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EVANGELICAL MISSIONARIES IN THE SOUTH SEAS

1797 - 1860

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A Thesis submitted  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

W. N. Gunson

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The Research School of Pacific Studies  
The Australian National University  
1959.

Preface

The work of missionaries has an important place in the history of the South Seas. Missions have played a significant role in directing much of the current thinking of the South Sea islanders, and the traditions of Christian teaching have become as fully a part of the ideological background as the traditions of their own culture. Although the degree to which Christianity has affected the traditional ways of life varies from group to group, and from island to island, the total effect of Christianity has been to minimise the sanctions of the past, even if at times it has failed to exalt the spiritual authority of Christ.

The historian is not necessarily concerned with the moral problem of the "rightness" of missionaries being sent to non-Christian countries. He is more concerned with the success or failure of the missionaries to do what they set out to do, and with their management of the problems arising from their contact with other peoples and other ways of life. He must, before all, record change. The change that had taken place before 1860, in eastern Polynesia, was in most cases only half a change. A new culture had been grafted on to the old, but in other instances it appeared that a reorientation had simply been given to the old ways. It is the purpose of this study to show something of the mentality of the missionaries who sought to change the social systems of the South Seas.



The Evangelical missionary emerges as a special type of actor in the account of the relations between Europeans and native peoples. If, in the early years, he seems to fall into more categories, by the 1860s, by virtue of more uniform training, he had become somewhat stereotyped.

In relation to the role of the Evangelical missionary two other points might be made. The first is the development of a new mentality in the national scene. We see in the heredity and environment of the mission families, the growth and culture of a similar spirit to that Evangelical zeal which took the missionaries to the field. This spirit, reinjected back into the national life, has served as a powerful stimulus to progress. Out of the mission field came men who knew their own minds. It is surprising the number of distinguished and influential people, by no means restricted to the religious world, who derive immediately from the mission families, and who have enriched the national life.

Secondly, it might be observed that the impact of the Evangelical missionaries often provided the quickest way to self-assertion by the native peoples. In the world of culture conflict, which is in a sense, the world of Evangelical religion, the islander was given a beam to support himself against the tide of new concepts. Wherever that beam was grasped, the islander's potentials for self-assertion were increased.

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The first difficulty which the historian faces in writing any account of missionary history is that so much of what passes for history is written specifically as religious propaganda. The purpose of such writing is not to present the whole picture, but only that part of the whole which, it



is hoped, may aid the cause of religion. Some historical facts are accurately recorded, but because of the restricted purpose of the author, the reader can be deceived into drawing false conclusions simply because all has not been said. The Tahitian missionary historian, John Davies, was well aware that some missionary narratives gave false impressions, and he was determined to abide by more historical rules in his own writing. In a letter to the Rev. William Orme, whose writings in defence of the South Sea missions were a little too roseate, he denounced the propagandist authors.

"The doctrine of 'pious fraud' is hateful, let its abettors be who they may - nothing but truth will stand its ground at a future day. There is a way of stating things so as not to be false in itself, yet calculated to convey false impressions, to such as are inacquainted with all the circumstances."<sup>(1)</sup>

Notwithstanding that there are many reliable and authoritative histories written by men who have obviously believed that all historical events are subsidiary to the establishment of the Christian Church, the 'doctrine of pious fraud' has many subtle ways of insinuating itself, especially in biographical studies.

Another difficulty facing the historian is the unravelling of historical fact from the biased accounts of sectarian propaganda. This, of course, is not such a great problem when primary documentation for the period is both considerable and available.

There has also been a tendency amongst missionary societies to single out a few individuals whom they have decked up in great glory, not satisfied

(1) John Davies, 19 December 1829, L.M.S., South Seas Letters.

only in making them saints or martyrs, but in publishing many popular accounts of them, and in endeavouring to perpetuate their memory in ships and institutions. On the other hand, men of learned societies, anthropologists, historians and purely secular writers, have tended to eulogize certain missionaries whom they have believed to be apostles of a different light, of scientific methods and of learned curiosity. Hero-worship has a legitimate function in the inspiration of men, but the historian, who is not a biographer, must be careful to place the heroes in their right perspective, and to separate them from their mythology.

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The missionaries examined in this study are described as "Evangelical". Mission historians, such as Gustav Warneck, have previously used the term "Evangelical" to distinguish Protestant missionaries from Catholic ones. However, I have used the term in its more strictly historical sense.<sup>(1)</sup> The missionary movements with which this study is concerned stemmed directly from the great Evangelical or "Methodist" movement of the eighteenth century. The great missionary societies were the direct outcome of the preaching of the revivalists, Whitefield and Wesley. There were also certain definite doctrinal and methodistical characteristics associated with Evangelicalism, which were to be found in these missionary societies. First and foremost there was the preaching of the Atonement, the doctrine of the cross; there was an emphasis on the eternal peril of the soul; and there was an emphasis on the propagation of the Bible. Likewise the

(1) I have ignored a third and more restrictive use of the word, current at the beginning of the nineteenth century, synonymous with "Calvinist". Wesleyan missionary candidates were excluded by the L.M.S. because they were not "Evangelical".

missionaries were Evangelicals in that their sentiments were those which were promulgated from Exeter Hall, and which played such an important role in the shaping of British home and colonial policy during the nineteenth century.

The term "Puritan" has been purposely avoided as it was resented by the Evangelicals of the Church of England and by the various Methodist "connexions" who rightly defined the Puritan as being essentially a dissenter from the Church of England. However, in most respects, Evangelical doctrine is essentially Puritan doctrine. The Rev. S.C. Damon used the term "Puritan" to cover all the Protestant missions in the Pacific, but he admitted that he was stretching the term.

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As a result of reading the original letters and journals of the missionaries, I have tended to draw very little on the equally extensive published primary material. Many of the quotations have a vitality of their own which not only makes the historical enquiry real and satisfactory for us, but we are able to obtain clearer insight into the character of the writer which is so very much the object of this study. Consequently, I have let the missionaries speak for themselves whenever possible.

If, at times, the Tahitian mission seems to figure largely in the narrative, it must be borne in mind that this was the principal mission for the first thirty years, and that its history has a greater variety than that of the other fields. New Zealand and Hawaii, although both scenes of Evangelical missionary activity, have not been examined in any great detail, except for the purposes of comparison.

An account of the establishment of missions in the Pacific area has been subjoined as an appendix, as any attempt to arrange the material on a chronological basis in the text seemed to be unwise. Not only are there a great number of islands to consider, but most of the problems related to missionary attitudes were common to the whole period.

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It would be impossible to express adequately my acknowledgments to everyone who has helped, particularly Librarians and research officers. Miss Mary Walker of the A.B.C.F.M. and Miss Berenice Judd of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society have been informative correspondents. Miss Irene Fletcher of the L.M.S. has given me the benefit of her knowledge of the Society's archives and shown many kindnesses.

A particular debt of gratitude is felt towards the many descendants of missionaries with whom I have had either personal contact or correspondence, many of whom have supplied original manuscripts. In this respect I would like to thank Mrs. Elma C. Andrews of Auckland, Mrs. D.L. Riley of Canberra, Mr. L. Lawry Waterhouse and Dr. C.M. Churchward of Sydney(Waterhouse); Mrs. M.A. Carnachan of Auckland, Mr. Percy R. Henry (Henry and Orsmond); Mrs. Dorothy Walton of Queensland(Crook); Mr. Arthur E. Cadden, Miss Eleanor Cadden of Melbourne, Miss Gertrude Storey(Bicknell); Miss Elsie M. Pratt of Sydney(Bicknell and Pratt); Mrs. Clare Hall of Sydney(Hassall); Miss Etela Williams of Sydney(Williams); Miss Sadie Creagh and Mrs. Dorothy S. Maynard of Sydney(Buzacott and Creagh). I am also indebted to Mr. Hugh Williams of Hitchcock and Williams Ltd. for allowing me to see a short history of the Hardie and Hitchcock families



written by Mrs. Ida Oswald.

I am particularly grateful to the Rev. M.A. Gribble of Sydney for allowing me to use the Methodist Church collection housed at the Mitchell Library, and the Rev. Norman Cocks for allowing me to read Charter's Journal and other manuscripts. The Rev. D.W. Farr, former acting Warden of Camden College, N.S.W. also came to my assistance with some additional papers once in the possession of the Rev. L.E. Threlkeld.

Lastly, I must thank those historians who have been working on various aspects of South Seas history bearing on this subject, particularly the Rev. A.R. Tippett of Davui levu, Fiji, Mr. R.A. Derrick of Suva, and Principal L. Lockley of Cromwell College, Brisbane; and Dr. J.D. Freeman, Mr. R.P. Gilson, Mr. H.E. Maude, and Dr. C.W. Newbury of the Australian National University, all of whom have contributed by discussion and in indicating valuable sources. In this context I would also thank my supervisor, Professor J.W. Davidson who has given my draft his very careful attention, and whose criticism has been invaluable.

London 1959.

Source Material and the study of Mission History in the South Seas.

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The history of Christian missions has received particular attention from the commencement of the nineteenth century till the present day. An extensive body of literature has grown up, much of which is devoted to missions in the South Seas. Besides those works specifically concerned with Christian missions, there are many general works which record the impressions of voyagers and travellers. Most of those who came in contact with the missionaries either wrote glowing reports of their work or denounced them. Some were more carefully critical. Ministers at home wrote books on the nature of missions, and published sermons in support of missions. The theory and practice of missions was a favourite subject in Evangelical circles.

The most important sources are undoubtedly the writings, especially the private papers, of the missionaries themselves. By far the most of such documents are in manuscript collections, and together they represent a formidable body of knowledge on island life and mission affairs. Missionaries kept journals, wrote letters, carried on research, wrote memoirs, and even pursued scientific studies. Some missionaries wrote so much that they had to compile their own indexes.

The principal MS sources which I have used fall into two main categories, documents relating to the L.M.S. missions and those relating to the Wesleyan missions. Of the L.M.S. material kept in the archives of the L.M.S. in London I have found the letters of the missionaries to the Directors to be the most representative source. The journals of the L.M.S. missionaries

form an important supplement to these, and contain much detailed information which is nowhere else recorded. I have listed the journals separately in the Bibliography, not only to indicate the variety of these documents, but also to reveal their limited authorship. This might be gauged by comparing the list of missionaries with the list of authors recorded in the Bibliography. Whereas the letters give a fairly complete picture of the personalities and experiences of all the missionaries, the journals reflect the lives of a limited number only. The journals of J.M. Orsmond, for instance, give a detailed picture of island and missionary life seen by a man with definite prejudices, who was not afraid to commit his views, which were often unwelcome to the Directors, to writing. On the other hand, many of the missionaries did not send their journals to the Directors, only making occasional extracts. Fortunately, some of these more private journals are still held by descendants or form part of the collection in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Of the other official L.M.S. manuscripts, the Candidates' Papers have been invaluable. These fall into two main divisions; letters of recommendation, testimonials, medical and academic reports, and other personal papers (C.P.), and a more regular series of printed questions with answers written by the candidates (C.Q.) These official L.M.S. documents have been available on microfilm at the National Library, Canberra. (1) Besides this microfilmed material, I have used the large collections of L.M.S. material in the Mitchell Library. The principal collections are the Haweis Papers, many of which were reports sent home by

(1) Since coming to London in October 1958 I have been able to read other ms. documents in the L.M.S. archives. I have incorporated some of this material in the text.

early missionaries and retained in the family after the death of the Rev. Thomas Haweis, the "father" of the South Seas mission; a book of letters entitled South Sea Missions mostly relating to the missionaries Threlkeld, Barff and Buzacott, once in the possession of the Rev. Joseph King; the Hassall Papers and the Papers of Rowland Hassall, which are large letter-books containing many letters written from the missionaries to N.S.W.; the Papers of John Dunmore Lang and of Samuel Marsden. The journals of Pitman, and some additional journals of Orsmond are also important sources.

The Wesleyan source material is much more dispersed than the L.M.S. material. Due to the fact that the Australasian Conference took over the Wesleyan missions in the South Seas in 1855, a considerable body of material can be found in the archives of the Methodist Overseas Missions (M.O.M.) now housed in the Mitchell Library. Many of the official documents relating to the period before 1855 have been given by the Methodist Missionary Society in London to the Mitchell Library, whilst the same library has bought other official material which had been in private hands. The Mitchell Library also has photostat copies of most of the other material in London. There is other Wesleyan material in the Wesleyan archives in Fiji which I have been unable to see. This material is mostly post 1855, and much of it is duplicated in the reports sent to London. The Mitchell Library possibly possesses a greater number of Wesleyan private diaries than any other institution, and those of Thomas Williams, Lyth and Peter Turner are very comprehensive. I have also been fortunate in having access to a number of papers relating to the Waterhouse family.

Besides the considerable amount of primary material which is available, there must be other manuscripts still held in private hands unknown to research workers in the history and ethnology of the South Seas. It is probable that such material would not add very much knowledge to the quantity already available, but it would help in completing the biographical backgrounds of individual missionaries, the greatest of whom merit full studies.

Considering what has previously been written about the Rev. J.M. Orsmond of Tahiti, (1) especially as his own Society cast doubts on his statements, it is felt that some sort of defence or apology or even caution should be made for having frequently quoted his writings. Even his more devoted colleagues recognized that Orsmond's behaviour was often "eccentric and imprudent", at times he appears to have suffered from mental ill-health, and his emotions often got the better of his judgment, yet despite all this I feel that he was a much misunderstood man, and his actions, even when not in line with those of his brethren, were consistent with the ideals he professed on becoming a missionary. I must admit surprise at finding some of his most unexpected statements corroborated by some of the more prosaic of the missionaries.

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The historians of missions in the South Seas have been a distinguished company. Of the missionaries themselves who wrote, William Ellis stands out as one of the most interesting. Ellis had not only the advantage of having lived in several mission fields, but he had full access to the records of the L.M.S. Much of his material was supplied by his missionary friends, (1) e.g. Lovett, History of the L.M.S., I, 311.

and incorporated into his work with very little acknowledgment. Ellis was very much a derivative writer, and it is not surprising that John Dunmore Lang accused him of plagiarism.<sup>(1)</sup> Apart from his own works he supplied material for William Orme's Defence of Missions, and is said to have been the editor of Williams's Missionary Enterprises. Williams's original journal is extremely readable in itself, but Ellis was careful to exclude any material which he thought offensive to good taste, in the published version, and material was added which Lang claimed Ellis had appropriated without acknowledgment. Ellis's two works, Polynesian Researches, and the first volume of a History of the London Missionary Society, were themselves the principal sources for quite an extensive range of popular works on the South Sea missions.

A.W. Murray was another missionary historian. Most of his work was autobiographical in inspiration, and when he used material outside his experience he tended to rely on standardized sources rather than on original research. William Gill's Gems is also based largely on his own experience, but it is unique in that it sets out to give a history of the work of the native teachers. Its principal defect is that very few of the native missionaries are made to appear as real and vital persons, most of them remaining anonymous. W.W. Gill's work, all of it written long after the period of this study, belongs essentially to a later period. It is packed with scientific observation in the manner of Darwin or Müller, and although there are historical sections in his work, they are essentially of an anecdotal nature.

(1)Lang, Origin and Migrations(1877), 307-324.

The manuscript history of the Tahitian mission by John Davies should also be mentioned in this context. The Rev. W. Cowper of Sydney had suggested to his friends, Davies, Henry and Nott, that they should collaborate in writing a history of the mission. Davies finally undertook the task, and Nott read the draft. This work was never published, mainly because Ellis covered the same field in his own history.

Of the more professional or non-missionary historians, the principal names might be mentioned. Dr. John Campbell was perhaps a moralist rather than an historian. However, his Martyr of Erromanga and his Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions, to name two of his better known works, were a contribution to mission history. The Sheffield poet, Montgomery, should also be named as the editor of the Journals of the Rev. D. Tyerman and George Bennet. Ebenezer Prout, as the biographer of Williams, has given the current popular picture of that missionary. Mullens and Lang also commenced histories of the South Sea missions which are still in manuscript. Lang did not get beyond the first section although his other works contain missionary information and criticism.

Dr. Robert Steel was quite a scholarly historian of missions. Although he wrote several moral works - Doing Good and Lives Made Sublime by Faith and Works - which reveal his social limitations, his New Hebrides and Christian Missions is still a useful reference work, and his manuscript Life of A.W. Murray is the only attempt at a biography of that prominent missionary.

We should not neglect referring to the official historian of the L.M.S., the Rev. Richard Lovett. The section in his history devoted to the South

Seas mission is both comprehensive and fairly accurate. Although it makes no claims which cannot be substantiated, it naturally suffers from the limitations of all official histories. The Rev. Joseph King, an ex-missionary, was another later historian whose Ten Decades is a remarkably accurate and readable account of the early missions. His Christianity in Polynesia is a much lighter and more popular work in comparison with it.

Comparatively little historical work has been written on the early history of the L.M.S. in the South Seas, of recent years, apart from what has been included in general works on missions. The researches of the Rev. Principal Lockley of Cromwell College, Brisbane, have shown the extent of the contribution of the early missionaries to the cultural and educational development of N.S.W.

Of the Wesleyan missionaries, Calvert and Thomas Williams were the principal historians, and the work of the latter was mostly concerned with the Fijian people. Cargill, Hunt and Cross were careful biographers. George Stringer Rowe was undoubtedly the leading personality amongst the historians of the earlier period. His biographical studies, although of a very popular nature, contain his judgments of those whom he admired. Professor Henderson brought a more critical approach to the study of the Wesleyan mission in Fiji. Although mostly an impartial critic, Henderson occasionally allowed his prejudices against Evangelical theology to colour his work. Often his criticism is directed as much at Christian doctrine as at the Wesleyan missionaries. Henderson was familiar with most of the official primary material and the private manuscripts in the Mitchell Library, and consequently his work bears the stamp of authority.



The Rev. John Burton is one of the leading Wesleyan historians living today. Most of his work, however, is written in relation to the theory and development of missions, and his reliance on inaccurate secondary sources, in some instances, makes his otherwise valuable work sometimes unreliable. The Rev. A.R. Tippet of Davui levu, Fiji, is more essentially concerned with history as such, and his charge of the Methodist archives of the Fijian mission promises some works of interest in the future. Tippet's monograph, The Christian, which is a study of the Fijian Evangelical and the chiefly church in Fiji, 1835-1867, is a competent reconstruction of the early mission scene. Tippet seems inclined to the thesis that historians belong to two schools of thought, "theocratic" and "determinate or secular", and although his own work is very fairly presented, it is a little prejudiced by his conscious opposition to the "secular" historian.

A little might be said about the more general histories of South Sea missions. Dr. William Brown, although by no means the first of the modern historians of missions, applied considerable research and thought to the missions of the South Seas. His material was mostly taken from the published sources. His attitude was a considerably critical one, and must be admired in an Evangelical missionary secretary.

T.W.M. Marshall was an early historian of missions. His Christian Missions is largely a polemical work, his thesis being that Protestant missions were doomed to failure and to moral dissolution, whilst Catholic missions were destined to success. The work has the appearance of scholarly erudition, but it is cleverly contrived to throw discredit on Protestant

missions by careful selection and omission of the essential features of the missions concerned.

The standard histories of Warneck and Latourette have a general authority, but they cannot be expected to give very detailed accounts of each mission. Wright and Fry have written a popular account of the South Sea missions, but their anti-Puritan bias introduces a spirit of contumely into their narrative. By treating the missionaries as Puritans rather than as Evangelicals, they have given a colouring to the history which is misleading. A very useful little textbook containing the principal developments in South Sea missions is the Right Rev. Ian Shevill's Pacific Conquest.

Abbreviations and Glossary

A.B.C.F.M.	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
App.	Appointed
A.W.M.S.	Australian Wesleyan Missionary Society.
C.M.S.	Church Missionary Society.
C. P.	L.M.S., <u>Candidates' Papers.</u>
C. Q.	L.M.S., <u>Candidates' Questionnaires.</u>
D.N.Z.B.	<u>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.</u>
d. o.	daughter of
J.S.O.	<u>Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes.</u>
J.T.W.	Henderson (ed.), <u>Journal of Thomas Williams.</u>
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society.
<u>lotu</u>	noun and verb, used principally in Tonga, Samoa and Fiji meaning religion, or to adopt religion, usually the Christian religion. <u>lotu Tonga</u> = Wesleyan Methodism; <u>lotu Tahiti</u> = L.M.S. teaching; <u>lotu Pope</u> = Roman Catholicism.
M.L.	Mitchell Library, Sydney.
M.M.S.	Methodist Missionary Society, London.
M.O.M.	Methodist Overseas Missions, Sydney.
N. L.	National Library, Canberra.
N.S.W.	New South Wales.
O.O.M.	<u>Old Orsmond Manuscript</u> (see Orsmond in Bibliography).
P.R.H.	<u>Papers of Rowland Hassall</u> (see Hassall in Bibliography).
S.M.H.	<u>Sydney Morning Herald.</u>
S.S.J.	<u>L.M.S., South Seas Journals.</u>
S.S.L.	<u>L.M.S., South Seas Letters.</u>
S.S.M.	<u>South Sea Missions.</u>
W.C.	<u>Waterhouse Correspondence.</u>
W.M.M.	<u>Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.</u>
W.M.M.S.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

For other contractions used in the footnotes the Bibliography should be consulted.

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Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797 - 1860.

Part One

Social and Doctrinal Background

I

"The Gospel when preached by Missionaries holding Arminian sentiments has been made equally instrumental in raising the degraded Heathen, and bringing them to the saving knowledge of the true God, as when administered by the followers of Calvin. And the divine sanction with which the labours of each have been thus honoured has afforded demonstration that, notwithstanding their differences of opinion on some points, both hold the great and vital and saving doctrines of the Gospel".

Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1834, 201.

During the first half of the nineteenth century two ideas concerning race relationships, antagonistic to each other, and militant in nature, played an important role in the settlement and dealings of Europeans with dark skinned peoples. Both these ideas found actual and cathartic outlet in their most extreme form in the popular mind during the American Civil War. Both these ideas concerned the value of the personality and personal freedom of the dark skinned man. One view held that he was an inferior species doomed to extinction or to servitude, whilst the idealist view emphasised his common humanity and his right to personal liberties. At the beginning of the modern missionary era attitudes developed towards the African negro were largely those which were applied to the inhabitants of the South Seas. They might be called "indians" or "savages", and their colour might be a shade of copper, but for all that, they were "black men". Omai in England might have posed for Dr. Johnson's Rasselas or Angelo Soliman, the courtly negro favourite



of Joseph II of Austria.

John Williams, the missionary, in his Journal for 1832,<sup>(1)</sup> tells of a Sea Captain's reactions when told by some Polynesian teachers that they were of the same religion as himself. This man regarded it as an insult to his dignity to be regarded on any terms of equality with "savages", especially in religion. It is little wonder that laymen in the nineteenth century should have had such strong prejudices, when we consider the theological beliefs which were current in Europe from the days of discovery and exploration till the revival of missionary enthusiasm. It is important to distinguish between these theological ideas and the theories of evolution or survival which followed in their wake. The theological beliefs seem to have originated with the first continental reformers.<sup>(2)</sup> One of those beliefs was that the apostles had already carried the Gospel to all the various lands of the earth, and that all peoples had already been given the opportunity of accepting or rejecting it. Ursinus of Ratibon, a Lutheran divine, pronounced that "the Holy things of God are not to be cast before such dogs and swine."<sup>(3)</sup> Thus Christian charity would be wasted on those who were already martialled in the ranks of the devil.

It is needless to recapitulate here the various theological arguments put forward by Protestant divines to justify such seemingly un-Christian acts, as the extermination of American Indians and the support of the institution of slavery. Suffice it to say that it seemed to be

(1) Narrative of a Voyage.

(2) See particularly Warneck, Protestant Missions, 8-24, for discussion of the views of Luther and other Reformers.

(3) Findlay and Holdsworth, The History of the W.M.M.S., 25.

quite natural that the omnipotent Creator had decreed that the dark man should be in bondage either to Satan or to man, in consequence of some primal disobedience. Being in bond to Satan he was worthy of extermination, although like the beasts of the jungle, he was harmless enough if left to his own haunts. Being in bond to man there was some hope of reconciliation to God.

The view that the dark races were predestined to a life of bondage to man was a very real one. However, the view that world evangelisation had already taken place, and such kindred doctrines, were only taken seriously when missionary labour was not attempted, and when limited views of the nature of the world prevailed. Europeans had little knowledge of what lay beyond their horizons in the sixteenth century. We need look no further than the monsters which decorated the maps and pages of the geographers. The savage men on the periphery of their experience could not be supposed to possess the natural affections and rationality of the civilized man. The failure of the Calvinistic mission to Brazil no doubt assisted to perpetuate this view, although it was in part due to the opposition of Catholicism. (1)

When Protestant Europeans began to colonize, actual contact with various indigenous peoples led to a reconsideration of the missionary obligations of the Christian man. The old barriers were gradually broken down, not only by the exertions of several energetic missionaries,

(1) Phillip and Holsworth, The History of the W.M.I.S., 25.

(1) Warneck, Protestant Missions, 22-23; Brown, History of the Propagation, 1854, I, 1 - 6.

but also by the apparent successes which attended their labours. The work of John Eliot among the American Indians was to stimulate missionary enthusiasm for decades to come. It is true that most of this missionary work took place where colonists had actually settled or in areas into which Europeans were penetrating. Christianizing was a means to establish peace and a degree of security. In relation to areas where the European had no interests, there was still a great indifference, and the usual apology for this was that, as yet, God had not "opened a door". It was not until the Evangelical Revival that Protestants, especially the Calvinistic Evangelicals, were emancipated from this indifference.<sup>(1)</sup> It should also be observed that both Moravianism and Wesleyanism were essentially missionary in character, and mission work was carried out as being an essential function of the Church rather than as the work of associated Societies.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century very few Protestants believed that Christian salvation was the prerogative of the European, although many possibly believed in some sort of period of bondage, in consequence of some primal fall, to account for the many millions of dark skinned people who had died "without hope in the world". Many Christians were willing to condone slavery but they would not deny that the slave possessed an immortal soul. In fact, it is quite possible that the possession of slaves by earnest Christians of this type was responsible for a degree of missionary zeal, as it emphasized a relationship in which the missionary obligations of the "master" were obvious. The movement

(1)

I have examined this more fully in The Missionary Vocation.

to emancipate slaves was the outcome of belief in the equal rights of man. Christian humanitarianism existed within the slave-owning society just as it existed in the cause of abolition.

It would seem, then, that Protestant doctrine, harsh as it may have been in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was not responsible for the inhuman attitude towards many coloured peoples which was exhibited by many Europeans in the first half of the nineteenth century. Of course physical brutality can be explained in the light of human nature. The man with advantages and with something to gain is often callous and provoked to cruelty by his desires for self-aggrandisement. But separate from this there was a calculated theorizing, heir to the theology of Ursinus, which postulated such theories as the inevitable extinction of "barbarous species". It was conceded by many that some of the uncivilized peoples could be educated to reasonable standards, but a less hopeful attitude was adopted towards the more primitive peoples. Thus, Sir John Ross, in his Second Voyage to the Arctic Regions, asserted:

"Is it not the fate of the savage and the uncivilized on this earth to give way to the more cunning and the better informed, to knowledge and civilization? It is the order of the world, and the right one; nor will all the lamentations of a mawkish philanthropy, with its more absurd or censurable efforts, avail one jot against an order of things as wise as it is assuredly established." (1)

The missionary, L.E. Threlkeld, expressed horrified surprise at Hobart, when a man "boasted of shooting Blacks like Birds off the branches of trees on which they had climbed for refuge, no particular reason was given

(1) (I, 257) quoted Harris, The Great Commission, 365.

for such conduct, he appeared to consider them as a race of monkeys!"<sup>(1)</sup> Notwithstanding this reaction and the fact that he himself began the first significant aboriginal mission in N.S.W., Threlkeld and most of his colleagues tended to regard the Australian aboriginal as an inferior species which would in all likelihood die out. Marsden and most of the early L.M.S. missionaries gave up any idea of attempting to work amongst them. Although the Evangelical Protestants of the time were ardent humanitarians, they were by no means untouched by the prevalent racial views.

With those who held racial views, all attempts to understand were coloured by preconceived notions, the principal of which was a belief in the universal superiority of the white man, and his selection by Nature or Providence to have dominion over the entire world. The Evangelical Protestants who engaged in missionary activity were not without these colour prejudices, but most of them believed implicitly in the equal rights of man and were opposed to slavery and all forms of racial intimidation.

#### The Doctrine of Revival

The key to the understanding of most missionary activity is revivalism. Religious revivals are neither peculiar to Christianity nor periods of time, but it is apparent that they vary in magnitude. Christian revivals have occurred sporadically since the original Pentecost. The missionary movements of the last decades of the eighteenth century were the obvious results of the great Methodist Revival. Wesley and Whitefield are but

(1)

Threlkeld, 1817, Memoranda.

two of the great names who began the movement within the established Church of England, a movement which spread throughout the Dissenting Churches and led to the founding of separate "Connexions". From Wesley we are able to trace the missionary activities of his Connexion. From Whitefield we must surely derive the Baptist, London and Church Societies. It was Whitefield and his elder American contemporary, Jonathan Edwards, who, not only inaugurated a Calvinist revival, but were themselves types of missionary pioneers. That the moderate Calvinism of Fuller, Williams and Scott followed rapidly in the wake of the hyper-Calvinism of Whitefield and Edwards is a sure sign that the revivalism of the time was a reforming, processing and transforming phenomenon.

The concept of revival is not only important in the conversion and inspiration of the individual missionary so affected by the larger movement, but it is important in the whole function of his ministry. Revivalism invariably begets revivalism, but it does so in stages, and it is influenced strongly by physical circumstances.

To understand revivalism in the South Seas, it is necessary to clarify the distinctions between the doctrines of the Wesleyans and of the Calvinistic Evangelicals. Monsignor Knox has perhaps shown the essential differences more concisely and clearly than most authorities. The essential religious experience of revival, and of evangelical conversion generally, is the New Birth, being born again in the spirit. As Knox phrased it, this experience meant to Wesley "that you were then and there conscious of Christ having died for your sins, and of yourself as then and there accepted in Him; but nothing proved you would not have fallen away

from that faith in six months' time." For Whitefield, Knox declared, the experience "gave you the conviction that you were irrevocably sealed for heaven."<sup>(1)</sup>

Thus, although both schools of Revival thought taught the doctrine of the Atonement as the principal doctrine of Christianity, and although the essentials of their faith were the same, each placed a different emphasis on the Christian life. Wesleyans, in preaching the doctrine of entire sanctification, urged holiness of life above all other things. We find repeatedly in Wesleyan journals the renewal of the original experience of conversion. Soul-searching was much more exacting and there would appear to have been more recognized stages of faith and holiness. Calvinists, in preaching the allied, but slightly different, doctrine of the perseverance of the saints stressed the entire dependence on the gift of grace. Wesleyan critics suspected that such a belief was the natural beginning of Antinomianism, as people, convinced that they were saved, would pay less heed to the practice of the holy life. Certainly Antinomianism was more usually the outcome of a misapplied Calvinistic belief, but on the other hand, backsliding was a more common feature of the Wesleyan movement. In other words, in making provision for backsliding, Wesleyanism was less fair, psychologically, to weak characters. The faith of a Calvinist often enabled a weak man to overcome his former weaknesses through sheer belief in his salvation.

The Arminianism of Wesley and of the General Baptists was of less far-reaching importance than the Calvinism of the other Revival leaders.

(1) Knox, Enthusiasm, 495-496.

The Anglican Evangelicals, and the Evangelicals of the Independent, Presbyterian and Particular Baptist communions were all Calvinists, as were Whitefield's own Connexion, the Calvinistic Methodists, and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. Those missionary societies which derived from the Evangelical Revival were all basically Calvinistic, except the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Thus, in the South Seas, between 1797 and 1860, the London Missionary Society, which occupied the Society group and dependencies, the Cook Islands, most of Samoa, Niue, and the Loyalty Islands, was of more or less Calvinistic composition, as also was the American Board and the Hawaiian Missionary Society in Hawaii, the Marquesas and Micronesia. The C.M.S. in New Zealand was basically Calvinistic in its early formative period. So too were the Presbyterian communions represented in the New Hebrides. (1)

Apart from the difference of emphasis, the two principal exponents of revivalism were more in harmony than they sometimes cared to recognize. It is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between the Arminianism of the Wesleyan Methodists and the doctrine of some of those who claimed to be Moderate Calvinists. The Rev. Samuel Greatheed, who was one of the more prominent of the early Directors of the L.M.S., was little removed from the Arminians, and was quite opposed to the more rigid Calvinistic position of Dr. Haweis. (2) Greatheed resented the excommunication of the two Arminian brethren on board the Duff. However, the majority of the Calvinists were of the Rev. Augustus Toplady's opinion about Arminians,

(1) For the establishment of the missions see Appendix [ ]

(2)

Dr. John Campbell possessed Greatheed's copy of the Voyage of the Duff which Haweis had edited. Some of the marginal gloss is quoted by Campbell, Maritime Discovery, 281.



that they much questioned whether those who died Arminians could go to heaven, but certainly they would not be Arminians when they were in heaven! (1)

Both Wesleyans and Calvinists preached the doctrine of the cross or the Atonement as their principal gospel. They both called men to repentance and urged the sinful state of all men. It does not seem that preaching the wrath of God and hell-fire for the wicked was any more marked amongst the Calvinists than amongst the Wesleyans, inspite of the doctrine of reprobation held by some of the former.

In the mission field the most obvious differences were not doctrinal but differences of organization and worship. However, it might be said of the Wesleyans that admission to Church membership was less restricted than in Calvinistic stations, and that revivalism was a much more common feature of the religious life of the proselyte community.

(1) See Toplady, Works, IV, 287.

II

The Class Composition of the Missionaries

At the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the modern mission era, the social positions of the missionary and his South Sea subject were transposed. As far as polite society was concerned, unless perhaps in the salon of a Countess of Huntingdon or a Lady Anne Erskine, the missionary was thought of as a kind of tinker, who, as the Rev. Sydney Smith described him, could not look a gentleman in the face. This view was emphasized by those most opposed to missions. Jorgen Jorgensen, the Danish adventurer, said that no great discernment was required to see that the missionaries at Tahiti were "selected from the dregs of the people".

"They are deficient in address, and their behaviour is timid without being respectful. They look somewhat like humble petitioners at a gentleman's door, and it is easy to observe that they are men of no education, nor have ever conversed with any but the lowest classes of society." (1)

Similarly, Thomas Elley, the British Vice Consul at Tahiti (1826-1827) is said to have represented the missionaries to the Tahitian as "a Set of Tinkers having no bread to eat in England." (2)

On the other hand, although somewhat of a curiosity, the South Sea islander was regarded as the epitome of the natural man, a "noble savage" and fit companion for a king. The celebrated Omai was a lion in English society, and was received as a house guest in homes where many of the missionary candidates would have eaten with the servants.

(1) Jorgensen, State of Christianity, 15. This is misquoted in Clune and Stephensen, The Viking of Van Diemen's Land, 141.

(2) J.M.Orsmond, July 1829, S.S. Letters.

With few exceptions, the bulk of the Evangelical missionaries to the South Seas belonged to the lower middle classes. Even if their origins were sometimes very humble, they were quickly drawn into the ranks of the middle classes, because they began to acquire skills and began to save, and because they cultivated middle-class attitudes. They were not content to remain labourers. Technically, the best word with class connotations to describe the missionaries is a word which has now lost its nineteenth century meaning, the word "mechanic". The early nineteenth century was very much the age of the mechanic class, the latest addition to the lower ranks of the middle classes. It was from the ranks of the "godly mechanics" that most Evangelical missionaries were drawn.

