Kokoda Trail:

> A big army truck brought me and my goods up the steep mountain road to Bisiatabu. How strange it is to see so much motor traffic on the pass (where once was only a narrow track for pack horses and mules) that it has to be kept under control and one way traffic strictly maintained in certain parts.[2]

Following quickly on amazement at the changes in the communications system came a readiness to put the new facilities to use, e.g. the missions were prompt to hire aeroplanes for travel to outlying air-strips and later to make additional purchases of their own aeroplanes in several cases.[3] Extensive use of 'plane and

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[1] Catholic Missions, May, 1946, p.4.

[2] Australasian Record, May 28th, 1945, p.3.

[3] For example, see Australasian Record, December 8th, 1947, p.3. and ibid., July 20th, 1964, p.1.

boat travel was to make possible the centralising of higher primary, post-primary and training schools for each mission. In this way a limited highly trained staff could be made to serve a wide field in the mission area - a situation very much to be desired as the Administration raised its standards and suitable European teachers were difficult to obtain.

These then were the far-reaching influences on mission education during the period of War and rehabilitation: an awakening of the native people to the advantages of education in English which led the missions to be more sympathetic with the Administration's call for attention to English instruction and to look to the Administration for a lead in the providing of professional materials to meet the new educational demands; a change in the constituency, resources and approaches of the mission staff which made them more readily approachable (language-wise) by the Administration, more dependent on the Administration for financial aid and more ready to follow their lead educationally; a change in the policies and practices of the Administration resulting in a greater sense of urgency and a clearer sense of direction with regard to education, including the role of mission education; and an improvement in the communications and transport facilities of

the Territory which aided the missions in keeping up with the demands which the other changes had precipitated.

To keep in touch with the line of approach developed in the last chapter it ought to be asked: What progress was made in the development of the professional side of mission education during the period of War and rehabilitation? There was considerable effort put forth in the areas of supervision and preparation of courses (especially for the village school level)[1] and renewed interest was taken in providing better buildings and equipment and in improving methodology; however, during the period of rehabilitation the most important contributions to the development of the professional side of mission education (in the way in which it was to go) were to come from the Administration and were more inherent than apparent up until about 1952. These contributions to mission education were being shaped in the Administration's experimental period (especially at the Government's Sogeri school near Port Moresby)[2] in the form of new courses of study and procedures which in the following decade the Administration

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[1] See A.W. Peterson, "Progress of Christian Education in Papua", Australasian Record, July 3rd, 1950, p.2.

[2] vide infra, p. 263.

was to apply to the Territory's education work in general. To illustrate: by 1948 the Administration had completed the outlining of the subjects to be covered in all of the native schools[1] and had prepared a teacher training syllabus for its Sogeri school;[2] by 1950 it had completed and issued to the mission schools printed syllabi for native schools and for teacher training.[3] Equipped with tested syllabi and some useful experience in conducting an English-oriented educational programme the Education Department was prepared to influence the mission systems of education towards the most striking revolution the professional side of their work had seen. The following chapter studies the means by which the Administration effected this change in mission education work.

It should be borne in mind that, while the following chapter commencing with the year 1952 and the passing of the Education Ordinance deals with the most striking changes to be found in mission education over ninety years, the most significant forces operating to bring about these changes developed between 1942 and 1952 as

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1947-1948, p.4

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1947-1948, p.25.

[3] ibid., 1949-1950, p.27.

has been shown in this present chapter. The War and its aftermath were the prime factors of the revolution in mission education.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MISSION EDUCATION UNDER THE EDUCATION ORDINANCE (1952) THE TERMS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ORDINANCE AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF MISSION EDUCATION (1952-1962)

Papua and New Guinea's most important item of educational legislation, the Education Ordinance, 1952, was in the process of formation for a number of years. Called to office as the Director of Education for the combined Territory in the first year after the close of hostilities,[1] W.C. Groves' first tasks were to discover the educational needs of Papua and New Guinea and then to formulate a broadly outlined plan that would allow both the Administration and the missions to contribute to the satisfying of those needs. The more exacting task of detailing a "charter" for education in Papua and New Guinea that would stand up to the requirements of bodies as diverse as the religiously-oriented mission boards and the nationally-minded Trusteeship Council would benefit from some years of experience in the field. Groves stressed this point in his speech made in October, 1952 during the second reading of the Education Bill:

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[1] June, 1946.

> My first official paper outlining the Department's modus operandi clearly indicated that we would regard the first five years as an experimental period, during which we would study the educational and related needs of the Territory and the overall policy of the Administration into the pattern of which the educational organisation would be required to fit.[1]

Within four years of taking office Groves was speaking in terms of the "proposed Education Ordinance".[2] At the December, 1949, Administration-Missions Conference the missions received the impression from a speech by the Director of Education that the Ordinance would bring "compulsory education to New Guinea".[3] No doubt other lines of the proposed legislation were also emerging at that time. By the first part of 1952 Groves was able to show the draft of the Ordinance to representatives of the missions in Papua and New Guinea at a meeting chaired by the Assistant Administrator.[4] Points of view expressed at that time had some influence

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[1] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Legislative Council Debates, October 17th, 1952, p.3.

[2] Lutheran Herald, December 24th, 1949, p.413.

[3] ibid.

[4] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, op. cit., p.1.

upon the draft before it was sent to Canberra for approval.[1]

The Bill came up for its second reading in the Papua and New Guinea Legislative Council in October, 1952, and was eventually passed during 1953-1954.[2] Ultimately "the Education Ordinance 1952 came into effect on 1st March, 1955".[3] An understanding of its terms is of considerable interest in the light of the developments between 1932 and 1952 already studied.

The More Important Terms of the Education Ordinance 1952.

" The basic provision of the Education Ordinance 1952 is that the control and direction of secular education

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[1] ibid. It is not clear just what specific influence the mission representatives had upon the Bill at this meeting. The mission literature is not specific on the matter and Groves himself was vague in this regard in his speech: "The Chairman of this Conference was the Assistant Administrator, and I think it can be said that this Conference did have an influence upon the terms and provisions of the Bill as it now stands". That the missions were unaware of the demanding ways in which the terms of the new Ordinance were to be applied is attested to by the reaction of Bishop Strong (head of the Anglican Mission in New Guinea and a leading spokesman for the missions of the Territory) to the Government's decision in 1956 very largely to confine financial grants to those schools working towards literacy in English; he described it as the "most extraordinary, inexplicable and indefensible step taken so far in Administration policy". The Missionary Review, July, 1956, p.1.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1953-1954, p.54.

[3] ibid., 1954-1955, p.63.

in the Territory is the responsibility of the Administration". Such control was gained by way of provisions such as the following (Nine of the most important areas are chosen for the purposes of this study):

(i) The Administration has authority to conduct its own schools financed from its own funds.[2]

(ii) All non-government bodies (and this applied to missions especially) are not to conduct schools unless the Director has granted them either registration or recognition. In particular registration involved the provision of satisfactory physical conditions for the conducting of school, of adequately qualified teaching staff, and of a suitable curriculum. Recognition allowed for a standard somewhat lower than that for registration but involved the maintaining of a "reasonable standard of instruction in secular subjects".

(iii) The Director of Education has the right to "determine the language or languages of instruction to be used for secular education in a school or class of schools".

(iv) Non-government educating bodies may receive financial grants from Government funds to assist in the carrying out of their "educational functions", especially by way of the provision of staffing, buildings and equipment.

(v) The Administrator may make school attendance compulsory.

(vi) An Education Advisory Board including the Director of Education as chairman and including four representatives of non-government educating bodies shall be formed for the whole of the Territory, and this Board shall advise the Administrator on educational matters in the Territory.

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[1] ibid., 1953-1954, p.55.

[2] All of the provisions listed here have been taken from, Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Legislative Council, An Ordinance Relating to Education, No.121 of 1952.

(vii) District Education Committees may be formed in each Education District; they shall consist of up to five members one of whom shall be a representative of the missions and they shall advise the Administrator on matters of education pertaining to each particular district.

(viii) "The Administrator in Council may make Regulations...for carrying out or giving effect to this Ordinance". The Regulations, without which the Ordinance could be of little effect, were to apply particularly to such matters as types of schools, standards of education, secular instruction to be given, inspection of schools, teacher qualifications and certificates of competency, standard of teacher training and the examination and classification of teachers and terms under which grants might be made.

In all, the Ordinance contained thirty main sections together with extensive sub-sections at times, as given above under Regulations. While the Ordinance extended over seven pages it gave a generally concise picture of the Administration's intentions and made clear that the authority of the Director of Education and the ultimate authority of the Administrator (within the bounds of his relationship to the Department of External Territories) were largely unquestioned. The vital areas of teacher qualifications, language of instruction and grants-in-aid were placed fully in the hands of the Administration with the missions exerting a purely advisory influence upon them.

The Ordinance, generally speaking, stood well the test of practical usage. In practically every area it was sufficiently flexible to cater for mission education

at its current stage of development and to make provision as well for its steady development towards the goals which the Administration had for it. In one area, however, it proved to be over-rigid for either the missions' or the Government's purposes. This was with regard to the section above under which a school would need to be closed if it could not be registered or recognized.

It became apparent that vast numbers of mission schools could be neither registered nor recognized despite the fact that the bringing into effect of the Ordinance had been delayed until March 1st, 1955. An extract from the minutes of a 1955 meeting of the Bismark-Solomons Union Mission of Seventh-day Adventists illustrates the point:

> During the year (1955) we proceeded with the work of having our schools registered. In the New Guinea area the only ones we can rightfully register are those conducted by Europeans.[1]

It was not the intention of the Administration to force the missions out of the field of education (Government hopes for extending education to the majority of the Territory rested for a large part, upon the mission system, and apparently would rest there for many years to come) but rather to make it possible and desirable

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[1] Australasian Record, February 2nd, 1956, p.3.

for the missions to bring their work into line with Government policy. Accordingly an important amendment was made in 1957 to the Education Ordinance 1952. This brought into being the category "exempt school" : that is, such schools which could not be registered or recognised might be "exempted" from the registration or recognition requirement and might remain open if their application for exemption was acceptable.[1] [2] Exemption was under conditions and for such time as the Director deemed appropriate.

These then were the major terms of the Education Ordinance 1952-1957; attention can now be paid to their particular significance for mission education in Papua and New Guinea.

The Significance of the Education Ordinance 1952 for Mission Education.

At the Second Reading of the Bill for the Education Ordinance 1952 Groves indicated that he regarded this legislation as of great significance in the future educational development of the Territory. He stated: "This Bill represents a charter under which the future secular educational pattern for the peoples of this Territory will take shape.[3]

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[1] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Legislative Council, An Ordinance to Amend the Education Ordinance 1952, No.10 of 1957.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1957-1958, p.78.

[3] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Legislative Council Debates, October 17th, 1952, "Second Reading Speech on the Education Ordinance", p.1.

In that the bulk of the subjects (all apart from Scripture and Religion) taught in mission schools were "secular" in the sense which Groves intended, the Ordinance could be expected to be highly significant to the future of mission education in the Territory.

As a test of the significance of the Education Ordinance 1952 it would be useful to ask how its terms differed from those of the Education Ordinances operating up till March 1st, 1955 when the new Ordinance came into effect. At the time when the Provisional Administration took over Papua and New Guinea in October, 1945 under the Papua and New Guinea Provisional Act 1945 the existing laws of the two Territories were not affected and were still operative for their respective areas.[1] Each Territory had been in possession of an Education Ordinance for a number of years prior to World War II.

Papua's Education Ordinance had been formulated in 1914.[2] This Ordinance together with its companion Regulations, which came into being early in 1915, and with the Native Taxes Ordinance of 1918 provided at least limited counterparts for most of the categories

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1946-1947, p.13.

[2] Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, The Laws of the Territory of Papua 1888-1945 (Annotated), 2 vols, II, pp.1774-1794.

already noted for the 1952 Ordinance:

As did the Education Ordinance 1952, the Papuan Ordinance provided for the formation of Government schools which it designated as "State Schools". These were never organised.[1]

The Papuan Ordinance's counterpart of the 1952 Ordinance's registration requirements on the grounds of physical plant, staff qualification and suitable curriculum was a series of requirements concerning proximity to an existing school, physical conditions, average attendance, and the payment of a "capitation rate". The subjects of instruction were given but there was no reference to teacher qualifications.

There was no direct counterpart in the Papuan Ordinance for the 1952 Ordinance's stipulation that the Director might determine the language of instruction. On the other hand, in that the payments to missions (the only bodies operating schools for natives in Papua) from the Native Taxation Fund were on the basis of examinations conducted in English the Papuan Administration was exerting considerable influence on the language of instruction at least at the district school level.

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[1] ibid., The source for the whole of the section on the Papuan Education Ordinance is the above reference.

As with the 1952 Ordinance, the Papuan Ordinance together with the Native Taxes Ordinance[1] provided for grants for missions. The 1915 Regulations provided for the supplying of books and school material (apparently for both State and mission schools) as well.

The Papuan Education Ordinance paid extensive attention to provision for compulsory attendance - as much or more than was paid by the 1952 Ordinance. Interestingly, there is no official record that a statutory proclamation was made in any district in Papue to make the compulsory attendance section operative.[2]

There was no counterpart in the Papuan Ordinance for the Territory-wide Education Advisory Board of the 1952 Ordinance. It is noteworthy, however, that the Administrator for the whole of the period 1914-1940 (J.H.P. Murray) was on close terms with the mission bodies within the fairly confined, mainly coastal area and that helpful mutual understanding existed between the Administration and the missions.[3]

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1918-1919, p.1.

[2] Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, op. cit., p.1778.

[3] See J.H.P. Murray, "Approximation of Administrative and Missionary Methods", Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1930-1931, p.18.

The District Education Committees of the 1952 Ordinance had no direct counterpart in the 1914 Papuan Ordinance but it is of interest to observe that it was envisaged that "School Committees" should be set up with from three to seven members who were to perform such duties as caring for school buildings, inspecting school records, promoting attendance, reporting misconduct of teachers and protecting teachers from frivolous complaints.

