

**NOBLE TRADITIONS AND CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES
AS NATIONAL IDEOLOGY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA:
DO THEIR PHILOSOPHIES COMPLEMENT OR CONTRADICT
EACH OTHER?**

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The Preamble of the Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea states:

WE, THE PEOPLE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA . . . pledge ourselves to guard and pass on to those who come after us our noble traditions and the Christian principles that are ours now. ¹

A superficial glance at the phrase “our noble traditions and Christian principles” immediately conjures up the picture of two different sets of ideologies, each forming a pillar quite different from the other, perhaps, in shape, color, and substance. However, they should complement each other, and upon them the Constitution of the newly independent nation of Papua New Guinea firmly rests. Is this the real situation?

The answer must depend on what the phrase “our noble traditions” really means. Many educated Papua New Guineans-and other Pacific Islanders, writers and politicians in particular-often lament what they regard as an unwarranted and shameful destruction of their traditional cultures when Europeans imposed their alien Western civilization. ² For example, during the opening of the 1980 South Pacific Arts Festival in Port Moresby, the then minister for culture and tourism, dressed in his

Pacific Studies, Vol. 11, No. 2-March 1988

fantastically beautiful traditional ceremonial dress, launched a vicious attack on Christian missions for destroying Papua New Guinea's traditional cultures.³ If the phrase "our noble traditions" therefore means the traditions regarded before the coming of Europeans as noble by the various cultures in what is now the independent nation of Papua New Guinea, it seems reasonable to suggest that the philosophies behind the so-called two ideological bases of the national Constitution cannot possibly complement each other. They, in fact, contradict each other. "Christian principles" refer to those Christian teachings on basic issues such as truth, freedom, equality, love, forgiveness, peace making, and giving. "Noble traditions," however, were determined by value systems that were heavily influenced by fear, superstition, hatred, and revenge. Consequently, in addition to traditions that were quite compatible with Christian principles (such as caring for and sharing with one's kin), those value systems also allowed certain actions to be regarded as noble that were quite contrary to Christian principles. The following examples illustrate this point.

The Status of Women

In spite of the well known but often unsubstantiated generalization by many social scientists about the egalitarian nature of Melanesian societies,⁴ women throughout Papua New Guinea were not given equal status with men.⁵ This is, of course, not peculiar to Papua New Guinea. Women in many of the world's most modern countries of the West are still struggling for equal status.⁶ However, the situation for women in the traditional societies in Papua New Guinea was very harsh indeed. With few exceptions women were excluded from religious or sacred ceremonies on the grounds of their assumed inferiority.⁷ They were believed to be a source of pollution dangerous to men. In fact, in many areas "the people generally believed that if a man came into contact, even in the most indirect manner, with menstrual blood he would sicken and perhaps die."⁸ Even two or three years ago, a Highlander axed his wife to death when he found out that she had been cooking food for him and his friends during menstruation.⁹ Young male novices in initiation ceremonies were taught how to bleed their noses or their tongues, incise the penis, or make themselves vomit by swallowing a long piece of cane. All of these were designed to cleanse them of the polluting effects of their mothers and other women with whom they had been living until then.¹⁰ From then on direct contact with women had to be avoided at all cost during the period of seclusion. Women were deliberately misled

about the sacred rites being taught to young male novices during initiation ceremonies. The sound of the sacred flutes that the young initiates were taught to play, for example, was explained to women as being made by large birds or celestial beings visiting the men's club during the period of initiation. One researcher stated, "The men agreed that the tale was invented for the express purpose of deceiving the women and keeping them in a position of inferiority."¹¹

Indeed, keeping women in a position of inferiority, it seems, was a noble tradition among men in Papua New Guinea. Real knowledge-sacred knowledge-was denied them.¹² So were positions of leadership. Throughout Polynesian history prior to European contact there had been some powerful and outstanding women leaders.¹³ In general, this was not so in Melanesia, let alone in Papua New Guinea.¹⁴ There were no "big women," only "big men." The role of women in politics was indirect, limited to some quiet influencing of their big-men husbands in making decisions, but mostly to producing the wealth in the form of pigs, vegetables, and other things that their husbands used in the search for bigmanship.¹⁵

