USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
A HISTORY OF THE
ANGLICAN MISSION IN PAPUA
1891 - 1941.

Thesis presented to the
School of General Studies,
Australian National University.
For examination for the
Degree of Master of Arts.
by David Fielding Wetherell.

1 May, 1970.
PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to enquire into the aims, methods and achievements of the Anglican Mission in Papua between 1891 and 1941. This span of fifty years may conveniently be divided into three periods. In the first of these (1891 - 1910) missionaries made a foothold on the northern Papuan coast while their patrons attempted to secure for them a source of support. In the second period (1910-1920) the mission sought to define attitudes towards indigenous culture in harmony with contemporary colonial philosophy and traditional theology. The third period (1920-1941) saw a slowing down in missionary momentum as a result of diminishing support at home, at a time when Papuans were encountering other agencies of western culture.

The work of the Anglican Mission is examined both in relation to the aspirations of its founders and the reactions of the Melanesians. Its struggle for survival and growth is set in the context of a society in transition. Since it is in the nature of missionary work to come to an end, leaving an integrated Christian culture behind, the methods used by missionaries to bring this about are evaluated, and in particular why some enterprises died and others flourished, where the mission failed to realize its goals and where it attained a measure of success.

The mission entered northern Papua under the aegis of a powerful invading culture. The Papuan reaction to the invasion ranged from an eager reception of missionaries in some places to the waning of millenarian hopes in others. This varied as the Papuans attempted
to relate missionaries both to other westerners and to their own experiences and philosophies of life. Lastly, the enquiry is directed towards the Papuan Christian as he moved slowly away from the guardianship of the missionary on the edge of civilization, as missionary and convert saw hopes for a golden age of Papuan missions dashed on the stubborn realities of cultural change.
Thanks are due to the following for their assistance:

Archbishop Philip Strong, Primate of Australia; Bishop John Chisholm, Bishop Henry Kendall, Professor Ken Inglis, The Reverend Andrew Uware, The Reverend Gideon Waida and Mr. Columba Paisawa of Papua; Professor Jim Davidson, Dr Niel Gunson and Dr Deryck Freeman of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Canberra; The Honourable Olive Gill, Canon John Bodger, Canon Harold Palmer, Miss Morva Kekwick and Miss Helen Amies. Thanks are also due to my Papuan students in history who encouraged me in the belief that the writing of Melanesian history was worth the effort.
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. B. M.</td>
<td>Australian Board of Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. R.</td>
<td>Annual Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. R. M.</td>
<td>Assistant Resident Magistrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. C. P.</td>
<td>Book of Common Prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. S.</td>
<td>Church Standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. R. M.</td>
<td>International Review of Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. P.</td>
<td>Occasional Paper of the New Guinea Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. I. M.</td>
<td>Pacific Islands Monthly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qld. P. P.</td>
<td>Queensland Parliamentary Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. M.</td>
<td>Resident Magistrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. M. H.</td>
<td>Sydney Morning Herald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. P.</td>
<td>Territory of Papua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. M. C. A.</td>
<td>Universities' Mission to Central Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. C.</td>
<td>Village Constable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

I. IN THE WILDERNESS: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. 1

II. TEMPLES IN THE FOREST: 1891-1910 20

III. THE WHITENING FIELDS: 1910-1920 117

IV. CIVILIZATION AND THE NOBLE SAVAGE: 1920-1941 174

V. APPENDIX I, II, III.

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY
IN THE WILDERNESS:
THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

THE island of New Guinea lies between the equator and 11° south of the equator, and is only eighty miles distant from Australia across the Torres Straits. The north-east coast of Papua extends from East Cape near Samarai island to the Mamba River. Deeply indented by Goodenough, Collingwood and Dyke Acland Bays, the coast plain runs parallel to the main range from East Cape to Goodenough Bay and rises steeply to the mountains. In Collingwood Bay, however, the plain is sometimes ten miles broad. At the northern end of Collingwood Bay is Cape Nelson, an elevated peninsula which drops abruptly to the sea at Tufi and is surmounted behind by the volcanic Mount Victory and Mount Trafalgar. From the air can be seen the coral reefs which strew the sea near Cape Nelson, presenting a hazard to navigation.

From Cape Nelson the coast turns westwards along Dyke Acland Bay until it comes against the flank of the Hydrographer's Range at Eroro, where it sweeps north along Dyke Acland Bay. From here the coast plain broadens to its greatest width of thirty miles and is traversed by the Opi, Kumusi, Gira and Mamba Rivers which have their source in the main Owen Stanley Ranges. ¹

The coast plain is fringed by coconut palms and, where there are swamps, by mangroves and nipa palms. A thick curtain of tropical forest obscures the foothills of the ranges and extends over

wide areas of the lowlands, where there are broad river plains. Inland the mountains are extremely precipitous, and this makes contact between one area and another very difficult. Malaria and tropical ulcers are endemic in the coast plains particularly where swamps and sluggish rivers cross to the beaches.

The pre-European history of northern Papua is largely conjectural. Local myths in the north suggest fairly recent migrations, but compared with the history of the last four generations the evidence tends to present a fairly static view of population movements. The precipitous nature of the mountains and the rugged coastline in many places contributed to the political fragmentation that is a universal feature of pre-European New Guinea.

The political segmentation of the northern coastal Papuans is well exemplified by the wide variety of customs and ceremonies, differences in kinship patterns and behaviour as well as languages. This ethnic diversity makes generalisation difficult, but there are certain features which all northern Papuan societies held in common.

The north Papuan villager owed allegiance to his clan, which was the broadest entity to have a claim upon his loyalty. In north-east Papua between Cape Vogel and East Cape (where the population in 1910 was calculated at about 10,000)¹ the village clans were self-supporting but sometimes trade was conducted between village groups who spoke similar dialects. The same pattern

¹ Territory of Papua Annual Report 1910-1911, Port Moresby, 125.
occurred in the northern area, from Cape Vogel to the Mamba, where there was a population of similar proportions. Within the village, clans were related by ties of marriage. Apart from these friendly exchanges of marriage and trade, the clansmen had contacts with other clans in their movements in search of game or better garden-lands. Sometimes a number of clans migrated to a new area in search of garden-lands, and in consequence the dialect of one area was carried to another. The Okein of Cape Nelson, for example, speak an Orokaiva dialect.

An alliance between two groups was maintained by trade and cemented by marriage relationships. The need of barter and exchange was the one thing which brought the people willingly outside their village boundaries. Trade was not always conducted between kinsmen: sometimes villages which were unrelated met for barter on amicable terms. Thus the Ambasi people exchanged clay pots for the tapa cloth of the Pongani people in Dyke Acland Bay thirty miles away. A similar trade existed in Goodenough Bay, where the fish and salt of the coastal villages were exchanged for the vegetables and areca nuts of the hill people. Other Goodenough Bay villages were visited by the Molima traders of Fergusson Island in search of cassowary plumes. Marriage itself was an occasion of exchange: in Wamira, for example, the bridegroom's father took


2 W. C. Pritchard, op. cit. 40. M. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans, A People of the South Pacific (Sydney, 1933) 13 ff. See also F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society (London 1930) 64.
gifts of food and shells to the bride's family before the marriage, which the woman's family later reciprocated. 1

The trading expeditions of the north-east people were generally shorter and less ambitious than those of people in other parts of New Guinea. The hiri voyages of the Motuans of the southern coast, for example, brought them into contact with the materials, techniques and ideas of people a hundred miles distant. The Kiwai people of the Fly estuary and western coasts traded annually with the Torres Strait Islanders. The frail outrigger canoes of the Ubir and Orokaiva were very inferior to the sturdy canoes of the Kiwais or the heavy lakatoi of the Motuans, for they were not constructed for prolonged travel or trade on a large scale. In general, then, travel did not expose the villager clansmen to instructive differences with other people in distant places.

The village group was brought into relations with the outside world not only willingly in its desire to supply its own wants by trading, but sometimes involuntarily when attacked by enemies. Generally a great deal of antipathy existed between the beach villages and the inland and mountain people. A beach village like Ambasi was on friendly terms with its coastal trading partner thirty miles away, but held people inland on the Mamba River in bitter enmity. 2 Very trifling causes often precipitated strife between villages, even between those which had once exchanged goods. A quarrel between small boys of opposing villages; an

1 C. G. Seligmann, op. cit. 505.

2 Interview with Andrew Uware. Popondetta, 1 November 1968. F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society, 160 ff.
insult to a woman or an assault upon a girl; an argument over the size of an exchange; a petty theft or an accusation of meanness: such minor incidents could incite one people to conduct bloody reprisals on another, and engage in raiding which sometimes was consummated in a cannibal feast.¹

The raid was the commonest form of attack. The recorded instances of this type of warfare are very numerous, but one vivid account of a battle between the Maisins of Collingwood Bay and the Are of Cape Vogel is of special interest:

The Maisins came along with a great number of canoes, when some man caught sight of them. The Are blew the conch shells, and came down to the beach. One Maisin was speared. The Are came back and carried the dead man. They roasted and ate him, and danced and danced till morning - the dance of victory. The Maisins said, 'Let us go up again, and take our revenge.' One [Are] man was speared. Then one of the Are people said: 'Make a stand! Why should they chase us like this? They are coming along. While we keep running, we keep dying.' They stood and sang their song. The Maisins carried off their dead and fled. The Maisins speared an Are man. They cut his head off with a broad-bladed spear, and took away the head. The Maisins ran and ran till they got to their canoes. Some of their clubs were buried, some were thrown into the sea; a few were left. The songs of the wives were changed into sobs of grief, for they were made widows.²

¹ For an explanation of cannibalism among Orokaivas, see F. E. Williams op. cit. 171.

² M. Stone-Wigg op. cit. 16.
The clan, then, was liable to attack at any moment. Perpetual insecurity bred an involuntary suspicion of any stranger. There was a reluctance to place entire confidence in any person not of the clan group, no matter how many times he had demonstrated the peacefulness of his intentions. Indeed, the Papuan's deep-seated suspicion and wariness was one of the most intractable characteristics with which the European newcomers had to contend.

Authority in northern Papuan society was mobile, transferable and non-hereditary. There were no chiefs. Danger from outside brought men of courage and resource to the front, and a young man might be esteemed for his fighting prowess or his possessions, but head-ship was not passed to a descendant. There were, however, clan leaders, old men who held a position of acknowledged supremacy within the group. Although most clan members, men and women, had a voice in the shaping of common policy, respect for the opinion of the clan leaders was a marked feature of personal relationships within the clan.

The respect enjoyed by the clan leaders was enhanced by the fact that the possession of secrets concerning customs and rituals, as well as knowledge of incantations or spells - essential to the common welfare - resided with the old men. Their authority was given much emphasis in the training and initiating of the youth. Among the Wadauans, all boys and girls born within a certain period were given membership in a class called the kimta, the chief purpose of which appeared to have been to impress upon them the positions held by the older people of the
community and the roles they would one day inherit. Among the Orokaiva, these roles included the oracular power to divide land with leaders of other clans, to lead ritual and feasting, and to arrange marriages for their descendants.

The sexes were allowed a great deal of freedom before marriage. Occasionally, as at an important feast, exchanging of wives was permitted, but normally illicit adultery with a married woman was vigorously prosecuted by the husband, with death as the likely outcome for the paramour. Among the Orokaiva, no virtue was attached to abstinence and no blame to indulgence in the unmarried; among the Wedauans, boys and girls were allowed full liberty provided the rules of blood relationship were not violated. Rape, accordingly, was very rare. At Wedau, Wamira and Gelaria and in other settlements outside Bartle Bay the custom of viagagam prevailed, or sleeping together without intercourse. Furthermore, the kimta relationship meant that each member of the fellowship had marital rights over the wives of his fellow eriam (group mates) and no secret was made

---

1 S. G. Seligmann, op. cit. 470, 475.
3 F. E. Williams op. cit. 192.
4 F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society, 328.
5 F. E. Williams, op. cit. 322.
6 C. G. Seligmann, op. cit. 470 ff.
of the fact that the wife of one member had been visited by one of her husband's eriam. Apart from this, the majority of women seem to have been faithful to their husbands, even during the long periods of absence. Polygamy was relatively uncommon. Homosexuality seems to have been unknown among the Orokaiva, though it occurred in the area of Goodenough Bay.

In some villages there was a specialisation of skills based upon clan. Among the Wedauans the leaders of three clans had the prerogative of deciding upon land allocations, and the right to fish or make rain was traditionally held by different clans. Old men in general were credited with an understanding that was denied to the young men. Such men were known to the Orokaiva as kiari embo, men who were able to pass on knowledge, either magical or empirical, and to prophesy future events. The secrets of the technique necessary to obtain knowledge were usually retained exclusively by the clan leaders. Among the Mukawans of Cape Vogel, these secrets were passed on to a son only when death was at hand.

1 Ibid.
2 Cf. F. E. Williams, Papuans of the Trans Fly (Oxford, 1936) 158.
3 Interview with H. Palmer, Canberra, 7 January 1969.
4 E. Schwimmer, op. cit. 55 ff.
5 Ibid.
This subordination of the young to the old was perfectly compatible with a certain amount of freedom conceded to the young. One observer was impressed by the high degree of personal freedom which existed everywhere among the Orokaiva but noted the almost automatic obedience of the native to the customs of his people and his almost unfailing concurrence in social conduct. Taking food from the garden of a relative was not conceived as an offence, and a widow was permitted to remarry in order to maintain a supply of food for her children.

There was much to occupy the time of the primitive villager: he led an active existence within the narrow limits of his society. The gardens had to be fenced, houses repaired and canoes dug. Spears, axes, clubs and digging sticks had to be made and food prepared. Most of his implements were strictly utilitarian. Although axe handles, drums and canoe prows were occasionally given small embellishments, there was little to equal the carving prowess of the Fergusson Islanders near Cape Vogel, although the Maisin people enjoyed a richer artistic tradition than other coastal people. Body decoration, on the other hand, was an elaborate art, and facial markings of charcoal and ochre, nose ornaments, armshells and dogs' teeth necklaces were a man's apparel everywhere. The Orokaiva women spent much time making

1 F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society, 326.
2 Ibid., 326.
3 Interview with H. Palmer, Canberra, 7 January 1969.
4 C. G. Seligmann, op. cit., 465, 528 ff., F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society (London 1930) 68 ff.
skirts from tapa cloth of the beaten bark of the wild mulberry tree. From Mukawa eastward the tapa cloth gave way to woven grass petticoats and leaves.

Decorations were worn in the evening, which was taken up by dancing, story telling and instruction of the young. On festive occasions such as the gathering of a good crop, an initiation ceremony, a marriage or a trading visit, feasts were held to which people related by ties of kinship or exchange would come. The presence of visitors placed the hosts under an immediate obligation to supply their wants and there was much scrutinizing of the food by the guests to make sure that their hosts were not underpaying them for the supplies they had provided on an earlier occasion. Giving food was not an act of generosity but an obligatory response to the demands of others, mandatory upon all who wished to receive assistance in due turn on a later occasion.

At other times a trading expedition or a hunting or raiding party set out in which most if not all of the men participated. Food-gathering was an activity which required the co-operation of all the members of the community. There was in fact little specialization apart from the esoteric functions of the sorcerer and the clan elders. In a few larger villages each clan was assigned a special task in addition to the normal subsistence duties. Thus


3 Ibid.
at Wedau the responsibility for netting flying fish was vested in one clan while that of ensuring a good supply of garden-water was given to another clan. This specialization of function was practised, however, in only a few of the larger villages.

The Papuan's primitive technology was capable of achieving satisfactory results without a great expenditure of effort. In hunting the Papuan used methods which appeared very wasteful to Europeans, burning off huge tracts of grassland in order to ensnare a few fugitive wallabies or cuscus. In spite of his methods, he produced enough food to eat during the greater part of the year. If much food had been produced, it was shared among other clansmen: the successful hunter or gardener had to remember his clansmen to be sure of a share of their bounty in the future.

The clan thus taught its members a strong sense of obligation towards one another. Every adult had his share in the common duties and had a say in the making of a decision. The voice of the clan elders, however, held final sway. Public opinion


2 J. D. Bodger, The Native Background to the Papuan Campaign (Sydney, 1944) 4ff.
was too formidable a force to flout, and its dominance held the nonconformist up to ridicule.

The northern coastal Papuan lived in a constant realization of an invisible and immaterial world, in which he believed intensely. He peopled it with invisible beings; he knew he was at the mercy of beings stronger than himself. These beings were of two types, good and evil. The good were benevolent to him and served his needs, but the evil had constantly to be placated. He was therefore less anxious about good spirits: the evil spirits were feared and their hostility had to be averted. The Papuans do not seem to have believed in sky-gods, nor did they have a creator-God. They therefore made no attempt to enter into personal relations with them. Spirits, however, lived in special places and could be contacted by specialists in magic. Sorcerers travelled from village to village and there seems to have been a good deal of exchange in superstition, both between coastal villages and with mountain people.

The spirits had an important place in the scheme of causation, especially when evil befell the clan, and it was in the sorcerer's influence with spirits that his power lay. The death of a man usually

1 M. Stone-Wigg, op. cit. 20ff., C. G. Seligmann, op. cit. 646 ff., F. E. Williams, *Orokaiva Magic*, 7ff.

involved his relatives in an obligation to avenge his death. If they believed him to have been bewitched, the source of evil had to be discovered and destroyed. At Cape Vogel, for instance, the corpse was struck by spears while the question was asked, "Who caused you to die? Did so-and-so?" If the spear fell while the question was being asked, the answer was taken to be in the affirmative, and the relatives sought revenge against the one they believed to be the sorcerer, either by addressing puri against him or by killing him outright.

Human beings, then, were not at the mercy of forces completely beyond their control. They were able to appeal to the beings of the spirit world and persuade them to lend protection against unfriendly spirits and evil happenings. These unfriendly spirits were not omnipotent: they were mischievous and dangerous, but if proper precautions were taken they could be constrained from doing harm and seduced to the side of the human beings. Casting spells -- an office which belonged to the clan spirit leaders -- was usually efficacious in warding off evil spirits. Spells could also bring fertility or bring misfortune to an enemy. Wearing disguise and lighting fires at night were also potent protection. Human beings could manipulate the spirit world to some extent by the use of the correct formulae.

The Papuans of the north coast, like other Melanesian people, paid much attention to their dead, particularly the recently deceased. The future well-being of a man's relatives might depend

1 M. Stone-Wigg, op. cit., 23.
2 F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society, 283ff
upon the manner of his going. Mortuary feasts were given at the time of burial and food was left on the grave for the spirit to eat. In most parts of the north coast the widow herself abstained from eating food the man had consumed on his last illness and wore a hood of coconut leaf, blackening herself and often gashing her head with obsidian. ¹ Death ceremonial was particularly elaborate among the Wedauan people of Goodenough Bay. ² Since the spirits were never far away from village land, they were considered to be subject to the exchange relationships which governed social behaviour among the living. Dealings with the spirits were in the nature of an exchange of services between men living and men dead. A hungry spirit had to be offered food; an angry spirit had to be propitiated. If these obligations were not honoured, vengeance would fall on the relatives as surely as that of an offended kinsman. Thus the supernatural sanction was seen as an extension of human justice.

Feasting was a spiritual as well as social function. The walaga or mango feast brought together large numbers of unrelated villages into the hills above Goodenough Bay. ³ Elaborate preparations preceded the ceremony, which was climaxed when a mango tree was carried into the midst of the spectators. When at the Mango feast in 1905 a missionary from Dogura offered to

---

¹ C. G. Seligmann, 616, 625 ff; O. P. 8/4, 51/9.


³ C. G. Seligmann, op. cit. 651, 589 ff.; M. J. Stone-Wigg, op. cit. 27.
shoot the sacrificial pigs, the feast leader refused the offer because the spirit in the mango 'would not hear the pigs' unless they squealed. 1 The meaning behind the ritual was disclosed to missionaries about four years later. One account ran in this way:

A long while ago when human victims were offered, Dabedabe was born. He was the only man-child; the rest of his mother's offspring were pigs.... Dabedabe grew up, and was anxious to abolish human sacrifice. ...He heard one day that a feast was to be held.... Dabedabe then went to the feasters and explained the advantages of pigs.... Thus he was instrumental in getting pigs substituted for human victims. In time Dabedabe died, but his spirit can be passed.... into a mango tree. 2

During the feast, the mango was placed on a platform and revered. Even the leaves and dust which fell from it were regarded as sacred. The spirit was supposed to cry out for victims. It had to hear their cries, smell the burning fat, and know that blood had been poured out. If it was satisfied, the crops would grow and the women would give birth to children. 3 Everyone had to have a share of the pigs and the mango, the parts being distributed to the participants at the feast.

The walaga cult of Goodenough Bay had a supernatural rationale, but its doctrine was undefined. The story of Dabedabe

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 C. G. Seligmann, op. cit., 596.
probably had several conflicting versions; similarly, feasting among the Orokaiva of the north west carried many interpretations. Here the Papuan was revealed as a formalist, believing that the efficacy of a ceremony depended upon the correctness of its performance. This religious technology was regarded as a means of guaranteeing material welfare and avoiding the undesirable and harmful.

Because the relations between the north coast Papuan villager and the external world were so often precarious, his knowledge was limited by the fact that experiences were obtained largely within his own village demesne. Conservatism and respect for elders were accordingly highly developed themes in his attitudes and social behaviour. The principle of reciprocity not only governed his behaviour towards members of his own clan, but was extended to relations with the spirit world. Towards people who were neither relatives nor trading partners, suspicion and hostility were usually the dominant elements in his behaviour.

There were considerable differences between religious beliefs and practices of the northern seaboard peoples, and no single interpretation can be attempted. Religious practices ranged from sorcery and magic, common to all groups, to death feasts and the relatively sophisticated Mango cult of Goodenough Bay. Without the support of institutionalized authority, doctrine or written standards of worship, indigenous allegiance was inherently transferable from one set of beliefs to another. Because of the pragmatic nature of religious beliefs they could easily be transferred when there was material evidence of a superior way of living. Nevertheless, this phenomenon did not mean that the approach to the supernatural would alter or that the adoption of a new cult meant a rejection of the old.
Such was the state of northern Papuan society and religion when the island was visited by earliest European explorers. Two of the most notable of these were Dom Jorge de Meneses, a Portuguese, who was driven on the northern tip of the island in 1526, and Inigo de Retez, who in 1545 took possession of the western part of the island in the name of the king of Spain. Two centuries later, Captain Cook sighted south-eastern Papua after journeying up the coast of Niew Holland. Because of the harsh terrain, the ferocious reputation of the people, and the apparent lack of resources for profit, New Guinea was largely ignored by Europeans until scientific explorations in the nineteenth century again wakened interest in the island. One of the most important of these was the surveying voyages of the H. M. S. Fly 1842-1846 and the H. M. S. Rattlesnake commanded by Captain Owen Stanley 1846-1850. The most accurate survey of the coast of the eastern part of New Guinea was made by Captain John Moresby in command of H. M. S. Basilisk in 1873.

Increased knowledge of the Papuan coast aroused general interest in Australia in the years following 1870. In 1871 the first party of Christian missionaries under the Reverend S. Macfarlane arrived in the Torres Straits from the Loyalty Islands, and three years later the Reverend W. G. Lawes established

---

1 Sources are numerous. Among the most accessible are
W. C. Pritchard, Papua (London 1911) 9 ff.
a permanent station on the shores of Port Moresby. In 1885 the Roman Catholics under Bishop Verjus formed a settlement on Yule Island in the Gulf of Papua in order to make a base for operations on the mainland opposite. When the Reverend George Brown of the Wesleyan Mission decided in 1890 to commence work on Dobu Island in the D'Entrecasteaux group three major religious organizations were at work. 1

The activity of scientific and religious interests in New Guinea, and the increased influence of German traders in the New Guinea islands roused the Australian colonies to urge the British government to annex the island. In 1878 the Government of Queensland included the Torres Strait Islands within the borders of the colony, and in 1883 H. M. Chester, Government Resident on Thursday Island, took possession of the whole of south-eastern Papua in the name of Queen Victoria. Although this action was not acknowledged by the Imperial Government, the urgent requests of the Australian colonies subsequently influenced the Government to consent to the proclamation of a British protectorate over south-east Papua a year later. After the death of the Special Commissioner, Sir Peter Scratchley, British sovereignty was proclaimed, in 1888 by the first Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William MacGregor, at Port Moresby. 2

---


The Church of England in Australia, fully aware of the missionary activities of the other churches, and believing that the annexation of eastern New Guinea by Britain imposed a direct obligation on itself to begin missionary work, decided in 1886 to establish a mission on the island. ¹ After a delay of four years a clergymen was found to pioneer the mission and make arrangements for the settling of an Anglican community on the island. Thenceforth the Anglicans sailed to eastern Papua, becoming the fourth religious group to settle in British New Guinea.

MISSIONS IN BRITISH NEW GUINEA - 1891

NEW GUINEA

PAPUA

GULF OF PAPUA

PORT MORESBY

TROBRIAND IS

CORAL SEA

Fields Proposed For:
- London Missionary Society
- Sacred Heart Mission (Roman Catholic)
- Anglican Mission
- Methodist Mission

Cape York

AUSTRALIA

TORRES STRAIT

NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN

BISMARK

NEW BRITAIN

BOUGAINVILLE

MORESBY

PORT

SAO

TROBRIAND IS

GULF OF PAPUA

PORT MORESBY

Cape York

AUSTRALIA

TORRES STRAIT
TEMPLES IN THE FOREST

1891-1910

DOGURA is a plateau with an almost completely flat top. Composed of basalt and shale, it is the remainder of a much more extensive area of high land which was gradually washed down to the plain below. If approached by sea, it is visible for over twenty miles; by air it is easily the most conspicuous land form in the Goodenough Bay region. It was the traditional fighting ground of the Wedau and Wamira people.

To Sir William MacGregor and the Reverend Albert Maclaren, passing the bay in the government yacht in May 1890, the Dogura citadel seemed a natural choice for the beginning of Christian missionary work among the people of the North-east Papuan coast. It had relatively safe anchorage, was situated in a well-populated alluvial plain, and was conveniently close to the administrative and commercial centre which was developing at Samarai. Yet the seventy sea miles between Samarai and Dogura would be sufficient barrier against the intrusion of commercialism into the missionary domain. Maclaren readily adopted MacGregor's recommendation that he should made a beginning at
A year later, Maclaren accepted responsibility, on behalf of the Church of England in Australia, for the northern coast of Papua from Cape Ducie to the border with German New Guinea, a distance of 300 miles. It was a large allotment indeed, and one which evoked a number of varying opinions from early visitors. One traveller, J.P. Thomson, gazing at the prospect of the Orokaiva coast below the Hydrographer's Valley, rhapsodied: 'Truly a grand and glorious harvest-field for representatives of the ancient Anglican Church to labour in.' Thomson, however, was writing from the security of a steam yacht, and later missionaries were less enthusiastic as they beat through the muddy slough behind the northern beaches. In a "gentlemen's agreement" with the Anglicans in 1891 the London Missionary Society agreed to continue their spiritual supervision of the southern coast of Papua, and the Wesleyans accepted the Louisiade and D'Entrecasteaux island groups as their share in the comity of missions. The only mission which did not become a party to the concordat of 1890 was the Sacred Heart Mission at Yule.


Island.

In August 1891 Albert Maclaren and the Reverend Copland King, with two carpenters and a Samoan assistant, landed at the foot of Dogura plateau and made initial approaches to the Wedauan people for the securing of land. One man, Martin Modudula, who lived to see Dogura Cathedral opened in 1938, recalled the events surrounding the first landing thus:

Early on a morning in the dry season: later I was to know that it was Monday August 10 1891: I heard the sound of the conch shell coming from across the river... I asked my father why it was sounding, and he said that as the day before had softened into evening a boat with sails had anchored near Iabara, and that there were Bariawa, fairies strange folk, on board, and that there were two whose skins were white. My father took his kada, the shell ornament he wears on his breast for fighting and dancing, and he set off... to go to Kaieta... he said I must stay in the village with the other children and the women, as there might be fighting...

My father told me all that happened later. When the light had grown in the sun's eye, one of the strangers called to the people to bring a canoe to the boat. Soon many villagers had gathered, and they talked fighting talk.

1 Bishop Verjus of Yule Island described the agreement as 'rank erastianism' on the part of the government.
see W. MacGregor in Introduction to
F. Synge, Albert Maclaren, Pioneer Missionary of New Guinea. (London 1908)
J. King, W. G. Lawes of Savage Island and New Guinea (London 1909) 265
'Durada, bo dadia?': 'Friends or enemies?' They then decided 'Durada' and when the white men landed my father and his friends put their spears down and greeted them. One of the men pulled a book out of his pocket, and held it in his hand, and opened it and read something. I think the book was a Bible. The man was Amau Alaberta and Amau King was with him. Alaberta gave Gaireka (the chief man) some tobacco... They all climbed the Dogura ridge and there they stood, and Alaberta and his friends... said they would dwell there.

The Dogura plateau, about 160 acres in area, subsequently was purchased from Gaireka and the other elders for two tomahawks, 112 pounds of trade tobacco, ten large and ten small knives, twenty-five pipes, twenty-four mirrors, a piece of red Turkey twell cloth, and some boxes of matches. The Government later confirmed the transaction. 2

This successful purchase was repeated several times in various strategic positions along the shores of Goodenough Bay. Small villages were passed by and influential villages selected as sites for mission stations. At Menapi, Taupota and Boianai in the Bay and Mukawa on Cape Vogel the mission gained a foothold by amicable negotiation with village clan leaders. Most of these villages were near a river and thus stood

---

1 Church Standard, 10 Oct. 1941

2 J.V. Paton, Soldiers and Servants under the Southern Cross, 17 A.K. Chignell, Twenty-One Years in Papua, 19 see also Q'ld. V & P Vol III 1890 1591-1592
at a natural gateway to the inland centres of population; each was
advantageously situated for trade with the hinterland people, and,
as Copland King hoped, the spreading to them of the news of the mission;
and each held an acknowledged hegemony over the other villages in its
vicinity. Buna, further north in Dyke Acland Bay, was selected because
it was the starting point of the road to the Yodda gold fields and thus was
within reach of the Orokaiva plainlands.

The purchase of village land was made by an exchange of goods:
it does not appear that anything was ceded without payment. Whether
the amount of payment demanded represented the actual value of the
land to the owners or was only of symbolic importance is a matter for
conjecture. It is quite probable that the land was surrendered readily
by the clan leaders in anticipation of gaining material benefit from the
presence of Europeans. In any case, the transactions were made
smoothly. The missionaries had ample supplies of attractive cargo -
axes, knives and cloth - and made only modest demands in return.

The land made available varied in size from a quarter of an acre
to about thirty acres. It was outside the boundaries of the village
dwellings, and the offering of goods in return, besides arousing the
cupidity of the clansmen and that of their wives, was a demonstration
that the newcomers were just men who desired to honour the traditional method of exchange. Since property was circulated freely only within the clan and was passed between friendly clans only by inheritance or barter, and between enemy clans by conquest, the peaceful transfer of tribal land to total strangers showed how powerful were the motives which prompted the clan heads to surrender their land. It also represented a considerable psychological victory to the newcomers at a crucial stage and guaranteed to them a beachhead and a permanent position near village land.

The indigenes in general appear to have interpreted the advent of the missionaries as a food migration. Regardless of his origins, a man usually forsook his home and sought new grounds only in search of better garden lands. The missionaries were therefore immigrants who had suffered famine in their own lands and were in search of food. This popular belief does not seem to have lost strength despite the regular arrival of ships carrying tinned food and grain to the stations. Among the people of Taupota it remained unchallenged for almost fifteen years, until Peter Rautamara, a village youth who became a protege of the Dogura fathers, returned from a tour of Australia in 1905.¹

² G. White, A Pioneer of Papua (Sydney 1929) 85.
Prior to the turn of the century, land agreements between settlers and indigenes were usually ratified personally by the Lieutenant-Governor or the nearest itinerating Resident Magistrate. The Government did not insist upon regular surveying arrangements, and the Magistrate normally sanctioned the purchase of land after the mission had indicated a desirable locality. Delays in official recognition sometimes meant, as in the case of Dogura, that the missionaries were in fact squatting upon land to which they had no title. In such cases, the erection of buildings was illegal until the Government had negotiated the sale with the owners and was satisfied that all the parties were willing to make the transaction. 1

Under the Land Ordinance of 1911 the magistrates were authorized to buy land from the native owners. A mission might apply for a lease of 99 years from the government provided the area did not exceed five acres and a building was erected within five years. 2

---

1 Territory of British New Guinea, Ordinance No. 11 of 1888, s. IV
F. P. Kennelly to S. Tomlinson, C. Nelson, July 25 1908

2 Territory of Papua, Ordinance No. 15 of 1911, s. II-X
Before the Commonwealth Government had formulated a land policy magistrates at Cape Nelson had offered land to the mission at five shillings an acre. (C. A. W. Monckton to M. Stone-Wigg, at sea, 4 Oct 1901)
Surveying arrangements were still vague, for the applicant had merely to state whether the land lay on the seashore or a river, and to "give the relative position with respect to some known point" as well as provide a sketch of the location. 1

In the allocation of land the government's policy was determined by three considerations, that land should be transferred only with the consent of its owners; that Crown Lands should be leased, and not given in freehold, to expatriates; 2 and in the case of missions, that leaseholds should not be contiguous with government stations. 3 The Erskine Proclamation had guaranteed the indigenous ownership of land, and the missionaries, regarding themselves as custodians of native rights, were in strong sympathy with the land enactments. Anglican clergy and those of the London Missionary Society had passionately asserted the

1 An Application to Lease Land in the Territory of Papua. Port Moresby. Before the Commonwealth Government had formulated a land policy magistrates at Cape Nelson had offered land to the mission at five shillings an acre. (C.A.W. Monckton to M. Stone-Wigg, at sea, 1901)

2 Territory of Papua, op. cit. s.V, VI, VII

3 ibid s.X, s.XXXVI s.XXXXVI
rights of the natives to their own lands when in 1906 strong commercial representations were made to the Royal Commissioners to sell Crown Land to Europeans for plantation development.  

In selecting land, Anglican missionaries were careful not to set up a mission centre next to village sites. Thus, while being close enough to the people for them to attend instruction easily, the mission would not be accused of interfering in village politics. In addition, they preferred elevated positions close to a beach so that the stations could be recognised by passing vessels and benefit from sea winds.

Most of the headstations were established on land which fulfilled all these conditions of strategy. Dogura (1891), Menapi (1893), Boianai (1895), Tufi (1900), Wanigela (1897) and Ambasi (1905) were on elevated sites; Taupota (1891), Buna (1910) and Emo (1915) stood near the beaches but had fairly good anchorages. A 250 mile stretch of coastline lay between the Mamba River and Taupota.

The founding missionaries had had no intention of scattering the

1 Brisbane Telegraph 3. 4. 1906
see below Chapter IV, 231.

2 O.P. 6/4;
A.K. Chignell op.cit. 43, 99-105, 114, 135
stations across such a wide arc of coast, believing it was far better to concentrate upon a small area at first, but circumstances left them virtually no choice. The Anglicans were obliged to extend operations from Goodenough Bay to Collingwood Bay in 1898 because the Roman Catholics had petitioned the Governor for permission to open a station there. Ecclesiological motives played a similar part in the decision to found a station on the Mamba River. The opening of a goldfield on the Yodda River in 1895 and the influx of mining parties had resulted in several bloody skirmishes between the prospectors and the Mamba River people. The murder of the Resident Magistrate on the goldfields, John Green, in 1897 and the subsequent punitive expedition caused Sir William MacGregor to appeal to the Anglicans to extend their ministrations to the scene of the conflict.

The natives there (wrote MacGregor after a priest had gone to the Mamba) should now take well to the Mission: they have been humbled and thrashed so often that they no longer regard themselves as the greatest of great powers.

