

2007

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Recommended Citation

Cochrane, Susan, Black and white family album: A personal view of my parents' work in Papua New Guinea 1949–75, *Kunapipi*, 29(1), 2007.

Available at: <https://ro.uow.edu.au/kunapipi/vol29/iss1/6>

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Abstract

The Papuan poet, John Kasaipwalova, once said, 'I have left my footprints on your shore. The tide will come and wash them away, but the memories we share will linger on'.¹ Think of how many Australians left their footprints on the shores and mountains of Papua New Guinea. Personal memories and historical events have been recorded, whether on film, like *First Contact*, the documentary about the Leahy brothers' explorations in the New Guinea Highlands, or as stories collected in oral history series such as Tim Bowden's ABC Radio broadcast series *Taim Bilong Masta*. Personal accounts have been written by individuals in every genre of literature, or simply treasured in family collections of photographs, artefacts and memorabilia.

SUSAN COCHRANE

Black and White Family Album: A Personal View of My Parents' Work in Papua New Guinea 1949–75

The Papuan poet, John Kasaipwalova, once said, 'I have left my footprints on your shore. The tide will come and wash them away, but the memories we share will linger on'.¹ Think of how many Australians left their footprints on the shores and mountains of Papua New Guinea. Personal memories and historical events have been recorded, whether on film, like *First Contact*, the documentary about the Leahy brothers' explorations in the New Guinea Highlands, or as stories collected in oral history series such as Tim Bowden's ABC Radio broadcast series *Taim Bilong Masta*. Personal accounts have been written by individuals in every genre of literature, or simply treasured in family collections of photographs, artefacts and memorabilia.²

For my parents, Percy and Renata Cochrane, the physical traces of their lives in Papua New Guinea have been neatly assembled into an archive: the Cochrane PNG Collection held at the University of Wollongong, and an oral history recording my father made with Hazel de Berg as part of the National Library of Australia's collection on expatriate experiences before the country's independence; but memories spill over organised frameworks such as archives and photographic collections into personal relationships and shared moments, and the urge to write them up. This essay is a tribute to my parents and their remarkable life's journey.³ Between 1949 and 1968, this journey took both of them on extensive and separate travels throughout Papua New Guinea. My father, Percy, retired in 1968 and the family moved 'down south' to Sydney. He never went back to Papua New Guinea, but my mother returned several times until the country's Independence in September, 1975, as she received several major commissions to work on documentary films or lead articles.

Renata and Percy Cochrane were 'expats' in Papua New Guinea⁴; they never intended to be settlers. Like so many of their generation they made a long-term commitment to live and work in Papua New Guinea in the last decades of its status as a colonial territory under Australian administration. In their case the commitment lasted twenty years; it was wholehearted and dedicated to advancing the development of Papua New Guinea. Inevitably, this experience changed their lives, coloured their perceptions and shaped their attitudes. In their own writings Percy and Renata related encounters, friendships and discoveries made with all

kinds of Papua New Guineans and expatriats, including patrol officers and chiefs, missionaries and mavericks, writers and radio broadcasters, village women and housewives. My mother frankly admitted that all these encounters and discoveries were part of her own self-discovery. As my parents became progressively more absorbed into life in Papua, their empathy with the indigenous people increased, as did their interest in Europeans from all walks of life who found themselves equally challenged by the environment and the difficult intellectual and moral terrain they found themselves inhabiting. In the 1950s–60s my parents were among concerned people who endeavoured to structure a society more appropriate to the emerging country's modernity.

Why did I leave this story sitting in university archives and the family's store of memorabilia in the camphor-wood chest for so long? What gave me the urge to start unpacking it? The typescripts have faded and papers have yellowed with age. In post-colonial Australia, distanced from its involvement with Papua New Guinea, stories of the colonial era may be an embarrassment, full of people with the wrong attitudes. 'Balls', my father would say, 'if it's a good story, just get on with it'.

Percy Cochrane arrived in Port Moresby with the title of Senior Broadcasts Officer in 1949; by the time he retired in 1968 the role of radio had developed exponentially. Administration broadcasts had grown from the daily 'Native People's Session' programmed by Percy and his section in the Department of Education, to six radio stations broadcasting in English, *Tok Pisin* and vernacular languages, at Rabaul, Wewak, Kerema, Daru, Goroka and Mt Hagen. These *stesin bilong yumi* (our radio stations) were operated by the Administration's Department of Information and Extension Services (DIES), where Percy was Head of Division and, finally, Acting Director.