Several of the poems of the Sheffield poet, Ebenezer Elliott, illustrate the life of the industrious mechanic extremely well.

"You seek the home of taste, and find  
The proud mechanic there,  
Rich as a King, and less a slave,  
Throned in his elbow-chair!  
Or on his sofa reading Locke,  
Beside his open door!  
Why start? - why envy worth like his  
The carpet on his floor?" (1)

In this verse, and indeed in the scant literature which we possess on the domestic life of the mechanic class, we see very clearly the results of a desire to "better oneself". The ideal of respectability, so long the prerogative of the middle classes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was postulated as an ideal for those who had been

(1) This verse is taken from The Home of Taste. The "home of taste" is also described in Saturday and The Summer House.

less fortunate in their birth, but who had the character to rise above their origins. In one sense the Evangelical Revival was responsible for this social emancipation of the lower classes. Evangelical religion had a greater appeal to the labouring man and simple artisan than had the Puritan "revival" on the "lower orders".

Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, we find a social class of humble origin which was already distinguishing itself from those who had not made the move upwards in the social hierarchy. "Respectability" became a much more important distinguishing mark than wealth, and a certain measure of independence was aimed at. Throughout the first half of the century, the education and enlargement of the mechanic class was nurtured by the establishment of various social institutions such as School Societies, Tract Societies and Mechanics Institutes. These aimed, not only at teaching mechanics the rudiments of education, but giving them the benefits of the higher learning. Lectures given at Mechanics Institutes were often comprehensive and of high standard. Popular magazines which disseminated scientific and polite knowledge did much to form the character of the new class. Special handbooks to polite behaviour were written, such as Mrs. Ellis's<sup>(1)</sup> series on "the Women of England". Because this section of society was so close to its origins, it appears to have been particularly class-conscious.

(1) Sarah Stickney, Quaker poetess and second wife of the missionary William Ellis.

In another verse of The Home of Taste, Ebenezer Elliott laments:

"Oh lift the workman's heart and mind  
Above low sensual sin!  
Give him a home! the home of taste!  
Outbid the house of gin!"

Elliott was primarily a social poet, a Radical who was not given to uttering devotional piety, and hence his evidence is of considerable value. It shows that the genius of the mechanic class was not wholly Evangelical. It was this desire to "outbid the house of gin", to escape from the shackles of social bondage, which gave so much zeal and vigorous character to the new class. We see this same drive translated into the doctrine of retribution or reparation, <sup>(1)</sup> the attempt by the Calvinistic missionary to atone for the past, the period of "hopelessness" before his conversion. Often this period of being enslaved to nature was painted in lurid colours because of the intensity of the mental conflict experienced by the convert. Greater force is given to this doctrine when placed in the social context.

The social doctrine of reparation was closely akin to the religious doctrine and, no doubt, the two were often simultaneous reactions. The mechanic resented his past subservience to all forms of tyranny symbolised by King Gin, one of the greatest of the social evils of the eighteenth century. His reaction, always with an eye to economy, tended to be one of abstinence; and self-discipline became a test of membership to the new class. The great Teetotal movement of the 1830s was one of the characterising features of this era. The emphasis of the Revivalists on the right use of time and on stewardship was naturally compatible with

(1) See The Missionary Vocation in which I have emphasized the importance of this doctrine.

the attempt to move into another social scale. Like the Puritans and Pietists of previous eras, the Evangelicals tended to make the best of two worlds, endeavouring to separate themselves from the "wasteful" uses of their surplus wealth. Wealth was reinvested or went to charitable causes. The Evangelical standard of living therefore was not high and the mechanic class and Evangelical religion were frequent bedfellows. Lifted out of the slough of despair the new mechanic put his hand to the plough and did not turn back. The institutions already mentioned brought co-operation, an outlet for personal realizations and a degree of personal freedom.

One of the results of this class "struggle", which had no mean influence on encouraging missionary activity, was the desire to convert one's sphere of influence and to reform one's trade. A story is told of John Hall, the father-in-law of the Rev. Charles Tucker of Tonga, in this connexion. (1) When Hall's father told him that he was to be apprenticed to a glazier, he protested that the trade was "not respectable". His father's reply to this was that it was for him to make the trade respectable. Hall believed himself to have achieved this when he could speak of his firm's "various branches of extended business and its great prosperity."

There was a tendency by Evangelicals to ascribe social betterment to the adoption of Christian principles alone, and this conviction led to the belief that civilization was the product of evangelisation and that missionary work alone could raise the standards of the "savage". This belief played an important part in shaping missionary policy.

(1) See White, Memoir of Mrs. Jane Tucker, 5.

The psychology of the new mechanic was an important factor in shaping the attitudes of the Evangelical missionaries. The mechanic class had, like the Puritans, "separated" itself from among its brethren. It was an artificial class in that it was distinguished largely by its way of life and not by economic differences. It existed as a kind of "better half" to its neighbours, and in some degree of conscious contrast. Like most intermediary classes, it required a lower class which acted alternately as recruiting ground and place of contrast. This need for a lower class was part of the psychology of Evangelical missionaries who substituted the "poor heathen" for the "lower orders".

The social origins of the missionaries themselves reveal the various stages of the rise in the social scale by way of the mechanic class. The London Missionary Society engaged 108<sup>(1)</sup> recognized missionaries in the South Seas up to and including the year 1860. Only two of these came out and did not remain. In addition to these men there were almost as many wives, who usually regarded themselves as being missionaries, together with their adult children, who often helped their parents until they obtained positions for themselves, or were sent to England or Australia. Likewise there were a number of Christian Europeans who did voluntary mission work connected with this Society.

Of the 108 missionaries, over 70 were ordained as pastors, and used the designation "Reverend". These included 64 men (including one surgeon) who were sent out ordained; two mechanic missionaries, two printers and one "Assistant missionary" who were ordained in the islands; and several

(1) A complete list of missionaries is given in Appendix V

mechanic missionaries who regarded their original charge as being equivalent to ordination, and consequently assumed pastoral duties and the designation "Reverend" when Churches had been formed under their auspices.

"As to our designation or ordination, for the words are of the same import," wrote William Henry, "I consider it one of the most solemn that ever took place since the days of the Apostles."<sup>(1)</sup>

Most of the remaining missionaries were regarded as mechanic missionaries, three were described as missionary artisans, one was a surgeon, another was a printer and two were teachers. There was also an "assistant missionary" who was not ordained. The ordained men were sent out for the express purpose of instructing the people amongst whom they were to live, in the principles of Christianity. The mechanic missionaries were also expected to instruct the people in their own particular skills. Some critics have felt that the occupations of some of the first mechanic missionaries were quite out of place in the South Seas. What, for instance, was the purpose served in sending out a tailor or a hatter? But this was not really the case. These men were hand-picked because of their basic Christian experience and zeal. Although, as mechanics, they each possessed individual skills, it was assumed that these skills were fairly readily acquired. It was also assumed that these mechanics would benefit from one another's experience. Furthermore, the "godly mechanics" of the L.M.S. went out on a different footing from those whom Marsden employed as mechanics in the service of the C.M.S., or those whom the L.M.S. sent out expressly as missionary artisans. These "godly mechanics" were expected to teach and act as catechists, and it was from these men that the pastors of the first

<sup>(1)</sup> Henry to W.P. Crook, 23 January 1828, quoted S.M.H., 23 February 1935.



Tahitian churches were drawn. On the other hand, most of the mechanics employed by Marsden had specific trades<sup>(1)</sup> to teach to the Maoris. Although some of these men were catechists, they were designed originally to "civilize" the Maoris, on the assumption that civilization would facilitate the introduction of Christianity. The L.M.S. believed rather that evangelisation was the most important thing, and that civilization would inevitably follow in its wake. Thus, missionary artisans as such were not sent out until after the nominal Christianization of Tahiti and the other Society Islands.

It has been generally assumed that the first missionaries sent to the South Seas by the L.M.S. were of an "inferior" type. to those later sent out. This opinion was based largely on the fact that the majority of them were not ordained and had not received any particular missionary training. This opinion was strengthened by the comments of the Rev. Samuel Marsden who had cause to criticise several of the less worthy missionaries.

However, it would appear that the first missionaries came from the same cross section of the lower middle and mechanic classes from which missionaries were drawn throughout the period. Nor does it appear that the missionaries of either the Wesleyan or Church Societies differed very greatly from those of the L.M.S. in class composition. Unlike the missionaries of the later formed Melanesian Mission, most of the Church missionaries were men of comparatively humble origin. Family connexions between (1) e.g. Bedggood (wheelwright), Cowell (twine-spinner), Edmonds (stonemason), Fairburn (carpenter), Hamlin (flaxdresser), Kemp (smith), etc.

members of the L.M.S. and the C.M.S. were not uncommon in the early years. (1)

The first missionaries of the Duff and the Royal Admiral suffer by comparison with the later brethren because they did not have the advantages of a course of missionary study and because the Society sent them out in special clothing which robbed them of the status to which they aspired.

"You have actually denied us the things which are necessary for maintaining respectability and insuring success," wrote Elder angrily in 1801, "...What has a greater tendency to refine, and make a people engaging in their manners (a thing so necessary in a missionary) than polite company and was it to be expected, that we would find admission into any such, when no better dressed than common Seamen. Your own Missionaries paid money out of their own Pockets, to the Taylors, and had their Clothes better than you allowed, but Mr. Scott and I knew nothing of this measure, nor of its necessity till we were at Sea. We were kept in a genteel Manner, in every respect when in Scotland, and we did not expect to be so much beworsted when under your Care." (2)

It should also be remembered that the first missionaries were less carefully selected and were wholly unfamiliar with the task before them. Most of them were extremely young. Certainly a few of them were not very good hands at writing or spelling, but at least they could write well enough to be understood, and there were men like them even after the establishment of a Missionary Seminary.

It is quite clear that, from the commencement of the Tahitian mission, the ordained missionaries were not regarded as having any ecclesiastical control over the others. The Rev. John Jefferson was actually excommunicated on board the Duff for expressing Arminian opinions, and his principal

(1) The L.M.S. missionaries Henry, Shelley, Orsmond, Steven and Macdonald had brothers-in-law attached to the C.M.S. in New Zealand; William Puckey was attached to the L.M.S. before he joined the C.M.S.

(2) J. Elder to Directors, May 1801, S.S. Journals, 11.

accuser had been a mechanic missionary. Nevertheless, the ordained men seem to have had better opportunities to study than the others. The Rev. Thomas Lewis was a pastor in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion; the other three ordained men received what might be termed "Evangelical" ordination, in that they were ordained at a ceremony in which ministers of the various Evangelical denominations took part.<sup>(1)</sup> Jefferson, despite the Duff incident, possessed qualities of leadership which determined his position as the principal figure in the mission until his death. He was also more experienced than the others, having been pastor of Fowey Chapel in Cornwall. According to W.P. Crook, the four ordained brethren were "appointed to preside during our voyage round three fourths of the globe, for the sake of order. But when we arrived in the islands we felt ourselves perfectly authorised to preach the gospel to the natives, to form our converts into churches, to preside in those churches and to administer the seals of the covenant."<sup>(2)</sup> Kelso and Harris were similarly ordained in the islands to minister to the other missionaries at Tonga and the Marquesas. It is interesting that when Bicknell was in England (1809-1810), Dr. Haweis recommended to the Rev. Matthew Wilks that he should be ordained, "as he would thereby be rendered more respectable in the eyes of his brethren; and the ordination appeared to be the more necessary, as there is now only one ordained Missionary remaining in the South Sea Mission."<sup>(3)</sup> Wilks, however, put his "decided negative" to

(1) See Evangelical Magazine, IV, (1796), 385.

(2) S.M.H., 23 February 1835.

(3) Fox, An Appeal, 80-81.

this recommendation. This is an interesting comment on the subject of ordination, and we may assume that those who were ordained belonged to a more intellectual or clerical section of the middle class. Men like Bicknell and Nott were representative of the more humble classes. Their letters betray a very rudimentary knowledge of writing and spelling, although Nott, who was much younger, made great strides in self-education. Bicknell, who was a member of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, was a house carpenter, sawyer and wheelwright. Nott was a Congregationalist from Birmingham and had been a bricklayer.

A high proportion of the first missionaries to Tahiti were Calvinistic Methodists and Presbyterians. William Henry, a carpenter and joiner, was converted by one of the Countess of Huntingdon's ministers at Sligo. Henry was better educated than most of the other Duff missionaries, but it is highly improbable that he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, (1) as family tradition affirms. This tradition is most likely based on his friendship with the Rev. John Walker of Dublin, who was a Fellow of Trinity College, and was one of the Directors of the L.M.S. for Ireland. Walker may well have given Henry some private tuition. Walker was one of the leading Evangelical clergymen in Ireland, and finally left the established Church to follow his own denomination known as the "Church of God" which laid special emphasis on the Calvinistic view of election. (2)

(1) His name is not recorded in the Alumni Dublinenses, 1593-1860.

(2) Also known as 'Separatists' and 'Walkerites', a forerunner of the Plymouth Brethren.

Henry himself was a rigid Calvinist. He was also very much attached to the established Church, and although he co-operated willingly with his Dissenting colleagues, he maintained his Church sympathies till his death. Another early missionary of less humble origin than his colleagues was Gregory Warner, who arrived in 1807. Warner was a surgeon, and had been on the committee of the London Itinerant Society. Ordained at Spa Fields Chapel in 1805, he sailed immediately to N.S.W. where he ministered to the Hawkesbury settlement under Marsden, till he joined the Tahitian mission.

William Pascoe Crook, who arrived at Tahiti in 1816, on his second missionary venture, presents an interesting example of the social rise of a missionary candidate. Although attempts have been made to suggest that Crook was not a "gentleman's servant", but rather "the servant of the Lord",<sup>(1)</sup> there is no evidence that he was otherwise employed. In some accounts Crook is listed as a tinworker, but he appears to have been apprenticed to learn this trade after joining the L.M.S.<sup>(2)</sup> He had already spent two very adventurous years in the South Seas as the pioneer missionary of the Marquesas. In 1799 he returned to London and for two years was engaged in preaching for the London Itinerant Society. By profession of faith he was a Calvinistic Methodist, but like the majority of that Connexion he early adopted the principles of Congregational church govern-<sup>(3)</sup>ment. Crook arrived in Sydney via Port Phillip and Hobart in 1803. Instead of proceeding to Tahiti, he engaged in missionary work amongst the

(1) See Lockley, An Estimate.

(2) See Crook, 11 November 1820, S.S. Journals, no. 54.

(3) As distinct from the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.

settlers, and even served as Colonial Chaplain for a short period. He and his wife ran a boarding school for three years. By means of his varied experience, his contacts with the leading Evangelical clergy and his own study, Crook attained a respectable position in Society. When he returned to the islands in 1816 he was also equipped with some surgical knowledge.

One of the few non-mechanic occupations of this early period was that of Lancelot Edward Threlkeld. After serving an apprenticeship during his youth he became an actor with the Royal Circus and later with the Royalty Theatre.<sup>(1)</sup> He also went into business. After his conversion he became an itinerant preacher.

John Gyles, who came to Tahiti as an "agriculturist" in 1818, was the first of the non-preaching missionaries to arrive. He was sent out expressly to instruct the Tahitians in growing various trade crops. He was not particularly suited to missionary work as he had been a plantation manager in the West Indies and had been used to the management of slaves! Gyles's social status is less easy to define, but he did not altogether fit in with the other missionaries. Of the two "missionary artisans" who arrived in 1821, Elijah Armitage is another typical example of the social aspirations of the mechanic class. Armitage's father, Elkanah Armitage, had risen considerably in the cotton manufacturing business. He had been a convert from Unitarianism to Calvinism and his family became prominent Congregationalists in Manchester. One of Elijah Armitage's brothers, Sir Elkanah Armitage, became Mayor of Manchester in 1848.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Threlkeld's Candidate's Papers are contained in South Sea Missions, 11.

(2) For an account of the Armitage family see Robinson, William Roby, 52-54.

From 1821 onwards, the majority of the L.M.S. missionaries were Congregationalists. After the nominal conversion of Tahiti, it had been the policy of the Society to ordain all its missionaries except those expressly sent out as "missionary artisans". When John Rodgeron applied he was very deficient in general knowledge and was recommended as a "mechanic" only. He made application to a shipbuilder at Whitehaven in order to acquire some knowledge of boat construction. Notwithstanding the recommendation, Rodgeron eventually received ordination. Another candidate who was "extremely deficient in all points of learning" was the brass founder, George Pritchard. It is usually assumed that Pritchard, who afterwards became British Consul at Tahiti, belonged to a less humble section of society. Although he was brought up in the established Church, Pritchard was converted under the ministry of the Rev. John Angell James, of Carrs Lane, Birmingham, one of the most eminent Congregational ministers of the time. Another candidate of humble origin, recommended as a "very suitable Mechanic Missionary", was the blacksmith, William Mills. When Mills retired from missionary work he became a chemist, again illustrating the social transformation of the mechanic class.

A definite change in the composition of the L.M.S. missionaries can be seen for the first time in those who came out in 1838-1839. Some of these men belonged to what might be called the "greater middle class". Joseph Johnston, who was a "Normal Schoolmaster", was the son of a business man. Thomas Joseph was supported by his parents whilst training to be a teacher. Charles Stevens had been the foreman of a firm of hatters in Bristol. William Howe, who arrived in 1839, had been an Infant School

teacher before becoming pastor of a Congregational Church. Although the differences were often largely a matter of education and opportunities, it is revealing that the older missionaries referred to the newer ones as "gentlemen missionaries". Some of the new missionaries came from families which had risen rapidly to respectability. William Gill, who had become manager in a retail leather-cutter's business, was the son of a tanner and currier who became a cabinet maker and upholsterer.

Robert Thomson, the only non-Congregationalist among the party, who came out with Williams in 1858, was nearest in origin to the earlier missionaries. A member of the Presbyterian United Secession Church at Dundee, Thomson was a joiner who had received some architectural training. Both clever and cantankerous, Thomson was ill at ease with his "gentlemen" companions.

The missionaries who arrived in 1842 were the first group who were exclusively non-mechanics. McKean and Jesson had both been Congregational ministers; Krause, a Prussian, had received a medical and theological education in Berlin.<sup>(1)</sup> Most of the missionaries who came out between 1840 and 1860 were clerks or skilled tradesmen. William Wyatt Gill graduated B.A. at the University of London. W.A. Lind was a copper plate engraver, which was his father's trade. Yet even in this period the mechanics were well represented. Law (1852) was a roll turner at a large iron works near Rotherham. John Jones (1854), who had been brought up in a Calvinistic Methodist atmosphere, (the Chapel became Congregational) followed his father's trade as a shoemaker, and Samuel Macfarlane, also a Congregationalist, (1859)

(1) See Appendix III



was a "mechanic" employed in a railway machine shop at £1.9.0. per week.

The Presbyterian missionaries to the New Hebrides<sup>(1)</sup> had similar backgrounds to those of the L.M.S. Those who came from the United Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia very often had farming backgrounds. However, John Geddie, the first of these distinctly Presbyterian missionaries, who arrived in 1848, was the son of a watch and clockmaker.<sup>(2)</sup> Those who had been members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church had mostly been apprenticed to trades. Paton was the son of a stocking manufacturer. The Scottish missionaries, in the main, came from less prosperous families than their American brethren.

Evangelical Dissent was more intimately connected with economic prosperity in the New World. Most of the missionaries of the American Board, like those from Nova Scotia, were drawn from mercantile and farming stock. Most of them, like the L.M.S. missionaries, were Congregationalists. W.P. Alexander, a pioneer missionary to the Marquesas, was a Presbyterian. He belonged to a slave-owning family which had prospered in the farming lands of Kentucky. Although the actual social standing and worldly prosperity of all the missionaries from the American States and Nova Scotia appear to have been higher than that of the English and Scottish missionaries, their social values were similar, and the differences were not so obvious in the islands. James Bicknell, who was the only European missionary in the Marquesas mission of 1855, came nearest in type to the old class of mechanic missionaries. Born in the missionary environment of Tahiti, he had learnt the trade of carpenter in N.S.W. Bicknell was subsequently ordained, and was a pastor in Hawaii for many years.

(1) See Appendix J]

(2) He had been a minister of the Secession Church on Prince Edward Island.

The Wesleyan missionaries provide more obvious contrasts with those of the L.M.S. The W.M.M.S. was exclusively under the direction of the Wesleyan Conference, whereas the L.M.S. and C.M.S. were autonomous bodies which existed independently of the Churches which supported them. Between 1822 and 1860 sixty-five missionaries<sup>(1)</sup> laboured in connexion with the W.M.M.S. in the South Seas, excluding New Zealand. Most of these men were ordained. Of the three school teachers or "training masters" sent out, one was afterwards ordained. One of the two printers connected with the mission was also afterwards ordained. At the beginning of the Tongan mission lay mechanic missionaries were appointed, after the manner of the C.M.S. in New Zealand. There was also a missionary servant who was appointed "agriculturist" for a short term. Apart from the lay agents, all the other missionaries were married. A few of them were classed as "assistant missionaries".

The most obvious difference between the class composition of the missionaries of the W.M.M.S. and the L.M.S. is that the Wesleyans tended to come from the same recruiting ground as their regular ministers, whereas the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers tended to come from more established and mercantile families. Thus, some of the Wesleyan missionaries appear to have belonged to the upper ranks of the social hierarchy within Methodism. The functions of missionary and settled minister were less distinguishable in the "world parish" conception of the Wesleyan Methodists than in the other denominations.

The first Wesleyan missionaries to Tonga were similar in type to their brethren of the London and Church Societies. Mechanic missionaries were

(1) See Appendix.V

considered an essential part of the civilizing corollary to evangelisation, and many of the first missionaries were simply ordained mechanics. John Thomas had followed his father's trade as a blacksmith. Peter Turner, the son of a cotton spinner, had begun as a piecer in a cotton factory, but became a silk weaver.

Walter Lawry was perhaps an exception. His father was a farmer and he had been a farmer until entering the ministry. Lawry's first wife, Mary Hassall, was the daughter of Rowland Hassall, one of the original Duff missionaries. Hassall was a storekeeper at Parramatta and a land proprietor of some standing in N.S.W. Although Lawry was not attracted by his father-in-law's Calvinism, he found some compensation in his capital. His colleagues were not backward in telling him that "Mr. Lawry was sent out and is maintained, not to take care of Bullocks but souls."<sup>(1)</sup>

Another noticeable difference between the composition of the two Societies is that a higher proportion of the Wesleyan missionaries appear to have come from rural districts, whilst a higher proportion of the L.M.S. missionaries were drawn from urban congregations. Nathaniel Turner and James Calvert came from small farms. Hunt's father had been an overseer or bailiff on a farm and he himself had been put to farm work. Thomas Adams was also brought up on a farm in Cornwall where his father was a tenant-farmer. Although of comparatively humble origin, Thomas Adams and his brothers, who were noted astronomers, all achieved some eminence.<sup>(2)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Jos. Taylor, 20 February 1821, Lawry, Papers.

<sup>(2)</sup> Professor John Couch Adams discovered the planet Neptune, and William Grylls Adams became Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy at King's College, London.



It is significant that his brother John, when Senior Wrangler at Cambridge, tried to persuade him to "prepare for college, with a view to his ministry in the established church."<sup>(1)</sup>

Although many of the wives of L.M.S. missionaries came from N.S.W., all the accredited missionaries were recruited in London. The Wesleyans, however, had very close relations with the Colonial Churches. The first lay mechanics were from N.S.W. George Lilly was a soldier's son and was engaged as a carpenter. Charles Tindall was a blacksmith. Thomas Wright, the "agriculturist", was a ticket-of-leave convict. Thomas Bambridge had also been transported, but after his pardon (he had previously "given evidence of his conversion") he was engaged as a carpenter.

The quality and social standing of the colonial Wesleyans varied considerably. John Von Mangerhousen Weiss, who was engaged as an "assistant missionary", had been Superintendent of Government Boats at Sydney. On the other hand, John Watsford, the first Australian-born missionary, who went to Fiji in 1844, was the son of a coachman who had been ~~transported~~.<sup>(2)</sup> There was a tendency to look down upon the colonial missionaries, an attitude encouraged by the failure of several of those appointed in N.S.W. to adapt themselves to the island conditions. However, these deficiencies do not appear to have been due to social causes. Watsford, the son of a convict father, was one of the most active and efficient missionaries in Fiji. Lawry, in particular, was prejudiced against "Colonial young men" and made no secret about it. Joseph Waterhouse, on the other hand, believed

(1) W.P. Burgess, 27 May 1843, W.M.M.S. Candidate's Papers, Box 2. [Adams]

(2) Others from Australia were Hazlewood, Moore, Millard and Baker.

that the Colonial missionaries were as efficient, if not superior to their English brethren.

"We are not behind any of the pure English missionaries," he wrote in 1852, "Take Mr. Hunt away and perhaps we are, certainly we shall be, superior! Come along, Samuel, join our number, Feejee wants colonial-British energy ...Feejee is mine and Sam's."<sup>(1)</sup>

No doubt the feeling that it was necessary to prove themselves gave additional force to the Australian missionaries.

Surprisingly enough, very few of the Evangelical missionaries were connected with clerical or missionary families. Only two sons of L.M.S. missionaries engaged in the work. Samuel Wilson did valuable pioneering in Samoa until his forced retirement owing to moral failings. John Barff was engaged as a "missionary labourer" or "assistant missionary" after he had completed his schooling in England, but was not ordained until 1841. W.E. Henry assisted his father for some years but showed no inclination to become a missionary. In fact, most of the sons of the L.M.S. missionaries showed a decided antipathy to the work, and many of them openly opposed the principles for which their parents stood. The son of one of the old missionaries was seriously considering returning as a missionary in 1852, but when Buzacott mentioned it to the missionaries at Tahiti "an opinion was expressed that no one bearing that name would do to labour in the South Seas. Their characters had been so notorious for licentious conduct that even this same ..... had seduced a respectable native girl by whom he had two children...."<sup>(2)</sup> Most of those who did repent and

(1) Jos. Waterhouse to Jabez Waterhouse, 21 July 1852, Jos. Waterhouse, Correspondence from.

(2) Buzacott, 12 February 1852, S.S. Letters.

who showed a definite interest in the work would have had difficulty in being accepted as ministers because they had invariably "sown their wild oats" in public. George Platt, Junior, who had been a thorn in the side of Charter, gave considerable voluntary assistance to Chisholm in the Raiatea mission, and Isaac Henry did much preaching at Tahiti. J.C. Williams also engaged in various teaching duties. Quite a number of missionary daughters married missionaries.

Naturally those born in the islands, who showed an inclination for missionary work, were more likely to understand the problems confronting a Christian teacher in the islands than their parents. John Barff, in the Society Islands, Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick and Hiram Bingham, Junior, in Micronesia (both sons of pioneer missionaries to Hawaii) and James Bicknell in the Marquesas, were all particularly efficient missionaries. These men, however, held fast to the traditional teaching and way of life of their parents.

Amongst the L.M.S. missionaries who had clerical and missionary connexions were Samuel Ella and Thomas Slatyer. Ella, who went to Samoa as a printer in 1848 and afterwards entered the ministry, was the nephew of the Rev. Benjamin Bailey, a missionary to South India. Slatyer's elder brother (William) was a missionary in the West Indies, and he himself was married to the daughter of a Baptist minister. Both Ella and Slatyer convey the impression of being more "gentle born" than their colleagues. Amongst the Wesleyans there were men with similar backgrounds. William Fletcher, a graduate of London University, was the son of a missionary to the West Indies. Fletcher's family played a prominent role in colonial Wesleyanism. His sister was the wife of the Rev. John Polglase of Fiji.

One of his brothers, the Rev. J.H. Fletcher, was a prominent figure in New Zealand Methodism. The Waterhouse family was another "mission dynasty." Joseph and Samuel Waterhouse of Fiji were both sons of the Rev. John Waterhouse, the first General Superintendent of Wesleyan missions in the South Seas. John Waterhouse was an influential figure in English Methodism. His wife was the daughter of a shipbuilder, and the family lived in very comfortable circumstances. [Several other missionaries had interesting clerical connexions. John Vercoe was a nephew of Walter LARRY. Jane Hall, the wife of Charles Tucker, was a member of a very old Wesleyan family in Bristol, and Dr. Richard Burdsall Lyth was the grandson of Richard Burdsall, a famous local preacher of York. One of Lyth's brothers later conducted a Methodist mission in Germany.]

Quite a number of missionaries' wives were born in the manse. Mrs. Macdonald of Samoa and Mrs. Stevens of Tahiti were both daughters of the Rev. Ezekiel Blomfield, author of several popular Evangelical works. Two of their sisters were married to C.M.S. missionaries in New Zealand. (1) James Watkin of Tonga was married to the niece of the Rev. Joseph Entwisle, one of the most eminent Methodist preachers of his day. William Wilson was likewise married to a daughter of the Rev. Peter McOwan, another prominent Methodist. It is not uncommon to find that missionaries' wives were often members of closely-knit mission families. Mrs. A.W. Murray (née Cobden) was the sister of Mrs. William Reeve and Mrs. George Mundy, missionaries in South India. Mrs. Buzacott and Mrs. Hardie were the sisters of George Hitchcock, in whose drapery warehouse at St. Paul's Churchyard, the (1) One of these, Martha, was the mother of George Clarke, Junior, afterwards a missionary, a Congregational minister and Chancellor of the University of Tasmania.

Y.M.C.A. was founded. Another sister was married to the Rev. James Sewell of South India. Other members of the Hitchcock family were equally prominent in Evangelical movements. A family of comparatively humble origin, they rose quite rapidly in the commercial world during the first half of the century.

Apart from clerical connexions, most of the missionaries were closely associated with the more humble walks of life; they were gathered from pious congregations of artisans and tradesmen. It is an interesting commentary on their social origins that a number of tales have been fostered in their families which endeavour to conceal their derivation from the new mechanic class. There is no evidence to support the claim that Crook, the "gentleman's servant", was the son of a French émigré Count. The story was not circulated during Crook's lifetime, and Crook is an old Devonshire name. The Waterhouse family, so prominent in Wesleyan missions, maintained that they were originally French and were called "de Waterhouse".<sup>(1)</sup> Family tradition also affirms that Orsmond, a carpenter, was the son of a French priest and a Spanish countess,<sup>(2)</sup> (they eloped and came to England) but this has no more authenticity than the Crook tradition. One feels it difficult to believe that such distinguished parents would confer the second name of "Muggridge" on the son of their strange union. Furthermore, the legends surrounding Orsmond's second wife, Isabella Nelson, suggest a romantic attempt to cover up convict origins. Instead of being proud of the emancipist Isaac Nelson, who was the first school teacher in N.S.W., some

<sup>(1)</sup> See Waterhouse Family Papers.

<sup>(2)</sup> See Carnachan, The Spreading Tree, 49, 51.



past member of the family has created the vague figure of Isaac Nelson, Surveyor-General of N.S.W. (there was none by that name) and his wife, Lady Sarah Stanley, daughter of an Earl of Derby.

The Evangelical missionaries to the South Seas were not derived from all classes of society but rather from the lower middle and mechanic classes. A number of them were carpenters, and they regarded their vocation very much as a personal call from the "Master Carpenter". The rural background of many of the Wesleyans is conspicuous, and there is also a noticeable representation of Yorkshire and Cornish Methodists. The Wesleyans and the American missionaries tended to have influential clerical and mercantile connexions. Most of the missionaries, however, whatever their experience or their training, took with them into the field the New Mechanic's consciousness of his social position, his desire to better himself, and his dependance on, and obligations to, the less fortunate.

III.

The Experience of Conversion

One of the effects of revivalism was the special emphasis placed on the experience of conversion. There were two distinct stages in this experience. There was an awakening to the perils of the unregeherate soul; and then there was the experience of "re-birth". All Evangelicals believed that a man could only be "born again in the spirit" through faith in the salvation of the soul through the atonement of Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and man. The gift of faith was a direct outpouring of the Holy Spirit. In order to be converted, a man must believe that Christ, by vicarious sacrifice, died on the cross to save sinners.

A good proportion of the Evangelical missionaries had comparatively "quiet" conversions, but these men had usually been nurtured in churches and homes already impregnated with Evangelical thought, and it was less difficult for them to adjust their emotions to the religious doctrine which they accepted. It was not uncommon for children in Evangelical homes to be "converted" at a very early age.

It is very important to appreciate the intensity of the initial religious experience of the various mlsionaries when considering their actions, their attitudes, and their effectiveness. Evangelical thought placed a peculiar emphasis on the saving merits of faith, and it is easy to see that many of the missionaries were not as fearsomely wicked, before their conversions, as they tended to paint themselves. It was not their own little egos which were disturbing them, but the terrible wrath and retributive justice of an offended God.



Some varied examples of Evangelical conversions will suffice to show the depth and range of these experiences, and they will help to elucidate the attitudes and actions of these men in the South Seas. One of the more dramatic conversions was that of the Rev. Charles Wilson. Wilson had been brought up by "godly parents" in Aberdeen. When he removed to London in 1788, he was "led captive by Satan living in the indulgence of corrupt desires and inclinations, through the force of custom still attended to hear the gospel preachers, but felt nothing of its power till the year 1794."<sup>(1)</sup> Wilson had become interested in astrology, and after having studied the practice for two years "was come to some proficiency in pretending to foretel future events in regard to particular persons." Wilson apparently believed in his own prognostications, and when he cast his own horoscope he was filled with terror on learning that he was about to die. Whilst thinking about death he was "awakened to see that [he] was a condemned sinner by the Son of God." He "saw hell ready to receive [his] condemned soul." He tried to remember what he had heard from the pulpit, and his mental suffering was great.

"But the time which I fixed upon for my Death was now come."! When he told his minister, the Rev. A. Waugh, what a sinner he was, he found no comfort in the stories of Manasseh, Paul and Magdalene. And then - to him it seemed to be a particular interposition of divine Providence - he found relief in the text of a sermon, "The King of Israel is merciful ... He will save thy life." Charles Wilson did not die, and the effect of the sermon

(1) Wilson, 1797, C.P.

was to ensure his dedication to Christian service.

Charles Barff, a devoted and tolerant missionary, had a less dramatic conversion. The importance played by childhood habits of thought or training must be taken into account in evaluating his experience. At the age of six or seven, Barff says, "when attending the flocks or herds of cattle in the fields my meditations were sweet on the wonderful works of God. My prayers altho' mixed with ignorance were attended (I trust) by the Holy Influence of the Spirit of God yet unable to withdraw the temptations to which I was exposed I often trembled within while I laughed with the wicked at folly."<sup>(1)</sup> At the age of nineteen Barff went to live in London, but he soon found "that Satan had his agents in London." Undaunted by these agents, he attended Surrey Chapel, and sat "under the droppings of the word with delight." Although he appears to have been obsessed with "doubts and fears," these were little more than misgivings about his ability to serve as a minister or a missionary.

David Darling observed that he could not state the exact time of his conversion, but he was able to relate circumstances which would convince the Directors that he had been "turned from darkness to light."<sup>(2)</sup> Sermons very frequently influenced the hearer. Charles Pitman, who would have joined his "vicious and wicked companions" only for the restrictions and displeasure of his father, was influenced strongly by a sermon preached by the Rev. J. Hyatt at Tottenham Court Chapel.<sup>(3)</sup> However, for a time he was "still in bondage, thro' a dread and fear that all was a deception," and his soul

(1) Barff, 1816, C.P.

(2) Darling, 1816, C.P.

(3) Pitman, 1820, C.P.

was not "liberated" until he attended the ministry of the Rev. J. Hunt of Chichester. John Williams was another who was largely affected by one sermon.