1 A.K. Chignell op. cit. 99
2 A.K. Chignell op. cit. 113
3 W. MacGregor to M. Stone-Wigg Lagos, April 1 1900
The wording of the Lieutenant-Governor's official message to the Mission. 'Wherever in the cause of justice I have been forced to shed blood, there I desire to see a mission station established', had an emotional appeal for the Anglicans in which was underwritten the unwelcome possibility that if they did not respond adequately the Roman Catholics might be invited to occupy the ground, as MacGregor had once already threatened to do.²

Anglican expansion to the east likewise was an attempt to forestall the Roman Catholics, although by no means was it intended to compete with the Methodists and the L. M. S., who had signed the concordat of 1891. When it became clear that the Sacred Heart Mission

1. O. P. 21/4; O. P. 61/7

2 MacGregor's private letters suggest that he was not in sympathy with Roman Catholic aspirations to occupy territory allotted other missions in the 'gentlemen's agreement'. He urged the Anglicans to a 'speedy and vigorous prosecution of the work' in the north, and wrote to Stone-Wigg that the 'the Roman Catholics generally seize an interregnum as an opportunity for invading other districts'. Bishop Stone-Wigg was able to give assurance in 1900 that 'all fear of invasion is past'.
was contemplating an opening in the eastern islands, an Anglican missionary was sent to Samarai and kept there for three years to occupy the island.\(^1\) To the Kwato Mission, however, was extended an invitation to use the Anglican church of St. Paul on Samarai and to preach there on alternate Sundays.\(^2\) Later, the Anglicans under Henry Holland spearheaded activities in the Sangara area to prevent the Seventh Day Adventists from creating a centre on Mount Lamington.\(^3\)

Plugging the gaps at opposite ends of the coastline was a costly operation, and left a wide stretch of 100 miles completely unoccupied in the middle. Nevertheless, it achieved its objective of preventing the establishment of rival missions by Roman Catholics and Adventists.

---

1 L. Oliver to H. Newton, Doubina March 9 1923

2 C.W. Abel to M. Stone-Wigg Kwato, December 28 1898
   C.W. Abel to G. Sharp, Kwato, July 17 1912
   M. Stone-Wigg to C.W. Abel, Dogura, August 30 1904

3 C.S. December 14 1923.  299
   November 23 1917  11
   Atlee Hunt to G. Sharp Melbourne November 13 1917.
INITIAL contacts between missionary and indigene were usually favourable to the missionary. The villagers approached the newcomers with some suspicion and fear, which was understandable, but these emotions were overshadowed by curiosity and the profit motive. The advent of missionaries ministered especially to these latter instincts. There were the white strangers with whom the people associated the Government steamer; there was the cargo and the trade goods, the iron and cloth, which for these acquisitive people held an irresistible attraction.

Iron was a commodity prized above all else, for it meant an enormous saving of labour to a people whose technology had not advanced beyond the polished stone tool. When King landed at Uiaku in 1895 he noted in the tumultuous welcome he received not joy or fear or hostility but an overwhelming desire for the precious metal:

The natives surrounded me, yelling away, holding out things for which I was to give them 'kilam'. The boy with me was frightened at my sitting down, but I could see it was only a wild thirst for iron...I had to go on buying until I had no more to buy with.  

1 C.J. King, Copland King and His Papuan Friends (Sydney, 1934) 13
In contrast, when King called at Wanigela, "the people would not let me into their stockaded village, because I had brought no iron ashore to trade with."\(^1\)

As often as not, the missionaries of the 1890s lost their personal possessions almost as soon as they landed, though the articles were usually returned upon demand. Later missionaries were warned to land with only the bare essentials of clothing. One unfortunate visitor wrote indignantly:

At Wanigela... the people proved to be expert thieves, and stole the handkerchief out of my trouser pocket, the watch out of my pouch, the sock out of my boot while on the ground beside me, and the trade I had already purchased from them, with the utmost ease.\(^2\)

Realizing the strength of the economic motive, missionaries passing a village sometimes presented gifts to the clan leaders in the hope that their diplomacy would pay dividends when the mission was ready to establish a footing. This stratagem usually proved profitable.

Arriving at Paiwa in Goodenough Bay to open a station, Samuel Tomlinson was treated handsomely by the village head man, who was

---

\(^1\) ibid.
see also A.K. Chignell, *Twenty-One Years in Papua*. 91

\(^2\) J. Benson, 'The Gates of Spears' in *C.S.* 10 August 1934 4 A.K. Chignell, *op.cit.* 91
attired in a shirt given him by Henry Newton on a previous visit. 1 Romney Gill, noting that the people on the Gira River were 'indifferent to all save tobacco and betel nut', carried boxes of plug tobacco when journeying on the river. 2

To allay the suspicion of villages that the missionaries might be attackers, King learnt to call 'Kilam ta na gimona' ('iron to sell') 3 in Wedauan, the language of the large village near Dogura. This tongue was spoken along forty miles of coast, but was not used at Cape Vogel, where Mukawan was spoken. Because Wedauan was the language of Bartle Bay, the missionaries quickly began to take instruction, and by 1894 Tomlinson said he was 'getting on nicely' with Wedauan. 4 A grammar was arranged, a translation of the Gospels made, and the

1 O.P. 18/3
2 S.R.M. Gill to Cecil Gill, Manau, 6 September 1922
3 C.J. King, op.cit. 13
4 S. Tomlinson to E.S. Hughes, Dogura, 18 August 1894.
   S. Tomlinson to E.S. Hughes, Dogura, 17 September 1894
language was codified. By 1899 King had produced a translation of St. Luke's Gospel, a Wedauan dictionary and a Prayer Book. After his move to Ambasi he produced six more Wedauan translations and seven in Binandele, all published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

With the exception of the Mamba, where blood had been spilt before the missionaries arrived, the building of mission stations appears to have met with general acquiescence. Doubtless, though, there was considerable debate among the clan leaders which did not reach the notice of missionaries on the question of a foreign settlement near the village. Only in Wanigela, a large and influential village in Collingwood Bay, was there overt dissension among the clan heads, and here the party favouring the acceptance of the newcomers eventually prevailed.

Early relations between missionaries and the resident population

1 C. King, Portions of the Prayer Book Dogura, 1899
   C. King, Statement re Languages in the New Guinea Mission, Dogura 17 October 1899

2 C.S. 8 June 1928 625
   see also C.J. King, op.cit. appendix 1.

3 O.P. 12/8, Diocese of New Guinea, Annual Report Dogura June 21 1911
were well illustrated in the opening of Copland King's station at Ambasi near the Mamba River mouth in 1906. An enterprising, seafaring people, the Daware of Ambasi had seen the passing of steamers to and from the goldfields on the Mamba since before the turn of the century. News travels quickly in New Guinea, and rumours that Amau King was to leave the goldfields mission and come to Ambasi had circulated as far afield as the coast before his arrival. Recognizing that the desire for trade had to be satisfied at the outset, King responded liberally with tobacco to the offerings of clay pots and food. He and his Melanesian assistant Harry Luke continued to use tobacco in fomenting friendly relations with the Daware people: a stock of tobacco went a long way to win the assistance of a villager. King paid for the building of his hilltop house with tobacco. He distributed trade tobacco to those who came to listen to his sermons. Nor was tobacco the only form of wealth available at the mission house: tins, cloth and boxes were eagerly purloined by village people. ¹

Copland King was not the only missionary to exploit cargo to achieve results. Ubir men were paid 100 sticks of tobacco to row J.E.J. Fisher from Wanigela to Maclaren Harbour and back, a distance

¹ Interview with Luke Gazu, Ambasi 20 April 1968
of 50 miles. Romney Gill spoke of the 'magical effect' of tobacco in turning indifference to willing co-operation along the Mamba River.

The Binandele people, like the villagers of Goodenough Bay, had a similar motive in welcoming the missionaries: material self-interest. The missionaries were fully aware of this, and usually began by bartering goods as a temporary expedient until the people had perceived the reasons for their coming and had 'opened their hearts to the truths of the Gospel'. But there was a long road between acceptance of the white man's goods and surrender to his religion. A site had been pegged out and a bush house built. How was the newcomer to explain to 'these boisterous heathen' as the Orokaivas had been called, the reasons for his coming to live with them? How was he to proclaim to them the teachings of Christianity, the doctrines of the Creation, the fall of Man, and the redemption of Man through Christ's atonement?

1 J.E.J. Fisher to H. Newton, Wanigela, 28 July 1921.
2 S.R.M. Gill to Madeline Gill, Manau, 1 January 1923
3 S.R.M. Gill to Madeline Gill, Manau, 1 January 1923
The missionaries were still, Gill ruefully remarked on his arrival at Manau, strangers in a strange land, with all the unknown before them, and a new language to learn.

THE teaching propagated by the Anglican Mission, the methods used, and the attitudes adopted towards Melanesian culture were shaped by the background and personalities of the first missionaries. The most influential of the mission directors were evangelical by upbringing. They had been reared in pious homes where their parents had put their trust in the evangelical doctrines that Christ had died to save the sinner personally and that the Bible was the infallible Word of God. Reacting to the religious teachings of their parents, and unable or unwilling to maintain the emotional temperature at which they lived, they had drifted from evangelicalism into high churchmanship. Thus Albert Maclaren, had emerged from the puritan strictness of the Scottish kirk to become an Anglican high churchman. Both Henry Newton, third Bishop of New Guinea (1921-1936) and Philip Strong, fourth Bishop (1937-1962) came from strongly evangelical church backgrounds.

3 Interview with J.D. Bodger, Lae, 20 August 1969
   Interview with O. Brady, Melbourne, 13 February 1970
A chance encounter in 1890 between Maclaren and Copland King, a newly ordained minister in the Diocese of Sydney, had brought two sharply divergent church traditions into the leadership of the New Guinea Mission. While Maclaren had been a high churchman since his confirmation, King was a strict Evangelical from Sydney. His great-grandfather, Philip Gidley King, had been Governor of New South Wales; his father, R.L. King, was Archdeacon of Cumberland and a pillar of the low-church hierarchy in Sydney. The evangelical tradition of the Kings had been consolidated by marriage with other leading members of the ruling church party in Sydney, and there was considerable surprise and regret when the youngest cleric in the family announced his intention of joining the high churchman Maclaren in the new mission.

King himself never suffered any misgivings about throwing in his lot with Maclaren or of occupying a subordinate position to a high churchman. Although the two were of equal clerical rank, Maclaren was indisputably the senior in the partnership, having first conceived the idea of going to New Guinea and having made the initial overtures to Lieutenant Governor MacGregor as to its location. King, a scholarly

1 A.K. Chignell, Twenty-One Years in Papua 9ff.
young man whose chief accomplishments were in linguistics and botany (in the latter field he had already established a reputation) was younger than Maclaren, and found the engaging charm and enthusiasm of his companion a foil to his own retiring disposition. Maclaren, as leader of the expedition, recruited staff for the mission, and not surprisingly these were of like churchmanship to his own: the Tomlinsons of St. Peter’s Melbourne and Edward Kennedy of Christchurch St. Laurence, Sydney, both citadels of high churchmanship.

The founders, had hoped that the mission would not be an exclusively high church enterprise: that it would become a blend of both streams in the Anglican tradition. Events soon determined however, that the evangelical school would have little influence in the shaping of the mission. Two years after the first group had begun work in Bartle Bay, assistance was solicited from the Sydney branch of the Church Missionary Society, the missionary arm of the evangelical party. The appeal was turned down. Being fully extended in its labours in the African missions, the colonial branch was reluctant to channel off any of its resources to a mission that was in any case staffed largely by high churchmen. Sydney clergy then diverted their attention from New Guinea and the burden of support fell upon the smaller dioceses.
With the Church Missionary Society out of the field, the Australian Board of Missions (A.B.M.) became sole agent of the New Guinea Mission. The A.B.M. had as its object 'the conversion and civilization of the Melanesian Islanders and the Aboriginals of Australia' but had met fewer than five times since its first meeting in 1850.  

Although its president was the evangelical Primate, Archbishop Saumarez Smith of Sydney, (1890-1910) the A.B.M. was dominated numerically by the rural prelates, and a majority of these were of a decidedly high church variety. In addition, the four dioceses in the colony of Queensland, whose borders were contiguous with those of British New Guinea, were overwhelmingly sympathetic to the tractarian cause. When the dioceses were constituted into the Province of Queensland in 1904, New Guinea was attached to the province as a missionary diocese and thus fell under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Brisbane.  

---

1 In 1851, 1872 and 1896 (C.S. 28 June 1918 4)  
2 O.P. 13/4
Realizing the strength of high churchmen in the councils of the church, the Primate pressed Copland King to accept the bishopric of New Guinea which was being formed in 1896 by direction of the General Synod of the church. To his disappointment, King refused the mitre, probably considering himself primarily a scholar rather than an administrator.\(^1\) A vigorous rearguard action by the Sydney prelate then forced the election of a bishop to a standstill. Bishop Webber of Brisbane, a fervent advocate for the creation of a diocese in New Guinea, wrote of 'the wet blanket with which our well meaning but disastrous Primate endeavoured to smother the movement' for a bishopric. The Primate at first had refused to call the Australian Board of Missions together to elect a bishop, but, in Webber's words, 'the bishops met and again the Primate was moved to action at the point of a bayonet.'\(^2\)

As Archbishop Saumarez Smith was the most obstinate opponent of an election, so Bishop Montgomery of Tasmania was so zealous about the project that 'the cautious and prudent thought him mad on the subject.'\(^3\)

---

1 G. White, *A Pioneer of Papua*. 37
2 W. Webber to J.H. Ellison, Windsor, 15 October 1896
3 C.S. 28 June 1916, 6
On a missionary platform, Montgomery said to the Archbishop, 'I know Your Grace calls me a Van Demoniac.' 'No', was the reply, 'I call you a Tasmaniac.'

With Maclaren dead, Tomlinson still a layman, and King too modest and retiring ever to be a leader, the high churchmen had their own candidate ready, Canon Montagu Stone-Wigg of Brisbane. They considered Stone-Wigg 'one of singular self-devotion, spiritual power and great missionary zeal' and 'a man of no mean intellectual ability'.

In the ensuing election they had the high church Canon elected by a majority of bishops. Thus perished the last opportunity of the evangelical party of gaining a foothold in the New Guinea Mission. When Stone-Wigg later asked Archbishop Saumarez Smith for permission to extend the mission to the Mamba River, the only answer was a petulant 'Go where you like. It does not matter.'

The election of a Bishop of British New Guinea completed the ascendancy of Anglo-Catholicism in the mission. Stone-Wigg however

1 ibid.
2 W. Webber to S. Smith, Brisbane 7 April 1896
3 M.J. Stone-Wigg to G. Sharp, Sydney 22 October 1915
had no desire to be portrayed as a champion of ritualism. Anxious lest the mission lose the support of moderate subscribers in Australia by being branded as an extremist stronghold, Stone-Wigg insisted that the mission was representative of all schools within the Anglican church and said that he 'used faithfully the Prayer Book, neither going beyond it nor falling short of it'. Furthermore, he declared that he wanted missionaries of all shades of belief in the New Guinea diocese. ¹ King, an evangelical, was appointed superintendent of the mission in the bishop's absence. Workers from six Australian dioceses were on the staff in 1900 and Stone-Wigg was probably not exaggerating in claiming that, as far as churchmanship was concerned, they worked together in perfect harmony. ²

Lack of support from the large evangelical section in the Australian church was the price the New Guinea Mission was forced to

1 The Church Commonwealth Sydney. September 15 (?) 1900

pay for its high church reputation. Although the Board of Missions established its headquarters in Sydney, the bulk of parishes in the Church of England's largest diocese were not interested in New Guinea. The venerable English missionary societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) both agreed to contribute £500 annually. But because British New Guinea had been annexed at the request of the Australian colonies, they insisted that the New Guinea Mission was 'one of the glories of the Australian church' and firmly

The distribution of mission contributions in the following Sydney parishes in 1925 gives some indication of the strength of support for missions of the same churchmanship. The parishes of Dulwich Hill and Willoughby were 'low' church and the parish of S. James, King Street 'high church'. Dulwich Hill gave £424.00 to the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) and £1.00 to the A.B.M. (New Guinea Mission); Willoughby gave £329.00 to C.M.S. and £1.00 to A.B.M.; and S. James gave £1.00 to C.M.S. and £291.00 to A.B.M.

(A.B.M. Minutes, Sydney 25 November 1925, 303)

1 The distribution of mission contributions in the following Sydney parishes in 1925 gives some indication of the strength of support for missions of the same churchmanship. The parishes of Dulwich Hill and Willoughby were 'low' church and the parish of S. James, King Street 'high church'. Dulwich Hill gave £424.00 to the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) and £1.00 to the A.B.M. (New Guinea Mission); Willoughby gave £329.00 to C.M.S. and £1.00 to A.B.M.; and S. James gave £1.00 to C.M.S. and £291.00 to A.B.M.

(A.B.M. Minutes, Sydney 25 November 1925, 303)

2 G. Stanton to G. Tucker, Armidale 16 November 1886
A.K. Chignell, Twenty-One Years in Papua (London, 1913) 5ff
O.P. 89/19

3 E. Rogers, A Pioneer of New Guinea 98

4 A.K. Chignell, Twenty-One Years in Papua 5
refused to accept final responsibility. Albert Maclaren, arriving in Sydney to enlist support, wrote: 'I have not received much encouragement from the Sydney Diocese nor did I expect much from a city so much given up to party spirit and bigotry'. Bishop W.R. Mounsey, campaigning for Australian Funds, admitted his dislike of 'invading the Sydney Diocese with all the bigotry I dread there' but found that in other cities there was competition from other church missions. Adelaide, for example, was a 'Melanesian stronghold and profoundly ignorant of the New Guinea Diocese'. Copland King summed up the difficulty in a letter to supporters: 'The real cause of offence to many is that this is not a purely evangelical mission. Well, neither is the Diocese of Sydney a purely evangelical diocese. W.R. Mounsey discouraged by hostility in the Diocese of Sydney and the indifference in many other parts of the church, finished his tour of duty profoundly

1 A.A. Maclaren to G. Tucker, Thursday Island, 20 February 1890.
2 W.R. Mounsey to Stone-Wigg, Casino, 18 September 1901.
3 W.R. Mounsey to Stone Wigg, Adelaide, 8 May 1902
4 G. White, A Pioneer of Papua 35
dissatisfied with church response in Australia to the needs of the new mission.¹

The continued aloofness of a section of the Australian church towards the New Guinea Mission was due in part to its disapproval of the churchmanship of the more prominent New Guinea clergy. Having discarded the evangelical rectitude of their home backgrounds, several of these had adopted a militantly Anglo-Catholic stand. Their position, in fact, was less ecumenical in outlook than nineteenth century evangelicalism in that it denied the validity of the nonconformist ministries in the Church of God. The career of Romney Gill, nonconformist turned high churchman, is perhaps the best illustration of this phenomenon.

Stephen Romney Gill (1886-1954) was a scion of an eminent English missionary family which had already produced two pioneer missionaries in the South Seas. He was only eighteen years of age when he decided to be a missionary himself. Writing to his father in 1903, he said how sometimes he had wanted to be an engineer, sometimes a sailor and now and then a cowboy, but all the time 'something pointed to the Divine life, and at last, about 1½ years ago, I listened to it.' 'And now,' he added,

¹ W.R. Mounsey to M. Stone-Wigg, Casino, 11 September 1903
'my great longing is to follow the "Carpenter" in the rough ways of life, in which it is one's greatest joy to give up everything, because the gain is so great.'

Both Gill's grandfather and great-uncle, the Reverend George Gill and the Reverend William Gill, had been Congregational ministers, and it was in the Cook Islands mission supported by that church that his father, the Reverend Arthur Tidman Gill, was born. After a Congregational ordination Arthur Gill was called to a chapel of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, an evangelical sect which had originated in the eighteenth century revival. Reacting to this evangelical nonconformist background, and fully aware of the increased social status of the established church, the Gill family began moving towards Anglicanism, and with this came an increased measure of social respectability and intellectual opportunity. To a congregation of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion the Reverend Arthur Gill, in his son Eric's words, 'preached against the doctrine of Hell, and the congregation didn't like it.'

1 S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, London 28 January 1903
2 E. Gill, Autobiography, London, 1944 64
Desperately poor and dissatisfied with a church order that placed the minister at the church members' disposal, the Gills began a pilgrimage which was to end for some in high church Anglicanism and for others in the Church of Rome.¹ Their first visit to an Anglican church was recorded thus:

The calm and apparently unchanging... current of our life had been suddenly diverted. A strange and uncomfortable, almost disreputable gap had suddenly appeared in our quiet, respectable world of prayerful shopkeepers... Up to that morning the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel had been the unshaken and unshakeable centre of religion. We were of course dimly aware of other churches.²

When Romney Gill decided to join the New Guinea Mission in 1905 it was with the experience of changed allegiance from evangelical nonconformity to Anglo-Catholicism. But in addition he had the practical advantages of his trading and mechanic class background, a useful grasp of carpentry and bookkeeping, and a sound knowledge of medicine as well.³

¹ Arthur Gill and his son Romney became Anglican. Eric Gill the Sculptor and Cecil Gill the physician became Roman Catholic. Dr. Cecil Gill was a priest in the New Guinea Mission 1931-1933 before being received into the Roman Catholic Church in 1934.

² E. Gill, op. cit. 68

³ S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, Boianai, 29 December 1920
After studying theology at Burgh Missionary College in Lincolnshire, Gill studied medicine at Livingstone College, Leyton, where another missionary pioneer in Papua, Ben Butcher, had been a student.¹ Arriving in 1908, he worked in northern Papua for 44 years until his retirement in 1952.

Gill's enthusiasm for the religious duties of a missionary priest never displaced his zest for the practical arts. A skilled amateur carpenter and electrician, his generator and workshop held at least as much interest as the rough-hewn church above the Mamba River. His talented usefulness served the Mamba district well: to the house on Duvira hill came villagers with broken limbs, a mariner with a boat to be mended, and missionaries for treatment in the dentist's chair.² Frank Hurley wrote glowingly of Gill's 'combination of spiritual and mechanical genius' and of his magnetic influence over village people.³ Probably the

---

¹ S.R.M. Gill to E.R. Gill, Duvira, 10 August 1936
² S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, Duvira, 2 August 1925
³ F. Hurley, Pearls and Savages (London 1924) 79
youth whose greatest ambition had been to become a medical
missionary found most satisfaction in the surgery. 'In a few days.' he wrote. 'I have treated a bad perineal abscess; and then another similar case; also, a pleurisy patient, and a large scalp wound, got in a fight; a breast abscess; a bad burn case, and a good many others.'

An individualist who could not brook any interference with his methods, Gill lived alone among his grass-skirted parishioners at Boianai for ten years and then among the Binandele for another thirty. This preference for isolation however did not mean he had little capacity for European friendship. On the contrary, Gill developed acquaintance with magistrates and fossickers, visiting sea-captains and his clerical neighbours. With these he conversed about woodworking, religious history, theology and Malinowski's theories, his favourite reading.

1 S.R.M. Gill to M. Stone-Wigg, Burgh, 22 December 1905
2 S.R.M. Gill to Evan Gill, Duvira, 16 August 1932
3 S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, Manau, 28 April 1923
4 S.R.M. Gill to Evan Gill, Duvira, 16 August 1932
S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, Manau, 28 April 1923
S.R.M. Gill to Max Gill, Duvira, 17 October 1931
Most of Gill's time was spent with the native helpers whom he had raised at Boianai and whom he used to call his 'greatest blessings.' The Binandele people made Gill a tribal headman, the first European ever to be thus honoured, a suggestion of the extent of his influence in the lower Mamba. After building a permanent station at Duvira Gill seems to have decided never to leave the Mamba. He turned down the offer of a bishopric in 1926 and wrote to his brother of a medical examination in India: 'I was advised to "get out of Papua at once". Naturally I told 'em I was just about to get in again. They took it a bit seriously.' Arriving in Port Moresby from abroad, he wrote, 'I stopped, stooped, put my hand on the beloved soil and gave thanks.'

Despite Gill's deep attachment to Papua and Papuans he professed conventional white attitudes to wards the Melanesians. He was convinced of the rightness of paternalism as the only form of government which

1 S.R.M. Gill to Muriel Gill, Manau, 7 November 1926.
2 S.R.M. Gill to Evan Gill, Duvira, 1 February 1936
3 S.R.M. Gill to Cecil Gill, Port Moresby 3 December 1920
was understood by natives. and although complimented by Murray for his diplomacy in dealing with them, he acted decisively when confronted with backsliders, summarily cancelling services and withdrawing teachers. Not always successful in persuading the villagers to his will, he confessed that he was 'sometimes pressed down beyond measure, with sorrow, anxiety, weariness and disappointment.'

Like many Englishmen away from home, Gill remained English in outlook and cherished memories of his English boyhood in Chichester.

I can picture you in the Strand, and the occasion, and the little meal you had together, (he wrote to his parents in 1927) quite vividly. How I look forward to having a meal - yes, a good big dinner - with you both at the Dolphin, and other places.

To his brother Evan he wrote:

You and Max will be going in to Hove to a County match now and again. Ae¹ Music and County matches (¹) are I think the only two things that I miss.

---

1 S.R.M. Gill to P.N.W. Strong, Dobodura, 11 February 1943
2 J.H.P. Murray to G. Sharp, Port Moresby, 15 October 1915
3 S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, Boianai 29 December 1920
4 S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, Duvira, 13 February 1927
With this nostalgia for his English origins went an ingenuous admiration for the famous and distinguished, a characteristic of one whose family had risen rapidly in the social scale. This was perhaps inherited from his parents, whose motives for Anglican ordination their children knew to be mixed, and who, in Eric Gill's words, 'were not innocent of snobbery'. As the family ascended the ecclesiastical scale, so they cultivated the friendship of the rich and the socially elevated. While Eric Gill in England became an intimate of G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, so Romney Gill in Papua delighted in his confidences with Sir Hubert Murray and his nephew Leonard Murray. He enjoyed holidaying in the Laurabada on the way to Government House, where always he had a 'jolly time'. 'At night' he wrote, 'the Governor and I sit over cigars after our dinner, and have the most refreshing

1 Eric Gill, Autobiography 65.
2 Interview with O. Brady, Melbourne, 15 February 1970.
3 S.R.M. Gill to Evelyn Gill, Manau, 24 March 1924. S.R.M. Gill to Cecil Gill, Manau, 27 March 1924 S.R.M. Gill to Evan Gill, Manau, 12 August 1924
conversation...we are having a most luxurious and lazy time.¹ The F.E. Williams, 'a delightful couple', the Archbishop of Brisbane and Ivan Champion the explorer were members of what Gill regarded as his circle of friends.² To recuperate Gill made an occasional retreat to a hill plantation in Assam, and it was during one of these sojourns that he met the daughter of an English peer whom he later married.³

Even when his social and religious enterprises had been crowned with success, and his church and school were overflowing at Duvira, Gill had doubts about the efficacy of church extension and remained open to new ideas. He wrote in 1936: 'It does seem likely to me that "institutional religion" as we, and particularly Rome, know it, will more or less collapse. The hope of Religion lies with the "Religious" I think.'⁴ Later he proposed to the administration that Papua adopt a decimal currency with the rupee as the basic unit, and that a network of highways be built in northern Papua.⁵

¹ S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, Manau 20 October 1924
² S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, Manau 19 June 1934
³ The Honourable Olive Buckley, daughter of Lord Wrenbury. (The Times, London, 29 September 1949, 1)
⁴ S.R.M. Gill to Evan Gill, Manau, 23 September 1936
⁵ S.R.M. Gill, "Memorandum to Major-General Basil Morris" Manau 1943
Gill's ministry in Papua was one of extraordinary personality and power. A far-sighted architect of missionary strategy, a tolerant observer of Papuan life, and an imaginative administrator with a grasp of minute detail, he left an indelible mark on the missions at Boianai and the Mamba. With his background compounded of nonconformity and Anglicanism, Gill's stations became a classic blend of industry and worship. This mixture is not commonly found in Anglican missionaries, but Romney Gill was an uncommon man.

GILL was singularly well-fitted for missionary life. Many were not; and some were explaining all too soon to the supervisors their disillusion and their intention to forsake their chosen work. One confessed that he had come to avenge his brother, with whom he had quarrelled; another admitted his real reason for coming to be the improving of his social position; a third declared that he had become a rationalist and could not hold with religion. Many were utterly without experience; some were just

1 Sydney Ford to M. Stone-Wigg, Dogura, 24 October 1900.
2 W.M. McMullan to M. Stone-Wigg, Hioge, 1 February 1901
3 G.W. Morris to M. Stone-Wigg, Ambasi, 3 December 1905
F.R. Barton to M. Stone-Wigg, Samarai, 7 January 1906
out of seminary. All began missionary work with a joyous enthusiasm matched only by their ignorance of the difficulties ahead. One clergyman, Wilfred Abbott, arrived on Wedau beach from England complete with long cloak, riding breeches and gaiters, four dozen shirt cuffs and biretta, and equipped with a bicycle, accoutrements which soon earned him the nickname of 'Mad Abbott'.¹ Several asked to be dismissed, including Charles Sage, whose plea for release was refused three times.² Two missionaries however were summarily relieved of their posts, one a youth named Norman Dodds who had attempted the virtue of two girls at Wanigela.³ Even Romney Gill's brother Cecil retired prematurely, and Romney regarded his brother as having 'thrown up the sponge.'⁴

¹ J.W.S. Tomlin, *Awakening* 50; interview with J.D. Bodger, Lae 20 Aug 1969
³ W. Sage to M. Stone-Wigg, Hioge, 1 February 1901
¹ 4-April 1901
¾ 3 June 1901
⁴ Ferguson I, 30 July 1901
⁵ M. Stone-Wigg to C. Sage, Dogura, 30 November 1904
⁶ H. Newton to A.E. David, Dogura, 30 November 1904
⁷ S.R.M. Gill to C. Gill, 1 May 1935
The story of George Drury provides perhaps the best example of a missionary's cooling enthusiasm towards his work. Drury, a Perth youth, was recommended by his parish vicar as 'just the stuff for a missionary', because 'his moral character is unimpeachable, whatever we may think of his idiosyncracies.' Archbishop Riley of Perth was convinced that his was a genuine call to missionary work. Writing to Drury, Riley said that 'we have no right to say "no" to those who are willing to go out to the front. If you do go, the diocese (of Perth) will regard you as one of her heroes.' In 1906, Drury was sent to Ambasi to learn from Copland King, the senior priest. Soon he explained to Stone-Wigg that he wanted his own station and would not serve under another man. After this demand was refused, Drury made his way to Samarai. Here he was placed under the observation of a doctor, to whom he admitted having 'abnormal imaginative faculties and extravagant ideas' including the belief that he was a high priest of an Abyssinian church. Deeply disappointed that Drury had so signally

1 G. Moore to M. Stone-Wigg, Perth, 27 June 1906
2 C. O. L. Riley to G. Drury, Perth, 18 June 1906
3 M. Stone-Wigg to G. Drury, Dogura, 14 February 1908
4 G. Drury to H. Newton, Samarai, 27 December 1907
failed his expectations, Stone-Wigg paid the missionary's passage home.  

During the first fifty years of church work in New Guinea there was a steady flow of new recruits to the mission field. Between 1891 and 1961 thirty-nine workers arrived at Bartle Bay; in the second ten years there were twenty-three and between 1911 and 1941 an average of forty new missionaries volunteered in each decade. Of the total of 183 white missionaries, 92 were women. Forty-four of the men were laymen and forty-seven were in holy orders. All of the white missionaries, with one exception, were British either from the United Kingdom or Australia.

Although the New Guinea Mission had appealed from the beginning for medical men, school teachers and carpenters as well as clergymen over half male workers were clerical and consequently had received a

1 M. Stone-Wigg to G. Drury, Dogura, 14 February 1908
2 Francis de Sales Buchanan, an American
4 Diocese of New Guinea, Paper of Conditions, Dogura 1900
purely academic education. There were several carpenters, a farmer and a printer, but a large number were priests trained in the traditional fields of theology and the classics. Some were intellectually gifted, and several were distinguished graduates in mathematics, music and botany; but only a few had any grounding in the practical arts of erecting a bush shelter, dealing with dysentery, or mending a whaleboat. With a largely clerical and academic staff, the mission developed strengths and weaknesses which were directly influenced by the type of accomplishment of its workers.

In the earliest appeals for New Guinea service there was an assumption that dedication, in addition to a sturdy physical constitution, were the missionary's basic equipment: an understanding of the people of New Guinea would be picked up on the job. Bishop Stone-Wigg said that 'only the most earnest and self-sacrificing natures' were worthy of the honour of carrying the Gospel. Those who wanted only to "try their luck" in the tropics were firmly discouraged, and the romance of the South Seas was somewhat dispelled by the hardships of the missionary life. Every effort was made to winnow out the ambitious, the impulsive.

---

1 Diocese of New Guinea, Annual Report, Dogura, 1899.
the fickle and insincere from the company. Because of the number of desertions, Australian candidates after 1900 had to sign a formal declaration of intent which spelt out in precise terms the obligations which the missionary was to undertake. The *Paper of Conditions* was based upon a similar pledge used by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.¹

The missionary bond was without legal sanction: the moral obligations of the signatory, it was hoped, would be sufficient guarantee against any breach. No inducement was offered in the way of salary, periodical holiday, or temporal advantage of any kind. The allowance offered was a bare £26 per annum, and furlough was permitted only after three years work, or when it became necessary in the interests of health. English missionaries were allowed leave only after ten years.²

The dangers of the work, and the hazards to which the pioneer was exposed were boldly set forth: the missionary had to be willing to live for, or if need be, to die in his work.³

Self-sacrifice of this nature was taken for granted in a church

---

¹ M. J. Stone-Wigg to secretary, U.M.C.A., Bartle Bay, 6 June 1900


³ Diocese of New Guinea, *op. cit.* 1
which exalted its saints and martyrs. 'Those damned churchmen are like the Papists,' said government secretary Moreton to a magistrate, 'plenty of them willing to be martyrs.' Stone-Wigg had prayed at his consecration in 1897 that he might be spared to live ten years. Philip Strong, on the night of his consecration thirty years later, had an interview with Cosmo Lang, Archbishop of Canterbury. As the interview drew to a close, he knelt to receive the Archbishop's blessing. 'When I got up,' said Strong, 'he pointed to the great crucifix that hung above his stool and said, "You can thank God that there will be more of that in your life than there is in mine".'

As sacrifice was a condition of the religious life, so the ideal length of service was a lifetime of dedication. A nurse enquiring about the qualifications necessary for service was told that the first was a missionary vocation for life. Poverty was another mark of the missionary.

---

1 C.A.W. Monckton, *New Guinea Recollections* (London, 1934) 75
3 P.N.W. Strong, Speech to the Armidale School, N.S.W., 6 December 1967
4 G. Sharp to Nurse Shaw, Samarai, 19 February 1919.
There was to be no trading for money by the staff, although payment in tobacco to natives was permitted. Missionaries had to promise that if they resigned they would never return to trade in New Guinea without the bishop's written consent. Probably Stone-Wigg had in mind the examples of renegade missionaries in the South Seas to whom the profit motive had proved stronger than the call to preach the gospel. Nor was there to be any possibility of a schism occurring within the ranks of the staff. The volunteer was required to swear obedience to the bishop and to promise to undertake any task which he was given.

The most rigorous stipulation in the contract concerned marriage. Because of the cost of maintaining dependents the diocese expected single missionaries to remain unmarried, though a married couple might volunteer if both were willing to work for the mission. In 1907 a clause forbidding 'matrimonial and other engagements' was inserted in the Paper of Conditions, but this was struck out, probably because the Bishop himself had decided to marry. Stone-Wigg however took care not to announce his engagement until he was about to resign from the bishopric. Even so,

---

1 Diocese of New Guinea, op.cit. Dogura, 2.
2 Diocese of New Guinea, op.cit. 2
the propriety of the match was queried by one of the ladies at Dogura, who asked whether it was not a sin for the bishop to marry. ¹

The marriage rule had first of all to be observed by the bishops, and all the bishops were bachelors with the exception of Henry Newton, who was a widower when he accepted the See. Most of the single workers kept to the pledge of poverty, chastity and obedience which they had made, although a dispensation was given to those who decided to marry. Most missionaries who married contented themselves with partners who had already committed themselves to missionary work. Thus Newton married Stone-Wigg's secretary, Sara Sully; Robert Hall took Marie Monypenny, the nurse at Menapi, as his wife; ² and Vivian Redlich became engaged to May Hayman of Gona in 1942, two months before both were executed by Japanese forces. ³ Yet others abandoned their comfortless station for the comparative luxury of a government or trading residency: Miss Winterbottom became the wife of Liston Blyth, the Resident

¹ interview with J.D. Bodger, Lae, 20 August 1969
² M. Monypenny to H. Newton, Ambasi, 1 April 1923, R. Hall to H. Newton, Eroro, 29 December 1923
³ D. Tomkins and B. Hughes, The Road from Gona, (Sydney, 1969) 52
Magistrate at Kokoda, and Miss Challman of Samarai mission married R. S. Bunting, the founder of Bunting's store at Samarai. Married couples, like the Reverend and Mrs. Wilfred Light at Boianai (1923-1931) and Samuel and Elizabeth Tomlinson at Dogura and Mukawa (1891-1937) made successful working partnerships, the husband celebrating Mass and superintending the schools, the wife providing medical care.