As for the 1952 Ordinance the Papuan Ordinance provided for the making and promulgating of Regulations for the carrying out of the terms of the Ordinance. Two of the areas specially designated in 1952 as appropriate for regulations had been covered in the main body of the 1914 Ordinance. These were the subjects of instruction and the standard of education to be reached. The latter was defined in the 1914 Ordinance as "competent knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic to the satisfaction of an inspector of schools".

By way of making a general comparison between the Papuan Education Ordinance 1914 and the Papua and New Guinea Education Ordinance 1952 it would be helpful to see the Papuan legislation as a means for making official and fostering an approved existing situation in mission education and as making allowance for possible Government entry to the field of education, and to see the 1952

legislation as a means for gaining authority to extend an existing promising Government system of education and as a means for moulding the existing system of mission education (regarded as valuable but lacking in standard) to the place where it could promote a good standard of English literacy.

New Guinea's Education Ordinance was formulated in 1922 and was slightly amended in 1933 and in 1938 mainly by way of changing the proposed source of grants should the missions choose to accept them.[1] The New Guinea Education Ordinance 1922 can be compared with the two Ordinances already noted under the categories used previously.

The establishment of Government schools would appear to have been a major purpose of the New Guinea Ordinance. For some years after the passing of the Ordinance, the New Guinea Administration had high hopes of establishing universal education throughout the Territory by means of its own schools which were commenced promptly in 1922.[2]

Regarding the registration of non-government schools it was provided that the Administrator might "approve

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[1] Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, The Laws of the Territory of New Guinea, 1921-194 (Annotated), 2 vols, II, pp.2031 and 2032. (This reference is the source for the whole of the section on the New Guinea Education Ordinance).

[2] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1921-1922, p.89.

any school as an assisted school",[1] but no conditions for the gaining of such approval were given except those implied in the section on Regulations where the Government was given authority to prescribe matters regarding school instruction, books, apparatus, routine, discipline, standard of education, and the training, examination and classification of teachers. Interestingly, regulations might be made regarding the qualifications and certificates of teachers for Government schools but the same right was not laid down regarding teachers of assisted (i.e. mission) schools.

The New Guinea Education Ordinance did not comment at all on the language of instruction to be used in the schools. It would have been especially difficult to have brought pre-War mission teachers in New Guinea into line on teaching in English when the vast majority were not English-speaking.[2]

The payment of grants-in-aid for education to non-government bodies in New Guinea was provided for very clearly. At first from the Native Education Trust Fund and later from "moneys appropriated for the purpose" the Administrator might "sanction grants to assisted schools". As was noted in the chapter relating to the

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[1] Administration of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, op. cit., p.2032.

[2] vide supra, pp.192ff.

1930's the missions in New Guinea consistently refused to accept such moneys in repeatedly made Government offers accompanied by conditions of inspection and control.[1] One of the areas in which Regulations might be made under the Ordinance was that of "the terms on which grants may be made to assisted schools". This clause was the most obvious means which the New Guinea Administration had for gaining control of mission education. Although some of the other areas subject to Regulation (such as "instruction to be given", "standard of education") implied Government rights to control mission education and although one of the earliest sections in the Ordinance stated that "Subject to this section (reference to the office of Director of Education) the Administrator shall have the chief control of native education in the Territory, there was no direct statement that the Government might inspect the work of missions. The omission of such a provision may have been a reflection of the considerable desire of the Government not to appear to be infringing the religious liberty clause of the mandate agreement by interfering with a function of the missions (i.e. mission education) which was clearly religiously oriented).

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[1] vide supra, pp.187ff.

Provision for the declaring of school attendance to be compulsory was clearly stated in the New Guinea Ordinance. On the basis of this section the Administration offered during the 1930's to assist the New Guinea missions in maintaining consistent pupil attendance.[1] As has been noted in chapter five the missions did not accept the offer at any time. On the other hand the provision was unnecessary for the few Administration schools established in New Guinea before World War II as these were boarding schools largely removed from village life.[2]

In the New Guinea Education Ordinance no provision was made for the establishing of an Educational Advisory Board. The diversity of nationalities amongst the New Guinea missions (with consequent difficulty in communication) may have been a factor militating against the inclusion of such a clause.[3]

The setting up of District Education Committees was not referred to in the New Guinea Ordinance. However there was provision for the proclaiming of Education Districts for the purposes of the Ordinance.

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[1] vide supra, p.188.

[2] For an interesting comment on the dissociation of the New Guinea Administration's pre-war schools from village life, see W.C. Groves, Native Education and Culture-Contact in New Guinea, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1936, pp.158-161.

[3] vide supra, p.192.

The forming of Regulations for the implementing of the Ordinance (as has been alluded to in the above) was prominent amongst the measures provided for in the 1922 New Guinea Ordinance. While such matters as "instruction", "routine" and "standard of education" were listed as areas eligible for Regulation regarding mission education in New Guinea, the important areas of mission teacher qualification and inspection of mission schools were not listed.

In general terms it could be said that the New Guinea Education Ordinance 1922 was an undemanding statement of educational policy and procedure well calculated to satisfy three important groups within the Territory and the most significant body outside the Territory. The natives themselves at the time were little aware of what was going on around them and were satisfied with the type of schooling provided by the missions; the missions were undisturbed by the Ordinance as it allowed them to continue as they had been working without threatening them with an ultimatum or a dead-line regarding future educational development; the emerging economic bodies in the Territory could receive some gratification from the fact that the Government system of education would specialise in teaching English and certain practical skills which would provide a growing pool of native labour on which they might draw; the

League of Nations could be satisfied that the religious liberty clause was not being violated, that the welfare of the natives was to be fostered by two educating bodies (Government and missions), and that there was provision for the non-government body to receive financial aid should it be required.

In the light of the two ordinances which preceded it what were the important significances of the 1952-57 Ordinance to mission education? Four of such are to be noted.

One of the most significant differences between the 1952 Ordinance and those which it replaced in both Territories is that the new Ordinance was quite openly demanding. The old programme of uninterrupted natural development in education was virtually discarded, and mission education was now to meet definite standards by definite times. For example, the amended (1957) section 19 of the Principal Ordinance read in part:

> The controlling authority of a school...shall make application...for the registration or recognition of the school or the declaration of the school as an exempt school -
>
> (a) in the case of a school established and conducted in the Territory before the commencement of the Education Ordinance 1957, within six months after the date of commencement of that Ordinance;
>
> or
>
> (b) in the case of a school established or proposed to be established after the commencement of that Ordinance, before commencing to conduct that school.

Penalty: Two pounds for every day or part of a day for which the offence continues.[1]

It might well be asked: Why would the missions accept with comparatively little objection rulings such as the above which would have been virtually unthinkable prior to the War? This thesis maintains that the answer lies in what took place during the War and rehabilitation years as discussed in the last chapter. In particular, the natives had become more demanding and wanted the type of education the Ordinance was providing for. Further, the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations was calling for a more academically advanced English-oriented type of education. As well the missions themselves were now more largely dependent upon Government finance and hence more subject to Government control while the newly-formed Education Department under the well-informed leadership of Groves had a clear idea of what it wanted to accomplish and had constructed a well studied plan for achieving its ends.

A second important significance for mission education of the Education Ordinance 1952 was that pre-War Administration indecision had given way to conviction in several vital areas. For example, it has been noted

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[1] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, An Ordinance to Amend the Education Ordinance 1952, No.10 of 1957, p2.

that the earlier Education Ordinances made no reference to the language of instruction to be used. On the other hand the 1952 Ordinance laid down clearly that the Administrator had full authority in this area. It had become the settled conviction of many over a number of years that the only practicable means for achieving national communication in Papua and New Guinea together with making provision for a substantial literature for the prople of the Territory was to make English the lingua franca. Such a conviction was reflected in the 1952 Ordinance and in subsequent regulations. Happily for the missions such a development did not preclude literacy in a vernacular which, as has been noted, was a basic objective in the education programme of the missions. An early recommendation of the Education Advisory Board (which included mission representatives) provided for mastery of a vernacular in the early grades with gradual introduction of English during the subsequent years:

> In the first two years of the village school, known as Class 1 and Class 2, children will become literate in the vernacular. In the second two years, known as Standard 1 and Stand 11, they will commence the study of English, the vernacular being the medium of instruction in general subjects. The Village Higher School will include Standards III, IV, V, and VI, in which children will continue the study of English, which will gradually become the medium of instruction. By the completion of Standard VI, pupils will be expected to be fluent and literate in English.[1]

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[1] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Department of Education, Circular Memorandum No.9 of 1954, (File A/15-4-1).

A third important significance of the 1952 Ordinance for mission education was that it allowed for a balance between positive attraction of the missions towards Administration goals and negative coercion. The positive means, especially seen in extensive grants-in-aid and in provision of equipment, courses and text books, came first to indicate the good intentions of the Government and to facilitate the missions' task in reaching the coercive deadlines laid down.[1] The negative means such as laying down that schools would be closed if certain conditions were not met came second, to make it clear that the Government was determined that development should occur. The wider powers of coercion provided for in the 1952 Ordinance become apparent when the Regulations section of 1952 is compared with the relevant sections of the earlier measures. The Ordinance for the combined territories is at once wider in the scope of items eligible for Regulations (note "inspection" especially) and less specific with regard to the particular nature of the

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[1] Note that grants had been paid from 1945-46 (Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946, p.21) but that the coercive features of the Ordinance did not commence to come into effect until 1954-55 (ibid., 1953-1954, p.54; 1954-1955, p.63).

Regulations. Flexibility of this kind (allowing for mild measures at first, followed by more demanding requirements) was imperative for the type of developmental programme which the Administration had in mind for mission education.

A fourth significant aspect of the 1952 Ordinance to mission education was that it gave a thoroughly official basis to the idea that the Administration and the missions were partners in education in Papua and New Guinea. Neither of the earlier Ordinances had provided for a regularly convened committee made up of both Government and mission personnel to advise on educational matters. The new Ordinance made such provision at the Territory-wide level in the Education Advisory Board and at the district level in the District Education Committees. While the Board and the committees were termed advisory they were, in fact, to become highly influential in the formation of Territory education policy.[1]

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[1] For example, see Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Department of Education, "Recommendations and Resolutions of the Inaugural Meeting of the Education Advisory Board, 14th to 18th September, 1953", (File A/15-4-c; Archives Access No.18). Amongst the recommendations of this first meeting which bore direct results were those regarding a committee on languages, the sending of "selected native students" to Australia for secondary education, and the setting up a system of examinations to provide for the "certification, grading and registration of teachers in the Territory". It could be expected that, with the Director of Education as the chairman of the Education Advisory Board and with the mission representatives' being highly experienced in contact with numbers of native peoples in educational and other matters, the resolutions of the Educational Advisory Board would represent the soundest counsel available on native education, and that their recommendations would be adopted whenever

Why should the Administration bring the missions so closely into its confidence? The use of the combined attraction-coercion approach with the missions suggests that the Government saw clearly that the missions could, or could be led to, contribute strongly to the goals which they wished to achieve. In this sense they could be said to need mission good-will and co-operation. In the parliamentary debate on the Papua-New Guinea Provisional Administration Bill on July 4th, 1945, the Minister for External Territories stated:

> Our plans provide for a vigorous programme of education in its broadest sense controlled and directed by the Administration. This does not mean that the missions will be excluded from that field. They have performed very valuable services in the past and can continue to do so within the framework of the educational programme that is being developed.[1]

While the quality of these "valuable services" might have been called in question from a secular point of view in the early 1950's there was no gainsaying the vast access which the missions had to the people and the great potential which the broad mission education systems had for meeting the educational needs of the people, especially if the standard of their secular work could be lifted. The accompanying graph (Figure 11)

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946 (Roneoed), p.20.

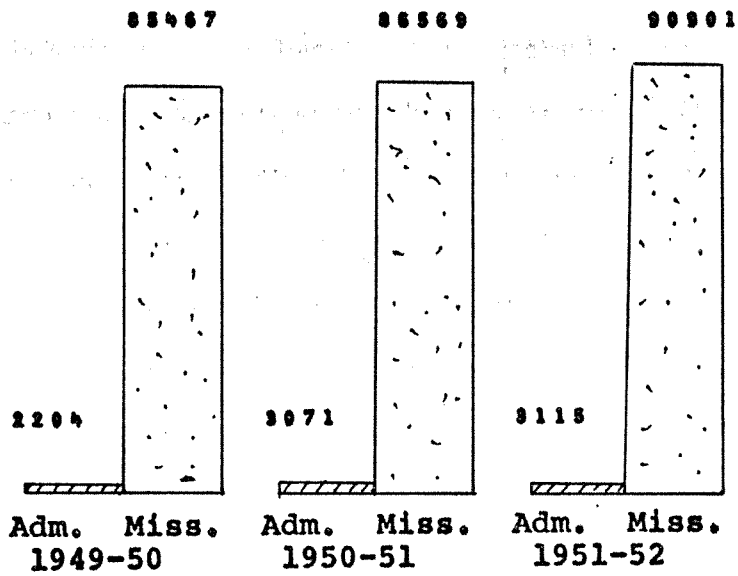

Figure 11: A Comparison of Administration and Mission School Enrolments in New Guinea 1949-50 to 1951-52.

indicates that during the years when the 1952 Education Ordinance was under formation the attendance of natives at mission schools in the New Guinea area grew from 85,467 to 90,901 while attendance at Administration schools for natives ranged between 2,200 and 3,100.[1] This meant that the Administration was catering for between 2.3% to 3.3% of school enrolments during these years. Besides the 94,000 children in schools of any kind in New Guinea in 1952 there were still 239,271 children uncatered for in schools of any kind.[2] With the goal of universal literacy before it the Administration needed all the assistance it could get from the mission

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1951-1952, p.106.