Social Relations and Social Control

Within the small, fragmented societies of traditional Papua New Guinea, as in other human societies of a similar kind, relations between members were characterized by affection, devotion to each other, caring, and sharing. Offenses were punished, but the punishments were controlled. Shaming the offender was a very common form of punishment. A rape within a community, for example, would not necessarily lead to killing or open warfare. Compensation was organized and paid, or the offender was subjected to a mock fight where he was severely dealt with by the members of the group.¹⁶ When fighting broke out, weapons used were normally limited to fists, sticks, or stones. Spears or bow and arrows were generally reserved for use against enemy tribes.¹⁷ Theft rarely occurred. Lying, stealing, adultery, murder, and incest were strictly forbidden within these traditional societies throughout Papua New Guinea.¹⁸ Papua New Guinean scholars and church leaders often point to these qualities in human relationship as noble traditions of the people that should be preserved and passed on to future generations.¹⁹

The only problem with this suggestion is the fact that these noble behaviors rarely extended beyond the social, economic, and geographical boundaries of each small local community and its allies. Indeed, it

was not at all ignoble to raid the gardens of your enemies, steal their pigs, rape their women, or kill in spite of the fact that retaliation was almost certain. In cases of raping women of another clan or tribe, the ultimate and the most noble way of settling the score was to pay back in kind or to go to war.²⁰ The ultimate way also of settling intercommunity land disputes was to go to war-killing people and destroying property. In cases of murder, payback killing was a must. All of these, in the eyes of the people of the traditional societies in Papua New Guinea-seen through the logic of their own philosophy of life-were very noble traditions indeed.

The use of sorcery and magic as a means of social control was an integral part of the way of life of these societies. Different varieties were used for healing, gardening, protection, and so on.²¹ A modern version to attract love calls for a man to roll one of his pubic hairs in a cigarette and give it to the lady of his desire. After smoking it, it is believed, the lady will dream that night of having sexual intercourse with him, a dream that is supposed to be realized in real life very soon.²² However, the most prevalent form of sorcery and magic was called black magic, in which the aim was to kill or to make people sicken and eventually die. The practice is still very strong in many parts of Papua New Guinea. In November 1982 a priest reported that when a young boy died suddenly, a meeting was held to find out who was responsible for the sorcery that caused his death. After some discussion the boy's father suddenly pointed to a young woman who had been dumb since birth. Realizing the implication of that finger pointing, the young woman fled; the whole village chased after her. She jumped into a river and drowned. Everyone sighed with relief. They had duly avenged the boy's death.²³ To these people, this was indeed a noble act.

Wife bashing was another form of social control. In an article on 20 February 1987, the *Fiji Sun* reported:

Papua New Guinea's police chiefs have been told to stop bashing their wives. It's the first step in a campaign to crack down on domestic violence in a land where husbands have for centuries believed they have every right to beat their women.

"Some of you men have beat your wives," Police Commissioner David Tasion told provincial police commanders meeting in Rabaul.

"Look gentlemen, we've all done it. We know we, too, are at fault. . . . We've got to stop beating our wives," he said.

Initiation Ceremonies

One of the most noble traditions among traditional societies in Papua New Guinea was initiation. Initiation ceremonies were instituted to mark the entry of young people-men and women-to adulthood.²⁴ In one group in the Sepik

a girl was usually living in her husband's village at the time of her first menses. She informed her brother, who then built a hut in the bush where she retired for about a week with an elderly female relative in attendance. During her seclusion, she fasted for as long as she could and refrained from drinking and smoking. Her attendant regularly rubbed her body with nettles and taught her how to thrust a roll of the weed in and out of her vulva. The stinging was believed to make her breasts large and low-hanging and in general further her physical development.²⁵

In another area of the Sepik, in addition to bleeding the nose, tongue cutting, and the incision of the penis, initiation also necessitated scarification with "irresponsible bullying and swagger on the part of the men":²⁶