Percy Cochrane

Percy's great passions were music and writing. For him, these were the two great forms of communication. He dedicated his professional life to bringing communication through radio to people, finding it the perfect medium to cross cultural and linguistic barriers, to inform people and contribute to their education and enjoyment. He used his skills as a writer to develop various types of radio programs and teach others how to do the same.

He made extensive recordings of indigenous music on 'radio patrols' throughout Papua and New Guinea, and found that broadcasting this music was most effective with people who had only recently experienced close-up contact. Radio was reassuring because it played familiar music back to indigenous audiences, as well as providing information in local languages about many of the perplexing new things that were happening from day to day. He wrote that:

The use of traditional music, prefaced by a spoken introduction explaining the origin of the song, and giving reasons why it is sung, where and by whom, has become an outstanding feature of Administration broadcasting.... It has been found that the broadcasting of this type of music can have a significant effect on breaking through ethnic barriers; in building mutual understanding among dissident tribal groups and in developing district and even national unity. Its function in preserving the culture of the people themselves is fully appreciated by the village elders....

The programming of traditional and locally recorded music has necessitated a policy of continuous field tape-recording which has, in turn, resulted in the building up of several very comprehensive libraries of tape recordings. (P. Cochrane 1966 1)

In the 1950s the 'Native People's Session' was played to air on the ABC by arrangement with the Territory Administration. As well as Education, other government departments demanded air-time for broadcasting important messages about Health, Agriculture and Fisheries, Local Government, Law, and so on. The audience was continually expanding, as were their requirements for news, information and entertainment. Criticising the ABC, Percy said that Admin broadcasting personnel are all trained to perform simultaneously the functions of at least three ABC personnel, that is: translate, touch-type, operate the turn-table, control the console, mix in-line to program from a battery of three tape recorders, control output levels, accept news relays, time signals from the communications receiver and remote control of the transmitters.

By the late 1950s, after protracted negotiations with the ABC, it had become evident that the Australian broadcaster did not consider that its brief included the needs of the Territory Administration, nor the indigenous people of Papua New Guinea their primary audience. By 1960, the ABC was still not prepared to establish regional stations in Papua New Guinea: 'the regional stations envisaged are not within the orbit of the ABC', stated its Chairman, Sir Talbot Duckmanton. After further negotiations, it became apparent that, in Duckmanton's view, 'It was not the role of the ABC to operate an instrument of communication for the purposes of the Administration.... This is a task quite different from the role of the ABC' (qtd in P. Cochrane 1965 1).

In complete contrast to ABC stations, Administration Broadcasting Stations were designed to speak not only to the literate and semi-literate sections of the community, but to the vast majority of the population who lived in villages. Percy argued that although the listening habit was not established in village communities, radio was the most readily accepted new form of communication because news and information had always been transmitted orally.

The old Department of Education Broadcasts Section was assimilated into the new Department of Information and Extensions services, which also had a Publications Unit and a Film Unit. Broadcasts had a fully equipped studio at Ela Beach, in downtown Port Moresby, where new announcers gained experience and confidence in all aspects of recording, presenting and operating equipment. News

and other programs were put together here to be dispersed to all the stations, where local content would be added.

During this establishment period in the early 1960s, Heads of Department and Station Managers were expatriates, usually Australian, but they relied considerably on the core of professionally trained Papua New Guinea staff. Several of the original broadcasts team had completed the Senior Officer's Course for PNG public servants and were appointed to higher positions. As the radio network spread it needed new staff, who had to have a good level of literacy and speak two or three languages. They were recruited as far as possible from the broadcasting radius of the station. The future Prime Minister, Michael Somare, became one of the multi-skilled staff at Radio Wewak, and commented on his career there in his biography, *Sana*.