Most accounts highlight the worldly sins before conversion, and the language used often suggests gross depravity. Williams confessed that before he heard the Rev. T. East preach he was very wicked, though "not outwardly immoral."<sup>(1)</sup> It appears from most of the accounts, however, that very few of the South Seas missionaries could have confessed to "outward immorality". Not only did most of them deny the commission of any vice, but they probably would have followed Vanderkemp's<sup>(2)</sup> example, and confessed to it to show the extent of the divine power or Grace. Most of the "wickedness" referred to consisted of the "vices of childhood": disregard for the Sabbath, lying and swearing. Thomas Powell records how, after his ninth year, he indulged in "unrestrained wickedness, surpassing most of [his] own age", until he attended a Sunday School, and was influenced by an address delivered by Mr. Benjamin Hogsflesh, the Superintendent.<sup>(3)</sup> Alexander Chisholm had been taught to commit to memory Watts' divine songs for children, "some of which were instrumental in checking [him] in the commission of sin, especially the sins of swearing and lying."<sup>(4)</sup> More sophisticated sins are mentioned by Samuel Macfarlane.

"Before God drew me to Himself by the cords of His love I had a strong passion for the ballroom, the billiard table, and such fruitless and destructive pleasures."<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Williams, July 1816, C.P.; Prout, Memoirs, 15.

(2) Missionary to South Africa, 1798-1811.

(3) Powell, 18 November 1842, C.Q.

(4) Chisholm, 3 July 1840, C.Q.

(5) Macfarlane, 9 July 1856, C.Q.

The majority of the L.M.S. missionaries confessed to an "awful state" at some time during their adolescence.<sup>(1)</sup> William Harbutt testified to "deep agonizing convictions". The presence and fear of death also played an important part in the "awakening" experience. One of the most dramatic of these is the account left by Joseph Moore. Whilst articled to his employer, who conducted a Boarding School, he "imbibed lax principles and gave [himself] to the pernicious reading of novels."

"Tom Jones and other works, of this description, were put into my hand, under the fair pretence of giving me a 'knowledge of the World.' My leisure time in fact was entirely consumed in novels and plays which had a most injurious effect on my mind. They produced in my corrupt heart determinations, the most hostile to seriousness, and filled my mind with the most impure thoughts. I was on the verge of destruction."<sup>(2)</sup>

His employer was then taken seriously ill, and thinking himself about to die, he admonished Moore "never again to peruse the fascinating works he had recommended." The plays and novels were duly burnt, and Moore endeavoured to find out more about religion. He thus describes his state of mind:

"Frequently I have had such tormenting fears of eternal punishment, as to quit my bed in the night season and pray for forgiveness."<sup>(3)</sup>

With some candidates, conversion took the form of a struggle. "Soon as reason dawned," said William Law, "I took up the arms of rebellion against God."<sup>(4)</sup> He said that there was never a period when he did not feel that God was striving with him; he had even attempted to persuade himself that there was no God.

(1) See Candidates' Papers for Charter, Nisbet and Turner.

(2) Moore, 30 May 1838, C.P.

(3) Lind, also a novel reader, had a similar experience. During his mental disquiet he had a dream that he died and went to hell; 4 July 1843, C.Q.

(4) Law, 22 May 1849, C.Q.

Books of a devotional character were often instrumental in securing Evangelical conversions. Perhaps no book made such an impression on the lives of prospective Evangelicals of all denominations as Hervey's Theron and Aspasia. This work, written in the form of a philosophical dialogue, (a very popular medium during the eighteenth century) set out the claims of the Evangelical system with particular emphasis on the Calvinistic doctrines. Another influential work was Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.<sup>(1)</sup> One book which particularly influenced many of the missionary candidates was The Anxious Inquirer by the Rev. John Angell James of Birmingham. James, who was a Moderate Calvinist, wrote a series of manuals which dealt with all stages of Christian experience. A student of revivals, he used the revival techniques to convince the "inquirer" of the necessity of becoming a Christian. George Spencer tells how, when he became "deeply convinced of the importance of eternal things", he determined to read this book. Although he was employed in his father's office until 10 or 10.30 every evening, he would come home and read portions of The Anxious Inquirer until it was finished. On discovering that he was "ruined and undone", he passed through a state of anxiety for four or five weeks, until a "great change" was wrought in him.<sup>(2)</sup>

Wesleyan conversions followed a similar pattern, although they frequently contained more mystical elements. Calvinistic missionaries, convinced of their election in this world as well as in the world to come, seemed to be sustained by their initial religious experience. On the other hand, the Wesleyan missionaries were much more given to self examination, and they

(1) See Johnstone, 22 December 1837, C.Q.

(2) Spencer, 28 January 1851, C.Q.; see also Creagh, 23 November 1852, C.Q.

seemed to require constant renewals of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Revivalism came more frequently to the Wesleyan camp. Whereas "Are you saved?" seemed to be the watchword of the Calvinists, "Are you right with God?" seemed to be that of the Wesleyans.

The conversion of Peter Turner is particularly interesting because his account of this experience survives for us in some detail. The son of a poor factory worker, Turner attended Chapel and Sabbath School, although there was no form of religion maintained at home. His father drank heavily. His mother had been servant to a "pious lady who kept a young ladies' school." Turner records that in 1817 "the Holy Spirit worked gently on [his] mind, and showed [him] that [he] needed a Saviour. The desire to obtain salvation became intense."<sup>(1)</sup> Whilst seeking, he attended as many services as he could. One day he went to a class meeting, but felt out of place amongst so many well-dressed persons, and decided that the class was "too respectable" for him. He hero-worshipped the class-leader, Mr. Joseph Pearson, recording that he had "a great love and reverence for my leader, and thought him very handsome and very good. I loved the ground he walked upon." Beset by all sorts of doubts and temptations, Turner waited for some experience to convince him of his salvation. He read the accounts of the remarkable conversions of Silas Todd and Colonel Gardiner.

"I used to look up when in the fields [,] praying and expecting to see the clouds open and the Saviour to appear to my view, and fully satisfy my soul."

Turner became familiar with the different levels of experience, when listening to the testimonies of the others who attended class meetings

<sup>(1)</sup>Peter Turner, A brief account.



and Love-feasts. Some would give accounts of their "justification"; others of their "entire sanctification".

"I had the fear, the slavish fear of God in my heart, but nothing of love."

On removing to Macclesfield, Turner's experience did not give him the satisfaction that he desired. He gave up going to class meetings, and indulged in "courtship after school on the Sabbath." This "blunted the moral sensibilities of the soul, and opened the door to many evils." For several years he continued to sin "against light and knowledge." The state of his mind is revealed in his account of a thunderstorm. He went into an outhouse, and was dreadfully afraid lest he should be "struck down by the vengeance of an offended God." Although he made vows and promises, he still was afraid to make an open profession of faith. He was also afraid that he was "not one of the elect, but reprobated by God, and should ultimately be lost."<sup>(1)</sup>

Turner then rejoined the Wesleyans and again attended class meetings. It was in this environment that he had his initial experience at a Friday evening prayer-meeting. All "sense of sorrow and condemnation and dread of God" was removed from his mind. He was filled with "peace, joy and hope." He was advised to hold fast the grace given as "God would witness to the reality of the work wrought in the heart." That night the experience continued.

"God was very gracious to my soul, he gave me the full assurance of my pardon!... I rose very early to seek him whom my soul loved."

He was "unspeakably happy", and remained in this state of mind till the following Tuesday.

<sup>(1)</sup> At this stage he was subject to Calvinist influence.

After the experience Turner began a pilgrimage in pursuit of holiness. Two years later he was still doubting his own religious integrity, and again required a "sense of pardon". Again and again entries in his diary convey his keen desire for the full sanctification of his soul, "the point on which my soul is fixed."

Turner analysed his experience in theological terms. This is important to remember, as he became one of the leading revivalists in the South Seas. It would seem that his technique was based both on a close examination of other revivalists and on his own experience. Turner knew the spiritual anatomy of man so well that he could place his fingers on all the nerve spots.

Turner's account of his later experience of entire sanctification is also worthy of notice, as it shows how his emotions were wrought to a revivalistic fervour. On 6 September 1828 he records:

"I cried for divine assistance and for power to believe in the all-cleansing blood of Jesus."

He felt "an increasing deadness to the world, and that [his] inward depravity was being washed away and that God [was] destroying all [his] idols and giving [him] a clean heart. This was the negative part of sanctification taking away all evil, destroying all evil - emptying the vessel, preparing the heart." On the Tuesday he felt his faith becoming stronger, "more simple and un~~mixed~~ by doubt and unbelief." Wednesday was "a day of conflict with the enemy." The big moment came on Thursday.

"I was favoured with three remarkable manifestations of the presence of God when in my closet. There seemed but a thin veil (sic) which came between me and God."

He was filled with speechless awe, and could no longer doubt the blessing of sanctification. This was the grand climax. Succeeding entries show, however, that Turner still had moments of doubt and despair when Satan "raised many clouds" around him to "dim his evidence and darken his path." Nevertheless, he was "truly converted to God."

Most of the other Wesleyan accounts have not been preserved in such great detail. The conversion of John Hunt was somewhat similar. Hunt's boyhood resembled that of most other Evangelicals. When afraid of "dogs, gipsies, thunder and lightning or even a shower of rain", he had recourse to prayer "as sure means of deliverance from every evil."

"Though much tempted to be brave and swear and lie, and break the Sabbath like other boys, I never could fully enter into the spirit of wickedness till I was fourteen or fifteen years of age."<sup>(1)</sup>

Hunt was affected by reading the Book of Revelation. Later he became interested in the preaching of the Wesleyans. On one occasion he attended a prayer-meeting. The preacher, John Smith of Lincoln Circuit, prayed, "Send us more power," upon which Hunt knelt down and said, "Amen," with some degree of feeling.

"Immediately a most overwhelming influence came upon me, so that I cried aloud for mercy for the sake of Christ, while I was in a minute as completely bathed with tears and perspiration as if I had been thrown into a river."<sup>(2)</sup>

When asked if he believed that God was satisfied with the atonement of his Son, and for His sake forgave him, Hunt could not answer, "but cried to God for help," and was thereby "enabled to trust in the sufficient atonement of Christ on [his] personal account." At that moment he "felt

<sup>(1)</sup>Hunt, Private Journal, I, 1-2.

<sup>(2)</sup>Ibid, 15.

the pardoning love of God." Hunt himself became one of the leading exponents of the Methodist doctrine of holiness. His Letters on Entire Sanctification was used as a textbook by theological students.<sup>(1)</sup> Many years later whilst walking in his garden in Fiji, Hunt was meditating on the goodness of God, when he too claimed a mystical experience.

"I at once had a peculiarly delightful view of the love of God. It seemed to be free as a sunbeam, and I almost felt as if I could see a stream of mercy come from heaven like a stream of light and fall upon my breast .... I remember something like it in John Howe's Life, only he had the feelings in a dream, and also something like it in Brainard's life."<sup>(2)</sup>

Dr. R.B. Lyth also documented his experience.<sup>(3)</sup> Familiar with Evangelical doctrine from his childhood, there was always within him a "continual struggle between light and darkness". In a powerfully drawn account of his conversion, he built up the contrast between his unregenerate state and his transformation. In Lyth's conversion there was also something mystical.

"I did arise and go to my Father being sweetly drawn by love. I looked unto God and was saved.... I wept before the God of love."

Lyth's conversion is particularly interesting because it was followed almost immediately by a "backsliding" into sin.

"After this glorious manifestation," he wrote, "I again grieved God's good spirit - but was restored after a long night of bondage."

This tendency to backslide gave special impetus to the doctrine of reparation.<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) This was published in London in 1853. For discussion of Entire Sanctification see Birtwhistle, In His Armour, 168-185.

(2) 15 April 1844, Private Journal, II, 206-207.

(3) 12 November 1839, Journal, I, 407-411.

(4) See ante, 14.

John Watsford's conversion was equally dramatic.<sup>(1)</sup> His narrative makes one feel his belief in the inevitability of it, an almost Calvinistic resignation to his election by God. In his search for salvation he spent hours of the night in prayer.

"I was afraid to go to sleep lest I should wake up in hell before the morning."

At length the experience came. He felt "the witness of the Holy Spirit" to be so clear and distinct that, at the time, he believed God really spoke to him in pardoning his sins. Most of the Wesleyans could name a day as their spiritual birthday, even those who were converted while very young. It was also usual for many of them to speak of their spiritual fathers, those ministers who had been instrumental in bringing them to God.<sup>(2)</sup>

Most Evangelicals found a precedent for their experience in the account of the conversion of St. Paul. For example, Thomas Baker's conversion.<sup>(3)</sup> As a boy Baker had been "led captive by the Devil at his will". At the age of fourteen, his alleged vices had perhaps a greater variety than most. He indulged in Sabbath breaking, deriding the out-door preacher, night walking, smoking, frequenting the Ale House, gambling, swearing and fighting. Several events caused him spiritual uneasiness. On one occasion, when breaking the Sabbath, "the two spirits were struggling for the mastery, and it seemed as though I could not speak without swearing, truly my mouth was full of bitterness...." He then began the usual course of seeking and attended class meetings. And then, on 1 December 1849, as he was walking on the Morpeth road at midday, the ascent of a little hill on the

(1) Watsford, Glorious Gospel Triumphs, 14-16.

(2) See Carey, Materials for my biography, 9.

(3) Diary, 3-6.

way brought to mind what he had read in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, concerning the hill of difficulty:

"At once the simplicity of faith appeared to my mind, I ventured, was saved, then and there in the middle of the road. I felt great peace through believing, and went down the road rejoicing, clapping my hands."

Something of the nature of the spiritual life after conversion is contained in these words of Baker's:

"Sometimes I have been on the mountain and sometimes in the valley, but yet I bless the Lord for what I am. Glory to God, I am out of hell."<sup>(1)</sup>

Conversion, revivalistic in nature, directed the whole personality of the missionary and was the moment most cherished throughout all the years of varied experience in the South Seas, or wherever else he chose to live.

#### The Missionary Decision

Each missionary underwent a second type of conversion, the conversion to the missionary vocation, as distinct from the mere desire to extend his personal experience to others. This decision to be a missionary was not unlike the experience of the "call" to the ministry. The motivation behind this decision varied considerably. Very often there were subsidiary motives, such as economic or psychological ones, which played an important part in the decision.

The missionary societies only accepted obedience to Christ's commission,<sup>(2)</sup> the desire to save the heathen, and the glorification of God, as the real motives for entering this service. All personal considerations had to be subsidiary to these. The L.M.S. was particularly careful on

<sup>(1)</sup> 2 September 1850, Diary, 10.

<sup>(2)</sup> Matt. XXVIII, 18-20; Mark XVI, 15; Luke XXIV, 46-49; John XX, 21,22; Acts I, 8-10.

this issue. In the Society's Questions for Candidates,<sup>(1)</sup> item 12 reads:

"As there is too much reason to fear that some persons have become Missionaries under the influence of improper principles, you are desired seriously and sincerely to state what are the MOTIVES by which you are actuated in offering yourself as a Missionary to the Heathen."

Very few candidates specified those subsidiary motives which had influenced them. We have to look for these in the background and personality of each missionary. Some of the first contingent on the Duff were regarded as having acted under the influence of "improper principles." Because of their subsequent **defection** from the Society and from Evangelical principles of behaviour, it was assumed that such missionaries as Cock and Main had been little more than adventurers attracted by the descriptions of the Tahitian Paradise.

Although it is said that a man cannot live by bread alone, he cannot live without bread. In a period of unemployment or economic distress, one would expect to find men desiring to leave the country in search of economic security. In the case of godly men, there would also be some mental security in the belief that God would provide. As Elijah was fed in the wilderness, so would the messenger of salvation be cared for in the uttermost parts of the earth, and what could be read in books suggested that these uttermost parts were lands flowing with milk and honey.

Certainly there was economic distress amongst various sections of the mechanic class in England during the French Revolutionary period and the Napoleonic wars. One reads of "Evangelical aid" to distressed weavers.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) As stated between 1836 and 1860. The wording for 1820 is slightly different.

(2) Evangelical Magazine, I, 252-253 (1795); II, 33 (1794).

Nor were there many opportunities for advancement in the weaving business. The Rev. George Burder of Coventry abridged and revised a booklet entitled The Weaver's Pocket-book, or Weaving spiritualized, for the benefit of his "poor neighbours". Rowland Hassall, one of the Duff missionaries, belonged to Burder's church and came from this environment. It is interesting that Hassall never returned to Tahiti after quitting, principally because he was far too prosperous in his settled state at Parramatta. All records of him show him as a man of influence and property.

The letters of Hassall's English relations show that conditions in England were not good. In March 1800 Thomas Hancox, Hassall's brother-in-law, was out of work.<sup>(1)</sup> In the winter he lost nine weeks' work. Business was very bad, and he thought of beginning a new trade. His wife was to sell new and old clothes. Burder, writing to his former church member, painted an equally gloomy picture.

"The Wickedness of man has raised wheat to the enormous price of a Guinea a bushel, Barley and Oats, tho' very fine and plentiful are also very dear ... Never was in our days so much want and misery among the poor... The trade in Coventry is worse than ever. Little work to do... Bread so dear, that very many are half-starved. At least and I do fear more than a few have really died for want."<sup>(2)</sup>

There were riots, and a "Famine Guard" to keep people quiet, "or the farmers would soon be roughly handled."

The charge that the missionaries were in the islands because they had "no bread to eat in England" was certainly an exaggeration and was only economically valid at the beginning of the century. In the later period,

(1) Hancox to Hassall, 6 March 1800, P.R.H., I, 35.

(2) Burder to Hassall, 9 December 1800, P.R.H., I, 37.



in answering the twelfth question, most of the candidates asserted that they were holding down good positions, and many of them were about to receive an increase in salary or some sort of promotion. It is doubtful whether any of the missionaries expected less arduous employment than at home, but it is highly probable that many of them were attracted by the measure of independence and freedom of action which would be their own. There was, and still is, a certain romantic attraction about missionary labour, and a spirit of adventure fostered in reading travel accounts and the histories of earlier missions appears to have influenced their decisions. Missionary enterprise also appealed to the misanthropic individual, the man who found it difficult to get on with others of his own caste. The social misfit was attracted by a career in which he was able to build his own "new world."

Perhaps no books more than the biographies and journals of David Brainerd influenced Evangelical Christians to enter the mission field. David Brainerd, the Scottish missionary who had been a successful revivalist amongst the North American Indians in the eighteenth century, was a kind of patron saint of modern missions. His journals were re-edited, abridged, re-written and amplified. Missionaries of the C.M.S., L.M.S. and W.M.M.S. all testified to the influence of these works.<sup>(1)</sup> Other missionary heroes were John Eliot and C.F. Schwartz.<sup>(2)</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed, more recent missionaries were added to the list of the great, names which strongly influenced those who were still in the Sabbath School:- Henry Martyn,<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) e.g. Richard Davis of the C.M.S.; Threlkeld of the L.M.S.; Lawry of the W.M.M.S.

(2) C.M. Yonge's Pioneers and Founders contains popular accounts of these missionaries.

(3) S.M. Creagh was influenced by reading the life of Martyn; 23 November 1852, C.P.

William Carey, Vanderkemp and the Judsons of Burma.

One of the most powerful influences was that of the personalities of some of the leading mission propagandists of the period. Silver-voiced preachers could often create a picture of the missionary life which would powerfully attract the young listener. But the giants of this art were some of the missionaries who had already served in distant fields. Some of these men were completely 'idolized' by the young and impressionable. Many of them not only possessed a strength of personality, but they were also gifted with a commanding presence. Paragons of moral virtue and physical beauty, they appeared like angels commissioned to call the young convert to the mission field. The Rev. Richard Knill, missionary to India and Russia, was perhaps the greatest of these. About six feet in height, well-proportioned, with a fair complexion and blue eyes, Knill possessed a voice which, according to one of his contemporaries, was "very powerful and melodious, and went easily to the furthest limits of an assembly. It was used without apparent art, and seemed to follow the mental impulse. From the loudest pitch he descended, without harsh abruptness, to the quiet, confidential tone of conversation, in which, generally, he introduced his anecdotes."<sup>(1)</sup> The missionaries Barnden, Buzacott, Charter, Howe, Pratt, Stair, Stevens, Slatyer and Johnstone<sup>(2)</sup> were all influenced by Knill's preaching. Buzacott was so affected "that sleep departed from him until he was brought to a resolution to surrender himself to Christ's service among the heathen."<sup>(3)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Birrell, The Life of the Rev. Richard Knill, 244.

<sup>(2)</sup> See the relevant Candidates' Papers.

<sup>(3)</sup> Birrell, op.cit., 54. Buzacott, Mission Life, 5.

John Williams had a similar magnetic appeal, especially after the publication of his Missionary Enterprises. The Rev. Dr. John Campbell's sketch of Williams's character is perhaps one of the best verbal portraits of any of the missionaries which we possess.<sup>(1)</sup> This sketch is particularly frank and blunt, showing Williams's limitations.

"On nearly all subjects, except that of Missions," wrote Campbell, "his views were narrow and superficial."

Notwithstanding these limitations, Campbell, who heard Williams preach, testified to his ability to gain a far wider audience than a more gifted and intellectual "missionary" such as Dr. Philip of Cape Town. The imaginative picture which Williams painted of the "isles of the sea" was ever afterwards a sore point with some of the missionaries who believed themselves deluded by his accounts. The letters of the missionaries who arrived in the Society Islands in 1838 are filled with complaints.<sup>(2)</sup> Even the older missionaries were forced to comment. Platt wrote to his former colleague, William Ellis:

"What wicked men you officers must be to deceive simple young people, and trepan them (for it cannot be us who have done it) into a service to which their hearts have no sympathy. You make them believe they are going to heaven. But when they arrive, instead of heaven, they find black men and fiends, and barbarised Missionaries and even the devil himself not cast out.....Alas poor Williams! It appears he was the arch deceiver ..... O that we could soon behold his like in the work; And as fully devoted."<sup>(3)</sup>

Amongst those missionaries who acknowledged the influence of Williams were John Barff, George Gill, Moore, Pratt, Thomson and Slatyer.<sup>(4)</sup>

Missionaries such as Knill and Williams, and the great preachers of the day, such as Dr. Campbell, Dr. Wardlaw (Glasgow), Dr. Waugh, Dr. Bogue,

(1) Campbell, The Martyr of Erromanga, 217-243.

(2) See particularly Stevens 10 June 1839, Johnston 16 September 1839, S.S. Letters.

(3) Platt, 12 April 1840, S.S. Letters, see also Orsmond, 10 October 1839.

(4) See the relevant Candidates' Papers.

Dr. Ebenezer Henderson, Dr. John Pye Smith, Dr. Thomas Chalmers, John Angell James, Dr. Andrew Reed, and Rowland Hill, frequently delivered sermons at the Annual Meetings of the local Auxiliary Missionary Societies. Although their London sermons were much more publicised, their greatest influence was possibly exerted at these provincial meetings. A great fervour of devotion was always aroused at these meetings, especially when the heroes of the occasion were about to depart.<sup>(1)</sup>

The missionary vocation was not infrequently regarded as the Evangelical's alternative to entering the army. To be a "soldier for Christ" had very real meaning for many of them, largely because of the intensity of their own personal struggles. Richard Knill joined the militia. He afterwards delivered tracts to a garrison, and whilst in India he induced a large number of officers to attend his Chapel. Many of the missionaries were the sons or grandsons of men who had served in the army.

John Hunt of the Wesleyan Society was early charmed with the heroic life. He thus wrote of his early "day-dreams":

"Many a time I have enlisted as a common soldier, by virtue and valour I have passed through the different grades of preferments, until at length by the good hand of Providence, which always attended me, I have found myself at the head of a victorious army, conquering wherever I made an attack, and enriching myself with the spoils of nations, and I generally ended my career of glory by returning home to the bosom of my Father's family and spending the remaining years of my life in supporting my parents and friends."<sup>(2)</sup>

This, of course, was written when Hunt was already a missionary, and he doubtless meant the reader to compare his real missionary career with his childhood ambitions. But, whether or no, this heroic concept of the

<sup>(1)</sup> A typical piece of verse written after the visit of Dr. Winter and Richard Knill to Penzance is printed in the Evangelical Magazine for December 1820.

<sup>(2)</sup> Hunt, Private Journal, I, 4.



missionary's career was quite a significant motivating force.

Many of the missionaries denied being "carried away" by speeches and emotional gatherings. Thus William Law accounts for his zeal:

"These wishes were not originated when a returned missionary was received with deafening applause; or when some modern Apollos electrified an assembly, with flashes of eloquence and wisdom. In the silent depths of my own spirit, with little aid from external circumstances, those ideas were evolved, and those feelings aroused, which have continued to haunt me from that time to the present."<sup>(1)</sup>

A lottery-like use of the Bible was also instrumental in directing the thought to missions. William Law tells how he asked the question, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" He took up his Bible, and was convinced by his reading that he should follow the example of Jesus and St. Paul. William Howe's experience was similar.<sup>(2)</sup> One evening he was sitting with his Bible before him, thinking about the heathen. When he opened his Bible his eye caught the question, "Who will go for us....?" He immediately knelt in prayer saying, "Here am I, send me." The means usually adopted to test the reality of the "call" was to pray earnestly that the desire should be weakened or strengthened according to God's will in the matter.<sup>(3)</sup>

One interesting case is that of Jesson.<sup>(4)</sup> The desire to be a missionary was very strong before he left the Roman Catholic Church to join the Congregationalists. He had been considered when the establishment of an English Catholic hierarchy in Calcutta had been contemplated under Lord Greig's administration. He had also been invited to go to Australia with Dr. Polding. Others had rather utopian ideas about missionary work. Law had

(1) Law, 1851, C.P.

(2) Howe, 19 July 1838, C.P.

(3) e.g. C. Wilson, 1797, C.P.

(4) Jesson, 30 April 1840, C.Q.

proposed to a few young friends that they should go to some foreign clime, and form a settlement that they might teach Christianity to the natives.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Wesleyans became missionaries for similar reasons. With them there was a greater degree of duty and obligation to the Church involved. Wesley had said that the world was his parish, and accordingly his followers were expected to labour in foreign lands. The Wesleyans were influenced by most of the missionary works which influenced the other Evangelical missionaries. One work which was particularly Wesleyan in character was an emotional appeal written by the Rev. James Watkin of Tonga entitled Pity Poor Feejee. The effect of this work was not restricted to Wesleyans however, as it was widely read.<sup>(2)</sup> Lawry was influenced by reading the life of Dr. Coke, the founder of Wesleyan missions, which, "in a measure rekindled that Missionary flame", which he had felt burning within him for so long.<sup>(3)</sup>

"My views of my call to the Missionary work," he wrote two years later, "...are the same now as they used to be when I was ploughing the sod or reaping down the corn."<sup>(4)</sup>

One of the main determining forces in the "conversion" to missionary work was the belief of the Evangelical convert in the sanctity of labour. Missionary labour was often viewed as another form of mechanic employment. The missionary had to use his hands. He was a practical man, and he was not to abandon the trades he had learnt. Rather, he was to add a few more to his present skills. Law, in describing his strenuous Sabbath day's programme at Rawmarsh, said that he was early convinced that "labour worship"

(1) Law, 22 May 1849, C.Q.

(2) Even the German missionary, J.F.H. Wohlers (1811-1885) was influenced by a German translation of this appeal. See Art. D.N.Z.B.

(3) Lawry, 19 July 1818, Diary, 14.

(4) Lawry, 2 February 1820, Papers.

was the best, by which he meant itineration and village preaching.<sup>(1)</sup> This kind of idea was linked with the practical work of the week, with mechanic class utilitarianism and with the idea that virility was one of the most important talents entrusted to man's stewardship.

(1) Law, 22 May 1849, C.Q. (5)

IV.

Educational Qualifications and Missionary Training: The Calvinists

Throughout the great era of Evangelical expansion one of the problems which called for the serious debate was the necessary educational qualifications of missionaries. The first "godly mechanics" who engaged in the service of the L.M.S. possessed the rudiments of learning, being able to instruct in Sabbath Schools. To dispel the myth that all the missionaries on board the Duff were barely literate, it is only necessary to mention a few who were obviously possessed of considerably higher education. Although it is unlikely that William Henry attended Trinity College, Dublin,<sup>(1)</sup> he appears to have had a respectable education. James Puckey, a carpenter and joiner by trade, possessed a tolerable knowledge of navigation, and was "qualified to keep the journal of a ship." He was "acquainted with Geography, Architecture and Drawing, and brought with him some specimens of his ability, such as Charts, Maps, and Plans."<sup>(2)</sup> He had superintended an evening school in Falmouth, and also instructed children and youths in reading, writing and arithmetic. His pastor recommended him as a schoolmaster.

One of the most interesting contrasts between Evangelical religion and traditional Puritanism is seen in the education controversy. The Calvinistic Methodist Directors of the L.M.S., like their Wesleyan counterparts, placed much more emphasis on the qualifications in zeal and piety. The Puritan tradition, on the other hand, emphasized the value of learning, and it was the Independent and Presbyterian Directors who urged the need

(1) see ante, 21.

(2) J. Puckey, 1796, C.P.





for a systemized education of missionaries. This was one of the issues behind the clash of personalities of the Methodistical and monarchical Dr. Haweis and the Dissenting and republican Dr. Bogue. It should also be remembered that Dr. Bogue disapproved of the South Sea mission so fondly cherished by Dr. Haweis.

Until the Institution at Gosport under Dr. Bogue was opened for missionary students in 1801, most of the theological and general educational training was conducted by individual clergymen, usually Directors living in the country or the provincial cities.<sup>(1)</sup> This system of private tuition appears to have been successful; moreover it continued to be an important feature of missionary education even after Institutional training was introduced. The more backward candidates usually spent a year or two with a pious clergyman, living in his house, and preaching in the villages. Dr. Haweis believed that little more training than this was necessary for missionaries. No doubt he would have sent these "godly mechanics" out as laymen to act as catechists and to support themselves and the mission by applying their skills. This was the ideal realized by the celebrated Dr. Gossner,<sup>(2)</sup> who disapproved of the expense of educating missionaries, and who believed that all the knowledge required could be given gratuitously by pious theological students educated for the home churches. Gossner, who had left the Berlin Missionary Society on account of this ideal, ordained a few of his own missionaries, but most were sent out as "mechanics". The ideal of Haweis and Gossner illustrates something of the pietistic character of the Evangelical religion

(1) see Wilkinson, 23 April 1796, C.P.

(2) see Appendix III.

of the time as opposed to the older Reformed traditions.

The movement for special training of missionaries resulted in the formation of a Committee, and the appointment of Dr. Bogue as Missionary Tutor in August 1800.<sup>(1)</sup> The Report on Missionary Training, drawn up by the Committee in May 1800, suggested that the two leading objects of the training should be "the communication of knowledge, and the formation or rather strengthening of good dispositions."<sup>(2)</sup>

"With respect to the former," the Committee declared, "...as our design is not to form mathematicians, philosophers, or even linguists, it would be unwise to appropriate a great portion of their limited term to these inquiries."

All their studies were to be directed towards the attainment of Scriptural knowledge which was the "desirable qualification" for a Christian missionary.

"It is, however, not only Christian knowledge in general that they are intended to acquire. They must attend especially to missionary subjects. The lectures delivered to them must have this point continually in view. Their reading and course of study must have this direction. Their whole education must be missionary, and therefore conducted on a plan dissimilar from other seminaries, and even from those where the Christian ministry in this country is the object."

Amongst the Directors who were foremost in giving private tuition to missionary candidates, was the Rev. William Roby of Manchester.<sup>(3)</sup> Roby's lectures on theology were voluminous and comprehensive. His 80 lectures went through the whole "scheme of salvation", dwelling particularly on the Being and Attributes of God. When copied out, these lectures ran to 460 pages in the handwriting of one missionary.<sup>(4)</sup>

{<sup>1</sup>} see Lovett, History of the L.M.S., I, 66-67.

{<sup>2</sup>} Lovett gives the Report in full, op.cit., 67-72.

{<sup>3</sup>} See Gordon Robinson, William Roby, 136-138.

{<sup>4</sup>} As transcribed by Robert Moffat, missionary to South Africa. Platt, who went to the South Seas, was one of Roby's students.

Certainly all the missionaries could not be brought to the same standard of education, but every attempt was made to develop the intellectual capacities of the less fortunate candidates. Most of them desired to better themselves, and were willing to "grind" in order to obtain the necessary respectability, and not a few made rapid progress.

"I would very much wish to go, to some place of instruction, as I have got, some money in the Bank, that I would wish to spend upon my self, in getting Instruction," wrote David Darling in 1816. "...I was obliged [sic] to you, for your advice concerning the improvement, necessary to be made by me in the English language, I am making all the progress I can. I have got Scotts Pronouncing Dictionary and Murray Grammar ....."<sup>(1)</sup>

Darling made good progress, and was ordained in the following year.

George Barnden was another candidate who sought further instruction. In 1834 he wrote that he had been early called to "active labour for the bread that perisheth," and that he had not had "time or apertunaty [sic] of cultivating [his] mental so as to fitt [sic] [him] for this important work".<sup>(2)</sup> Most of the other candidates had received what they called "a plain English education". A few had received some classical education either privately or at a Grammar school.

The Mission Seminary at Gosport, conducted by the Rev. Dr. David Bogue (1750-1825), was run in conjunction with the Congregational Academy which he had opened at Gosport in 1789 for training Independent ministers.<sup>(3)</sup> Bogue regarded the office of tutor as "the most important of all offices", and his practical interest in the theory of education is reflected in the pages of the History of Dissenters, which he wrote in conjunction with the

<sup>(1)</sup> Darling, 4 July 1816, C.P.

<sup>(2)</sup> Barnden, 2 February 1834, C.P.

<sup>(3)</sup> See Bogue and Bennett, History of Dissenters, I, 530-531.

Rev. J. Bennett. Bogue agreed with those who drew up the Report of 1800 in every point. The first place in the instructions was to be given to Biblical studies.

"Should the necessities of the world be such, that a student had leisure allotted but for one branch of education, it must be this; no other can be admitted to a competition. Classical learning, the belles lettres, mathematical science, and the whole encyclopaedia of human knowledge bear scarcely the proportion of the glow-worm to the sun."<sup>(1)</sup>

Many of the missionaries only had leisure for "one branch of education", not being able to attend the usual three year course at the Academy which included Latin, Greek and Hebrew, geography and astronomy, English, Jewish antiquities, ecclesiastical history and "pastoralia". Latin was valued only for its use in unlocking the "immense treasures of divine knowledge of which it is the only key."<sup>(2)</sup> Classics, however, could be a waste of time as they induced a man "to recommend himself to the great by his literature, rather than to the good by his usefulness."<sup>(3)</sup>

Although Bogue recognized that mathematics and natural philosophy "improved the mind", he did not think them worthy of inclusion. The course at Gosport consisted of 120 lectures on theology, 30 lectures on the Old Testament, 30 lectures on the New Testament, 20 lectures on the "Evidence of Christianity", 16 lectures on Jewish antiquities, 40 lectures on "the pastoral office", 28 lectures on ecclesiastical history, 4 lectures on the "Dispensations prior to the Christian era", 11 lectures on "the different periods of the Church also prior to that time", and 10 lectures to students entering the Seminary. Besides these, there were 5 lectures

(1) Bogue and Bennett, History of Dissenters (1810), III, 265.

(2) Bogue and Bennett, History of Dissenters (1810), III, 271.