The bulk of the staff of the New Guinea Mission were Australians who had been given no formal training before setting out. The preliminary arrangements which existed before 1920 for informing the worker of his basic needs were haphazard and unreliable. Like the Reverend Robert Leck of Victoria, who offered to go in 1915, many volunteers left for New Guinea in a state of confusion:

as for clothing (wrote Leck to Stone-Wigg) - what is the usual wear? Would it be best to take a supply of domestic utensils? Should I take a bicycle? You will understand that I am not anxious to go... but I am ready to try the experiment and see what I can do.  

1 other missionary marriages included: Annie Ker and Percy Money, Miss Griffiths and P. C. Shaw, Nurse Rattigan and K. K. Chignell, Miss Jessett and J. E. J. Fisher, Miss Murphy and C. C. Chittleborough and Ida Percy and Captain Rennels.

2 R. Leck to Stone-Wigg, Euroa, 30 March 1915.
Arthur Kent Chignell, an English born curate at S. James', Sydney, wrote that before his arrival in Papua,

I talked to the people in the Sydney office, and all I could learn was, that I really was coming to a dreadful climate, and that everybody in New Guinea was sure to have fever...and they hoped I'd get on all right...and I was to be sure to take plenty of quinine, and not neglect any of the necessary precautions. What, exactly, those necessary precautions were...no one seemed to know.

A 'new chum' on a mission had to contend with tropical disease, poor food and a Papuan-built house, problems for which his previous experience had left him totally unprepared. Many mission shelters were makeshift and uncomfortable. Constructed for the most part of bush timber, pit pit floor and sago palm roof, their austerity contrasted with the sturdy and comfortable weatherboard residences of the London Missionary Society at Daru, Kikori and Port Moresby. Even the bishop's palace at Dogura had only an iron roof to grace its palm walls, and Bishop Sharp wondered whether the cost of erecting it at £70 had been excessive. Food was cooked by mission pupils in an outhouse or in the open, and was exceedingly monotonous. Chignell wrote that

1 A.K. Chignell. An Outpost in Papua 278
2 A.B.M. Report to General Synod Sydney. 1910
The ordinary food on most of the stations that I have visited is tinned meat and biscuits three times a day. ... There may be a dish or two of badly cooked and worse served native vegetables.¹

One visitor jocularly remarked that the native mission cook might have been called the poisoner.² But earnest young scholars like Copland King, who at first had known only how to boil a billy, were not much better.³

Even Francis Buchanan, who was skilled at bushcraft, subsisted at Uga Point on two or three biscuits broken into a basin of weak tea twice a day, with a fowl for special occasions.⁴

A rigorous diet was combined with an inflexible style of living. The missionary's choice of recreation was severely limited by factors of geography; his station hedged between mountain and sea, with fetid marshes alongside, he was virtually marooned. There was a little foothill country behind Dogura, Boianai and Menapi, while some other stations commanded a view of interminably long beaches, but for most of the time the missionary was confined to the limits of his compound.⁵ Those who lived

---

¹ A.K. Chignell, op. cit. 288
² H.M. Shuttleworth, Speech at Lady Grosvenor's House London 27 July 1909
³ G. White, A Pioneer of Papua 28
⁴ G. White, Francis de Sales Buchanan 43
At Manau and Ambasi had the opportunity of extensive river travel, but these voyages on the Mamba, 'one of the dreariest and most deadly spots in Papua,' cannot have been very stimulating. For the others, recreation had to be contrived on the compound, and this consisted in reading and writing mail, translating scriptures, or cultivating hobbies like sewing, metalwork and carpentry. The August conference at Dogura provided everyone with an annual holiday. Furlough overseas was taken by most missionaries and a passage was arranged on the cheapest ship available. A few refused to leave; Buchanan, for example, spent twenty-one years at his station without once taking furlough.

The coastal plains of northern Papua were not conducive to good health, though they were not the graveyards of white men as popularly

1 K. Mackay. *Across Papua* (London, 1909) 78
2 The first mission radio transceiver seems to have been at Wanigela in 1928, although the government stations at Baniara, Tufi and Buna were in radio contact before that time. (S. R. M. Gill to A. T. Gill, Manau, 18 December 1928)
3 O. P. 71/6
supposed in Australia. Malaria flourished in the long lagoon chains which lay behind the beach villages. The disease was not confined to a particular part of the coast: it was endemic to the whole region, though at some places like the Mamba, fever was more prevalent than others. While the native inhabitants had developed a partial resistance to the more virulent forms of malaria, no immunity was guaranteed to newcomers from Australia and the Solomons.

The threat of malaria constituted the greatest single hazard to health on the north coast. Fever had played havoc with the first settlers, four of whom, including Maclaren himself, had been carried off in the first year. The cause of malaria was discovered a decade before the founding of the mission and certain methods of prevention were established twenty years later, but attacks of fever continued to plague the mission community even though quinine was being taken regularly by 1900.

I have seen a poor fellow (wrote Stone-Wigg) stretched out at his prayers, unconscious, in a fit of ague in which he seemed to shake the very piles of the house with his shiverings... the perspiration would have gone through six or seven folds of blankets into the very mattress.

1 A.K. Chignell, op. cit. 280
2 A.K. Chignell, Twenty-One Years in Papua 24 ff
3 M. Stone-Wigg, Notebook 1898-1905 Dogura. 47
Between June 1903 and April 1904 the priest, nurse and carpenter at Dogura were all buried. Buchanan regarded these deaths at 'only another reminder to be ready for the Master's call', and E.L. Giblin struggled to nurse Percy Money of Wanigela and Oelrichs, Resident Magistrate at Tufi, back to health. Money had spent 97 days in a year in bed with fever. Not for nothing did a visiting mission secretary from England describe New Guinea as the world's newest and most hazardous missionary enterprise. His Australian colleague was so enfeebled by the time the ship reached Bartle Bay that he was obliged to return to Sydney without inspecting the mission.

---

1 O.P. 1/3, 1/4
2 F. de S. Buchanan to Stone-Wigg, Boianai, 5 April 1904
3 E.L. Giblin to Stone-Wigg, Tufi, 7 January 1905
4 P.J. Money to Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, 30 September 1906
5 H.M. Shuttleworth, *op. cit.* 4
6 A.K. Chignell, *Twenty-One Years in Papua* 36
While these attacks of fever were regarded in some quarters as proof of the folly of the enterprise, others hoped that volunteers would be inspired to take the place of the fallen heroes. Such a hope was held by Bishop Stone-Wigg, who prayed 'that many might be led by their examples to give bounteously both in service and gifts for such a cause.' But the prospect of martyrdom - not by savages but the anopheles mosquito - failed to appear to timorous congregations in Australia, and the number of recruits shrank steadily as news of the fatalities spread. There was no lack of sage advice from pulpit and press. The Church Commonwealth recommended that the mission establish a hill station for convalescent staff, thus preserving health while advancing inland. The A.B.M. Review insisted that cattle be imported from North Queensland. This advice was accepted, 100 cattle

1 Sydney Daily Telegraph of December 31 1891 summed up the mission's inauguration in an article entitled 'A History of Misfortune': 'Two lives lost, and two men ill, state of the others uncertain... no leader and the result of all this, and many months' hard labour - nil.' (A.K. Chignell, Twenty-One Years in Papua 32)

2 O.P. 1/3ff

3 Australian Church Commonwealth 22 July 1904

4 O.P. 17/3, ibid 13/6
were imported, and a supply of fresh meat and milk was available at Hioge. A superannuation scheme for 'worn out and invalided missionaries', aptly named the Exhausted Workers Fund, was launched. None of these measures however realized the mission's hopes for an influx of new workers.

Illness compelled the energetic bishop himself to retire in 1908 from Papua, totally unfit for work. When Archbishop Donaldson of Brisbane deputed for the bishop at the Annual Conference in 1907 he noted that

All the mission conference were assembled, but not once, if memory serves correctly, did they all sit down to a meal together. Fever invariably claimed a victim, but the matter, by a sort of tacit etiquette, was not referred to in conversation; it was accepted as being in the nature of things.

Fever was not the only trial for a dedicated man. Like any frontier community, a missionary household encompassed a wide variety of tastes and temperaments. There were stockmen and linguists, nurses and theologians. There were some who lived peacefully with everyone and some with no-one. Single missionaries were usually quartered in the same building, meals were eaten together and recreation taken by the whole group: there was a great deal of communal living. Personal differences

1 O.P. 11/12
2 M. Stone-Wigg to New Guinea Mission Staff, Westminster 23 August 1908
tended to become exacerbated under the strain of these monotonous conditions. When two personalities were incompatible it fell to the bishop to arrange the transfer of one from the station. Thus Copland King went to the Mamba after Stone-Wigg's arrival, and Gill left for Boianai when Newton was appointed vicar-general.¹ In the absence of the bishop a crisis of authority might develop between his lieutenants. When Stone-Wigg was in Australia in 1903 a serious quarrel between Newton and Sage disturbed the normal tranquillity of Dogura. Newton asked Sage to rebuild the Wedau school but the carpenter adopted a fighting attitude and refused. In the presence of the European staff, Newton replied:

Mr. Sage, either I am in charge here or I am not. I have given orders to see that the school building at Wedau is repaired. Do you intend doing the work? Mr. Sage said that he did not. Mr. Newton then told Mr. Sage that he would have to hand in his resignation and go by the first boat... Mr Newton said that he had been appointed commissary ... during (the bishop's) absence in England, and would therefore not resign his position until (the bishop) returned.²

Although the two later made peace, the quarrel had shown Stone-Wigg that all future oaths of loyalty must be made not only to the bishop, but

¹ interview with J. D. Bodger, Lae, 20 August 1969
² S. Ford to M. Stone-Wigg, Sydney, 6 April 1904.
to his deputy as well. There was little wonder that after examining a young volunteer in Brisbane, Newton wrote that 'I impressed upon her the hardness of the life, the trials... and the difficulties from friction with other members of the staff.'¹ No doubt there were other squabbles which were not mentioned in the journals, but on the other hand there must have been many devout men and women little touched by such disagreements who lived together in a warm and genial atmosphere.²

One of the functions of a bishop was to arrange for the appointment, transfer and dismissal of staff. Having appointed workers he had to deploy them over as wide an area as possible and to combine their talents to the best possible advantage. This called for the exercise of considerable skill, for the wider demands of missionary strategy had to be balanced against the personal needs and characteristics of individuals who clearly had difficulty in living together. Occasionally the best solution was to allow a worker to live in isolation.

Among the missionaries there were a number who did not find solitude a burden and preferred to be alone. King lived for sixteen

---

¹ H. Newton to M. Stone-Wigg, Brisbane 1 August 1903

² for example, Wanigela was a place of 'all round friendliness' in 1922, according to one missionary, and there are several similar reports elsewhere. (A. H. Thompson to H. Newton, Wanigela, 2 September 1922)
years among Binandele people along the Mamba; Francis Buchanan worked alone for twenty-one years in Goodenough Bay; Romney Gill loved the 'inexpressible loneliness' of Boianai and Manau, and spent 44 years by himself. In each of these hardy veterans there was a streak of independence combined with a flint-like obstinacy. Although all three were unable to endure the presence of other missionaries on their stations (Buchanan once pleaded for the removal of two women sent to assist him) their contribution to the extension of Anglicanism was enormous. Their long tenure certainly confounded an earlier opinion of Dakers that 'single missionaries in New Guinea are a dead failure.' They also confirmed the wisdom of allowing the individualist a free hand in setting up his own mission.

It was unfortunate that many missionaries lacked the endurance of Buchanan. With a lifetime of dedication as the goal, only one half of the


2 F.de S. Buchanan to Stone-Wigg, Boianai 5 May 1904

3 R.H. Dakers to M. Stone-Wigg, Brisbane 24 July 1907
volunteers between 1891 and 1911 remained beyond the first three years. Between 1911 and 1931 27 of the 79 who joined the mission left in the first two years. Malaria claimed the health of a few in the period before quinine, but in the later period a large number of workers, particularly women, fell victim to a variety of nervous tension.¹

The breakdown of some women was partly due to poor health and partly to cultural misunderstanding by the missionaries. To the Papuan villager, man had been made strong to command and woman weak to do the household tasks. The nineteenth century, on the other hand, had seen the role of European women greatly elevated and improved. Hence missionaries saw nothing incongruous about placing a woman in charge of a station in a converted village. The values that the missionaries esteemed the Papuans despised. At Taupota, for example, Ida Percy complained that the men were 'desperately stubborn' and refused to do her bidding.² Flora Walldron reported insubordination in her pupil teachers, one of whom, Felix, had offered to fight her in front of the class.³ Another was threatening

¹ Diocese of New Guinea, List of Missionaries, see also C.E. Corlette to Stone-Wigg, Sydney 30 April 1904
J.S. Needham, Sydney

² Ida Percy to A. Newton, Didiwaga, 16 August 1922
6 August 1922
12 August 1923

³ F. Walldron to H. Newton, Taupota, 29 November 1923
Miss Slade with sticks, throwing stones, and behaving abominably.\(^1\)

Sometimes threats were carried into actual conflict. R. Dakers discovered Miss Scarth at Taupota being bitten and scratched by scholars, and observed sagely that 'these things are not good for Miss Scarth nor for the school.'\(^2\)

Occasionally a woman had an opportunity to retaliate, as when a Mamba man who showed a female teacher a knife when she tried to take his daughter to school was given seven months' gaol at Ioma.\(^3\) When the proportion of male missionaries increased, however, women were nearly always placed in subordinate positions and were not given direction of Papuan men.

The failure of a large number of male and female missionaries to endure life in Papua, and the difficulties which others experienced in coming to terms with tropical conditions, seem to be attributable in part to an inherent weakness in the system of selecting and training missionaries in the Church of England in Australia. Lacking the numerical strength, the financial

---

1 Ida Percy to H. Newton, Didiwaga, 18 June 1923
   E. Slade to H. Newton, Didiwaga, 21 October 1923

2 R. Dakers to M. Stone-Wigg, Taupota, 3 August 1905

3 C. King to M. Stone-Wigg, Mamba, 31 August 1903
resources, and the tradition of foreign responsibility to marshal and replenish a flow of trained personnel, the Australian church could only impose a summary health examination on its volunteers. The chief examining physician was aware that sincerity and stamina were not enough for a New Guinea pioneer: to Stone-Wigg he wrote,

The greatest cause of invalidism in corroboration of your own experience... is neurasthenia. And unfortunately a merely physical examination does not help much in recognizing the hyper-neurotic temperament which breaks down in this way so much.  

The resignation of one-half of the missionary volunteers at the beginning of their work damaged the New Guinea Mission incalculably. A high turnover in staff meant continual disruption in the programme of expansion and consolidation. There was the cost of a passage from Australia and of outfitting a new missionary. More seriously, there was a break in continuity on the station and a blow to the morale of fellow workers. Not only must the white workers have been affected but the young Papuan staff as well. For how could a bishop expect the Melanesian missionary to stay at his post when the European had deserted? Thus, when Copland King died in 1917 his Mamba station was left unsupervised

1 C. E. Corlette to Stone-Wigg, Sydney, 30 April 1904
and King's two Papuan teachers were left in charge. When Romney Gill arrived six years later to assume control, he found 'everything very forlorn and broken down and dirty and muddy, superstition very strong, and 'the Christians almost more indifferent than the heathen'. The reasons why it was desirable to rectify the high failure rate of the staff were obvious.

The idea that a missionary should be trained before embarking upon work in a foreign land gained ground only gradually outside England. Although English missionaries had the advantage of two or three terms in a missionary college in which to test their capacities, the Australian volunteer had no such opportunity. In 1918 a prominent missionary in Melanesia blamed the Australian church for 'altogether inadequate' training, and shortly afterwards a committee of the A.B.M. recommended a curricula of training that would include devotion, theology, comparative religion and linguistic training. A year later a temporary hostel was

1 S.R.M. Gill to Mailie Gill, Manau, 6 September 1922
S.R.M. Gill to Madeline Gill, Manau 1 January 1923
S.R.M. Gill to Muriel Gill, Manau, 19 January 1923

2 W.G. Ivens in C.S. 31 December 1915

procured, and in 1927 Gilbert White, former Bishop of Carpentaria, became principal of a training college. Rules were strict: probationary missionaries were tested for their capacity to live the common life in a primitive and unadorned environment. A youth organization called the Comrades of St. George was created in 1930 to stimulate interest in missionary service. After 1936 missionary candidates were given a course in anthropology at Sydney University by A.P. Elkin, the noted anthropologist.

Such then were the men and women to whom the Australian church entrusted the missionary task in Papua. While their earlier counterparts in the Pacific were chiefly concerned with rescuing souls from burning hell, these Anglicans conceived the broader and more earthly idea of saving a race. Many succumbed to illness, dissension and disillusionment.

1 C.S. 6 May 1927
2 A.B.M. Minutes, Sydney 19 November 1930. Missionaries also recommended that the government should provide training for Papuan field officers on the lines of the Indian civil service (I.R.M. 1926 vol 15 679).
3 C.S. 17 July 1936 6
but others remained at their chosen task. Pious and hopeful, yet limited by the conventions of the day, they set about the formidable task of trying to understand the Melanesians and of converting them to Christianity.

TO convert the northern Papuans to Christianity was a formidable task indeed. To Europeans, the beliefs and customs of these Melanesians were an enigma: their cosmology bore little resemblance to western concepts of theology and indeed was almost incomprehensible to the European mind. Yet an understanding of the native was surely a precondition if he were to be converted. Lacking their own written material, the missionaries diligently reached for the scanty collection of data extant at the time and discussed in committees the observations made by travellers and government officials.

Most early European observers held a low view of Papuan spirituality. To J.P. Thomson, the natives were 'slaves to superstition... and all the other evils arising out of dark heathenism, while Octavius Stone thought Papuan religion even more damnable: 'They are perfect infidels, believing

1 J.P. Thomson, British New Guinea (London 1892) 67, 179
in no God, but they have a sort of belief that after death their spirits will inhabit the space above the sea.\footnote{1} H.H. Romilly wrote that 'nearly every action of a Papuan's life is regulated to some extent by superstition' and that 'all their spirits are malignant ones, which have to be overcome either by hard cursing or propitiatory offerings.'\footnote{2}

R. Williamson wrote that

> The religion of the Mafulu (of the Papuan gulf) is apparently confined to a belief in, and fear of, ghosts and spirits generally, and I could learn nothing on any observances relating to any supernatural power.\footnote{3}

Among the L.M.S. missionaries in southern Papua, with the exception of Cecil Abel and Ben Butcher, there was a general belief that native religion was overlaid with superstition - 'the most ineradicable weed in the heathen wilderness' said Lawes\footnote{4} - and it was better to try to extirpate it altogether than use it as a stepping-stone to Christianity.

---

\footnote{1}{O. Stone, \textit{A Few Months in New Guinea} (London, 1880) 96}

\footnote{2}{H. Romilly, \textit{From My Verandah in New Guinea} (London, 1889) 81}

\footnote{3}{R. Williamson, \textit{The Ways of the South Sea Savage} (London, 1924) 87}

\footnote{4}{R. Williamson, \textit{The Mafulu People of British New Guinea} 264. see also A. B. Lewis, \textit{The Melanesians. People of the South Pacific.} (Chicago, 1931) 199}
Bishop Stone-Wigg belonged to the liberal school of Anglicanism which regarded non-Christian religions with sympathy. He echoed in his writing the sentiments of Archbishop Edward Benson of Canterbury:

A religious tone of mind, though heathen, is a better field for Christian effort than a non-religious tone of mind... We ought to do our utmost to understand the religions we are to deal with... It is not true that they are ordinarily wicked except by contrast. We know that there may be wickedness in and among them... but we know it has been so in Christianity, too.}

Stone-Wigg subscribed heartily to this opinion. Not only did he decline to condemn the majority of indigenous customs, but he found much to admire in the religious feasting of the hill people of Goodenough Bay. He visited the shrine of the Mango cult behind Dogura, and considered that the beliefs implicit in the Cult embodied all the elements of a religious system. There was, he noted, a belief in powers more than human, the discipline of self, incantations, sacrifice, propitiation, and feasting upon the victims. Stone-Wigg also marked the important role of the feast-leaders in the ritual and the distribution of the pieces of the mango tree.

1 The Life of Edward Benson, Sometime Archbishop of Canterbury (London 1898) 458-61

quoted in M. Stone-Wigg, op.cit. 29

2 M.J. Stone-Wigg, op.cit. 29
His observations of the Mango Cult convinced him that there were distinct parallels between it and the doctrines and ritual of Christianity.

Despite the Bishop's enthusiastic portrait of the Mango Cult, and his belief that native spirituality was an embryonic form of a higher religion, most of his colleagues were of a less optimistic opinion. They did not believe that the conceptual framework of native religion could be used as a preparation for Christian teaching, and in effect concurred with current popular opinion. The majority of the Anglican missionaries considered the coastal indigenes to be animists whose beliefs were utterly irreconcilable with the concepts of western religion.¹ Copland King said that he could never detect the slightest idea of a Supreme Being, and without this, any exegesis of scripture was futile; and without any sense of sin, Christ's atonement was meaningless:

The people who have no idea of the nature of God cannot see the wonder of God becoming Man. And people who are not conscious of sin do not understand the Cross.²

¹ see C. King, Copland King and His Papuan Friends (Sydney, 1934) 30
² H. Newton, The Anglican Mission to New Guinea 21
C. King op. cit. 30
Like King, most missionaries initiated discussion on religion by exhorting their hearers to consider the creation of their artifacts and other familiar objects, and went on to posit the existence of a divine Creator. They did not dismiss or deny the existence of ancestor-spirits, but rather set aside their reality for the listeners and constructed a rational approach to an all-seeing, omnipotent creator-God.

I explained (said King) ... how our Father in heaven made the world, and gave us all good things. The men discussed it freely, and talked a long time over the news... Ituabae said: 'There is the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and we pray to them, and they hear us.' Then I said; 'They have been listening to our singing, though we can't see them.'... Ituwabae said to them: 'We have not been telling you lies; it is all true.'

This was in essence the Argument from Design, an inductive proof of the existence of a deity fashionable among eighteenth-century churchmen and philosophers.

There could not have been many objections from the Papuan listeners to the intellectual content of these expositions. They had never employed rational methods to examine the basis of their own religious beliefs, and hence were not competent to question a sophisticated approach to the transcendental. So, although many missionaries began with

---

1 C. King, *Copland King and His Papuan Friends*. 11
reasoning, acceptance of Christianity was at the level of simple belief rather than upon any intellectual or rational grounds. Material evidence of the European prosperity and superior knowledge (for could not the newcomers even predict eclipses?)\(^1\) probably confirmed the native's suspicion that the new religion was more powerful than his own, thus placing the truth of its doctrines beyond dispute. In the words of Bishop Newton, 'there was a readiness to accept our teaching because we taught it, not from a belief in the truth itself.'\(^2\) The manifest superiority of the newcomers; the authority of the missionary both as a member of a priestly caste and as a European; the rhythm of the hymns; and the persuasive presence of the Melanesian who nearly always accompanied the European: all these were calculated to appeal to his willing submission. When the native seemed obstinate, he was not confuted on rational or supernatural grounds, but reproved for his pride and disbelief. Thus, Peter Rautamara, on his return from a visit to Australia in 1905, berated his listeners at Hioge for their disbelief, saying:

\(^1\) Interview with Luke Gazu, Ambasi 20 May 1968

\(^2\) H. Newton *op. cit.* 299
Some New Guinea people... will not believe the missionaries: they say they are lying. ...The new Guinea people say: 'Our country is good', but it is bad. The missionaries' country is good. There they have good food and fresh meat, and here they have bad food and 'tinny' meat. ...For our sakes they have left all this and come here.¹

For any religious movement, the type of conversion was largely determined by the social structure of the people concerned, and by the kind of religion which they already possessed. In the Papuan village the Christian missionary encountered a social structure with no identifiable leadership, a phenomenon found in many parts of Melanesia, but unparalleled in most other areas of missionary enterprise in the world. In such strongly hierarchical societies as in Polynesia, the Protestant pioneers, shrewdly realizing that conversion spread more quickly downward than upward, had been able to apply their persuasions first to the top of the hierarchy. But no such strategy was possible in Papua, with the exception of the Trobriands, where society was hierarchical. In this case, however, the conversion of Enamakala, the head chief on Dobu, led to a revolt by younger men against his leadership and the Methodists.²

---

1 O.P. 7/4

2 W. Bromilow to M. Stone-Wigg, Dobu, October 12 1899.
The lack of hereditary chieftainship and a recognizable hierarchy presented the Anglicans with both an obstacle and an opportunity. The obstacle lay in the fact that there was no ruler who could be used as an ally in influencing the people to adopt the new religion. There was in New Guinea, as Sir William MacGregor once remarked, no Vladimir to command baptism; no Clovis to lead the way on which all must follow.\(^1\) A frontal attack had to be made upon the society in general, for although men of influence could be found, each individual had to be persuaded of the authenticity of the Christian faith. This inevitably involved the mission in a scattering of resources, a method whose weakness lay in its diffusion. If it proved unsuccessful, a section of the population would have to be selected and isolated for concentrated attention and instruction.

The opportunity inherent in an egalitarian society was that the missionary himself might manage to create a position of authority without encountering serious opposition from entrenched traditional leadership. Alternatively, he might delegate responsibility to a native convert and assist him to assume the seat of power. A decentralized people, Papuans in general accorded recognition outside the clan only to relatives or to

---

\(^1\) Lovett, *Autobiography and Letters of James Chalmers*, 422

see also J.T. Addison, *Group Conversion in Medieval Europe* in *I.R.M.*, vol 24 April 1935
to superior power and merit. This emulative interest naturally embodied
the hope that the benefits which they could discern in the contact might be
distributed among themselves. The only specific leadership resided in
the clan heads or what the Orokaiva know as the kiari embo, the possessors
of knowledge ¹, and these were old men. In the shift of focus which
inevitably followed the encroachment of foreign influence, the old men were
in a vulnerable position. If they proved unbending, the prestige they held
might slip from their hands, and this in turn would contribute towards a
reconstruction of society in which the mission natives would play a dominant
role. In the aggregate then, the absence of a hereditary chieftainship was by
no means an unmitigated disadvantage to the mission. Whether the
opportunity for mastery of village society ever occurred in such naked
form to "gentlemen missionaries" like Montagu Stone-Wigg is doubtful
indeed, they later deplored the crumbling authority of the clan leaders ²
but in the circumstances the strategy they employed amounted to the same
thing.

Although the first converts to Christianity, Samuel Aigeri and

² see below Chapter IV, 196.
Pilipo Agadabi, were middle aged when baptized in 1896, large baptisms thereafter usually involved a preponderance of unmarried youth and only a sprinkling of elders. There were a few, but not many, married couples. The missionaries in fact found it difficult to devise a means to persuade the adult men and women to become Christians. There was a general agreement that older people should not be neglected on the grounds that to bypass any section of the population would often the impact of Christianity upon the whole of society. Although not essential as in a hierarchical society, it was certainly desirable that the clan elders be in sympathy with the methods of missionaries.

In most villages visited by the missionaries the clan heads agreed to their taking and training certain youths at the mission station: this illustrated the extent to which they were willing to acquiesce in the policies of the mission. But techniques developed for the use of the young - daily school or sustained isolation on a mission station - clearly could not be employed in the influencing of elders. They were needed continually to fulfil their social duties in maintaining the village and replenishing food supplies.

Few of the clan leaders were willing to become themselves involved

---

1 G. White, A Pioneer of Papua, 35.
in the process of assimilation into a new religion, probably contending that they were 'too old to learn' new ways, but allowed the mission to take a few of their descendents for an apprenticeship in the white man's religion. The missionaries, taking the line of least resistance, laid more emphasis on training the young than on reforming the old. This preoccupation with juveniles was criticized at mission conferences, but little was done to restore the balance by giving more missionary attention to the adult population.¹

There was no doubt that the spearhead of propaganda was aimed primarily at the young, and that the bulk of the missionary's time was spent in creating rapport with children. The elders acquiesced readily in this selective approach. They denied that the new religion could be of any use to them, but were willing to concede that it might have value for their descendents. Personal agnosticism did not imply opposition; and in any case the temporary absence of the children relieved them of some of the burden of food gathering. The missionaries, perceiving that many of the elders, 'steeped in paganism', would never give way to a change in their lifelong ways, ² were content to snatch the children away before bad habits

1 G. Sharp, Address to the Anniversary Conference, Dogura, 1913
2 S.R.M. Gill to Mailie Gill, Manau, 6 September 1922
were learnt. Thus they hoped in time to raise a godly generation in every village.

Once it became clear that the gospel was not ultimately concerned with the provision of free tobacco, the elders, or at any rate most of them, became indifferent to the message of the missionaries. 'I have known people to come up and ask for tobacco,' said the Rev. V.H. Sherwin, 'but never for the Gospel.' Indifference was usually manifested indirectly: the missionary observed the disappearance of elders from the village before the service began; he noted the bewilderment of others who had been cajoled into attending, and the occasional verbal challenge from older men in his audience. 'You are telling lies,' was the rejoinder which sometimes greeted the priest as he expounded the doctrine of the Incarnation. Often the missionary was listened to politely and ignored. At other times overt opposition was expressed by sorcerers: at Lavora near Dogura an old man prophesied the coming of a snake to punish the Christians, to such effect that the newly baptized fled from the village.

---

1 P.J.M. June 17 1936 see also S.R.M. Gill to Gill, Manau 6 January 1923
2 O.P. 21/9; 10/4.
3 O.P. 6/7.
One sorcerer near the Mamba River threatened to cut out King's liver and lungs unless he left the village. Overt opposition to the missionaries was individual and sporadic. Most of the elders were neither antagonistic or enthusiastic towards the missionary overtures: they did not prevent proselytising among the children but remained utterly indifferent themselves.

When opposition to the mission appeared general, however, the Anglicans bowed to it without using force. The Reverend Wilfred Abbott, however, did not subscribe to the ideal of a gentle missionary. Ordering the Korafi people at Tufi to erect houses, Abbott sent his Melanesian teacher, Jimmy Nogar, to supervise work:

Jimmy has quite adopted my methods of dealing with unruly natives. They had not cut a stick of plaited a leaf before his arrival. The chief men threatened to kill anyone who did a stroke of work: Jimmy promised the two chiefs a big hiding if they did not set their men to work immediately. The rebellion was quelled.

Irascible and autocratic, Abbott imposed a fine of twenty coconuts for non-attendance at school and confiscated nets for Sunday fishing. His

---

1 C. King, *Copland King and His Papuan Friends*, 23
2 W.H. Abbott to M. Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, February 15 1900
severity certainly did not please King or Stone-Wigg, but Abbott was delighted at the results of his regimental methods at church services: 'Nobody spoke or moved the whole time,' he wrote to the bishop, 'they nearly took the roof off with their singing. I was awfully pleased. Everything is going like clockwork.'

CONVERSION to the new religion, since it involved the instilling of godly habits, was a long process. Most converts underwent a course of instruction lasting three or four years, but sometimes, especially in a newly contacted area, they had to wait for up to ten years. Christian preparation was not analogous to the traditional initiation rites and it is probable that no parallel between the two occurred to the native Christians. Indeed, in accordance with the mission policy of encouraging native customs, the missionaries had no intention of supplanting these ceremonies. There did not seem to be any harm in them, and at least among the Orokaiva, initiation was nothing but a pleasant period of indolence.

1 C. King to M. Stone-Wigg, Mamba, February 13 1900
2 W.H. Abbott to M. Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, February 15 1900
3 Interview, H. Palmer, Canberra 15 January 1969
in which, according to the anthropologist F. E. Williams, instruction was limited to learning to play the flute. The initiation period varied in length, but was never longer than a few months.  

The period preceding and following baptism was much longer, and was divided into three stages of gradually intensifying indoctrination: the hearer, the catechumen and the Christian. This three-tiered system was modelled upon the custom of the primitive church, and was common practice in other Anglican missions in the Pacific. The multitudes of village folk who attended the mission's meetings and had expressed a desire for baptism were known as 'hearers'. They attended a simple dialect gathering called Taparoro which contained a psalm and three prayers. The hearers were continually reminded of their inferior status by the restrictions placed upon their participation in Christian activities. They were not allowed inside a church under any circumstances except at the marriage of Christian offspring. In outside gatherings, they could not recite the Lord's prayer with the Christians, but had to remain silent

1 F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society, 185

2 Taparoro: Wedauan for incantations to fairies to ensure fertility in vegetables.

3 G. Sharp, op. cit. 11
until the petition, 'Deliver us from evil" was reached, which they were fervently invited to repeat. 1

The catechumen underwent a period of prolonged instruction and was regarded as a potential convert. His status was higher than that of a hearer; he attended services with the Christians, but was obliged to leave the Church at the end of the recital of the creed, and before the administration of Holy Communion. The length of the catechumenate was left to the discretion of the priest in charge of the station, but nominally it was three years and later reduced to two. 2 In areas where mission influence was judged to be strong, the time was shorter than in the pioneering areas. In the last three weeks of the catechumenate prior to baptism, the candidate was required to live on the mission station in isolation from the rest of the community. It was in this period that the influence of the missionary could be brought to bear most powerfully upon him. He was under continual instruction and his behaviour was carefully scrutinized so that it could be seen whether the seed of doctrine was bringing forth the fruit of righteous habits. His activities were meticulously regulated; fasting was mandatory; services were held four times daily. In

1 ibid.
2 G. Sharp, op. cit. 22
the final stages preceding baptism, the catechumen was invited to decide upon a new Christian name and confess his sins to the priest.

In the evolution of the threefold system of initiation into the church Bishop Stone-Wigg borrowed extensively from the example set by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (U.M.C.A.) the missionary arm of the Tractarian group which dominated the theological school at Oxford, where Stone-Wigg had been an undergraduate. The New Guinea Mission faithfully reflected most of the principles of the U.M.C.A. The time required for the catechumenate and the penalties imposed upon offenders against mission morality; the age at which baptism and confirmation were administered; the exclusion of the unbaptized from Prayer Book services; the deployment of indigenous staff in small villages radiating from a central 'metropolitan' station: these precepts of strategy were modelled upon the archetype provided by high church missions on the east African coast. 1

Nevertheless, missionaries in Papua did not borrow methods wholesale from other Anglican missions. They had little training in orthodox mission methods: prior to 1917 only one seems to have had any

---

1 M. Stone-Wigg to secretary, U.M.C.A., Dogura, 6 June 1900.
formal instruction. General precepts of Anglican order there were, but inflexible rules there were none, and methods could be either used or discarded by the individual missionary with the bishop's permission. Lack of training and of uniformity of method 'lays us open to the charge of being rather hugger-mugger in our work, but at least it meant that... we were able to adapt ourselves gradually to the problems that presented themselves as time went on.' It also meant, as the workers themselves had been led to expect, an exceedingly slow growth in church membership.

While the emphasis on caution and patience counselled by the U.M.C.A. meant that the missionaries could make only slow inroads into the 'slough of paganism' which confronted them at every turn, Stone-Wigg was convinced that time was a prerequisite if the work were to have any permanent effect. He estimated that at the end of the first seven years in a village there might be twenty converts; thereafter progress would be more rapid. The Anglicans' first converts were baptized five years after the first

1 S.R.M. Gill
landing in Bartle Bay.\textsuperscript{1} This was a relatively short time for the work to be rewarded; the L.M.S. pastors on the south coast had to wait eight years before they felt sufficiently confident to baptize.\textsuperscript{2}

Baptism in an area newly brought under mission influence was usually performed in a stream, both because of its dominical origin, and for its symbolic value to the unconverted. The candidates for baptism stood on one bank of the stream while the native Christians stood on the other and the clergy waited in full canonicals in the centre:

The catechumens were called by their native names... The majority knelt in the water, and were plunged once beneath it while the formula was recited. After being signed with the Cross, they passed on and slowly made the passage of the stream... The adults were breast-deep, and the smaller candidates were in up to the shoulders, and all came over slowly through it, through the sweeping volume of water to our landing.

The mass baptism marked the end of the pioneering phase of evangelistic work in a new area and was the symbol of the mission's ascendancy. No pains were spared to ensure that the convert was received

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} A.K. Chignell, \textit{Twenty-One Years In Papua}, 49, 184ff.
\item \textsuperscript{2} J. King, \textit{W. G. Lawes of Savage Island and New Guinea}, 182ff
\item \textsuperscript{3} O.P. 53/11; G. White, \textit{Round About the Torres Straits} (London, 1917) 91
\end{itemize}
into the church with as much panoply as Anglo-Catholic ritual could offer, and that the observers were duly impressed with the significance of the event. New European cloth ramis were worn for the first time; new Anglo-Saxon names were substituted for the old patronymic; the fording of the river dramatized the gulf between the regenerate lives of the Christians and those of the unconverted.