In the process of scarification nobody cares how the little boys bear their pain. If they scream, some of the initiators go and hammer on the gongs to drown the sound. The father of the little boy will perhaps stand by and watch the process, occasionally saying in a conventional way "That's enough! that's enough!" but no attention is paid to him . . . when pain is inflicted in other parts of initiation, it is done by men who enjoy doing it and who carry out their business in a cynical, practical-joking spirit. The drinking of filthy water is a great joke and the wretched novices are tricked into drinking plenty of it . . . In the first week of their seclusion, the novices are subjected to a great variety of cruel and harsh tricks.²⁷

One of my students from the Sepik, in a prize-winning essay on labor recruiting in his area, claimed that young men volunteered for work in gold mines or plantations in order to escape these severe and painful initiation ceremonies. Others escaped by going to boarding schools.²⁸ It is

hard to imagine Michael Somare, Bernard Naroboki, Tony Siaguru, Tony Bais, and other prominent leaders from the Sepik submitting their sons and daughters to these rituals, and yet, in the eyes of their ancestors, these initiation ceremonies constituted one of the most sacred and noble traditions.

Cannibalism

Human flesh was commonly consumed in many parts of Papua New Guinea. Two or three years before independence, two men were brought before the court for cutting up a dead body and roasting the meat for a meal. Their defense was that they had had nothing to do with killing the deceased, and it was their custom to consume dead bodies.²⁹ The invariably fatal disease of the nervous system called *kuru*, "laughing disease," common among the Fore people of the eastern Highlands, is believed by medical authorities to be due to cannibalism, particularly to eating half-cooked brain. The disease killed four to eight females for each male death. According to one researcher, "among the South Fore people *kuru* victims were regularly eaten by female kinswomen."³⁰ The Bena Bena people regarded the consuming of the dead bodies of certain kinsmen as "right and proper."³¹

The above traditional practices were sanctioned by the value systems held by those traditional societies as noble. Yet, with the exception of initiation ceremonies that are conveniently ignored by most of the modern elite, the present leaders of Papua New Guinea openly and vehemently denounce these practices -the suppression of women, payback killing, tribal wars, cannibalism, and the use of sorcery-urging people to forsake them or even legislating to outlaw them. What then did the framers of the Papua New Guinea Constitution mean by the phrase "our noble traditions"?

By eliminating the noble traditions or practices of the ancestors mentioned above, the answer seems now clear. Culture is never static. It is a living entity. It changes with the changing needs and aspirations of a people.³² When change occurs in one aspect of the culture, all other aspects are inevitably affected.³³ Since Christianity has been accepted by the majority of Papua New Guineans, its principles have become an important element in the value system of the emerging nation. This newly integrated value system is now the criterion by which the majority of Papua New Guineans decide whether an act or practice is noble or otherwise. Cannibalism, payback killing, sorcery and magic, raiding

the gardens of enemies, and raping their women are no longer regarded by most Papua New Guineans as noble. The fact that some of these things still happen, as they indeed occur also in other countries of the world, does not indicate public acceptance or approval.

Contrary to tradition, Christian missions gave women a place in religion. Church membership was open to them, and education, both spiritual and secular, became available to them, although training for the Christian ministry was normally reserved for men until very recently. Able women became increasingly eligible for important positions of leadership in the church and in society, in spite of strong resistance, as might be expected, from the more conservative elements. This new trend was further encouraged by the Australian colonial administration after World War II and, at independence, the promotion of women became enshrined in the Constitution³⁴ and the government's Eight Point Plan. Today many Papua New Guineans witness with pride women's playing important roles in politics, public service, educational institutions, commerce, and health services. Keeping women inferior to men is no longer acceptable to most Papua New Guineans, in accordance with international trends.