Undertaking the political education of Papua New Guineans towards the formation of their own modern society was a huge task, but one that could not be ignored or put off. Radio broadcast was an oral service that spoke local languages and listened to the people's voice. It became one of the most important channels of communication because of its suitability for Papua New Guinea's conditions. The Papua New Guinean historian, John Waiko, credits the role of radio *stesin bilong yumi* with the rapid spread of *Tok Pisin* as Papua New Guinea's main lingua franca. In his view, for all Papua New Guineans to be able to communicate in one language was a significant unifying factor, essential to the task of nation-building (Waiko 1993 205).

The Administration stations had clear concepts and policies set for their broadcasting service, including the following which were set out in one of Percy's reports:

- i. The total programme is conceived for the indigenous people, no concessions being made to the European audience (though in fact this is quite large).
- ii. Programmes are conceived primarily at the level at which the greatest amount of assistance can be given to the greatest number of people. Very clearly this is the great mass of village people.
- iii. In this context it is clear that the 'village' people of different Districts will be at different stages of development. Because of their strongly developed 'local' characteristics individual Administration stations adapt themselves to the immediate needs and the level of comprehension of the people being served.

The overall aims of Administration broadcasts were said in February 1962 to include —

Promotion of a national consciousness;

- a Breaking down of ethnic tribal and racial prejudices;
- b Development of political, economic and social awareness in relation to both the Territory and other parts of the world;
- c Developing greater understanding of other cultures. (qtd in P. Cochrane 1966 1)

In 1965 Percy was arguing for the establishment of a new station to reach remote tribes along the Papua New Guinea/Indonesian border, where there were 'delicate issues' such as the movement of tribal people across the border (Waiko 205). Radio stations at Goroka, serving the peoples of the Eastern Highlands, and at Mt Hagen, serving Western Highlands and Enga-speaking people of the Southern Highlands, had proved to have a successful level of acceptance by people who had not much contact with Europeans. In another report, Percy wrote that:

In these communities :

- The listening habit is almost completely un-established;
- the linguistic situation is complex and the comprehension of idiomatic English very small..... A linguistic policy closely related to the people's degree of comprehension is essential;
- modern and popular music is largely unappreciated. The entertainment components (one of the main elements in encouraging listening) must be related to the interests of the people being served and will be drawn primarily from local and traditional sources;
- the introduction of new thought concepts (including the gaining of 'acceptance' through the understanding of government policies) must be carefully staged to relate what is known and to understand what is not known;
- the need to forestall possible foreign inspired attempts to gain the mind of the people is urgent;
- physical communication in any of the new areas is extremely difficult and broadcast enables the Administration to maintain a consistent 'presence'.

(P. Cochrane 1965 2)

How the Administration stations achieved a high level of penetration and acceptance throughout PNG was the result of some quite remarkable strategies they developed in broadcasting techniques and programs. The positive results were assisted by the boon of cheap transistor radios, which made broadcasts widely accessible. News was regarded as the spearhead of the Administration's three-pronged service — news, extension material (information provided by education, health, welfare, police and other services and 'localised' by each station), and music. The stations developed their own independent news coverage, both from their own areas but also to link into Territory-wide news broadcasts. 'Village news' was important to all Administration stations. Because each item incorporated the name of the person who was the source of the news at least three times, the relationship between the station and the villagers quickly became personal. This was added to by personalised service calls, responses to individual's enquiries to Doctors, Infant and Maternal Welfare nurses, Local Councils, Land Titles Commission and Cooperatives. Even illiterate people from remote villages could be represented on the radio by making requests, usually forwarded to the station on their behalf by field workers, missionaries and local teachers.

Music was the great attraction, sometimes taking up 70% of air-time. The stations found it effective to represent every section of the community with locally recorded *sing-sings* (traditional ceremonies), church and school choirs, string bands, and recordings made on field visits to villages. In a report on broadcasting in the Territory Percy commented that:

This specific and determined effort to ensure communication with and penetration of remote areas is obviously one of the greatest efforts being made by the Administration to secure acceptance of the new concepts that the great mass of people must assimilate before they move forward. And, conversely, from the great mass of people, it is the only method they have of beginning to understand what is taking place around them.

(P. Cochrane 1965 3)

Among the cross-currents of thought and expression, investigation and imagination, swirling around them in their life and work in Papua New Guinea, Renata and Percy were particularly drawn by several streams: their own need for self-expression; advancing literacy in Papua New Guinea and encouraging creative writing; sharing experiences with like-minded literary people, and communicating what Papua New Guinea had come to mean to them.