The adoption of a new name was no innovation to the coastal Papuans. A victory over an enemy was frequently celebrated by the victor's taking the name of the victim probably in the hope that his virtue and strength might be transferable. A popular folk superstition among the seaboard people suffered no diminution in the change to Christian names, for the converts accepted their new names with alacrity. In choosing names to bestow upon their brothers in the faith, the missionaries showed a fondness for minor apostolic figures as well as Celtic and Byzantine saints. Monica, Phoebe, Alban, Dunstan, Ethelbert and Augustine were among the most popular. When the traditional Catholic hagiography had been exhausted,

1 Interview with Andrew Uware, Popondetta, 17 November 1968, J.H.P. Murray, Introduction, in F.E. Williams, Orokaiva Society, xxi.
the converts having displayed a penchant for European names, missionaries introduced their own and those of prominent imperial figures. Hundreds of converts and their descendants inherited nomenclatures like Copland MacGregor, Albert King, Murray Gill and Rudyard Kipling.

Baptism opened a gate to spiritual brotherhood with the Europeans. It was also the approved passport to all Christian services from which the newly admitted had been excluded. By reserving religious privileges for the baptized, the mission hoped to make the native Christians conscious of their status and non-Christians to desire the same privileges. 'Christian services...are for Christian people...holy things are for holy people,' exclaimed a zealous priest. 'What could be more repugnant to feelings of reverence than that "rank heathens" should crowd in to gaze at a celebration of the Holy Mysteries?'

The mission drew a sharp ecclesiastical line between admitted Christians and the unbaptized. It is noteworthy, though, that the heathen were allowed to observe the sacramental baptism of believers because missionaries were convinced of its value to them as an 'object lesson'. If baptism meant a cleavage between converted and unconverted, it did not,

1 G. Sharp, op. cit. 12
on the other hand, mean entry for the converted into the world of the missionaries and other Europeans. The Papuan Christian was unable to return to the spiritual milieu of his forebears, but neither was he offered full social fellowship in the white community. A man in transition, he belonged partly to both worlds and wholly to neither. It is true that a few individual missionaries like Francis Buchanan, Romney Gill and Laura Oliver lived at close quarters with their native comrades and extended to them warm friendship which was reciprocated. But such associations were particular and limited. They were not projected into occasions of general social intercourse, diocesan gatherings or station reunions. Outside the mission, the distinction was even more marked. No matter how pious and exemplary was the Papuan Christian, he was still considered by most Europeans as a primitive and a savage.¹

Social differentiation between European and Papuan staff members was scarcely apparent at the end of Bishop Stone-Wigg's reign. Native Christians were repatriated to their own villages on completion of their schooling, and there were only fifteen native teachers before 1910, nearly all of them being under twenty-five years of age.² Consequently, their

¹ see below, Chapter IV, 230.
² O.P. 22/8.
European colleagues tended to develop paternal rather than fraternal relationships with them, and the problem of having two races at work in the bosom of a single church did not arise.

There was considerable disagreement among the missionaries in the first twenty years as to which indigenous customs were repugnant to Christian morality and which were not. It was relatively easy to condemn headhunting, cannibalism and sorcery, which the government was already pledged to destroy and which the people themselves recognized as harmful. It was much more difficult to understand the meaning behind death-feasts and initiation rites and decide upon a policy. Like other native customs, their performance was generally systematic but their underlying rationale was clothed in ambiguity. The Anglicans were cautious in their approach to such ceremonies, anxious lest they should destroy in the name of morality practices not in themselves harmful. King, for example, was in favour of death-feasts; others were against them. Death-feasts were the subject of warm debate until 1925, when the Mission Conference finally agreed that

1 Minutes of Committee Appointed to Enquire into Native Practices, Dogura, 1903.
they should be discouraged on the grounds that they allowed propitiation of the spirits of the dead. 1 No opposition, however, seems ever to have been offered to the custom of marriage gifts by the parents of the bridegroom to those of the bride, commonly known as the bride-price. 2 Most missionaries were aware that to tamper with one custom might well disturb others and lead to a general disintegration of society, and to this they had already declared themselves opposed. One priest claimed that the mission would never interfere with native customs except those which were contrary to the church's teaching. 3 Other missionaries expressed themselves more vehemently. The Reverend V.H. Sharwin, who had been a student of anthropology at Cambridge, said that it was arrogant, criminally wrong, and foolish to try to westernize natives. To smash their inherited customs was an intolerant, puritanical step. 4

Missionaries were particularly sensitive to the criticism that they were helping to destroy primitive society. Bishop Stone-Wigg took pains to

1 C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 22 October 1911, C.S. 25 September 1925, 153. see also C. G. Seligmann, op. cit. 616

2 C. G. Seligmann, op. cit. 515

3 Betel-nut, for instance, was the subject of a staff conference in 1904. After six months of discussion, the Mission decided to do nothing to oppose it. (Bishop of Zanzibar to M. Stone-Wigg, Zanzibar, 8 February 1905)

4 P. I. M. 17 June 1936
enquire into the meaning behind native custom, but confessed at the end of his episcopate that he remained ingreat perplexity about its meaning. He declared that as he had taken fourteen years to interpret the Mango cult,

It would be better to wait as long, and even longer, than give wrong impressions on moral questions, and as a result let the Church's trumpet give an uncertain sound.¹

Accordingly, missionaries adopted a permissive attitude towards dancing and feasting. Some sporadic attempts were made to purge dancing of its erotic content, but the decision rested on the sensibility of the individual missionary. Thus while several of the women were appalled by the eroticism of Goodenough Bay dancing, and Samual Tomlinson called it '...filthy and disgusting, and to be discouraged wherever it occurs,'² Gill and Elder took a wry view of similar behaviour among the Orokaiva dancers but made no attempt to interfere with it.³

The non-committal attitude of the Anglicans towards a variety of native practices which were being energetically discouraged by the L.M.S. on the southern coast and the Methodists in the D'Entrecasteaux islands

¹ M.Stone-Wigg, op.cit. 30; see also C.G.Seligmann, op.cit. 589, 652.
² S.Tomlinson to E.S.Hughes, Bartle Bay, 1 July 1895.
³ S.R.M.Gill to E.R.Gill, Duvira, 16 August 1932.
reflected the traditional liberalism of high church Anglicans toward the pursuit of secular pleasures. In particular, they did not oppose night dancing by natives (which was condemned by W.G. Lawes) or the consumption of alcohol by Europeans, and they introduced tobacco into the areas which they entered. The Anglican bishop did join other missions in opposing the sale of alcohol to indigenes, but he was no prohibitionist as far as Europeans were concerned, whisky being his favourite beverage.\(^1\) When the temperance societies appeared to have gained the sympathy of the Commonwealth Government in imposing a ban upon alcohol in Papua, the Anglicans vigorously defended the advantages of alcohol. In St. Paul's Cathedral, Melbourne, Copland King said that 'the enervating climate made the use of 'medical comforts' by missionaries a necessity', and joined Charles Abel in protesting against the proposed bill.\(^2\) Alcohol was an accepted part of the mission larder, and beer was often drunk by clergy and laymen at informal gatherings.\(^3\) Dancing, being officially endorsed, was brought into the celebrations which followed.

---

2 Melbourne Age. 1 March 1905; Melbourne Argus 1 March 1905; C.W. Abel to M. Stone-Wigg, Melbourne 16 October 1903.
3 S.R.M. Gill to E. Gill, Mamba, 17 February 1937.
services on festivals, and no support was lent to moves to regulate dancing in other parts of the mainland. Thus, when the Reverend W. G. Lawes appealed to Bishop Stone-Wigg for support in an attempt to secure government disapproval of 'grossly immoral Motu dancing,' the bishop did nothing to support him. 1

Towards sexual promiscuity, however, the Anglican Mission adopted an uncompromising stand from the beginning, deploring its incidence in heathen and Christian alike. In most coastal societies, no virtue was attached to chastity and no blame to indulgence among the unmarried, though stricter attitudes were held within marriage. 2 Thus, in an area newly opened, a missionary could describe himself as being 'surrounded by an atmosphere of fornication and abortion with occasional clouds of adultery and infanticide.' 3

Church teaching on the sinfulness of fornication and the indissolubility of marriage was derived from its interpretation of the sayings of Christ, the teachings of St Paul, and the general view that procreation was the

1 W. G. Lawes to M. Stone-Wigg, Vatorata, August 15, 1905.
2 see above, chapter I, 7.
3 P. J. Money to M. Stone-Wigg, Menapi, 5 April 1907.
R. H. Dakers to M. Stone-Wigg, Hioge 31 March 1906.
sole justification of the sexual act. The Anglican missionaries furthermore came from that section of society in which the ethic of chastity was most heartily defended and rigorously observed. Hence on the mission field sexual purity became the yardstick of a convert's sincerity and 'character'. Given these circumstances, the reaction of the Papuans was predictable. They knew the missionaries were uncompromising in matters involving chastity, but it was their custom on occasions to relax the marriage bond, and to permit pre-marital intercourse as well. Since many of them were attracted to Christianity and furthermore had no desire to win the disapproval of missionaries, they often sought to conceal breaches of church discipline.

Concealment was a hazardous means of evading detection in a Papuan village with a vigilant church councillor and a priest in the vicinity. The missionary then had to devise a means of punishing the offender. Expulsion had to be ruled out, since excommunication meant that the church would have all but ceased to exist in some places. At Taupota, for example, the spectacular 'fall' of forty married church members in 1905 represented a large proportion of the Taupota congregation and almost one-tenth of the total baptized adherents of the mission. Although the institution of marriage was divinely ordained, mere mortal means were
used to persuade the Papuans of this decree. The rite of auricular confession, then popular among devout Anglo-Catholics, provided a ready solution. This was followed by a period of suspension, called 'discipline', in which the spiritual privileges of the sinner were withheld and his status reduced to that of a catechumen. Continued defiance of the Seventh Commandment resulted in excommunication from the Church. Following the medieval rite of bell, book and candle, the priest solemnly cast out the excommunicant while acolytes overturned the church candles and tolled the bell. Between 1910 and 1916, when records of excommunication were kept, the ceremony was held thirteen times each year.

Bishop Sharp thought that the mission's code of discipline was accepted by native Christians without offence. Indeed so naturally did the Papuans, a people with a deeply ingrained sense of justice, regard the suspension period, that missionaries soon realized that for many offenders, it had ceased to evoke a sense of shame. This of course, was the social purpose of the system. The confessional probably did not

1 O.P. 56/6.
H. Newton to Stone-Wigg, Dogura, 28 January, 1902.
2 G. Sharp, Diocese of New Guinea, Its Rules and Methods
3 ibid., Interview with J. D. Bodger, 20 September 1969, Pupendoeta.
4 G. Sharp, Diocese of New Guinea, Baptisms, Confirmations and Excommunications. Dogura, c. 1916 (?)
help to mitigate the frequency of infidelity: on the contrary, it tended
if anything to institutionalize it in a situation of decay in primitive sexual
morality. The religious setting became one of formalism, of compromise
between the increasingly permissive norms of Papuan society and the
ethics of western Christianity, with its inseparable association of sex
with an individual consciousness of sin.

The advent of Europeans, even though it caused a cessation of the
more sanguinary inter-tribal customs, inevitably resulted in, among
other things, a loosening of moral restraints within the Papuan village.
This came about partly because of the increased social mobility through
the indenture of labourers; by the activities of profligate traders - for
whom the missionaries reserved their strongest denunciation; and
because of the enforcement of British justice, which protected as well
as apprehended the criminal. The outlawing of murder as a means of
retribution certainly helped destroy the strength of primitive sanction.

As A.K. Chignell laconically put it:

The adulterer gets six months in gaol nowadays, instead of
a knock on the head with a stone club. As a result,
adultery promises to become as common in New Guinea as
it is in England.¹

---

¹ O.P. 46/12
However, the anthropologist C.G. Seligmann blamed the mission itself for the very decay in morality it sought to confront: 'Now', he wrote, 'under the partial influence of the teaching that all fornication is wrong, any boy will make love to any girl as occasion offers.'

It is probable that through the prominence given to concupiscence in the pulpit - in mission parlance the word 'sin' generally had only one meaning - the condemnation had the opposite effect to what was intended. Boys released from the rigorous atmosphere of a mission school often succumbed quickly to the permissive milieu of a coastal village. Nothing grieved the missionaries more than the 'fall' of a favourite protege. Thus Laura Oliver complained to her bishop: 'We cannot compete with these people; they will do just what they like in spite of all our teaching.'

Certainly the moral laxity of some of the native staff did nothing to impress the credibility of the official stand on sexual morality upon the converts, though the majority of Papuans on the staff remained faithful to

C.G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* 445

L. Oliver to H. Newton, Mukawa, 5 June 1923; see also H. Newton to M. Stone-Wigg, Dogura 3 February 1902, *ibid* 28 January 1902, *ibid* 31 May 1902.
the mission code. When Edwin Nuagoro, the second Papuan priest ordained, 'fell' at Wanigela in 1923 he was suspended from priestly duties and placed under discipline for a year, even though he claimed that his action had not been intended for his own gratification, but merely to persuade the bishop that he needed a transfer. Another contributory factor in some areas was misunderstanding of mission teaching. It was not until 1914, during a revision of the Wedauan Prayer Book, that the translators realized that the word rauoga, used for adultery, applied only to men, and that women had been understood to be free of the prohibition. In other areas the congregations abandoned certain customs only to substitute others in their place. Trial marriage, or numa giwau was given up in some districts to be replaced by indiscriminate sexual intercourse. In one district where polygamy existed, the custom was abolished in favour of secret eriam or exchange of wives.

1 F. Walldron to H. Newton, Menapi, 22 October 1923
2 O.P., 43/3
By the end of Bishop Stone-Wigg's reign the Anglican church had moved but slowly in defining its attitudes towards many social customs of the northern coastal Papuans. Warfare, murder, cannibalism and sorcery were categorically condemned. Adultery, incest, infant betrothal, polygamy and divorce were forbidden in converts, but were not prosecuted in the vast population as yet outside the pale of the Church. Judgment was still suspended over death-feasts, initiation rites and the seclusion of widows, while dancing and social feasting were officially encouraged.

Towards the bulk of indigenous customs not explicitly forbidden by church law, the missionaries were enthusiastic but uncomprehending. They described as 'colourful and exciting' or 'most beautiful' customs and ceremonies for which their gentle patrician upbringing had left them unprepared, but which they thought it in good taste to applaud. In the words of Henry Newton:

There are doubtless very many social customs we know nothing about, so that we cannot specifically state what are to be given up and what may be retained, and we are anxious not to interfere with any that are harmless.

---

1 op. cit 17 ff.
2 O.P. 6/8
When the missionaries' sensibilities were offended, they tended to confide their distaste to one another rather than challenge the participants openly. Realizing their limitations as observers, they moved circumspectly after the manner of the bishop and the vicar-general. Both Stone-Wigg and Copland King were recognized by churchmen in Australia as intellectuals, and the small staff held their opinions in considerable awe. Their attitudes were revealed in their writing not as of ecclesiastical lawgivers, but rather as enquiring academics. Stone-Wigg had declared, said a close friend, 'that he was going not only to teach, but first of all to learn and to study and to understand the natives... with such good results did he study, that he learnt the utter futility of trying to Europeanize the Papuan.' He had been warned to 'be on your guard against allowing any increase in the numbers of sins', church discipline being, in many cases, tyranny and red tape. Such convictions as these shaped the social policies of the mission in the first two decades.

1 W. Webber to S. Smith, Brisbane 7 April 1896
2 H.M. Shuttleworth op. cit. 5 O.P. 59/1
3 Bishop of Lemombo to M. Stone-Wigg, Lorenzo Marques, 24 February 1905
During Stone-Wigg’s episcopate the *magisterium* of the church was largely set aside until the moral debate and the search for meaning had run its course.

If it appeared abortive to mould the Papuan in European form, to expect his culture to remain intact after the invasion of Christianity was similarly futile. The flowering of native traditions in the Christian villages gave promise that these hopes might be realized, that a primitive culture would absorb the religion of the west and blaze forth after the transplant. But even by 1910 there were signs that this might be the splendour of a setting sun. Initiation rites were dying out in Goodenough Bay, and the feast of the Mango was becoming moribund. Newton noted gloomily in his diary that

> The second Walaga at Diwari ... was not as large or fine in any way ... everything seemed draggled and second-rate, and there did not seem to be the same care to observe traditions.

The museum of Papuan artifacts at Dogura, which Newton had established and to which Erskine, Moresby and John Douglas had contributed relics, was in itself a tacit recognition that traditional native culture could be preserved only inside a glass case.

---

1 H. Newton, *In Far New Guinea* 158

2 John Moresby to M. Stone-Wigg, 10 September 1904
John Douglas to M. Stone-Wigg, 4 October 1900
H.E. Erskine to M. Stone-Wigg, 26 September 1904
DESPITE its slow growth and early setbacks, the church could boast some visible sign of its twenty years' occupancy of the north coast. It had over 2000 adherents and catechumens, 1450 children in school, and 140 buildings. The number of foreign missionaries had grown from three in 1891 to 54 in 1910. There were 30 Melanesian teachers. The mission had created a foothold in 28 places along the northern coast from Samarai to the German border, a distance of 300 miles, all with the consent of the native inhabitants, and not one life had been lost in conflict. Believing that they came not to destroy but fulfil, the missionaries had exercised great care in dealing with native customs, most of which continued to flourish, but the dancers in some areas could now read the scriptures in their own tongues. Perseverance with the most promising scholars, not enlightened however by an understanding of the conceptual gap between foreigner and indigene, had won a small corps of young men to work beside the dim dim missionaries. Seventeen evangelists working for the conversion of their fellow Papuans gave Bishop Stone-Wigg hope that an indigenous church would one day arise in Papua.

1 O. P., 25/11 1911
Diocese of New Guinea, Annual Report Dogura, 1910

2 ibid.
GERALD Sharp was Vicar of Whitkirk in Yorkshire when offered the bishopric of New Guinea. A graduate of Cambridge, 45 years old, and a moderate high churchman who cared little for the ceremonial usages of Anglo-Catholicism, Sharp was recommended for his 'outstanding pastoral qualities and missionary zeal'. Although appointed by Randall Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on whom the choice had devolved following the death of the Australian Primate, Sharp had been earnestly suggested by several prominent Queensland churchmen, including St. Clair Donaldson, the Metropolitan. The choice by Lambeth was but a formal confirmation of a decision already arrived at in Australia. Sharp was consecrated in Brisbane in April, 1911 in the presence of Sir William MacGregor, and soon afterwards was enthroned in the see city of Dogura.

The opening years of Sharp’s episcopate saw the church expanding numerically in every direction except inland, an increasing stream of conversions in the places where the mission

1 St Clair Donaldson to Randall Davidson, Brisbane, 2 November 1909.
2 His sponsors were Bishop Montgomery (formerly of Tasmania) Archbishop Donaldson and Archdeacon David of Brisbane.
3 Then Governor of Queensland.
had been working for a long time, and in the newer districts, a wave where previously had been a trickle.

Nowhere was the transformation more dramatic and unexpected than at Boianai, a beachside village sixteen miles north of Dogura. A people long reputed for the savagery of their raiding, the Boianai had at first been largely impervious to Anglican overtures, and had once even sent a message to Dogura warning of the dire consequences of attempting to create a station there. To Boianai had been sent in 1899 a bearded recluse named Francis de Sales Buchanan, as unlikely a man as ever to become a missionary in the English church. A nephew of James Buchanan, fifteenth President of the United States (1857-1861) Buchanan was a Roman Catholic and had been educated by the Jesuits before being admitted as an oblate of the Benedictine Order. After some years as librarian at the abbey of Monte Cassino in Italy where he, in the words of his biographer, 'learnt at first hand the intrigues of Vatican politics' Buchanan came to Australia with the intention of joining a lay order. Repelled by the ultramontane tendencies of Irish Catholicism then dominant in Australia, Buchanan was received into the Anglican communion. Despite his 'very apparent surface faults' and his own opinion of himself as 'stupid', for he could write only slowly, Buchanan was recommended as a lay missionary for his bushcraft

1 A. K. Chignell, Twenty-One Years in Papua, 25, C.S., 3 December 1915.
2 G. White, Francis de Sales Buchanan, Sydney, 11.
3 G. White to M. Stone-Wigg, Hughenden, 21 May 1899.
as well as his 'deep underlying goodness'\(^1\) and arrived in New Guinea in 1899. An austere, self-effacing hermit, Buchanan lived alone at Boianai and Uga Point for twenty-two years, rarely leaving his station and refusing to take leave in Australia in case death should prevent his burial in Papuan soil. He evidently found satisfaction in living among the formidable clansmen of Boianai, though he was reputed to have been unsuccessful in learning more than a few syllables of their language.\(^2\)

In spite of Buchanan's remote personality and his linguistic shortcomings there was a kindling of interest at Boianai before his departure in 1911. This burst into flames of enthusiasm in the days of his successor, Romney Gill. Gill's astuteness and energy brought forth the latent interest of the Boianai people by skilfully husbanding the leadership potential of the Christian men, so turning the stirring desire for religion into a reshaping of the social structure under mission leadership.

Gill began work by creating employment at the mission for boys and young men, the age sector which, under careful nurture, would guarantee the church with a supply of manpower for future needs. Scouring the inland villages on patrol, he carefully selected youths who, he considered, would meet these needs.

---


One was the son of a head man; another, being diseased, had been abandoned by his parents; a third had been orphaned when his father was killed and eaten by raiders. Soon several dozen lads had been collected, and for these a group of industrial buildings was erected, including a lime-kiln, saw pit, smithy and a carpenter's shop. Having learnt interest in machinery from his father, Gill taught his young men to be jacks-of-all-trades for the benefit of the mission's material needs.

Exploitation of the influence traditionally wielded by clan elders brought the village leadership into a fruitful alliance with the mission. A council of seven was constituted to control the affairs of villages in the Boianai mission. Elected on the basis of one councillor for every fifty villagers, the ogababada met once a month under the presidency of Gill. The ogababada deliberated on a variety of matters, from the detection of wrongdoers, and passing opinion on the eligibility of baptismal candidates to supervising the building of roads and bridges. A building committee was responsible for measuring sites and regulating the building of houses. A village bank (with Gill as banker) had 250 small depositors; the church bank had a capital of £42. By 1916

1 MacDonald Ukulawa, who worked with Gill on the Mamba until 1940. (see S. R. M. Gill to E. R. Gill, Mamba, 20 October 1931.)
2 O.P. 54/6, S. R. M. Gill to M. Stone-Wigg, Burgh, 22 December 1905.
3 O.P. 54/6.
4 O.P. 54/9.
5 S. R. M. Gill to G. Sharp, Boianai, 23 August 1921.
a registry office, school, council hall and church had been erected. A decent village was a clean village, and the missionaries heartily subscribed to the old adage about the proximity of cleanliness to godliness. When Bishop Feetham of North Queensland visited the settlement he enthusiastically reported it to be 'laid out with the art of the town planner combined with that of the landscape gardener...and the streets so clean that one could eat off the ground.'

Zealous development of village facilities, combined with an assiduous safeguarding of public morality, caused Boianai to be upheld as a model Christian community and the 'exhibition station of the Anglican mission.' Realising that the sanctions of the clan provided the strongest deterrent to immorality, and believing that 'the great thing is never to let your control be too apparent' Gill contrived to appear independent of village organization while skilfully marshalling the will of the leaders to the side of the mission. The strategy proved successful. So thoroughly were church values imposed upon existing village norms, that incurring the displeasure of the priest and council, according to one observer in 1916, was feared much more than a term at Baniara gaol. Gill called this the 'building up of the communal conscience.'

1 O.P. 54/10
2 Ibid.
3 F. Hurley, Pearls and Savages (London, 1924) 78 ff.
4 S.R.M. Gill to C. Gill, Manau, 13 June 1923; S.R.M. Gill to A.T. Gill, Manau, 13 June 1923.
5 O.P. 63/6.
6 S.R.M. Gill, Suggestions relative to the strengthening of the Native Church in Papua, Manau, 15 September 1922; O.P. 49/5.
name was entered in the station discipline book, which Feetham frankly admitted was a journal of immense importance in a community which is very nearly a theocracy. 1

Conversion for the Boianai Christians, like others in mission districts, meant not only the transformation of their values and ways of life, but an attempt to impose the same ideals of behaviour on their neighbours. There was evidently no resistance from the heathen villages to the proselytising activities of the young converts, who were often in any case kinsmen of their own listeners. The ogababada built a hall in which men's Bible classes were held twice weekly; they erected open air pulpits in outlying villages from which Boianai evangelists delivered evening homilies to benighted village folk. 2 When Gill was transferred to the Mamba River mission in 1922 'nearly every teacher' volunteered to go with him; 3 and when Bishop Sharp appealed for native Christians to take the Gospel into New Guinea after the German capitulation in 1914, several Boianai men offered to go to what must have been, for them, a hostile and dangerous land. 4

The ultimate test of the efficacy of Gill's theocracy lay in its capacity for survival in the absence of European authority, and this was amply demonstrated in the short run in 1920. When Gill

1 O.P. 54/9 and 63/6.
3 O.P. 85/2 ff.
returned from a year's furlough, he found to his immense satisfaction that the church organization, which had been entirely in the hands of ten Papuan assistants during his absence, was in full working order. Preaching, teaching, financial management, and the church fabric had been diligently maintained, proof that under set conditions the indigenous church, through the medium of an imported ecclesiastical framework, was capable of running its own affairs. It appeared that the essential features of Anglican order had been successfully assimilated into the traditional edifice of society. The only incomplete stone in the building was the indigenous priesthood, but with the ordination of Peter Rautamara and Edwin Nuagoro to the diaconate in 1914, even this was beginning to emerge. When J. H. P. Murray visited the community at Boianai in 1915, he described it as the 'most wonderful place he had seen,' and considered it to be two generations ahead of any other village in Papua, high praise from a Lieutenant Governor not reputed for the extravagance of his compliments.

The movement towards the missions which had begun as a wave at Boianai, soon caused major ripples in nearby mission stations in Goodenough and Collingwood Bay. Taupota, since 1906 the scene of sturdy indifference and on occasion mass apostasy from the church, experienced a reversal of sympathy in favour of

1 O. P. 47/6, S. Gill to A. Gill, Boianai, 29 Dec. 1920.

2 O. P. 41/3.

the mission; Mukawa, Wamira and Wanigela soon followed suit. Excommunicates aligned themselves with the mission; church attendances multiplied, and large numbers began to seek admission to baptism. The mission at Taupota reported that 300 people had joined the catechumenate; Wanigela was 'jumping ahead' according to one missionary and was 'almost a second Boianai' in the intensity of its fervour. Wabubu near Mukawa was 'in the full glow of its first fervour, one hundred people coming to prayers every evening. The revival of interest at Wamira reminded another missionary of the coming of the Holy Spirit in apostolic times, so sudden and unexpected was the transformation. Bishop Sharp confessed the whole revival to be 'most astonishing.'

Although the ripening of interest at other stations never assumed the proportions of the spectacle at Boianai, there was a general resurgence of belief, an improvement in morals, and, most of all, a willingness by many of the older people to accept Christianity. Several baptisms in Goodenough and Collingwood Bay were predominantly of old people; at Taupota, the priest remarked that 'all were quite ancient', one having seen Maclaren and King arrive in 1891 and remained indifferent ever since. It seemed that many old people who had held out against change had decided that resistance was useless and that it was better to throw in their lot with the young.

1 O.P. 47/6.
3 O.P. A.R. 1913, 27.
4 O.P. 46/10.
5 C.S. 9 October 1914, 9.
Each missionary evolved individual methods to consolidate his influence in his demesne. The prerogatives of appointment, transfer and dismissal of staff were held by the diocesan, but prior to 1917, when Bishop Sharp promulgated his Rules and Methods, of the Diocese of New Guinea, there were no episcopal directions governing activities within the stations.¹ Methods which succeeded in one place failed in another and new tactics had to be adopted.¹ What Buchanan and Gill had achieved through patient handling at Boianai was accomplished through coercion by the Reverend J. E. J. Fisher at Wanigela. Having failed to persuade the Christians to modify the social customs of which he disapproved, especially mortuary observances, Fisher took a stern approach towards dissent.

I tried the 'gentle persuasion' method for the first year [wrote Fisher], but it was no good. Now I say what must be done - and it is done. The horrid gashing of the temples with obsidian has ceased, as has also the blacking of the bodies.²

Rather than wait for the converts to discard such practices slowly, Fisher decided upon a summary extirpation, to 'break the New Guinea custom at one blow' and 'make widows act like rational creatures.'³

Having stifled the custom of widow mutilation, Fisher moved on to a general reformation of manners and morals, so

¹ Newton, In Far New Guinea, 251.
² O.P. 51/9.
³ O.P. 51/10.
that by the end of 1916 he could say that the people had definitely foregone 'their hideous native customs' and that initiation and mortuary ceremonies had been dispensed with.\textsuperscript{1} Like Gill, he achieved his reforms through the medium of a pliant church council, the people following its lead meekly. Unlike Gill, he did not appear to believe that if social change were to be permanent, it must be done with the consent of the people. 'I glare at them,' said Fisher of his congregations, 'until my eyeballs nearly start out of my sockets'.\textsuperscript{2} The result was an immediate and impressive acquiescence by the Wanigela people in the improvements proposed by the priest. After one successful church meeting, Fisher wrote exultantly:

\begin{quote}
It was decided that moral failures must not be allowed to continue; that the villages must be kept cleaner; that 9 p.m. means 'bed'; and that greater gifts must be made to the church.\textsuperscript{3}
\end{quote}

Other mission stations did not, however, follow the pattern of clerical despotism set at Wanigela. Several clergy voiced misgivings about the rigorous discipline of Fisher's mission, one saying that he did not see the need for 'feverish haste in trying to compel obedience' from the 'virile people of Wanigela'.\textsuperscript{4} Copland King allowed death feasts to continue at Ambasi, and permitted his Melanesian assistants to take part.\textsuperscript{5} The Reverend Peter Rautamara

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{1} O. P. 53/18
\textsuperscript{2} O. P. 53/18
\textsuperscript{3} O. P 53/19
\textsuperscript{4} A. J. Thompson to H. Newton, Wanigala, 11 December 1922
\textsuperscript{5} C. J. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 22 October 1911
\end{quote}
saw no harm in initiation ceremonies and the `banivi' death feasts at Taupota, and allowed schoolboys to be absent from lessons to attend initiation rites. At Emo in Dyke Acland Bay the lay missionary himself underwent the kotopo initiation ceremony of the Yega people alongside native adolescents. There was, however, a hardening of opposition against excessive feasting, dancing and widow seclusion in places where these ceremonies were allowed to continue for several weeks, but this was on humanitarian rather than doctrinal grounds. When Bishop Sharp as early as 1911 issued a pastoral letter condemning death feasts as superstitious, Copland King defended feasting because it led to the planting of more food and encouraged social intercourse. With the majority of missionaries in favour of their continuance, initiation and mortuary ceremonies survived in many mission villages long after the demise of Fisher and Sharp.

By the end of 1916, the upward thrust of religious advance had reached a climax. The number of adherents had doubled in five years; 2300 had been admitted to communicant membership; over fifteen new churches had been opened, and there was a plentiful supply of children eager to receive the benefits of a rudimentary education in the twenty-seven schools run by the mission.  

---

1 E. Slade to H. Newton, Taupota, 22 October 1920.
2 O.P. 80/5.
3 C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 22 October 1911.
5 Ibid.
6 G. Sharp to Government Secretary, Samarai, 1 March 1918.
'The fields, one after another, are whitening to harvest',\footnote{O.P. 64/2, 53/20.} wrote Sharp in 1917.\footnote{O.P. 54/21} The only limiting factor, he ruefully realized, was a lack of European volunteers and finance to carry the pax Anglicana over the entire region.\footnote{O.P. 64/2, 53/20.}

The expansion of mission influence gave a new confidence to those who had worked so warily in the past. Bishop Sharp felt sufficiently assured of the power of the church in the christianized areas to promulgate a code of canons governing the conduct of mission stations and regulating mission policy on such issues as baptism, marriage, burial, and excommunication. Authoritarian in tone, the Rules and Methods of the Diocese of New Guinea provided Anglicans with a manual of precise instructions, a striking contrast to the mood of cautious experimentation which characterized the rule of Bishop Stone-Wigg.

Nothing in the missionary's programme was thought more important than the work of educating the young. As the schools were an instrument in the evangelising of Papuan villages, the criterion for measuring their success was the number of conversions among the students. Consequently, the early mission parties turned their attention to teaching of a rudimentary kind as soon as the preliminary exchanges with the native people had been concluded. Simple lessons and interested concern for the sick had been the earliest contacts between the Dogura missionaries and the people at Wedau.
I go down to the village of Wedau every morning [recorded Samuel Tomlinson, a carpenter by trade, in 1892] to teach the children the alphabet and to count, then I go round the village making friends with the people and visiting the sick.¹

To the missionaries, teaching in school and preaching the Gospel were intrinsic parts of the same process, the schoolboys hearing with delight the Bible stories and being led on insensibly into Christian doctrine. To them it was axiomatic that the mission could advance its work in the most favourable circumstances if it had at its disposal a corps of mission-trained schoolboys. By 1897, therefore, no fewer than five schools were operating near Dogura.² Not only could the school impart religious doctrine, but it could also assist in the development of personal character through moral training. In the words of Copland King, the schools had a beneficial effect, not only on the religious life, but also on the social life and progress of the community.³ A further aspiration was the sowing of the elementary seeds of secular instruction. As A. K. Chignell, the diocesan inspector of schools, put it:

The schools are a valuable arrangement by which we Christian missionaries are able to gather the children together for training in the ways of Christ, with such incidental instruction in 'reading, writing and 'rithmetic' as is possible.⁴

---

¹ S. Tomlinson to E. S. Hughes, Bartle Bay, 3. 7.
³ C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 1 April 1911.
Irregular attendance and unpunctuality were particularly the bane of the schools. Teachers found it difficult, if not impossible, to persuade scholars to attend on five days of each week. At Wamira near Dogura 84 students were enrolled, but daily attendance was only twenty. 1 The average attendance at the other schools was as low as half. 2 Nor did day scholars care to attend the opening of lessons, and enforcing punctuality was a major source of irritation. A government ordinance of 1899 made attendance at school compulsory within a declared area, 3 and missionaries could call in the local constable to chastise the truant, an office he usually performed with the aid of a leather strap. 4 Bishop Stone-Wigg, his patience exhausted by persistent absenteeism, once threatened to put a rope for a week on any boy's ankle who ran away. 5 Wilfred Light did not heed the maxim to spare the rod when a boy played truant at Boianai: 'I first of all punished him for the mission' wrote Light of a boy who regularly absconded, 'and then, as it was a government offence, took him to Baniara for a taste of the Government strap.' 6

Neither appeals nor the strap, however, seem to have been of much avail in some of the day schools, and missionaries usually were loath to invoke the help of the government to rectify school

2 Territory of Papua, Annual Report 1914-1915, 43.
5 Bathurst Church News, 3 December 1898, 3.
6 W. Light to H. Newton, Boianai, 28 October, 1923.
disorder. The remedy for this unsatisfactory state of affairs was to remove the best children from the village with parental consent and place them in a boarding school. Here the students, some of whom under a promise not to run away, made comparatively unhindered progress.

The boarders were lodged in a dormitory close to the missionary's house; in some instances they lived in the mission house itself. A proximity between teacher and taught was also the rule on the stations after school hours. The missionary customarily supplied students with loin clothes or aras and a blanket. If the district was a poor area for horticulture the mission provided meals for boarders, an expensive item in a barren spot like Dogura, where £500 was sometimes spent in a single year on supplies of rice for 150 boarders.