[2] The New Guinea Annual Report for 1951-1952 gives the child population for the New Guinea section as

system of education so long as its secular standards could be raised. It is interesting to note that the United Nations Trusteeship Council recognized and further encouraged the co-operative arrangement which the Government was seeking to foster between the mission educators and its own Education Department. It was reported in 1953:

> The Council, aware of the considerable extent to which the educational work of the missions and the Administration already complement each other in the Territory, suggests that the Administering Authority consider the possibility of providing the missions with greater financial aid and other appropriate forms of assistance, subject to prescribed conditions, as a means of further assisting the educational advancement of the indigenous people.[1]

A study of the following table (Figure 12) suggests a further reason for the Administration's willingness to accept the missions as co-operative, active partners in education in the terms of the 1952 Ordinance. The figures are for 1951-52.

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1953-1954, p.98.

Mission Expenditure on Own Schools in Papua and New Guinea.	(£125,138) $250,276		
Gov. Grants to miss. schools in Papua and New Guinea.	(£ 78,142) $156,284		
Total Exp. on miss. education in Papua and New Guinea.	(£203,280) $406,560	for 4,524 teachers	(4112 Native (412 Non-native
Total Gov. Exp. on Admin. schools	(£428,575) $877,150	for 277 teachers	(192 Native (85 Non-native[1]

Figure 12: Expenditure on Mission and Administration Schools in 1951-1952.

The table indicates that in 1951-52 the Administration expended $3,143 for every teacher in its employment while each mission teacher cost an average of $89. This meant that for any given sum of money invested in Government education the Administration could gain for the native classrooms more than three times as many teachers if it invested the same sum of money in mission education. If the missions as partners such as this could be led to meet acceptable linguistic and academic standards then the realisation of the goal of universal literacy clearly could be hastened by some decades.

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[1] Compiled from Annual Reports for both Territories.

It is worth noting in passing that should the idea of partnership between Government and missions in education be extended in the future to the place where all of the teachers in an area (possibly receiving a common salary) are controlled by a jointly-staffed Administration-Missions committee this control could quite naturally arise from the District Education Committees set up for advisory purposes by the 1952 Ordinance.

To sum up this section: the implications for mission education of the Education Ordinance, 1952 were important indeed. It was realised that considerably higher standards were to be expected and that they could be demanded within a set period of time. The missions were aware of a new sense of conviction on the part of the Administration in educational matters which was especially significant in the touchy area of the language of instruction. The language issue had been settled in the first place by allowing both vernaculars and English with the latter to become more and more widely used. As a result of the new Ordinance and the measures which both anticipated it and followed it the missions felt themselves both drawn by the positive attraction of grants and impelled by the negative force of regulations and fines in the direction

of providing a modern-day professionally oriented system of education.[1] To compensate for all of these implications a further prospect faced the missions as a result of the Ordinance: that they might join the Government by means of the Education Advisory Board in the planning of the future development of education for the Territory.

In an earlier chapter under the "Phases of Mission Education" the period from World War II to 1962 was designated the "Re-assessment Phase. When education became much more demanding upon the mission systems, re-assessment was a necessary and proper practice. As has already been noted, all but two of the missions (the Methodists and the London Missionary Society who re-asserted that education was the responsibility of the Government and that they were ready to vacate the field when the Government could take over what was its rightful work) decided that education was at the heart of the work which they were doing for the natives and that they must retain it.[2] The final section of

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[1] vide infra next section in this chapter for details of mission reaction to the Ordinance.

[2] vide supra, chapter two.

this chapter is a study of this process of re-committal to mission education in the face of the Government's rising demands.

The Response of the Missions to the Education Ordinance 1952 - Its Effect upon the Professional Development of Mission Education from 1952 to 1962.

The Papua and New Guinea Administration made it clear soon after the close of hostilities that its attitude towards the scholastic standards of education in the Territory would differ from that taken by the pre-War Administration.[1] Thus, although the Education Ordinance was not developed to its final form until 1952 and did not become operative until 1955 its general provisions were anticipated during the 1940's; due to this the missions were called to some re-assessment of their objectives in mission education well prior to 1952.

The first response of the missions towards the Administration as the new situation began to emerge was one of understanding and co-operation. This was demonstrated clearly at the first post-War Administration-Missions Conference, at Port Moresby, October, 1946.

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1945-1946 (Roneoed), p.20, ibid., 1946-1947, pp.23,24.

At that time proposals such as the following were said to be accepted "by mutual agreement":

> Administration - To exercise control, by regulation and inspection, over all secular teaching undertaken by missions.
>
> ...
>
> Missions - To comply with Regulations...
>
> ...
>
> To conform to standards of instruction and other requirements prescribed by the Administration.[1]

At the close of the five day Conference an official report on the proceedings adds weight to the idea that the missions' first response to the call for higher academic work was one of sympathy with the Administration and of general approval of its actions:

> ...it was felt by all concerned that the Conference had been most successful, particularly in the spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding that was evident in all sessions, not only as between missions and the Administration, but also between the different denominations present.[2]

In 1955, the year in which the Ordinance came into effect, a further test of the response of the missions was applied in the form of the issuing of the Government courses for teacher training, necessary for teacher certification under the terms for school registration. These were: Course A - qualifying teachers for village schools. Pre-requisite: completion of the primary school

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1947-1948, p.45.

[2] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Proceedings of the Conference between the Representatives of Government and Missions on Educational, Health and Agricultural Aspects of Native Welfare and Development, held at Port Moresby, Papua, 9th-14th October, 1946, p.i.

course (standard 6). Course B - qualifying teachers for village higher schools. Pre-requisite: completion of post-primary course at the central school. Course C - qualifying teachers for central schools. Pre-requisite: completion of two year secondary course.[1] As might have been expected the response of the missions to Government leadership in teacher training was generally approving. The better preparation of teachers was the key to the whole desired pattern of advancement. The Administration reported in 1955: "There is a desire on the part of the missions to conform to Departmental standards of teacher training".[2]

While the majority of mission reactions were favourable not all were so. One of the few strongly disapproving responses of the missions to the Government measures came in 1956 when the Government was preparing to apply pressure for greater efforts in the teaching of English. A letter from the Administrator to heads of missions advised that:

> Financial aid must be directed to the attainment of literacy in English and the Administration would have to direct its assistance very largely to English teaching schools.[3]

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1954-1955, p.65.

[2] ibid.

[3] The Missionary Review, July, 1956, p.i.

Teaching in the vernacular and of the vernacular were close to the heart of what missions were basically trying to achieve. Direct disapproval of the Government's plans was followed by some pressing argument. Bishop Strong, Anglican leader in New Guinea and one of three mission representatives on the Legislative Council, described the action requiring that grants were to be limited to English-speaking schools as "the most extra-ordinary, inexplicable and indefensible step taken so far in Administration policy".[1] To the basic spiritual-intellectual argument that the people have a right to hear and read the Gospel in their own language was added the cultural view-point:

> ...language, is more than a 'tool'. It is the store-place of a people's culture and where it decays or passes away something of the essence passes from a people's life.[2]

It should be noted that the Administration was not calling for a "total English curriculum" such as was being discussed by the writer of the above extract. Rather the Administration was indicating a plan to exclude vernacular teaching from its financial grants

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid. This quote is not from Bishop Strong, but is part of an editorial in The Missionary Review in which Strong was quoted.

programme. Apparently, in the 1950's to withdraw grants support from a type of mission education was to threaten the existence of that type of education.

The question of the language of instruction under the new Ordinance was instrumental above all other matters in calling for a re-assessment on the part of the missions. In re-committing themselves to mission education the missions frequently fell back upon a re-statement of their basic philosophy and purposes of education. At the time when the language issue was very much alive the Anglican Mission gave the following clear re-statement of its purposes:

> The primary object of the Church in New Guinea, as elsewhere, is the preaching of the Gospel, and from time immemorial this work has always been accompanied by education.
>
> ...
>
> The aim of Christian education is not merely to spread knowledge and inculcate facts; it is rather to help people to live, and, above all, to live as Christians.[1]

At the same time Archbishop Carboni re-stressed the importance of the Catholic Church's remaining in the field of education in Papua and New Guinea in the launching of an appeal to meet the demands of the new requirements. His argument was based upon a re-emphasis of the role of education in mission lands:

A.B.M. Review, November, 1956, p.166.

> Much more is demanded than merely the baptism of Pagans by apostolic missionaries. Pagans must not only be told about Christ and baptised into the Mystical Body of Christ. They must be educated as disciples of Christ...They must have schools and higher colleges to provide an education centered (sic) around Christ as the focal point of all created reality.[1]

In terms such as these the majority of the missions re-committed themselves to the work of conducting day schools for the native people. Generally the missions accepted the new direction called for by the Administration and chose to accommodate the more highly scholastic schooling called for with their basic objectives for mission education. A compromise was reached in that literacy in a vernacular came first and English literacy was built upon this.[2]

While the bulk of the mission education activity after the applying of the Ordinance in 1955 was in the form of a positive response to the Government requirements it is interesting to observe that where the mission schools could not be adjusted to the new standards, due especially to the inability of the native teachers to handle English, the missions wished to retain these schools and have them function as before. This was evidenced

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[1] Archbishop Carboni, op. cit., p.16.

[2] A.B.M. Review, November, 1956, p.161.

by the "exemption" amendment of 1957.[1] Some missions (especially the Lutherans and the London Missionary Society) resisted the trend of the times so far as not only to retain their vernacular schools in terms of the exemption measure, but also actually to foster them along with their registered schools.

This two-fold, almost contradictory, response on the part of the missions became apparent as soon as the Administration commenced inspecting the mission schools for registration. The extent to which mission schools were moving in both of these directions becomes clear upon a re-study of the figures already given in chapter three under "types of schools".[2] In 1958 there were 260 registered and recognized mission schools and 3129 schools classified as exempt.[3] This latter number included some that had been inspected and found not to come up to the standard either of registration or recognition and many which had not yet been inspected and which were provisionally regarded as exempt.[4] By 1959 the number of registered and recognized schools

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[1] see Territory of Papua and New Guinea, An Ordinance to Amend the Education Ordinance 1952, No.10 of 1957, p.2.

[2] vide supra p.95.

[3] Figures calculated from Annual Reports for both Territories.

[4] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1957-1958, p.173.

stood at 617, an increase of 357, while the number of exempt schools had risen to 31[illegible], an apparent increase of twelve but an actual increase of 369 (i.e. 357+12).[1] This trend was reversed during 1960 and 1961 when the numbers of exempted schools were reduced by a much greater number than that by which the numbers of registered and recognized schools increased (that is at that time vernacular schools were actually being closed). By 1962 the number of exempt schools was being added to again quite significantly.

The area of contentious response by the mission (the payment of grants on basis of teaching in English) was resolved in by January, 1957 when the Administration had its way and changed the terms of payment of grants from the basis of lump sum payments for school enrolment to specified payments for each registered teacher.[2] This resulted in a noticeable falling away of the Government grant for 1956-1957 with a speedy recovery in subsequent years, as indicated by the following statistics (Figure 13):

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[1] Figures calculated from Annual Reports for both Territories.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1956-1957, p.76.

	$
1951	201,014
1952	156,284
1953	171,920
1954	180,684
1955	220,434
1956	204,090
1957	201,652
1958	361,186
1959	394,520

Figure 13: Government Grants to Missions for Education in Papua and New Guinea 1951-1959.

The drop for 1957 would have been considerably greater had not the Administration phased out gradually the payments for vernacular schools.[1] Thus the missions discovered that though the conditions for gaining grants were more exacting, once the new standard was reached the returns were much more rewarding.[2] The 1957-58 Annual Report indicated a willingness on the part of the missions to conform:

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[1] The 1957 payment was the same as had been paid for the year ended June 1956. The 1958 payment was two-thirds of that payment. After 1958 there was to be no payment for vernacular schools. See Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1957-1958, p.79.

[2] Prior to 1956-57 fifty pupils in a village school would entitle a mission to $20 p.a., whereas an A Class teacher would entitle a mission to $80 p.a.

> The implementation of the Education Ordinance and of the new system of grants-in-aid has already led to vigorous efforts by missions to improve the standard of their schools where this has been necessary.[1]

(The means followed to gain this improvement in standard are of sufficient interest to warrant for discussion most of the space remaining for this chapter).

To sum up the findings of this section thus far it could be said that the response of the missions to the Education Ordinance and its subsequent regulations was generally understanding and willing. Certainly it could be claimed that the desirable reaction was adequate to make the Government's measures effective: the missions had been pressurised sufficiently to direct them towards Government objectives but not so excessively as to force them out of the field of education.

It is pertinent at this stage in the discussion of the response of the missions to the Ordinance to inquire what measures the missions applied to lift the professional standards of their work in order to meet the new requirements. Undoubtedly the period 1954-1962 saw the most dramatic lift in the professional standards of mission education that had occurred throughout its history. The improvement was apparent in all of the important features of curriculum, administration, teacher

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1957-1958, p.79.

training and methodology. By 1962 it would need to be conceded however, that the native teacher was still a "technician" rather than an educator[1] but as will be shown below at least he was a technician specifically prepared for his work with many workable tools at his disposal and with much more effective supervision and guidance available to him than his pre-War (or even pre-1954) counterparts had.

A significant measure taken by the missions to lift the professional standards of their teachers in the late 1950's was extensive use of in-service courses and refresher courses for teachers who gained their training before recognized teacher training courses were conducted by the missions.[2] (By virtue of regulations brought down

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[1] vide infra, this chapter.

[2] No figures appear to be available for the total number of teachers engaged in refresher and in-service courses. Official reports (see Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1958-1959, p.88) and mission journals (see Australasian Record, November 15th, 1954, pp.1,2) refer to these courses. One group of forty teachers (ibid.) was described as working through a roneoed booklet of daily lessons which they in turn were to teach their classes upon return to their schools.

in 1958 not all of those teachers trained prior to 1955, when the official training courses were instituted, were barred from teaching in registered or recognized schools; if their character and health were good and they could teach at a "standard satisfactory to the Director" they might be given a "Permit to Teach"[1]). These courses conducted by both the missions and the Administration were effective in raising the efficiency of a significant number of the established teaching staff of the mission schools.[2] Where these teachers returned to College they might graduate alongside the regularly instructed trainees.[3] Generally these teachers' absence from the schools - at times on the frontier of mission effort - would be sorely felt. The retraining effort and sacrifice was regarded as necessary and worthwhile, however, as the following word from isolated Tari in the Southern Highlands indicates:

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[1] Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Regulations Made under the Education Ordinance 1952-1957, No.13 of 1958, p.7.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1958-1959, p.88.