Their interest in the potential of Papua New Guinean writers started in 1950, when the Cochranes had only been in Port Moresby for a short time. As Percy was forming a team of announcers, interpreters and reporters for the Broadcasts section, he was on the lookout for anyone who had the potential for this kind of work. From the first time he met Avasia Pinongo, who wrote under the name of Allan Natachee, Percy recognised that he had a talent for writing that was out of the ordinary.

Percy sent Natachee out on assignments, and was quite astonished when he came back with poems, like one about Port Moresby's first fun fair. Percy thought he would be better employed writing down the legends of his people, the Mekeo, 'While working for me he wrote *The Spiritual and Legendary History of the Mekeo People*, a collection of poems in English handwritten into ledgers and a voluminous set of the songs of his people in translation'.⁵ The greatest honour bestowed on Allan Natachee came from the Philippines — a poet laureate's crown — and a citation recognising him as 'Distinguished Poet of Papua'. He wore the wreath of silver leaves for many years but, as Renata writes, 'Unfortunately, in his own country, Allan had little enough recognition apart from the publication of some of his poems in the *Papua New Guinea Journal of the Public Service* and one of his poems in the *South Pacific Post*. This last poem was specially written on the occasion of the first Common Roll elections early in 1964'.⁶

In the early 1960s, as the Literacy Board established itself and the Publications Unit of D.I.E.S was still preoccupied with pragmatic 'how to' booklets, Oxford University Press (OUP) decided to take an interest in publishing Papua New Guinea stories to supplement its English language and literacy course. OUP's penetration of the developing literacy market was worldwide and Frank Eyre, who

was in charge of OUP's Melbourne branch, was keen to develop a language and literacy course oriented to Papua New Guinea and other Pacific Islands countries. As well as the student's workbooks, the OUP literacy courses needed 'readers', stories suitable for the staged levels of literacy and preferably with interesting to read local content. On visits to Papua New Guinea through the 1960s to pursue this goal, Frank Eyre became a close family friend of the Cochranes and a frequent correspondent.

Although the reporters, interpreters and presenters on the staff of the Broadcasts and Publications sections continuously wrote news stories and compiled programs, which included their own versions of legends and oral histories, most expats did not consider the possibilities of this nascent literature. Frank Eyre offered an opportunity for those interested to come forward and write one of the 'Stories of My People' series, which would be published by OUP and distributed as part of their English courses. Paulius Matane and Mackenzie Jovopa took up OUP's offer.⁷ OUP later published Matane's autobiography, *My Childhood in New Guinea*. Frank commented on the progress of all these projects in a letter to Renata dated 16 Aug (no year, estimate 1966):

We have another 'Stories of our People' printed and due to be published next month. 'Kum Tumun of Minj' by Paulius Matane. Our first indigenous author, Mackenzie Jovopa's book [that you asked about] came up, with reports, at the same conference and we accepted it. I can't write to him until I get back to the office but you can tell him if you like. It will have to be pretty drastically edited, as the style and construction are far too involved ... but the blunt fact is that if it isn't reduced to accepted vocabulary and sentence construction the Education Department will not buy it — and we presume the author would like some royalties!

My mother, Renata, started her writing career in Papua New Guinea as a freelance journalist for print and broadcast media. Like my father, her work led to many levels of engagement with Papua New Guineans, and frequent travels throughout the country. Renata's stories were concerned with family life in Papua, women and their achievements and the work of Catholic Missions. From 1960–1963 she wrote a weekly feature column, 'What Do You Think?', for the *Post Courier*, canvassing a diversity of issues. She became Publications Officer for the Department of Information and Extension Services. She had to travel extensively throughout the country, undertaking the production of short films and publications for local distribution, some of the most outstanding on women's issues. One of her main challenges was to develop poster books, story books and short films, which explained government activities such as elections, to a largely non-literate population. As well as radio



Renata Cochrane

scripts and articles, Renata wrote two full-length book manuscripts based on her life and experiences in Papua New Guinea, but these were not published.

Throughout the 1960s she developed further skills as a freelance journalist in both print and broadcast media.