Under the tutelage of the European priest the schoolboys learnt to model their individual and corporate lives on his. Theirs was a daily cycle of devotion, study and recreation, for good habits were intended to replace the old slothfulness and irregularity. Bishop Sharp's Rules and Methods contained the dictum:

---

2 S. R. M. Gill to E. Gill, Duvira, 12 November 1933.
3 O.P. 81/4.
The boarders must keep the mission station tidy, ... some will be the Missionary's house-boys and cooks. They get up at 6, have a hymn and a short form of morning prayer all together, do outdoor work till breakfast at 8. This is followed by a short Matins in Church for the Christians. School takes up the morning from 9 to 12, dinner at 1, afternoon divided between recreation and outdoor work. Evensong for the Christians at 5.30, usually preceded by a short service for unbaptized and Christians alike, evening meal at 6, bed at 9.¹

Between 6 and 9 in the evening, boarders at Boianai were found by a visitor 'scattered about on the (missionary's) verandah and inside. They played all sorts of games, and a gramophone was turned on... there was no unseemly noise in the way of loud laughter or raised voices. Illustrated papers were scattered about everywhere, and they seemed quite happy....'² To enforce discipline, the priest placed the boys in the charge of a prefect who was to be an 'elder boy of good character', and punished any absentees from school worship.³

By this means the mission was able to place boys of an impressionable age in an atmosphere which was exclusively and infectiously religious. Any native boy or girl who entered the mission precincts for a prolonged period, within a milieu so strongly disposed towards his acceptance of the new ways and its implicit hostility towards much of the old, was placing himself firmly in the way of ultimate conversion. He was assembled with

---

² O.P. 50/18.
³ Interview with W. Suja, Kakendetta, 5 May 1968; G. Sharp, op. cit. 8.
youths of other tribes towards whom he was either indifferent or else suspicious or even antagonistic. He lived in a new social order under the aegis of a palpably superior authority. Although his home might not be far away, it was distant enough in terms of attitudes, values and customs for the influence of the new order to strike deep root. If educating the children helped bring about their conversion, the boarding school was surely the most efficacious instrument. In the words of Romney Gill, a convinced advocate of boarding schools:

> It seems to me...as regards the general policy of an attack upon heathenism...one of the most potent instruments is the mission station itself...It is here, (if we have boarders) that we can...create the atmosphere of the Christian Family, enabling us comparatively speedily to bring souls into the Church by baptism - and at a time when they are most susceptible.¹

With a high proportion of the students seeking baptism before the end of their schooling, it was little wonder that missionaries were fervent believers in the value of the station school in the conversion of children:

> They came into the station as little heathen children [said Gill] and six years later they returned to their villages as full members of the Holy Catholic Church...It was a spiritual nursery.²

---


Sometimes the school was erected in a new village before the church, a sequence with an interesting symbolism. But the 'spiritual nursery' preceded the church-going congregation, and school boarders were its first members. 'Without their knowing it,' said Gill, 'each one really came not only for his own spiritual development but to prepare for the conversion of his people.'

In the earliest approaches to the heathen, the creating of an atmosphere of trust and confidence in the European missionary, and the building of the station, the presence of the schoolboy convert was indispensable. Mission boys from Taupota helped Copland King find the mission on the Mamba in 1900, and Romney Gill was accompanied by Robert Somanu of Boianai and a 'colony of Boianai Christians' when he laid the foundations of mission work at Duvira in 1921. Somanu remained with Gill for thirty years. Harbord Lambton took four Christian boys from Naniu to form the nucleus of a Christian community at Sefoa.

The inauguration of mission work in Dyke Acland Bay illustrated the close working partnership between European and Papuan, and the dependence of the missionary upon his schoolboy aides. The Reverend Raymond Elder, a nephew of Copland King, opened the head station at Emo in July 1914 with two Christian boys

1 Ibid.
2 S. R. M. Gill to J. O. Feetham, Manau, 5 May, 1923.
3 Sefoa Log, January, 1934.
from his uncle's station at Ambasi. During the first year, one of the boys taught him the rudiments of the Binandele language, while the other performed most of the preaching and teaching. In February 1915, having collected and begun teaching five Emo boys, Elder completed the building of the school. A year later, he was ready to start training his first Orokaiva evangelists:

In 1916 Mr. Elder was hoping very soon to... begin a two years' preparation for baptism... Through his visits new boys... come and apply to be made mission boarders, to become, as the missionary hopes, apostles of those tribes... ¹

This then was the pattern for the establishing of Christian influence in a new area: the arrival of the European with native schoolboys; the opening of a school and the recruiting of boarders; the training of volunteers for three or four years in the elements of Christian beliefs and morality; and the dispersal of the converts, at the end of their apprenticeship, into their home villages.

The customary organization of the north coast peoples in small village communities of seventy to one hundred people and the slender human resources available to the mission meant that only one European could be placed in the largest village within walking distance of the others. ² The strategy employed was then to place a native 'pupil teacher' on the periphery of the sphere of the head station, so that within each sphere there would be a head station and a sub station under the control of the European and native Christian respectively. If the European were only a layman, a

¹ C. S., 2 March 1917, 47.
² M. J. Stone-Wigg to secretary, U. M. C. A., Bartle Bay, 6 June 1900.
priest called by boat once a month to administer the sacraments, convey instructions from the bishop, receive information, and give informal advice on the practical problems of the station. In this way a numerically small mission force could display itself to best tactical advantage.

By 1910 the mission's teaching corps was composed of three elements differing widely in origin, social background and experience. There was the Melanesian staff, drawn from volunteers among the Kanaka labourers from the sugar fields of Queensland. There were the Papuan converts who assisted the missionaries and the Melanesians. Supervising their Melanesian and Papuan brethren, and in some cases themselves performing the work in the classroom, were the European staff.

There were fifty-two expatriate missionaries in 1910. Thirty-two of these were Melanesians, all of whom were classified as 'teachers'. Twenty were Europeans, fifteen of them engaged in part time teaching, but only two being professional, full-time teachers. In addition there were sixteen Papuan 'helpers' under the tutelage of either Melanesians or Europeans.

The heterogeneity of the teaching staff meant a sharp disparity in quality of instruction available at the mission's twenty-seven schools. To some extent the differences were veiled because of the scattered nature of the work and the lack of regular inspections. Only once in each year was the teaching staff able to

---

1 G. Sharp, op. cit., 4.
2 A.B.M. Report to General Synod, 1910, 5.
meet for consultation and advice, and even then the meetings were separated in three streams - Melanesian, Papuan and European - to overcome the problem of language. For the rest of the year the staff was dispersed along 300 miles of coast.

The Melanesian teachers were introduced as a result on the one hand of the closing of the sugar plantations of Queensland to Pacific Island labour and on the other, the Anglican missionaries' desire for workers whose racial and cultural similarity to the Papuan people would smooth out the introduction of the new religion.

The idea of using Pacific Islanders as missionaries was not unique to the Anglicans: the London Missionary Society was staffed partly by Samoans and Rarotongans in southern Papua, while the Wesleyans used Tongan and Samoan pastors in the D'Entrecasteaux and eastern islands. The suggestion to use Melanesians from Queensland seems to have been Sir William MacGregor's, and Albert Maclaren, who as Rector of Mackay from 1885 to 1887, had catechised many Kanaka labourers, readily fell in with the idea.

Nearly all unconverted when recruited for labour in Australia, the Melanesians had come under the influence of zealous women and pastors in central and northern Queensland, especially in the areas around Bundaberg, Mackay and the Herbert River. In 1895 there were three at work at Dogura; seven Melanesians welcomed Bishop Stone-Wigg on his arrival in 1898; and by 1905

1 The Church of England Messenger, Melbourne, 4 August 1890, 359.
3 Address of Welcome to the Right Reverend Montagu Stone-Wigg, Dogura, 1897.
there were 23 in northern Papua. These 'gospel ploughmen' as the missionaries liked to call them, served as a bridge between the mission and the native people, for they enjoyed natural qualities which paved the way for encounters with Europeans. For this reason a Melanesian nearly always took charge of the initial negotiations with the indigenous population. They had considerable gifts of enthusiasm, adaptability and rapport with their social surrounding. Ethnically similar to the Ubir and Maisin peoples who dominated the northern Collingwood Bay area, the Islanders were adopted readily by villagers and often married into village clans. They were equally acceptable to European missionaries: Harry Saa, for example, was approved as an 'intelligent, sober and respectable "Boy",' who could read fluently and sing. Being so well-qualified as evangelists, the 'Boys' received a stipend of £25 annually, as much as a European.

The village people took to the Melanesian teachers with an alacrity that delighted the missionaries. A.K. Chignell reported that Peter Seevo, the schoolteacher at Wanigela, was 'in some ways the most prominent and popular person in the neighbourhood, and found that his house had become a social centre for the village:

2 E. Taffs, *Testimonial to Harry Saa*, Mossman, 10 October 1906, C. King to Jack Newar, 1 March 1895.
These...[Papuan] men do indeed spend much of their time with Peter, and you may find them, at almost every hour of the day or night, seated in rows upon his verandah, or around his table while he sits at meals.¹

Another of these 'gospel ploughmen' whose name is not recorded, was placed among the Orokaiva-speaking people of Okein on Cape Nelson. Despite their truculent reputation, he made friends with them, and soon had a working knowledge of Orokaiva to add to his fluency in Wedau and Ubir.² Having had the advantage of living in Australia, the Melanesians were able to interpret the white man's ways to the villagers. Some of them were, however, overbearing in their attitude to village folk and were prone to act too literally on the text, 'Compel them to come in.'³ Nevertheless, the Island teacher was a congenial companion to the European missionary at his lonely post, for although he was only 'partially civilized and partially educated' he was 'wholly converted' to Christianity.⁴

Introduced at first through necessity, the Melanesians were regarded by missionaries only as a temporary expedient until there were sufficient Papuan teachers to staff the station schools. It was realized that in time the source of supply must inevitably vanish, for the Commonwealth Government had forbidden the importation of coloured labourers after 31 March 1904, and ordered their

---

¹ A. K. Chignell, An Outpost in Papua, 50
² Ibid.
³ H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 253, 255.
⁴ E. Rogers, A Pioneer of New Guinea, 140, See also A. K. Chignell, 21 Years in Papua, 39.
repatriation as from 31 December 1906. In due course the effect of Commonwealth legislation began to be felt in the mission field. In 1910 there were twenty-seven Melanesians at work; in 1919 the number had shrunk to twenty-three; and in 1937 only the last five Melanesians were left.

Nevertheless, the Melanesians continued to be the dominant element in the non-white staff long after the supply had begun to dry up. Three quarters of the fifty-one native mission staff in 1910 were Melanesians from Queensland. Copland King, although a critic of the teaching capabilities of these men, admitted that

We are obliged to do our best with the material we have. At present that material consists largely of S. S. I. s.... The question of replacing them as they leave is another matter.

Since most of the Melanesians did not leave, but rather spent their lives on the mission, and because few Papuans took to their task easily, the Islanders remained the mainstay until the 1930s.

Having no immunity to malaria, the Melanesians fell victim to fever easily, and the death rate was high indeed among the Island teachers. The first casualty, Willie Muiwa, died at Mukawa within a few months of his arrival in 1893. The mortality increased as the numbers grew: from 1905 to 1910 seven Islanders perished in the swampy coastal stations of the mission. Even the white staff, which had suffered such ravages in the first decade, did not have

1 Commonwealth of Australia, Pacific Island Labourers Act, No. 16 of 1901, ss. 3, 8.

2 OP 22/8, O.P. 59/9, O.P. 108/1. Two Melanesians, Harry Locar and Johnson Farr, were alive in 1952 (Gona Log 20 June 1952).

3 C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 13 September 1910.
as high an attrition rate as this.¹

All of the Melanesians were schoolteachers, yet their ability as pedagogues was regarded by at least one school inspector as being lower than that of the Papuan pupil teachers trained at Dogura.² Some of the Islanders had been to evening church school at Mackay and Bundaberg,³ and all had been intellectually 'brushed up' at Dogura before being despatched to the outstations.⁴ A.K. Chignell however remarked that they 'knew no more about teaching children, when they came here, than they did about running a steam laundry or making boots.'⁵ The white missionary, not suspecting such ignorance in his new schoolteacher, was often distressed to find that he would himself be teaching the teacher. E. R. Giblin wrote in despair of his Melanesian helpers:

Billy can hardly be said to read and he has never learnt his figures although he seems to know the letters 1, 6 and 0 by sight. I don't think he will master the mysteries of addition for at least three months...Joseph has to start everything ab initio.⁶

Until 1917, such men were given oversight of the Papuan pupil teachers. It seemed unwise to entrust a pupil teacher to the mercies of scantily-trained Melanesians, 'hardly emerged from savagery themselves' as one missionary tartly put it, since the

² A.K. Chignell, op. cit., 104.
⁴ A.K. Chignell, op. cit., 104.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ E. L. Giblin to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Hioge, 8 March 1906, 57.
misunderstandings of the Islanders might be perpetuated in their pupils. In the outstations, isolated for nearly a whole month from the European, the Islanders imparted to their Papuan charges their own notions of arithmetic, English and scripture. The outstations were arranged concentrically around the headstation, but the further the message was percolated through the agency of the Melanesians and Papuans, the more diluted it tended to become. Thus, when the European was able to visit the Islander to whom he had delegated the authority to preach and teach, he was often alarmed at the result.

I have caught Peter [said Chignell] chanting, with the children after him, 'Four fundle one penny', 'ten fardles t'ree penny', each formula repeated ten or twelve times over... and I have heard them go on, 'Fourteen fartles seven peness', 'Fifteen bartles eight penny', and I wrote the very words down at the time, that there should be no mistake. ¹

Copland King continued to entertain hope for the improvement of the Islanders: he thought they were 'willing to learn' and 'did not resent European correction' for they 'knew their limitations.' ² Certainly the Melanesian teacher was not submitted to close surveillance: the other demands upon the priest precluded any close scrutiny of his activities. As mentors of young Papuan teachers, the Islanders seemed to illustrate the saying that a little learning was a dangerous thing. King wrote:

At present a New Guinea boy sent as pupil teacher under the S. S. I.[South Sea Islander] has an example of incompetence before him and he may get the idea that we think village schools do not matter.

¹ A.K. Chignell, An Outpost In Papua, 57.
² C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 13 September 1910; See also Territory of Papua, Annual Report 1919-20, 53.
³ C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 10 January 1910.
Certainly the Papuan pupils retained little of the simple teaching imparted by their Melanesian teachers, and the products of the Melanesian schools were conspicuous among their better-taught fellows for their ignorance of basic book-knowledge. Amos Paisawa, entering St. Aidan's theological college in 1934, was reported to be

A difficult learner, having learnt to read and write under a...S. S. I. teacher, who knew practically nothing of arithmetic... A poor reader, a very slow writer, and knows no arithmetic... ¹

Being more conversant with Bible stories than with arithmetic, the Islanders felt more at home in the pulpit. Devout, simple and pious, they loved to preach long sermons and were even more voluble in the church than the schoolroom. They did not, however, speak much of the Old Testament, of which, said King, they were 'absolutely ignorant.' ² With New Testament topics they were on surer ground, and a few were thought 'excellent and reliable.' ³ Others forsook accuracy for rhetoric to the discomfiture of any white supervisor who happened to be listening. Thus, A. K. Chignell, on overhearing his Melanesian teacher's sermon on the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, said:

...he seemed suddenly to remember something about the 'scribes', and so he told the story all over again, but with everything mixed up, and the exhausted congregation, if it remembered anything at all, must have gone away with a fixed impression that the R. M. [Resident Magistrate] at Tufi is a Publican and my lay colleague a 'Skripe', and that I am a fairly typical Pharisee. ⁴

¹ A. P. Jennings, St. Aidan's College Report 1933-1934, 1.
² C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi 13 September 1910
³ ibid.
Despite their limitations as instructors, the Melanesians were the frontiersmen of the mission and did much to soften the impact of two cultures upon each other. If the missionaries despaired of their ability to convey the purity of Gospel truth, they praised their reliability, perseverance and high moral example. Some of the islanders were adopted by the village people as their own, and married into the clans they converted; all probably knew more intimately than any European of the Papuan's experience of a changing world. Most of them clung to their simple task without ever again going beyond their bush parishes. In the words of one writer, the European came and went: the Islander remained. 1

The genesis of a native mission staff and the founding of St Aidan's training college at Dogura arose from the aspiration of the missionaries to create a self-supporting Papuan church manned by a native ministry of clergy and teachers. Coupled with this was the realization that the conversion of northern Papua was a task of such magnitude that the strained resources of Australian Anglicanism could not be expected to underwrite it forever.

The gradual transfer of authority from European to native did not mean however substituting locally developed ecclesiastical systems for the imported structure once the Europeans had abdicated. On the contrary, the missionaries believed that certain

1 See O.P. 34/7.
forms and institutions, such as the scriptures, the credal statements and the episcopacy, were essential and immutable features of true Catholic religion. But at the same time they were aware, as the Lambeth conferences of 1897 and 1908 had argued, that no church had the right to produce a replica of itself upon the society which it evangelised. There had to be an adaptation of western religion to local tradition. This represented a radical departure from conventional missionary attitudes of the previous century.

Adaptation as an ideal and assimilation in reality were two different matters. For a start, the northern Papuans had no religious architecture of their own but only places which were customarily set aside for feasting. The only public buildings were the men's club houses, which were of mean proportions compared to the elaborate spirit houses of the Sepik or the ornate long houses of the Gogodala in the south-west. At first, mission services at Dogura were held in buildings of bush materials, but with the arrival of more durable iron and weatherboard, a wooden chapel of gothic design appeared on the hill. Other churches were of native material, but as the size of congregations increased they quickly developed into a facsimile of the English church building, cruciform in shape with the nave, chancel and sanctuary, and the added adornment of sedilia, priedieu, brass cross and candlesticks, banner and processional furnishings; in fact, short of brass plates and ambulatory, the Papuan Anglican church was a remarkably close

1 R. Davidson, The Five Lambeth Conferences 202, 376.
imitation of its English and Australian archetype, although expressed in bush timber and palm leaf.¹

Nor did the forms and styles of music familiar to the seaboard people lend themselves to the metrical pattern of English church music. Although harmony and the antiphon were elements in the Wedau chorus, there was nothing to approximate the metrical bar, and the semitone was unknown. The villagers however quickly learnt the harmonies carried back by labourers returning from the Milne Bay area. These harmonies, which had been introduced by the Polynesian pastors of the London Missionary Society to the Motu-speaking areas, spread rapidly through the Anglican mission districts close to Samarai. Most missionaries thought these tunes unbearably sentimental, and instead of adopting them in the liturgy, they sought to counteract evangelical emotion with the more austere Anglican hymnology. The Reverend C. G. Robertson wrote that he spent Sunday afternoons 'playing a concertina on the beach to teach Kelham plainsong to counter the Moody and Sankey tunes that the natives seem to take to so readily.'² The response, however, was disappointing. 'The boys stand about...saying "Agi!" when I play,' said Robertson, 'but not one of them will touch a note.'³ At Wanigela, Chignell commented, 'Everyone...sings flat...The children are better pleased by hymns of the Moody and Sankey order....'⁴

¹ See O.P. 14/8, 53/19.
² O.P. 48/8
³ ibid
⁴ A.K. Chignell, op.cit. 363
Lacking a native medium in music and architecture to make into symbols of self-expression, the Anglicans introduced the styles with which they were most familiar as vehicles of faith. Although tapa cloth and carvings adorned the sanctuaries, and lizard drums were sounded at the Consecration, native singing and dancing were not in general adapted for liturgical use. For the Christians, the inevitable result was that they lost their original religious significance and became secular in meaning. On the other hand, none of the panoply of Anglican ritual was lost on Papuan congregations who adapted the furnishings of worship to their liking. For a high service the sombre hues of protestant Anglicanism were absent, the church was bedecked in gay bunting and its clergy arrayed in the most flamboyant vestments. This was in answer to the Papuan's craving for colour, ceremonial and excitement.

The most formidable problem which the ideal of a Papuan church raised for missionaries lay in the ordering of services. It was apparent that the Book of Common Prayer of 1662, even when translated, contained archaisms which rendered parts of the liturgy incomprehensible to native congregations. These archaisms the European clergy, especially those engaged in translation work, strongly desired to obliterate; and twice the staff conference had urged Bishop Sharp to allow a revision. Could not the baptismal service, confirmation and some of the epistles be simplified? Could not the prefaces and some of the Old Testament lessons be eliminated? These hopes, however, were in vain. Although Prayer Book revisions for the mission fields had been recommended by the Lambeth Conference of 1878 and 1908, the ordering of services in the Anglican church was held in the stiff bonds of
ecclesiastical law. While a bishop and his flock were regarded as the indivisible unit of authority, this unit was bound to others in a church Province. The metropolitan bishop, Archbishop Donaldson of Brisbane, made the ruling in 1917, that the Diocese of New Guinea could not alter its usages at will and invited Bishop Sharp to present a plea for revision at the Lambeth Conference in 1920.

At Lambeth, however, the revision was postponed until it could be authorized by the British Parliament, the ultimate court of appeal against the Prayer Book enactments of 1662. After the defeat of the Prayer Book measure in the Commons in 1928, nothing less than a schism between the church in New Guinea and the church in Australia could have effected a change in the ordering of worship. Two years later, in 1930, Bishop Newton argued at Lambeth that the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion were obsolete and unintelligible to native clergy: again reform was defeated. In both cases the hopes of missionaries for reform were dashed against the stubborn realities of church government.

1 R. Davidson, *op. cit.* 29, 374
2 G. Sharp to R. Davidson, Dogura, 28 June 1918. St. C. Donaldson to G. Sharp, Brisbane, 18 September 1917. Donaldson, however, was not antagonistic towards missions. According to Bishop Montgomery, Donaldson had accepted the Archbishopric of Brisbane only because it brought him into touch with missions. (C. King to M. Stone-Wigg, London, 24 June 1904). Edwin Nuagoroa, Oath of Allegiance 1917. G. Sharp, Prayer Book Revision in the Mission Field, Dogura, 1917
3 See F. de Witt Batty to H. Newton, Brisbane, 30 March 1912
4 Interview with J. D. Bodger, Lae, 20 August 1969.
While the translations into Wedauan and Binandele was a reflection of the belief that Christianity should be expressed in Papuan terms and not in English forms, the religious posters, magic slides and lanterns used to illustrate the life of Christ and the scriptures were in Chignell's words, 'ostentatiously Saxon'. ¹ Many Anglican converts may as a result of these pictures unconsciously have adopted the view of the L. M. S. schoolboy who, when asked to describe the Deity, replied: 'God's not a Papuan, God's not a Chinaman, God is not a Japanese, but God is an Englishman ten feet high.'² On the other hand, the Biblical names for the church, the People of God, the Body of Christ, the Household or Family of God, seem to have found a vibrant sounding-board in Melanesian clan-thought, so often were they quoted in native sermons, as did the doctrine of the Real Presence to a people familiar with the concept of ancestor-spirits.

An indigenous Papuan church had been the goal of missionaries long before events in Boianai and Wanigela made it appear a practical possibility. On the day of his consecration in 1898 Stone-Wigg had declared that he 'wished to make the church a native church, manned by a native ministry and self-supporting.'³ If the bishop envisaged a transfer of responsibility from expatriates to indigenes within the span of his own reign, his ambition must surely have evaporated after his arrival in Dogura. There were only fifteen baptized converts

---

² quoted in M. Roe. A History of South-East Papua
³ M. Shuttleworth in O.P. 59/1.
and not one native was considered fitted to preach. Nevertheless, while the mission could not yet be manned by Papuans, he insisted that native church members should represent the mission at overseas gatherings. Accordingly, a Taupotan, Edgar Meduedue, took his seat as the lay delegate of the diocese at the General Synod of the Church of England in Australia in Sydney in 1905. Soon afterwards, John Regita and Francis Tutwana were sent to Rockhampton to represent the mission at the Queensland Provincial Synod, of which the Diocese of New Guinea was a constituent. Whether these delegates were able to understand their duties or the procedural formality of these assemblies is unknown. Participation in church government by voting native delegates from an island famed for its headhunters was a bold experiment, especially at a time when the diocese was only eight years old and there were only 329 communicants. Again, it is arguable whether it was an exercise in far-sighted statesmanship or merely an enterprise in publicity. But it was undoubtedly a sign that Bishop Stone-Wigg wished to realize his dream of a native church with as little delay as possible.

Meanwhile in Papua the bishop threw his energies into the establishing of village church councils, elected lay bodies of Christian men in imitation of the traditional men's club as a forum of village opinion. Probably too the village councils were intended as a

---

1 O. P. 9/3-4.
3 O. P. 11/9, ibid. 13/7.
4 O. P. 14 /3, 53/21.
means of aligning public opinion to the side of the mission. The election of village councils was considered justified because several villages were assisting in the material support of the mission. At first, contributions were made in the form of food or labour offered free to the church. As money was only beginning to make its appearance towards the end of Stone-Wigg's episcopate, tobacco became a viable form of currency and was used to buy and sell goods. In the church, offertories were made in vegetables, building materials, tobacco and money; and where money was seldom seen, tobacco boxes were built at the church entrance for the receipt of plugs worth two shillings each.

Indentured labourers were a generous source of monetary aid. The mission staff were delighted when ten Taupota labourers, returning from Samarai, presented half their two years' wages to the church building fund. Other labourers made similar gifts to the mission. Some missionaries saw such beneficence as a sign of gratitude, but it is more probable that it represented a realistic assessment of the negligible exchange value of money in a subsistence area, and a desire to convert it into things of utilitarian value, such as school materials, medical stores, nails and tools. Nonetheless, the gifts of food, labour and money did show that church congregations were beginning to adopt church work as their own, and could be safely counted upon for a further stage in self-support.

1 O.P. 63/4. See also G. Sharp, Address to Anniversary Conference, Dogura 1913, 12. The appointment of native delegates to Australian General Synods was later abandoned and white representatives were sent to represent the diocese. (Dioc. of N.G.A.R. 1911, 18).


3 O.P. 53/4.
In its attempts to persuade young men to join the teaching staff to convert their own people, the mission was hampered by the opposition of village folk to the recruiting of the youth. Most resistance came from the older people. While they acquiesced in the departure of the village children, they had no desire to sacrifice them permanently to a cause which they could barely understand. The youth could be spared from the gardens for a time, but once their education was completed they were expected home. Realizing that this meant a conflict of loyalties for the older boarders, Newton at Dogura put no pressure on the youths to stay. In 1914, eight years after the initial attempts at teacher-training, there were fewer than a dozen Papuan pupil teachers at work. These were little more than class monitors paid at the rate of two shillings a month. Intellectually backward Melanesian teachers and the two women teachers at Dogura had produced them, so nobody expected their quality as instructors to be very high. To be admitted, a teaching candidate had to be able to read and write in simple English. It was taken for granted that he was a zealous Christian. Some of the poorer-educated white workers, like Francis Buchanan, Henry Holland and James Benson never became fluent in either Wedauan or Binandele, even though each lived for more than a decade in the same language area. For the school-children the mission

1 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 260, O.P. 83/12.
2 Diocese of New Guinea, Annual Report 1913-1914.
3 G. Sharp, op.cit., 10.
4 O.P. 71/6.
translators had rendered both the Old Testament and the Book of Common Prayer into Wedauan by 1908 as well as a collection of New Guinea folk lore. ¹ By 1910 King had completed his monumental Binandele Grammar and Dictionary, a work which had taken four years to complete. ²

Even though native teachers instructed in Wedauan and Binandele, English was the language of the teachers' college. New arrivals at Dogura however found the former language easier to master than English, and were soon found 'jabbering away in Wedauan after a few weeks...as a duck takes to water'. ³ However, the consensus among the teaching staff was that the teachers and evangelists - the 'taunola' - as well as pastors should be able to converse in English. The advantages of employing Papuan taunola quickly became apparent. As well as their familiarity with coastal dialects, their simplicity of life marked them as being especially fit as itinerating preachers. They could travel along the coast or up the hills lightly equipped. They were hardy and versatile. With traders, kiaps and missionaries they conversed in English; to their wives and relatives they spoke the village place-talk; in the field they preached in Wedauan and Binandele. As the whole point of missionary work was preaching the Word, so the Papuan knew best what the words should be. Thus a missionary observed, 'New Guinea people love not the voice of strangers as they love the voice of those who are more nearly their own people'. ⁴

1 O.P. 35/5, 16/7.
2 O.P. 56/5, 84/7.
3 H. Newton, op. cit., 52.
4 D. Tomkins and B. Hughes, The Road From Gona, 14. See also, S. R. M. Gill, Suggestions Relative to the Strengthening of the Native Church in Papua, Duvira, 1922, 5.
The first concern of the missionaries was to make evangelists and teachers of godly life, so the training of intellect was subordinated to the moulding of character. 'Moral character and influence,' Bishop Sharp insisted, 'will always be regarded as more important than teaching capacity.' Examinations to test the fitness of teachers accordingly took their religious knowledge into account; one such test consisted of

Arithmetic, the writing of the Apostles' Creed from memory, and a selected portion of scripture, viz: Genesis XIII-XXXIII.

Character training was the first concern, and beside this, the importance of reading, writing and arithmetic was 'incidental'. The missionaries believed that their task was not to turn Papuans into industrious clerks but to convert them to Christianity and to leave undisturbed as much of their village culture and economy as possible. Godliness was a much more desirable quality in a teacher than erudition, for the teacher was intended primarily as an evangelist and only secondarily as a pedagogue. A teacher could in theory be dismissed for incompetence, but very few were dismissed for incompetence alone.

The comparatively low standard of Papuan teachers was the inevitable outcome of meagre resources and the magnitude of the gap between native understanding and European familiarity with the material to be taught. It was induced also, however, by uncertainty as to the goals towards which secular education should be directed.

1 G. Sharp, op. cit., 10
2 Diocese of New Guinea, Papuan Teachers' Examination for 1916, Dogura.
The missionaries were not at all uncertain about the aims of religious teaching: these were summarized in Christ's injunction to 'Go into all the world and preach the Gospel'. Directions about the object of secular teaching were, however, clouded in obscurity. The only indication of the official attitude in Papua towards the curricula was in the Report of the Royal Commissioners in 1906, which contained the terse edict that English was to be taught in all schools. Lacking the means to give formal education to Papuans, the administration had merely put an ordinance compelling attendance into the statute books to assist those who wished to tackle the job. In consequence the missions continued instruction along lines each had already developed. Thus the Sacred Heart fathers on Yule Island instructed in Gokololo, and the L.M.S., which had spread along the entire southern coast, evolved a distinctive bias towards manual arts. For the Anglicans, the emphasis was to an extent already determined by the adoption of Wedauan as the lingua franca of the mission and the lack of personnel able to give instruction in manual skills. In the absence of clear instructions the European missionaries evidently assumed that the subjects taught to white children were best for brown children too. They therefore indoctrinated Papuan pupils in the rudiments of an English primary school education. In the words of A.K. Chignell, a candid critic

1 Mark XVI. 15.
2 A.K. Chignell. An Outpost in Papua. 105; O.P. 13/5; TP. AR. 1900-01, 49.
3 A.K. Chignell. op.cit. 108.
4 see below Chapter IV.
of mission education,

We have taken it for granted, apparently, that what is good for the English children... must also be suitable for children in Papua, and so we have been trying to give ... a sort of European primary education....

Another factor which militated against the evolution of a Papuan curriculum was the indifference of the staff. 'The plain fact is,' said Copland King to Sharp, 'that most of the staff know nothing about teaching ... can the staff be encouraged to take a greater interest in the station schools?' 2 King, realizing the aimlessness of much of the teaching, asked his colleagues to consider a goal for primary education:

Surely we don't spend all the time over arithmetic and reading and writing merely to fill up the time until the children can be decently sent home again. The children are in some measure trained to think. 3

Lack of goals for the staff and incentives for the students meant that school inspired little interest for the village student. The school leavers had no opportunities to use the little mathematical and literary acumen they had gained as the majority returned to the village on completion of primary school.

1 A.K. Chignell, _An Outpost in Papua_, 103
2 C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 2 July 1910.
3 Ibid.
The Anglican Mission, having experienced a rapid expansion in education since 1910, was educating between 1700 and 1800 children in twenty-four schools in 1917. When the Executive Council drafted the outlines of a native taxation scheme in 1918, Bishop Sharp was asked by Judge C. E. Herbert, the Council's Secretary, to offer suggestions as to the appropriation of the taxation. The bishop's response was far from enthusiastic when he learnt that the tax-money might be allocated to mission schools. Seeing in the measure the threat of confiscation, the staff suspected that the government meant to wrest control of education from them by inches. Sharp wrote to Herbert:

We have never asked for nor desired any government grant, for we have felt it to be of the utmost importance that we should have freedom to appoint teachers ourselves, and to arrange what religious instruction shall be given. Any alteration in these matters... would be strongly resented by us and would prevent any co-operation. ¹

Herbert hastened to assure Sharp that the government did not intend in the least to disturb the mission system. It recognised the mission's authority to appoint its own teachers and arrange for religious instruction. The government examiner would have no jurisdiction within the schools and could only pass or fail the candidates. Even in this there were shades of secular control so dreaded by the missionaries, for the inspection would in effect compel the missions to align their syllabi to a government examination in order to qualify for the ten shillings to £1 allowance for each child. Although the mission desired a grant independent of examination or inspection²

¹ G. Sharp to C. E. Herbert, Dogura, 11 March 1918.
² L. M. Caswell, Minutes of Education Committee Meeting, Dogura, 28 June 1917.
the Anglicans had little choice but to accept the scheme. Herbert had hinted that resistance by the missions might force the government to open secular schools:

If the mission rejected the proposal [said Herbert] the government might step into the mission's sphere to give the natives education in return for their tax...the government's action might...cause friction, and among the natives, wonderment at least.¹

With the promise of liberal assistance in sight and a guarantee that the bishop would retain the prerogative to appoint teachers the European staff relaxed its opposition to the scheme and sent a motion promising co-operation to Port Moresby. However, the Anglicans would accept no capital grants from the administration, despite the meagreness of their support, nor would they acquiesce in the teaching of religion according to a government syllabus.² Such an innovation was regarded as a form of erastianism on the part of the administration (aided by the L.M.S. which was dominant in Port Moresby) and rejected as an intrusion upon the church's proper sphere of responsibility. After 1930 the scripture syllabus was discontinued in Anglican schools.³ Nevertheless, nine Anglican schools were the first to apply for a student subsidy under the scheme.

1 C. E. Herbert to G. Sharp, Samarai, 27 May 1918.
2 A.B.M. Review, vol. 15 no. 2, 12 May 1923; ibid., vol. 18, no. 2 12 May; ibid., vol. 26, no. 8, 1 August 1939. See also D. J. Dickson, 'Murray and Education Policy in Papua 1906-1941' in New Guinea, vol. 4, no. 4, January 1970, 23.
The compromise upheld the Government's guardianship of the Papuan people and guaranteed the principle of church control over church schools. It was an arrangement congenial to both.  

A permanent training college for Papuan teacher-training was established at Dogura in 1917. St Aidan's College was an immediate solution to the problem of unemployment of school leavers, and the enrolment rose from five to twenty-two in the first year. Other roads of employment available to the youth of the northern area were the police force, indentured labour on a plantation, or manual employment with the mission. Only by joining the constabulary or the mission teaching service was the Papuan student able to put his schooling to good account. The opening of a teachers' college was consequently a welcome addition to the mission facilities. At last the mission had somewhere to send the school leavers, wrote one cleric. It had been such a pity to have to despatch them to the village with nothing to do.  

The teachers' college soon established a reputation for industry and zeal. This was doubtless due to the inspiration of its principal, Alice Cottingham, whose 'enthusiasm and brilliancy', according to a government inspector in 1921, made it the best school in the north of Papua. Since Miss Cottingham's classes were known to be 'vastly superior to any other' in the mission, priests in other

1 G. Sharp, op. cit., 9.  
2 J. Hunt to G. Sharp, Menapi, 28 June 1916.  
3 F. B. Armitage, Inspector's Report on A/M School at Dogura, Dogura, 10 January 1922.  
stations were approached by deputations of boys seeking places at the Dogura school and teachers' college. Thereafter, a place at Dogura became the accolade awarded to the most capable boys in the village schools, and 'Dogura boys' were regarded as an embryonic elite in the mission. Students travelled to Dogura from as far away as the Mamba River, a distance of 200 miles.

St Aidan's College had an auspicious beginning. In the first ten years of its inauguration thirty-one students completed the minimum of two years' instruction to the satisfaction of the tutors and received the teaching licence of the bishop. The licence authorized the holder to teach in school, give religious instruction to hearers and catechumens, take the services of Matins and Evensong, and to preach sermons.

Side by side with the widening stream of missionary expansion ran another current which seemed to emanate from the same source, the impinging of western culture upon a primitive society. This was the growth of religious cults in contact areas.

There were a number of cults in the northern coastal mainland. Four of the best known were the 'Prophet of Milne Bay' (1893), the Baigona Cult which began near Tufi in about 1911, and the Manau and Taro Cults, which seem to have originated at the mouth of the Mamba River in about 1914. By far the most

1 A. P. Jennings to H. Newton, Menapi, 3 June 1922.
2 S. R. M. Gill to E. Gill, Manau, 15 July 1932.
widespread were the Baigona and Taro movements which eclipsed all the others in the strength and permanence of their hold in the Orokaiva plainlands. The easy and obvious way in which the first steps were taken and the momentum with which these movements advanced makes it appear probable that similar changes had swept over the area before the coming of the European. Undoubtedly though, the advent of *pax Britannica* and the coming of Christianity, by outlawing murder and thus enabling greater social mobility, allowed for far more rapid and sweeping cult movements than had previously been known.