[3] see Catholic Missions, October, 1957, 18.

> The head teacher desires to continue his education and become qualified, with which ambition we sympathize. Despite only a little education he has done fine work in the schoolroom, and is obviously a born teacher...
> Two Wabag men also have the same ambitions, so our staff which we considered small enough in view of the work in hand will be considerably depleted.[1]

A second important measure taken by the missions to lift the professional standards of their education was to adopt, as readily as the supply of suitable candidates would allow, the courses of teacher training issued by the Government in 1954.[2] These, as was noted earlier in this chapter, were at the A,B, and C levels. The missions for many years favoured the A Course providing as it did for Government qualification at the minimum level while allowing the trainee to be placed in the field after the shortest possible time (one year after successful completion of the primary grades). Even the A level proved to be a problem at first as it was required that the candidate pass a practical test in teaching and a written test in English. Out of thirty candidates presented by the Methodist mission in New Guinea for the A level examination in 1958 twenty-seven passed

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[1] Australasian Record, January 20th, 1958, p.5.

[2] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1958-1959, p.87.

the teaching test but only three passed the written test in English.[1] At that time these three were the only certificated native teachers which the mission had for "over four hundred village schools".[2] The following year (1959) a good report was made on progress in mission teacher training work generally:

> The standard of training at mission centres is very satisfactory, and reports by inspecting officers of the Department of Education indicate that the methods of supervising teaching practice are particularly sound.[3]

The number of passes gained by mission teacher trainees at official examinations had lifted helpfully by 1960. In Papua alone in that year the results were:

Course A passes 48

Course B passes 5 [4]

Some idea of the nature and standard of these courses can be gained from a study of sections of the two courses and the number of hours devoted to them. The accompanying table (Figure 14) provides the details.

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[1] The Missionary Review, August, 1958, p.10.

[2] ibid.

[3] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1958-1959, p.88.

[4] ibid., 1960-1961, pp.124,125.

	Course A Hours per week	Course B Hours per week
Theory of Education	-	1
Method of Teaching	15	15
School Management	5	7
Classroom Demonstration and Practice	5	5
	25	28 [1]

Figure 14: Hours Spent on Native Teacher Training Courses 'A' and 'B'.

The fact that in both courses, which in 1955-56 were of one year's duration, over half of the time per week was spent in imparting methods for how particular subjects should be taught, suggests that the standard of work was largely at the technician level. The introduction for Course 'B' of the one hour per week in a study of theory of education - presumably on what teaching and learning are basically about - was an indication that it was considered that those who commenced the course with a standard eight or nine background (as against the standard six of the A course) could be expected to grasp some of the principles behind their teaching work.[2]

It is difficult to find in the literature a description of what actually takes place in the teacher training classrooms of the mission training schools. The writer, however, was able to gain some useful

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[1] Territory of New Guinea, Annual Report, 1955-1956, p.101.

[2] ibid.

impressions at first hand during a visit to the Territory in November-December, 1966. On Friday, November 25th a visit was paid to the exemplary Balob Teachers' College (Lutheran) a few miles out of Lae. The College had been erected two years earlier at a cost of approximately $500,000 and had a fine set of buildings and an attractive campus on any standards. Half of the staff of eight had bachelor degrees.[1] Thirty-six native men who had earlier been trained as A teachers had been called in for a refresher course so that they could be qualified to teach standard three and possibly four. The first lesson of the day was taught by a confident and sympathetic European woman who aimed to discuss the purposes and steps of a language drills lesson. A particular plan including an introduction (revision of previously learnt patterns), a presentation (introducing a new pattern) and a practice step was discussed with very, very little room for variation. The teacher spoke clearly and without haste in a pleasant well-modulated voice. Usually she said no more than several sentences before the class was asked to respond. The group of husky men seemed to have

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[1] The reference for the whole of this description on Balob College is T.G. Lloyd, Diary - Education Visit to the Territory of Papua-New Guinea, November-December, 1966, pp.78-82.

full confidence in their instructor. They answered strongly in unison at times and at other times spoke out clearly and sincerely as individuals. The earnestness of the trainees' outlook was evidenced in their attentive listening and deep concentration in reading from a provided timetable. At times the men would stand to read. After thirty-five minutes' discussion the group moved to a nearby standard three classroom to watch a demonstration lesson of the type under study. The teacher, a young Europen woman was well-poised and had other obvious teaching gifts of voice and personality. At times the demonstrating teacher would address herself to the teacher trainees in the room regarding particular points for which they should watch - absurdities such as "From 9 o'clock to 10 o'clock yesterday I was having my tea" or "From 5 o'clock to 4 o'clock on Friday I was playing games". (The standard 3 pupil who was corrected for this subsequently quickly resumed his seat and buried his face in his crossed arms).

At 8.30a.m. the group returned to the lecture room for work on place value as it should be taught to standard three. The instructor, a friendly and well-informed European male spent thirty to thirty-five minutes in having the group answer questions from the board and the standard 3 text as a test of their own knowledge of

place value to three places. A kindly insistence was shown on accuracy both in arithmetical answers and in English expression - "One hundred twelve" was corrected to "One hundred and twelve". "Seven hundreds and eighty-five" was corrected to "Seven hundred and eighty-five".

A discussion held later with the College principal indicated that some instruction is given in learning theory but that little understanding appears to have been gained in this area - especially for A trainees. The usual approach to teaching method is to explain and demonstrate the way a subject or a topic is taught so that the teachers can repeat this in their own teaching. Some variation in method is allowed with B students but not with A students. Prepared lesson outlines are commonly shared with the students.

Though this type of teacher training was largely at the rule-of-thumb level it was efficient and comprehensive and was moving with the natives' growing maturity towards the gaining of a better understanding of the teaching process. Having to work in a foreign language was an obvious added handicap.

A third important measure taken by the mission systems of education in lifting the scholastic side of their work was to launch strongly into a systematic and wide-

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[1] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1958-1959, p.88.

[2] ibid., 1960-1961, p.124.

ranging preparation of detailed programmes of work ready for immediate use by their native teachers. Involving as it did the wide use of duplicating machines this feature of mission work might well be called a "roneo revolution". Commencing around 1953 and extending through to 1961 at the close of the period under study this feature of mission education effort aimed to take the work for the year and break it down into clear weekly and even daily allotments. At times actual sentences were provided for the native village teacher to use in his instruction.

One of the forerunners of the "canned" courses was a "Programme of Work for Village Schools of the Seventh-day Adventist Mission".[1] The roneoed material catered for what it termed grades A, B and C, dividing seventeen subject areas into weekly divisions of work. There were two other books in the series - one catering for "District Schools of the Seventh-day Adventist Mission", and the other for "Primary Schools of the Seventh-day Adventist Mission".

In 1958 at the time when the greatest pressure was being applied to upgrade standards the Lutheran Mission at Madang produced "A Handbook for ...Village School

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[1] Seventh-day Adventist Church in Australasia, Coral Sea Union Mission, Education Advisory Board, Programme of Work for Village School of the Seventh-day Adventist Mission. (Available, with other courses discussed hereafter, at the Education Department Library, Konedobu, T.P.N.G.)

Teachers...".[1] This was a 148 page roneoed book giving close details of work for 210 days. Under each day the work for each of the following subjects is listed:

> Bible Stories, Reading, Writing, Number, Drawing, Handwork, Object Talk, Social Studies, Vernacular Reading, Vernacular Writing and English.

A preliminary note in this Lutheran book suggests that the programmed material was given close study by teacher trainees during their course:

> All future graduates of Amron T.T.S. may be expected to teach all subjects of the course provided local conditions permit. Older teachers are to be encouraged to make use of as much of it as is possible for each one under the limitations of his background knowledge and training.[2]

A roneoed programme of work for Catholic schools in the Alexishafen Vicariate prepared apparently in 1959 went into especially close detail. Four hundred and fifty-two pages were used to show the requirements for 44 weeks of standard 1. Stories and commands, at times, were given in full, e.g.

> Give the order: 'Class on the left of the marker, fall in'. Then all the children come and make

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[1] Lutheran Mission Madang, A Handbook for Lutheran Mission Village School Teachers Madang (1958) T.N.G.

[2] ibid., preliminary note.

three lines on the left-hand side of the boy who is the marker. Like this:

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x x x x x x x x        x x x x x x x x
x x x x x x x x        x x x x x x x x
X x x x x x x x        X x x x x x x x
(Marker)                Teacher
```

A handwritten note on the inside front cover claims that the programme had the approval of the Department of Education.

In order for detailed programmed materials to be of use to native teachers already in the schools it was necessary to hold intensive orientation conventions familiarising the teachers with the subject matter involved and how it could be located. A direct report from one of these sessions conveys best the spirit of the occasion:

> After breakfast we followed right through the day with the other school subjects. We tried to teach them to know this book as thoroughly as they knew their Bibles. Each teacher had to learn where any subject could be found and which part of it should be taught each day in the school year. These books encompass the entire schoolwork in every subject for five consecutive years on a weekly, and for some subjects, a daily basis. As the European directors moved amongst the teachers, instructing them, it seemed at times that many would never find their way around the next texts.
> Then came the time to distribute the new Reading Aids. These cards were produced on the silk screen press at Lae and consist of a picture card and a word-matching card printed on both sides for each word... Later in the week we distributed some of the Number

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[1] Roman Catholic Church in Australia, Catholic Vicariate, Alexishafen, Programme of Work, Standard I (...in accordance with the Syllabus for Native Schools, Territory of Papua and New Guinea, and Approved by the Department of Education), p.10.

Aids which have been produced... [1]

This institute was conducted by the Seventh-day Adventists at Moruma in 1954. For this and similar institutes in the Papua-New Guinea area 150,000 roneoed pages were used to be made up into 1,300 books. A similar effort was to have been required when the Administration revised its syllabus. By a practical approach such as this the missions probably achieved little by way of developing insight into the deeper meanings of the learning process but at least they achieved the placing of a readily-used, versatile tool in the hands of a group of native teachers whom they considered unsophisticated enough to need it. The enthusiastic reception of the materials by the native teachers suggests they saw in the detailed programme approach a good means for improving their teaching.[2]

The "roneo revolution" was most effective in lifting the professional standards of mission education towards the requirements of the 1952 Ordinance and its regulations when it was coupled with a fourth practical measure taken by the systems of mission education - closer European supervision. Both mission and Government

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[1] R.M. Ellison, "A New Day in Mission Education", Australasian Record, November 15th, 1954, p.1.

[2] For example, see ibid., p.2.

Education officers spent time with the less effective mission schools in a deliberate effort to raise their status.[1] Supervision of mission schools by mission Education officers was to grow to the place where in some instances the visitor would check each week's programme and set and conduct tests periodically.[2]

A fifth practical measure for assisting mission education to reach the new standards imposed by the Administration was the gaining of qualified European staff to provide wider leadership and to man the mission classrooms - especially for the upper primary grades and the post-primary, secondary and teacher training institutions.

Some of those who were already teaching took the opportunity provided by the Government in 1957 and 1958 for competent uncertificated Europeans to gain formal certificate qualifications by means of the "S" Correspondence Course.[3] The course included a practical teaching test conducted by Government District or Area Education Officers, an examination on the Territory syllabus and study into the practical issues of teaching

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[1] D. Owner, Letter, as Acting Director of Education, to District Education Officer, Popondetta, August 18th, 1960. (Education Department File ED/352, Konedobu, T.P.N.G.)

[2] For example, T.G. Lloyd, op. cit., p.96.

[3] Territory of Papua, Annual Report, 1958-1959, p.82.

as applied to the Territory setting. The assignments passed in for this course make a useful contribution to an understanding of the practical problems involved in the developing of various concepts, attitudes and practices in the young native from various districts.[1]

A further means for gaining qualified European staff was to call in ready-trained teachers from the homelands on either a permanent or short-term basis. Pressing invitations were extended by way of the regular mission journals. The Catholic Church appealed in 1958:

> Today our big problem is staff...What we need and require urgently is that our teaching strength be supplemented and strengthened from 'down under' by the generous enlistment for a couple of years of qualified lay teachers of primary standard. An open invitation - Won't you come in?[2]

In 1956 the Lutheran Mission launched a strong recruitment programme seeking European teachers of three types:

> It is the desire of the Administration that English become the language taught in all schools in the Territory, not merely as a subject, but as the sole medium of instruction...You can see from this, that if the mission intends to try this gigantic changeover, it will need many Australian teachers, at least for shorter periods...There are three ways of service open for teachers, to become permanent, contract or short-term teachers.[3]

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[1] see Education Department, Konedobu, File No.A/13-1-1(F) under Archives Access: Edu/17.

[2] Catholic Missions, April, 1958, p.17.

[3] "A Challenge to Australian Youth", Lutheran Herald, September 8th, 1956, p.272.

Permanent teachers would become regular members of the mission staff, contract teachers would hold permanent status for a specified time - generally two years, and short-term teachers would work on a largely voluntary basis for periods of "up to two years".[1]

A study of the following table (Figure 15) of the number of European teachers working in New Guinea mission schools from 1952 to 1962 shows a peak in 1957:

	European Teachers
1952	205
1953	229
1954	261
1955	273
1956	284
1957	364
1958	251
1959	209
1960	258
1961	263
1962	341 [2]

Figure 15: European Teachers in New Guinea Mission Schools 1952-1962.

The falling away of European teachers after 1957 and the building up of numbers again in the 1960's could be accounted for in several ways. As natives' qualifications and special permits increased by 1958 fewer Europeans were needed. As more Europeans assumed supervisory roles they could influence a wider number of native teachers

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[1] ibid.

[2] Compiled from Territory of New Guinea, Annual Reports, 1952 to 1962.

and hence fewer Europeans would be required. As the missions moved more strongly in the 1960's into secondary education practically all of the new classes taught required to be staffed by Europeans.

To sum up the final section of this chapter: by applying such as measures as the conducting of refresher and in-service training courses, the utilising of Government-formulated courses for teacher-training, the large-scale preparation of ready-prepared course materials for native teachers, the carrying out of closer supervision of the village schools, and the procuring of more formally qualified European teachers, the missions were able to lift their professional standards impressively during the 1950's to keep up generally with the attraction - coercion programme which the Administration was applying. The overall response to the 1952 Ordinance was co-operative and the progress was conspicuous. The Administrator gave the following supportive report in 1958:

> The teaching standards in mission schools have improved considerably over the past two years and the present trend amply supports this conclusion.[1]

An interesting comparison can be made between mission education in Papua and New Guinea in 1960 and in 1940.

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[1] D.M. Cleland, Letter to The Secretary, Department of Territories, Canberra, April 29th, 1958. (Education Department, Konedobu, File: E.A.B. Correspondence, ED.A/15-4B).

During the 1930's mission education in both Papua and New Guinea developed a considerable degree of confidence regarding both the appropriateness of directions in which it was moving (a confined, more advanced English-speaking programme in Papua, and a broadly based, mass vernacular programme with slower development in New Guinea) and its ability to cope with its tasks successfully.[1] The War shattered this sense of confidence in both Papua and New Guinea by impoverishing the missions financially (so that they were dependent in a measure upon Government subsidy), by disaffecting the native people from the social-vernacular goals of the missions, and by developing an international situation in which underdeveloped countries were supposed to be hastened towards self-government via an advanced education of an intellectual elite where necessary.

During the late 1940's and early 1950's the missions, now committed mainly to a more academically-oriented education in the face of ever-increasing Government demands, were struggling to find a basis of confidence. By 1960 something of the confidence of 1940 was returning. The professional side of mission education was successfully accommodating to the new dimension of an English-directed schooling against which it had been thrust.

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[1] vide supra, chapter five.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has traced the development of mission education in Papua and New Guinea over a period of ninety years from 1872 to 1962. Consistently during this time, ten years short of a century, the mission personnel have accepted as their basic goal the teaching to the whole of the indigenous people the Gospel of Christ. From the first they have chosen to work not alone through a weekly church service but to place the greatest part of their effort into the running of a system of day schools teaching at least the skills of reading, writing and simple computation along with religion. It is concluded that these schools were not merely an extension of the work of the church service in an effort to multiply opportunities for evangelistic contact. Rather, the system of day schools was designed to build onto the work of conversion (as well as initiating it where necessary) by making the believers literate and capable of further development. A major goal for this developmental programme was provision for self-propagation* within the mission

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* Self-propagation in mission work was a process whereby the mission could extend its influence by means of its own efforts within the mission field rather than by way of personnel and means brought in from the homelands. See in particular pp.37, 65.

organisation which was accomplished by the organising of training schools and the preparing of pastor-teachers to care for the work of the mission as it pushed into new areas.

In the face of intermittent change of Government Administration and of serious problems the mission system of education has proved to be both adaptable and stalwart. Work amongst the uncivilised indigenes was commenced in both Papua and New Guinea without the protection of any form of government. Papua subsequently saw administration by a commissioner representing Britain and soon after prolonged Australian rule.[1] New Guinea, meanwhile, was administered by a German trading company little concerned with the progress of missions and their systems of schooling, by a disinterested if humane German colonial government, by Australian military rule, and later by Australian civil government under terms of mandate from the League of Nations.[2] Ultimately both Territories were united for administrative purposes after World War II, with the New Guinea area under surveillance by the Trusteeship Council of the United

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[1] vide supra, pp. 4 ff.

[2] vide supra, pp. 7 ff.

Nations. During this time the missions were faced with many shades of attitude towards their school systems. In the earliest times little interference by the Governments was witnessed apart from encouragement to carry out some teaching in either English (in Papua) or German (in New Guinea).[1] Between the wars the missions in Papua adjusted to a paternal-type Administration by paying special attention in certain schools to the teaching of English in return for a subsidy paid on examination results.[2] During the same period the missions in New Guinea were first largely ignored, then wooed regarding possibilities of active educational union with the Administration, and finally were allowed to continue as they preferred along purely vernacular lines.[3]

While changes in Administration were made in Papua and New Guinea in response to international developments, mission education was evolving through four consecutive phases independent, until the last phase, of the vicissitudes of Government.[4] Except for the final phase, which commenced during the rehabilitation of a system of schools whose physical plant had largely been destroyed by World War II,

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[1] vide supra, pp.6,9,10.

[2] vide supra, p.174.

[3] vide supra, pp.176ff. and 187ff.

[4] vide supra, pp.31ff.

no specific year can be given for the commencement of these phases of mission education; this is due to the fact that the phases are seen as recurring for each mission after it was set up. There were five waves of mission pioneering in the Territory - the first in the early 1870's (the London Missionary Society and the Methodist Missionary Society), the second in the early 1880's (Roman Catholics, and Lutherans), the third in the early 1890's (the Methodists again and the Anglicans), the fourth in the early 1930's (the Seventh-day Adventists and the expansion of the Lutherans and Catholics to the New Guinea Highlands), and the fifth in the 1950's with the entry of many smaller groups to the New Guinea Highlands. The phases have been termed as follows in this study: First came Establishment, where typically the European pioneers moved in, set up quarters, learned the local language, and established the embryo of the district school in incidental teaching work.[1] This was followed by Expansion, where simply-qualified national teachers moved out into the surrounding area and set up village schools under the supervision of the European at district headquarters. The third phase was Consolidation, where a number of districts fed

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[1] vide supra pp. 31-46 for a detailed account of all the phases.

their district school products into a centralised training school. Finally came Re-assessment, in the post-War era when the mission systems were faced by the challenge of a reversal of attitude by the Administration towards vernacular teaching. Under this last phase the mission leaders had to re-study, in the light of government demands, their reasons for conducting day schools and to find ways of up-grading their standards when they had decided to retain their investment in mission education.[1]

Despite the fact that the various missions in the Territory had no link with each other apart from their stated goal of the conversion and development of the native people there were significant similarities in their pattern of development. They initiated the same basic three-school system: village, district, and training.[2] They chose, even in Papua, where the English-language Assisted Schools were greatly in the minority, to work on a broad vernacular programme aiming to contact as many as possible of the people in as short a time as possible, motivated they would claim, by the commands of Christ to go to all the world, to every creature, and teach.[3] They adopted, when unassisted by the Administration, a similar programme of studies from

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[1] vide supra pp.296 ff. and 302 ff.

[2] vide supra, pp. 83-97.

[3] vide supra, pp. 48-54.

the village school through to the training school. They used a similar type of teaching staff with a broad base of South Sea national teachers or local native teachers at the village schools, well educated enterprising but untrained European teachers at the district schools, and trained European teachers at the centralised training schools.[1] Interestingly the pattern of similarity breaks down most clearly when the Re-assessment Phase is studied. Then, while the majority of missions re-committed themselves to the cause of mission education, two (the London Missionary Society and the Methodist Missionary Society) chose to hand their schools over to the Administration when it could adequately staff them and to continue their work of Christian education by way of scripture classes in Government schools.[2] The difference in practice between the missions at this stage was consistent with their understood philosophy of education in terms of basic objectives. Those missions which indicated a willingness to withdraw from the field of education saw education as necessary for the children of their adherents but not necessarily to be run by the mission. A second group saw it as essential that the mission teacher instruct the children

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[1] vide supra, pp.109-125.

[2] vide supra, pp. 62-67.

of its adherents in all of the subjects of the curriculum. A third group not only considered its schools were imperative for the maintaining of the religious outlook of its constituents but as well saw Christian education in the mission school setting as the only true means of personal development. Such development was viewed in terms of the nature of the student and his need for fulfilment which ought to be gained in a spiritually-motivated and God-directed environment.