Under Administration regulations it was prohibited for the wives of public servants to be employed, especially for someone like Renata whose husband held a senior post in the Department that was responsible for government publications and broadcasting; but in a freelance capacity she could submit contributions to government publications such as *The PNG Villager*, a newspaper for indigenous readers. As New Guinea was a Trust Territory of the United Nations, agencies like UNESCO operated there and needed someone to write simple booklets on health and nutrition for Papua New Guinean women.

In 1959 the editor of the *Post Courier*, Papua New Guinea's daily newspaper, approached Renata to write a weekly column for women — possibly with the idea that she would keep up some kind of chatty cooking and clubs column. She was keen to accept the offer, but had different ideas about the content. On 1st May, 1959, she began her regular contribution under the banner, 'What do you think?', and mused about it in her first column.

For some years I wrote a tropical cookery column for 'The Post'. Now I have been asked to write a different sort of column expressing the things that interest women.

'What do women think about?' said the Editor, 'I don't know'.

Taking a daily average, and without poking into the private recesses of the mind, what do women think about?

Marriage, birth and death, when these are imminent.

Wives and mothers undoubtedly devote most of their thoughts to their families and the ever-recurring small problems of day-to-day living ... those new shoes for the children ... I must get my husband to go and see the doctor ... what on earth am I going to have for dinner tonight (or, if she is thoroughly well organised — next week) ... I haven't got a thing to wear to that party tomorrow.

For the career woman, work and the people she works with take up a good deal of thought space. Then there are the neighbours ... social obligations ... voluntary work ... and, of course, the houseboy.

Do women think about religion? I believe many of them do. Politics and current affairs? While listening to the news and reading the paper — unless they affect us personally, like income tax.

The fine arts? Spasmodically. Sport? When we or our families take an active part in it. Fashion and how-do-I-look? Subconsciously, all the time, and very rightly, too.

What do you think?

May I say now, at the beginning, that I should be very happy to share this space with you, to put forward your views if they are of interest to women in general. I feel this is the only way I can get in touch with those of you living in other parts of the Territory. But everything will have to be in capsule form as you can judge by the length of this column. (R. Cochrane 1959 np)

Over the next several years, 'What do you think?' became much more than the housewives' champion, although Renata rapidly gained renown as a fearless consumer watchdog, attacking excessive prices and poor business practices who expected, and received, answers from the authorities.

Sometimes she wrote advice to 'cadet wives', who arrived in the Territory, starry-eyed, on the arms of their new husbands, without a clue about the life-style to which they would rapidly have to adapt. Her correspondents alerted her to women who were quiet achievers, both Papua New Guineans and expatriates, and she would unhesitatingly follow these stories up (R. Cochrane 1959 np). Renata was a great admirer of the older generation of pioneers, women who had lived in some corner of Papua New Guinea since the turn of the century, or before, who had lived through an extraordinary range of experience. Ma Lumley, respected doyenne of the Trobriand Islands, told Renata her secret for surviving precarious situations: 'My grandmother brought me up to do one good turn a day, even if it was only for the cat. Everyone knows I'll never refuse help and that's why they all call me Ma'.⁸ Nor did she neglect Papuan and New Guinean women, and men, individual leaders and people who were leading the way towards a different future. She wrote feature articles on native women graduating as nurses, becoming nuns, leading women's groups, and on those who were 'firsts', like Alice Wedega, the first woman elected to the Legislative Assembly (R. Cochrane 1960 np).

It is clear from her considerable body of writings on mission activities that Renata was inspired by the spiritual and material benefits brought to indigenous people by what she called 'the Pilgrim Church'.⁹ She was a constant and strong advocate of the work performed by Christian missions in Papua New Guinea, which she saw as bringing progress and enlightenment to the people. She also admired the character and persistence of individual missionaries, enjoyed their sense of humour and counted many among her friends. Renata did not write for publication about her personal faith in the Christian God and the Catholic religion; but without her own firm beliefs and attitudes, she would not have been motivated to investigate and write so much about the activities and influence of missionaries in Papua New Guinea.