(3) Bogue and Bennett, History of Dissenters (1812), IV, 500.



on "Universal Grammar", 5 lectures on logic, 35 lectures on rhetoric and 30 lectures on geography and astronomy.<sup>(1)</sup> Bogue, a thorough Christian utilitarian, doubtless believed in the practical applications of these scientific subjects for his missionary students.

The course at Gosport was defective in several respects. Many of the candidates were not sufficiently advanced to comprehend the logic of Calvinistic theology.<sup>(2)</sup> Their opportunities had been meagre, and their theological knowledge was limited to the simplified theology of the Sabbath-schoolroom, the sermon and the prayer meeting. Those who had received a course of private tuition outside the Seminary were at a decided advantage. The principal means of instruction appears to have been the taking of notes in full.<sup>(3)</sup> Bogue also intended that the authors he referred to should be read, but the vast range of his course left little time for supplementary reading,<sup>(4)</sup> nor were students encouraged to form differing opinions from his own on theological matters.<sup>(5)</sup> The Seminary was in many ways a factory for turning Evangelicals of various shades and opinions into orthodox Moderate Calvinists and orthodox Congregationalists. The rarefied intellectual atmosphere which had distinguished many of the older Dissenting academies was not to be found at Gosport.

(1) Minutes of the Committee of Examination, 15 May 1815, 376-377. There is a transcribed set of these lectures at New College, London.

(2) Bogue was a Moderate Calvinist.

(3) "Each lecture, after being taken down from the tutor's lips, was read a second time." Choules and Smith, The Origin and History of Missions, I, 554.

(4) See James, Works, XVII, 131-132.

(5) This was the policy of the Directors. "Our desire is to communicate to them a sound judgment and comprehensive acquaintance with the principles of divine revelation, rather than to give them the talents for criticism, or perplex them with unedifying controversies," quoted Lovett, op.cit., 70.

Besides the theological lectures, students also attended a course of missionary lectures, prepared by Dr. Bogue, which they also had to transcribe. This course of 26 lectures covered the whole theory of missions as then understood. The first lecture was on "the Office and Qualifications of a Missionary." Three lectures were devoted to preaching and the remainder to the other departments of missionary activity. The intention of these lectures was not to lay down strict rules of procedure, but to fulfil the second object mentioned in the Report of 1800, the "strengthening of good dispositions." The Directors had suggested that the instructions should "chiefly refer to the heart, and instead of cherishing the desire of shining in the world by distinguished talents, must aim at subduing every elating thought, and at mortifying the vain propensities of our nature. Our students are to learn how they may be patient and submissive under disappointments, persevering under long discouragements, ready to meet sufferings or even death, if such should be the divine appointment."<sup>(1)</sup> According to this plan lecture 16, for instance, was devoted to "the Behaviour of Missionaries to each other." Some lectures, such as those devoted to catechizing, "Writing and Publishing Books", and "Setting up Schools", and the "Conduct and Doctrine of Missionaries respecting Civil Government", did make the duty of the missionaries to their Society clear, but it seems doubtful whether a lecture devoted to the "History of Missions before Christ" (with a subsection on the Antideluvian world) gave any practical guidance to the missionaries. Bogue's missionary lectures were also restricted in that he could only draw on a limited range of practical missionary experience.

(1) Report, quoted Lovett, op.cit., 71.

Most of his references were thus confined to the Danish missionaries to Malabar; the American missionaries Eliot, Mayhew and Brainerd; the Moravians, and the Roman Catholics.

Calvinism and respectability distinguished the students at Gosport. Walter Lawry, who visited the Seminary in 1817, thought that the students were "very polite", but his comments suggest that he thought them below standard in piety and zeal.<sup>(1)</sup> Nevertheless, Bogue's missionary enthusiasm permeated the atmosphere of the Institution, and every month he would read letters received from various missionaries abroad, to the students.<sup>(2)</sup>

Most of the missionary candidates received all their theological training at Gosport, but some of them were given extra tuition. The practical nature of part of the training course, such as the acquisition of particular or specialist mechanical skills, demanded the presence of the candidate in London, and consequently he very often attended classes at a London Academy for a time. Thus William Ellis, after he was accepted in December 1814, entered Gosport where he prepared for the ministry; yet, wrote his son, "little more than four months were allowed for this preparatory work."<sup>(3)</sup> Ellis then spent six intensive months in London where he learnt all the processes of printing and bookbinding, and where he attended lectures on medicine and surgery, besides actual practice at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. At the same time he continued his scholastic studies at Homerton. Until he began his course Ellis had received very little formal education, but he had taught himself a lot by avid reading.<sup>(4)</sup> Charles

(1) Lawry, December 1817, Papers.

(2) See Pitman, 16 June 1819, C.P.

(3) J. Ellis, Life of William Ellis, 22.

(4) Ibid, 7 - 8.

Pitman was similarly placed when he entered Gosport.<sup>(1)</sup> It was a considerable step for young men like Ellis and Pitman who came straight from the shop or the garden to Gosport, and their ability to improve under the system is really a reflection of their own determination to succeed, and their natural talents. Charles Barff does not appear to have attended Gosport although he was required to study Dr. Bogue's lectures. Like Ellis, he received some tuition from Dr. Pye Smith, the theological tutor at Homerton Academy. Pye Smith seems to have done little more than go through the Greek grammar with them. That the training received by these men was quite often of a very limited kind might be gathered from a letter written by Barff in 1816 on his way to the islands.

"I am going to write Mr. Bogue's Lectures on Theology, Phylosophy, etc. I hope to be a greek and hebrew scolar and write those lectures."<sup>(2)</sup>

Not all the candidates took to learning easily, and some had to be prepared before entering Gosport. In January 1820, George Pritchard entered the home of the Rev. John Chalmers of Stafford who conducted a boarding school. Pritchard's previous "means of instruction and information" had been "extremely limited."<sup>(3)</sup> Chalmers praised Pritchard for his preaching talents, his industriousness, and for rising early, but in all points of learning he found him "extremely deficient."<sup>(4)</sup>

"To many words with which one would naturally conceive he would be familiar he either affixes no ideas, or ideas so foreign to their meaning as to be quite ludicrous."

(1) Pitman, 18 August 1820, C.Q.

(2) Barff to Hill, 29 February 1816, S.S.M., 100

(3) Chalmers, 26 August 1820, Pritchard C.P.

(4) Chalmers, 3 March 1820, Pritchard C.P.



He appears to have been so slow that "many a youth could learn with ease in one day what costs him hard labour for three days." Chalmers taught Pritchard English grammar, Latin, writing and arithmetic. However, when the time came for Pritchard to enter Gosport, Chalmers was not happy about his pupil's progress.

"I humbly conceive however that unless a development of talents take place at Gosport it would be much better to send him forth as a Catechist than as a preacher especially as I understand the Directors intend henceforth to divide their Missionaries into these two Classes."<sup>(1)</sup>

It is not a little surprising to find that, nine years later, Pritchard was Principal of a Seminary at Papeete for the training of Tahitian missionaries.

On the other hand, there was the odd missionary at Gosport who had already received an education for the ministry. One such was Thomas Jones who was educated at Llanfyllin Academy under the Rev. Dr. Lewis (dec. 1822). This Independent academy in Montgomeryshire was based on similar lines to the older Dissenting academies.<sup>(2)</sup> Studies were conducted in Welsh, English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac and French, and students were examined in all these subjects. The subjects taught in English included grammar, logic, geography "with the use of Globes", algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, and "Four Theological Essays on the divine law." Thus, when Jones arrived at Gosport he had already received a better education than most, and this is possibly why he wrote to the Directors, on the advice of Bogue, in January 1821, requesting "a Grammar, a Vocabulary, a Testament, or any Book or Books" that might assist him in learning the Tahitian language.<sup>(3)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup>Chalmers, 26 August 1820, Pritchard C.P.

<sup>(2)</sup>For a more detailed account of the course see Evangelical Magazine, XXIX, 293; XXX, 277.

<sup>(3)</sup>Jones, 10 January 1821, C.P.

When Dr. Bogue died in 1825, the temporary superintendence of the Gosport Seminary was undertaken by Dr. Ebenezer Henderson. In 1826 the students at Gosport were transferred to premises at Hoxton, which had formerly been a Dissenting academy, and which later became the Wesleyan Mission College. Dr. Henderson accepted the post of resident theological tutor. In 1830 the Directors resolved to discontinue their own college, mainly because of the expense, and the increased facilities for educating missionaries at the various Evangelical colleges and seminaries. (1)

Aaron Buzacott, afterwards of Rarotonga, was one of the students at Hoxton Mission College. (2) As a child he had received a "scanty education". (3) As a young man he was greatly assisted by living with the Rev. James Hardy, a home missionary in Herefordshire. Hardy recommended Buzacott to Thomas Wilson, a prominent Evangelical layman. Wilson then arranged for Buzacott to reside with the Rev. D. Francis of London, and paid out of his own purse for six months board and tuition to prepare him for Hoxton Academy. In 1823 Buzacott entered the four year course at Hoxton Academy. It was usual to begin by studying Greek and Latin and "the philosophy of Grammar and Rhetoric". Classical studies were continued throughout the course. The final two years were devoted more exclusively to theological studies. (4)

In 1825 Buzacott applied for acceptance by the L.M.S. His tutors reported to the Directors that he had entered Hoxton "with less previous advantages

(1) See Lovett, History of the L.M.S., II, 668.

(2) Alexander Simpson, who afterwards became Tutor of the South Sea Academy, removed from Gosport to Hoxton to complete his four years' course, see Simpson, 16 August 1843, S.S. Letters.

(3) Buzacott, 1827, C.P.

(4) For the syllabus at Hoxton Academy see Evangelical Magazine, XXIX, 340; XXVIII, 339.

of education than most of his fellow students", and considered that he was "fitter more for active than contemplative engagements." Although he did not appear "deficient in ability for acquiring languages" he did not "distinguish himself" in the philosophy and mathematical classes. (1) After his acceptance, Buzacott was given more specific theological training, and in 1826 he returned to Hoxton, now the Mission College, where he copied out Bogue's missionary lectures.

After 1830 the character of missionary education changed, and there was much greater variety in the educational backgrounds and training of the L.M.S. missionaries for the South Seas. The principal academies which the missionaries attended on the recommendation of the Directors were Homerton, Highbury (formerly the Independent Academy at Hoxton), Newport Pagnell and Rowell. The largest single group of missionaries appear to have been the educationally backward who were trained at Turvey in Bedfordshire. Although Turvey was not an academy, in a very real sense it replaced Gosport and Hoxton, in that so many of the candidates for the South Seas attended there for some months, whether they went to one of the colleges or not. Situated only four miles from Olney, Turvey maintained the Evangelical tradition associated in that district with Cowper and Newton. The Rev. Richard Cecil, who took charge of the students, was minister of the local Congregational Church. Cecil had the confidence of the Directors of the L.M.S., and they appear to have been chiefly guided by his judgment in receiving or rejecting candidates for missionary training. (2) As most of those who attended Turvey

(1) See Tutors' Report, 24 June 1825, Buzacott C.P.

(2) Steel, A.W. Murray of Samoa, 42.



had received a very slender primary education, Cecil's work was very similar to that of the country clergymen who prepared candidates for the larger academies. Occasionally a candidate, who had received very few opportunities, made such rapid progress that he was sent to an academy. Both Charles Hardie<sup>(1)</sup> and A.W. Murray (Samoa) proceeded from Turvey to Homerton, whilst Thomas Slatyer was given extra tuition at Western College.

On the other hand some candidates made very little progress. John Rodgerson, for instance, eventually had to receive private tuition from another clergyman. Cecil believed that his talents were "rather below than above mediocrity", and recommended him as a "mechanic, who might preach occasionally." Rodgerson displayed "a natural want of life and elasticity", and there was nothing to counterbalance this "want of animation."<sup>(2)</sup> The comments of the Rev. Archibald Jack of Whitehaven, who took over Rodgerson's training, also provide an interesting commentary on Turvey. Jack observed that "a habit of reading seems never to have been contracted before he became the subject of serious impressions and from that time, till a short space before his application to the Society, he had read but little else than the religious periodicals of the day - and of these not the most likely to enlarge the mind. Hence the meagreness of his general knowledge."

"I question if ever he read a volume of history in his life. His acquaintance with Theology, when he went to Turvey was I knew chiefly of a practical kind; and I had hoped that he might have gained a greater acquaintance with the Science during his studies there than I find he has."<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Hardie, 20 June 1833, C.P.

(2) Cecil, 16 June 1832; 26 June 1832, Rodgerson C.P.

(3) Jack, 29 August 1832, Rodgerson C.P.

Jack criticised the system at Turvey, implying that too exclusive a place was given to the Latin and Greek languages.

"---Yet I think it a desideratum in Mr. Cecil's plan that he does not require of the students exercises in composition to a greater extent than he does."

Rodgerson spent two hours each day with Jack reading history, geography, English composition and theology. Jack also undertook to familiarize Rodgerson with the Tahitian grammar. Despite all this extra tuition Rodgerson never overcame his initial backwardness, and his character as a missionary was not particularly attractive. He lacked tact, was arbitrary in his dealings with native peoples, and was slow to adapt himself to new conditions. (1)

In contrast to Rodgerson, Robert Thomson was a candidate who had also received little education, but whose powers of perseverance enabled him to become an efficient missionary. When he applied in 1836, Thomson said that he had been practising writing, arithmetic and mensuration and had been reading English grammar, ancient and modern geography and Latin, but admitted that, from "want of application", he never was a good scholar. (2) Thomson, however, had a natural brilliance. One of his workmates wrote that he had often been "put to the blush" at Thomson's "superior style of Essay writting", (3) and doubtless the young joiner did impress his fellow mechanics with his "learning". Thomson's stay at Turvey was short and he seemed to benefit most from preaching experience. Unfortunately he was "conscious even to a painfull degree" that he was inferior to his colleagues

(1) This was particularly obvious in the Marquesas.

(2) Thomson, 30 November 1836, C.Q. (8)

(3) Deas, 26 September 1836, Thomson C.P.

"both in talent and extent of education." It had been suggested that Thomson should go out to the Marquesas before being ordained, but he opposed this because he had heard enough to convince him that he was regarded by some of his brethren as being considerably their inferior, and it had occasioned a "little unpleasant feeling."<sup>(1)</sup> Besides those already mentioned, others who passed through Turvey were Barnden, Macdonald, Charter, William Gill, Drummond and John Barff.

Those candidates who did not go to Turvey might be gathered into two groups, those who were already at academies when they applied, and those who were sent to academies by the L.M.S. During the eighteenth century the Dissenting academies had held a very important place in the history of English education.<sup>(2)</sup> Indeed, the principal academies had been regarded, even by some leading Churchmen, as being on an educational equality with Oxford and Cambridge. Like Calvin's Academy at Geneva, they professed to give instruction in the subjects of the quadrivium. The parents of many distinguished Churchmen had sent their sons to Dissenting academies because of the high standards, both intellectual and moral, of those institutions. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the principal Dissenting academies had not progressed in proportion to their previous role. Many of them had ceased altogether, and the most active tended to be the more orthodox,<sup>(3)</sup> which tended to stifle that intellectual curiosity which had distinguished some of the older ones. On the other hand, Nonconformists had but little alternative to entering their own academies. Andrew Reed,

<sup>(1)</sup> Thomson, 18 December 1837, C.P.

<sup>(2)</sup> See particularly Parker, Dissenting Academies in England and Ashley Smith, Birth of Modern Education.

<sup>(3)</sup> Orthodox is meant in the Dissenting sense of Calvinistic.

afterwards a prominent Congregational leader and L.M.S. Director, was given encouragement to enter Cambridge to be under the care of the Rev. Charles Simeon, in 1807, but he declined:

"Cambridge was too strait for me to enter, except at the cost of perfect conscientiousness; and though I may be less learned when I come out of Hackney, I hope I may be not one whit less useful."<sup>(1)</sup>

Homerton Academy was the more intellectual successor to Gosport and Hoxton. A Congregational establishment, Homerton had originally been founded by the King's Head Society at Newington Green about 1732. This academy had a varied career, but unlike some of its kind, it had been consistent in its adherence to Calvinistic doctrine.<sup>(2)</sup> Great importance was also placed on the value of the classics. The normal course for ministerial training at Homerton was four years. Students read in Herodotus and Homer's Iliad, and attended critical lectures on the Greek Testament. They also read in Horace's Odes and Virgil's Aeneid in Latin with parts of Genesis, Job, the Psalms, and Jonah in Hebrew. Examinations were held in natural philosophy, the "Philosophy of Mind", rhetoric, ecclesiastical history, Biblical criticism, and divinity.<sup>(3)</sup> Senior students delivered discourses on subjects such as "The influences of the Holy Spirit essential to True Religion" and "The Wisdom of the World foolishness with God." The Rev. John Pye Smith, D.D., L.L.D. was the Professor of Theology at Homerton for forty five years. A man of unusual learning, a prominent preacher, and a Director of the L.M.S., Pye Smith was one of the earliest

<sup>(1)</sup> Reed, Memoirs, 37, 156.

<sup>(2)</sup> For the history of the academy see Ashley Smith, Birth of Modern Education, 193-198.

<sup>(3)</sup> See Evangelical Magazine, XXVII, 382; XXVIII, 339.

among the Dissenters to recognize the value of the theological contributions of German scholars. (1) He was also one of the first to attempt a reconciliation between modern science and the doctrines of Divine revelation. Amongst those missionary candidates who had received very little primary education, but whose superior abilities were early discerned so that they were sent to Homerton, were Stallworthy from Newport Pagnell and Hardie and Murray from Turvey. Dr. Pye Smith was also particularly impressed with the "many and rare excellencies... understanding and judgment" of C.G. Stevens, and recommended him for service in India. (2)

Another training place for missionary candidates was Cheshunt College. The followers of Whitefield were not as oblivious to the practical uses of ministerial education as their Wesleyan brethren. A college for the training of ministers had been founded by the Countess of Huntingdon at Trevecca. Eventually this establishment developed into Cheshunt College. (3) A three year course was given free of charge to Calvinist candidates for the ministry of any Protestant denomination. Although Latin, Greek and Hebrew were taught, it is quite clear from the reports that preaching practice was the central feature of the course. The old Dissenting academies had placed considerable emphasis on occupational training, but Cheshunt outdid them all. The whole course was directed towards the cultivation of the art of preaching. It was not part of the curriculum to broaden the mental horizons. In 1838 Cheshunt became a training place for missionaries. It was regarded as a kind of "finishing school" for those candidates who had received a good

(1) See Steel, A.W. Murray of Samoa, 44.

(2) Pye Smith, 23 October 1837, Stevens C.P. Ellis and Barff had also received tuition from Pye Smith, see ante, 65.

(3) The Rev. Thomas Lewis of the Duff received his training for the ministry at Cheshunt.



education elsewhere. Henry Nisbet and George Turner were sent there after attending Glasgow University and the Relief Divinity Hall. Likewise Joseph Moore, who went to Cheshunt in 1838, had been trained as a teacher and was familiar with the classics, mathematics, history, philosophy and theology. His tutors believed that he was "well qualified to impart learning to others." His reading extended beyond Evangelical theology to such subjects as poetry, natural history and electricity.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the late forties and fifties the Academy at Bedford became the missionary seminary for the South Seas. The tutors <sup>(2)</sup> at Bedford, like those at Turvey, were concerned with "raw, uncultivated" recruits. Law and Macfarlane both belonged to that class. Similarly, John Jones was given some instruction at Cotton End Academy, near Bedford, after receiving some tuition from the Rev. W. Legge of Fakenham.<sup>(3)</sup>

The other class of missionary candidates who applied to the L.M.S. after 1830 were those students who were already in theological colleges. Instead of removing to a "missionary seminary" they completed their various courses. Thus, most of those who were already at college received a better education than those whose education was directed by the L.M.S., although, as we have seen, promising students were sometimes given the benefit of a full-time college education. These other Dissenting academies were very similar to Llanfyllin and Homerton, having features both of the grammar school and the faculty college. Hackney College was perhaps the most influential of these other academies, and trained as many missionaries as Homerton

(1) Moore, 1842, C.P.

(2) The Rev. Messrs. Jukes and Alliott.

(3) Legge took in other missionary students, e.g. W.A. Lind.

for the South Seas. The official title of this foundation was "Hackney Theological Seminary, and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Usually called the Village Itinerancy, or Evangelical Association for the Propagation of the Gospel." The college had been established by the Rev. John Eyre,<sup>(1)</sup> minister of an Episcopal chapel at Homerton, to provide a "short and economical course of instruction, to prepare itinerants to preach Christ to the poor." This course excluded dead languages, "except so far as was necessary to furnish an introduction to the original tongues of the Scripture." It also included a short course of lectures on biblical and general science, and the duties of a preacher.<sup>(2)</sup> The principal tutors<sup>(3)</sup> were conscious of the importance of missionary training and objected to their students being sent out prematurely. It was their "anxious wish that no student may go from this House who does not possess attainments in the original languages of the Holy Scriptures, and of the knowledge of the Theology of the Bible, which shall qualify him, on attaining the native language of the Heathen, to sit down with Senior and competent Missionaries and assist in the work of translation."<sup>(4)</sup> The missionaries trained at Hackney included Bullen, Powell, George Gill, Lind and Spencer. A report written by the Rev. John Jefferson, after Bullen had completed his final year in 1838, is of interest as it is one of the few available examination reports for a South Seas missionary.

(1) Eyre was one of the founders of the L.M.S. and first editor of the Evangelical Magazine.

(2) Bogue and Bennett, History of Dissenters, I, 522. See also Ashley Smith, Birth of Modern Education, 178; Reed, Memoirs, 53 ff.

(3) The Rev. George Collison and the Rev. Samuel Ransom.

(4) Collison and Ransom, 25 Novemner 1842, Powell C.P.



"Mr. Bullen fully sustained the high character of which he gave early promise. He read in Latin, ex Andria Terentii, - in Greek from the Crito of Plato, and the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles; in Hebrew, the third chapter of Job; and in Syriac from the second chapter of John. He read also a portion of the Epistle to the Romans, and furnished an analysis of the epistle. He stated also, at considerable length, and with great accuracy, the evidence for the Authenticity and Inspiration of the Pentateuch, with special reference to the miracles, and to some of the popular objections of infidels; and was prepared to give a general view of the Old Testament Revelation, as developed [in the] character of the Great Deliverer promised to man, and of the New Testament Revelation as exhibiting his person and claims; the whole investigation having been pursued as the basis of a system of theological truth deduced immediately from the Scriptures themselves."<sup>(1)</sup>

The other academies at which missionaries to the South Seas were trained, included Wymondley, the "Presbyterian College" at Caermarthen, Airedale College, Blackburn Independent Academy (Lancs.), Western College and Highbury.<sup>(2)</sup> Highbury College was formerly Hoxton Independent Academy and was directed by the Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Henderson, formerly the missionary Tutor. Amongst Henderson's students were Loxton, Jesson, and William Wyatt Gill.<sup>(3)</sup> Wyatt Gill, who was also a graduate of London University, was afterwards to become one of the foremost scholars of Polynesian culture. His theological training was completed at New College which in 1850 grew out of the merger of several of the older Independent academies.<sup>(4)</sup>

The contribution of the Scottish tutors to missionary training was considerable. The Rev. Greville Ewing and the Rev. Dr. Ralph Wardlaw were two of the most influential. Intimately connected with the Scottish "Tabernacle Connexion", which sought to establish places of worship similar

(1) Jefferson, 21 September 1838, Bullen C.P. For more detail of the course see G. Gill, 23 November 1842, C.P.; 18 November 1842, C.Q.<sup>(8)</sup>; Powell, 1842, C.P.

(2) See Appendix.V

(3) For more detail concerning the course at Highbury see Jesson, 30 April 1840, C.Q.

(4) Homerton College (Mile End); Coward College; Highbury College (Hoxton Academy).

to Whitefield's Tabernacles on a Congregational plan, both these men were still living in the spirit of the Revival. They were deeply concerned with the education of preachers and established a theological academy at Glasgow for the training of Congregational ministers. Before 1801 Ewing and another minister had conducted an academy at Edinburgh where Elder and Scott, the two missionaries engaged for the L.M.S. by the Edinburgh Missionary Society in 1800, received their training. Both Ewing and Wardlaw delivered lectures at their academy and the students were required to deliver discourses.<sup>(1)</sup> Wardlaw's works were particularly influential and were studied in the other academies. Most of their students were encouraged to attend the University of Glasgow. Thomas McKean, who studied at the Academy for the Congregational ministry took his A.M. degree. Even Mills, the blacksmith, sat in on the Hebrew class at the University.<sup>(2)</sup>

The only ordained minister who became a missionary to the South Seas who did not attend a theological college was the Rev. William Howe. He informed the Directors that his education had been "strictly of a private nature".<sup>(3)</sup> The Bible had been his principal study and he appeared to be very proficient in Hebrew and Greek. He had read the Bible and the Septuagint in Hebrew and made a practice of reading the Greek Testament in conjunction with different commentaries. He had studied several critical works and adopted the methods laid down in Campbell's Systematic Theology. Besides theology, he had studied "mental philosophy", natural history, and astronomy.

(1) For an outline of the course see Evangelical Magazine, XXIX, 116.

(2) Mills, 6 June 1835, C.P. Drummond also attended lectures at the Theological Academy but did not sit for the examinations.

(3) Howe, 1838, C.P.; 20 August 1838, C.Q.

Although private tuition and theological courses played the major role in the training of the South Seas missionaries, some applicants attended the Mechanics Institutes. The desire of the mechanic class for knowledge, and the evangelising desire to disseminate it, led to the formation of societies and institutions for the purpose of giving instruction in scientific and cultural subjects. An article in the Evangelical Magazine for October 1822<sup>(1)</sup> mentions a school established in Edinburgh "for the purpose of imparting to mechanics the philosophical principles on which their respective trades are founded." Already in Glasgow a "scientific school" had been established under the superintendence of Dr. Ure who gave lectures on "the various branches of science that can be conducive to the improvement of the artisan." In 1823 seceders from Ure's courses and other Glasgow workmen organized a "Mechanics' Institution" for the purpose of "instructing artisans in the scientific principles of arts and manufacturers", and for "diffusing useful knowledge."<sup>(2)</sup> A London Mechanics' Institution was founded about the same time. Classes were formed in these Institutes for teaching mathematics, English, French and Latin, and lectures were given in natural philosophy, literature and languages.

These institutions became a powerful influence in nineteenth century life, and many of the missionaries received instruction which greatly supplemented their theological or specialized courses. Mills, who had received only "an ordinary education" attended popular lectures given in Glasgow on natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy.<sup>(3)</sup> With this grounding

(1) Evangelical Magazine, XXX, 404.

(2) See particularly Adamson, English Education, 38-39. George Birkbeck of Glasgow had established mechanics' lectures as early as 1800.

(3) Mills, 28 January 1833, C.P.

he was enabled to attend classes in anatomy, chemistry and the theory and practice of medicine. As a result, he became a useful medical missionary. Mills had a thirst for education which in some ways typified the age and the class. He believed implicitly that a missionary should be well educated. Henry Royle owed much of his education to the Manchester Mechanics Institution, where his studies were directed for several years. He was placed successively in the English grammar, the mathematical and Latin classes, and attended lectures on astronomy, mechanics, electricity, and other scientific subjects. This supplemented private tuition given by his pastor, the Rev. Richard Fletcher.<sup>(1)</sup>

The educational qualifications of the Presbyterian missionaries were similar to those of the L.M.S. missionaries. All the Presbyterian missionaries, except the catechist Archibald, were ordained ministers before entering the field, and consequently they had taken theological courses. Certainly some missionaries were better educated than others. Fulton Johnston, for instance, spent four years at the West River Theological Seminary in Nova Scotia, one year at Princeton Seminary, New Jersey, and also matriculated at Pennsylvania Medical College.<sup>(2)</sup> On the other hand, his colleague, William Matheson, spent the minimum period of three annual sessions at the Theological Seminary, and laboured under "great disadvantages" because he had only attended a "country common school" as a child. John G. Paton, from Scotland, spent his meal hours, when a child, in learning the rudiments of Latin and Greek. He saved enough money from his trade to enable him to go to Dumfries Academy for six weeks.

(1) Royle, 11 October 1837, C.Q.(8)

(2) For his training see Patterson, Memoirs, 49-93.

He then went to Glasgow and studied at the Free Normal Seminary for about a year. Whilst teaching children Paton continued his studies at College, although sporadically. On deciding for the ministry, he was enrolled as a theological student at the Divinity Hall, and also undertook medical studies.

The American Board missionaries were also well trained, mainly due to the close association between the missionary movement and the Colleges. The American Puritans had always placed a high value on education, and although Whitefield and others had done much to stimulate their Evangelical zeal, there had been no great infusion of Methodist principles. The same revival in New England during the last decade of the eighteenth century which gave rise to several societies in the eastern states for disseminating missionary intelligence, was responsible for the founding of Williams, Bowdoin, Union and Middlebury Colleges. Samuel J. Mills, the father of the American Board, was a graduate of Williams College, and some of the other founders were Williams and Andover men. The standard of the education of the American missionaries might be gauged from W.P. Alexander, missionary to the Marquesas. Alexander received early training in arithmetic, geometry, algebra, surveying, astronomy, Latin and Greek.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1824, when only nineteen, he was put in charge of the mathematical department of Centre College in Danville. In 1827 he entered the Rev. John MacFarland's theological class in Paris, studying Hebrew and the Greek Testament to prepare for the ministry. In November 1828 Alexander completed his theological course at Princeton, and in 1831 he was examined by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in theology, church history, church

(1) See Alexander, William Patterson Alexander, 21-30.

government, the sacraments, and Hebrew.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the island of Moorea there was an institution which also contributed to the education of South Seas missionaries. This was the South Sea Academy which was opened in March 1824. Although there were only three male missionaries<sup>(2)</sup> born in the South Seas who attended this academy, a number of missionaries' wives were educated there. J.M. Orsmond was the first master of the "academy" and was succeeded by Alexander Simpson in 1831. In 1839 Simpson resigned when Howe agreed to take over the institution. Howe shortly afterwards withdrew, and no successor was appointed. Thenceforward the children of the missionaries were sent to England. Neither Simpson nor Orsmond had received any training as school teachers, and their methods are an interesting revelation of the general teaching practice of the missionaries. Orsmond was in many ways a talented man, but his educational system consisted mainly in requiring his pupils to commit large sections of textbook knowledge to memory. Thus, at an examination held in 1826, Samuel Wilson, afterwards a pioneer missionary to Samoa, then aged fourteen, repeated the following impressive list:

"The epistle to the Hebrews; and also the Epistle of James; thirty-one hymns; fifty-one pages of Ayliffe's Catechism on Divine Revelation; the whole of the Missionary hymns; Murray's Grammar to the end of Syntax; ten chapters of Pinnock's Catechism on Geography; twenty-two chapters of ditto on Chronology; the whole of the Assembly's Catechism with the proofs; twenty-nine pages of a Catechism on the Arts and Sciences; seven chapters of Pinnock's Catechism on Rhetoric."<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) The colleges attended by the other American missionaries are given in Appendix V.

(2) Samuel Wilson, John Barff, and James Bicknell.

(3) Second Annual Report, quoted South Asian Register, December 1828.



No doubt this method of teaching reflects the effect of Bogue's course at Gosport. A writer in the South-Asian Register shrewdly observed that "making boys learn off by heart as a task, sublime or interesting passages, is the way to pall the pleasure of them, or lessen their interest in after life."<sup>(1)</sup>

Evidently this was not the case with Samuel Wilson. In the same year he felt that God had begun "the work of Grace in the soul."<sup>(2)</sup> At the end of 1826 Wilson was sent to the Colony where he lived in the family of the Rev. J.D. Lang. During the next two years he "acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Latin, Greek and French languages to enable him to read the Holy Scriptures in each of these languages with fluency." In 1829 he was appointed teacher of the Caledonian school in Sydney.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1831 he was doing pastoral work. Crook observed that there was a certain manner about him "in consequence of his being brought up at Tahiti" which was noticed by all discerning persons.<sup>(4)</sup> All European boys from Tahiti, Crook believed, would "appear halfwitted when brought to a civilized country." Wilson continued his studies and attended a course of lectures on natural philosophy and chemistry delivered by the Rev. John MacGarvie, the Presbyterian Chaplain at Portland Head.<sup>(5)</sup> In 1832 he returned to Tahiti where he continued to study Euclid and algebra. He also received some assistance from Pritchard and copied out the outlines of Bogue's

(1) ibid, The Report for 1831 (see S.S.L.) suggests further parallels with Gosport. Boys in their third year read in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and were also examined in arithmetic, "evidences of Christianity", rhetoric, mental philosophy, logic, ichthyology, astronomy and the use of globes.

(2) S. Wilson, 4 August 1826, S.S.L.; Lang, 5 October 1827, Australia Letters.

(3) He had been a pupil there, 1822-1824, before going to the South Sea Academy.

(4) Crook, 25 May 1831, Australia Letters.

(5) S. Wilson, 31 January 1834; MacGarvie, 8 November 1832, S.S.L.

theological lectures. A year after his return he wrote to the Directors saying that it would be more advantageous to him to "acquire a knowledge of the Tahitian Dialect" and acquaint himself a little with "the manners and customs of the people, ignorance of which would be unpleasant to [him] when in the company of friends in England." Wilson had spent so much time out of Tahiti that he had possibly absorbed less Tahitian culture than any of the other missionaries' sons. His desire to know more of island customs was in part stimulated by Dr. Lang,<sup>(1)</sup> but it was also something which came independently of education, and was eventually to lead to his fall.

John Barff was at the Academy under Simpson, and went there before he could speak English. While there he learnt some Latin, but "was unable to proceed for want of suitable books."<sup>(2)</sup> In 1834 he was taken to England where he was further educated at Silcoates School, where he was taught Greek and Latin. After returning to the islands in 1839 he assisted Pritchard at Papeete where he was "acceptable as a Preacher, both in English and Tahitian."<sup>(3)</sup> In 1841 he was at Huahimé and continued his studies with his father. In June of that year they had gone through part of the New Testament in Greek and the first book of the Aeneid in Latin, and had reached the 80th of Bogue's lectures, "reading appropriate works."<sup>(4)</sup> At this stage, John Barff had achieved a proficiency in the language "not to be obtained by any but those born here". In 1842, on offering himself to the mission, the Tahitian Committee required him to submit an exegesis on Job, IX, 2, and an exposition from the original of 2 Cor. IV, 3-4, besides

(1) See S. Wilson, 4 April 1835, Lang Papers, XV.

(2) J. Barff, 2 May 1838, C.Q.(8)

(3) Pritchard, 31 October 1840, S.S.L.

(4) C. Barff, 9 June 1841, S.S.L.



an essay on "the duration of future punishments".<sup>(1)</sup> Barff was ordained in 1844, and his training, combined with his great knowledge of Tahitian, rendered him a very capable translator.

James Bicknell was also at the Academy under Simpson, after which he was sent to N.S.W. where he was apprenticed to a carpenter. Bicknell was the only missionary associated with the American mission who did not receive a regular theological training, and this was because he joined on a voluntary basis as a lay helper. His knowledge of island customs and his missionary zeal made him in many ways the unofficial leader of the Marquesas mission. He returned to Hawaii and there received regular ordination.

The majority of the Calvinistic missionaries who went to the South Seas received an intensive course of theological training which included instruction in the "original languages" of the Bible. Other training was incidental to this. But they all were impressed with the importance of education, and the desire to be better educated was about as keen as the desire to impart the "saving truths" to the islanders.

(1) Howe, 9 March 1842, S.S.L.

Educational Qualifications and Missionary Training: The Wesleyans.