The caring, sharing, and communal activities that were important characteristics of traditional clan life were encouraged by the Christian missions and were extended beyond tribal boundaries, even to communities that had been traditional enemies.³⁵ The expressive aspects of the traditional cultures, such as dancing and carving, were in many cases related to sexual practices incongruent with Christian teaching, and to warrior cults. On these grounds they were opposed by the missions initially, but most have now developed into pure artistic forms, and many are no longer associated with their former cultural meanings. Dancing, carving, and many other artistic forms of expression are part of the national culture and, as such, are encouraged.³⁶

If the present noble traditions and Christian principles are in many respects identical and in most others compatible, why is it that many educated Papua New Guineans tend to insist on maximizing the separateness and distinctness of what is more realistically a congruent set of principles?

First, I believe it is part of a natural search for a national identity from within one's own cultural precedents. This is reinforced by underlying anticolonial sentiments that are difficult to eliminate entirely, considering the racial and exploitative attitudes prevalent among colonialists in the past. Christianity, in the minds of many Papua New Guin-

eans, was an important arm of colonialism. I never heard the assertion that "Christianity was a white man's religion" until I went to Papua New Guinea. In Polynesia, Christianity had arrived long before the fierce scramble for colonies that characterized the Pacific in the late nineteenth century. The strength of traditional cultures forced the missionaries to take Christianity to the villages,³⁷ and the emphasis was on religious conversion. After the people accepted Christianity, they incorporated it as an integral part of their cultures. The church-Roman Catholic or Protestant-became their church, and the identification with it was complete.³⁸ Even today, people who are opposed to Christianity (and there are some) do so because they do not believe in religion anymore, or because they have adopted some other religion, such as the Bahai faith; it is never because of any belief that Christianity is a white man's religion. On the contrary, whereas the overwhelming majority of Polynesians are active Christians, most of the Europeans they meet are not.

In contrast to Polynesia's experience, however, the Christianization of Melanesia coincided with the period of intense colonization in the Pacific and elsewhere. In Papua New Guinea, the colonial administrations and mission organizations worked closely together.³⁹ Missionaries, including many Polynesians, were used to further the policies of colonial governments in remote areas.⁴⁰ In return, the administrators offered the missionaries security and much practical help. It was indeed a marriage of convenience.

During this period in the history of missiology, the "industrial mission" was hailed as the correct approach to converting the heathens.⁴¹ It aimed at developing the whole man-body, mind, and spirit.⁴² The older approach of concentrating primarily on spiritual conversion was regarded as too limited and inadequate.⁴³ Industrial mission required the purchase of large tracts of land for plantations where the converts would be trained in plantation work, and where laborers would be led to know and accept Christ and to help the missions to become financially self-supporting eventually.

The mission headquarters usually had large plantations for the above reasons as well as a school or schools, a hospital, a theological institution, and, in some places, a technical institution and an agricultural institution.⁴⁴ These headquarters became the centers of the missions. The senior missionaries, mostly Europeans, stayed in these centers to manage the plantations and administer the other institutions. They had very little time to visit the villages. All important dates of the mission calendar were celebrated in these centers. The villagers had to travel to

the mission centers, sometimes up to two days, to celebrate Christmas, Easter, and so on.⁴⁵

Before World War II the social, economic, and political gulf between the missionaries and their converts in Papua New Guinea had become so wide that any idea of bridging it, as far as Papua New Guineans were concerned, was unthinkable. Decision making in most cases was done entirely by the European missionaries. This situation persisted until the 1950s. The whole system closely reflected the colonial setup; it is little wonder that in Papua New Guinea Christianity came to be regarded as a white man's religion and that some therefore resisted integrating it into their own societies. In Tonga, where land is extremely scarce because of its small size, church people often speak affectionately of the farsightedness of earlier missionaries in securing long leases on land for their church (999 years in some cases). In Papua New Guinea, where land shortages are much less of a problem, the people have been demanding, sometimes with threat of violence, the return of mission lands; Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands plantations are involved.⁴⁶ In some areas the people -church members-simply took over these plantations by moving in and squatting.