A study of mission education in Papua and New Guinea over a period of ninety years allows for the arrival at some important conclusions. Foremost amongst these are the answers to such questions as: Was the mission system of education complete in its own right or did it require a government department to bring it to full maturity and effectiveness? And: To what extent can it be claimed that mission schools have been a success? A further set of conclusions worth observing are related to some lessons which may be learnt by both missions and government when they are mutually involved in education in a developing country.

The Completeness of Mission Education.

For the purposes of judging the completeness of the systems of missions the following range of areas of attention have been accepted as adequate: a fundamental platform of philosophy of education; a clear idea of the objectives of education; attention to human need in

physical, spiritual, mental, social, and cultural ways; adequate provision of school buildings and equipment; a curriculum firmly rooted in the chosen objectives; methodology soundly related to the best available information regarding the learning process and clearly reflecting the philosophy of education; and an appropriate system of teacher training backed up by enlightened administration and inspection.

In the area of philosophy of education the missions generally have a useful foundation - but largely at the implied level. Insomuch as it might be argued that few educators in any country, developed or underdeveloped, have made their philosophy personally explicit, it could be maintained that mission educators have done well to have settled their notions of the nature of man (bent toward evil when left to itself), the purpose of life (to live with God) and the source of wisdom and knowledge (their Creator).[1]

On the other hand it should be made clear that barely one-third of the missions have provided clear evidence that they have stated a philosophy of education in explicit terms directly translatable into objectives, syllabi and methods.[2] If missions are to strengthen their efforts in education there is important work yet to be done at this

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[1] vide supra, p.70

[2] vide supra, pp. 70-75.

deepest level by the majority of the societies. Such a re-study could well involve both mission educators and mission theologians. It could be accomplished with much less difficulty than would be met by non-church systems in that a religious system need not argue over which basic authorities are acceptable. Using the scriptures as a guide, study of the following questions would be in order: What was the purpose in the creation of man? What is the intended relation of the natural world to man? How did God plan for the development of man prior to the entry of sin? What new demands are placed upon a system of education which takes account of the corruption of the nature of man at the entry of sin? In what ways does God go into action in the Christian classroom? What is seen as the desirable product of a system of Christian education?

The area of objectives of education has been approached in a helpfully clarified fashion by the missions generally.[1] Even that group of missions which was willing to hand its work over to the government could give a clear idea of what it wished to achieve. The missions in the first place have aimed to relate their pupils correctly to God in conversion, worship and daily spiritual communion and guidance; to each other in amicable association and in preparation of themselves for leadership of their

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[1] vide supra, pp. 64 ff.

countrymen from barbarity to Christianity; and to their environment so that they might be able to earn a living and rear families in peace and reasonable comfort. As far as the provision of the goals of education is concerned the missions have done well. The degree to which they have achieved their goals will be noted in a subsequent section.

A warning note may be sounded with regard to a generally unstated goal of the education programme of the various missions. Apart from seeking to develop the natives as Christians, the particular missions, each generally associated with a specific religious denomination, clearly wish to gain adherents to a particular type of Christianity - according to each specific creed or set of doctrines. A narrow type of proselytization involving on the part of the convert mere intellectual assent to the specialised teachings of a particular denomination, together with his physical presence at religious services will not satisfy the requirements of a religious education. As well, it should be stressed, a deep and broad Christian education ought to develop love for and tolerance towards those with differing beliefs. The problem is not that "particular" religious education is given but rather that it shall be presented at the expense of "general" religious education. The question is most important from the

viewpoint of the development of the pupil; added significance emerges as Government funds are extensively expended in religious schools operating under the auspices of a nation in which church-state issues are contentious.

Mission education has paid attention to a wide range of human needs especially insomuch as the requirements of the Papuan and New Guinean pupils were complicated by their distinctive social-cultural backgrounds. Attention to the physical needs of the pupils has been featured daily throughout the course of the history of mission education. Apart from the daily session of gymnastic drill[1] featured by the smallest of village schools from earliest times the schools have provided a profitable bond with the natural outdoor active life of the pupils in swimming, boating and especially gardening.[2] The last mentioned was less a result of a philosophy of education than a practical necessity in feeding the boarding school students.[3] The practical effect was that the young men were required to spend some hours each day in vigorous whole-body activity in the open air, while the young ladies were involved in sewing, cooking and house-cleaning activities. The effectiveness of the

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[1] vide supra, p.99.

[2] vide supra, pp.104-107.

[3] vide supra, pp.105ff.

missions' approach in satisfying the physical needs of the students was enhanced for some of the societies by the availability of mission medical clinics in a total programme which combined healing with teaching.[1] The boarding schools had a further opportunity to contribute to the physical health of the students in that they had some control over the diet of the students.[2]

One criticism of the physical programme of mission education that warrants comment is that the approach, while being vigorous and highly conducive to health, has except for some glowing instances, been limited to but a few activities. For the future, schools at all levels would do well to search for a greater diversification of physical activities - especially those involving fine neuro-muscular co-ordination. It is not that the primary or even the secondary schools should enter the field of vocational training but that they should help the students discover where their interests and aptitudes lie so that those who are best suited to work of a technical nature can be appropriately directed to schools where their apparent skills can be developed. This criticism of the non-diversified physical education programme of mission schooling leads naturally to another adverse comment: the training schools of the missions have been devoted

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1 vide supra, p.58 and p.67.

2 vide supra, p.102.

too exclusively to the preparation of pastors and teachers who are to go back into the spear-head of an ever-expanding system of mission advance. The sound expansion of any system of education is based upon supporting economic development. It is considered that too little attention has been paid to developing practical and technological skills amongst village workers. Profit-making in Papua and New Guinea has been left too frequently to the ex-patriate investor. Mission organisations with their inherent propensity for developing social cohesion could do much more towards leading the villagers into communal industries both old (such as copra production) and new (such as pyrethrum processing) which in turn would allow the native people to take a much greater part in supporting their own schools. Gifts from the homelands could then be applied more exclusively towards extension of school opportunity to those geographical areas still not provided with schools.

Living as they have in an environment traditionally oriented to the supernatural the pupils of the Territory have required some special attention in the area of spiritual needs.[1] The rapidity of the adoption of Christian beliefs and the sense of satisfaction which the native people have found in the Christian portrayal of the supernatural indicate that the missions have performed

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[1] vide supra, pp.127 ff.

creditably in providing for the spiritual needs of the people in education. Supernatural phenomena have always been regarded as natural as incidents perceptible to the senses. Mission education has provided an introduction to civilised life without cutting away the spiritual supports frequently lacking in a materialistic, westernised society.

Provision for the mental and intellectual needs of the people by mission education presents a somewhat paradoxical picture. In that the missions have worked so strongly (at times exclusively) in the vernaculars of the people stressing not only simple literacy but the ability to grasp the thought content of the scriptures, they have provided an essential basis for intellectual development-opportunity to think in their own language.[1] A body of educators less dedicated to the mastery of the vernaculars themselves and less committed to providing a basic translated literature (in this case religious) would not have done such thorough work in this basic intellectual area. To have hurried the people on to a premature use of English would have reduced much of the thinking to near the level of a rote response and have made a travesty of the workings of the rational processes. On the other hand there is a viewpoint, regarding the provision which mission education has been able to make

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[1] vide supra, pp.162 and 294 ff.

towards the intellectual needs of the student, which is less complimentary. The literature to which the missions have been able to expose the native peoples has been limited by necessity to what they (or interested Bible societies) could print themselves and hence was very largely directly religious in nature.[1] Books of reference in modern history, geography, economics, modern literature and so on, so necessary for expanding the awakened intellect, were denied to a people who were working in a language so geographically confined that wide translation and printing was impossible, or who were not ultimately introduced to a language (for example, English) which had an already available literature. The latter provision was made during the 1950's but on the initiative of the Administration and not of the missions themselves.[2]

As far as meeting the social needs of the native peoples is concerned mission education has a good record. When first contacted the inhabitants of the Territory were barbaric and cruel, living by violence and fear. Tribute to the civilising and socialising achievements of the mission schools is found in the rapidity with which the worst manifestations of barbarity were removed.[3]

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[1] For example, see p.115.

[2] vide supra, p.283.

[3] vide supra, pp.31 ff.

While the social development of the natives was not without some lapses towards the old ways progress has generally been striking and consistent. The missions were well equipped to provide for the social needs of the people with a Gospel that was based upon the love of God to all men and the necessity of love for both friend and enemy. The typically self-effacing example of the mission teachers all the way from European supervisor to new native recruit provided continual re-inforcement to the call to peaceful living. The centralised training schools with their mixing of tribal groups traditionally at variance with each other were active centres for the inculcation of tolerance and the principles of friendship as well as for the development of teachers.[1]

Mission education has had an interesting relationship to the cultural needs of the native people. Aiming as they were to introduce a new outlook upon life especially with regard to worship, morals and social relationships, mission educators were bound to disrupt the old culture and to do away with many of the forms of traditional self-expression. On the other hand the majority of the missions had no desire to make Christianity appear to be a peculiarly occidental way of life (which, of course, by origin it was not); many ceremonies and art forms not

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[1] vide supra, pp.260,261.

opposed to the Christian way of life were allowed to remain and at times were encouraged. Where traditional communal practices had to be rejected these were replaced by new suitable forms of corporate self-expression. The mission teachers were well suited to the guidance of the native way of life towards a blending of the two cultures.[1] The mission schools were closely related to the villages and the teachers typically were either Europeans who had made a long, detailed study of the native language (the repository of the native culture) or were natives themselves interpreting the new culture in terms of a life-time of exposure to the old ways.

To sum up this subsection on the ability of the missions to provide for a full range of the human needs of the native student it is concluded that the particular purposes of mission education required teachers with a good knowledge of the people, their language and their temperament and that the physical, spiritual, mental, social and cultural needs of the people were largely well understood and helpfully satisfied.

An examination of the completeness of the mission system of education in Papua and New Guinea ought to include a study of the ability of the missions to provide adequate buildings and equipment. At the village school

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[1] vide supra, pp.196ff.

level, in particular, where the great majority of mission schooling has taken place, the buildings and equipment of the mission schools have by no means measured up to western standards.[1] Up to the 1950's and beyond in many instances the buildings have typically been simple bush pole structures with walls and roof of grass and bush thatch. Desks have been either non-existent or comprised of planks nailed over posts. Other furnishings might include a teacher's table, a solitary cupboard and perhaps an easel supporting a chalk board or the side of a tea chest. Text books were in very short supply until the 1950's when the government grants included general school supplies as well as aid for teachers' salaries.[2] Despite these obvious shortcomings it is concluded that criticism of mission education concerning low standards of buildings and equipment ought not to be severe. If Mark Hopkins could conduct school with but a log shared by a pupil and himself, mission schools could achieve their desired objectives so long as the buildings did not reflect lack of interest and appropriate pride. The buildings were generally adequate for their purpose and were readily recognizable as belonging to the village setting. They were usually still the best structures many of the villagers had seen and were not so far beyond

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[1] vide supra, pp.99,100.

[2] vide supra, pp.284,285.

the village life as to be disruptive of the standard of living. More serious than the absence of cupboards and desks, and the limited chalk board space was the limited range of aids and materials available for intellectual stimulation.

It is required that a complete system of education provide a curriculum based upon the settled objectives of education and reflecting clearly the chosen philosophy of education. Mission education in Papua and New Guinea has shown itself capable of developing its own unsophisticated syllabi and school organisation where no Government curriculum provision has been available. It would appear, however, that these were not gained after extended collaboration with various authorities and then placed in a permanent form to make extended consultation possible, as it has been difficult to find these early efforts by the missions at the outlining of courses.[1] Moreover it does not appear that a comprehensive mission curriculum ever appeared in print. It would seem that the objectives of mission education were generally considered to be so much to the fore in the thinking of the teachers that it would be writing the obvious to place them in print. Even now, however, the missions would be well advised to initiate the

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[1] For example, see pp.169,176,179.

preparation of curricula by forming groups to approach the various authorities concerned with native education and finding answers to such questions as: What do you consider ought to be achieved by a system of mission schools in this country? How well do you consider these goals are presently being reached? What means do you favour for reaching these objectives? (The more technical task of devising measuring instruments to check more accurately on the achievements of particular goals would need also to be included). Some of the authorities due to be approached for these purposes ought to include the parents of the pupils (literate and illiterate); the village councillors; the students; the mission classroom teachers and educational supervisors; Administration experts in education, sociology, anthropology and economics; leaders of commerce and industry in the Territory; members of the Territory Legislative Assembly; experts from UNESCO; and members of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. In spite of their detailed knowledge of native culture, their wide experience in native education, and their growing body of educational expertise the missions have been too ready to allow the Government to do their thinking for them in the preparation of syllabi. Some of the courses handed down to the mission schools have been enlightened and productive of good standards[1] but they

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[1] vide supra, pp.180ff.