It was the tendency of the Methodist Revival to emphasize the importance of preaching, and to disregard the acquisition of theological and classical learning. Orthodox Churchmen and learned Dissenters shared in the spirit of the Revival, but they were often concerned by the unlettered character of a vast number of the evangelists. It was perhaps natural enough for the Rev. Sydney Smith to be sarcastic about the comparatively humble beginnings of William Carey, the missionary to India; but it is not a little interesting to find the Rev. Augustus Toplady, himself a disciple of Whitefield, pouring scorn on the more humble followers of Wesley. Toplady gave the words to his imaginary character of Wesley:

"I've Thomas Olivers, the cobbler,  
No stall in England holds a nobler;  
A wight of talents universal,  
Whereof I'll give a brief rehearsal:  
He wields, beyond most other men,  
His awl, his razor, and his pen;  
With equal ease, whene'er there's need,  
Can darn my stockings or my creed,  
And then, when he philosophises,  
No son of Crispin half so wise is;  
Of all my ragged regiment  
No cobbler gives me more content...."(1)

Many of Wesley's followers were very ill-educated, receiving no more instruction than that obtained from dame schools, and perhaps from personal tuition. Throughout Methodism there appeared to be a certain suspicion of higher education, especially of the classics and polite learning, and a fear that such subjects would detract from a pristine holiness and zeal. Even the academic training given at Trevecca by the Calvinist Methodists

(1) quoted W.M.M. (1834), 827.

emphasised the role of preaching and placed less emphasis on non-Scriptural subjects. Thus, amongst the Wesleyans, men appeared to be educated according to their station in life. A preacher of humble origin, who had received very little education, was not expected to receive the advantages, if such they were considered, of those in another rank of society.

This aspect of Methodism, especially of the Wesleyan Connexion, was a social phenomenon rather than the policy of its leaders, and as the majority of Wesley's followers in the early nineteenth century became better educated through the means of Sabbath schools, Mechanics' Institutes, and the dissemination of popular educational literature, the old distrust was gradually broken down. There had always been a number of Wesleyan leaders who endeavoured to raise the standards of education of the local preachers. Wesley himself had planned to establish a "Seminary for Labourers".<sup>(1)</sup> The great scholars of the Wesleyan movement were also firm advocates for better training. In 1806 Dr. Adam Clarke appealed for "some kind of seminary for educating such workmen as need not be ashamed". He felt that twelve or even six months' instruction in theology, "vital godliness", practical religion, English grammar, and the rudiments of general knowledge, would make a remarkable difference.

Until 1834 the training given to Wesleyan missionaries was comparatively limited, and varied according to the individual advantages received by the missionaries themselves. Thomas and Hutchinson of the Tongan mission were men of few opportunities, and it was only by arduous application that Thomas was able to develop into a competent missionary. As a boy Thomas had been

(1) See W.M.M. (1834), 338-339, 861-862.

taught to read and write, but throughout his missionary life he was conscious of lack of education.

"I have been engaged today chiefly in my study," wrote Thomas in 1827. "Had I possessed more information, and a more competent ability for this great work before I left home, then I might have spent more time in the study of the language than I can now....What a raw, weak, uncultivated wretch was I when I left old England!"<sup>(1)</sup>

Whilst he was a local preacher he had studied the Bible, Wesley's works, and some of the writings of Doddridge. Thomas continued to read in theology, and he requested several books to take with him to Tonga, including the lives of Wesley by Samuel Bradburn and Henry Moore, Wesley's Explanatory Notes on the New Testament, Joseph Strutt's Commonplace Book to the Holy Scriptures, and Calmet's Great Dictionary of the Holy Bible. Hutchinson desired the works of Prideaux and Josephus.<sup>(2)</sup>

A story told by John Watsford throws some light on the educational limitations of John Thomas. On one occasion when Watsford was talking with Hazelwood about grammar, they said that they thought John Wesley's grammars were all too brief, and were unfit for learners.

"Mr. Thomas was at us in a moment, and came down on us very severely. That two mere boys should dare to criticise the work of that great man was almost as bad as the unpardonable sin."<sup>(3)</sup>

Because these early missionaries had received scarcely any training their preaching was often crude and not always acceptable amongst Europeans of their own persuasion. The Rev. Joseph Orton, for instance, criticised James Watkin of Tonga for "dictatorial freedoms with his audience", and

(1) quoted Rowe, A Pioneer, 31.

(2) W.M.M.S. Sydney D.D.B. 20-23.

(3) Watsford, Glorious Gospel Triumphs, 32.

expressions which were in many instances "decidedly coarse and unbecoming the pulpit."<sup>(1)</sup>

Peter Turner is typical of the early missionaries whose education depended on little more than learning the three Rs, and reading theological works recommended by their seniors. Amongst the less fortunate of the missionaries of the L.M.S. self-culture played an important part, but the availability of missionary tutors meant that self-culture was improved upon and studies were carefully directed. Amongst Wesleyans of this class the role of self-culture was much more marked. Many of them mastered an amazing amount of knowledge even if they did not secure academic polish. Turner's first training was at a Sabbath school, although his mother, who was a "superior reader" possibly helped him.<sup>(2)</sup> He afterwards attended a young men's class in a Wesleyan Sabbath School in Macclesfield. The standard of this institution might be gauged from the fact that the reader had "no learning" and could not write although he could read. When on trial as a local preacher Turner greatly lamented his lack of "literary qualifications."<sup>(3)</sup> His only books at this stage were the Bible, Wesley's Notes on the New Testament, a small edition of Pilgrim's Progress, "an old magazine" [Methodist?] and Baxter's Saints Rest. He managed to purchase Wesley's Sermons and Cruden's Concordance, and borrowed Clarke's Commentary. He had looked at Watson's Institutes and Benson's Sermons and Plans and the net result was that his "views of the doctrine of Revelation were thus corrected and fixed". He lamented that "more was not done for such as

(1) Orton, 28 July 1839, Journal, 301.

(2) See P. Turner, A brief account.

(3) P. Turner, 2 October 1827, A brief account.

[himself] by the preachers in the Circuit".

Turner was in some ways more fortunate than others as he attended a Saturday-evening class conducted by the local Independent minister (Dunkerly of Macclesfield). In this class he studied Dr. Watts' Improvement of the Mind and began his Logic, and read some works on rhetoric, Scripture history and natural history. Soon after this he was given some private tuition by a Wesleyan minister, the Rev. J. Keeling, who used Lennie's Grammar, Blair's Rhetoric and other works of Blair. Although this groundwork in grammar and theology was usually quite thorough, it tended to give men such as Turner a sense of inferiority.

Throughout his life Turner kept a list of all the books he read. Most of these works were concerned with theology or religious biography, although he did read some novels.<sup>(1)</sup> He records that he found "nothing poluting [sic] to the mind" in David Copperfield, but he considered that the Christmas Books were "not worth anybody's time reading". Such "foolish stuff" and Vivian Grey were "only fit for waste paper". This restricted vision and narrow outlook was typical of those who had fought hard to gain the literary advantages which they possessed. Their goal had been to understand the Scriptures better in order to be able to preach better, and literature was only commendable when it served or assisted this purpose.

Walter Lawry, the first of the Wesleyan missionaries to Tonga, possibly made the greatest advances in self-improvement. In November 1815, at the age of twenty-two, he wrote that he had begun to study grammar, geography, and Greek, "according to [his] wish".<sup>(2)</sup> He was confident that he would become proficient in these subjects because he "loved" them. Lawry's

(1) Turner, 1858, Books Read.

(2) Lawry, 28 November 1815, Papers.



letters and journal display talents and knowledge equal, if not superior, to those of his L.M.S. contemporaries. Most of his reading, however, appears to have been of a devotional nature.<sup>(1)</sup> Another early missionary who was better educated than most was John Weiss. Although, when he volunteered for missionary work, he had forgotten most of the Latin and French he had learnt at school, he had passed the examination of the Royal Naval College, as a candidate for a Lieutenancy, and understood navigation and astronomy. His theological reading had been confined to the basic works of Methodism.<sup>(2)</sup> The District Meeting reported that he possessed "most of the qualities which the others lacked."

"His youth and superior education fitted him for an expeditious acquirement of the language;... his thorough knowledge of Navigation, both in theory and practice, and his readiness in the use of the pen, were acquirements of which the Mission was utterly destitute...."<sup>(3)</sup>

Only two Wesleyan missionaries who left England before 1854 received an education comparable to that of the academic training of the L.M.S. missionaries. These were David Cargill and Dr. Richard Burdsall Lyth. Cargill, an M.A. of King's College, Aberdeen, equipped with a classical education, was fitted for translation work. Somewhat self-opinionated, he was not particularly popular with his less-educated brethren. Cargill's journal, written on the voyage out, mentions the theological works he was then reading.<sup>(4)</sup> These included discourses by Dr. Chalmers "on the Christian Revelation viewed in connexion with Modern Astronomy", and

(1) See Lawry, 30 April 1818, 19 July 1818, Diary.

(2) Wesley, Fletcher, etc.

(3) W.M.M.S., Sydney D.D.B.

(4) Cargill, 3/4 December 1832, 3/11 January 1833, Journal.

James's Family Monitor, a work of incomparable worth, and which next to the Bible should be carefully perused by everyone who wishes to enjoy domestic felicity". Despite his background and training, Cargill's reading does not appear to have been greatly different from that of his colleagues.

The need for better training was most obvious in the various mission fields. One writer in the Methodist Magazine denied an assertion that the Wesleyan missionaries compared favourably with the "Dissenting Ministers, with all their academical training".

"I must be allowed to ask, what is the indispensable qualification of a Missionary among the Heathen? Is it not a knowledge of their language? We have not now the inspired gift of tongues; we must begin with the alphabet.... Can a man study with advantage the grammar of another language, when he has not thoroughly studied that of his own?...! 'But have not our Missionaries made equal progress in the different languages with the progress made by Missionaries belonging to other Societies?' I answer, They have not."<sup>(1)</sup>

A Report on ministerial education had been presented to the Methodist Conference of 1823 by a Select Committee.<sup>(2)</sup> Although a Committee of Education was appointed nothing practical was done until the Conference of 1835. Another Committee was appointed to draw up plans for an institution to provide instruction for candidates for the ministry for two or three years, "so far as the calls of the Connexion may allow".

As might be expected, there was considerable opposition to overcome, and advocates of better training had to show that it was neither an innovation nor contrary to the teachings of Wesley. Wesley, Clarke and Watson

(1)W.M.M. (1835), 41. The writer appears to have been a returned missionary from India.

(2)See W.M.M. (1834), 338 ff, 861 ff.

were freely quoted, and every attempt was made through such organs as the Methodist Magazine to show that the scheme was Wesleyan in spirit, and indispensable to the Methodist system. The principal argument put forward was the rapid growth of a literate public since the days of Wesley, especially since the establishment of Sabbath and Lancastrian schools.

Here is an example:

"In many a congregation where, in the earlier times of Methodism, there were found very few young people, for instance, whose minds were so far cultivated as to require in the speaker a general correctness, not only in language, but in treating upon any incidental matter of history, science, or criticism; there, at present, it would, in many cases, be an act of presumptuous folly for a man to stand up in the character of an instructor, who would be likely, by his open and palpable deficiencies on any of these subjects, to inspire disgust into minds which have enjoyed and profited by advantages far beyond his own."<sup>(1)</sup>

The Committee met in October 1833 and drew up a Plan which was published.<sup>(2)</sup>

This was discussed and approved at the Conference of 1834. The fifth division of the Plan is worth giving in some detail as it reveals not only the range of education but also the nature of the theological training.

The subjects to be studied were:

1. English grammar, composition, and elocution; geography and history; and elementary instruction in the mathematics, natural philosophy, and chemistry, and in logic and the philosophy of the mind.
2. Theology, including the evidences, doctrines, duties, and institutions of Christianity, and having particular reference to those views of the Christian system, in its application to experimental and practical religion, which are held by our body to be conformable to the Holy Scriptures. This will also include the general principles of church order and government, connected with a distinct exposition of our own established discipline, and of the proper methods of administering it for the purity, edification, and preservation of our societies; and a view of the nature and importance of the pastoral office and care, with special reference to the duties and engagements of a Methodist preacher.

<sup>(1)</sup>W.M.M. (1834), 339; see also ibid, 820-831.

<sup>(2)</sup>ibid, 381.

3. The elements of Biblical criticism; the best methods of critically studying the Scriptures; the rules and principles to be observed in their interpretation; Hebrew, Greek and Roman antiquities; and the outlines of ecclesiastical history.

4. The most useful methods of direct preparation for the pulpit; and general instructions for the composition and acceptable delivery of sermons.

5. Such instruction in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, as may enable the Students to read and study the sacred Scriptures in their original tongues, and prepare them for the successful pursuit of farther classical and Biblical knowledge, when they shall be called into Circuits or Missions. This branch of instruction may, however, be wholly omitted....."(1)

The Institution was to be established in London so that the students could attend lectures by "eminent Professors in several important branches of useful knowledge." It was also desirable that missionary candidates should be "within reach of those instructions which are adapted to their peculiar work and prospects, and which they can receive only from Missionary Secretaries". The Rev. Jabez Bunting was appointed the first President of the Institution.<sup>(2)</sup> The Rev. Joseph Entwisle, was appointed first Governor, and acted as class leader of the students, whilst the Rev. John Hannah was appointed theological tutor. Hannah was undoubtedly the most influential tutor at the Institution. A skeleton outline of his course can be found in his Letter to a Junior Methodist Preacher, concerning the general Course and Prosecution of his Studies in Christian Theology. This small work not only served as a prospectus for the Institution, but it was influential in guiding the reading of all those preachers and missionaries who had not or did not receive the advantages of the Institution. Peter Turner, for instance, wrote in 1840 that he

(1)W.M.M. (1834), 676-678.

(2)Bunting was then Senior Secretary of the W.M.M.S.

was organizing his theological reading by following the plan suggested by Dr. Hannah. (1)

Perhaps the most conspicuous thing about the course was its strict conformity to established Wesleyan forms. It is perhaps significant that in planning his course, Hannah showed no originality in organizing his material, but adhered rigidly to methods used by Wesley and Watson. Thus his division of Christian theology into four parts - Evidences, Doctrines, Duties, and Institutions - was based on the plan adopted by Watson in his Theological Institutes. It was a plan, moreover, which had received the "official approbation of the Wesleyan Conference". (2) In other respects the course was very little different from that given in the Dissenting academies. Lectures were given, and the students were expected to consult the references. Hannah was most emphatic about the peculiar nature of theology as a subject for learned study. With all the non-Calvinist's distrust of speculation and the treatment of theology as a science, Hannah cautioned his prospective students to "remember that the Christian system is concerned with the heart of man; and that, while it instructs the mind, it especially seeks to restore him to the favour, the image, and the communion of his God." (3)

The Institution was opened at Hoxton in the very buildings formerly occupied by the L.M.S. as a Missionary College, and classes commenced at the beginning of 1835. (4) The Rev. Samuel Jones, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, was shortly afterwards appointed Classical and Mathe-

(1) P. Turner, 1840, Books Read.

(2) W.M.M.S. (1836) 682-683.

(3) Hannah, A Letter, 65.

(4) See Report of the Wesleyan Theological Institution, 1834-1835, pub. W.M.M. (1836), 207 ff.

matical tutor. Amongst the first students at Hoxton were two of the early missionaries to Fiji, John Hunt and James Calvert. The effect of the training was very marked on Hunt, and he was one of the few missionaries of any of the Evangelical Societies in the South Seas whose religious inclinations were directed to theology. His letters on Entire Sanctification, which he wrote in Fiji, no doubt reflect both the personal teaching of Hannah and the type of thinking imparted by the systemised theological training. Francis Wilson was another graduate of Hoxton. On his way out to the islands he was concerned because he could not get at his books and continue with his "Institution studies". However, he did a little Greek and Latin to "keep up the knowledge" that he had gained.<sup>(1)</sup>

Hoxton was vacated at Michaelmas, 1842, and Richmond College was opened in September 1843. An intimate picture of college life at Richmond is given by the Rev. Samuel Wray in his account of the early life of the Rev. W.O. Simpson, a missionary to India.<sup>(2)</sup> There was the closed circle of the students of the third year whose power it was "to admit or to taboo, to promote to honour, or to keep back from honour".<sup>(3)</sup> An annual soiree was held just before the long vacation in honour of these men before they went to their stations.

"There was some feasting - liberal, but strictly temperate, much pleasant conversation, speech-making, singing of hymns, and prayer."<sup>(4)</sup>

The theological tutor at Richmond was the Rev. Thomas Jackson. Samuel Wray observed that the "claims of the classical and mathematical departments were felt to press most heavily" upon many of the students in the time spent

(1) Wilson, 11 February 1840, W.M.M.S., Correspondence and Documents.

(2) Bush(ed.), W.O. Simpson, 28-73.

(3) ibid, 29.

(4) ibid, 38.



out of class owing to their backwardness in the "higher branches of secular knowledge".

"This, nevertheless, did not exactly square with Mr. Jackson's notions as to the pre-eminent importance of his own special science. There was of course no rivalry among the professors: ... Yet when, on failing to exhibit much acquaintance with his teachings, any unlucky brethren excused themselves - as they sometimes did, by speaking of the time required for preparation to meet Mr. Farrar, the Classical Tutor, Mr. Jackson would observe, 'This is a Theological Institution', with now and then just a spice of acrimony in the italics."<sup>(1)</sup>

There was a reading room at the College furnished with "the foremost reviews, magazines, and newspapers of the time", and also an extensive library. Wray informs us that only a few students could spare the time from their studies to make use of the library. "It was almost as inaccessible as if it had been interdicted by a voice from heaven".<sup>(2)</sup>

Amongst those who received their theological training at Richmond were William Wilson and Royce of Fiji, and Vercoe of Tonga.

Most of the Colonial missionaries went to the islands without any theological training. John Watsford had attended King's School, Parramatta. Thomas Baker received some assistance from his minister, especially in the study of English grammar. His educational deficiencies appear to have delayed his acceptance as a missionary.<sup>(3)</sup> John Millard who, at twenty, possessed "all the gravity of an aged Minister", was regarded by his Circuit Superintendent as a "good English Scholar" who understood Latin and had some knowledge of Greek.<sup>(4)</sup> These men acquired their theological views by reading Wesley's Sermons and Notes.

(1) ibid, 52-53.

(2) ibid, 57.

(3) See Watsford, Glorious Gospel Triumphs, 12-14; Baker, Diary, 21, 39, 45a.

(4) W.M.M.S., Missionary Candidates, 86.

Jesse Carey is representative of the missionaries who did not receive any theological training after the establishment of Hoxton and Richmond. Until the age of twelve Carey attended the National School at Stockwell (1839-1844), after which he transferred to the British and Foreign School at Brixton Hill. He also attended the Wesleyan Sunday School. During the years 1845-1847 he missed a considerable amount of schooling owing to an injured foot. He then went to night classes conducted by his former schoolmaster.<sup>(1)</sup> He next received lessons in Latin from the master of a private school in exchange for attending to the schoolroom. He also visited a chemist twice a week in order to study Latin contractions as used by chemists and medical men. After this he spent some time connected with Sunday School and Ragged school work. Whilst out of employment and doing voluntary teaching, Carey continued his studies at home until he migrated to Australia. He was possibly better equipped than others placed in similar circumstances; he possessed the natural ability for self-culture, and a talent for versification. Out of his experience as a missionary in Fiji grew his Hiawatha-like epic, The Kings of the Reefs, telling the story of Thakombau, "Viti's last and greatest Ruler".

About the same time that the Methodists began to take an interest in the education of their local preachers and missionaries, they also began to realize the importance of training their school teachers. Indeed, the matter seemed urgent to them because of the "corrupt and anti-scriptural" policy of the Government which was to secularize education and make religion a mere subject in the schools instead of retaining it as the

(1) Carey, Materials for my biography, 6-11.



central feature as in the British and Foreign, and National Schools. Because of this belief that religious and secular education could not be separated, the Methodist Education Committee began, in 1839, to send their prospective teachers to the teacher-training institution or "normal seminary" conducted by a successful educationalist, David Stow, at Glasgow. Stow's work had been closely associated with Sunday-and infant-schools, and his first principle of teaching was that education must aim at the development of religious and moral character.<sup>(1)</sup> Amos of Tonga, and Binner and Collis of Fiji, had attended the Glasgow Normal Seminary, and went out expressly to introduce the Glasgow system to the islands. Although these men were well trained for their particular duty they appear to have been less knowledgeable in theology and the classics than the majority of their colleagues. The Rev. William Fletcher, also a school teacher, had possibly received a better education than any of the other missionaries. His missionary father, conscious of his social position, had sent him to the Methodist College at Taunton to study for London University, and "qualify himself to take a good position as a teacher in schools of the higher class."<sup>(2)</sup> After he obtained his B.A. degree Fletcher became a master at Lincoln Grammar School. He then joined the staff at the Wesleyan College and Seminary at Auckland, and was headmaster of that institution when he joined the Fijian mission.

The main difference between such men as Thomas and Fletcher was not to be found in their religious views nor even in their social origins, but

(1) For a more complete account of the Methodist interest in education and Stow's system see F.C. Pritchard, The story of Westminster College, 1-19.

(2) J.H. Fletcher, Sermons, Addresses and Essays, 19.

in their formal training. However much time men such as Thomas and Peter Turner spent in quiet study, however much they laboured to "improve" themselves, they could never acquire the confidence, or the conceit for that matter, of the man who had received some formal training. Often the less educated man made a more efficient missionary in that he was less timid about using the axe to fell the old culture. Activated by something akin to the doctrine of reparation, he felt that he had to work harder in order to make up for his educational deficiencies. "I might not know much about Greek and Latin, but I've won more souls for Christ" was very real in their thinking. Men such as this made good revivalists.

Although there was little difference between the class backgrounds of the L.M.S. and Wesleyan missionaries, the standard of education and formal training was much lower amongst the Wesleyans, except for a few individuals who had received specialized training. Thus there was a balance. The Wesleyans, in an economic sense, tended to be more nearly middle-class. On the other hand, the L.M.S. missionaries received educational advantages which gave them a superior status, in a social sense. The life of the Wesleyan missionary had less of the success story about it. The humble mechanic and the prosperous shopkeeper tended to keep their places in the social hierarchy. Not so with the L.M.S. missionaries; there was a more democratic levelling, and the reason for this was that all were given an opportunity to receive higher education.

A further difference between the two groups of missionaries was that the training of the Wesleyans was much more exclusively theological. The Wesleyan missionary was regarded as a minister or local preacher who had

offered himself for foreign service in Wesley's world parish. There was nothing special about his dedication, he was not obliged to introduce the arts of civilization, and he tended to be conservative in his thinking.

VI.

The Development of Missionary Theory

Closely connected with the education of the missionaries was the development of missionary theory. A superior training in mathematics, languages and logic did not necessarily provide the missionary with any set rules of procedure. There was only one fundamental rule and that was to act consistently with Scriptural practice. Although a considerable amount was written about the theory of missions, most of it was in a semi-philosophical vein, discussing the merits of civilizing.

Dr. Bogue's Missionary Lectures, used by the L.M.S., could not seriously be regarded as a textbook laying down methods of procedure. It was simply an introduction to the subject and a guide which set forth the attitudes which should be held when facing problems.<sup>(1)</sup> For instance, it was laid down that missionaries should not interfere in politics. However, no special cases were given, and the missionaries were left to their own consciencies to decide where interference in secular matters was justifiable. Joseph Mullens, a later Secretary of the L.M.S., praised the early Directors for not laying down any definite scheme of labour which the missionaries were bound to carry out.

"Beyond the inculcation of sound general principles as to personal watchfulness, a brotherly relation to one another, and diligence in their instruction of the heathen, the Directors left them large discretion as to the best and most effective methods of carrying out their high commission as messengers of the gospel."<sup>(2)</sup>

This is an accurate account of the aim of Bogue's lectures.

<sup>(1)</sup> See ante, 63

<sup>(2)</sup> Mullens, History, 45.



In 1822 James Douglas of Cavers, an independent gentleman who contributed the article on "Missions" to the Encyclopedia Britannica, published his Hints on Missions. This work was read widely by missionaries in the field, both L.M.S. and Wesleyan.<sup>(1)</sup> Douglas believed that Christianity should be propagated by means of colonizing and "the introduction of the arts". He discountenanced the method of simple preaching which up till that time had received some support.

"Can we be surprised... if men of thought, but whose thoughts are confined to the present world, should despise missionaries, who, instead of reclaiming barbarians to civilized habits, have sunk down to the outward condition of the people to whom they are preaching? And certainly the accusation of indolence is naturally brought forward against missionaries, who will not make the moderate exertions requisite to procure the comforts of life for themselves and those around them...."<sup>(2)</sup>

These sentiments were those shared by most of the missionaries at that time. Indeed, so popular were these views that when the Rev. Edward Irving preached his sermon Messiah's Instructions to the First Missionaries on 13 May 1824, his views were regarded as eccentric. Most of what he said was contrary to the policy advocated by Douglas. To Irving, the apostolic missionary was a kind of begging friar who went out without scrip or purse. His theory of missions so roused the mission leaders of the day that the Rev. William Orme, one of the Foreign Secretaries of the L.M.S., wrote a refutation of Irving's "Missionary Oration".<sup>(3)</sup> The relationship between colonization, civilization and Christianity, as outlined by Douglas, became generally accepted by the end of the decade, and during the 1830s several books were written which emphasized this

(1) Heath's comments are later referred to; see also Orsmond, 1829, S.S.J. No. 97.

(2) quoted Campbell, Martyr of Erromanga, 91-92.

(3) See Sydney Gazette, 7 December 1830 [Obituary of Orme]

relationship.<sup>(1)</sup> The missionary was accepted as the chief promoter of civilization, and colonization was regarded as the most efficient means of effecting Christian civilization.

Even in 1842 Hints on Missions was still seriously considered. In that year Thomas Heath of the Samoan mission drew up a paper entitled On certain defects and desiderata in the Polynesian Missions of the London Society, which showed that he had been considerably influenced by Douglas. Amongst other things he felt that the "advantages of civilization" were not sufficiently appreciated, nor sufficiently "thrown into the hands of the natives", and that "the standard of taste-moral-intellectual, and domestic" wanted raising in all the islands. Heath also argued for a College for natives in N.S.W., as proposed by Douglas, and also agreed with Douglas that pious colonists should be encouraged to emigrate. Finally, and in this he was also following Douglas, he argued for the greater dissemination of missionary knowledge and theory.

"These missions as well as others would be greatly aided by some central medium of communication, which should collect and transmit information from and to all quarters of the world."<sup>(2)</sup>

Despite its considerable influence Hints on Missions only dealt with general policy. What most missionaries desired was an authoritative handbook on day-to-day problems. John Williams put the case very clearly at the end of his 1832 Journal, which became the basis for his Enterprises.

"I have frequently thought that a standard work on Missions is much wanted, a work that should be admitted into all our Missionary seminaries and form a book of reference to the Missionary

(1) e.g. Bannister, British Colonization and Coloured Tribes, Coates(ed.), Christianity the Means of Civilization.

(2) Heath, 26 February 1842, S.S.L.

on critical and difficult subjects with which every Missionary will have to contend in a greater or less degree."<sup>(1)</sup>

Williams suggested that this work should embrace the various plans which had been adopted by the missionaries of various societies, and that it should draw attention to the difficulties which they had to contend with, and the measures used to overcome them. This work would be divided into two "grand divisions" representing civilized and uncivilized countries, and would be documented from the experience of the Moravians, the Baptists, the Church, Wesleyan and London Missionary Societies. It is also interesting that Williams thought that an examination of the plans and methods adopted by the Jesuits amongst the South American Indians might be a fruitful study. He was inclined to think that they could be "adopted with advantage in some uncivilized countries". Williams also mentioned some of the works which he thought might be usefully studied such as Jowet's Researches, Judson's Letters and Life, Dr. Buchanan's Researches, Swan's Letters on Missions, and the works of Ward and Ellis. These works were written by missionaries from their own experiences. Consequently, Williams felt, one missionary's solution to a problem could not be taken as a general rule. There was need for more correlation and the gathering of new material. This, he believed, could only be done thoroughly and impartially by a minister at home.

A compendium of missionary experience was never written. However, works like Williams' Missionary Enterprises, and those books which he himself had mentioned were regarded as standard works on missionary procedure. Swan's Letters on Missions<sup>(2)</sup> was very popular although it

(1) Williams, 1832, S.S.J., no. 101.

(2) William Swan was a missionary in Siberia.

gave very few practical hints. A chapter devoted to the "Best means of Convincing the Heathen of the Truth of Christianity" was the only one which came to grips with an actual problem, but it is doubtful whether Swan's metaphysical arguments were ever used in the South Seas. This kind of intellectual reasoning was possibly more stimulating in the wastes of Siberia. That most published works on missions were eagerly read and criticised is evidenced by the fact that strictures were occasionally passed on some of them in the minutes of local mission committees. Thus the Samoan brethren in 1844 passed the following resolution:

"That we record our deep regret occasioned by a passage in Campbell's Philosophy of Missions (pp 250, 251 second edition) which among other things upon which we might animadvert, asserts that all which remains to be done in the South Seas 'is a very plain unpoetic everyday sort of affair.' How could Dr. Campbell send forth to the world such an assertion?"<sup>(1)</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century missionary theory was in an experimental stage. General works such as Hints on Missions and Swan's Letters were influential in so far as individual missionaries were guided by them, but no attempt was made to advocate set principles and methods in the mission colleges. Missionary practice was largely imitative, and the greatest theoretical influence throughout the period came from the published accounts of the labours of earlier missionaries.

(1) Murray and Mills, 7 February 1844, S.S.L.



VII.

Home Missionary Experience

Most, if not all, of the Evangelical missionaries went to the islands with some home missionary experience. Many of the early missionaries of the L.M.S. were field preachers. In the market place and village square they proclaimed Christ to the people and, like Wesley and Whitefield, were often stoned for it. Rowland Hassall had been stoned at Welston.<sup>(1)</sup> Crook, Hayward, Youl and Warner were active members of the London Itinerant Society so closely associated with Hackney College.<sup>(2)</sup> Their work was in the direct tradition of the Revival. Threlkeld had accompanied an itinerant preacher in Devon, and had spoken to the villagers.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Director of the L.M.S. expected all candidates to have had some experience in religious teaching. The fifth question asked of candidates was:

"Have you been accustomed to engage in any social or public religious services - in prayer meetings - in the instruction of the young - in visiting the sick - in the distribution of tracts, or in any other effort for the spiritual good of others? - and if so, state the particulars."<sup>(4)</sup>

Nearly every candidate answered that he had been a Sunday school teacher. Most answered that they had engaged in the other activities, and this was also true of the missionaries' wives. However, there was some variety in the religious employments of the candidates.

The leaders of the Evangelical Revival had set the example of preaching to the poor. Much of this work was carried on by young laymen who

(1) See Thomas Hassall to Rowland Hassall, 1 May 1818, P.R.H., I, 197.

(2) See ante, 75.

(3) Threlkeld, 8 November 1815, S.S.M., item 11.

(4) See L.M.S. Candidates' References and Examination Papers [C.Q.]

were anxious to "proclaim Christ to the world" but who did not have the qualifications to preach to church members. Barnden, for instance, spent a year speaking to adults in lodging houses and rooms "where the gospel is preached to the poor".<sup>(1)</sup> David Darling, who wrote that he spent most of his evenings visiting the sick, teaching adults and collecting for the Bible Society, doubtless worked amongst the more humble folk with whom he had much in common.<sup>(2)</sup> Whilst pursuing his medical studies, Mills would visit the district poor.

"While gaining a more extensive knowledge of the practical part of medicine, I have an opportunity of imparting instruction to many of the miserable objects, that we do meet with, which may in some measure prepare me for communicating the glorious truths of the gospel, to those who are involved in the darkness of Heathenism."<sup>(3)</sup>

It was ever part of the Evangelical thinking that the miserable poor and the "poor heathen" were designed for the same philanthropy. A grass skirt became, all too easily, a beggar's rags.

Preaching in "destitute" villages was an important feature of home missionary work, and young men, anxious to become preachers themselves, would often serve an "apprenticeship" by accompanying an itinerant minister. This apprenticeship, on more than one occasion, was the commencement of a missionary career. Buzacott assisted the home missionary in his own district in Devonshire visiting the villages by turns. He was then invited by the Rev. James Hardy, a home missionary in Herefordshire, to live with him as his assistant. According to his application to the

(1) Clayton, 24 January 1834, Barnden, C.P.

(2) Darling, 4 July 1816, C.P.

(3) Mills, 6 June 1835, C.P.

Directors, he frequently preached eight or nine times in a week.<sup>(1)</sup> It was Hardy who recommended Buzacott for the ministry. Students at the theological colleges were expected to engage in village preaching as part of their extra-curriculum training. For several years William Harbutt walked from ten to twenty-five miles on a Saturday, preached on the Sabbath, and returned on the Monday, "without experiencing any inconvenience".<sup>(2)</sup> Even in the 1830s village preaching could be as dangerous and difficult as in the days of the earlier Methodist field preachers. Thomas Slatyer records one instance from his itinerating experience:

"During my vacation last midsummer I was induced to visit a dark and neglected Village, and, as the Clergyman of the Parish would not allow preaching even in the open air, threatening to turn the Peasants out of their houses, if they assembled to listen to any one, I read, and, so far as I was able, expounded and enforced the word of God with prayer, from house to house, and had not Providence called me away I trust I should have found pleasure in renewing my visit."<sup>(3)</sup>

Not all the missionary candidates had engaged in the more strenuous forms of home missionary work. Henry Gee, for instance, had never conducted a public religious service. His principal exertions had been to address the Sabbath School children, and to speak at public tea meetings and at the local Useful Knowledge Society.<sup>(4)</sup> When one takes into account Gee's later pathetic attempts to adjust himself to the rigour of missionary itineration in Samoa, one feels that he would have benefited considerably from the kind of training which Harbutt had received.<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Buzacott, 1825, C.P. see also Buzacott, n.d., S.S.M., item 106.

(2) W. Scott, 9 February 1838, Harbutt C.P.

(3) Slatyer, 29 September 1836, C.Q.

(4) Gee, 3 April 1856, C.P.

(5) See Pratt's letters for 1860, S.S.L.

A considerable number of the missionary candidates were already either full-time colporteurs or paid agents of local home missionary societies when they applied. Henry Royle was the member of a Christian Instruction Society in Manchester, and took the Scriptures from house to house daily. He conducted three week night services in cottages and houses and monthly meetings for Scripture exposition.<sup>(1)</sup> George Drummond took an active part in forming a society for the purpose of giving a religious tract every month to every family in the village of Cumnoch and its vicinity. He was a Vice-president for some time and distributed tracts himself. He was also an organizer, committee man, and Vice-president of a local Temperance Society.<sup>(2)</sup> Such men were not content within a single parish. Perhaps the most notable of these full-time evangelists was A.W. Murray of Kelso. The Evangelical ministry in Kelso had organized a Town Mission and Murray was appointed its first agent. Kelso was a place of revivals, and Murray received his apprenticeship in the use of revival techniques whilst in this atmosphere of religious enthusiasm. The Directors of the Kelso Town Missionary Association expressed their satisfaction with Murray as an evangelist.

"We can refer to particular instances in which the divine blessing seems evidently to have rested on his labours, where the proofs of substantial benefit having been conferred are decisive and unequivocal."<sup>(3)</sup>

This counted for something in an environment where a man's missionary reputation rested on the number of souls he had saved which could be tallied off abacus-fashion. Like many of the missionaries, Murray had

<sup>(1)</sup> Royle, 11 October 1857, C.Q.

<sup>(2)</sup> Drummond, 25 May 1857, C.Q.