All the cults seem to have originated in the dreams of men who subsequently became the major prophets. The Baigona was a snake who handed down some strange facts of life and rules of conduct to a native of Tufi when he climbed Mount Victory alone.\(^1\) The snake was a reincarnated spirit of the man's dead father; henceforth, he and all snakes were to be treated with respect.\(^2\) The visionary of the Manau cult, Dasiga, a village constable near Manau, dreamed he went up into the sky and received certain commandments against swearing, theft, adultery and aggression, and two positive injunctions: to be like the missionaries and like the white men.\(^3\) Implicit in the philosophy of Dasiga was a reaching out for Christian values. More confined in their proselytising than the Baigonas, the Manau cult leaders believed they had a special commission from Jesus Christ to announce themselves

---

1 F. E. Williams, *Orokaiva Magic*, 7.

2 Ibid.

3 F. E. Williams, *op. cit.* 8.
to the people along the Mamba. One Manau prophet has as evidence a letter which was purported to come from heaven, but which in fact came from a neighbouring plantation.¹

Some elements of Christian teaching, distorted but still recognizable, provided ingredients for the synthetic religious cults. The originator of the Baigona cult, a man called Eroro of Ombeia, had apparently attended mission 'giu' classes for hearers. According to King, he was a 'courtly old gentleman,' who had been 'a very attentive listener at my Sunday preachings'.² The Baigona men, calling themselves healers, claimed to be qualified to exorcise sickness. Like the Christian mission nurses, they professed to have benign intentions, but in fact practised an easy type of extortion on the masses. To the Manau cult contributions had come probably from the long-established Anglican stations at St Andrews (1899) and Ambasi (1906) as well as from the Lutheran station at Morobe. This probably explains why Dasiga, when he had heard an outline of Christian teaching from Henry Holland in 1920, remarked, 'I knew all that before,' and later entered a long theological discussion in which he took the part of a disputant rather than a learner.³

The most widespread cult, the Taro or kava keva movement, also arose from the dream of a man who became its dominant prophet. Buninia, a young man who like Dasiga lived near Manau,

¹ F. E. Williams, op. cit. 75 ff.
³ F. E. Williams, op. cit. 75.
claimed to have been visited by a sovai or spirit of his slain father incarnate in the taro plant and to have received instructions from him. The people of neighbouring villages ran to see the young man, who had fallen into a jipari or convulsive fit, and one by one they all fell into the same condition. In this way they achieved identification with Buninia in his hysteria and were possessed in turn by the father-spirit. Although the taro was the visible object of the taro rite (and like the Baigona snake might be seen as a phallic symbol), it was to the spirit of the dead father rather than to the taro itself that the petitions were directed. Similarly, it was by the spirit that the taro men believed they were possessed. The followers of Buninia, by propagating belief in father-possession, were in fact asserting their continuity with the old authority of the father, now in process of disintegration through the enforcing of the new authority of the European regime and the Christian commandments.

The taro cult was transmitted through the Orokaiva area by travellers returning from the villages where it was practised and inaugurating it in their own areas, and by direct proselytism. In either case the spread was rapid and suffered no hindrance, both because the Orokaiva were inveterate travellers and much given to visiting distant relations, and because government police had removed any insecurity from travel. Dissemination by active propaganda was directed by cult leaders, who travelled by sea or land to neighbouring districts to hold 'services' in which others were initiated into the jipari convulsions and the taro dance. The movement appears to have spread from Manau in two directions: southward down the coast and up the Mamba River. To the inland Aiga and Wasida people the cult found its way by the Kumusi River, and thence it spread rapidly down the heavily populated areas on the
Buna-Kokoda road. 1 By 1923 it had arrived at Emo in the south, where Raymond Elder had established a station in 1914; 2 by 1925 the cult had reached Naniu Island and the Hydrographer's valley; 3 and in 1927 the Taro jipari had even made its appearance at Uiaku and Wanigela in Collingwood Bay, a distance of 120 miles from its seminary at the Mamba mouth. 4

There was no doubt that the Taro cult, being connected with both religion and fertility, was firmly rooted in two of the elements of greatest interest to Papuan people. Flamboyant and energetic, the ceremonial answered their craving for excitement, and there is little wonder that, in contrast to the coming of the Anglican missionary, the response to the arrival of a Taro prophet was highly emotional:

1 F. E. Williams, op. cit., 22.
2 R. Hall to Henry Newton, Emo, 6 April 1923.
3 F. E. Williams, op. cit., 23.
4 O. P. 77/8; O. P. 78/15, 1925.
The night...[had] been spent in singing Taro songs, but still the revellers show no sign of exhaustion. The principal Taro man, Home, has been of late visited by his deceased father and has awoken to find a fresh supply of medicines in his hand. At about noon Home...attended by some twenty boisterous youths, sallies forth to perform the business of the day...[He] is seen to stoop and spray the medicines from his mouth over the taro leaves. The progress of the party is rapid and almost reckless... The thirsty young men tear down bunches of sugar cane, regardless of[its] owners... But there is no lack of goodwill and merriment, and when, after almost two hours of this exceedingly strenuous employment, the Taro men return to the village, it is to partake of the feast which concludes almost every native ceremony. 1

The sweeping progress of the Taro Cult through the Orokaiva villages thus was a contrast to the halting advance of Anglicanism. Christian symbolism played no part in the Taro ritual. A lime pot, leaves and herbs were the furnishings of the Cult: there were no borrowed trappings of Christianity. Nor was there any trace in the underlying rationale of the Cult to suggest that it was directed towards the acquisition of European goods. But while the cult itself appears to have been the authentic flowering of indigenous religion, its emergence at a time of upheaval for Orokaiva culture was no coincidence. For the coming of Europeans to the northern plainlands had brought a number of traditional customs to an end and had placed the importance of the clan elders in jeopardy.

1 F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Magic, 43. G. E. Williams places the jipari in a 'group of primitive characteristics, the chief of which is nervous instability, with its inevitable accompaniments of remarkable imitativeness and suggestibility and great lack of inhibitive capacity.' F. M. Davenport, Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals (Macmillan, London 1900) quoted in F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Magic, 88.
Taro cult was a reactionary movement in that it asserted the authority of the dead over the living and rejected Christianity in its rationale and ritual. Nevertheless, the spread of the cult did not lead to anti-social activities, sorcery or intimidation. On the contrary, it strengthened old friendships and cemented new ties among the Orokaiva. This irenic and benevolent character, so foreign to traditional religion, was in harmony with the enforcement of peace by the Europeans and represented a radical development in native religion.

The small expatriate population in the northern division however was generally unsympathetic to the cults and especially towards the jipari manifestations, which were regarded as ridiculous.¹ The administration did not conduct systematic opposition to the Manau or Taro movements, but towards the Baigona healers a different policy was adopted. The Baigonas were not denounced by Copland King, who by 1915 had been among the Orokaiva longer than any other European. Indeed it was typical of his detachment that he published a scholarly account of the origins of the cult and even permitted a Baigona practitioner to perform a 'cure' on his Melanesian assistant prostrated by fever while he sat by to observe results.² This happened before the Baigonas had acquired a reputation for intimidation. The Resident Magistrate at Buna and his subordinates possessed substantial evidence of extortion, and the spread of the cult was checked by

¹ F. E. Williams, op. cit., 15.
the severe hand of the constabulary. By about 1917, it appears to have lost its momentum, but stories about Baigona men long after that time makes it appear obvious that the snake cures were being practised clandestinely among the Orokaiva.

The missionaries were adamantly opposed to the kava keva cult or 'taro worship' as they called it. King forbade the Christians at Ambasi to participate and Orokaiva congregations were exhorted to 'cast away the works of darkness and put on the armour of light'.\(^1\) Raymond Elder suspended any church members discovered at feasts, saying it was 'worse than fornication, since it is a return to heathenism'.\(^2\) This was a failure on their part to recognize the benign elements in the indigenous religion, especially the striving to break free from sorcery which was implicit in the taro philosophy. The opposition of missionaries did nothing to halt the spread of the cult, for many catechumens found the austerities of Anglicanism less to their liking than the boisterous ritual of the kava keva, and were willing to risk excommunication in order to be able to attend.\(^3\) The bulk of the church congregations, however, were not affected and regarded their possessed neighbours, not with fanatical opposition, but with what might be described as amused tolerance.\(^4\)

---

1 Epistle for the First Sunday in Advent.
2 F. R. Elder to H. Newton, Emo, undated.
3 F. R. Elder, Eroro, 2 July 1922.
4 Interview with Andrew Uware, Agenehambo, 13 August 1968. Interview with Wilson Suja, Kakendetta, 6 November 1968.
Although the prophets of the Baigona and Taro cults won acceptance from a wide section of the Orokaiva and Korafi population in the north where mission influence was weakest, neither cult gained more than a tenuous foothold in the eastern areas flanking Collingwood and Goodenough Bays, where the mission was dominant. None of the native teachers and pastors who had been sent from the east into the turbulent north succumbed to the cults, but many of the rank and file of the Orokaiva catechumenate found it impossible to obey the missionaries and resist the attraction of the Taro feasting. In general, the less acculturated the group, the more readily its members embraced the cult.¹

The missionaries claimed that the Taro cult had hindered their work a good deal, having discovered that many of their charges saw nothing inconsistent in attending matins in the morning and 'taro worship' in the afternoon. Harvest festivals, with heaped mounds of taro and other produce, were introduced into the church

¹ The only clearly recorded instance of religious syncretism among converts in the east occurred much later, in 1934, when some Christian women at Keia near Taupota blended sorcery and Christianity to encompass a villager's death. They held a parody of the holy communion in the church and the leader proclaimed herself to be the bishop. Two women were appointed to assist her as priests. Blood was taken from the body of a man recently dead, and was kept in a coconut cup covered with another cup marked with a cross. On two occasions this was administered at a service to men who were sent for by the women. In each case the victim died about four days later. The rites were stopped by a visiting Papuan priest. (W. Light, Report of Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Interrelationship between native ideas and Christian teaching, Dogura, July 1934. A.B.M. Review, 1 June 1934, 25; S. R. M. Gill to C. Gill, Manau, 22 January 1934).
kalendar, but the austerities of Anglican worship, with its ceremonial oriented around the professional priesthood, did not appear a psychologically satisfying alternative to the taro ritual. The cult prophets do not seem to have been hostile to the mission; indeed, at Manau, Dasiga persuaded his followers that the missionaries had come in fulfilment of a vision. When Romney Gill landed at Manau beach in 1922 a great crowd of Orokaiva greeted him, led by Dasiga, who bade them clear the ground and build a church for the newcomer. 1

Gill was delighted at this reception:

A number of people... came round on the day of our arrival... including the leaders of a curious cult which has lately started at Manau. The latter stood in a line and serenaded me with an incantation of great length, at the termination of which I thanked them suitably and took the opportunity to hold a public meeting! I explained to them, through an interpreter, what we had come for and what I expected of them... They were all most friendly, and the leaders said they knew we would be coming, and had been expecting us, on account of the vision. 2

Despite his boisterous welcome at Manau, Gill baptized only 160 Mamba people in the first ten years of work there, in contrast to the 1200 converts during his first decade at Boianai. 3 Probably the cults contributed to a slowing down of the momentum

1 Q.P., 71/8.
2 S. R. M. Gill to E. Gill, Manau, 30 August 1922.
of the mission among the Binandele, Bia and Dasiga, the cult leaders at Manau, were not baptized until 1938.  

The flourishing of spirit cults in the north and the universality of belief in magic even in mission strongholds showed the missionaries how imperfect was their understanding of the Papuan mind. Participation in cult activities did not, however, necessarily mean that Christianity had failed to impress the native. For the Papuan, what was involved was not a choice between mutually hostile systems of thought and worship, but a willingness to experiment with alternatives and a refusal to see Christianity and indigenous religion in a true-false dichotomy. The indigenous convert tended to regard the solutions to the problems of his existence in a different perspective, that of empiricism.

Accordingly, the reason why many Orokaiva converts eschewed 'taro worship' was probably more due to the placing of a prohibition upon it by the mission than to the exercising of personal choice. To them, theory and doctrine were subordinate to worship and ritual. Elder once complained that his Orokaiva converts did not seem to care whether their worship was intelligible or not: the same seems to have held for the taro ritual. Acceptance of Christianity, for all but the most ardent convert, was no more a rejection of traditional belief than taro worship implied a rejection of Christianity. This flexibility, combined with the volatile temperament of the

---

1 S. R. M. Gill to P. N. W. Strong, Duvira, 2 October 1938; S. R. M. Gill to Madeline Gill, Duvira, 5 November, 1938.
2 F. R. Elder, Paper on the Use of Wedauan, Emo, c.1923, 77.
3 F. E. Williams, op. cit. 43 ff.
Orokaiva in a repressive environment shorn of its customary excitement, made the substitution acceptable to him if not to the missionary. The failure of the taro cult to penetrate the eastern flank of the region suggests that two generations of mission contact had rendered the people impervious to further large scale religious change.

Familiarity with the things of the mission was not, however, a guarantee of sustained enthusiasm. In Goodenough Bay, a 'wave of indifference' at Wamira and Wedau was proof that proximity even to the head station of the Anglican Mission did not mean automatic response to the attentions of clergymen. Even more instructive was the emergence of anti-mission sentiments after the departure of Fisher and Gill from Wanigela and Boianai. In the hiatus which followed Fisher's resignation in 1922 customs which he had anathematized were revived. Fisher's successor, A. J. Thompson, wrote:

I do not think I have ever been so disappointed as when I came to Wanigela. My mind was filled with the reputation of the people, and I was prepared to find the work needing only to be carried on and extended. Imagine then my surprise when I found an utterly indifferent and irreverent people as far as the church is concerned. I harbour no disrespect for Fisher or for his methods, but...we must start again on the foundations.¹

Romney Gill's removal to the Mamba also left a vacuum at Boianai which was hardly filled by the Reverend Arthur Jennings, a man who lacked Gill's personal magnetism and administrative genius. The

¹ A. J. Thompson to H. Newton, Wanigela, 11 December 1922.
Boianai people resented these translations, and active hostility was soon brought to bear upon the unfortunate Jennings. Soon after his arrival, an anonymous letter in Wedauan, telling Jennings that he was not wanted, was fixed by a knife to the priest's table. He soon bowed to the opposition and resigned, saying on his departure that 'These people have for their god a man; and his name is Romney Gill. He is the god they worship, and they will have none other.' Jennings' successor, Wilfred Light, brought the gift of strong leadership to the Boianai mission and again the church there began to wax strong.

The fluctuations at Wanigela and Boianai showed how dependent were the village stations upon the personal prestige of the European priest and how unready was the indigenous church for self-government. In the first, there had been a reversion to traditional practices suppressed by the mission as soon as the forbidding force retired; in the second, a strong but autocratic church edifice almost disintegrated when the chief architect resigned.

In spite of these signs of weakness, the influence of Gill's and Fisher's leadership left an indelible mark on the two villages. The fact that Boianai and Wanigela districts were the chief source of supply of the Papuan clergy, and almost half of the total mission teaching staff before the war, was a sign that, even if the mission's strength had not been overwhelming as it had appeared, its influence was not entirely ephemeral either. The halcyon days of theocracy were over, but a strong group of young men who had learnt their

1 A. P. Jennings to H. Newton, Boianai, 30 January 1923.
2 O.P. 105/1; Interview with Andrew Uware, Popondetta, 23 November 1968.
lessons well remained as allies of the cause of Christianity.

The ten years of Gerald Sharp's episcopate had brought the mission much closer to its goal of establishing Anglicanism in northern Papua. In the east, the mission had consolidated its hold and begun the first steps toward a self-support, achievements which were at times impressive. Here the fields were indeed whitening, and the harvest, astonishingly rich, had been reaped. In the north, mission work meant slow and unspectacular erosion, few converts, and fewer still whose adoption of the new ways and values were in any way permanent. The sweeping and easy advance of the spirit cults in the northern region and the comparatively pedestrian progress of Christianity showed that in the cultural framework of the Orokaiva there had been no point of radical breakthrough.
CIVILIZATION AND THE NOBLE SAVAGE

THE whitening fields, according to Bishop Sharp, beckoned the Lord's workers to reap the harvest of converts. But time was short, for while in some places a second generation of Christians had appeared, in others the Gospel had not been preached and not a single convert won. A constantly recurring theme in missionary magazines was the danger that the northern Papuans would be plucked from their isolation on the frontiers of civilization and subjected to a variety of European influences before their conversion to Christianity was complete. Yet the weakness of a tiny staff and the very magnitude of their ambitions seemed to place the Christianizing of northern Papua beyond hope of accomplishment. In addition, the supply of fresh volunteers and money from the war-weary home bases appeared to be evaporating. As a final blow, Bishop Sharp fell ill on his return from the Lambeth Conference in 1920 and was forbidden by his doctors to live again in the tropics.

In the choice of a successor the European staff at Dogura, faced with the prospect of a financial struggle, declared a strong preference for Reginald Halse, an English member of the Bush

1 O.P. 53/20.
2 O.P. 82/2. H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 299.
3 O.P. 71/6; S. R. M. Gill to M. Gill, Boianai, 25 March 1921.
Brotherhood of St Barnabas who had already shown his business acumen in founding All Soul's School at Charters Towers. The other candidate was Henry Newton. Despite the fact that he had spent sixteen years in the New Guinea Mission before his election to the See of Carpentaria in 1915, Newton was not favoured, and it was said that the tide of opinion was ‘not complimentary to him.’

The mission staff, however, had only an advisory role in the choice of its bishop. In the constitutional nexus by which the diocese was attached as a dependency to the ecclesiastical Province of Queensland the final decision was vested in the bench of bishops in Australia, and in the event it was Newton and not Halse who was summoned to Dogura. The European staff apparently did not demur from the choice of the bishops. Halse subsequently was elected to more comfortable and influential bishoprics at Riverina (1925-1943) and Brisbane (1944-1962). As Archbishop of Brisbane he enjoyed metropolitical status over the Bishop of New Guinea.

The conditions generally accepted among missionaries for an indigenous church were self-government, self-propagation and self-support. Missionaries in New Guinea had always held that self-government was the true goal of the Papuan church, and had more than once observed the potential of the native church for greater self-propagation. Few seemed to realize however that

1 S. R. M. Gill to A. T. Gill, Boianai, 2 November 1921.
2 Ibid.
self-support was an intrinsic part of the whole process of organic church growth. The cost of running the mission had risen steadily from £5900 in 1912 to £15,000 in 1920, and the expenses were laid at the door of the Australian dioceses while English congregations were pledged to contribute another £2,000. The amount raised for the work within the mission itself was negligible. In 1912 Sharp was speaking hopefully of the capacity of the New Guinea church to support itself, but two years later he had to admit that the diocese would not become self-supporting in the foreseeable future.

The Anglican leaders in Papua, with the exception of Copland King, were gentle born Englishmen who either possessed independent means of support or were ascetics indifferent to the addition of worldly necessities in seeking the Kingdom of God. Furthermore, they were accustomed to the security of the parson's freehold and the heavily endowed English parish church. They viewed with considerable distaste the money-making ventures of their nonconformist brethren, which was accentuated by the fact that they were not 'gentlemen' but artisans and tradesmen of a different class. Noting how the London Missionary Society conducted a fund-raising campaign during the annual May meetings, they observed

...How the sordid love of self-glorification is ministered to when every offering is stated publicly and commented on, and one vies with another to come out first.

1 O.P. 32/1, Ibid. 46/1.
2 O.P. 78/25.
3 O.P. 32/7, C.S. 26 September 1913; A. B. M. Review, 1 July 1912, 79.
4 O.P. 13/4.
In contrast, the Anglicans said they were content with slower progress 'to keep the motives pure.'

Purity of motive being of first consideration to the religious, consciences were examined regularly on a mission station. Some missionaries confessed they had misgivings even about the small commercial gains made by the mission trade stores. Albert Maclaren had planted 250 coconuts at Dogura in 1891 in order to secure a permanent income for the mission, A. K. Chignell had planted rubber at Wanigela, and Bishop Stone-Wigg had established other plantations at Ambasi and Buna. By 1911 these ventures were realizing a small return from the capital invested. Copland King had raised £35.9.7 in one year through the sale of rubber from Ambasi, and £79.10.0 at his trade store. Bishop Sharp, however, knowing nothing about manual work, depressed by the failure of the cattle project at Hioge, and sensitive to criticisms of money-making missions decided to abandon all plantation work and throw the mission entirely on the conscience of local congregations and church people overseas. The plantations were closed; the leases under which they had been secured expired; and the missionaries irrevocably turned their backs upon the idea of supporting mission work by their own enterprise. King emphatically

1 Ibid.
3 O. P. 90/12.
4 C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 22 October 1911.
5 O. P. 53/2.
deplored Sharp's decision on the grounds that missionaries who did not raise money were in danger of 'becoming pharasaical towards those who do' and because 'the impression gained is that we are impractical.'

The agents of the New Guinea Mission in London evinced a similar disdain for matters of business. Clergymen sympathetic to the missionary cause in England preached sermons, published tracts and conducted soirees in aristocratic drawing rooms to raise funds, but most felt it indelicate to refer directly to the question of money. Like A. K. Chignell, they confessed they were not brazen enough to stand up before an audience and ask for money, any more than they would have the impudence to go to individuals in their offices or drawing rooms and ask for it.

As with their colleagues in the field, however, the mission secretaries frequently had to pay the price of their dignity. At one meeting of sixty English church people in 1915, for example, at which the parson delivered a 'charming and amusing address' about his experiences in Papua, only 2/6 was forthcoming at the end of an hour. The English committee never succeeded in raising the full amount of £2,000 which it had pledged to add to the Australian contribution.

---

1 C. King to G. Sharp, Ambasi, 22 October 1911. Interview with M. Kekwick, Dogura, 15 August 1967.
2 O.P. 46/3.
3 O.P. 45/10.
Christian missionaries believed themselves to be men of principle. Refusing to trade on principle, the Anglicans were liberal with money on principle when it seemed that Christian charity demanded generosity. When Lutheran missionaries in Kaiserwilhelmsland were reported to be destitute after the Australian seizure of German New Guinea in September 1914, an order was sent from Dogura for £150 of Burns Philp stores. Bishop Sharp, convinced that faith would provide its own answer, continued to draw on the forlorn hope that overseas church people would supply the means for the mission to consolidate its hold in the east and expand into the north. By following a policy of stringent economy, deferring home leave, and pegging the stipend of missionaries at the original £25 per year, Sharp managed to keep the mission out of serious financial difficulty. The austerity of these measures was soon reflected in a harshening of the conditions under which workers lived. Some missionaries laboured for ten years without once taking leave - Samuel Tomlinson worked for nineteen years before taking English furlough - and many began to present an increasingly threadbare appearance on the stations. Frank Hurley recalled meeting a missionary in Samarai wearing a black overcoat, who explained his predicament tersely: 'If I did not wear this coat I could not wear these trousers, and I would have to stay in bed!' Another traveller predicted

1 O. P. 43/4.
2 O. P. 63/2.
3 Ibid., L. Oliver to H. Newton, Mukawa, 5 June 1923.
that Anglican clergy would soon be as naked as their parishioners unless more money were forthcoming.  

After the departure of Bishop Sharp the situation began to deteriorate even further. Unable to raise more than a minute portion of its income from its native congregations, beholden to the generosity of overseas supporters, and deprived of a means of support by its own industry, the mission began to balance precariously on the edge of financial ruin. Despite impassioned appeals for more money by Bishop Newton the total income of the mission dropped steadily from £15,000 in 1916 to £10,500 in 1925.  

Even before this income had dropped further to £8,500 in the second year of the Depression, serious trouble was brewing for the church book-keepers at Samarai: the mission was deeply in debt to Burns Philp's store, the contracting suppliers, and the account at the Bank of New South Wales on Samarai was overdrawn 'to the limit. In private the church treasurer accused Burns Philp of rapacity and threatened to take the mission custom elsewhere, but while this may have assuaged his indignation, it did little to diminish the expenditure. Newton attempted to transfer the mission legacies from the Diocese of Brisbane to Samarai, but the trustees of the endowments disallowed the transfer on the grounds of its illegality.

1 C.S., 20 September, 1932, 1.  
3 A. J. Thompson to G. Sharp, Samarai, 28 November 1919.  
4 Ibid. A. J. Thompson discovered from F. Aumuller, Burns Philp Samarai manager, that Burns Philp & Co. made from 30 to 40 percent profit on goods sold to the Anglican Mission.  
5 H. Newton to G. Gall, Samarai, 12 January 1922; G. Gall to H. Newton, Brisbane 21 March 1922.
A shrinkage in contributions inevitably meant retrenchment in the field. A girls' school, hospital and mission station had to be closed, and finally all the school boarders were sent home. The mission was forced into an agonising re-appraisal of its expansionist policies: schemes for stations in the Orokaiva plainlands were shelved and the New Britain area, which the mission had hoped to add to its territory, was turned over to the Melanesian Mission. Some of the missionaries, 'at their wit's end to keep the outstations going' volunteered to forgo part of their meagre stipend of £20 to save the major stations and church officers turned to the Papuan Christians to pledge two shillings a year for every baptized man, woman and child. In 1931 a horrified staff conference heard a proposal to sell the Maclaren King, the Mission's supply ship. When this was over-ruled as too extreme a measure, Bishop Newton appealed to Australian churchwomen to melt down gold ornaments to tide the mission over its difficulties, and created a sensation by pawning his own pectoral cross and other insignia.

Falling financial support caused a drop in the number of European workers. In 1922, of twenty-two candidates ready for work, only one was sent out on time. This meant an accelerating in the recruitment of native staff who were less of a charge on the mission treasury. In 1917 there had been ten pupil teachers and

1 S. R. M. Gill to C. Gill, Manau, 20 May 1931.
2 O. P. 91/10.
3 O. P. 71/4.
4 O. P. 91/10.
5 O. P. 95/5.
two native clergy; \(^1\) four years later there were thirty-four trained teachers and seven clergy; \(^2\) by 1928, when the European staff numbered forty, there were forty-three Papuan teachers and ten clergy at work. \(^3\) Numerically, the Anglican church in Papua was becoming more Papuan and less European; politically, though outnumbered by natives, the Europeans still controlled its destiny.

The success of a foreign missionary, more than that of a government officer or trader, depended directly upon his personal prestige and standing among the people with whom he worked. \(^4\) Being concerned primarily with the welfare of individuals rather with the enforcing of justice or the recruitment of labourers, he was more intimately connected with a particular people than were most traders and government officials. Having few administrative responsibilities beyond the limits of his station, he spent far more time among the same people than other Europeans. He learnt their language and heard their folklore; he instructed their children and often gave them his own name; he sometimes stayed long enough to baptize their children and grandchildren.

Thus A.K. Chignell could claim with confidence that he knew more about the people of Wanigela than all the magistrates, traders and planters in Papua. \(^5\) Alice Cottingham and Henry Newton each lived for over thirty years among the Goodenough Bay people;

---

1 O.P. 57/2.
2 O.P. 64/5.
3 O.P. 83/14.
4 See also C. D. Rowley, The New Guinea Villager (Melbourne, 1969), 129.
Romney Gill, who referred contemptuously to 'verandah missionaries' who dwelt away from their people, lived for a similar duration among the Binandele on the Mamba. Samuel and Elizabeth Tomlinson lived near the Wedauans and Mukawans for forty-five years and were known by the coastal people simply as Tama and Sina. Many of these veterans attained a measure of familiarity with village people that was unknown to the trader or government officer on contract. When a visitor at Mukawa commented to a native on Tomlinson's fluency in the village dialect, the Papuan replied, 'He is a Mukawan'.

In their relations with the coastal Papuans Anglican missionaries were aware that their attitudes to native differed from the pattern set by the rest of the white community. Occasionally, too, in their contacts with other whites, they were made to feel that the differences were understood and resented by some of their compatriots. Recalling descriptions they had heard of Papuans as 'filthy in their habits, sullen, treacherous and very unfriendly to visitors' or as 'truculent, aggressive, cruel and cunning', they discovered their own estimates to be very different. Often they prided themselves on the intimacy of their friendship with native people and the fact that, in spite of warnings to the contrary,

---

1 O.P. 109/3.
2 See below, Chapter IV, 230.
3 Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of New South Wales, quoted in J.W.S. Tomlin, Awakening, Appendix I.
4 Territory of Papua, Annual Report 1899-1900, 98. See also F.E. Williams, Orokaiva Society, 314, O.P. 82/5.
their gentility had been no obstacle to their recognising a noble savage when they saw one. Albert Maclaren had been cautioned by Anthony Musgrave, the Government Secretary, that

Your life and health will be in exceptional danger, while your tastes will be set on edge and your disgust excited by their unrestrained manners and unspeakable customs.¹

A. K. Chignell himself admitted upon first meeting two Papuans in Sydney:

I by no means liked these coloured men... and I felt that I should never be able to stand these brown fellows, with their... outrageous heads of hair and their queer little broken bits of English.²

Nevertheless, a short experience in a Papuan village usually transformed trepidation into glowing approval, and soon they were able to assure others that the real Papuan was a much better fellow than they had expected. Bishop Sharp, after a few weeks at Dogura, pronounced the Goodenough Bay natives to be

Affectionate, confiding, sunny-tempered... polite in manner, attentive... most distinctly good-looking with a wealth of intelligence and expression in their faces, and not in the least degree 'repulsive'.³

Among other estimates were some which might have surprised the trading community. Chignell thought the Papuans scrupulously fair and loyal to one another, and faithful to any white man they trusted.

¹ E. Rogers, op. cit. 99.
² O. P. 44/3.
³ O. P. 52/3, 50/20, 72/2.
They were altogether honest, and a European could leave his house open day and night.  

Initial descriptions echoed some surprise that the Papuan in his native state was not the ferocious cannibal depicted in the traveller's tale. While they were repelled by the Papuans' cruelty to animals and indifference to their own cleanliness, the missionaries were impressed by their gentleness and disarming simplicity. They declared that 'these coloured and nearly naked savages, whatever their faults, have the natural instincts of, and behave like, gentle folk.' Moreover, they were excited by their willingness to learn and their evident capacity for immediate improvement. A native who submitted to a bath - what one missionary called 'the gospel of soap' - was 'so clean and white, almost like a European.'

Admiration for the Papuan savage, however, was not confined to those who emulated the white man. The missionaries could see good even in those who had stubbornly refused to see the light of Christianity. The Maisin of Ulaku were 'a splendid, noble people,' and though they had spurned Anglican overtures, and having 'a will of their own, not the spineless sort the government want,' would make admirable Christians when converted.

3 O.P. 42/9.
4 O.P. 72/2.
5 Ibid.
Nonis of Wanigela, a formidable Village Constable who held out against baptism until his death, was to A. K. Chignell 'one of the most attractive personalities in Papua, either white or coloured,' Romney Gill owned Dasiga of Manau 'my greatest friend in Papua' despite Dasiga's cult activities and his two wives. While the individual was extolled, Papuan virtues were contrasted with the vices of the European. Missionaries could see that the heathen had a moral code of his own which they thought in some respects put the many so-called Christians to shame. For this reason, one missionary contended that the average Papuan was less immoral than the average European.

As might have been expected, missionaries reserved their highest praise for those converts whose demeanour had begun to resemble that of a church-going European. The alacrity with which some of the younger converts imitated western modes of behaviour and mastered intricacies of ritual delighted the missionaries. These were commonly characterised as being 'perfect Papuan gentlemen' for they 'radiated holiness' and

1 W. Light, 'The Passing of Nonis' in O.P. 82/12.
2 S. R. M. Gill to Madeline Gill, Mamba, 5 November 1938. A description of Dasiga is to be found also in F. E. Williams Orokaiva Magic 74-7.
3 M. Shuttleworth, op. cit., 5.
5 O.P. 57/8, 52/13; see also H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 41.
6 O.P. 45/3, 54/11, 57/8.
were 'full of spiritual fervour.' Such converts had cleansed the evil of their old ways and the result was singularly graceful and charming. They were 'not savages but saints' said Sharp, for they possessed 'all the elements of noble character, very original and strongly socialistic, courteous, cheerful and industrious.'

Sometimes the missionary's praise for the noble savage was less and acclamation of his social virtues and more a sensuous admiration for his physical beauty. Here commentators sometimes reached a lyrical note as they depicted figures of classic proportions receiving the news of salvation. Watching the youths of Boianai at Mass, Bishop Feetham of North Queensland was moved to raptures by their

Limbs that would do credit to an Apollo, with a torso and shoulders that would send a sculptor into ecstacies ... the consecration of the perfection of physical life to holy purposes.

Feetham's idealized version of the Papuan was a dramatic transformation of an older picture of the wretched savage with his lurking cannibal propensities, and Feetham was not alone in his repainting. Others, too, were struck by the sublimity of the Papuan at worship and regarded him with an almost uncritical adulation. Nearly all Anglican missionary writers spoke of the Papuan's natural grace, capacity for instruction and quick spiritual perception.

Admiration for the native in his original state led to an

1 O. P. 50/20, 53/14.
2 O. P. 63/7.
3 O. P. 63/7, 53/3.
4 O. P. 54/12.
increasing determination to preserve traditional Papuan life against the corrosive influences of western culture. This involved Bishop Sharp firstly in the reversal of a trend to anglicize native Christians. The first missionaries at Dogura had followed the common practice of clothing converts in secular European apparel. They took particular pleasure in adorning native ceremonies with borrowings from their own wardrobes, and the effect was sometimes bizarre. At the first Christian wedding the bride was clothed in heliotrope cotton trimmed with cream lace and pink ribbons, while enthusiastic mission ladies dressed the bridesmaid in blue muslin. Males were clad in cotton, and when Stone-Wigg visited England in 1903, he presented Edward VII with a picture of a Papuan warrior in full dress and another of two mission students 'looking very neat and intelligent in their white garments.' The King, said Stone-Wigg, was 'especially interested' in this evidence of civilization. Partly to prevent pneumonia however, the Government forbade the wearing of clothes above the waist, and the Mission ceased to issue schoolchildren and converts with cloth. The wearing of trousers by mission boys was forbidden and women removed the Mother Hubbards identified with missionaries in other parts of the Pacific. Men were encouraged to wear tapa cloth where it was obtainable and native students who visited Australia wore only a calico rami in addition to bare feet, feathers and full coiffure.

---

2 *Church Family News*, London, 3 July 1903.
3 Ibid.
Half-caste children, on the other hand, were regarded as Europeans. These waifs, who had been fathered by mariners from Australia, Mauritius, France and the ports of the east, were mandated to the mission by the government. Being technically stateless, and regarded by village people as *dim dims* or foreigners, the children had no hereditary rights in their maternal clans. Unlike their full-blooded cousins in the villages they were taught in English by a governess and were dressed in Edwardian sailor suits, embroidered smocks and high laced boots. St Agnes' Home at Dogura turned out a continual flow of mission workers, one of the more prominent of whom was Edward Guise, son of a Wedauan woman and an adventurer reputed to be of aristocratic French lineage. Guise, who became the mission translator and master of the *Maclaren King*, 1 retained a blend of his mixed parentage which served him well. Most of the scholars at St Agnes' took a Papuan spouse and produced children who found it more expedient to be identified with Papuans. Nevertheless, their fluency in English and close connexions with Europeans placed them inside the inner circle of missionaries, an advantage which was a tangible gain. When little Johnnie Guise, aged eleven, was taken ill in 1921, the mission lugger was put at the disposal of his father to take the boy to Samarai. 2

Separation of half-castes from native students at Dogura did not imply a policy of segregation between brown and white.

---

2 S. R. M. Gill, Dogura Notes, Boianai, 17 August 1921.
When Bishop Stone-Wigg established a school on Samarai as the nucleus of an Anglican foundation on the island in 1900, he refused to consider that it should be exclusively for the benefit of white children. St Paul's School, although predominantly European in composition, was attended also by a sprinkling of children of native employees at Samarai.¹

While applauding the natural virtues of their Papuan converts, few missionaries felt that they were yet ready to exercise the duties of white men. They were dealing with a race which, notwithstanding its inner stability, was too weak and delicate to survive the flow of western influences.² The Papuan might be an amiable and willing assistant, but his shoulders were too weak for the burdens of responsibility.³ Responsibilities, the missionaries considered, should properly be borne by members of the stronger or 'higher' race.

There was an underlying conflict between such an approach and the goal of self-support for the Papuan church, and the more discerning missionaries were aware of the incongruity in their aims and methods. Bishop Montgomery of Tasmania expressed

---

¹ M. Stone-Wigg, Constitution of Samarai School, Samarai, 3 November 1899. A. Musgrave to M. Stone-Wigg, Port Moresby, 12 January 1904. See also M. Staniforth Smith, Handbook of the Territory of Papua, Port Moresby, c. 1907; O. P. 13/11.