The second reason for the tendency to maximize the separateness of "noble tradition" and "Christian principles" is a resentment by the younger, better-educated generation, who are now taking over the leadership of the country, of the kinds of treatment that some missionaries were supposed to have meted out to their less-educated grandparents, parents, or siblings. An ex-seminarian, an outstanding politician and businessman, bitterly complained when he was a student at the University of Papua New Guinea about how the priests treated his elder brother "like dirt" when his brother visited him at the seminary. A female ex-student of mine, who now holds a very high position in a tertiary institution in Papua New Guinea, told me with uninhibited frankness and intense bitterness that she would never forget how Polynesian missionaries treated her mother like a slave.

I suspect that the ex-seminarian's brother did not consider himself to have been treated like dirt. He may not have seen any possibility of bridging the gap between him and the European missionaries, and was therefore prepared to accept whatever status the priests gave him. His better-educated and highly successful younger brother saw the situation differently and resented it bitterly. I also suspect that the young lady's mother accepted as normal the treatment she received from Polynesian missionaries. To her, as to many of her generation as well as earlier gen-

erations, it may have been an honor and a privilege to serve in a household of a missionary, a situation with benefits as well as drawbacks.⁴⁷ Her better-educated, more sophisticated, and highly successful daughter saw only paternalism and exploitation and hence her bitterness.

The search for indigenous identity and the resentment of past colonial practices, including certain missionary activities, by present Papua New Guinean leaders are understandable. Both are inescapable consequences of colonialism or other situations of extreme imbalance of power. The resentment toward Christian missions is only directed at certain practices of some missionaries and not against Christian principles. Side by side with this resentment is an appreciation of the positive effects of colonialism and missionization.⁴⁸ There is therefore inevitably a high degree of ambivalence in the attitudes of Papua New Guinean leaders toward the colonial experience and Christian missions.

Papua New Guinean leaders need to be reminded that things they have adopted from the outside world and integrated into their cultures are no longer foreign. They have become an integral part of the emerging national culture that has begun to replace the more localized unique traditions. There is no way of returning to those traditions of their ancestors, many of which have ceased to be appropriate and meaningful in the modern economic, political, and social context. For example, a few years ago the government encouraged people to wear their traditional dress one day a week, to be called Toana Day. This exercise was soon abandoned for lack of popular support. Serious attempts in other Third World countries to revive elements of culture that are no longer valued have been equally futile and disastrous.

Most of the framers of the Constitution of Papua New Guinea came from families with strong Christian backgrounds. Some may not practice Christianity, some may be against organized churches, but probably none would have any objection to the basic Christian principles. It is therefore the practices that are compatible with Christian principles and legitimized by the spirit of British common law (which was in fact inspired to a large degree by Christian principles) that are now regarded as noble traditions. These have become an integral part of the modern Papua New Guinean way of life or culture.

If this interpretation is accepted, it means that "noble traditions" and "Christian principles" are not two differing sets of principles, as they at first appeared. The latter phrase is, in fact, embodied or implied in the former. Therefore, to have had the phrase "Christian principles" included in the Preamble of the Constitution of Papua New Guinea seems quite redundant. To a layman like myself the inclusion of "Christian

principles” appears to have a serious Constitutional implication, a pledge made in the name of the people of Papua New Guinea to “guard” Christianity “and pass” it “on to those who come after us.” The question that one must ask now is, does not this contradict the provisions in the Constitution itself, which guarantee freedom of religion? ⁴⁹

NOTES

I am greatly indebted to Professor Ron Crocombe, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, for his valuable comments on the first draft of this paper.

1. Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea, 1975, 1.
2. This conviction is strongly held by a great majority of educated people from countries that had been colonized by imperial powers in the past. It is less marked among the educated Tongans. The difference may be explained by the fact that Tonga had never been colonized.
3. S. Tago, “All of Our Life Was a Sacrament,” *Papua New Guinea Times*, 26 September 1980.
4. See M. D. Sahlins, “Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia,” in *Readings in Australian and Pacific Anthropology*, edited by I. Hogbin and L. R. Hiatt (Melbourne, 1966). (First published in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* [1963].)
5. M. J. Meggitt, “Male-Female Relationships in the Highlands of Australian New Guinea,” in *Cultures of the Pacific: Selected Readings*, edited by G. T. Harding and B. J. Wallace (New York, 1970), 125-143. (First published in *American Anthropologist* 66 [1964], special publication.) See also A. Chowning, “Lakalai Kinship,” *Anthropological Forum* 1 (1963-1966).
6. The strong feminist movements in Western countries are clear evidence of the lack of equality between the sexes in those countries. In the Middle East and Asia, the place of women in some countries dominated by Islamic and other religious faiths is, even today, still very far from being equal with that of men.
7. Discussing the Kamano people in the Highlands of New Guinea, Ronald Berndt wrote, “sex demarcation is strictly observed (in the festivals). The rituals and ceremonies associated with the flutes, as symbols of male dominance, accentuate it. Men apparently feel that they must exert this pressure, continually reassuring themselves that they are superior to women” (R. M. Berndt, *Excess and Restraint: Social Control among a New Guinea Mountain People* [Chicago, 1962], 67). See also M. Reay, *The Kuma: Freedom and Conformity in the New Guinea Highlands* (Melbourne, 1959), 62; J. Nilles, “The Kuman of the Chimbu Region, Central Highlands, New Guinea,” *Oceania* 21 (1950): 48.
8. M. Allen, “Initiation,” in *Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*, edited by P. Ryan (Melbourne, 1972), 1:553; see also Meggitt, “Male-Female Relationships,” 126-130.

9. Meggitt reported that a Taro man in the 1950s divorced his wife for the same reason and later killed her in spite of Meggitt's advice against such action ("Male-Female Relationships," 439 n. 8).
10. *Ibid.*, 130; Allen, "Initiation," 1:555.
11. Allen, "Initiation," 1:555.
12. Berndt, *Excess and Restraint*, 67-72.
13. See R. P. Gilson, *Samoa 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-cultural Community* (Melbourne, 1970), 58; S. Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga* (Canberra, 1974), 13-15.
14. See D. Counts, "Tamparonga: 'The Big Women' of Kaliai (Papua New Guinea)," in *In Her Prime*, edited by J. K. Brown and Virginia Kern (South Hadley, Mass., 1985).
15. See Sahlins, "Poor Man, Rich Man."
16. R. M. Berndt, "Social Control," in *Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ryan, 2: 1056-7.
17. Statement by John Waiko concerning conflicts among his own people in Northern Province, made at a seminar, History Department, University of Papua New Guinea, 1985. See also Berndt, "Social Control," 2:1058.
18. L. L. Langness, "Ethics," in *Encyclopedia*, edited by Ryan, 1:379; see also R. M. Glasse, "Revenge and Redress among the Huli," *Mankind* 5 (1954); H. J. Hogbin, "Shame: A Study of Social Conformity in a New Guinea Village," *Oceania* 17 (1946-1947); P. M. Kaberry, "Law and Political Organization in the Abelam Tribe, New Guinea," *Oceania* 12 (1941-1942); K. E. Read, "Morality and the Concept of the Person among the Gatruku Gama," *Oceania* 25 (1954-1955), F. E. Williams, "Group Sentiment and Primitive Justice," *American Anthropologist* 43 (1951).
19. See Preamble, Constitution, 1; B. Narakobi, "The Old and the New," in *Ethics and Development in Papua New Guinea*, edited by G. Fugmann (Goroka, Papua New Guinea: The Melanesian Institute, 1986).
20. Berndt, "Social Control," 2: 1056-8.
21. *Ibid.*, 2:1059, 1063; see also L. B. Glick, "Sangguma," in *Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ryan, 2:1029; L. B. Glick, "Sorcery and Witchcraft," in *Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ryan, 2: 1080-2; Berndt, *Excess and Restraint*, 223-228; R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu* (London, 1932), 284-287; C. Wedgwood, "Sickness and Its Treatment in Manam Island, New Guinea," *Oceania* 5 (1934-1935): 60-70.
22. P. Lawrence, "Religion and Magic," in *Encyclopaedia*, edited by Ryan, 2:1003.
23. This story was told at a seminar on "Noble Traditions and Christianity as National Ideology in Papua New Guinea," held at North Solomons University Centre, Papua New Guinea, November 1983.
24. Allen, "Initiation," 1:552-558.
25. *Ibid.*, 1:553.
26. *Ibid.*, 1:557.
27. *Ibid.*