<sup>(3)</sup> Testimonial, 4 June 1852, Murray C.P.

a particular attachment to youth work and was Superintendent of a Boys' Sabbath Evening School connected with the Church of Scotland at Kelso. (1)

Several of the missionaries had been settled pastors. Howe, Jesson and McKean were all Congregational ministers. During a pastorate of six years Jesson had been responsible for building two new chapels in villages adjacent to his own. (2) Another candidate, J.P. Sunderland, occasionally preached in the villages in connexion with his church, and for twelve months before entering College, though not then ordained, he had acted as the pastor of a country church. (3)

Very few of the South Sea missionaries had any experience in other fields. Both Threlkeld and Krause spent a number of months in the Americas (4) on their way to the South Seas, but much of this time was spent in learning the languages, and their principal employment was the distribution of Protestant tracts. C.W. Schmidt, however, was one of Dr. Gossner's missionaries, (5) and came to Australia with other missionaries at the invitation of the Rev. Dr. Lang. Schmidt was employed at the Aboriginal mission at Moreton Bay from 1838 until 1844. This mission had been commenced under the direction of Dr. Lang, but it was staffed solely by German missionaries. Schmidt's connexion with the mission was not entirely happy, (6) and like most of the early missionaries to the

(1) See *infra* 361.

(2) Jesson, 7 September 1840, C.P.

(3) Sunderland, 8 November 1843, C.Q.

(4) Threlkeld in Brazil; Krause in Guatemala.

(5) See Appendix. III

(6) See Schmidt to Lang, 12 April 1844, Lang, Papers, XX.

aborigines he was sadly disappointed in the failure of the usual missionary methods. His journal, kept during a journey to Toorbal at the beginning of 1843, is a pathetic record of non-communication.

"Poor creatures! Our hearts break, our Souls faint on account of the great misery in which they languish; 'their God being their belly'."<sup>(1)</sup>

On another occasion he relates an attempt at preaching.

"We endeavoured to speak to them about spiritual things, but they could not conceive them, and as soon as I read to them some passages from the sacred Scriptures, which I had translated with Bracefield, they fell asleep. Only one listened attentively a few minutes and told us, rubbing his belly, that it did good to his bowels and desired me to read more."<sup>(1)</sup>

It is quite probable that Schmidt's Australian experience helped him in Samoa. A little cynicism at the beginning of a missionary venture was a better guide than all the enthusiasm aroused in Exeter Hall. Certainly Schmidt appears to have won the affection of his people.

Most of the Presbyterian missionaries had also had home missionary experience. Geddie had been a settled minister. G.N. Gordon had founded the City Mission in Halifax. Johnston had acted as a colporteur in Kansas and Nebraska. John G. Paton taught in a Free Church school, and even had a midday class of young women who came to study writing and arithmetic. He was appointed an agent of the Glasgow City Mission, and thus gained considerable experience. He has left a record of these days of apprenticeship.

"I found the district a very degraded one. In many of its closes and courts sin and vice walked about openly - naked and not ashamed.

(1) "Journal of W. Schmidt during a journey to Toorbal.... 28 Dec. 1842 to 6 January 1843," 6, Lang, Papers, XX.

Soon, however, meetings and classes were both too large for any house that was available for us in the whole of our district. My work now occupied every evening of the week; and I had two meetings every Sabbath."<sup>(1)</sup>

When Paton went to the South Seas he had received at least ten years experience of teaching and preaching.

Similarly most of the American Board missionaries had usually had some experience of Sabbath school teaching and preaching. In addition, Dr. George Pierson served as a missionary to the Choctaw Indians before going to Micronesia, and B.G. Snow was a pastor in Pembroke, Lubeck, and Cooper, Maine, before becoming a missionary.

Among the Wesleyans all the fully accredited missionaries had been local preachers. The average length of time that a man had been a local preacher before he offered for foreign service was three years. The career of John Thomas is typical of the untrained local preachers. As a young man he had engaged in various home missionary duties. He began a school for children on Sunday afternoons and earned the displeasure of the local rector who "further insisted that he should at once give up his evil ways in visiting the sick and the ungodly in his parish."<sup>(2)</sup> He also engaged in field preaching and his early efforts were opposed by "a rabble shouting, cursing, and singing lewd songs, drumming on tin cans, and laughing uproariously". When he became a local preacher, Thomas made many long journeys and conducted numerous services within the limits of his Circuit.

The success of a local preacher depended very largely on his ability to draw large congregations. He modelled himself closely on the pattern

(1) Paton, The Story of John G. Paton, 13. For a more detailed account, see Paton, An Autobiography, 53-82.

(2) Rowe, A Pioneer, 5.

set by John Wesley. Being for the most part untrained, his appeal was more to the emotions than to the intellect. Revival techniques were an essential feature of the Wesleyan system, and the efficient local preacher endeavoured to be a good revivalist. It was one way of showing to the world that he was possessed of grace. For example, Walter Lawry was anxious to create his reputation as a revivalist during his Cornish ministry. Letters he wrote to his parents describe his apparent success. On one occasion he preached an "extraordinary sermon".

"I thought we should never be able to get the people away - crying - and sighing was our charming music."<sup>(1)</sup>

On another occasion he described a meeting at Redruth:

"They are heard from one end of the chapel to the other breaking out in ah, ah, ahs - and sometimes I have seen them literally dance under the pulpit - so that it is next to impossible to have a dry time."<sup>(2)</sup>

He also had "some most glorious seasons among the poor fishermen" in the St. Ives district:

"While I was conversing about inward religion, and going to heaven and hell etc - in the house of a good man in the above place, a girl was seized with so keen convictions, that she thought to have gone that moment quick into hell, and I thought she would have died on the spot. They sent for a doctor, but I prayed with and for her and God soon gave her comfort...."<sup>(3)</sup>

Lawry had additional experience in N.S.W. before going to Tonga. He delighted in one man's reference to him as prospective "Bishop of Botany Bay", and in his characteristic egocentric style remarked, "perhaps I am already the most popular Preacher in New Holland."<sup>(4)</sup> That he afterwards

(1) Lawry, 17 January 1816, Papers.

(2) Lawry, 29 October 1816, Papers.

(3) Lawry, 20 January 1817, Papers.

(4) Lawry, 23 December 1818, Diary.



became cynical about revivalism is not surprising when we take into account his comfortable respectability and his peculiar personality. To say the least he was a man of strange contradictions.<sup>(1)</sup>

Peter Turner had also earned the reputation of a revivalist in his English Circuit. He became an exhorter and then a local preacher about two years before he obtained the "blessing of entire sanctification".<sup>(2)</sup> In the initial stages Turner had to overcome a great reluctance to preach. He was well aware of his lack of education and it became almost an obsession with him. Turner's condition no doubt influenced him to emphasize the importance of religious experience. He was not equipped to be an intellectual Christian who could find rational arguments for his belief, but he had the necessary temperament to be an experiential Christian. He found that he could work on the emotions of other men, and whilst a local preacher in the Macclesfield Circuit he was having revivalistic success.

"While preaching this word, the people were much affected and wept much."

John Watsford's later success as a revivalist missionary must be attributed in part to his preaching and revivalist experience in N.S.W. Appointed a local preacher on trial in July 1839, he took a prominent part in the "first Revival" in Parramatta in 1840. Watsford and his friends appear to have deliberately attempted to inaugurate a revival.

"We are going specially to pray for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the revival of God's work, ... This is our plan: Every morning and evening and at midday to spend some time in pleading with God to pour out His Spirit; to

(1) See *infra* 356.

(2) See P. Turner, A brief account.

observe every Friday as a day of fasting and prayer; to sit together in the meetings, and, though not permitted to pray aloud, silently to plead for the coming of the Holy Ghost."<sup>(1)</sup>

It was such a successful revival that passers-by in the street even ran in "and were smitten down at the door in great distress". Watsford also shared in a "blessed revival" at Windsor in 1841.

"At one of the meetings the Holy Spirit came mightily upon us. We were compelled to continue the meetings night after night. Numbers flocked to them, and we had some remarkable cases of conversion. Among these were some of the best customers of the publicans, and no wonder that they cried out against us...."<sup>(2)</sup>

Children as young as seven years were "saved" on these occasions.

Those missionaries who had been local preachers in the Australian colonies found it difficult to obtain full recognition in the islands. The tendency of the English-born missionaries to look down on the Colonials has already been mentioned.<sup>(3)</sup> Most of the first missionaries appointed from the colonies were not given full status and went to the islands as "assistant missionaries". This arrangement was not a happy one, and invariably placed the assistant in an invidious position. Usually his qualifications were the same, the only difference being that his was not a home appointment. Under the direction of Thomas, the Tonga District Committee passed a resolution "reprehending in severe and unjustifiable terms" the conduct of the N.S.W. District in sending a man like Thomas Welland.<sup>(4)</sup> Although Thomas' criticisms of Welland may have had some validity, it seems quite clear that his opposition was partly due

<sup>(1)</sup> Watsford, Glorious Gospel Triumphs, 21.

<sup>(2)</sup> ibid, 23.

<sup>(3)</sup> See ante, 29.

<sup>(4)</sup> See Orton to Thomas, 25 April 1837, W.M.M.S, Sydney D.L.B.



to his cantankerous disposition. He regarded the actions of the N.S.W. District Committee as interference in his own domain, and resented the influence of the gentlemen ministers, Joseph Orton and his like, who had been critical of his own talents.<sup>(1)</sup> Orton was quick to censure the Tongan resolution, and wrote to Watkin:

"You appear to have a decided objection to the class of 'Assistant Missionaries', especially referring to their operations in the Islands".<sup>(2)</sup>

Notwithstanding, the N.S.W. District continued to recommend local preachers as "assistant missionaries". Millard and Moore, who both came from N.S.W., were similarly regarded as being below standard. Joseph Waterhouse thus wrote to his sister:

"Mr. Moore will never be more than an Asst. Missionary. Mr. Lawry accuses the Sydney preachers of having deceived him with reference to Millard and Moore. He was told they were two men as suitable for the work as he could get, if he searched all England. Whereas, the only qualification Bro. Moore has, is his piety. Mr. Lawry says he would make a very poor local preacher. Moreover he was sent from Sydney without any examination, and can scarcely read Mr. L. says! However, Brother Hazlewood... says, 'we all take 100 per cent off what Mr. Lawry says, on any subject' so you must make the reduction.

These failures make weight against Col. I. young men. So that they will not be prepossessed in my favour. Mr. L. says he will have nothing more to do with Colonial young men! ..."<sup>(3)</sup>

Events showed that Moore was just as efficient a missionary as those with English appointments. Apart from the exaggerated statements of Thomas and Lawry, there is little evidence that the colonial missionaries were "very poor local preachers" and unsuited to missionary work.

(1) For Welland's case, see *infra* 130.

(2) Orton, 31 May 1837, W.M.M.S. Sydney D.L.B.

(3) Waterhouse to Mary Ann Padman, 14 October 1850, W.C.

Calvert afterwards wrote to the Rev. Elijah Hoole in defence of the colonial missionaries:

"The men we have from the Colonies are all we can desire. It is desirable that some should be supplied from England - yet those from the Colonies are not inferior. We are very sorry that you let the reflection on the men of the Colonies which Mr. Lawry wrote pass ....I hope the stigma will be wiped."<sup>(1)</sup>

Besides Nathaniel Turner, who commenced his missionary career amongst the Maoris, and Moore, who spent a year amongst the Queensland aborigines, the only other Wesleyan who had received any experience in another mission field was Richard Amos. From 1843 to 1845 Amos was attached to the Wesleyan mission in Sierra Leone. He was then dismissed after returning "under a serious charge of violence towards a Pagan Negro."<sup>(2)</sup> When he entered the Tongan mission it was in the capacity of a schoolmaster.

The majority of Evangelical missionaries in the South Seas were thus men who had already experienced the techniques and hazards of missionary activity. If some of them had not already been confronted by hearers drawn from an alien culture, at least all of them had had considerable preaching or teaching experience. Even those who had not received any formal training had had experience in teaching others to read and write and to "understand" the authorised version of the Bible. The value of itinerant preaching, and the instruction of young children in the training of the missionary is something difficult to assess, but it was possibly that part of their education which best fitted them for their vocation, and it certainly influenced their policies. We shall see that, in the

(1) Calvert, 22 July 1852, W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, VI.

(2) W.M.M.S., Committee of Discipline Minutes, 4 July 1845.

islands, the importance placed on itineration and on the instruction of the young was very high. There was an eagerness to keep abreast with the latest teaching methods in England. The L.M.S. missionaries were quick to introduce the Lancastrian system<sup>(1)</sup> and the latest infant school methods. The Wesleyan missionaries adopted the Glasgow system which was introduced in the various institutions in Tonga and Fiji. All of the missionaries were familiar with Sabbath school teaching methods, and many were experienced revivalists. Most of them had laboured in difficult areas where their ministry was not well received. Indeed, when they arrived in the South Seas they could not really be called "raw and inexperienced". They already had a missionary view point. The people to whom they were to preach and minister automatically took the place of the poor and the sick, the revilers and the sinners, amongst whom they had already worked.

In conjunction with this experience, we should also take into account the comparative youth of many of the missionaries. Very few men of middle age were sent to the South Seas and the majority were men in their twenties. Naturally youth gave the missionaries some very desirable qualities. Many of them had inherited and developed robustness of body, stamina and powers of concentration. Hardie was described as being superior to the "ordinary man" in health and strength, and Macfarlane was described as a "tall, robust, healthy young man" with a "fine intelligent countenance."<sup>(2)</sup> Peter Turner and Thomas West were big, well-built men, and Crawford of Fiji had a reputation for strength. These men were quite naturally accepted as chiefs by the island peoples.

(1) See *infra* 208ff.

(2) See relevant Candidates' Papers.

On the other hand there were as many, if not more, who were of a sickly cast. The medical histories of these men make interesting reading and one learns much about the more controversial characters of the time. The energetic John Thomas of Tonga, for instance, had periods of ineffectualness. For some time during 1823, whilst he was still a local preacher, Thomas was "altogether laid aside from work by extreme feebleness, loss of appetite, much drowsiness, and pain in the head, accompanied by stupor, which prevented his reading and made continuous thought impossible".<sup>(1)</sup>

One feels with some of these men that they despised their own physical weakness, and entered the mission field with a concealed desire to prove themselves. One feels the importance which the missionaries themselves placed on vitality, when a brother of less forcible character was placed in their midst. If he could not stand up to the daily routine of the mission, he was despised and considered as a handicap to everyone. Invariably he fell prey to victimization and had to leave the field. Pratt's contempt for Gee in **Savafi**, and Thomas's contempt for Welland and Hill in Tonga are parallel examples of a subtle form of mental sadism.

"Had Mr. Gee become insane instead of Mrs. we should have been more prepared for it," wrote Pratt on learning of Mrs. Gee's illness.<sup>(2)</sup> As far as he was concerned Gee was not a man. Murray complained of the way in which Pratt attacked Gee, and held him up to contempt saying that Gee was "by no means a man to be despised".<sup>(3)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Rowe, A Pioneer, 7.

<sup>(2)</sup> Pratt, 22 June 1861, S.S.L.

<sup>(3)</sup> Murray to Ella, 27 March 1859, Ella, Correspondence, II.

But if youth provided energy of body and stamina, and perhaps a quality of vision to missionary endeavour, it also meant that the comparative inexperience of youth, and especially the rapid and concentrated acquisition of fundamentalist knowledge, was prone to encourage spiritual pride. This belief in the rightness of one's conviction and its unswerving application to the world at large, was also encouraged by the experience of Evangelical conversion.

VIII.

Selection for the South Seas

Missionary candidates had to satisfy their Directors or Committee that their faith was sound and that their intentions were honourable. L.M.S. candidates had to fill in questionnaires and supply referees. They were also interviewed by the Directors. Although the Wesleyan missionary candidates were all local preachers who had been recommended by their local District Meetings, they were still required to go before a meeting of "the Preachers of the London Districts for the Examination of Missionary Candidates". At this meeting each candidate was required to give an account of his conversion and call to the ministry and to show that he understood Methodist doctrine and discipline. There was a set of questions similar to those on the L.M.S. questionnaire. The Wesleyans placed particular importance on the ability of the candidate to preach a sermon. Interviews were often very exacting, and the timid candidate was often at a disadvantage. When Pitman went up for his interview in 1820, his minister, the Rev. John Hunt of Chichester, wrote jocularly:

"If Dr. Waugh should happen to be at the Head and Br. Platt at the Tail of the Table: I should not wonder if he be struck dumb - I believe him however to be all sterling gold."(1)

When Aaron Buzacott, Junior, applied to the Directors in the hope that he would be sent to the South Seas (he was born in Tahiti and reared in Rarotonga), his application was rejected. He wrote a very full account of an interview he had with the Directors which reveals both the nature of their procedure and requirements, and the independent, self-confident

(1) Hunt, 4 January 1820, Pitman C.P.



attitude of the subject of their inquisition. A little of the interview may suffice by way of illustration:

Mr. Philip: Perhaps our young friend has read some books that have perplexed his mind(;) there is a book by Morell.

A.B.: I suppose you refer to the Philosophy of Religion.(1)

Mr. P.: Yes - Have you read it?

A.B.: The most of it.

Dr. Morison: What do you think of it?

A.B.: I do not think that it gives me sufficient data by which I may distinguish divine truth.

Mr. P.: I am glad I have asked the question.

Dr. Morison: Have you read any of Emerson's works[?]

A.B.: Yes - I have read three or four of his Essays.

Dr. Morison: What did you get out of them?

A.B.: Only a few historical facts.

Dr. M.: If you are in want of time to read on Theology - how is it you find time to read these trashy books?

[Left unanswered](2)

When a missionary was selected there were many fields to which he could be sent. In this connexion, it is necessary to take into account the place of the South Seas in the plans and policies of the Evangelical Missionary Societies. For many years the Tahitian mission was regarded as one of the most interesting in the world. Its popular fascination was largely due to interest already aroused by Cook and Bligh. So glowing indeed were the reports given by the early voyagers of the virtues of

(1) J.D. Morell, The Philosophy of Religion, London, 1849.

(2) The full account is given in S.S.M., item 103, 627-634.

the Polynesians that the Tahitian was regarded as a living representative of the "noble savage". The Evangelical clergy, however, were not convinced. When the Directors of the L.M.S. proposed a mission to the South Seas, they were not deceived about the "natural innocence" of the Polynesians. There was enough in the pages of Cook to show that the standards and customs of the Tahitians were inconsistent with Evangelical conduct. Certainly Dr. Haweis's glowing reports of Tahiti<sup>(1)</sup> suggested the possibilities of a paradise, but he was under no delusions. He had access to much oral knowledge communicated by Captains and seamen, and he was familiar with the manuscript of James Morrison from which he derived most of his knowledge of Tahiti.<sup>(2)</sup> To Haweis, the Tahitians were as manifestly depraved as any other heathen race which was "without God and without hope in the world".

Although Haweis was able to rouse up enthusiasm amongst the Directors, and although he was able to obtain popular support for the missionary colonization of Tahiti, he was almost alone in genuine enthusiasm for this field. On the other hand, his colleague, Dr. Bogue, was decidedly averse to the South Seas project.<sup>(3)</sup> Although Haweis mixed in aristocratic circles, he showed in all his actions that he valued the soul of the simple man as highly as that of the greatest in the land. Like most Methodists he believed in "station" and did not indulge in criticism of the social hierarchy. Bogue held much more radical equalitarian views,

(1) e.g. L.M.S. Missionary Sermons, 1795, 119.

(2) Whether the manuscript given to Haweis at Portsmouth was by Morrison or another Bounty mutineer is not known. However, Haweis's articles on Tahitian religion in the Evangelical Magazine appear to have been derived from Morrison's account.

(3) See ante, 60 ff

and yet one feels that he favoured the sort of intellectual aristocracy which Milton advocated. One also suspects that Bogue showed considerable preference for the soul of an educated person and saw little hope for those who did not belong to a superior civilization. His own missionary sympathies were definitely with the heathen of "civilized" countries. He was principally interested in sending missionaries to India and China, and to the Catholic countries of Europe. Haweis, on the other hand, looked primarily to the South Seas and Africa.

Bogue also felt that the islands of the South Seas were insignificant compared with the vast continental countries. In his Lectures on Missions, he showed clearly that he did not regard the South Sea mission as of the first importance.<sup>(1)</sup> In listing the most important fields of labour, he did not include the South Seas. Furthermore, many of the Directors held the view, - it was also held by Haweis, - that because the Polynesians were comparatively uncivilized, the South Seas mission was more properly a field for artisans and the less intelligent or less scholarly volunteers. It is evident that the more scholarly, gifted and "respectable" missionaries were sent to India and the Orient and even to Africa.

Certainly the argument that the missionaries sent to the East should be more carefully trained, and able to answer or refute the philosophical questions put to them, was a valid argument. On the other hand, the Directors and their agents underestimated the intelligence of the Polynesians. Missionaries in the South Seas, and other European groups, have always had a tendency to treat the islanders as children, an attitude of

(1) Bogue, Missionary Lectures, 55-56.

mind easily cultivated by observation of certain characteristics less apparent in western societies; but according to island tradition, the Tahitians themselves looked upon the first L.M.S. missionaries as "a kind of children, or idiots, incapable of understanding the simplest facts of island politics or society".(1)

There was a definite tendency to encourage men who had the requisite stamina and an abundance of zeal, but who were otherwise insufficient, to enter missionary service. Men who were unsuited to the home ministry were thought<sup>of</sup> as being quite adequate instructors of the "ignorant heathen". Missionary service was regarded as a kind of monitorial system in that the monitor was not much further advanced than his pupil. Many of the missionaries who came out on the Duff would not have been accepted into the home ministry. Jorgen Jorgensen savagely criticized the policy of the Directors in sending out "illiterate and ruined tradesmen" who took it upon themselves "to explain to others what they [did] not comprehend themselves", and suggested that three or four learned professors from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh should be sent out.(2) Jorgensen, however, underestimated the qualities of the smaller body of missionaries who remained after the various defections. These missionaries themselves had come to realize that the Polynesians were quite a sophisticated people, and they resented the appointment of missionaries whom they regarded as being below their own standards. The most flagrant example of an unsuitable missionary being sent out was the case of William Caw. Caw had been a Church member and skilled artisan when he applied,

(1) Arii Taimai, Adams, Tahiti, 128.

(2) Jorgensen, State of Christianity, 98-101.

and he evidently convinced the Directors that he had been called to missionary work.

"We must acknowledge ourselves not a little surprized," wrote the Tahitian mission Secretary, "that a person of Mr. Caw's advanced age, impediment of speech, and peculiarity of manners - should be thought a suitable character to be sent so many thousand miles to be an instructor of heathens of a dark and strange speech in the Christian religion and youth in the art of reading English. Certainly our honourable Directors must have formed very erroneous opinions of the office of a missionary or school-master among savages especially the light, giddy, sacastick, contemptuous inhabitants of Taheite, to whom Mr. Caw is already an object of ridicule...."(1)

Although at first received, though somewhat ungraciously, into the mission family, Caw was a continual source of embarrassment. Domestic quarrels resulting in his excommunication, and his preference for the company of beachcombers, induced him to separate himself from the other missionaries, and for many years he lived on unwanted by either missionaries or natives, a pathetic and lonely figure.(2)

No one quite as unsuited as Caw was ever again sent to the South Seas. Nevertheless, the idea that the less talented could be sent to the islands persisted. We know of the following missionaries that they were not regarded as being acceptable for the home ministry or the East. Buzacott's tutors affirmed that he was "scarcely qualified for a station where a very superior order of intellect is important".(3) Dr. Henderson of Highbury said of the prospective Polynesian scholar, W.W. Gill, that "there was a malformation about his organs of speech which [he] was afraid would prove an obstacle to his being acceptable in the Home Ministry,

(1) Jefferson, 25 July 1804, S.S.J., no. 22.

(2) See Orsmond, 6 October 1820, S.S.J., no. 55.

(3) Harris, Burder, etc., 24 June 1825, Buzacott C.P.

and which if not [then] removed, would ... render it improper in the Directors to send him into the Missionary field."<sup>(1)</sup> Charles Hardie was "not formed for popularity as a preacher his voice being rather hard, and his delivery quite unimpassioned."<sup>(2)</sup> When recommending Platt, William Roby advised that he was "not likely to occupy the higher spheres of labour with requisite qualifications", but he promised to be a "useful servant among the more uncivilized Heathen".<sup>(3)</sup> George Pritchard was recommended to the South Seas for the same reason. James of Birmingham suggested him for the Sandwich Islands.<sup>(4)</sup> In another letter he said that Pritchard was "well qualified for Africa and the South Sea Islands".<sup>(5)</sup> He protested against the suggestion that Pritchard should go to India or to Demarara.

"For both these stations he is in my judgment disqualified, by the disadvantages of his early education. It is high time to act upon the conviction that none but men of good sound literature, are fit for an oriental station."<sup>(6)</sup>

By insisting on this point, the great preacher influenced the Directors to appoint Pritchard to Tahiti.

"No, Sir, Mr. Pritchard will not do, I am sure he will not. I am sorry Dr. Bogue thinks of the East, but (inter nos) the Dr. does not excel in penetration into character."

India certainly attracted the majority of the candidates and several of them stated their preference for that field. William Law said that he had read all the books "bearing upon the relative claims of the varied fields of missionary enterprise", and he had a "deep irrepressible conviction"

(1) Henderson, 12 June 1851, W.W.Gill C.P.

(2) Cecil, 20 June 1833, Hardie C.P.

(3) **Roby**, 25 November 1815, Platt C.P.

(4) James, 17 April 1824, Pritchard C.P.

(5) James, 21 February 1824, Pritchard C.P.

(6) James, 5 March 1824, Pritchard C.P.

that it was his duty to labour among the "countless millions of the East".<sup>(1)</sup>  
On this basis he expressed a preference for British India rather than the South Seas. Slatyer also expressed a desire to be sent to India, although he had recently learned "that only first rate talents were required for India".<sup>(2)</sup>

The considerable attention paid by Dr. Bogue to Indian missions in his lectures, possibly turned the thoughts of his students particularly to that field, and perhaps his tendency to emphasize the importance of large populations influenced the expansive policy of John Williams. This was certainly why Lancelot Threlkeld suggested himself as a pioneer missionary to the Afghans and to the Tartars.

"My mind has not been perfectly satisfied as it respects the South Sea Mission when I look at the smallness of the Islands, the inconsiderable number of their prospective Inhabitants and the large number of Missionaries at that Station nine being already there, Mr. Crook from Port Jackson going to join them and five more going from England making altogether fifteen Males besides females. My Conscience asks me whether I am doing the most possible good etc."<sup>(3)</sup>

Unless they had responded to a particular request for missionaries for a specified field, many of the students did not know where they would be posted. In fact it was regarded as an essential qualification by some of the Directors that a missionary should be prepared to go anywhere. This was certainly the Methodist ideal. On the other hand, there were Directors who were fully aware of the shortcomings of this system, and believed that every missionary should have some particular knowledge of the field to which he would be sent. The students at Gosport, for instance,

(1) Law, 3 April 1851, C.P.

(2) Slatyer, 6 August 1836, C.P.

(3) Threlkeld, 27 September 1815, C.P.

knew much more about the Eastern fields than the South Seas. Consequently, a missionary was at a considerable disadvantage when appointed to the South Seas after the completion of his course. James of Birmingham was one Director to criticize this system.

"In my judgment a Missionary should be educated for a particular situation, and receive an education adapted to that situation."<sup>(1)</sup>

Health considerations also played a large part in determining fields of labour for missionary candidates, and the climate of the South Seas was considered as a partial remedy for some ills.

Whether this was always the medical case or not, the belief was popularly held. Thus Richard Knill, whose health had broken down in India, wrote from Madras:

"I trembled at the thought of being a Cumberer in the Lord's vineyard. I felt a wish to go to Otaheite, or any place which they thought more suited to my constitution...."<sup>(2)</sup>

George Gill's constitution was "not one of much power", and he had a "slight tendency to pulmonary disease". The medical adviser to the Directors dissuaded them from engaging him for India, and said that in the South Seas he would have a "fair chance of health and usefulness".<sup>(3)</sup> Lind also appears to have been sent to the South Seas on consideration of his health. The medical adviser said that his constitution was "not adapted for missionary labour". Another report said that his chest was disproportionately small to the rest of his frame, that he was of a bilious temperament, and that in a hot climate he might be "more than usually disposed to hepatic disease".<sup>(4)</sup> Thomas Slatyer was another of

(1) James, 29 April 1824, C.P. See also letter from James, 3 March 1824.

(2) Knill, 5 August 1818, quoted Evangelical Magazine, XXVII, 73.

(3) Darling, 26 October 1842, G. Gill C.P.

(4) Darling, 1851, Lind C.P.



sickly cast. His "puny constitution" was "ill adapted for Missionary labour".<sup>(1)</sup> Eight months afterwards, another doctor said that his health had improved, and he recommended the South Seas, provided Slatyer was not "injured both in body and spirit by a long course of classical and theological studies."<sup>(2)</sup>

Although the ministers of the Wesleyan Connexion tended to come from the same social groups as the Wesleyan missionaries, it would appear that some of the missionaries were recommended for the South Seas, not only because they were physically suited, having youth and zeal, but also because they were not eminently suited for home preaching.

Both Thomas and Hutchinson were regarded as inadequate leaders of the Tongan mission by the Sydney Committee:

"Their genuine piety we never doubted; but with the peculiar gifts which that Mission requires, we well knew they were most scantily endowed. Indeed; Bro. Hutchinson never scrupled to confess that with himself this was really the case; and subsequent events have placed beyond all doubt the correctness of our opinion with regard to both - an opinion in which last year's disasters have led the Committee, long ere this, to concur.....we tremble for the safety of the Mission."<sup>(3)</sup>

Hutchinson was deemed suitable for ministerial work in the Colonies, but it was not so with some of the other missionaries. The case of Thomas Welland<sup>(4)</sup> throws some light on this policy of sending out those who were sufficiently zealous, but who lacked English preaching powers. When he was rejected by the Tonga District Committee, Welland had only been three months in the islands. Being of a somewhat submissive nature, he acquiesced in the decision, although he was not even at the meeting which

(1) Darling, December 1836, Slatyer C.P.

(2) Conquest, 22 August 1837, Slatyer C.P.

(3) 25 August 1828, W.M.M.S., Sydney D.D.B. 111.

(4) See ante. 115.



judged him incompetent. The Committee made the following objections to Welland:

"He does not possess the talents suitable for the work of the Lord in these Islands... (1) His manners and embarrassed mode of delivering his Message to remove which every effort made has proved unavailing both in the Colonies and in these Islands. (2) His extremely defective mode of quoting the Scriptures ascribing to one Apostle or Prophet that what was spoken or written by another. (3) The extreme difficulty which he finds in pronouncing the Tonga language which should he ever acquire we think he will never be able to speak it so as to profit those who hear him." (1)

The Committee said further that Welland had been "by no means an acceptable Local Preacher in the Circuit from which he came", and censured the N.S.W. District Meeting for recommending him. Even though Welland was rejected as being incompetent, many of the Wesleyan missionaries themselves believed that a man might be an effective missionary although he would not be acceptable in England or in the Colonies. Thus, when Miller was appointed an "Assistant Missionary" in 1841, it was "with the distinct understanding that he shall have no claim to labour in the Colonies or in England." (2)

Similarly, Walter James Davis was sent out as a printer on the understanding that he could not enter the ministry in the Islands. When he desired to leave the Mission because of ill health, the Secretary of Conference wrote him an "unkind and unfeeling letter" stating that in the opinion of the brethren, he would not "meet the reasonable expectations of the people" as a preacher.

(1) October 1836, W.M.M.S., Tonga D.M.

(2) 23 March 1841, W.M.M.S., Tonga D.M.

"Very probable;" was his own comment, "and no one is more sensible of his inability for the work than myself. I learn that men in every way my superiors cannot satisfy the itching ears of a Colonial congregation."<sup>(1)</sup>

Amos, in a letter to Rabone, commented on the "terrible letter".

"Who could have written it? Surely this is not the way to treat anyone. To tell him he has not talent, and that he was taken out for the Islands...."<sup>(2)</sup>

One reason for sending men out as missionaries, although they were unsuited to normal pastoral work, was because it was assumed that the standard of English preaching was of little importance in the field. Indeed, one finds many references in the narratives of voyagers to the South Seas alluding to the poor preaching abilities of Evangelical missionaries, although this was very often probably due to lack of practice in English.

Some of the Wesleyans were also directed to the South Seas for reasons of health. Unfortunately, some of the stations proved injurious to good health, and even those with sound constitutions succumbed to dysentery and various diseases, especially diseases induced by living in unhealthy areas. Medical knowledge was also limited, and many of the missionaries took risks with their health. For example, Crawford, who was regarded as the strongest man in the Fijian mission, did not change his clothes after getting wet through. His death from dysentery shortly afterwards was attributed to his carelessness in this respect.<sup>(3)</sup> Amongst all the Evangelical missionaries the sickness rate was very high, and ill health in the family was a constant anxiety to nearly every missionary,

(1) Davis, 9 August 1856, A.W.M.S., Tonga M.L.

(2) Amos to Rabone, 13 October 1856, Rabone, Letters to.

(3) See Wesleyan Missionary Notices (1858), 77-80.

and more than any other cause, it was responsible for ending the effective careers of otherwise promising missionaries.

Wesleyan missionaries were also expected to be prepared to go anywhere. Before the appointment was made, of course, they were consulted, but on numerous occasions missionaries who had definite preferences were not able to indulge them. A story was told amongst the missionaries that Hunt of Fiji believed that he had a "loud call" to go to Africa. On mentioning his call to Jabez Bunting, the latter "almost ridiculed it and thought that God gave none in the present day, a call to a particular locality or people".<sup>(1)</sup>

Education, preaching and teaching experience, and the influence of social origins can all be measured. It is possible from examining these things to obtain a tolerable insight into the character of the typical Evangelical missionary, whether Calvinistic or Wesleyan. But there is a more illusive quality which we cannot ignore and which, although limited by these considerations, yet dominates them. Though one with Evangelicalism, it is yet separate, and would exist independently of belief. This is the quality of personality. The individual missionary, although in most things he conformed to type, was often very conspicuous by his personal traits. We might contrast Thomas Bullen, who was "modest even to timidity",<sup>(2)</sup> and who did not appear to be qualified as a "leader" on a missionary station, with Thomas Powell, who had been brought up an orphan, and who had "no artificial wants to supply, no luxurious indulgences to miss and lament, and no effeminate habits to unlearn".<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Samuel Waterhouse to Jabez Waterhouse, 31 January 1853, S. Waterhouse, Correspondence from.

(2) Collison and Ransome, 22 September 1838, Bullen C.P.

(3) Henry Richard, 12 November 1842, Powell C.P.

Many of the traits of personality of John Williams have been preserved in Campbell's graphic description of the "missionary hero",<sup>(1)</sup> which reveals his many limitations and highlights his more commendable characteristics. It is when we read such a description, that the Evangelical missionary is presented with a reality that no amount of social analysis will supply.

The imaginative and the unimaginative, the pessimistic and the optimistic, the more extraverted and the more introverted, those prone to too much anger and those prone to too much humility, in fact the whole range of human nature, were as characteristic of the Evangelical missionaries as of any other cross-section of society. It is only when the history of the islands is unfolded that we see the real characters in the pageant: John Williams with his wanderlust and possessive pride; David Cargill, extravagant and susceptible to flattery; Henry Nott, Henry Royle, and John Thomas, holding firmly to a power denied them in other spheres of life; John Muggridge Orsmond, suffering from a bitter persecution complex; and Peter Turner and Martin Dyson overburdened with a sense of unworthiness.