² M. Stone-Wigg, Contribution of Pacific Islands Races to the Fullness of the Church, Dogura 1905.

³ S. R. M. Gill to Max Gill, Boianai, 25 March 1921.
the white man's dilemma thus:

Is the native Christian to be treated as Englishmen treat each other, as free and independent full grown men? Or is it to be the relationship of a father to a child? ... Is there to enter into the system something of a despotism, most benevolent... yet the power of a higher race?

Montgomery attempted to answer his own query. Common sense, he said, seemed to suggest that a savage race could not at once be raised to equality with a civilized race.¹ For all their romantic notions about the noble savage, the missionaries behaved as though they themselves were a racial aristocracy moved by a strong sense of noblesse oblige.

To accept the paternalist attitudes which suffused colonial thinking at that time was natural as missionaries encountered warring Papuans near Dogura. 'Poor things,' mused Albert Maclaren after settling a quarrel between the Radava and Boainai, 'they need a father to guide them, for they are only like children, and need to be dealt with as such.'² Later experiences gave the missionaries no reason to modify this view. Had not the mission station on the Mamba all but disintegrated on the departure of Copland King? And if the Papuan was but a child, the foreign missionary was a guardian charged with his protection and moral improvement. Thus a synod of Pacific bishops proclaimed:

---

Just as the Government must take the closest cognizance of all industrial activities for the sake of the weaker races, so the church must watch (its) welfare as a mother watches her child, and work for the lifting up of these children of nature into the full citizenship of the Kingdom of God. Implicit in this imagery was a philosophy of race relations essentially paternalist, however earnestly Bishop Sharp might warn his staff against 'adopting a superior attitude both towards fellow workers and towards those to whom we are sent.' Early mission literature similarly evoked the father-child imagery, and this was reinforced by an Anglo-Catholic tradition in which most of the European males, being pastors, were commonly addressed as 'Father.'

Papuan mission helpers accepted the status of children as readily as their superiors adopted the paternal role. Thus Dick Foley, a Melanesian teacher at Uga, called Francis Buchanan his 'master' and Buchanan, though dependent on Dick especially in his later years, 'never allowed the reins to fall from his hands.' The partnership between Romney Gill and his faithful helper Robert Somanu on their lonely station at Manau brought to mind the tale of Robinson Crusoe and Man Friday in the South Seas. As Man Friday always performed his master's bidding, so the native worker accepted a humbler place behind the foreigner. At the celebration of the holy Eucharist, for example, the Europeans took communion first, followed by the Melanesian workers, with

2 G. Sharp, Address to Conference, Dogura, 1913.
3 G. White, Francis de Sales Buchanan, Sydney 1923, 30.
the Papuan Christians last.¹

Once tribal autonomy was lost, therefore, native Christians adopted a subservient position and the missionaries were thrust into a dominant role. In other words, the Europeans called the tune to which the Papuans danced, even though consciously each group knew this had the opposite effect to what was intended. 'We are forced into the anomalous position,' said Gill, 'of being potentates and grandees.'²

The native workers, being isolated from their social milieu, were deeply influenced by their missionary superiors, easily swayed by their arguments and usually eager to fall in with their wishes. 'They are like bars of soft iron [wrote Feetham], which in the neighbourhood of a steel magnet acquires for the moment magnetic properties... and behave as magnets... They are powerless, however, from the moment that the steel bar is withdrawn.'³

The foreigners were outnumbered on the staff, but Melanesian missionaries were wary even if only one European were present, especially when that European happened to be the bishop. In this case, as one staff worker observed, even a suggestion carried the force of a command.⁴ This of course was of little use to a missionary attempting to discover the true feelings of his native staff. When Bishop Newton, for example, voiced his opinion that the Wedauan tongue should be the mission's lingua franca for the Orokaiva (among whom Wedauan was incomprehensible) the

¹ Interview with J. D. Bodger, Lae, 20 August 1969.
² S. R. M. Gill to Madeline Gill, Duvira, 2 February 1926.
³ J. O. Feetham, From Ambasi to Samarai in the Whitkirk, Sydney, 1917, 36.
⁴ O.P. 30/6.
native teachers loyally supported his wishes with a unanimous vote; but as F.R. Elder noted, 'They know what the Bishop wanted, and naturally his wish would and did carry weight with them. I believe they would vote any way you want them to.'

Very different were the attitudes which determined the brown missionary's behaviour towards those of his own colour.

In a society where authority traditionally rested in the old men, the relative youth of the Papuan missionary - 25 years was the average age of teachers among the Binandele - constituted a drawback which had to be remedied by an extra amount of zeal and application. Compounded with the militant flavour of the proselytising activity, spiritual fervour produced sharply contrasting reactions from the older generation. In the villages where desire for culture contact was strong the brown missionary had no difficulty in bending popular opinion to the cause, but in others it was apparent that a struggle for supremacy was taking place. Village elders often provided strong opposition to the enlisting of their children in the mission staff, and sometimes showed scant respect for the native missionary sent to improve their habits. Thus one youth returned to Dogura, where he had been trained for seven years, bearing signs of the severe beating he had received for his efforts to reform the people of Taupota. How much prodding had to be applied to older people in other villages is a question for

1 F.R. Elder, Paper on the Use of Wedauan, Emo, c. 1923
2 S.E.M. Gill, Suggestions Relative to the Strengthening of the Native Church in Papua, Dogura, 26 October 1922
3 O.P. 21/9, ibid. 83/12
4 O.P. 21/9, ibid. O.P. 73/5, A.K. Chignell, Twenty-One Years in Papua 48
which the documentary evidence fails to supply a satisfactory answer. Cultural pressure to desist from proselytising ranged from mild derision to physical violence.

Some youths encountered no direct opposition, but soon found themselves knee deep in operational difficulties, obtaining school equipment, preaching to the indifferent, or procuring supplies of trade. Gill lost six of his seven teaching Papuans in his first eight weeks at Manau and Lambton's four helpers at Sefoa all deserted in the first year. Those who remained sometimes found the loneliness of their task an almost unendurable strain.

When the pioneering phase was over, however, young missionaries found little difficulty in prevailing over older Papuans. Their prestige enhanced by the support of Europeans and school pupils, the native taunola usually witnessed a wholesale reversal of sympathy in favour of the mission. Even when their cause had prevailed, however, the young missionaries were not lacking in sympathy for the older people, as the gentle tone of this letter to Max Gill by the teacher MacDonald Ukulawa suggests:

> If my works are evil, I shall not meet you, but if I am good we shall meet in great happiness in Heaven... We are working among the heathen people. By and by, God will open and instruct their hearts. I myself have only lately come out from heathenism.

---

1 S. R. M. Gill to J. O. Feetham, Manau, 5 May 1923.
2 Sefoa Log, 7 October 1933.
3 S. R. M. Gill to A. T. Gill, Manau, 5 May 1923; S. R. M. Gill to C. Gill, Manau, 30 August 1922, 22 November 1922.
4 MacDonald Ukulawa to M. Gill (translated by S. R. M. Gill), Mamba, 23 March 1923.
Not all mission boarders demeaned themselves modestly before their elders. Some of these 'new men' seemed prone to copy the European habit of regarding the older Papuans as children. Far from heeding the fifth commandment enjoining filial obedience, many mission boys were found affecting attitudes of superiority over their elders. This was often manifested in a 'tendency to swagger' which at first the staff found amusing but later realized had deeper social implications and attacked as the sin of pride.¹ As Newton wrote:

We find the younger men comparing themselves with their elders and rather despising them because they 'do not know,' they 'cannot read,' they have not been away and seen what the white man can do, and the old men feel that there is truth in these aspirations, not realizing that what they have learnt... from the book of experience may be of more real value than the undigested knowledge of the youths.²

Noting the 'ridicule and abuse' of old people and the 'brashness or condescension to village elders,'³ Newton commented with sarcasm: 'Naturally our youths do not compare themselves with the white men... that would be a blow to their pride.'⁴

The bishop need not have been surprised at the insubordination of younger Papuans in the beach villages. Here, where the influence of missionary, trader and magistrate was strongest, the youth of the community were now absent when their social

¹ M. Stone-Wigg, op. cit., 63.
² H. Newton, Planting the Cross in Papua, 1.
³ M. Stone-Wigg, op. cit., 43, 63.
⁴ H. Newton, op. cit., 2.
training was usually being consolidated. Initiation ceremonies, in which the elders impressed their superiority and special accomplishments upon the young, were disappearing in villages near the Dogura head station by 1910.\(^1\) The Taupotan pastor, Peter Rautamara, made an attempt to have the ceremonies revived\(^2\) by allowing mission boys leave to attend, but by then the Taupotan youths were 'signing on' in unprecedented numbers at Samarai and the initiation rite gradually became extinct.

Newton became alarmed at the corrosion in parental authority and the incapacity of the mission to provide an adequate substitute. He lamented that

The dislocation of village life consequent on so many of the young men going away to work, (has) had the effect of destroying whatever control the old people had over the youngsters, and not yet has the teaching of Christianity gained control over...many of our people.\(^3\)

Newton looked askance at these eastern travellers: like wayward young Israelites, he said, 'they hankered after the fleshpots of Egypt.'\(^4\)

The indentured labourers evidently did not see the scriptural parallel, for to a man they preferred the treasure in Egypt to the doubtful fortunes of Israel.

---

1 O.P. 64/3, 80/4.
2 Ibid. E. Slade to H. Newton, Didiwaga, 1 June 1923.
4 H. Newton 'Twenty-Two Years After' in M. Stone-Wigg, *op. cit.* 62.
Traders in the commercial port of Samarai noted and deplored a similar nonchalant indifference to authority in their mission domestics. For this untoward change the traders commonly blamed the missionaries and the missionaries, just as vehemently, blamed the traders. Alluding to the 'fairly common belief that the average mission boy is a liar, a rogue and a thief,' Newton retorted that the blame lay with the European employers. At Samarai, said Newton,

They often come into contact with the...often immoral white man, and the returned native is one who has a fine contempt for the European.  

In contrast, by claiming that his own domestic servants were 'polite, willing and charming' the missionary pointed to the effect of superior moral example.

Nevertheless, even missionaries were being taught by hard experience that every Melanesian could not be characterised as a saint or even as a gentleman. In private it was admitted that a priest's conduct might be 'disgraceful,' a house servant might 'abuse and lie to his mistress,' and a teacher be chided as 'a broken reed and untruthful.' The bloom of the noble savage idea was wearing off, a process Newton found to be a little 'sad and depressing' but it paved the way for a more critical reappraisal of the Melanesian. The more experienced missionaries were

1 S. M. H., 20 July 1933, 8; O. P. 54/8.
2 O. P. 70/4.
3 O. P. 64/3; O. P. 76/10.
4 Sefoa Log, 22 September 1941; ibid, 3 March 1935.
5 O. P. 84/4.
beginning to approach the Papuan, not as a depraved savage nor as a classical hero, but as he really was.

Another change resulting from longer contact with Europeans was a growing emphasis upon the value of money. The days were gone when a labourer, returning from a period of indenture in the east, placed half his earnings in the collection plate and divided the other half among his kinsmen.¹ The love of money was the root of all evil, a Port Moresby missionary had written twenty years earlier, and his converts seemed to love it. They had become mercenary and ungenerous.² The missionaries in the north were beginning to think likewise about their converts. The increase in paid labour, the growing reliance on trade stores, the head tax on every adult male, and the higher salaries enjoyed by commercial employees made the mission teacher conscious of his diminishing financial prestige. A teacher's commencing salary of 2/6 monthly did not compare favourably with the indentured labourer's 10/- a month, nor did the Papuan priest's £6 annually compare with the £20 of the European clergyman.³

For many schoolboys there were attractions other than a post in the mission. The Royal Papuan Constabulary, with its impressive drill, smart serge uniform and glittering weaponry offered perhaps the greatest satisfaction to the Papuan love of

¹ O.P. 53/4; O.P. 84/1.
² W.G. Lawes to M. Stone-Wigg, Vatorata, 15 August 1905.
³ S. Tomlinson, Remuneration of Papuan Teachers, Dogura 1917; O.P. 54/14.
personal show and gave him an opportunity to bear arms in the name of the King. There was more than a grain of truth in Jack Hides' assertion that the Papuan's highest ambition was to become a sergeant-major in the constabulary. In addition to the Armed Constabulary, there were 45 Village Constables enlisted in the district around Dogura by 1911. The Anglicans had, by that time, trained only a handful of pupil teachers. In addition, as every schoolboy knew, it was much more difficult to train for the mission and to accept the rigorous moral discipline of a missionary than to become a policeman. As Chignell wrote,

It is far easier to appoint a native policeman, and teach him...to clap handcuffs on the ill-disposed perturbers of public peace, than it is to prepare a native evangelist to "assist the Priest in Divine Service" and "to read Holy Scriptures in the Church, and to instruct the youth in the Catechism" and to "frame his own life...according to the Doctrine of Christ."

Most of the mission staff would have agreed with Bishop Stone-Wigg that the Papuans were a deeply religious people. Few seemed to realize, however, that a Papuan could be very religious without being, in a Christian sense, very ethical; that religious ecstasy sometimes had little bearing upon conduct. In particular it was understood only slowly by missionaries that the call to sacrifice which was a characteristic of the Christian ethic did not generate the same response in their native comrades as it had in themselves. In granting a meagre £25 per annum to the

1 S.M.H., 31 August 1935, 17
2 Territory of Papua, Annual Report for Year Ended 30 June 1911, 123
3 O.P. 44/5.
4 M. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans: A People of the South Pacific, 20
white staff the bishops hoped to draw 'only the most earnest and self-sacrificing natures' to service. They expected the same from their Papuan colleagues as they demanded from themselves: a devotion to duty, a renunciation of the world's riches and a quiet submission to the will of God. There was a failure to grasp the fact that Papuans had strong material aspirations in addition to their adopted religious beliefs. Growing contact with a higher standard of living only increased the native teachers' sense of need, and there was little use in demanding that the mission worker 'must accept New Guinea, and not missionary, standards' when village people sometimes insisted upon payment for vegetables, saying, to the Papuan worker, 'You are like the dim-dims now, so you must pay for everything.' Romney Gill, seeing the dilemma in which rising standards placed the mission teacher, reflected that the native teacher should be 'comfortable and contented - able to live a life conducive to spiritual and intellectual development and free, so far as we can render it, from financial worry.'

Bishop Newton, perhaps less perceptive in practical matters than Romney Gill, could not understand why the enrolment of teacher trainees at St Aidan's College had declined from twenty-five in 1917 to six in 1931. A committee was appointed

---

2 Q. P. 71/4, ibid, 81/2.
3 I. M. Percy to M. Stone-Wigg, Didiwaga, 6 August 1922.
4 S. R. M. Gill to G. Sharp, Boianai, 28 October 1918.
5 A. P. Jennings, Report of a Committee Appointed to Consider the Question of a Future Site for St Aidan's College, Dogura, 1 December 1928.
by Newton to investigate. Its work cannot have been helped by the native techniques of evasion which often blunted the thrust of an enquiry, and the committee concluded rather ineptly that the distance from gardening land at Dogura and the proximity to St Paul's school were the principal causes. Not surprisingly the student enrolment continued to decline after the College had been moved to a site nearer the gardens, to the perplexity of the principal.¹ In 1932 trainee clergy were installed at the college² and soon college enrolment, swelled by the two streams, reached fifteen.³ It was still far less than the number which had been expected.

Eventually the Papuan teachers, summoning the courage to break the silence, produced a request for equal salaries with Europeans at their staff conference.⁴ Newton's startled response was unequivocal. He had never expected such a demand and had not the resources to satisfy it. Adopting a slightly hectoring tone, he replied that if the teachers thought of teaching as a paying job, the spiritual would die.⁵ Although the native staff took no further action even the bishop saw that not all understood his explanation.⁶ The white missionaries' concept of the brotherhood of Christians apparently did not embody the assumption that all men should receive

---

¹ St Aidan's College, Annual Report, Dogura, 1931; O. P. 83/2 ff.
² W. Light, A Suggestion for Widening the Scope and Future Usefulness of St Aidan's College, January 1930.
³ St Aidan's College, Annual Report, Dogura, 1932.
⁴ O. P. 84/3 ff.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid.
equal remuneration. Probably the teachers were as dismayed and puzzled at Newton's refusal as he was by their request.¹

Civilization was not simply the possession of abstract virtue: it was asserted by the wearing of good clothes and the possessing of high living standards.

In a limited sense, the mission teachers constituted an embryonic elite, fragmented and without a timetable for succeeding to the leadership, but with the strongest aspirations to economic equality with Europeans. Their bid for European wages was symbolic of the Christian Papuan's quest for acceptance and citizenship in a white man's world.

In an uneasy world of shifting social values the Papuan priest was the most assured of security and status. Within the station, subject only to the bishop, a priest enjoyed a patriarchal dominance as dispenser of sacraments, arbiter of disputes and wielder of discipline. Through ordination the Papuan could share the prestige of the European to an extent unparalleled in any other profession. Papuan villagers, who jealously preserved an egalitarian code among themselves, were curiously much given to paying extravagant honour to hierarchs from across the seas. Crowds sometimes a thousand strong knelt on Kaieta beach before a disembarking bishop and conducted him in ceremony to the ramparts of Dogura after the benediction.² The ordained ministry of bishop, priest and deacon stood on a pinnacle in Anglican Papua.

¹ Ibid, 71/4; ibid, 84/3 ff.
If his rank was elevated above the station of other men, so the native priest had to be 'apt and meet in his godly conversation' and 'fashion himself and his family... as wholesome examples to the flock'. Although three boys had begun theology at Dogura in 1903, their rectors dallied fourteen years before considering it safe enough to ordain one of them to the priesthood. When the time of training was reduced, several candidates were so awed by the Orders they were to receive that they begged the bishop to delay the ceremony for another year. Prolonged scrutiny and diligence produced only a trickle of clergy, but from this training there emerged a ministry if not erudite in scholarship at least blameless in conduct. A few clergy fell below the exacting standards, one for attempting adultery and two others for unseemly behaviour at the diocesan Oga Tara. All were suspended from the ministry for a year, and were reinstated after public confession at Dogura.

The first native ordained, Peter Rautamara, clearly possessed the qualities which his mentors expected in a priest. Having been acquainted with parochial duties during a visit to Australia and New Zealand, Rautamara was placed in charge of the large station at his home village, Taupota, where he had nominal

---

1 B. C. P. Service of the Ordering of Priests.
2 O. P. 6/3, 57/2, 63/4, 72/4.
3 A. P. Jennings, St Aidan's College Annual Report 1934, Laronai.
4 O. P. 75/4, Sefoa Log, 22 September 1941.
supervision over a white woman teacher. Even though some Taupotans attached an 'unholy meaning' to this relationship, Peter's moral character was regarded as unimpeachable by the Europeans and he remained as priest in charge for twenty years. Other native workers were usually given a station away from their villages where they were not subject to kinship obligations and entangling blood loyalties. Thus Randolph Namuri was sent to Tufi, where soon he was able to mediate in a dispute over hunting rights among the Korafi clansmen. Nevertheless, while their lack of kinship enabled them to be impartial, these clergy were accepted by villagers with all the limitations imposed on aliens.

Aliens in their own parishes, the native clergy usually took wives from their own districts who had been sent to Dogura school. These girls, 'wild untamed creatures' according to Newton, were there turned into 'steady responsible wives and mothers, cleaner in their habits, with far more self respect than the ordinary village women.' In the children of such matches the enormous consolidating influence of the mission was reflected, particularly in the daughters, who often married into other clerical families or were wedded to boys at the clergy training college. By becoming pastors, the boys at Dogura were joining a priestly hierarchy, with mediating powers, special privileges, and symbolic fatherhood.

1 Ida Percy to H. Newton, Taupota, 3 September 1922.
2 Sefoa Log, 27 March 1938.
3 Interview with Andrew Uware, Popondetta, 2 August 1968.
4 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 264.
Although not isolated by celibacy, priestly authority had to be reinforced by personal strength and assertiveness in a patriarchal society.  

1 The effectiveness of the pastor, while enhanced by the fact that he could give communion to a white man and help ordain a white priest,  

2 ultimately depended upon his personal prestige. Thus while one priest commanded even less respect among the villagers than his native teacher, and another complained that 'the people would not obey me', a third was admired by his people and a fourth was commended as 'a giant in faith and zeal and a tiger for work'.  

4 Perhaps the most outstanding was Amos Paisawa, who led a campaign against sorcery in the Cape Vogel district and outpaced a notorious sorcerer in a public test of strength at Mukawa.

Clearly the European clergy regarded the genesis of a native ministry as the keystone in the edifice of a native church. More will follow,' wrote Feetham after Rautamara's ordination, 'until one day the Bishop of New Guinea will himself be a Papuan.  

5 While no Papuan was regarded as having sufficient education or personal ability to occupy the bishop's chair, the achievements of some Papuan clergy portended well for the future.

---

1 See also F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society, 93, 101.  
3 O. P. 75/4.  
5 E. Rogers, op. cit. 172.
The contribution of the native ministry, so important in the consolidation of mission influence in northern Papua, hardly made an appearance in the written records of the mission. For the great strength of the native pastors was of a sort that did not leave documents and literary monuments behind. Perhaps possessing some of the charisma of the cult leader, yet none of his zealous iconoclasm, the native clergy were preachers and interpreters of the immense social changes which were beginning to disturb the quietness of the Papuan village.

The Anglican Mission professed as its main object the preaching of the Christian gospel. A white missionary, however, was a European as well as a Christian, and held the basic values of his culture as other Europeans. He dressed in a certain style, possessed but one wife, believed in democracy, and considered himself a representative of his race and culture in the midst of an alien society.

Because he was a missionary, however, he emphasised theology and morals more than other people. To him, other whites could be judged by a simple yardstick: whether they aided or hindered the advance of Christianity and moral civilization among a heathen people. Since the main method of introducing civilization among savages was by example, missionaries took little time to ask whether his neighbour was setting a good or a bad example. Was he sober and honest? Did he support missionary work? Was his sexual behaviour beyond reproach? If the neighbour's conduct satisfied these demands, he was to be respected.
and assisted; if not, he was a 'disreputable little drunken unclean microbe' of a man with whom missionary intercourse was reduced to a minimum. Such a verdict could harm the offender, as when a Menapi planter named Davis, reputedly an evil liver, complained that missionaries had ruined his trade by forbidding women to work on his plantation.

In principle, churchmen firmly supported the increase of foreign trade and settlement. Believing that Papua was on the verge of an economic boom consequent upon the discovery of gold, and holding that trade was essential to the progress of the people, missionaries made no attempt to preserve the north for enterprises of a purely spiritual kind. On the contrary, Stone-Wigg declared that the 'capital, capacity and enterprise of the white man' was necessary for Papuan development, and made parties of prospectors welcome on the mission. Convinced that settlers would have to be coaxed to come to New Guinea, Stone-Wigg spoke warmly of the potential of the northern district of Papua as pastoral country and was fond of quoting a statement of Sir Henry Parkes that there was 'probably no country which offered so fair and certain a field for successful colonization as New Guinea.'

1 A. K. Chignell, op. cit., 251; see also R. F. Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage, (Kentucky, 1965) 90.
3 Brisbane Telegraph, 15 August, 1900. See also S. M. H., 22 March, 1898, 7.
4 Melbourne Age, 5 May, 1903.
6 J. Tomlin, Awakening, 223.
The Anglicans even made an attempt to publish a reliable manual of instructions for intending settlers, unaware apparently that Sir William MacGregor had already done so in 1898. ¹ When Premier Philp of Queensland warned that New Guinea would never be fitted for white settlement to any extent, ² a missionary on the Mamba retorted that people had lived in New Guinea for sixteen to twenty years, yet were perfectly healthy. ³

Advocacy of settlement did not blind missionaries to the possibility that the white trader thus attracted might bedevil the missionary cause. He might regard the native merely as a source of cheap labour. He might selfishly despoil the riches of Papuan culture. His belief in native development could mean simply the aggrandisement of his own wealth. According to Feetham, the picture of the developed country in the trader's mind was dominated by a single highlight - that of his own rapidly developing fortune, with the native occupying a shadowy background. ⁴

While missionaries accepted other whites as brothers, their anxiety to shield native Papuans from the vices of some of their countrymen brought about changes both in the scope and method of church work. Maclaren had anticipated a mission to the 'absolute heathen' in 1890, but Stone-Wigg was speaking in 1900 of a church

---

¹ Territory of Papua, A Handbook of Information for Intending Settlers, Brisbane 1898.
² Sydney Daily Telegraph, June, 1903, 1.
³ Melbourne Age, 22 June 1903.
⁴ O.P. 53/2.
not only for natives but white settlers as well. The work of missionaries was that of preparing each race for contact with the other 'so that the weak shall not merely gratify the desire of the strong, so that the strong shall not merely abuse or make servants of the weak.'

Initial contact with the roistering trading and mining community on Samarai and the Mamba gave little prospect for success. A travelling writer had described the Papuan traders as Rough, uncouth beggars, but they have a devil-may-care way with them....Some are as plucky as they are coarse, but it is deplorable to think that they are the men who are civilising and forming the future of the natives.

Arriving at the Yodda goldfields to open a church, Bishop Stone-Wigg was greeted by a shower of oaths from the assembled rough hands, and later commented that the white community was 'very enterprising, but somewhat uncivilized.' Local legend remembered that King's first sermon in the church, on the evils of alcohol, was robbed of its effect by the signs on the packing-case pulpit, which advised the congregation to 'Drink Bulldog Stout.' While a few clergy enjoyed a bottle of whisky, the examples of

1 M. Stone-Wigg, A See Without Endowment, Dogura, c. 1900.
2 Brisbane Telegraph, 15 August 1900.
4 C. A. W. Monckton to M. Stone-Wigg, Kokoda, 5 July 1906.
5 Brisbane Telegraph, 15 August 1900. See also C. A. W. Monckton, Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate, London 1921, 172.
6 G. White, A Pioneer of Papua, 40 ff.
drunkenness set by traders on Samarai won their strong disapproval. The priest had taught the native to keep Christmas Day holy, said one writer, but 'the white settler now steps in and converts it into a day of sports and much whisky.'

The sabbatarian issue also divided Anglicans from their fellow whites. Maclaren rejoiced to see LMS converts refuse to sell food to the crew of the Merrie England on Sunday and insisted that the hired carpenters lay off work on Dogura House on the Lord's Day. Newton protested against the lightening of ships by Samarai wharf labourers on Sunday. King, even stricter, was jubilant when he succeeded in persuading Mamba miners to give their Kiwai diggers time off for divine service. Under King's regime at Ambasi, fishing and gardening were forbidden on Sunday and a man could be expelled from the catechumenate for going to his garden on the Sabbath.

Vigilance in matters of drink and Sunday observance epitomised the Mission's attitude to the culture contact situation. If the missionary was thankful that hitherto New Guinea had not suffered from the excesses of colonial rule, he believed that ample opportunities for racial oppression still existed and these he was determined to resist. One cleric thought that the majority of his

---

1 S.M.H., 19 January 1898, 4.
2 E. Rogers, op. cit., 77.
3 H. Newton to G. Oelrichs, Samarai, 6 December 1909.
   L. Murray to G. Sharp, Port Moresby, 10 May, 1916.
4 G. White, op. cit., 47, C. King to M. Stone-Wigg, Mamba, 10 July 1900.
5 G. White, op. cit. 79.
opponents on Satan's side were not of the Papuan colour, but a paler sort, and the church should stand as a bulwark to resist the evil which development might bring in its train. ¹

To missionaries as to most Europeans, Christianity was an inextricable part of the whole process of civilization. Besides profiting from the benefits of commerce, it was thought, the weaker races would be improved by the blessings of religion. The evils of drink, disease and slavery which the white man had imposed upon the savage weighed heavily on the conscience of Victorian churchmen and they called for recompense. ² Whether the stronger race would use the weaker in New Guinea for good or ill was the Bishop of Sydney's question in 1887, for unless they recognized the true brotherhood of humanity they were sinning against God and would turn a merciful Father into a stern and righteous judge. ³

Missions then acted as a salve to the conscience of the colonizing power. Though not controlled by the civil authorities in Papua, they carried the government's warm approval and were

³ Church of England Messenger, Melbourne, 4 April 1887, 5.
regarded as its allies. The Anglicans moreover enjoyed the privileged status of an English episcopal mission, an asset which was especially evident while British New Guinea was linked directly with the imperial government. Generals, governors and peers gave patronage to the New Guinea Mission, and colonial officials often spoke from missionary platforms. By carrying the Gospel into the heathen wilderness; by being the conscience of citizens at home; by protecting the innocent against the abuses of profiteers; by convincing the savage of the necessity of salvation and civilization: the Anglican Mission was to be an enterprise in which imperialism, humanitarianism and evangelism were nicely blended.

1 While on fund-raising tours in the Australian states, Stone-Wigg’s postal address was often ‘Government House.’ (For example, see Eloquent Testimony in the Mansion House, [London, 1902], 1ff; G. Le Hunte to M. Stone-Wigg, Adelaide, 10 November 1906).
Imperial expansion in the minds of some Anglican churchmen, was not the mere result of mercantile necessity: it was simply the destiny to which Providence had called the English people. This exalted view of imperialism was held by Bishop Temple of London, to whom the British Empire was 'the beneficent purpose of the great Creator of the Universe who has given men the consciousness of the destiny and filled their hearts with a sense of mission'. This being the case, Governor Beauchamp of New South Wales could argue 'that as the empire extended, church principles should go hand in hand with it; that where the Empire went, there religion should go with it also.' Like Temple, Beauchamp thought that the subject peoples needed 'not only the Gospel of Trade, but the Gospel of love and Christianity.' For this reason, missionaries held they were in honour bound to carry the Cross alongside the Union Jack to distant Papua.

If some churchmen believed that the British Empire was ordained by Providence, the Empire had a more practical reason for believing in the mission of the British church. To Sir George Le Hunte, Lieutenant Governor of Papua (1899 - 1902) the reason for supporting religion was simple:

1 The Mission Field, Vol. 43, 506, London, January 1898
2 S. M. H. 21 August 1900
3 Ibid
4 A. K. Chignell, An Outpost in Papua, 334
If it were not for the Missions [said Le Hunte] I should have to present a yearly bill with figures three or four times as large as those I now have to present...we do save the British army a good deal in pounds, shillings and pence by working hand in hand with the Missions.¹

For this reason, said Sir Edmund Barton, contributors to the missionary enterprise were also assisting the Commonwealth of Australia.²

Not only by government patronage, but also through the alliance with the government agent in the field, was the missionary aware that he was taking part in an imperial mission. The anglicising of landform names in the northern region - Cape Nelson, Mount Trafalgar, Collingwood Bay and others - was a further reminder of the heroic element in the British tradition of which he was a part. Missionaries dwelt with pride upon their close association with the administration. Continually criticised by traders and the younger anthropologists, they were fond of citing MacGregor's opinion that the good the missionaries did was incalculably great³ and Murray's later dictum that missions were 'absolutely indispensable' and that without them, the native ran a risk of being wrecked in a sea of an alien civilization.⁴

A.K. Chignell drew attention to the close association between church and state:

---

¹ Eloquent Testimony in the Mansion House, London, 1902, 1 ff.
² Ibid.
⁴ Territory of Papua Annual Report 1923-1924, Appendix I.
Notice how the missionaries and the government officers work together. The former are always anxious to support the authority of the magistrates; and the latter know by experience that the force they are sometimes obliged to exert against wild savages must be supplemented by something gentler and finer. 1

Government agents, whatever their private opinions of their missionary neighbours, were aware that their Government's policy was to encourage missions, and usually viewed the work with sympathetic interest. They might not have understood the theological basis of religion, but they knew about the humanitarian work of the church and paid lip-service to the view that preaching the Gospel was of primary importance. With the coming of white men there had arrived measles, whooping cough, throat infection and other trivial complaints which often attacked the native with fatal violence. By 1934 hospitals at Dogura and Wanigela each were treating up to 50,000 native outpatients and 1,000 inpatients a year for yaws, ulcers, venereal disease and malaria. 2 The cottage hospitals at Ioma and Buna made good the mission's claim to be for Europeans as well as the Papuan. When the mission hospital on the Mamba goldfields was in danger of closure, three Australian governors and a field-marshal issued an appeal to save it, 3 evidence of Bishop Stone-Wigg's capacity for assiduous lobbying and the high esteem in which the mission was held in

1 O. P. 48/10.
3 O. P. 12/3.
vice-regal circles.

Another witness to the fruitful alliance between government and mission was the virtual disappearance of the grosser sanguinary customs among coastal Papuans. 'Wherever we go,' exclaimed Bishop Sharp, 'fighting and cannibalism have completely ceased.' Such a happy result, according to Sharp, was due to the work of mission and government combined. The absence of other serious crime near the stations also pointed to the humanitarian work of missionaries. At Boianai Francis Buchanan could write: 'Two years ago all was opposition, now all is friendliness. Two years ago murders and disturbances were common in the neighbourhood, now everything is quiet.' Visiting Boianai, a magistrate wrote of his surprise at the 'quiet and orderly conduct' of the villagers. This was in no small measure due to Buchanan. One of Stone-Wigg's first possessions at Dogura was the skull of a boy newly eaten by cannibals; but by 1913 cannibalism was described as a 'mere memory' in Goodenough Bay. Mukawa village, according to W. T. Hughes, R. M. at Baniara, was 'contented and happy' after thirteen years' labour by Samuel Tomlinson, and Chignell thought there was 'a very gentle and home-like atmosphere about the station.'

1 Diocese of New Guinea, Annual Report, Dogura, 1911.
2 F. de S. Buchanan, O.P. 68/4.
3 Resident Magistrate's Office to F. de S. Buchanan, Baniara, 8 April 1905.
4 M. Stone-Wigg, op. cit. 2.
5 G. Sharp, Address to Conference, Dogura, 1913.
6 W. T. Hughes, in Territory of Papua, Annual Report 1912-1913, 123.
monument erected to Tomlinson's memory by his congregation, inscribed with the words, 'He brought Peace'. Not only did missionaries help prevent crimes but they were useful in reporting skirmishes to the officers and in passing instructions to village constables.\(^1\) Sometimes circumspect in their opinions of magistrates, missionary writers nevertheless drew attention to the 'general good behaviour of the natives and their loyalty to the Government.'\(^2\)

Partly because the missionaries always followed a heavily-armed constabulary in a new area, and partly because a new station was never built without native consent, the mission could boast by 1910 that not one life had been lost,\(^3\) even though threats had been uttered from time to time. Without the presence of the constabulary however these threats might well have been carried into action. In the Cape Vogel peninsula the missionary accompanied the first patrol into the mountains;\(^4\) in the central Orokaiva plains however the servants of the Church arrived long after those of the government had established the *pax Britannica.*

---


2 C.S., 13 March 1914, 5.

3 A. K. Chignell, *An Outpost in Papua*, 333. See above Chapter II.

4 J. Hunt to G. Sharp, Mukawa 19 July 1918.
When Bishop Newton made a belated attempt to raise the flag of Anglicanism in the Hydrographer's Valley in 1924, he found government rest houses attended by friendly constables 'every ten miles' and the people well under government control.  

Even though the church was never forced to call in the constabulary to protect life and property, missionaries knew that favourable relations with government officers could help their cause in many incalculable ways. Mails had to be carried, boats had to be sometimes borrowed, boarded, and the lonely missionary was glad of a friendly visit from the officer. The magistrate for his part could take advantage of the missionary's familiarity with Papuan dialects in the detection of crimes and explaining of labour contracts. Both Tomlinson and Stone-Wigg were appointed Qualifying Officers by the administration to superintend indenture agreements between recruiters and village men.  

A lighthouse on Cape Vogel, the first marine light on the Papuan coast, was tended by missionaries from 1899 with fuel supplied by the government.

---

1 O.P. 76/2 ff.
2 Territory of Papua, Annual Report 1919-1920, 53.
3 F. R. Barton to M. Stone-Wigg, Samarai, 4 July 1905.
   A. Musgrave to M. Stone-Wigg, Port Moresby, 22 December 1898.
   A. Musgrave to M. Stone-Wigg, Port Moresby, 24 April, 1900.
4 T. M. Dauncey to M. Stone-Wigg, Brisbane, 10 March 1899;
   A. Musgrave to M. Stone-Wigg, Port Moresby, 2 August 1904;
   A. K. Chignell, 21 Years in Papua, 72.
Magistrate and missionary usually worked in separate geographical domains and there was little risk of an overlapping of authority. At Tufi, however, the Reverend Wilfred Abbott saw the government's need for houses as an opportunity for ecclesiastical influence which he seized without delay. Reporting to Dogura that he had 'undertaken to build houses at Teuffi (sic) for the Magistrate' Abbott explained his reasons:

1. It puts them under a great obligation to us.
2. It gives us plenty of trade to distribute among the natives...
3. It will help our prestige immensely as a mission station among them and I shall have no difficulty about school attendance...¹

Abbott's opportunism was unusual in a mission whose workers were accustomed to exercising more restraint. In practice, missionaries and government officials avoided becoming involved in one another's dealings with Papuan villagers and there were no attempt thereafter by one party to score over the other.