Undoubtedly, missions welcomed the coverage she gave them in both the secular and Christian press, locally and overseas. Her initial contact with Bishop Sorin led to a lasting relationship with the S.V.D. Catholic mission on Yule Island and its stations on the Papuan coast and hinterland. She found intellectual and spiritual comfort in their company as well as curiosity about their aims and achievements. Often with kids in tow, she travelled by small plane, on coastal vessels, on horseback and mule train, building up her network of contacts in the Papuan hinterland. So we set out on our adventures, often just mother and children, while Dad was off on his 'radio patrols'.

After ten years in Papua, Renata felt both welcomed and rejected by the country. The ambivalent sentiments she expressed at this time stayed with her the rest of her life.

Each time I returned to Papua it was with a little fear in my heart ... the fear of facing up to myself again, of being brought face to face with my own insufficiency, of measuring and sifting the values that I had once taken for granted. Papua is pitiless when she shows you the black face of strange cultures hidden deep in swamps and rainforests and the remotest mountain ranges. When you have tasted and smelt the rancid smoke-filled fug of flimsy leaf-and-sapling dwellings in the high cold valleys; when you have tried to touch the comforting skin of human relations — as you know them — and have found nothing there that you recognise, you are lost. The edifice within you, carelessly accepted as your right, as the bequest of three thousand years of civilisation, comes crashing down. You knew, of course, that customs and cultures would be different in those long-hidden valleys and the villages strung out along the razorbacks. But you were not prepared to lose sight of human relationships that had seemed to you wholly instinctive; that you had supposed to be broadly the same the whole world over. Could pigs be more important than people? Could women still be considered ‘something-nothing’? Could family life survive when the men lived in the men’s house and the women shared a roof with the pigs? When you found the conditions were like this in the high mountains of the Goilala and the Kunimaipa, you were bewildered, stunned, crushed. You had then, painfully, in the light of your new knowledge, to rebuild your private castle, the dwelling place of your ideas....

Papua could fascinate or repel — or both. That was the impact Papua had on me, and on many of the people who tried to see her as she really was.¹⁰

Percy died in 1981. A short while after his death my mother asked my help to put the manuscripts, documents and photographs that they had accumulated over nearly twenty years in Papua New Guinea into some kind of order. Listing piles of boxes in the garage at their house at Killara contained the output of their life’s work — here were the records of years of energy and vitality — looking, seeing, listening, reporting, recording — she thought they must be useful to someone.

We devised a system of categories for archiving: sets of colour slides recording particular events were numbered and named; then hundreds of black and white photographs taken by my parents or collected from other sources to serve some news item or story — we identified these as far as possible. As well as the photographs there were reel-to-reel tapes of Papua New Guinean music and radio programs, newspaper articles, radio and film scripts, small commissioned publications written for the Department of Information and Extension Services, UNESCO and Oxford University Press. There was a separate substantial collection of all the photographs, articles and other documents related to Renata’s writings on missions. We decided to keep the photo files separate. Some of the District Files rapidly became replete, especially the Districts of Papua Central, Gulf, Sepik and Milne Bay, that my mother and father had so often visited and written about. Radio scripts made a logical category. So did ethnographic music recordings with their accompanying texts and articles. Mum’s weekly newspaper

column 'What Do You Think?' was cut out of the *Post Courier* newspapers and pasted into journals.

Over several sorting sessions we unpacked her own manuscripts, her books-to-be; for her, these unpublished manuscripts were the core of her life's work. She set them apart. There was sadness in my mother's eyes and a catch in her voice. None of her book manuscripts were published. She showed me letters from her London literary agent. They said they had tried and tried again to interest publishers, but her stories didn't fit into any genre and they didn't know where to place them on their lists. Perhaps she would like to try again, change her style, write it as a novel? Their excuses continued: there isn't much interest in Papua New Guinea in the UK; it's too far away and unknown; maybe she could set the stories in Africa. I remembered the hours she spent drafting, editing and rewriting, in every house we lived in. The results were all here, laid out on neatly typed double spaced quarto, pages and pages in triplicate: *My Dear Neighbours* stories of early days in Papua; *Laurabada*, the book about some of the impressive people she encountered in Papua New Guinea, and *Kula*, the manuscript she wrote when she travelled to Italy after Percy's death, the one that told more intimately about their lives together and the vagaries of her family history.