(1) See Campbell, The Martyr of Erromanga, 217-243.

IX.

Crossing the Line

"I am now going to encounter new and untried difficulties, first at sea, a long sea voyage, with strange and possibly worldly and wicked people; and this is only preparatory to my taking up my abode amongst rude and barbarous tribes, far beyond the bounds of British protection, where I have to live, and labour, and suffer, and possibly to die."

John Thomas, 1825. (1)

It was the voyage out which helped to determine the missionary's final attitudes, severed him from his roots, and made him aware of his isolated vocation. This was even true of the first voyage of the Duff, which was a singularly piously manned ship. But it was in the later years, when convict ships and whaling vessels and even passenger ships were used, that the missionaries were more vigorously initiated into their new life. Indeed, for many of them, the voyage out was almost the worst experience in their missionary careers, especially from an emotional and nervous point of view. William Ellis and his colleagues had an unpleasant journey out on a government transport ship. (2) Not only was mutiny constantly feared, but the missionaries suffered from the "rude and unmanly conduct" of the commander. Mrs. Ellis had to absent herself from the Captain's table because of his "offensive" behaviour.

The majority of the missionaries were unfamiliar with conditions at sea, and were quite unprepared to accept a lower standard of living. In contrast with many of the emigrants of the time, they travelled in comparative comfort. Ellis and his party complained that the food was

(1) quoted Rowe, A Pioneer, 11.

(2) See J. Ellis, Life of William Ellis, 51.



insufficient and coarse, and that on more than one occasion a sheep which had died of disease or starvation had been used as meat. The brethren Turner, Watkin and Woon and their wives had similar fare on board the whaling vessel, Lloyds. They complained that they had "little more to eat than the common men before the mast",<sup>(1)</sup> a good indication that they were privileged nonetheless. Orsmond was very bitter because the wine was rationed. The Captain informed him "that the Directors particularly Mr. Langton when forming a Covenant with him to take us out told him that we were very plain people, that we should not want above a glass or two of wine at the table. If we had been accustomed to live differently.... they would give you more".<sup>(2)</sup> If the Directors ever made this statement it helps to affirm the class correlation of the missionaries. Orsmond expressed great indignation saying that "the want of a little wine is a considerable loss."

It was customary for the missionaries to dine with the Captain, and the relationship was not always a cordial one, especially when the Captain did not conform to their own moral code. Bullen, Turner, Nisbet and Smee were shocked at the "indecent if not immoral intercourse" between their Captain and "some of the females in the steerage".<sup>(3)</sup> Reproof from the missionaries was regarded as presumption and bad form. On both his voyages out, Cargill was at enmity with the Captains. He was told on his second voyage that "to preach the necessity of coming to God through Christ, may be applicable to Feejeeans, or very bad people", but it was

<sup>(1)</sup>P. Turner, Journal, I, 16.

<sup>(2)</sup>Orsmond, 26 October 1816, S.S.J., no. 59. Others, however, who responded to the "hospitality" of a Captain were afterwards defamed as "the wine-bibbing missionaries" by him, Harbutt, 25 March 1844, S.S.L.

<sup>(3)</sup>Bullen, etc., 11 February 1841, Australia Letters.

quite unnecessary on board his ship.<sup>(1)</sup> This Captain also spent Saturday evening "singing songs, stamping, hurraing".

"Can the author of evil assist his votaries in giving vent to those feelings which are earthly, sensual and devilish? They continued this amusement until within a few minutes of 12 o'clock and then adjourned, to stamp on the deck over the beds of some of the more sedate passengers."<sup>(2)</sup>

Such experiences could be multiplied. Perhaps the most readable account of the voyage out was recorded by J.H.S. Royce. Royce mentioned the "aversion of sailors to ministerial passengers".<sup>(3)</sup> He described the Captain of the Nimrod as a man "experienced and skilful in his profession, but as ungodly as one can well conceive, likes to kill time in shuffling a few cards, is pleased to hear his infant son lisp the name of the Devil, anticipates catching sharks on the Sabbath and was much surprised at the suggestion of divine service on that sacred day." When they crossed the equator, however, nothing occurred amongst the crew "by way of demand of their heathenish custom upon that occasion".<sup>(4)</sup> Though witty in his description of his fellow passengers, Royce possessed the typical lack of humour which characterised Evangelicals in his day. He would take no part in a performance of the Lady of Lyons which he considered a "consummate piece of foolery",<sup>(5)</sup> nor was he pleased with the other amusements.

"Scarce an evening passes in the saloon without cards, over which the most stupid and boisterous mirth is incessantly going forward."<sup>(6)</sup>

In 1859 conditions of travel could still be as discomforting to the missionary as at the beginning of the century. Coming to the South Seas

(1) Cargill, 10 July 1842, Journal.

(2) Cargill, 17 July 1842, Journal.

(3) Royce, 7 December 1855, Journal.

(4) Royce, 21 December 1855, Journal.

(5) Royce, 26 December 1855, Journal.

(6) Royce, 8 January 1856, Journal.



for the second time, Krause, with his young charges Baker and Macfarlane, and their wives, complained of the trip.

"In sending Missionaries or friends from London to Sydney or any other part of Australia," wrote Krause to the Directors, "engage the Cabins on the portside, if possible avoid emigrant ships, and bachelor Captains, and provide a horse hair mattrass."<sup>(1)</sup>

He further complained that their wives could not leave the cabins without encountering half naked stewards, waiters and midshipmen who "performed their ablutions" and undressed in the space between the cabins. But that was not all.

"Our vessel is a perfect gambling shop, in the saloon, in our nondescript compartments, in the second class everywhere gambling."

The evils of ship-board life were epitomized by the Equatorial revels. It was in crossing the line that Satan, usually in the guise of the jovial Neptune, tested the earnestness of the assailants of his kingdom. In those days it was not easy for anyone to be a non-participator. Peter Turner records that when Mr. and Mrs. Neptune paid their visit on board the Lloyds, they locked themselves in their cabins acting on the advice of their Secretaries.<sup>(2)</sup>

"When will our English sailors throw away their superstition and act like Christians."

Watkin "declined witnessing this relic of Heathenism."<sup>(3)</sup> Not all crossings, however, were so easy to evade. When one band of Wesleyans came out in 1858 they were involved in "disrespectful proceedings". They were "all but literally dragged from their Berths", and their wives ("whose dignity perhaps was less sacrosanct) had several buckets of water thrown over them.<sup>(4)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Krause, 8 March 1859, S.S.L.

<sup>(2)</sup> P. Turner, Journal, I, 16.

<sup>(3)</sup> Watkin, 30 September 1850, Journal.

<sup>(4)</sup> Orton, 9 April 1838, Letter Book.

David Cargill, on his second voyage out to the islands, was certainly not amused when crossing the line.

"About 7 o.c. when I was about to come down stairs from the deck, a bucket of water was thrown down from the mizen the greater part of which fell on my back. That the Captain and his officers knew nothing of such gross impudence I fully believe, and that the person who poured the water may have mistaken me for another individual is possible, though by no means probable. But such conduct is not much to be wondered at, when we reflect that several persons who sail with us in this vessel appear not to know how to value or treat a Minister of the Gospel."(1)

The Tahitian veteran, Henry Nott, knew best how to cope with "Neptune and his ridiculous train".

"Our new Brethren got a few buckets of water over them," he wrote, "tho' they escaped the tar and the shaving by treating Jack with a little of what he is always fond of." (2)

Those who came out in the mission ships, the Camden, the John Williams, and the John Wesley, were incomparably better off in so far as congenial company was concerned. But mission ships rarely came up to the standard of "godliness" which had been set by the Duff. Even under the direction of the pious Captain Morgan, and the personal supervision of John Williams, there were bitter complaints by the missionaries on board the Camden, although Williams appears to have given them better fare than many sea Captains.(3) Krause resented the "insolent" and "surly" treatment he received from Captain Williams of the John Williams, and complained of the "disgraceful scenes" between the Captain and the First Mate, brought about by the Captain's temper.(4) Williams also refused to allow the preserved meats, which were constantly bursting the tins, to be thrown

(1) Cargill, 14 June 1842, Journal.

(2) Nott, 10 September 1827, S.S.L.

(3) See Williams, 26 March 1839, S.S.L.

(4) Krause, 8 December 1859, S.S.L.

overboard. This was after suspected typhus had already broken out on the ship.<sup>(1)</sup> Francis Wilson also complained of the Captain of the Wesleyan Mission ship Triton:

"No one should be chosen who is not a real Christian and a thoro' Methodist, it does not matter what his nautical skill may be - No half and half man will do."<sup>(2)</sup>

On the way out the missionaries preached when they could, and continued their studies. Often they had the company of an older missionary who was returning, and sometimes there were also some islanders who had been exhibited before the religious public at Exeter Hall. Such companions greatly assisted in the acquisition of the language. Crossing the line was not an easy experience, but it was invariably an important one. From then on, the spiritual growth of the missionaries and their general development was to have new significance when in close contact with an alien culture, and forces of existence which they could only deem sinister.

<sup>(1)</sup>G. Turner, 14 March 1860, S.S.L.

<sup>(2)</sup>F. Wilson, 11 February 1840, W.M.M.S., Correspondence.

Part Two.

The Missionary View of Man.

X.

The Theological View

"Consider that with all the acknowledged variety in the intellectual character and external circumstances of men, HUMAN NATURE is universally the same; that it is found in all the inveteracy of its enmity against God, and hatred of truth and righteousness from the line to the pole. And this - this in all the various dresses it wears, is the enemy the missionary has to encounter and overcome. Human depravity is at the foundation of all the opposition made to his efforts - and he is only successful in so far as he obtains the victory over it."

William Swan, Letters on Missions, 100-101.

The Evangelical missionary had little doubt that Satan, adversary of God and man, reigned as absolute sovereign over the South Sea islanders. But if theological speculation provided boundless scope for Satan, limited experience of mankind and of alien cultures, together with a belief in the natural depravity of man without God, tended to narrow the range of evil. Men who believed that they were likely to be swamped and drowned for going sailing on a Sabbath afternoon, or who went in fear of being struck dead for some irreverency, hardly dared to believe that God would suffer those things for which in the Scriptures he had destroyed cities and nations.

However, before any mission contact had been made, the islanders had gained a reputation for licentious and evil ways. In April 1801, the following verse was published in the Evangelical Magazine, entitled On reading that hogs at Otaheite have not the custom of wallowing in the Mire.

"Delightful scenes! ye southern isles!  
Where yet a fruitful Eden smiles,  
And plenty flows around!  
Your shores no beasts of prey infest,  
Nor pois'nous creatures e'er molest,  
As if un-curst the ground!

"Strange! that your swine should not desire  
To roll like ours, in filthy mire,  
But choose a cleanlier rest!  
But yet - unhappy still the place!  
Immers'd in sin, a sensual race,  
Man wallows there - a beast!

"All hail! the gen'rous plan of love  
The Spark descended from above  
That waked the sacred fire,  
'Tis yours, ye messengers of grace,  
Who flew to help a ruin'd race,  
To raise them from the Mire!" (1)

Critics have often marvelled at the almost perverse way in which the missionaries adopted a stern attitude towards the islanders, and at the almost ruthless way in which they set about to overturn the existing society. One can ascribe their policy to a mere utilitarian attitude towards the economy of time, or a puritanical distaste for "unprofitable" amusement, or even a false veneration for European forms and institutions. That these motives existed cannot be denied. But the dominating influence seems to have been their aversion to the manners and customs of native society. This aversion was based on a belief, not only in the natural depravity, but in the utter depravity of the South Sea islanders.

What was it that convinced the missionaries of this utter depravity? It is an over-simplification to say that the missionaries were revolted by nudity and polytheism. To answer this it is necessary to examine

(1) Evangelical Magazine IX, 176.

many of the manners and customs prevailing in the different groups. It is especially important in respect of Tahiti as this island, consciously or otherwise, became the model of the other South Sea missions.

In Tahiti, infanticide was one of the practices which most revolted the missionaries. It received particular mention in all the published accounts.<sup>(1)</sup> Human sacrifice, which prevailed with an alarming frequency during the early period of the mission, also shocked the missionaries. They did not approve of the promiscuity between the sexes, and saw only evil in a society where a man permitted his wife to cohabit with other men. The Arioi Society, with its even looser code of behaviour, was regarded as the very organization of Satan. The missionaries found the acceptance of homosexual behaviour particularly loathsome.<sup>(2)</sup> Pomare II, who was the mainstay of the mission, and was referred to as the Reformer, continually offended them in this respect. Furthermore, the mahu or Tahitian effeminate had an accepted place in society. So horrified were the missionaries by homosexuality that, when a converted mahu expressed his wish to take a more active part in the Christian services, his offer was turned down.<sup>(3)</sup>

Orsmond, in his journals, gives frequent accounts of the various immoralities, and his interest is only paralleled by his disgust and a kind of loathing for the people.<sup>(4)</sup> He gives details of sexual games,

(1) Ellis wrote an article on infanticide for the Amulet (1852), 70-82.

(2) The missionaries also reported bestiality with dogs and pigs. Paete, uncle of Pomare II, was found in a compromising situation with his attendant. G.R. Taylor, Sex in History (1953), classifies fear of homosexuality as a feature of patristic societies. In his analysis the missionaries would be representative of patristic society, whereas the Tahitians were dominantly matristic.

(3) See Davies, 12 January 1818, S.S.J., no. 50.

(4) See *infra* 153, 167.

secret night meetings, zoc-erastia, and erotic conversation, and maintains that no girl over seven years of age was a virgin.<sup>(1)</sup> On one occasion, Orsmond caught a man and a woman in the "act of adultery" inside his pulpit. Although it had cost him "prodigious toil" to make the pulpit, he felt it necessary to break it to pieces.<sup>(2)</sup> These things, and more besides, convinced the missionaries that the dignity of the noble savage was an illusion.

Some dances, which were practised throughout the areas of contact, were invariably connected with sexual promiscuity. Although cannibalism was not practised in all the areas, the knowledge that some of the Polynesians practised it, was sufficient to establish it as a Polynesian trait in the minds of the missionaries. Even Tonga and Samoa could supply illustrations to support the doctrine. Human sacrifice had been practised in Tonga, and the customs of war, as in Tahiti, were unpleasant. In Tonga, where there was perhaps a more restrictive <sup>moral</sup> code, the men gave considerable offence by going naked.

The opening of the Fijian mission in 1855 gave still greater support to the belief in utter depravity. Cannibalism, widow-strangling and the killing of strangers were but a few of the offending customs. When speaking of the Fijians in 1818, Hugh Thomas, a "navy agent" who had received much information from a sailor who had lived in Fiji, advocated them as a people for prospective evangelization. He finalised his description of them by referring to their place in history.

"They are in one word the very dregs of Mankind or Human Nature, dead and buried under the primevial curse, and nothing of them alive but the Brutal part, yea far worse

(1) Orsmond, 9 March 1827, S.S.J., no. 87, see also Charter, 21 April 1848, S.S.J.  
(2) Orsmond, 7 June 1858, S.S.J., no. 118.

than the Brute-Savage quite unfit to live but far more unfit to die, and yet they are the Sons and Daughters of Adam, and destined to live for ever."<sup>(1)</sup>

In his famous Pity Poor Fiji, James Watkin gave clear utterance to this doctrine. Some of the following extracts from a manuscript account entitled Rites and Customs of the Feejeeans, prepared by Joseph Waterhouse, show the impression of the Fijian character as received by a new missionary.<sup>(2)</sup> Although based on the genuine observations of missionaries, this account is emotionally written and gives a distorted picture of Fijian customs by selecting the worst cases of cannibalism during local wars.

"Go to Feejee and behold the training of the infant, his lips rubbed with human flesh in order that a taste for such food may be excited and early acquired...." "In Feejee kings order the limbs of refractory chiefs to be cut off, cooked, and eaten in the presence of the living trunk."

In speaking of the seizing of strangers, he writes:

"Some of them could not wait till they were cooked, but came and pulled off the poor fellows' ears and eat them. They afterwards cut off their arms placing a bowl under to catch the blood. If any of the blood fell on the ground, they fell down and licked it up most greedily. They ate the poor fellows' arms in their presence, and then their legs, and then cut pieces off their bodies. Many of the poor fellows lived during this part of the operation."

Convinced of the utter depravity of the South Sea islanders, the missionaries were reinforced in their initial missionary enthusiasm.

Thus, when he first saw a baked man, Moore exclaimed:

"Are these the descendants from him who was created in the Image of God? have these beings souls? Are they really accountable beings? is there any hope for them? My heart replied. O yes! This is man without the Gospel, 'A beast in body, A demon in mind,' but there is still hope.... My

(1) Thomas, 18 June 1818, S.S.L.

(2) J. Waterhouse, 4 April 1850, W.C.



commission extends even to these, for they are still out of Hell, although at its very jaws."<sup>(1)</sup>

This conviction also led the missionaries to conclude that there was a progressive degradation of the natural man, and that once man ceased to believe in one God, he became progressively worse, as St. Paul suggested in his Epistle to the Romans. This concept was to have far reaching effects, because it encouraged a state of war between two cultures, in which Jehovah sought to overthrow Satan who thus assumed Manichaeian proportions. The war of Christian against "devolo" was a war of absolute good against absolute evil, and therefore knew little compromise. The pattern of Evangelical missionary activity became the story of Elijah and the priests of Baal, and although the missionaries rarely took the risk of asking for a miracle, they were considerably assisted in waging their war by the people putting their gods and Jehovah to the test. As their own gods were usually tried first and succeeded less, Jehovah was invariably the victor in these crude metaphysical experiments.

(1) Moore, [28 January 1850] 1 September 1850, quoted W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, VI.

XI.

Poor Brown Dick

"How I loathe that hypocrisy which claims the same mental, moral, and physical equality for the Negro which the whites possess."

John Campbell' Negro Mania, Philadelphia, 1851, 11.

Besides the theological belief that the South Sea islander typified the natural man given over to a reprobate mind, there was another view of man which is sometimes less easy to isolate. This was the racial view. It was not always easy for the missionary to forget that he was white. Many of the old arguments which had been used to justify slavery were still valid theologically. Because Noah cursed Ham for discovering him naked, all Ham's descendants, who were the dark races, were subject to that curse. Although the Evangelical missionary societies were foremost in the ranks of those who sought to end the slave trade, it must not be imagined that Evangelical religion, and this particular fraternal attitude to the dark races, were synonymous. Whitefield had not regarded it as inconsistent to keep slaves, provided that they were treated well. Mrs. Smith, who assisted Dr. Vanderkemp in his missionary labours at Bethelsdorp, retained her slaves although the missionaries themselves disapproved. The family of the American missionary, W.P. Alexander, owned slaves and yet professed Evangelical doctrines. Thus it is not surprising to detect certain traits and popular racial prejudices kept alive by the missionaries themselves, some simply due to colour consciousness, but others due to the various arguments which asserted the superiority of the white races.

Often such views were kept alive by the initial aversion induced by coming into contact with a people whose ways were different and whose

technical culture was inferior. When Mary Fletcher, the daughter, wife and sister of missionaries, arrived in Fiji in 1853, she recorded her feelings thus:

"Felt exceedingly disgusted and annoyed with the half-naked people around me, whose ideas of pleasant smells were very different to mine; their bodies, or, rather parts of their bodies, are well smeared with coconut-oil, scented with sandal wood."<sup>(1)</sup>

The missionary women took much longer to adjust themselves to the new environment than the men, and some were never able to overcome their aversion. Peter Turner praised Mrs. Lyth for her sociable and kind attitude to the people, and said that she was "not like some whom [he had] seen who cannot bear the native to sit with them on the same form."<sup>(2)</sup>

The male missionaries also expressed disgust at the appearance and manners of the people. George Turner regarded the covering worn by the men of Tuna as being highly indecent, as it accentuated the parts concealed.

"I make no apology for telling you these things in plain terms. You know what use to make of them. If it is revolting to read this description, how much more so it is to be hourly surrounded by the reality!"<sup>(3)</sup>

Thomas Baker was equally disgusted by the Fijians:

"They wish to walk in and out one's house at their pleasure. I had to take a tall, dirty Chief by the arm today and walk him out of my bedroom... All this man had to hide his nakedness was 3 inches width of native cloth."<sup>(4)</sup>

On another occasion he was sleeping at Waninito. This was not a very pleasant experience as "the Chief, dirty fellow", woke him several times by "thumping" Baker's head with "his dirty black feet".<sup>(5)</sup> Baker, of

(1) Polglase, 21 October 1853, Diary.

(2) P. Turner, 28 May 1853, Journal.

(3) G. Turner, 1843, S.S.J., no. 134, 4.

(4) At Wairiki, a new station. Baker, 25 July 1860, Journal.

(5) Baker, 1 September 1861, Journal, 114.

course, finally came to a grisly end when he mortally offended one of these "dirty fellows" by retrieving his precious comb from the sacred head of an inland chief. This natural disgust was hard to overcome, and must have helped to perpetuate the old racial view.

It is not easy to determine how much this racial view contributed to the question of intermarriage. Very few missionaries in the South Seas took native wives, and most of them appear to have regarded intermarriage with little favour. The only L.M.S. missionaries who went through forms of marriage with native women, between 1799 and 1810, did so without the general approval of the Brethren. On the other hand, two of the Cape missionaries in the same decade, Vanderkemp and Read, married Hottentot women, who were popularly regarded as being an "inferior race". The Tahitian brethren argued mainly on the lines that the women were not only unconverted, but still attached to a social system which allowed them freedoms not permitted in the Christian code. However, Bicknell went so far as to say that "the Natives in some respects would make better Wives than European women, as they can travel thro' the Rivers and live on the productions of the Island better."<sup>(1)</sup> The liaisons which did take place in the early missions were the result of disinclination to maintain continence. Broomhall and Vason followed their inclinations regardless of consequences. The Rev. Thomas Lewis, and Henry Nott both appear to have gone through some form of marriage.<sup>(2)</sup> What became of the wife of Nott

(1) Bicknell, 25 December 1806, S.S.L.

(2) For evidence of Nott's marriage see Davies, 22 July 1809, S.S.J., no. 55, 44 [Missionary Transactions, III, 537]; Marsden, 25 October 1810, Australia Letters; Thomas Haweis, quoted H.R. Haweis, Travel and Talk, II, 286. [1812?]

has not been recorded, but as the rest of the Brethren disapproved, the union was possibly regarded as an indiscretion and annulled by common consent, and no doubt conveniently forgotten when some "godly young women" arrived by special shipment.

It is certainly in the period after the nominal conversion of Tahiti that we find the racial view more prevalent. Perhaps this was due to the greater number of missionary wives in the field, who may not have been so willing to receive their "coloured sisters" on terms of equality. Although several affairs took place involving both missionaries and native girls, in the L.M.S. and the W.M.M.S., the only persons connected with either mission who were married to native women were two "assistant missionaries". Both these men had married<sup>(1)</sup> prior to accepting missionary responsibilities. Even in the Hawaiian mission, where the personnel was so much larger, only one marriage took place between a missionary and a Hawaiian. This marriage was precipitated by the lonely condition of the Rev. Samuel Dwight, who derived some comfort from taking his school girls on his lap and fondling their breasts.<sup>(2)</sup> On one occasion he caught one of them, Anna Mahoe, in bed with a Hawaiian boy. His rather unexpected reaction to this was to marry Anna Mahoe himself, though he earned the censure of the mission. Even amongst second generation missionary families intermarriage was exceptional, though more frequent in third generation families which had remained in the islands, and which had little active connection with the missions.

(1) Miller (W.M.M.S.); Hunkin (L.M.S.)

(2) See Bradford Smith, Yankees in Paradise, 315.



The relationship between the missionaries and their island servants had its effect on the general attitude of the missionaries towards the people. The native youths and girls lived in the family in the manner of English domestics. They cooked, waited on table, and acted as nurses to the children. Many of the native preachers began as domestics and were treated with that familiarity which developed during the days of service. This domestic relationship was to some degree extended to the people as a whole. Even the impatience of the missionary's lady with her dusky Abigail was part of the pattern. That the good women had such failings is witnessed by Mrs. Chisholm, who remarked that one of the missionaries' wives was "rather cross with the servants and her servants broke more dishes than any other".<sup>(1)</sup> Dissatisfaction with the natives as servants tended to reduce missionary esteem for them as a people. Thus John Binner, the Wesleyan teacher at Ovalau, wrote impatiently of the "stupidity of these Natives - one good English girl would do better than the dozen we are compelled here to keep."<sup>(2)</sup>

None of the missionaries deserved to be called "nigger-drivers", although some of their actions might well have suggested the term. No doubt some of them felt that they were justified in obtaining conscript labour through the chief for the advancement of the Lord's work, but others of their number were critical of means which were not entirely voluntary. Pitman, for instance, thought that Williams' action in regard to the building of the Messenger of Peace was reprehensible.<sup>(3)</sup> Gyles, who was

(1) E. Chisholm, Biographical Notes, 19.

(2) Binner, 3 October 1860, A.W.M.S., Correspondence Fiji.

(3) Pitman, 12 September 1827, Journal I, 42-43.

sent out as an "agriculturist" was also criticised by some of the brethren because of his experience in the West Indies. Thus Hayward commented:

"The Society Islands must be considered in circumstances and must be dealt with very far different to [that] of the poor African slave under the lash of an imperious Negro driver in the West Indies. He is an independent character, nothing is there he feels in his circumstances compulsive that can necessitate him to labour, neither will he, without payment."<sup>(1)</sup>

Although by no means a cruel man, Gyles appears to have shown his impatience, and to have asserted racial superiority.

Many of the first missionaries were often provoked to display not only impatience, but anger. Elder was accused of striking a raatera three or four violent blows across the back and shoulders after a barter dispute. Elder, in return, charged Wilson with beating the natives "for principle", and Scott with knocking a man down. A letter from Elder, in defence of his position, was intended to incriminate the brethren:

"When I have seen any of you beat a native, or been told that such a one had done so, I have been very sorry for it. When I have heard any one of you say that you would beat them, that it would be well to do it, or that it should be done, I have more than once cautioned against it."<sup>(2)</sup>

This received an angry reply, and the following admissions:

"We acknowledge that for theft and abusive language one brother did strike a native a blow on the face with his fist, and which the native returned, and nothing more was done. - Another brother did beat a native with his hand with an intention of driving him from our premises on which he had impertinently intruded ... Again, we confess that sundries of us at divers times have struck the boys about our place for their noise and disturbance while we were at worship, and for insolencies on other occasions etc."<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Hayward, "Observations", 1819, S.S.L.

(2) Elder quoted, Youl, Bicknell, etc., 18 October 1806, S.S.J., No. 30.

(3) Youl, Bicknell, etc., 28 October 1806, S.S.S. No. 30.

Later references show that Wilson's impatience brought him into disfavour with the people of his station. In 1818, Davies wrote that he was "grieved to find their minds much prejudiced against bro. Wilson, but I fear that he treats the people with much roughness, and is very imprudent."<sup>(1)</sup>

Occasionally some of the missionaries gave way to cynicism. Disillusioned by the failure of many of the people to grasp the essence of what they were teaching, and observing inconsistencies of profession and behaviour everywhere about them, they tended to despise the people as a whole. Calvin's missionaries had been convinced that the Brazilian Indians were outside the scheme of redemption. The early missions to the Australian aborigines were generally recognized as failures. There was always that doubt that the labours of the missionary were futile, and that the Polynesians were already sealed for the Devil's portion. Orsmond, in one of his frequent cynical moods, wrote of a "sort of spell on the people, a dreadful lethargy - a most awful insensibility, and an insuperable propensity to turn all into jocularities."<sup>(2)</sup> It is obvious from other references that Orsmond had a real love for many of the people, but his aversion was easily aroused. He would allow no Tahitian to enter his house, but as he had a large family of young children, he believed that this measure was absolutely necessary, having seen the results of free access in the families of the elder brethren. The people, however, did not always appreciate the reasons for discrimination.

Although most of the missionaries endeavoured to combat racial feeling, and think of the islander as a brown brother, there is sufficient evidence

(1) Davies, 27 January 1818, S.S.J., no. 50.

(2) Orsmond, 8 April 1832, S.S.J., no. 100.



to suggest that the old racial view of man was not dead, and that even if the islander was equal intellectually, he was still an inferior being because of his birthright. Orsmond maintained that he heard one of the older brethren say in his hearing apropos of preparing a sermon:

"Oh what signifies: Say anything that may come uppermost. It is all new to dick broad nose. How can he tell better. Say anything. I never think of preparing. A few lines in English is enough. It is all new to natives!!!"<sup>(1)</sup>

This may be taken as an exaggeration, but several references to "Poor brown dick" suggest that the phrase was in common currency.<sup>(2)</sup> Just as the American Negro was called "Jim Crow", so this term was used loosely by the English people at Tahiti. It expresses, perhaps, more than anything else, the particular racial view of man held by the early missionaries. Henry Nott certainly used the expression.<sup>(3)</sup> "And then poor brown Dick will have in his possession every word that God has given to men," he wrote in May 1835, speaking of his translation of the New Testament. When John Barff returned from his schooling in England in 1839, his father urged him "to beware of the hateful Idea that 'anything will do for Black Dick'," which had been a "sore evil" to the Tahitian mission.<sup>(4)</sup>

The young missionaries who came out in 1838 and 1839 appear to have given offence both to the Tahitians and the older missionaries by their open attitude to the people. Orsmond records how they exclaimed, "What filthy creatures these natives are," even though the natives bathed five

(1) Orsmond, "A Friendly Hint to Missionaries", 1828, S.S.J., no. 92.

(2) See Orsmond, 31 July 1829, S.S.J., no. 97.

(3) Nott, 28 July 1829; 11 May 1835, S.S.L.; also quoted by Orsmond, 8 May 1839, S.S.L.

(4) Charles Barff, 5 September 1839, S.S.L. Williams also used the phrase "brown Jacketed gentry", 21 October 1830, S.S.L.

times to the missionaries' once!<sup>(1)</sup> Davies complained that they treated the Tahitians with a "haughty reserve" which the people regarded as contempt.<sup>(2)</sup>

The methods of instruction used by the missionaries were those used in teaching children. The conception of the islanders as children has always been present in mission thought. In lamenting the absence of initiative, the missionaries have not realized that this is largely due to their paternalistic attitude; that it is inconsistent to regard their charges as "children" or as "poor brown dick", and yet expect them to show initiative. Brown dick was the weaker brother, and the missionary remained his keeper.

Examples of racial arrogance and colour consciousness can be found in the records of the other missions. W.T. Pritchard records an instance in which the self-interest of Binmer of Ovalau was affected by the duplicity of Tui Levuka.

"You are a bad man," he cried. "When an English man-of-war comes to Levuka, I shall make the Captain tie you to the mainmast, and flog you till your blood runs on the deck."<sup>(3)</sup>

This is perhaps no more than an angry statement, but it is in some ways typical of the overbearing attitude often adopted by the missionaries who were convinced of their own superiority, and who were annoyed by opposition in any form. This overbearing attitude is illustrated most forcefully by the account given by Royce of his attempt to convert an important Fijian chief, Thagilevu. It reads not unlike a police interview. Royce and his accomplices got Thagilevu in a room and for two and a half

(1) Orsmond, 16 January 1841, S.S.L.

(2) Davies, 27 December 1841, S.S.L.

(3) Pritchard, Polynesian Reminiscences, 262.

hours they "tried him at all points of the compass, but without success - he is a sharp, shrewd fellow, as full of guile and the venom of asps as the devil can possibly wish him to be....the man was like a bomb tower, every shot fired, though it hit the mark, yet it rounded off: at last we got it out of him, I don't want to lose, and there we had to leave him, till the Lord deal with him either in judgment, or mercy. (1)

Although the missionaries were often easily irritated by seeming stupidity or "childishness", most of them regarded the various island peoples as being capable of the same intellectual development as themselves. Even the West Indian planter, Gyles, asserted that "in point of Intellect" the Tahitians were "not inferior to Englishmen". (2) Royce regarded the Fijians as an "intelligent people", but he felt that the missionaries would not make very rapid progress owing to the "limited conceptions" of the Fijians. (3)

Despite the belief that the native races possessed the limitations of the children of Ham, the missionaries did believe that Christianity could transform their lives to such an extent, that they could be trained to look and act like themselves, even if the people did not actually think like them. The missionaries inculcated emulation rather than self-expression. The European missionary was to be the "example", and the people were to imitate him. The emphasis placed on conformity was very marked.

(1) Royce, 6 December 1859, Journal, 166.

(2) Gyles, July 1820, S.S.L.

(3) Royce, 1 September 1856 (59); 24 November 1857 (84), Journal.

XII.

The Historical View of Man and the Attitude to Native Cultures

"We have reason to hope that the Day is at hand, when ... these nations, that have been from time immemorial as it were, the objects winked at, and passed by in the sovereign Government of Jehovah, yet now to be favoured with the high priviledges that others have been partakers of for thousands of years past."

John Davies, 12 August 1801, P.R.H., I, 45.

The belief in the utter depravity of the South Sea islanders held by the missionaries depended very largely on a particular conception of history. In the period before 1860 the theologian did not have to encounter the doubts aroused by evolutionary theory. The leading ethnologists of the early nineteenth century were advocates for the unity of man. Prichard maintained that the primitive stock of men were Negroes. Blumenbach regarded the "five varieties of man" as having degenerated from some ideal perfect type.<sup>(1)</sup> Consequently, the theologians did not hesitate to ascribe the origin of the entire human race to the miraculous creation of Adam and Eve and the re peopling of the world after the Deluge by the Japhetic, Semitic and Hamitic races. It was because of this belief in the direct association between the antedeluvian world and the modern races of mankind, that the missionaries actually collected traditions which they regarded as garbled versions of the original historical events, and what remained of the mythological systems were regarded as accretions picked up during the centuries of exile from the cradle of the race.

Ellis records a tradition of the creation of Adam and Eve, and although he was inclined to doubt the genuine origin of this tradition,

(1) See J. Hunt, "On the Negro's place in Nature", Memoirs ... Anthropological Society of London, I, 4.

he believed that if it could be proved it would be the "most remarkable and valuable oral tradition of the origin of the human race yet known."<sup>(1)</sup> He also recorded traditions of the deluge which he regarded as "the most decisive evidence of the authenticity of revelation."<sup>(2)</sup> S.M. Macfarlane of Lifu records a tradition "substantially the same as the Scripture account of the flood", in which an old man named Nol (= Noah) made a canoe inland from the coast. Other stories "identified" were those of the tower of Babel and Joseph and his brethren.<sup>(3)</sup> When told a Fijian legend about a great flood, David Hazlewood regarded it as a tradition of the Universal Deluge, and his reaction illustrates this historic view admirably:

"What a poor account it has sunk into. Instead of being a record of the greatest display of almighty power, and Divine wrath, in punishing a guilty world, the devil has turned it into a petty affair of his own, to lead men to fear and worship him."<sup>(4)</sup>

Most of the missionaries believed that the native mythology was a distortion of that "ancient, primitive, patriarchal religion", which, in the belief of the Rev. John Dunmore Lang, was "doubtless taught by Noah and his sons to their immediate posterity, but which was so speedily forgotten or debased by the great majority of the tribes of men."<sup>(5)</sup> Bishop Russell developed this view most fully in his account of Polynesia:

"It requires no ingenuity to discover in the religious usages of the Polynesians such a resemblance to those of the other Asiatic nations as to afford the greatest probability that they sprung from the same source. In the practices everywhere prevailing, we perceive traces of that original faith which, though given to

(1) Ellis, Polynesian Researches, I, 110-111.

(2) Ellis, op.cit., I, 386-394.