28. Jacob Sasingian, *A History Essay on Labour Recruiting in the East Sepik*, University of Papua New Guinea, 1976.
29. The men were found guilty and were sentenced to two years imprisonment for disturbing a corpse.
30. Allen, "Initiation," 1:587.
31. Langness, "Ethics," 1:379.
32. See S. **Lātūkefu**, "The Place of Tradition in Modernization: An Islander's View," *Journal of Papua New Guinea Society* 6, no. 2 (1972).
33. Ibid.
34. Constitution, Clause 2, Sub-clause (5), 3.
35. See S. Latukefu, "The Modern Elite in Papua New Guinea," in *Education and Social Stratification in Papua New Guinea*, edited by M. Bray and P. Smith (Melbourne, 1985).
36. Latukefu, "The Place of Tradition."
37. J. W. Davidson, *Samoa mo Samoa* (Melbourne, 1967), 36.
38. Ibid., 37.
39. See R. Sinclair, "Samoans in Papua," in *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia*, edited by R. Crocombe and M. Crocombe (Suva, 1982), 36.
40. Ibid.
41. One leading missionary early in this century wrote, "I am convinced that mission work among savage people, if it is to succeed, must be on industrial lines" (J. P. Goldie, "The Solomon Islands," in *A Century in the Pacific*, edited by J. Colwell [Sydney, 1966], 583).
42. J. F. Goldie, the first Methodist missionary in the Solomon Islands, declared "that the Gospel of Christ is not merely a way of escape from some future hell for that mysterious entity called the soul, but it is God's message declaring Salvation embracing the whole man-body, mind and spirit-here and now" (quoted in C. T. J. Luxton, "Isles of Solomon" (Auckland, 1955), 161).
43. Goldie, in a hard-hitting criticism of the older approach to missionary work, wrote that "the most objectionable creature in the Pacific today, with the exception of the white beach-combers, . . . is the religious loafer. The loafer is at all times objectionable, but the half-civilized native who loves to strut round quoting passages of the Bible, singing hymns, and shaking hands on the slightest provocation, but who has learned nothing of industry, honesty, or cleanliness, is the most objectionable of all. He is a by-product of Christian missions. He has been taught a Christian creed divorced from Christian conduct. He is to be pitied more than blamed" (Goldie, "The Solomon Islands," 583).
44. See A. R. Tippett, *Solomon Islands Christianity* (London, 1967).
45. Ibid., 67; see also S. Latukefu, "The Methodist Mission and Modernization in the Solomon Islands," in *The History of Melanesia*, edited by K. S. Inglis (Canberra, 1969), 311-312.

46. Some missions are now in the process of returning some plantations to the traditional landowners.

47. In Tonga, young women who served as house girls to missionaries were very much sought after as wives because of the skills they had learned in housekeeping from missionary wives. When I visited former Methodist mission villages in Papua New Guinea for research in the 1970s I was struck by the degree of loyalty and affection expressed by elderly men and women toward their ex-missionary teachers from Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa, claiming that they had owed so much in their lives to these people.

48. Most of today's Papua New Guinean leaders grew up in families with very strong missionary backgrounds. Many received their education in mission schools, and some, such as Father John Momis, continue to maintain strong involvement with their respective churches today. Speaking before the United Nations General Assembly in October 1984, the then Papua New Guinea Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honorable Rabbie L. Namaliu, said that the people of Papua New Guinea "were-mercifully-spared the worst excesses of colonialism" elsewhere (R. L. Namaliu, "Address . . . to the Thirty-ninth Session of the United Nations General Assembly," October 1984, pp. 15-16).

49. Constitution, Section 45,34.