have generally been prepared by Administrations seeking to direct mission education along Administration lines. Syllabi (and curricula, too) ought to be prepared in a complete system of mission education from the missions' own points of view taking due cognizance of Government purposes. It must be borne in mind, of course, that mission education is not a monolith. However, it may be possible for many, if not all, of the mission bodies to collaborate in the formation of a body of material to be developed into a distinctively mission curriculum. It will always require less effort to allow the Administration to issue syllabus materials in a prescriptive fashion, but the price to be paid for such passivity will be loss of insight on the part of the mission supervisors and teachers due to their failure to be involved in the interpretation and implementation of objectives, and loss of distinctive mission direction in that the syllabus requirements have been determined by non-mission (howbeit sympathetic) personnel. Even the practice of calling in mission teachers, experienced in certain areas, under Administration auspices to plan course work with Departmental officers will not answer the need of a widely-based mission-oriented approach to curriculum planning.

It is of interest to enquire how well equipped mission education has been to lay due emphasis upon methodology, asking whether it has been adequately equipped to develop an alert attitude towards improvement of methods of teaching,

and whether methods have agreed with mission accepted educational philosophy and the best current advice on the learning process. During the earliest phases of mission education - Establishment and Expansion-there was generally an inadequate amount of attention paid to methodology in the village schools;[1] even in the district schools what sound method was employed was used largely intuitively by the alert, well-informed but largely untrained European teachers.[2] More direct attention was paid to methodology in the Consolidation Phase upon the instituting of the training colleges and the bringing in of a number of trained educators.[3] Even so, even in the 1930's, the standard of methodology was not high in the village schools. Improved attention was paid to method of teaching under the influences of the Government teacher training courses of the 1950's.[4] The energetic communication between European supervisors and the native teachers both in training and in service indicates that the missions were not lacking

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[1] vide supra, pp.118ff. and 171.

[2] vide supra, pp.115ff.

[3] vide supra, pp.37ff.

[4] vide supra, pp.304ff.

the organisational structure to lay stress in this area. Methodology has been a weak link in mission education in Papua and New Guinea in common with education in comparable developing countries. This feature will be dealt with in more detail under a study of the success of mission education during the various phases. It is of interest to note that apart from the helpful but haphazard references to methodology in the mission literature the bulk of the progressive ideas in method of teaching have emanated from Government sources. Also worth observing is the fact that missions would do well to do some further thinking regarding the relationship of methods of motivation and instruction to their basic philosophy. For example, a system of schools claiming to follow the example of Christ who replaced the appeal of pride and self-seeking with the constraint of love and service to others would be more in order using intrinsic forms of motivation rather than basically extrinsic competitive forms. The resulting reduction of anxiety and greater permanence of interest would be rewarding by way of learning achievement alone (especially in creative areas) quite apart from implications for social and character education.

The last area noted for investigation at the opening of this section on the completeness of the system of

mission education was that of a system of teacher training backed up by administration and inspection. Machinery for training, supervision and inspection has always been in operation in mission education.[1] Training was relegated in the pioneering years to a rubbing-off process while the student was taking his own studies. Under the Consolidation Phase it was placed upon a systematic basis, while under the Re-assessment Phase its standard was raised to the achievement of certain minimum requirements.[2] Supervision of a close and detailed nature was necessary from the earliest times by virtue of the limited experience and lack of development of the national and native teachers. Inspection by anyone apart from the personally-involved supervisor has not been a strong feature within the organisation of the mission school system. Even in Papua prior to World War II the Government inspectors brought in were examining results rather than inspecting teachers' programmes of work and methods of teaching.[3] Could the missions, who had generally cordial relations, especially at the official levels, have formed between them a board of inspectors responsible for reporting on the maintenance of standards in mission schools generally

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[1] See, for example, p.120.

[2] vide supra, pp.293ff.

[3] vide supra, pp.174ff.

they might well have improved the confidence and achievement of their systems of education.

To round off this section on the completeness of the systems of mission education in Papua and New Guinea it can be concluded that the systems as developed up to World War II were very largely viable. The drive to establish and maintain the schools has been strong and sustained; while basic philosophy has not been apparent in the educational platform of many missions there has been a useful understanding of the objectives of mission education. These objectives have gone beyond the mere gaining of converts to the satisfying of the needs of the student in all parts of his being. While conducting education along vernacular lines (their first choice) the missions have proved themselves capable of financing their schools independent of Government aid in spite of the fact that they have largely neglected the building of a firm economic foundation amongst the mission constituents. Buildings and equipment while being simple have generally been adequate. When the Government stepped up English language and other requirements in mission education they also went a long way towards equipping the missions to carry the extra burdens. Syllabi and methods have not been strong areas of mission initiative in education but mission schools

have made some good use of Government provisions in these areas. Structure for training, administration and inspection in the mission systems has been generally adequate; however, the lack of sophistication of the native teachers and of a generally recognized standard of education has been a limiting factor in determining the effectiveness of these. It can be stated with a fair degree of conviction that the mission systems did not require Administration guidance to conduct effectively (if not ideally) a vernacular system of education. On the other hand with a sudden launching of mission education into an era where higher academic standards and work in English were expected the mission systems were seriously lacking in their approach to a non-vernacular programme and learnt to lean heavily upon Government support and leadership.[1] The War had been the most significant factor in bringing about this change in the adequacy of mission education; it had depleted mission financial and manpower resources; it had largely dissuaded the native people from loyalty to the missions' pre-war vernacular policy; it had stirred up nationalistic feelings on the international scene which led to a favouring of a type of education in New Guinea (and Papua by virtue of the administrative link) which was calculated to lead to political maturity; and it

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[1] vide supra, pp.261ff.

brought into being a Government Department of Education with enlightened and energetic educational leadership.

The Success of Mission Education.

Mission education has been a several-sided system developing though four phases with a variety of teachers in the face of a changing pattern of problems. To assess its success it will be useful to arrive at conclusions in two ways: by studying the realisation of mission education objectives from phase to phase, and by noting the performance of the various types of schools together with the teachers working in them.

The fact that mission education was able to evolve from phase to phase is, in itself, an indication of a degree of success. The Expansion Phase with its movement into the villages around the district headquarters was not possible until the main objectives of the Establishment Phase had been realised: that is, the confidence of the people had been won, some progress had been made with buildings and language mastery and a work force of native teachers had been procured.[1] During the Establishment Phase class work was at times incidental and was not set upon a systematic basis, however the influence of the intrepid, dedicated pioneer

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[1] vide supra, pp.31ff.

missionary teacher was never more dramatic than at this time. In the face of serious problems of isolation, ill health, threat to life and lack of interest from the younger generation the basic pioneering goals of eradication of the worst forms of barbarity and the gaining of the natives' confidence were achieved in surprisingly short time.[1] It is difficult to find any reason for qualifying the success of this first phase unless it be the type of extrinsic incentive offered to parents and students for attendance at the earliest mission schools. With no Government co-ercion regarding school attendance (which would also have been a less than ideal incentive) material reward for work (or sometimes merely for being present at the mission station) was resorted to at times to stimulate interest in education.[2] So long as the students learnt while at the schools the intrinsic value of the education provided and the extrinsic approach was dropped no harm need have been sustained.

The success of the Expansion Phase is attested to by virtue of the fact that the various missions were able to move into the Consolidation Phase within approximately fifteen to twenty years of their being launched. The goals

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[1] vide supra, p.32.

[2] vide supra, p.55.

of the Expansion Phase were the bringing under mission influence of a wider circle of the population with the children provided for educationally (simple skills and religion) and the adults cared for pastorally; the utilisation of a group of national teachers who would feed into the district schools children possessing a very elementary literacy; and the building up of a such numbers of students, suitable for training as teachers, in the district schools as would warrant the establishing of a centralised teacher training college.[1] Judged on its own objectives the Expansion Phase worked smoothly. Since the funds available were meagre and there were few European teachers available the village school feeder system was an efficient means of setting the self-propating process in action. By the same token the quite limited teacher preparation provided was acceptable as part of an evolving process which was to be improved at the achievement of the Consolidation Phase.

There was some important success enjoyed by mission education in the Consolidation Phase.[2] The objective of providing a more continuous supply of native teachers for

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[1] vide supra, pp.34ff.

[2] vide supra, pp.35ff. and pp.180-205.

pushing into new areas was well achieved. Further the missions were successful in exposing a wide number of teacher-trainees to the best available European talent in education. Some success was achieved in providing a higher quality general education for those coming on from the district school, however, it was disappointing that this level of education did not appear to go far beyond the fifth or sixth standard of the primary school. The failure to lift the standard of the teachers' fund of knowledge and teaching skill considerably higher than it had been during the Expansion Phase is one of the disappointments of the Consolidation Phase. Despite this, the Consolidation Phase, culminating for the great majority of missions in the optimism of the 1930's was a period of growth and confidence for mission education. The administrative three-school organisation of the field had proved effective and the mission schools despite the current financial difficulties had managed to please those with whom they were associated: The native people were content with a simple vernacular education. The homeland church constituencies were satisfied that an effective self-propagating system was operating. The Papuan Administration appreciated the use of English in the Assisted Schools,[1] while the New Guinea Administration

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[1] vide supra, pp.174ff.

was satisfied that the vernacular approach was suitably non-disruptive to the gradual development of the natives.

Notwithstanding that the Consolidation Phase met most of the expectations of the missions it can be criticised for not having more wide-ranging objectives or alternatively for not moving sooner into a further mission-initiated phase. The missions reaching the Territory before the turn of the century had reached the Consolidation Phase by 1910; no new development in educational outlook had been achieved by 1940. Assuming that the broad vernacular approach served their purposes best missions appeared to have committed themselves to the three-school system so strongly that it would not have been modified in Papua and New Guinea until the whole of the indigenous population had been reached, unless the War had intervened. The improvement of scholastic and pedagogical standards and the developing of a more economically self-supporting system were sacrificed to the ever-pressing call to enter new areas. There was a two-fold motivation here: the Gospel was to be taken to as many as possible as soon as possible and, further, particular missions were often anxious to enter newly opened districts before other missions to allow for expansion of the work of their own society and to give the natives the Christian message

from what each mission quite naturally considered was the advantage of its own denominational viewpoint. There appeared to be no working formula developed by the missions for relating broad forward advance in education with the higher education of those natives capable of benefiting from a secondary and possibly a tertiary education and thereby hastening the advance into new areas. During the pre-War Consolidation Phase the feed-back to mission education was one largely of mediocrity. The missions may well have made more impressive advance into new areas by commencing a separate feed-back of a superior element in the form of better educated and trained teachers who in turn would produce youngsters more ready to benefit from the education provided later at higher levels. As it was the missions were content to maintain a pastor-teacher training system built upon a primary school base; secondary schools were scarcely thought of until the Administration indicated its intentions after the War, and hardly became important until the 1960's.

A further shortcoming of mission education during the Consolidation Phase has already been alluded to - unwillingness to diversify its training opportunities. Those who left the centralised training schools were largely fed back as liabilities (howbeit productive) upon the economic structure of the missions as pastor-teachers.

Should a significant number of these have been given training for industrial participation with skills commensurate with the times the financial support which they and the villages they could influence might well have hastened the realisation of the "expansionist" objectives of the missions in the Consolidation Phase.

In the Re-assessment Phase of mission education initiative was wrested from the missions and was assumed by the Administration under the insightful leadership of the Territory's first Director of Education.[1] In assessing the success of the missions during this phase it would not be appropriate to compare mission accomplishments early in the phase with Administration wishes, as the Government had deliberately set out to re-direct mission education from its broad vernacular programme to a more advanced approach leading to the mastery of English. Those who have judged mission education in Papua and New Guinea have failed to realise that the missions were involved in a change in kind of educational approach not merely in a development of quality. It is worth noting that the non-disruptive broad vernacular approach may well have been superior for the slower moving pre-War days less troubled by the stirrings of the winds of nationalism.

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[1] vide supra, pp.234ff.

A more reliable means of judging the success of mission education in this post-War Re-assessment Phase is to compare its performance with its objectives. These were for the missions to examine their purposes for education in the light of the Government's new demands, to maintain the confidence of their constituencies, to keep abreast of the rising academic and language qualifications set by the Administration, and to continue the expansion of the system where possible.[1] The first of these objectives was carried out in a thoughtful and generally penetrating way in a re-study in some instances of mission philosophy in education and in most instances of mission objectives for education. A fair degree of success was achieved in maintaining the confidence of the native constituency in education in that the existing vernacular schools were not abruptly abandoned.[2] In most cases where schools were closed they were consolidated into better-staffed and equipped central schools. As far as matching the academic achievements of the newly-organised Government schools and maintaining the loyalty of the native parents towards mission education the missions were not so successful. The indigenous parents in the cities especially showed

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[1] vide supra, pp.42ff.