Just as missionaries tried to avoid public criticism of the government, so the officers emphasised instances of co-operation between state and church. Thus C. A. W. Monckton, Resident Magistrate at Tufi, climbed Mount Albert Edward, the highest peak in Papua, with P. J. Money of the Wanigela Mission, naming a lesser eminence Mount Stone-Wigg in honour of 'a great pioneer churchman'.² To this instance of cordiality Monckton's esteemed

---

¹ W. H. Abbott to M. Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, 15 February, 1900.
episcopal friend gave considerable publicity during his tour of Australia in 1906, where it was reported as far afield as Adelaide. To Monckton's chagrin the mountain was renamed Mount Murray after the Bishop's death in 1917.

Aware of the advantages of government support, missionaries were careful not to precipitate any public issue in which they and the government might be forced to take opposing sides. When a zealous church editor in Sydney claimed in 1908 that blackbirding was carried on in Papua with the sanction of the government, he was reprimanded by Newton on behalf of the New Guinea diocese. Referring to the report as 'a serious charge which could not be substantiated' since 'government officers tend to favour the native rather than the recruiter' Newton hoped that the editor was ready to supply evidence should legal action be taken. Since Newton had been a close friend of Hubert Murray since schooldays, and believed that it was 'the duty of the mission, and its wisdom, to work as much in harmony with the Government officers as possible,' such a response was entirely in character.

Newton's cordial relations with government officers sometimes seemed oddly at variance with the mission's claim

1 Adelaide Register, 10 November 1906, 2.
3 H. Newton to editor, Missionary Notes, Dogura, 16 March 1909.
4 Ibid.
to be the protector of the aboriginal people of Papua. In 1901 Stone-Wigg had complained to Lieutenant-Governor Le Hunte in private that magistrates sometimes 'screened one another' when there had been a miscarriage of justice, a claim which Le Hunte courteously but firmly rejected. 1 Two years later, however, Copland King stumbled into an affair involving a magistrate and a native girl at Ioma which threw the whole issue of government-church relations into confusion. C. A. W. Monckton's assistant magistrate on the goldfields, Walker, contrived to take sexual advantage of a girl by sending her husband, Iaide, away on government business. In King's words

   Walker...then commandeered the girl, who was very good-looking. His orderly, Aruba, fetched the girl to him every night and took his turn out of her afterwards. When Iaide came home he made a complaint to Walker that this orderly, Aruba, had been interfering with his wife.... Walker lectured Iaide for being jealous... Iaide then divorced his wife.... Walker then married her to Aruba, on the understanding that he should have the girl when he wanted her. The girl had been greatly attached to Iaide, and did not choose this second marriage.... Afterwards the couple were removed to Tufi, and there the husband, Aruba, threatened to shoot both Oelrichs and Monckton because they insisted on using the girl... Aruba was given four months in gaol.... Monckton spoke to Sir F. Winter about him, and said he was a most dangerous man, and should not have been left in the district... The boy.... was dismissed and sent home, and Bogabai, who now had become attached to her second husband, was left behind. He was willing to settle in her village; she was willing to go to his village: the Government would allow neither. 2

1 G. Le Hunte to M. Stone-Wigg, Samarai, 5 September 1901.
2 C. King to H. Newton, Mamba, 17 March 1903.
With the girl installed at Tufi, Monckton was able to enjoy her without interference, although King suspected that the arrangement was known to others in the government. King, however, was not filled with the ribald amusement with which Monckton's sexual escapade had no doubt seized his brother officers, but rather he was consumed with anxiety about the missionaries who had remained silent in the affair. He wrote at length to Newton at Dogura. Monckton was an influential supporter of the Anglican Mission and a personal friend of the bishop. The missionaries, on the other hand, being committed to a belief in personal continence, were constantly chastising native Christians who flouted the moral code. The bishop was absent overseas. Adding to the dilemma was the unsavoury nature of the Monckton affair. In these circumstances the two senior missionaries apparently decided that the best policy was to maintain silence.

The mission's failure to act represented a shift in emphasis away from the role of mediator between the two races to a more partisan position closely allied to the government officers. By closing ranks with the government and protecting Monckton the two missionaries had certainly avoided a scandal, but their neutrality must have laid bare the deepest distrust among the native population. With a suggestion of irony, King was writing to Dogura some time after the incident that Monckton had thrashed a village boy for stealing at the mission and had sent him to the
head station in order to reform his morals.\(^1\)

With memories such as these in the background, it is little wonder that missionaries and government officers avoided becoming involved in each other's dealings with village people. As a general rule the help of magistrates was not sought in conducting the affairs of the stations, even in the matter of irregular school attendances. A mission committee said in 1931 that missionaries might seek action at law when offences against government regulations had been committed 'but only as a last resort.'\(^2\) As Anglicans, moreover, they held a traditionally 'high' view of the church which emphasised the sovereignty of Christ over the Catholic religion and tended to regard intrusion by the state in church affairs as unwarranted.\(^3\)

Both government and church preferred their stations to be entirely separate. Along the coast mission buildings were erected at a distance from government residences and police barracks. Nowhere is this separation more vividly dramatised than at Cape Nelson, where the mission on the cliffs at Sefoa

---

1 C. King to M. Stone-Wigg, Ambasi, 2 May 1907. Monckton's attitude towards a government official in similar circumstances is interesting. He records, 'I was told... that Sir George (Le Hunte) and Sir Francis Winter were going to Samarai to hear... a charge laid by a missionary against Yaldwyn of outraging a native girl attached to the Mission. I was simply flabbergasted. 'I can't understand this at all!', I told Sir Francis, 'Yaldwyn is the last man in the Service to do anything brutal or unkind... There is something damned fishy about this business.' 'That is exactly what I think,' said Sir Francis, 'and that is why I want you to take the case.' [Yaldwyn, a junior officer, later died at Samarai.]


3 See below. 157.
gazes across a deep fiord at the government settlement on the heights of Tufi. These geographical obstacles rendered impossible the idea of integrated white communities in northern Papua and undoubtedly encouraged the growth of inward-looking groups of people with a fortress-like mentality. In such situations each enclave regarded the other as 'foreign.'

The missionaries wished to rule their own house in their own way with a minimum of outside interference. An unusual incident at Sefoa in 1935 provided the Reverend A. H. Lambton with an opportunity to dispense justice himself and disregard the magistrate at Tufi. When a church acolyte, Lazarus, was discovered pilfering from the mission store, Lambton set up a tribunal on the station. After hearing the evidence against the boy, however, the church members decided upon castration as a suitable punishment. Appealing against the verdict, the priest

1 Disagreements between missionaries and government officers were alluded to in a circumspect manner and rarely appeared in mission journals. At Cape Nelson there is a contemporary record of a long quarrel between A. E. Cridland, Resident Magistrate at Tufi, and A. H. Lambton, missionary at Sefoa. This came to a head in 1935 when Cridland ordered Lambton's boarders to Tufi for a health inspection. Lambton called Cridland 'a damned nuisance' and 'a crude person.' The priest's smouldering resentment of the magistrate's peremptory messages culminated in a pastoral visit to the residency on the cliffs opposite the mission, when Lambton enquired into the state of Mrs Cridland's soul. According to Lambton, Mrs Cridland then 'scoffed about God' and called God 'a dirty God.' Lambton's successor, the Reverend Robert Jones, also fell foul of the Tufi government. When a native teacher was gaoled in 1941 after what Jones considered an unfair trial, he wondered whether the Papuans at Tufi would be 'any worse off under Japanese control.' Affairs at Sefoa seem to have been exceptionally acrimonious. One journal writer regarded the Sefoa Log as 'a disgrace.' (Sefoa Log, 17 September 1934, ibid. 9 December 1935, ibid. 15 April 1941, ibid. 22 February 1942).
recommended a lighter sentence. Then the congregation, 'after much talk and deep thought' uttered a second, lighter sentence: 'the boy had to have his hair cut off.' A relieved Lazarus was 'quite willing' to suffer this punishment rather than go to the government at Tufi. ¹ There was no record of any further ecclesiastical tribunals at Sefoa.

When government and church came into conflict, it was not because either party desired it but because a Papuan had lodged an appeal with each. No other issue caused greater confusion than matrimony, in which village society had its own regulations and both church and state had promulgated laws. ² Sometimes a marriage dispute was taken to the magistrate, sometimes to the missionary, and occasionally it was taken to both. ³ Many instances of incongruity between the judgments of each were recorded in mission journals, but perhaps the best illustration was the marriage of Reuben at Emo in 1923. Reuben, a Christian boy in a southern Orokaiva village, wished to take a young catechumen to wife. The missionary, F.R. Elder,

---

¹ Sefoa Log, 24 December 1935.
² While canon law regarded marriage as a sacrament and indissoluble in any circumstances yet the church upheld the principle that 'consent makes marriage' and regarded as valid any marriage resting merely on the agreement of the parties. Married converts therefore were not remarried but had their marriages blessed. (I.R.M., Vol.xxiv, xxx, no. 95 July 1935).
³ See Sefoa Log, 17 September 1934, 2 August 1934.
advised the boy to delay the marriage until the girl should be baptised. Upon hearing this, Reuben and the girl eloped with the consent of the village elders and applied to C. T. Wurth, the Resident Magistrate at Buna, for permission to marry. According to Reuben, Wurth threatened the boy with six months' gaol if he did not return the girl, probably because she was below the legal age of consent.

Reuben and the girl then returned to Emo. Relenting of his severity, Elder promised to marry the couple. Upon hearing of this, Wurth, realizing that his instructions were being countermanded, told the missionary that he would be better to mind his own business. After further reflection, Wurth relaxed his opposition and sent permission for Elder to perform the ceremony. By this time however Bishop Newton's opinion had been sent for. The bishop returned the judgment that Reuben could not be married under canon law.

To avoid becoming involved in such Gilbertian proceedings the church had instituted a system of spiritual rules and penalties

1 The New Guinea Mission discouraged mixed marriages (contracts between Christian and non-Christian) on the grounds that if the non-Christian partner deserted the Christian could not remarry. The privilegium Paulinum, enabling the Christian to regard such a marriage as dissolved and free to remarry, was not used in the Diocese. In such mixed marriages the Church appeared to lose more than it gained because such deserted Christian partners often took new partners in native ceremonies. (see also W. Light, Report of the Committee on Marriage, Dogura 1931; R. Davidson, The Five Lambeth Conferences 1867-1920, London 1929, 89; E. F. Russell, The Life of Charles Alan Smythies, Bishop of the U, M, C, A., London, 1898, 50 ff.

2 16 Years of Age in Papua.

3 F. R. Elder to H. Newton, Emo, 27 November 1923.
in 1917. The type of penalty varied with the gravity of the offence, from temporary suspension from the congregation to complete excommunication. The Papuan Christians became aware that there were two types of penalty which they knew as 'mission punishment' and 'government punishment.' Sometimes the two were inflicted concurrently, as when an unlucky wife-stealer at Boianai was excommunicated firstly by the church and then imprisoned by the government. Of the two mission punishment was commonly regarded as the lighter, but this depended on the disposition of the missionary. F. R. Elder thrashed schoolboys for fornication, and R. H. Dakers administered punishment with a rope's end for the same offence, whereas other missionaries never resorted to corporal punishment. The general consensus seems to have been that corporal punishment was unchristian and ungentlemanly. When the Reverend W. H. Abbott was alleged to have struck a Melanesian teacher, Fred Menema, for committing adultery, Bishop Stone-Wigg accused him of 'behaving more like a madman than a gentleman, much less a priest' adding later, 'for God's sake pull yourself up.'

1 G. Sharp, *op. cit.*, 14
2 Ibid.
3 A. P. Jennings to H. Newton, Boianai, 20 August, 1922.
4 Interview with W. Suja, Kakendetta; Interview with Parminus Gambae, Ambasi, 3 March 1968.
5 F. R. Elder to H. Newton, Emo, 21 August 1922; 28 December 1922, R. H. Dakers to M. Stone-Wigg, Taupota, 15 January 1901.
Copland King later reported that Abbott had mended his ways and hoped that his successor would 'rule by love rather than by fear in future.'

There were in policy and personality, then, occasional differences between missionaries and officers, but these were incidental to the main theme. The proconsuls of Papua were wholly in favour of the idea of missions, the government endorsed their humanitarian work with financial grants, and the duty of the magistrate in the field was obvious. The missionaries were British and constantly inculcated the sentiments of loyalty to the Monarch and obedience to the government. Just as missionaries supported the administration, so the personal preference of the Anglicans was for an autocratic system of government, in harmony with the paternalist ideas of the day, in which a nominated executive both made and administered the laws.

When the executive seemed motivated by high moral purpose, as did that of MacGregor and Murray, they supported it enthusiastically: MacGregor, said the Anglicans, was 'the greatest friend the Papuan ever had.'

The planting and commercial community were regarded in a different light. The missionary sometimes suspected that the planters and businessmen thought of missions as a mere tool

1 C. King to M. Stone-Wigg, Mamba, 13 February 1900.
3 See S. R. M. Gill to P. N. W. Strong, Dobodura, 11 February 1943.
4 O. P. 21/2.
towards a political end, the subjugation of a native race to economic interests. The rare public utterances on missions made by spokesmen for the white settlers were not reassuring. One prominent editor wrote:

If these New Guinea savages are to be 'Christianized' it does not matter in the least what section of the church does the job. The important thing is that they shall be taught respect for the white man and the white man's code of morals.¹

Another writer attributed the diminishing respect of natives for Europeans to 'the missions, with their "all men are equal" theory. Their "brothering" mode of address does not protect the white prestige.'²

Two issues, land and the Papuan Legislature, crystallised missionary suspicions of the intentions of the settlers. Although advocating the leasing of waste land to white developers, the Anglican missionaries were implacably opposed to the permanent alienation of the Papuan's land. When the Royal Commission of 1907 recommended that the Crown acquire unoccupied land by compulsory purchase, Bishop Stone-Wigg branded the suggestion as reprehensible as the dispossessing of the Australian aborigines:

---

¹ Editor, P.I.M., June 1936.

² P.I.M., May 1936, 30.
Australian politicians (said Stone-Wigg) spoke of Australia as being a white man's country. He had nothing to say against that, if it was the wish of the people. But if they wished to take from the Papuans their land rights in New Guinea, and make it a white man's country ... the action was too detestable to be referred to in simple language.  

These warnings were misplaced. The waste land was not in fact sold to Europeans, but was converted into Crown land.

Thirteen years later, the question of representation in a Legislative Council of Papua was debated. A proposal that the white residents should elect representatives to a Legislative Council in 1920 met with opposition by the religious communities. Pointing out that the Papuans outnumbered Europeans 'by thirty to one' the Australian Board of Missions declared that the system of government was satisfactory, at present,

We cannot allow that this system continues to be satisfactory when, with no representation of native interests, the European residents sit at the council table to make laws for the natives, which the government must administer.  

1 Brisbane Courier, 21 June 1907. Brisbane Telegraph, 21 June 1907. See also W. G. Lawes in The Australian Christian World, 28 June, 1907

Since the commercial community based its claim for the franchise on the European contribution to revenue, the Anglicans contended that as the natives were taxed, they should also be represented in the legislature. The Australian Board of Missions argued that the government should hold a 'judicial position' on the council, favouring neither European nor Papuan, and holding, in effect, a balance between the planters and the natives.\(^1\) Further, the L.M.S., Anglicans, Methodists and the Kwato Mission shrewdly proposed that the Papuans appointed be nominated by the government from a list prepared by the missionary societies representing the native interest.\(^2\) Eventually the issue became a stalemate and the proposal was shelved.

Missionaries were constantly on the alert for what they regarded as exploitation of the native. The Anglicans in particular were fearful of the effect which any contact with Europeans might have on the native. So anxious were they to shield the Papuan

\(^1\) C.S. 24 December 1920; C.S. 25 November 1921.

Christian from western influence that they were sometimes unwilling

to allow him to see Europeans at worship. 'God forbid,' exclaimed
Sharp when it was suggested that Papuan boys accompany Gill to
Europe to visit the cathedrals and see the worship of the congregations.

The visits of mission students to Australia caused the clergy much

anxiety. One said that in Townsville,

The greatest care had to be taken to hide from them
the comparatively low level of devotion of their white
brethren; so they were nearly always taken to the
Bishop's Lodge, where in the Chapel they would
suffer no shock.

While in theory the Anglicans were in favour of the material
development of the native people, they could not bring themselves
wholly to welcome the changes which increasing contact with
Europeans might bring to Papua. Bishop Feetham's opinion that
the Papuans should be allowed to continue their simple village life
for another two or three generations surely echoed the convictions

1 quoted in F.R. Elder, Paper on the use of Wedauan, Emo, c 1923.
2 J. Norman, Life's Varied Scenes (Ilfracombe, undated) 35.
3 J.O. Feetham, From Samarai to Ambasi 11.
of most missionaries. Thus the advance of civilization was both hailed and deprecated. One priest believed that the people in his village were happier in 1910 than they had ever been or ever would be again. It was a 'golden age' for the people of the coast. ¹ 'But all this will pass,' said A. J. Thompson, 'as the chariot of commerce passes on its way, and its wheels leave their heavy mark.'²

IN 1941 Henry Newton was an old man. He had worked in Papua for forty-two years. At the end of his life he confided to a priest that he regretted the day he had ever come to Papua as bishop when all the staff had not voted for him.³ But this was the judgment of 'an elderly man, dusty and frightfully weary, trudging along a track on a broiling hot day.'⁴ A younger man, Philip Strong, now held Newton's See. Desiring to promote the idea of the brotherhood of men in the faith, Strong had held a sacred synod at Dogura in which

---

² O. P. 87/6
³ interview with Oliver Brady, Melbourne, 15 February, 1970.
⁴ O. P. 78/4.
Papuan and European clergy had sat together for the first time. But Newton's work had not been in vain. On the day of Strong's enthronement in the concrete cathedral at Dogura he had received delegates from every part of the northern coast of Papua from the Upper Mamba to Samarai. The *pax Anglicana* had been spread thinly but widely.

The approach of war from the north-east forced missionaries to take stock of their position. For Bishop Strong the decision was already made. 'Whatever others may do,' he broadcast to his staff, 'we cannot leave. We shall stand by our trust. We shall stand by our vocation.' At Samarai in December 1941 A.H. Thompson received an unusually large packet of quinine - 1000 ounces - enough, he calculated, to last a band of besieged missionaries for three years. Work at the stations of Gona and Sangara continued

---

1 O.P. 110/5
2 S.R.M. Gill to E. Gill, Mamba, 17 February 1937.
3 full text, see D. Tomkins and B. Hughes, *The Road From Gona* (Sydney 1969) 28.
4 P.I.M. July 1942,16
as usual. On Sunday the Eleventh of January Japanese naval forces were moving towards Rabaul, but at Sefoa a new church was being opened and Mass sung to a setting by Merbecke. 1 When Sefoa School opened a fortnight later the children sang the National Anthem on the cliffs overlooking the fiord. 2 Looking out to sea from the ramparts of Cape Nelson on the Sixteenth of February, the Reverend Robert Jones realized that the future of Papua was uncertain, but comforted himself with the prophecy that it would always remain British. 3 Several weeks later the holocaust broke.

---

1 Sefoa Log, 11 January 1942.
2 ibid. 28 January 1942.
3 ibid. 16 February 1942.
THE first fifty years of Anglican church work in Papua had seen the realization of some of its objects and the failure to achieve others. Conversion to Christianity had not overthrown the pattern of traditional beliefs by which the Papuan lived. Rather, the traditional beliefs were now overlaid by new codes of behaviour and religious attitudes taught by the missionary. In some places, for example, there had been a continuation of feuding between converted groups and a reversion to sorcery among some church members. The mission had failed to provide all the people of northern Papua with a unifying language, and had not exploited the propensities of the Papuans for trade. Opportunities were lost which would have enabled the northern Papuans to adapt themselves more readily to a secular world.

Real as the failures of the mission were, there had been significant achievements. With a paltry staff, and funds that were grossly inadequate, the mission had provided a measure of western education to many thousands of children, and by its work had opened ways of communication between the villager and the modern world. Through common membership in an organization which transcended barriers of kinship the northern Papuans were gradually being equipped to take control of their own affairs.
APPENDIX I

ANGLICAN MISSIONARIES TO NEW GUINEA 1891 - 1941.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Arrived</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Died</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maclaren, The Reverend Albert</td>
<td>10 August 1891</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King, The Reverend Copland</td>
<td>10 August 1891</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomlinson, Samuel</td>
<td>October 1891</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomlinson, Elizabeth</td>
<td>October 1891</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennedy, C.E.</td>
<td>October 1891</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elwin, C.B.</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray, The Reverend W.H.</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray, Miss</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLaughlin, Miss</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoare, S.</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reynolds, The Reverend J.A.</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomson, Nurse</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, E.H.</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone-Wigg, The Right Reverend Montagu</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbott, The Reverend Wilfred</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sully, Miss</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakers, R.H.</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayley, W.</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sage, C.</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foott, A.B.</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrose, F.</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hines, The Reverend F.</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerr, Miss</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton, The Reverend Henry</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Arrived</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buchanan, Francis de S.</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oliver, Laura</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramsay, F.W.</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smithson, F.</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernau, The Reverend F.A.</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirrat, J.B.</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td>1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartleman, Miss</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giblin, E.L.</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challman, Miss</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synge, Miss</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McMullen, W.</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford, Sydney</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money, Percy</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaw, P.C.</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combley, Nurse</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, The Reverend E.W.</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nowland, Nurse</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td>1934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton, Nurse</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarth, Miss</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodds, Norman</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams, Miss</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cottingham, Miss A.M.</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
<td>1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnett, T.A.</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morris, George</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunt, The Reverend John</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>returned</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramsay, Mrs</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffiths, Miss</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Arrived</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downton, G. E.</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fettell, Mr. N.</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drury, Mr. L. B.</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peut, Miss</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearce, Mr. J.</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chignell, The Reverend A. K.</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gill, S. R. M.</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, Miss</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davies, Mr E. O.</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winterbottom, Miss</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharp, The Right Reverend G.</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland, Henry</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor, A. J.</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rattigan, Nurse</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parrish, Miss</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robson, Nurse</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grasby, Nurse</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robson, Miss C.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Mr J.</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder, The Reverend F. R.</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisher, The Reverend J. E. J.</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bechervaise, Miss</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>returned 1920</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>returned 1948</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, The Reverend Colin</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leck, The Reverend Robert</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leck, Mrs</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitehead, Mr J. H.</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hullett, Miss</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Arrived</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forman, Miss</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percy, Miss</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessett, Miss</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jennings, The Reverend A.P.</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td></td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lance, Miss</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell, Miss</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornfield, Miss</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strover, Miss</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slade, Miss</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fielding, Miss</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint, The Reverend A.C.</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Miss N.</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren, The Reverend M.A.</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren, Mrs</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benfield, Mr. J.H.</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walldron, Nurse</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson, The Reverend James</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>returned 1937 1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson, Mrs</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, Mr Charles</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homer, Mr E.C.</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monypenny, Miss</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, The Reverend A.J.</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>returned 1956 1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, Mrs</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saunders, The Reverend L.</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saunders, Mrs</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christine, Sister</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Arrived</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellery, Mrs</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watson, Mr A.D.</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townson, Nurse Ilma</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McInnis, Miss</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, The Reverend H.</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Miss</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groom, Miss</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inman, Nita</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light, The Reverend Wilfred</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light, Mrs</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caswell, Lilian</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambton, The Reverend Harbord</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambton, Mrs</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Mr. C.</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howie, Miss O.</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher, Miss</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, Mr F.D.</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devitt, Miss</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>returned</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td></td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gill, Dr Cecil</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gill, Mrs</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peel, Miss</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Robert</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armitage, Mrs</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brook, Mr. J.</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brenchley, Nurse</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blake, Miss</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthews, The Reverend H.</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Arrived</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthews, Mrs</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mills, Nurse</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittleborough, The Reverend C.C.</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittleborough, Mrs</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent, Nurse</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder, Mrs</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarrington, The Reverend E.C.</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodger, The Reverend J.D.</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver, Mr C.</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willoughby, Nurse Lucy</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downing, Miss</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lane, The Reverend F.H.T.</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lane, Mrs F.H.T.</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lashmar, Miss Lilla</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner, Miss M.</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, Mrs H.</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grimaldi, Miss</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayle, Nurse</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohnke, Mr E.R.H.</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthews, Miss</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacGranahan, Dr W.H.</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacGranahan, Mrs</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aston, The Reverend C.W. Whonsbon</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halligan, Nurse</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, The Reverend W.T.</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Mrs</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Arrived</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arliss, Nurse</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigott, Miss V.</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckland, Mr A.H</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eather, Miss</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekwick, Morva</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas, Mr. J.</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayman, Nurse</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong, The Right Reverend P.N.W.</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest, The Reverend C.A.</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodhouse, The Reverend C.</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodhouse, Mrs</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, The Reverend Dennis J.</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibbon, Miss M.</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomkins, Dorothea</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hirst, Mr P.</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salzmann, Mr J.</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, Miss E.</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlton, Sister M.</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Miss B.</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duffil, Mr J.S.</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, The Reverend E.K.</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graham, The Reverend H.A.D.</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wickham, Miss L.</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td></td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somerville, Ena</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redlich, The Reverend V.F.B.</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brady, The Reverend Oliver</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkinson, Mavis</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
<td>1942</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX II

### PAPUAN CLERGY 1914-1942

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deacon</th>
<th>Priest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter Rautamara</td>
<td>1914 1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin Nuagoro</td>
<td>1914 1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Tutuana</td>
<td>1916 1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Madouna</td>
<td>1916 1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Regita</td>
<td>1917 Perpetual Deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aidan Uwedo</td>
<td>1919 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Mairot</td>
<td>1919 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond Diala</td>
<td>1924 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Kerediredi</td>
<td>1925 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory Awui</td>
<td>1928 1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement Wadidika</td>
<td>1928 1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randolph Namuri</td>
<td>1935 1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyril Kawasari</td>
<td>1935 Perpetual Deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Livingstone Yariri</td>
<td>1935 1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simeon Burorosi</td>
<td>1935 1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos Paisawa</td>
<td>1937 1940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lester Raurela</td>
<td>1940 1942</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

# APPENDIX III

## SOUTH SEA ISLAND STAFF 1893-1952

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Arrived</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Arrived</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harry Mark</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Alfred Rerep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Muiwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Benjamin Saroa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Holi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Sivo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Tasso</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Thomas Terraboo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Mussen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Daniel Vili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Bourke</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>James Boga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Nogar</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Bartholemew Kara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy Gori</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Reuben Mottav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson Tar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Philip Nodi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Tatoo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel Siru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simeon Devi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Sukoku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy Gela</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Dow</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Petawa</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Mark Maravua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Kylu</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>William Maso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bekete</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Joseph Soso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bilo</td>
<td></td>
<td>William Tari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Lanae</td>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Abunnorie</td>
<td>1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrose Darra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Daniel Abriusa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Foli</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Lasmon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Albert Ipi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Lendear</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Lingling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Locar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Sokoku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Mataguni</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Gela</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Quy</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reuben Sukulman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES: CORRESPONDENCE

Dogura Archives

         F. R. Barton, 1905            W. R. Mounsey, 1901-1902
         C. E. Corlette, 1904          L. Oliver, 1917-1922
         A. Cottingham, 1918           G. Le Hunte, 1900-1903
         R. H. Dakers, 1903-1907       R. Hall, 1923-1924
         F. R. Elder, 1915-1922        H. Lambton, 1924-1935
         E. L. Giblin, 1906            P. J. Money, 1906-1907
         J. Hunt, 1916-1922            M. J. Stone-Wigg, 1900-1915
         H. Newton, 1899-1942          Notebook 1898-1905
         A. P. Jennings, 1922-1930     W. Sage, 1901-1903
         C. King, 1899-1917            A. J. Thompson, 1922-1940
         W. Light, 1927-1930           F. Walldron, 1922-1925

Private Collection of Canon W. G. Thomas

Letters of Samuel and Elizabeth Tomlinson, 1891-1898

Private Collection of The Hon. Olive Gill


A. B. M. Archives, Sydney

Letters of J. Jones 1915-1920
         J. S. Needham, 1930-1940
         H. Newton, 1899-1942
         M. Parkinson, 1941-1942
         G. Sharp, 1910-1921
         P. N. W. Strong, 1937-1942
         G. White, 1900-1930

Lambeth Palace Archives, London

Letters of A. A. Maclaren, 1888-1891  Letters of W. Webber, 1895-1899
Abbott, W. H. Losses Incurred by The Reverend W. H. Abbott
Armitage, F. B. Inspectors Report on Anglican Mission Schools. 1922
Australian Board of Missions, Annual Report 1910-1941
Benson, Gona Log. 1945-1952
M. de Bibra, Papuan Education. Sydney 1946
Lilian M. Caswell, Minutes of Education Committee. Dogura, 1917, 1930
Diocese of New Guinea, Annual Report 1899-1940
  Baptisms, Confirmations and Excommunications,
  Dogura 1910-1916
Eloquent Testimony in the Mansion House, Dogura 1902
Minutes of Committee appointed to enquire into Native Practices,
  Dogura, 1903
Oath of Allegiance for Priests
Occasional Paper; 1903-1951
Papuan Teachers' Examination for 1916
Paper of Conditions, c 1900
Report of Finance Committee  Dogura, 1931
Remuneration of Papuan Teachers  Dogura, 1917
S. R. M. Gill, Suggestions Relative to the Strengthening of the Native
  Church in Papua. Manau, 1922
  Notes re the Position on the Mamba River, 1924
Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the
  Attitude of the Mission towards the Government. Dogura, 1931
  Some Mementos of Past Years, 1937
A. P. Jennings, Report of a Committee appointed to Consider the
  Question of a future site for St. Aidan's College, Dogura, 1928
  Report of St. Aidan's College. Dogura, 1932, 1934
C. King, Statement re Languages in the New Guinea Mission.
  Dogura, 17 October, 1899
H. Lambton, Sefoa Log. 1931-1942
W. Light, A Suggestion for Widening the Scope and Future Usefulness of
  St. Aidan's College, Boianai 1930
W. Light, Report of Committee on Marriage, Boianai, 1931
W. Light, The Permanent Committee Report on the Relationship between
  Native Customs and Mission Teaching. Boianai, 1932
  Mission, London, 1900
G. Sharp, Address to White Staff Conference, 1913
G. Sharp, Prayer Book Revision in the Mission Field, 1918
M. J. Stone-Wigg, Contribution of Pacific Islands Races to the Fullness of the Church, 1905
M. J. Stone-Wigg, Constitution of Samarai School. 1899
M. J. Stone-Wigg, A See Without Endowment. Dogura, 1901
P. N. W. Strong, Out of Great Tribulation. Dogura, 1947
Address to The Armidale School. Armidale 6 December, 1967
S. Tomlinson, Remuneration of Papuan Teachers. Dogura 1917
INTERVIEWS

F. Atkinson. Port Moresby, 5 August 1967

Canon J. D. Bodger. Lae, 20 August, 1969
Popondetta, 3 September, 1969


The Right Reverend J. Chisholm. Dogura, 10-12 August, 1967

Parminas Gambae. Sangara, 3 March, 1968

Jethro Mamoinge. Sangara, 3 March, 1968

M. Kekwick. Dogura, 11 August 1967

The Right Reverend Henry Kendall. Popondetta, 12 May 1968

E. Manley. Brisbane, 23 January 1967

Columba Paisawa. Melbourne, 18 April, 1970

H. Palmer. Canberra, 7 January 1969

The Most Reverend P. N. W. Strong. Brisbane, 23 January 1967

Wilson Suja, M. H. A. Popondetta, 5 May 1968; 6 November 1968

Canon W. G. Thomas. Melbourne, 12 January 1965

The Reverend A. Uware. Agenahambo, 13 August 1968;
Popondetta, 1, 17, 23 November 1968

R. L. Williams, D. C. Popondetta, 4 June 1967

D. Marsh, D. C. Popondetta, 10 September 1968

L. Willoughby. Dandenong, 13 January 1965
SECONDARY SOURCES

C. Abel, Savage Life in New Guinea
J. Bodger, The Native Background to the Papuan Campaign. Sydney, 1944
The Book of Common Prayer. 1662
K. Bushell, Papuan Epic London, 1936
J. W. Burton, Modern Missions in the South Pacific. Sydney, 1949
J. Chalmers, Pioneering in New Guinea. London 1887
R. Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage. Kentucky, 1965
G. Cranswick and I. W. Shevill, A New Deal for Papua. Melbourne 1949
J. O. Feetham, From Samarai to Ambasi in the 'Whitkirk' Sydney, 1917
E. Gill, Autobiography. London, 1944
S. R. M. Gill, Some Mementos From Past Years. Sydney, 1947
N. H. Hardy and E. W. Elkington, The Savage South Seas. London, 1907
M. Hollis, Paternalism and the Church. London, 1962
J. C. Harris, Couriers of Christ. London, 1949
C. King, Copland King and His Papuan Friends. Sydney, 1934
P. Laurence, Road Belong Cargo. London, 1964
A. B. Lewis, The Melanesians, People of the South Pacific. Chicago, 1951
K. Mackay, Across Papua, Being an account of a voyage round, and a march across the Territory of Papua with the Royal Commission. London 1909

W. MacGregor, A Handbook of Information for Intending Settlers in British New Guinea. Brisbane, 1892

C.A.W. Monckton, Further Adventures of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate. London c.1914


C.A.W. Monckton, Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate. London, 1921

J.H.P. Murray, Papua or British New Guinea. London, 1912

J.H.P. Murray, Papua of Today, or an Australian Colony in the Making. London, 1925


J.V. Paton, Soldiers and Servants Under the Southern Cross

W.C. Pritchard, Papua: Its History, Inhabitants and Physical Features London, 1911


H. Romilly, From My Verandah in New Guinea: Sketches and Traditions. London 1889


E.B. Riley, Among Papuan Headhunters. London, 1925


M. Staniforth Smith, Handbook of the Territory of Papua. Port Moresby, 1907


M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Pauans: A People of the South Pacific, with Late Additions by the Right Reverend H. Newton. Sydney, 1933

O. Stone, A Few Months in New Guinea. London, 1880

G. Souter, New Guinea: The Lost Unknown. Sydney, 1963

F. Synge, Albert Maclaren. Pioneer Missionary to New Guinea. London 1908

D. Tomkins and B. Hughes, The Road From Gona. Sydney, 1969
G. White, Round About the Torres Straits London, 1917
G. White, A Pioneer of Papua. Sydney, 1929
G. White, Francis de Sales Buchanan. Sydney, 1923
C. Wilson, The Wake of the Southern Cross London, 1932
F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Society. Oxford, 1930
F. E. Williams, Orokaiva Magic. Oxford, 1928
F. E. Williams, Papuans of the Trans Fly Oxford 1936
F. E. Williams, Drama of Orokolo Oxford, 1940
NEWSPAPERS & PERIODICALS.

Adelaide Register 1906
Australian Christian World 1907
Australian Church Commonwealth 1900
Australian Board of Missions Review 1917-1970
Bathurst Church News 1898
Brisbane Telegraph 1900
Church Family News London 1900
Church of England Messenger Melbourne 1888, 1890
Church Standard 1910-1950
International Review of Missions 1930-1950
Maryborough Standard 1903
Melbourne Age. 1903, 1905
Melbourne Argus 1903, 1905
Pacific Islands Monthly. 1933-1942
South Pacific Post 1950-1960
Sydney Daily Telegraph 1891
Sydney Morning Herald 1891-1941
Townsville Daily Bulletin 1907
The Mission Field London 1898
Francis, N. W.  Education in New Guinea. unpublished B. Ed. thesis  
Melbourne 1938

Gunson, W. N  Evangelical Missions in the South Seas 1797 - 1860  

Hilliard, D.  Protestant Missions in the Solomon Islands  

Pearse, R.  Education for Advancement in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. An account of the policies and practice in education since 1946, and an analysis of the present need for education to contribute to economic and political advancement.  

unpublished M.A. thesis (anthrop.) Sydney, 1952

Roe, M.  A History of South Eastern Papua to 1930  

Villiers,  Education in Papua and New Guinea.  
unpublished M Ed thesis, Melbourne, 1951