Eventually the tide will turn and people will want to read what my parents' and others of their generations wrote in their attempts to understand the world they lived in.

NOTES

- ¹ Addressing a seminar at the Festival of Pacific Arts, Cook Islands, 1992.
- ² First contact and *Taim bilong Masta* are phrases frequently used in relation to Papua New Guinea. *First Contact* is a widely known documentary film (Connolly and Anderson dirs. 1987) about the Leahy brothers' encounter with Highlanders in the 1930s. *Taim Bilong Masta* is also the title of a radio program compiled by Tim Bowden based on oral histories of people living in PNG during the colonial era.
- ³ This essay is an extract from the manuscript of an unpublished monograph, *Inheritance*, completed as the Creative Work for the MPhil (creative Writing) awarded by the University of Queensland in 2005.
- ⁴ The colloquial term 'expat' was used for expatriate public servants working for the Territory administration (mostly Australians) and more generally for all Europeans living and working in Papua New Guinea.
- ⁵ Information on the life of Allan Natachee and his writing is drawn from undated typescripts by Percy and Renata Cochrane in the CPNGC. There is extensive file on Allan Natachee; hand written poems and prose by Natachee, printed versions of his work, articles and commentaries by Percy and Renata Cochrane and related correspondence.
- ⁶ Gavin Souter used one of Natachee's poems on the flyleaf of his book, *New Guinea: The Last Frontier*, 1963. Commentary on Natachee's poetry and/or his poems were published in the following: *Oceania*, 22.2, 1951; *Journal of the Public Service*, 4:3, 1962; *West Australian*, 23 January, 1965. In his commentaries on PNG writers, Ulli

Beier wrote several articles on Natachee, including 'Cautiously Advance Atomic Age: A Papuan Pilot poet', *Kovave* 1.1, 1968, p. 42; 'Fear', *New Guinea Writing* 1, 1970, p. 8; 'Songs of War', *Kovave*, 1970; 'Natachee, Distinguished Poet of Papua New Guinea' (interview and three poems), *Papua New Guinea Writing*, 7, 1972, p. 13.

- ⁷ Andrew Peacock, who was Minister for Territories in 1972 in the McMahon Government, frankly admitted that, 'In the 1960s, I had felt that despite the bricks and mortar that the British left, the French were, interestingly enough, better colonists. I changed my mind in the 1970s when as Foreign Minister I had to handle certain other issues in the Pacific. But in the 60s I held the view that the French were classically non-racist. And I felt that British rule placed all sorts of other impediments in the way of territories emerging into independence — even though their institutional framework was better. The French cultural element was better' (Peacock 1995, 1–8).
- ⁸ 'What Do You Think?: Ma Lumley', 11th September, 1959.
- ⁹ 'The Pilgrim Church' was the title she gave to a commissioned series of lead articles for *The Catholic Weekly* in 1967. Section 10: Catholic Mission Manuscripts, CPNGC.
- ¹⁰ Extract from 'The Awakening', undated typescript ms in CPNGC.

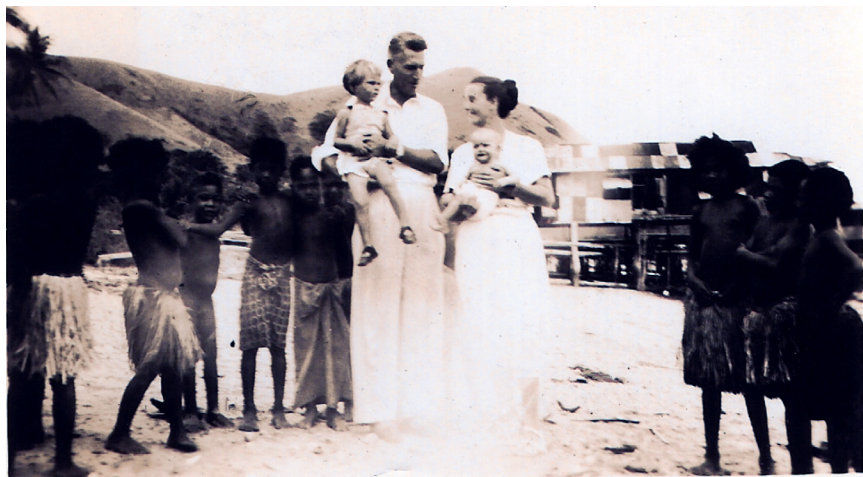
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Research for this essay, and for the forthcoming book, *Inheritance: A Mother and Daughter Memoir of Papua New Guinea, 1949–75*, was greatly assisted by Susan Jones, the Archivist of the University of Wollongong where the Cochrane PNG Collection is located.