[2] vide supra, pp.297ff.

a preference for Government education for their boys for whom prowess in English was regarded as more important than it was for girls.[1] The missions achieved noteworthy success in keeping abreast of rising Administration requirements in education. Notwithstanding that the Government was working systematically behind the missions providing some finance and much educational guidance the achievements of the missions in upgrading their school work in the 1950's were impressive. Within a decade the vernacular programme had been largely replaced by a system featuring English speaking teachers at all levels with certificates of teacher competency and possessing quite efficient pedagogical tools. This success of mission education in the re-direction of schooling effort is the more remarkable in that the bulk of the achievement came in the latter half of the decade (the years 1956 to 1960)[2] and included a considerable amount of re-building, additional building and improved efforts in secondary education. Rate of expansion to new areas of mission education was checked for several years but appeared quickly to recover. By the early 1960's at the close of the period under study the missions

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[1] vide supra, pp.245ff.

[2] vide supra, pp.301ff.

in Papua and New Guinea had retained a basis of vernacular education in that local languages might still be used in registered schools in certain years and for certain times, and upon this it had built on academically-directed, English-language system capable of growing to satisfy the needs of a post-War developing country.

A further means for examining the success of mission education in Papua and New Guinea is to note the relative degrees of success experienced by the various school types and their teachers. The mission village schools carried the bulk of the education work throughout the majority of the period under study. Staffed by native teachers with a minimum of education and teacher training and a maximum of contact with the village situation they represented both mission education's greatest triumph and most serious shortcoming.[8] Thanks for the socialising of the young villager together with development of simple literacy skills in the vernacular is due most of all to the village school. On the other hand it was the severely confined nature of the native teachers' background and of the village school programme which limited the mental development of the pupils during the pre-War

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[8] vide supra, pp.118-121.

phases and most seriously aggravated the problems of re-directing the mission systems in the post-War era.

The district school teachers with their typically well-educated but frequently untrained European teachers in the pre-War era have enjoyed a high degree of success.[1] The classroom work in these schools-characterised by high dedication, enthusiasm, attention to the mission goals of education and intelligent interest in individual pupils-reached a standard within the bounds of the level of development of which the students were capable after a limited infant schooling and after reaching the district school at a relatively advanced age.

The training schools were the key to the lifting of the standards of mission education. Staffed as they were with well educated and trained European instructors they had all they needed progressively to raise the quality of the system - apart from the material upon which they had to work.[2] The training school instructors were suitably aware of the techniques of teacher training and capable of adapting them to vernacular education conditions. The products of these schools were like their instructors in zeal, sincerity and dedication but were too frequently

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[1] vide supra, pp.115ff.

[2] vide supra, pp.116ff.

going out to work on the fringes of their knowledge with methods insufficiently understood and liable to lapse into rote practices unless closely directed. For all this the training schools were instrumental in providing usefully effective front-line teachers for the villages for over thirty years up to World War II and were readily adapted to the new English-language approach when they received recruits with a stronger scholastic background and when improved teacher training courses were provided.

To summarise the two main sections of this chapter thus far it is concluded that with a workably complete system of education meeting the majority of its own objectives and rising steadily to meet the Administration's imposed objectives mission education has reached a creditable standard both in the vernacular and the English approaches. There is no suggestion, however, that mission education would do its best work when separate from Government influence. Through the years mission education has generally benefited from Government assistance in the areas of syllabus, methodology and inspection. These conclusions lead on naturally to some lessons which might well be observed for the future implementation of mission programmes of education in developing countries.

Lessons from the Past.

Mission boards have demonstrated that while they have

more than enough calls upon their funds, especially regarding movement into new areas, they are able to find finance for the improvement of education when a Government demands it. They would build up a greater degree of confidence in their work if they were to learn to assess their own ills in education and to remedy them as the need arises. This quality improvement might well be the means, too, of facilitating expansion as a result of the production of a more reliable and efficient staff. There is good evidence to believe that the missions have the educational personnel capable of making these assessments. There is need for greater confidence in the missions' own educators by the mission boards.

Other considerations for mission boards already commented on in the foregoing conclusions concern themselves with the need to collaborate with each other regarding the settling upon a sound philosophy of Christian education, the preparation of mission-oriented syllabi and the formation of inter-mission boards of inspection. Such moves would be well calculated to maintain a true sense of direction in mission education, ensuring a closer adherence to mission purposes and rousing greater enthusiasm amongst mission personnel both inside and outside the mission classrooms.

A further consideration for mission boards is the importance of diversifying training school offerings so that a wider spectrum of the developing native society will have mission representatives and so that individuals and village communities may have the finance to support their own schools. A sound economic basis for mission schooling is the only alternative to becoming more and more financially dependent upon Government aid. Missions ought to consider the implications of not moving back towards financial independence in education lest the mission system of schools in Papua and New Guinea developed with courage and imagination over ninety years should lose its identity and its sense of its first purposes.

From their viewpoint Government Administrations have some important considerations to observe concerning mission education. Governments should be aware that for the majority of missions in developing countries education is as vital to the missions for the progress of their religiously-oriented work as it is for Governments in national development. Further, missions are willing and able to work towards both Government objectives and mission purposes in education at the same time.

Further, Governments should be aware that missions will continue their efforts in education in the face of

all reasonable requirements, so fundamental is schooling to their achievement of their basic aims. Where changes in the quality of mission education are called for Governments ought not to be deterred from the progressive applying of well-studied blanket regulations. Although the religious bodies do not have notable inter-mission cohesion their separateness makes for ready adaptability.

Governments may need to be reminded that the missions have had noteworthy achievements in some important areas of education, especially those related to vernacular literacy, social relationships, culture-contact, agriculture, and objectives of education. To make Government requirements in education over-rigid, heavily detailed, and largely prescriptive would threaten the existence of a system of education which has been admirably adapted to the Territory's past and which might yet provide variety, individuality and reasonable experimentation for the future. It may well be found that Departmental guidance may be confined to the inspection of standards.

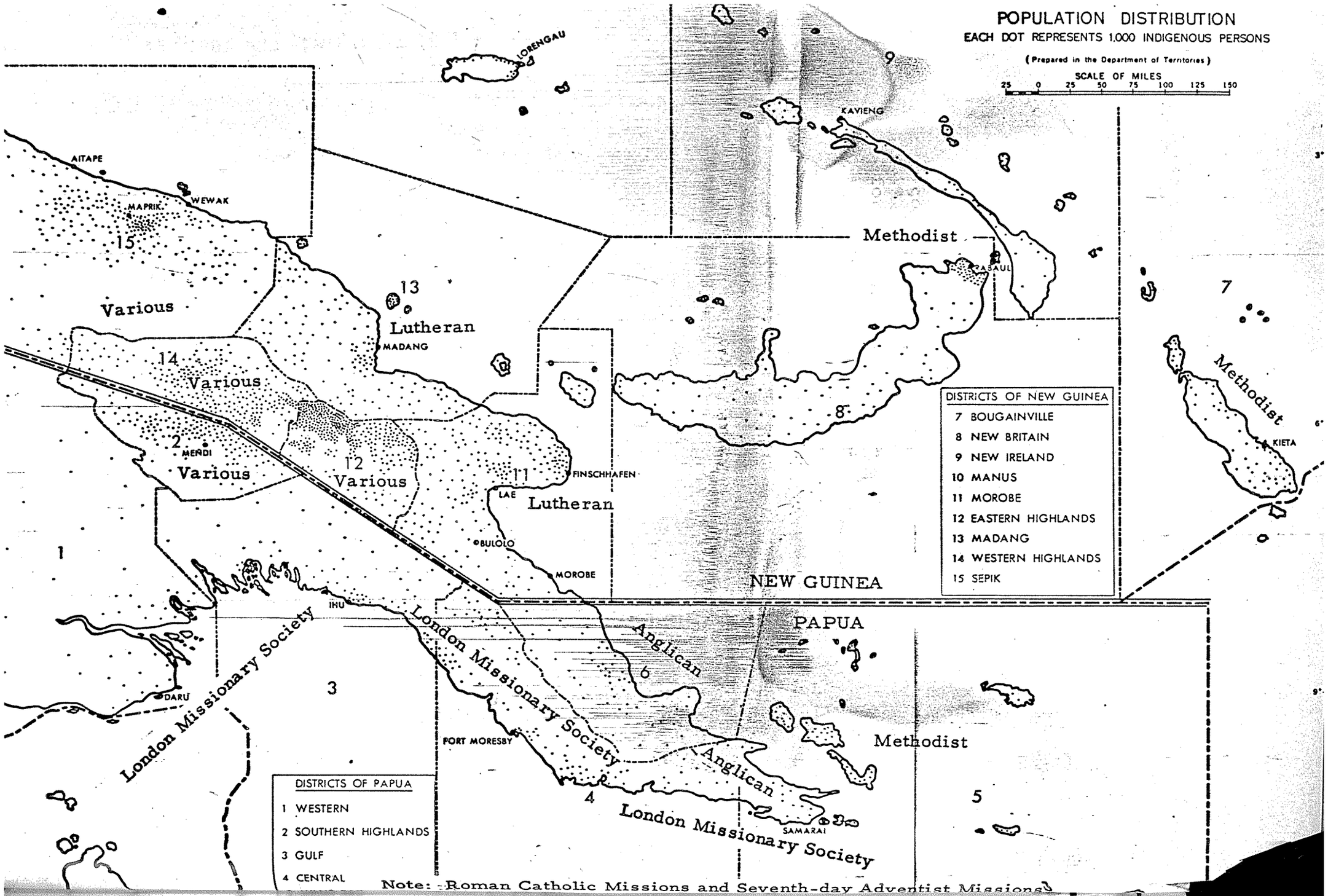
With a revival amongst mission educators of the courage and dedication of the Establishment Phase, the enterprise of the Expansion Phase, the confidence of the Consolidation Phase and the determination of the Re-assessment Phase mission education in Papua and New Guinea may still

play a leading role in the development of sturdy, well-informed, freedom-loving, and upright Christian citizens for the emerging nation.

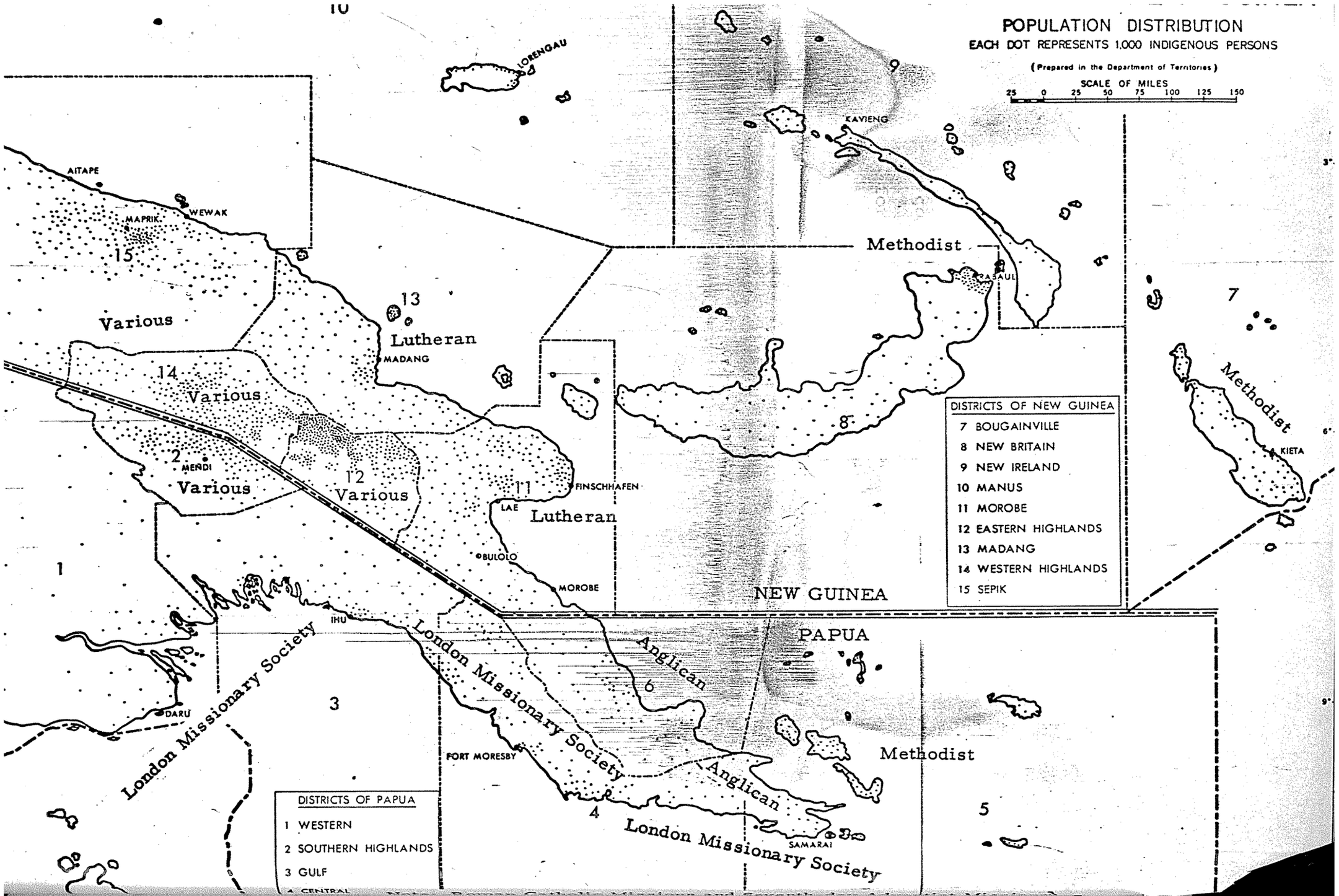
APPENDICES

A. LOCATIONS OF MISSIONS

B. CHRONOLOGY OF MISSION EDUCATION



Note: Roman Catholic Missions and Seventh-day Adventist Missions


POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
EACH DOT REPRESENTS 1,000 INDIGENOUS PERSONS
(Prepared in the Department of Territories)
SCALE OF MILES
25 0 25 50 75 100 125 150
LORENGAU
KAVIENG
AITAPE
WEWAK
MAPRIK
Methodist
RABAUL
Various
Lutheran
MADANG
Various
MENDI
Various
Various
FINSCHHAFEN
LAE
Lutheran
BULOLO
MOROBE
NEW GUINEA
PAPUA
IHU
London Missionary Society
Anglican
London Missionary Society
DARU
FORT MORESBY
Anglican
Methodist
SAMARAI
London Missionary Society
Methodist
KIETA
DISTRICTS OF NEW GUINEA
7 BOUGAINVILLE
8 NEW BRITAIN
9 NEW IRELAND
10 MANUS
11 MOROBE
12 EASTERN HIGHLANDS
13 MADANG
14 WESTERN HIGHLANDS
15 SEPIK
DISTRICTS OF PAPUA
1 WESTERN
2 SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS
3 GULF
4 CENTRAL

APPENDIX B: SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY OF MISSION EDUCATION IN PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA 1871 TO 1962. *

(1871 - 1880)

1871	London Missionary Society places South Sea native teachers on several islands on the Papuan Gulf.
1872	London Missionary Society places South Sea native teachers on the mainland of Papua for the first time.
1874	W.G. Lawes (L.M.S.) commences mission work at Port Moresby - the first European settler the Territory of British New Guinea had known.
1875	Methodists commence mission work in New Guinea at Rabaul under George Brown - the first European settlers the Territory of New Guinea had known.
1877	James Chalmers (L.M.S.) reaches Papua.

* This chronology has been compiled from a wide number of sources most of which are referred to in the thesis. The events are listed here for ready reference without documentation.

(1881 - 1890)

1882	Roman Catholics commence work at Rabaul, New Guinea.
1884	Britain proclaims protectorate over British New Guinea (later Papua). Germany proclaims protectorate over German New Guinea (later New Guinea).
1885	Roman Catholics first settle at Yule Island, British New Guinea. New Guinea Company (German) commences work at Finschhafen, New Guinea.
1886	Lutherans (Nuendettel-sau Society from Germany) commence work at Finschhafen, New Guinea.
1887	Lutherans (Rhenish Society from Germany) commence work at Madang, New Guinea.
1888	British New Guinea annexed - Responsibility shared amongst Britain, Queensland, N.S.W. and Victoria.
1889	Macgregor takes charge of Government Administration in British New Guinea.
1890	Comity agreement on mission "spheres of influence" arrived at amongst L.M.S., Anglicans and Methodists under Macgregor's leadership.

(1891 - 1900)

1891 Methodists commence work on the islands at the east of British New Guinea.

~~1892~~ Anglicans commence work on the north coast of peninsula British New Guinea.[1892] Lutherans move inland.

1893 L.M.S. expands to the Gulf in the west and Kwato in the east.

1894 Lawes (L.M.S.) sets up Territory's first centralised training college near Port Moresby.

1896 Roman Catholics commence their first work on mainland New Guinea - in Sepik area.
Macgregor urges missions in British New Guinea to teach English.

1898 Macgregor leaves.

1899 Early moves inland by Roman Catholics and L.M.S.

(1901 - 1910)

1901	Chalmers and Tomkins massacred on island in Papuan Gulf. Roman Catholics commence work on Bouganville.
1904	Judge J.H.P. Murray reaches British New Guinea.
1905	Roman Catholics reach Madang area from Sepik area.
1906	British New Guinea handed over to Commonwealth of Australia, as Territory of Papua.
1907	Murray becomes Acting Administrator. German Administration opens Government school at Rabaul.
1908	Seventh-day Adventists reach Papua - negotiate for land inland from Port Moresby.
1909	Murray becomes Lieutenant-Governor.
1910	Missions commence time of general financial crisis.

(1911 - 1920)

1913	German Administration plans to co-ordinate its own school work and the school work of the missions.
1914	Australians take over Rabaul and assume control of German New Guinea as result of commencement of World War I. Papuan Education Ordinance, 1914 comes into operation.
1918	Lutherans make a tour inland from the north east of New Guinea.
1919	Treaty of Versailles signed.
1920	Australia takes over New Guinea under mandate from League of Nations. First payments made to missions in Papua for education from Native Taxation Fund.
1927	Lutheran mission property placed under specially organised union of Lutheran Churches in Australia. American Lutherans of Iowa take over Rhenish Society work at Madang.

(1921 - 1930)

1921	Civil government takes over in New Guinea. First government examinations conducted in Papuan mission schools. Seventh-day Adventists commence expansion inland from Port Moresby under influence of G.F. Jones. Methodists consolidate work on Bouganville.
1922	New Guinea Education Ordinance, 1922 comes into operation. New Guinea Administration opens Government school near Rabaul with Victorian teacher, W.C. Groves, in charge.
1924	Seventh-day Adventists move into Bouganville.
1925	Gold mining commences in Morobe District, New Guinea.
1926	Roman Catholics extend work in Sepik.
1927	Guinea Airways commence operation to New Guinea gold-mining areas. Missions in New Guinea decline Administration offers of subsidy and compulsory attendance in return for Government inspection of schools.
1928	Seventh-day Adventists obtain mission land at two places on the Papuan Coast.
1929	B.J. McKenna reports on education in New Guinea. Seventh-day Adventists commence work near Rabaul.
1930	Lutherans and Anglicans extend to New Britain.

(1931 - 1940)

1931	Roman Catholics explore Highlands from Madang. Seventh-day Adventists extend to Mussau and Emira. Papuan Administration provides missions with a useful syllabus of school work.
1933	Lutherans make further moves towards Highlands. New Guinea Administration offers missions full responsibility of education in New Guinea with Government subsidy. Air transport to Highlands reaches high standard.
1934	Lutherans and Catholics establish in Highlands. Seventh-day Adventists commence work in Highlands.
1935	Unevangelised Fields Mission opens on Fly River District of Papua. Plan for mission take-over of education in New Guinea finally turned down by missions.
1936	Mission work in Highlands grows.
1937	Effects of Depression no longer operative.
1939	Papua now wholly explored. War influences felt.
1940	J.H.P. Murray dies while in office as Lieut-Governor. Bamu River Mission in operation.

(1941 - 1950)

1942 Japanese invade Rabaul (January) and commence to push over Owen Stanley Ranges to Port Moresby (July).

1943 Japanese defeated in Papua early in year. Missionaries commence return to Papua late in year.

1944 Most of New Guinea reclaimed.

1945 Missionaries return to inland New Guinea at mid-year.
Japan capitulates (August).
Civil Administration for combined Papua and New Guinea commences under Colonel J.K. Murray.

1946 First Administration-Missions Conference (Post-War) in June.
W.C. Groves sets up Department of Education (June).

1947 Government school at Sogeri near Port Moresby commences teacher training.

1948 Established missions extend work especially in the Highlands.

1949 Commencement of establishment of numerous new missions in the Highlands and the Sepik. ~~commences~~. (Baptists, Assemblies of God, East and West Indies Bible Mission, South Sea Evangelical Mission, and Missouri Synod Lutherans).

(1951 - 1960)

1951	Mt. Lamington disaster (Jan.) in Anglican area. New Tribes Mission opens in Morobe. Extension of missions: Roman Catholic to Gulf, Northern and Milne Bay Districts, S.D.A. to Milne Bay, U.F.M. to Central Highlands. Administration operating eleven schools.
1952	Education Ordinance 1952 passes second reading. Christian Missions in Many Lands opens in Sepik.
1953	Papuan Revival Mission opens in Western Division.
1954	Education Ordinance 1952 passed. Trusteeship Council urges more aid to missions.
1955	Education Ordinance 1952 comes into effect (March). A,B, and C courses for teachers in operation. Three new missions reach Highlands: Apostolic Church Mission, Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood, Faith Mission.
1956	Grants system modified to encourage teacher registration. Nazarene Mission commences in Highlands.
1957	Education Ordinance modified to allow for Exempt Schools. Inspection of schools for registration in progress. "S" Course for European teacher qualification offered. Sola Fide Mission commences in Sepik. Trusteeship Council urges setting up secondary education.
1958	W.C. Groves retires, G.T. Roscoe becomes Director of Education (September). Salvation Army commences Port Moresby and Eastern Highlands. Church of Christ commences at Madang.
1959	Christian Assemblies of Australia and New Zealand commence in Port Moresby.
1960	Inspection for registration still continuing. Four square Gospel Mission commences in Eastern Highlands.

(1961 - 1966)

1961 Still fewer than 50% of school age population attending school.
Report by Committee on Tertiary Education in Papua and New Guinea.

1962 G.T. Roscoe retires, L.W. Johnson becomes Director of Education (June).

1963 Commission on Higher Education established.

1966 L.W. Johnson becomes Assistant Administrator, K. McKinnon becomes Director of Education (December).

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