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Family album: Christmas 1949 in Port Moresby.



Renata and daughters visiting Catholic Mission at Kerema.



Percy Cochrane making live recording at Kuminibus Village, Sepik District.
(CPNGC collection slide.)



Percy Cochrane on radio patrol.
(CPNGC colour slide.)



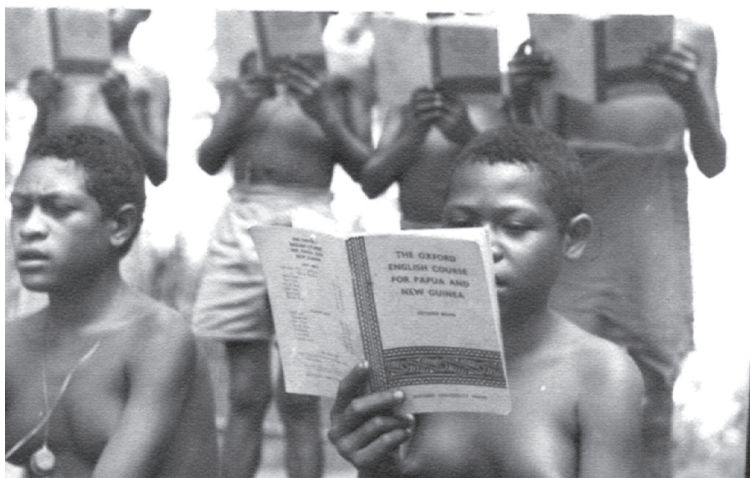
Nellie Enon, one of the first female New Guinean broadcasters, interviews a visitor at Radio Rabaul, in New Britain. Both girls are Tolata.



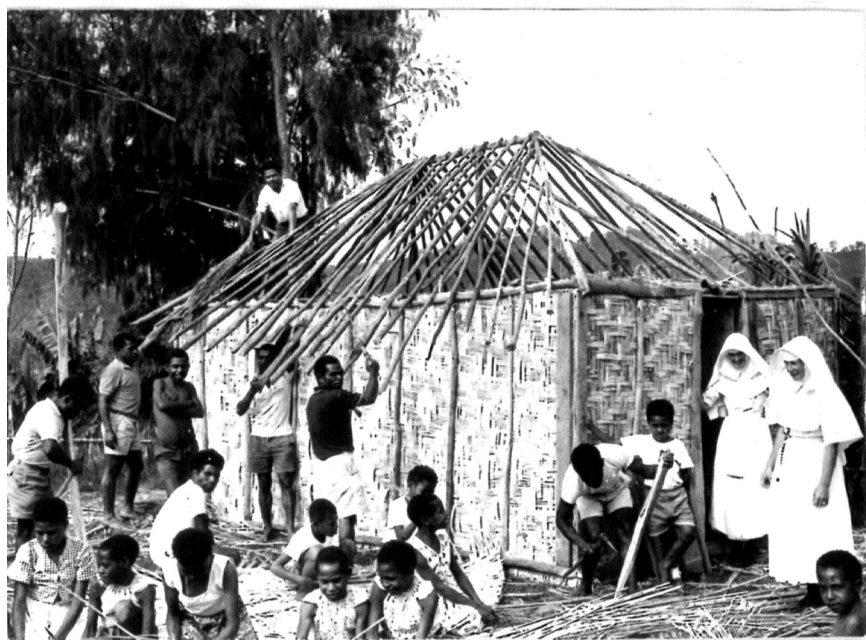
On the spot village choir recordings form a large part of Papuan and New Guinean broadcasting. Often this entails many miles of travelling through bush to a village by station staff.



Publicity for radio stations.
(Brochure in CPNGC collection.)



Adult education class using OUP readers.
(CPNGC collection.)



Mission Building



Hanuabada