(3) Macfarlane, Story of the Lifu Mission, 19 ff. See also Williams, Fiji and the Fijians, 212; Thomson, The Fijians, 17, 137.

(4) Hazlewood, Somosomo, 6 May 1846, W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, V.

(5) Lang, Origin and Migrations (1854), 198.

man by a divine agency, has perpetuated itself through a channel so corrupted as to have lost the sublime import and the purer ceremonies by means of which it first addressed itself to the acceptance of the descendants of Noah."(1)

Russell compared the ancient forms of worship amongst the Polynesians with those forms adopted by the Israelites when they embraced idolatry. He discerned similarities in the form of the temples and also suggested that human sacrifice and infanticide were abuses of a sacred institution. He denied the Malthusian explanation for infanticide and regarded it as a perversion of the Levitical law. He gave similar explanations for human sacrifice and other customs, and finally concluded:

"Their traditional recollections, not less than their superstitions, identify them with nations who have acted a more prominent part in the theatre of the globe, though climate food, and peculiar habits have in some degree obscured the resemblance."

It was this belief in the perversion of history rather than in originality which led the missionaries to regard most of the tales as nonsense, and as "wicked lies" rather than as the attempts of these people to explain the world in which they lived. It is true that many of the missionaries who examined the cultural systems more minutely, came to have an admiration for the ingenuity and natural virtues of many of these tales, and valued them for their own sake, but there was always present a belief that these stories were traps, manufactured by the devil for ensnaring the people to his vicious service.

In attempting to convince the Marquesans that it was Jehovah and not Tiki who was responsible for creating the world, and hence their own islands, George Stallworthy displayed considerable impatience.

(1) Russell, Polynesia and New Zealand (1842), 378-385.

"This benighted and sin-stricken people seem to be wholly insensible to any discrepancy between the book of nature and their own absurd and wicked legends."<sup>(1)</sup>

He was even more vexed when they could not be persuaded that Jehovah did not have a mother.

Although the missionaries shared the belief in the progressive degeneration of natural religion, in their discussions on sacred objects with the islanders, there seems to have been a great variety of approach. Some missionaries displayed a much more sympathetic and less iconoclastic spirit, and others were so filled with zeal that they did not hesitate to offend the supporters of the traditional system. Usually, when the latter was the case, the missionary felt that he had much to gain by his "sacrilege", for by his act he hoped to prove that the gods or spirits were impotent to act against him.

Combatting the old systems of religion was one of the major tasks of Evangelical missionaries, and arguments and persuasive means were very slow. In Polynesia, the power of the tapu system was one of the most powerful forces which prevented any degree of success in mission work. The examples set by certain chiefs, particularly in the Society Islands and Tonga, in defying the system in the most public way must have had great influence in ending it.<sup>(2)</sup> In the Marquesas, it was the tapu system more than any other single cause, which frustrated the mission, and the whole progress of the missionaries depended on the chief Iotete of Vaitahu, who was afraid to break any of the tapus. Very often missionaries of another

(1) Stallworthy, 3 March 1839, 19 April 1839, S.S.J., No. 120.

(2) Taufa'ahau broke the tapus in Tongatapu; Pomare II ate sacred turtle in Tahiti.

generation have lamented the breakdown of the tapu system, because it gave at least a certain cohesion to society on questions of morality. However, as the early missionaries repeatedly affirmed, the facets of native life were so inextricably interwoven that all stood or fell together.

In order to combat utter depravity and the "religion of false gods", the missionaries had to launch a full scale attack which not only meant war to the death with priestcraft and immorality, the particular things with which they were concerned as religious teachers, but it also meant serious intrenchments on the power of the chiefs, and prevailing notions of order and allegiance.

This policy was realized very early in the Tahitian mission. The Areoi Society, which was so prominent a feature of Tahitian society, was regarded as a legitimate object of attack. In writing about his own views on mission policy in 1799, William Henry maintained:

"I deem it necessary that the Consequence and Influence of the Areoi Society be Counteracted, or indeed destroyed, before any real permanent good (humanly spaking) can be done there..."<sup>(1)</sup>

Yet, in their dealings with the people in the matter of their traditional religion, the early missionaries showed some courtesy. During a tour of Moorea in 1813, one of them recorded a conversation between himself and some people in a house devoted to the god Oro. The men permitted him to handle the image, although they themselves were afraid to do so..

"Turning to the men with the god in my hands, I said, look here, is it not great foolishness to trust this, to worship this! What power has he? What can he do? He has no power now to deliver himself out of my hands. Do you think I am afraid of him? No, I bid him defiance, and all his company in the po, and I could

(1) Henry, to S. Pinder, 29 August 1799, S.S.L.



now break him, tear him to pieces, and tread him in the Dirt under my feet - but I shall not do so, why? because I fear him? No, no, I fear him not, but I respect the people of this country, therefore I will put him in again without any injury ..."(1)

At times one reads of less compromising attitudes. Thus, Joseph Waterhouse, in his Fijian Journal for August 1851, mentioned a wayside stone which, he was informed, was a god, and which none of the natives would dare touch.

"An unsculptured stone, a female god! ... No wonder they have hearts of stone when they worship gods of stone! In taking my leave of her Majesty I filled the Natives with alarm and dismay by raising my foot and giving the god a hearty kick."(2)

One of the main reasons for interference with native beliefs before the natives showed any inclinations to adhere to the new faith, was not the assertion of one set of values over another on the grounds of superiority and truth, but because the missionaries sincerely believed that the pagan ceremonies were an offence in the eyes of God. Hence the first ground to be won was a conformity to the Decalogue, irrespective of conversions or belief. Hence the tapu observance of the Sabbath was always the first effect of mission penetration, as it was an offence for anyone to work on the Sabbath. Sometimes the observance of the Sabbath even preceded the coming of the missionaries, but it was always one of the first things which they secured.

When the Marquesan mission was recommenced in 1854, Darling and his colleagues discovered the people engaged in an elaborate ceremony connected with Iotete's daughter.

"We have thought it most prudent," said Darling, "not to interfere with the present ceremonies as they appear to be of a harmless nature..."(3)

(1) Davies, 14 April 1813, Journal. Also quoted E.M. XXII, 499 (1814).

(2) Jos. Waterhouse, 31 August 1851, J. Waterhouse, Correspondence from. Another version is quoted by Henderson, Fiji and the Fijians, 278-279.

(3) Darling, 23 October 1854, S.S.J., no. 105.

Any interference would have been on the grounds of offence to God. This statement reads like toleration of "harmless" customs, but other comments show that Darling regarded it as "frivolity", and naturally expected that any converts they should make to Christianity would no longer practise such customs.

Darling, who was familiar with Tahitian culture, and had been in close contact with the Mamaia movement<sup>(1)</sup> in Tahiti, was extremely interested in Marquesan lore. Whilst at Vaitahu, he took pains to search out an old priest in order to familiarise himself with the local beliefs. Though genuinely interested, he was too ready to dismiss these beliefs as "nonsense". The Marquesan account of the creation he regarded as being "nothing but a confused heap of names without any meaning or sense".<sup>(2)</sup> When the people persisted in affirming their belief in some miraculous legends, he called them an "ignorant self-conceited people". Such an attitude was fairly general in the pre-1860 period and there were few exceptions.

The missionaries had to find out more about the religious systems of the South Sea people as a legitimate part of their work. The Tahitian brethren very early found that the Tahitian system was not as closely allied to "natural religion" as Morrison's manuscript and Dr. Haweis's abstract from it had led them to think.<sup>(3)</sup> However, most of the missionaries who came out in succeeding years had a greater fund of information to draw upon. The missionaries were also influenced in their approach by the Scriptural

<sup>(1)</sup> See Appendix. IV

<sup>(2)</sup> Darling, 11 June 1835, 4 July 1835, S.S.J., No. 106.

<sup>(3)</sup> Morrison in his Journal and Dr. Haweis in some articles in the Evangelical Magazine inferred that the Tahitians possessed a concept of the Trinity.

accounts of idolatry, and they were only too ready to apply the "appropriate" passages to the context of the South Seas.

It was inevitable also that some of the missionaries possessed the type of mind which induced them to carry out systematic research into the island cultures, about which so little was then known. William Ellis was one of the first to publish such material in his Polynesian Researches. John Davies took a scientific interest in Polynesian linguistics, and his comparative studies formed the basis of other research in that subject.

The stimulus to research of a scientific nature usually came from outside the mission field. The Rev. Samuel Greatheed, one of the founding Directors of the L.M.S., was particularly knowledgeable about the voyages of the early explorers of the South Seas, as witnessed by his annotations to the Society's copies of the various narratives.<sup>(1)</sup> Because of Greatheed's keen interest, the missionary W.P. Crook supplied him with information concerning the peoples, customs and natural history of the Marquesas, which formed the basis of a three volume manuscript account of that group.<sup>(2)</sup> Similarly, the investigations of Dr. Lang of Sydney, stimulated the interest of some of the missionaries in Tahiti. In 1834 Lang published his View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation which postulated the theory that the Polynesians belonged to the same "race" as the American Indians. Before he wrote this work, Lang had corresponded with some of the missionaries, particularly Davies, Henry and Orsmond. It is quite probable that Orsmond might not have become the foremost authority on Tahitian traditions, had it not been for Lang. On 1 January 1824 Orsmond wrote in his Journal that

(1) These volumes, such as Hawkesworth's Voyages, are kept in the library of the L.M.S.

(2) Part of this work is in the Mitchell Library. The Vocabulary is in the L.M.S. library.

"the two renowned priests"<sup>(1)</sup> of Moorea sat down and gave him "several specimens of their original mode of praying". After describing this he made the following comment:

"I now saw the nature of the services performed for Tahitian gods and who would have supposed it to be the oldest sister of Popish ignorance."<sup>(2)</sup>

This was hardly the remark of a man who was well versed in Tahitian lore. It does show, however, that Orsmond was taking a particular interest in the old customs. Lang, who was preparing his book, wrote to Orsmond in the ensuing years, and doubtless asked for information to support his theories. Whatever may have transpired, Orsmond wrote to Lang at the beginning of 1828 casually announcing that "the Mythology shall be forthcoming".<sup>(3)</sup> In 1835 Samuel Wilson wrote to Lang from Tahiti saying that Orsmond had "been long employed in Researches into the institutions etc. of these islands", and asked Lang if he also should devote some time to "that department of study", and whether it would be of "service to the cause of religion and the cause of man".<sup>(4)</sup> Lang's reply was almost certainly in the affirmative, for during his brief missionary career in Samoa Wilson acquired a considerable fund of information about Polynesian mythology.

It has often been supposed that when missionaries became interested in the folklore and traditions of the islands, this interest was an indication of something different from the usual Evangelical approach. It was either a sign that the missionary had come under the influence of new humanistic feelings as a result of his contact with a reasonably advanced,

(1) One of these priests was Patii, The other was possibly Tamera of Tahiti.

(2) Orsmond, 1 January 1824, S.S.J., no. 74.

(3) Orsmond to Lang, 1 January 1828, Lang, Papers, XV.

(4) Wilson to Lang, 4 April 1835, Lang, Papers, XV, 7-8.



but alien culture, or that his interest was an indication of a more humane and sympathetic personality than that of the average missionary. It could also be an indication of an attempt to escape from the reality of failure, or loneliness, or even lack of faith. For instance, Thomas Williams of Fiji has been claimed as a "born anthropologist",<sup>(1)</sup> a missionary whose anthropological interests saved him from falling prey to spiritual disillusionment. In regard to spiritual disillusionment, it would seem that the feelings which Williams expressed, were no more intense than those of other missionaries in their periods of depression. It is true, of course, that Williams developed a natural sympathy for the Fijian character.

"Fijians are greatly wronged by being supposed to be a set of rough untutored brutes. They can feel as keenly, weep as sincerely, love as truly and laugh as heartily as any European. White men who call them brutes, devils and such-like find on better acquaintance that they have an elaborate system of etiquette, and that among themselves none but the very lowest are ill-behaved."<sup>(2)</sup>

However, this favourable testimony does not contradict Williams's earlier assumption that Fijians were "without natural affection". When the missionaries referred to the islanders as being "without natural affection", they alluded to such customs as cannibalism, wife-strangling and the burial alive of the aged. They regarded these practices as crimes against nature, even when they recognized the high value attached to them in terms of the indigenous culture. Most of the missionaries saw from the beginning that there were finer shades of feeling. Usually, however, when they spoke out in defence of the people, they referred particularly to their own circle of converts.

(1) This claim is made by Henderson, Journal of Thomas Williams, xxxvii.

(2) T. Williams, 1850, quoted Henderson, op.cit., XL.

There is comparatively little evidence to indicate that the views of the missionaries were modified, or could have been modified, in any way by contact. In fact, the evidence seems to suggest that the missionaries tended to become more firmly convinced of the doctrine of natural depravity, that men without a knowledge of the laws of Jehovah were incapable of achieving salvation, and were worthy of death.

Orsmond's interest in Polynesian customs and traditions presents an interesting parallel with Thomas Williams. It is interesting to observe that, perhaps more than all his brethren, Orsmond was revolted by the character and manners of the Polynesians.. Although he collected traditions and anthropological information, he used all his strength to combat the worship of the old gods and the perpetuation of heathen customs. In Orsmond's journals, we have, not only a record of his rooted antipathy to the culture about which he was so knowledgeable, but also a revulsion at everything associated with the former way of life of these peoples.<sup>(1)</sup> Orsmond, like Williams of Fiji, genuinely believed that all the human virtues could be found amongst the people, but for him too they were "without natural affection". It was an Evangelical "love to souls" which made him persevere, not sympathy for their culture.

Indeed, when an Evangelical missionary became more than scientifically interested, and showed definite signs of having a sympathetic interest, we must begin to question his doctrinal position. Evangelical religion in the early nineteenth century made no allowance for any system other than the Jewish and Christian revelations. No theologian had postulated such modern

(1) See ante, 143

doctrine as that of Progressive Revelation, and such comparative mythology as existed was associated only with the schools of rationalistic or latitudinarian thought. Thomas Kendall of the C.M.S. in New Zealand can serve as an illustration of this. Like other members of his own mission and those of the L.M.S., Kendall's theology was Calvinistic. We cannot but conclude that his interest in Maori culture led him into what would be termed "a dangerous Antinomian position". Kendall fell into mental conflict, his mind and training accepting the Evangelical teaching, whilst his curiosity and passions were powerfully attracted towards the way of life which he had come to change.

"It is true I have carried my measures of conciliation and social intercourse with the natives to a criminal excess," he wrote, "and I have not done those things which I ought to have done..."<sup>(1)</sup>

Although suspended from the C.M.S., Kendall continued to regard himself as a missionary, and continued his investigations. The peculiar degree to which he was involved personally is made more clear by his own admission:

"There is also another inconvenience attached to the study of the ideas of the New Zealanders which has almost overpowered and overwhelmed me, and which I ought to mention, namely, that as they in all respects draw their spiritual and metaphysical notions from the study of Nature, they are of course frequently obtained from very impure sources."<sup>(2)</sup>

But even Kendall, who admitted succumbing to the "vile passions"<sup>(3)</sup> of the Maoris, regarded his own conduct as sinful, and continued to think in the same theological terms.

"I must nevertheless speak the truth, trusting that such a deviation will not be imputed to any other motive than an

(1) Kendall to Rev. John Butler, 1822, quoted Elder, Marsden's Lieutenants, 191-193.

(2) Kendall to Francis Hall, 1 January 1823, quoted Elder, op.cit., 197.

(3) Polynesian cosmogony attached particular importance to the generative process, etc. See particularly Hardy, Polynesian Religion, 143-149, J.F. Stimson, Songs and Tales of the Sea Kings (1957), 218-220.

earnest desire to represent and expose the mysterious system of the natives with all its horrors, to point out the secret lurking place of the subtle deceiver of mankind, and not to write so much with a view of exciting the wonder as the compassion of the Christian world..."<sup>(1)</sup>

On the other hand, when men such as Benjamin Broomhall and Samuel Wilson became particularly involved in the Polynesian way of life, they rejected their Calvinistic doctrines and embraced more latitudinarian theologies, systems more tolerant of the dreams and fancies of the Polynesian people. They realized that the importance given to sex in the Polynesian traditions and way of life could never be reconciled with the Christianity which they had come to teach.

When the Evangelical missionary investigated the mythology, traditions and customs of the islanders, his aim was twofold. He sought to learn more about the peoples amongst whom he was living, mainly so that he would be better equipped to overthrow the "system of false gods". He also hoped that his work would add to man's knowledge of the world. If the knowledge gained by such men as Orsmond, Williams and Kendall did not modify their doctrinal view of man, at least it helped them and their colleagues to appreciate the intellectual and artistic talents of the islanders, and it set a worthy example for their successors.

(1) Quoted Elder, Marsden's Lieutenants, 198; see also Elder, Marsden's Journals, 347, 415.



Part Three.

The Missionary as Civilizer.

XIII

The Civilization Controversy.

The perishing heathen were many; the labourers in the Lord's vineyard were few. What were the quickest and most efficient means of spreading the Christian gospel? During the eighteenth century, the exponents of missions had been concerned with the problem whether civilization would naturally follow from missionary activity concerned only with imparting Christian doctrine. This was also linked with the theoretical problem of whether natural religion should be taught before revealed religion, particularly the doctrine of the atonement. The weight of Evangelical opinion was decidedly in favour of teaching the doctrine of the atonement, on the assumption that the desire for civilization was an inevitable consequence.

This controversy was carried over into the history of the South Seas missions. The original L.M.S. mission to Tahiti has often been regarded as an experiment in civilization to precede Christianity, but this was not the case. This assumption was based largely on the nature of the occupations of the original mechanic missionaries, and the fact that their selection was considerably influenced by their trade or profession.<sup>(1)</sup> However, these men were sent to preach the gospel before all else. Certainly they employed themselves in those trades, such as carpentry and smithy work, necessary for their own purposes, which were of use in training the Tahitians, but it was not the principal part of their vocation. Indeed,

(1) See L.M.S., Report of Committee of Examination, 8 February 1796.

after the first exodus in 1798, the missionaries affirmed that the evangelisation system had failed. When the Directors asked the Rev. J.F. Cover whether he had any reason to think that good had been done to any of the natives, he replied:

"No, They must be civilized first."<sup>(1)</sup>

At this time William Henry also held a similar view.

The supposed failure of the Tahitian mission was perhaps the reason why Marsden commenced his mission for the C.M.S. in New Zealand on the civilization plan. Although Marsden also placed great emphasis on catechetical work, he expected Christianization to follow civilization. Even Lawry, who commenced the Wesleyan mission to Tonga in 1822, largely under the guidance of Marsden, was not <sup>un</sup>influenced by the civilization school, and had several mechanics to assist him. The Wesleyans, however, placed less importance on civilization as a means than any other society. Although some of the Wesleyan missionaries did acquire property, it was certainly not approved of by their society, so that they tended to divorce themselves from civilizing influences. Except for the schoolmasters, who were not bound by the rules, the Wesleyans were divorced from all secular affairs. Amongst the other missionaries, there were some who shared this ideal, but there were also those who indulged in secular pursuits. John Williams, of like mind to Marsden, was a great advocate for civilization, although for him the two were synonymous, and more or less began together. In placing less emphasis on the role of "civilization", the Wesleyans were largely influenced by the Church rulings governing their own activities, but the failure of

(1) "The Examination of Mr. Cover", 12 September 1800, S.S.L.

Thomas Coke's mission, on the civilization plan, to the Foulahs of Africa, was an accepted precedent.<sup>(1)</sup> Nevertheless, Wesleyan missionaries did not lose sight of the fact that Christianity was a means to civilizing the native peoples, which seemed to be an end much desired by other sections of the community.

Before the nominal conversion of Tahiti, the importance of "civilization" was considerably emphasised.

"You must first make them men before you make them Christians...", was the opinion of the Rev. Dr. Mason of New York. "You must teach them to live in fixed habitations, to associate in villages, to cultivate the soil."<sup>(2)</sup>

Most of the English Evangelicals, however, felt that the civilization of the heathen was not absolutely necessary before their conversion, arguing that the human mind was not, in any country, "below the reach of discipline and religious instruction".<sup>(3)</sup> Notwithstanding this, in 1812 the Directors of the L.M.S. criticized the missionaries for not paying sufficient attention to their civilizing duties:

"In reviewing your proceedings for some years past ... we feel disappointed at the small degree of Improvement made among the natives in respect of Industry and civilization".<sup>(4)</sup>

This criticism was based on considerable ignorance of the delicate position in which the missionaries were placed.

The first systematic attempt at "civilization" came with the appointment of Gyles the "agriculturist" in 1817. His four years contract stipulated that it was his duty to "communicate gratuitously, to all persons who,

(1) See Harris, The Great Commission, 369.

(2) Quoted E.M., XV, 12-16 (1807). Similar opinions are quoted by Lang, View of the Origin and Migrations, 241.

(3) E.M., XV, 12-16.

(4) See Davies, 8 September 1813, S.S.L.

with the approbation of the general body of the Missionaries shall be desirous to learn the art of rearing and cultivating the Sugar Cane, Coffee and Cotton Trees, and any other of the products of the Country, and of curing such products, and generally to teach according to the best of his skill, whatever may tend to the promotion of agriculture or other useful application of the Soil or natural products of the Country."<sup>(1)</sup> This first attempt was a failure. Far from communicating his knowledge "gratuitously", Gyles found that his Tahitian labourers kept stopping work to demand payment.<sup>(2)</sup> Most of them left because he would not give them cloth before it was due, and he was obliged to get seamen to turn the sugar mill. The missionaries seem to have been suspicious of Gyles's intentions, and spread the rumour that he intended to distil spirituous liquors. When Gyles resigned, Marsden urged the missionaries to "push on". However, by that time they were beginning to change their views.

"A Tahitian would not give his breadfruit trees to be cut down, for any improvement in agriculture you could suggest," wrote Platt, "...I myself am inclined to think that nothing can be offered as a sufficient compensation for the breadfruit."<sup>(3)</sup>

In 1821 the two "artisans", Armitage and Blossom, were sent out to continue the civilizing plan. The work of Armitage, connected with the spinning of cotton, was not an absolute failure, but his progress was considerably hampered by the non-cooperative policy of the other missionaries. Most of the older missionaries tended to regard the "civilization" work as not being essential. The hours at the cotton factory at Moorea frequently conflicted with school and service times at the mission station.<sup>(4)</sup> Opposition

<sup>(1)</sup> Gyles's contract, 3 April 1817, S.S.L.

<sup>(2)</sup> See S.S.J., no. 51.

<sup>(3)</sup> Platt, 11 May 1821, S.S.L.

<sup>(4)</sup> See Armitage, November 1826, S.S.L., 15-17.



came from many quarters, and the British Vice-consul told the people that the manufactory could be an injury to them.(1)

"Civilization" was much more than the teaching of useful skills. It was the imposition of a completely new way of life, conforming closely to the manners and taste of Evangelical middle class society. The missionaries believed that civilization could be introduced simultaneously with instruction in the Christian religion. When new missions were commenced, an attempt was made to bring the people into villages. Gradually the missionaries came to see that this system was not really suited to the domestic economy of the islands, but the system itself collapsed whenever the influence of the missionaries was at an ebb. However, when missionary influence was strong, the people were encouraged to build coral lime cottages, equipped with sofas, tables and chairs, dwellings patterned on the "home of taste" of the proud mechanic. Even when the people took their most active interest in these cottages, they preferred to sleep in the traditional houses. In one generation they had usually fallen into ruin, or were used for purposes not intended by the missionaries.

The chiefs were usually the first to be initiated into the mysteries of domestic civilization. In this respect, the Leeward Islands mission was far ahead of the Tahitian mission.

"The Chiefs are getting cups and saucers and wish to become Europeans and enjoy the comforts of life," wrote Williams in 1821. "Surely this ought to disgrace that abandoned Pomare who lives in the most despicable manner of any one Native in all the Whole of the Islands, this was what the Deputation expressed their greatest surprise at, the dirty filthy manner in which he lives."(2)

(1) See Armitage, 8 September 1827, S.S.L.

(2) Williams, 24 November 1821, S.S.L.

Hugh Cuming visited Huahine in 1828 and was surprised at the civilized state of the chiefs. The young ex-king of the island possessed two dozen well made chairs of Tahitian wood, tables, two sofas, a number of pictures and looking glasses on the walls, a plank floor, and glass windows.

"Such order and magnificence I had not witness'd before in any of the Islands and to add to my surprise his Ex-Majesty ask'd us to take a glass of Wine or some spirits."<sup>(1)</sup>

A handsome waiter brought decanters with wine, brandy and rum. The young chief was dressed in "a light Duck, Frock and Trowsers, and a white Shirt made fast at the neck with a piece of Black Ribbon". Cuming thought it was all in very good taste.

The place of clothing in the civilizing scheme is an interesting one, as much blame has been attached to the missionaries for clothing the islanders unnecessarily, and helping to spread disease and ill-health. It is usual to regard Mother Hubbards for the women as an essential feature of Evangelical Christianity. European clothing was regarded by the missionaries as the mark of civilization, but they fully realized the discomfort of much clothing. It was not unusual for missionaries to argue that too much clothing was not healthy, or to advocate a more indigenous form of costume. Indeed, the full length cotton loin cloth, still worn in the South Seas, was usually preferred as the sensible working dress for the men, and as a substitute for grass or bark cloth girdles. It was the women who suffered most in having to conceal their breasts. Shirts were encouraged at most of the mission stations, for ordinary wear.

The first missionaries to Tahiti did not hesitate to commend the coverings worn by the people. In answer to questions put to him by the Directors

(1)Cuming, Journal, 84-86.

in 1819, Hayward replied:

"No alteration has taken place in the dress of those who wear the native cloth, which is by no means indecent."<sup>(1)</sup>

Nevertheless, the desire to teach new crafts, to promote industry, and to give some degree of regularity to the desires of the people, induced the missionaries to encourage "dressing up", especially for church services. The women were expected to wear full-length dresses, and the men were considered more suitably attired when wearing cotton coats. Darling and Bourne, writing in 1821, remarked in relation to "civil improvement", that through the assistance of Mrs. Bourne and Mrs. Darling, there was "not a woman ... in the congregation without a bonnet and scarcely a man without a hat".<sup>(2)</sup> In 1839, one missionary complained that some of the missionaries' wives tended to go too far in this matter. One missionary's wife imported artificial flowers, "many of which are now waving upon the grotesque bonnets of the young Tahitians, to the great annoyance of the more sober minded amongst them."<sup>(3)</sup>

The adoption of European clothing, particularly in the first instances of contact, was often a process uncontrolled by missionary influence, and due more to the desire to wear the strange garments, and gain a certain prestige thereby. Hence the many burlesque descriptions of incongruous dress in the narratives of visiting travellers. We read more frequently of missionaries lamenting the inordinate desire for European clothing, than complaining about immodest dress. In 1856, Whewell of Tonga wrote bitterly about the strong desire of the Tongans for "our style of dress". Showy

(1) Hayward, "Observations", 1819, S.S.L.

(2) Darling and Bourne, 16 May 1821, S.S.L.

(3) Johnston, 16 September 1839, S.S.L.

and expensive dress or fakapapalagi was the "hight of their highest aspirations". More attention was given to dress than to food. The mind, instead of contemplating God, was "engrossed in the idea of dress-fakasanisani".<sup>(1)</sup>

William Gill's description of the clothing worn by Christian Rarotongans, perhaps comes nearest to the popular conception of clothing worn at the South Seas mission stations, but it should be remembered that the climatic conditions in the Cook Islands are more temperate than in some of the other groups. One must also take into account the fact that missionaries wrote for the church people at home, who did not understand island conditions.

"Their dress," wrote Gill, "consists of light English and American cotton material, made up in loose European style: the women having a native cloth wrapper, as inner garment, over which is worn a long flowing robe; they have no shoes, but a bonnet of finely wrought plait, and neatly trimmed with foreign ribbon, is considered essential to complete their dress. The men wear shirt, trousers, waistcoat, and coat; most of them have strong rush hats, for common use, and finer ones for occasional service, and about 1 in every 20 completes his full dress by putting on stockings and shoes."<sup>(2)</sup>

Gill regarded this dress as "appropriate to their climate and habits", and in this sense it was "civilized, decent, and respectable".

One of the most revealing commentaries on the place of clothing in the "civilization" of the South Seas, came from the Rev. Robert Young after his visit to Tonga in 1853.

"Most of those," he wrote, "...who visit the islands will be disappointed as to the people's progress in civilization. Men influenced by European notions of civilization will look for something they will not find, and probably return greatly dissatisfied. If Yorkshire broadcloth, or Lancashire calico, be essential ingredients in civilization, then are the Friendly Islanders not civilized, as they have nothing of the former, and not much of the latter. The absence of these things disappoints the Christian visitor, shocks his sense of propriety,

(1) Whewell, 4 August 1856, A.W.M.S., Tonga-Missionaries Letters.

(2) Gill, Gems from the Coral Islands, II, 96, (1856).



and leads the mere men of the world, who look more at broad-cloth and calico than at the fruits of the Spirit, to speak unfavourably of the results of Missionary labour. But let us fairly look at the subject. The scanty covering of native cloth which the people wear is well adapted to the climate, and much more comfortable than European clothing, even of the lightest texture. ...Nor have many of those who have obtained the English costume, especially females, thereby improved their personal appearance. On the contrary, their long-peaked bonnets, and short-waist dresses, introduced, no doubt, by some pious lady of antiquated notions, and which seem to have fallen upon their persons by mere accident ... render them truly frightful, and certainly will not be very likely to tempt the young people to copy their example. In some places, however, a better taste is being shown."(1)

Stallworthy of the Marquesas and Samoa stated very fully the reasonably enlightened views of most of the missionaries in the matter of dress.

"If you cloth(e) your convert fully for company and public worship, he will retain no more than decency requires in his dwelling, and in sun and rain he will pursue his daily avocation in the same scanty dress. And frequent change from dress to undress undermines his constitution."(2)

Undue emphasis on clothing was mostly the whim of individual missionaries, no doubt the more repressed and inhibited. There was, however, a definite pressure from the "religious public" to clothe the poor heathen, and one wonders how much the development of the art of photography in the fifties influenced the clothes-consciousness of missionaries.

The standard of "civilization" at the mission stations varied. From 1797 till about 1817 the missionaries had to rely on limited resources. However, after the advent of Williams and his colleagues, the standard of "civilization" of the L.M.S. stations rose considerably, and coral lime dwellings, as well as Chapels, were built by the native converts as well as by the missionaries. Indeed, it was regarded as a test of sincerity

(1) Young, The Southern World (1855), 269.

(2) Stallworthy, 4 December 1854, S.S.L.

in their religious profession for church members to adopt the new model of living. Just how rigorously this was carried out can be seen from an entry in Orsmond's journal:

"Today agreeably to a law the church established last church meeting I have with a book and pencil been to every house south of the place of worship and have noted down under the name of each member what has been done. The condition of the house and its furniture and it is resolved that if they do not from this time forth begin to hurl paganism in all its abominable shapes from our City such person shall not be a member of the church. The house must [be] plastered in and out, have doors and windows, bed rooms with doors and shutters, and a garden encircling the house."<sup>(1)</sup>

In the thirties, it was growing apparent that the standards demanded by the European missionaries were not entirely suited to the people. This change of policy is noted by Simpson of Moorea:

"Many new houses have also been built during the past year. Not plastered houses. We do not approve of them unless great cleanliness [is] observed inside, which is not generally the case in Tahitian houses. The house most approved of by us are those thatched in the usual manner but [wattled] all round with slight bamboos to the wind and thereby prevent noxious vapours."<sup>(2)</sup>

Similarly, in 1832, Williams approved of the native-style dwellings in Samoa as being well suited to the climate, rather than the introduction of coral lime. Stallworthy was equally satisfied with the Samoan house in

1857:

"It is not easy," he wrote, "for the natives to introduce a kind of house superior for their accommodation in this climate to Samoan houses. A well built, and carefully managed Samoan house is comfortable, neat and even beautiful. The large majority of houses are not well built, nor tidily kept. The change desirable among the people is not so much a new kind of dwelling, but the general adoption of the better kind of native dwelling, and more attention to its internal arrangement and keeping. Boarded houses which answered so well at Tahiti do not suit here as the ants soon destroy them."<sup>(3)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Orsmond, 4 December 1823, S.S.J. no. 71.

<sup>(2)</sup> Simpson, 18 May 1833, S.S.L.

<sup>(3)</sup> Stallworthy, 15 August 1857, S.S.L.

He felt that stone walls, and doors which shut out the cooling winds, would be an "intolerable grievance".<sup>(1)</sup>

The missionaries themselves usually dwelt in substantial houses built on European lines, and the chapels were usually built of coral lime. The Wesleyans in Tonga, Fiji and Samoa were very often content with Europeanized native-dwellings, but some built good weather board houses. The mission teachers, who were permitted to trade, could well afford to build very comfortable European dwellings. Wesleyan mission chapels never reached the European standards attained at L.M.S. stations, largely due to the retention of native-type buildings. Thus it was not until the middle fifties that boarded chapels were becoming uniform in Tonga. Vercoe wrote angrily in 1858 that he had "long been tired of pigeries [sic] and stables - and such our chapels must be while they remain without doors".<sup>(2)</sup>

When Hiram Bingham went to Abaiang in 1857, he took with him sufficient lumber to erect a one-storey house, twenty-four by sixteen feet, but it was not expected that the people should adopt the same style of house. The Hawaiian teachers also built timber cabins.

Most of the missionaries were convinced that social change would have to be gradual. The earlier missionaries and theorists had held firmly to the social doctrine of the cross; they believed that Christianity was the touchstone for a revolution in manners, and that civilization followed rapidly after the preaching of the atonement. The comparatively slow progress, viewed after fifty years of contact, tended to prove otherwise. In 1854 Mills wrote from Sydney, that all the early efforts to collect the

(1) Stallworthy, 4 December 1854, S.S.L.

(2) Vercoe, 22 July 1858, A.W.M.S., Tonga-Missionaries Letters.



various villages of a Samoan district into one settlement had failed. He had reached the conclusion that it was "really difficult to change the social habits of a people, even when they receive the Gospel".<sup>(1)</sup> Stallworthy was even more emphatic. Civilization which was equated with "good houses, good bedding, and good clothing," would very likely "be fatal, on a large scale to health and life."

"A man who from his youth has made the earth his bed cannot transfer himself to a bedstead or a mattress without inconvenience and discomfort."<sup>(2)</sup>

His principle was to "guide and gently encourage nature to elevate herself". His opinion on civilizing was uncompromisingly definite.

"The philanthropist who seeks to change the lodgings and dress of the people without regarding these things, may furnish them with shrouds instead of clothing, and with tombs instead of substantial dwellings."

Such a policy might change the tastes and habits of a few, but it placed those few in "serious peril".

Although, during the first two decades of missionary contact, "civilization" was imposed rather drastically on the islanders, especially in the Society Islands, the missionaries early became aware that their own conception of civilization was not necessarily the best one for the islands. Indeed, in the matter of clothing, except for a few extremists, most of the missionaries had a more liberal outlook than has usually been imagined. Despite the pressure from the advocates of "civilization" at home, most of the Evangelical missionaries to the South Seas gave prior importance to their religious duties, and were fully aware of the dangers of recreating the heathen in the image of themselves.

{1} Mills, 20 November 1854, S.S.L.

{2} Stallworthy, 4 December 1854, S.S.L.

XIV.

The Missionary Standard of Living

Many of the early missionaries did not believe that the externals of civilization were necessary either to the improvement of the people or the spreading of the gospel. They had been forced to suffer many privations and hardships, and their standard of living was not a very high one. Principally through their contacts with N.S.W., many of them came to acquire cattle, horses, pigs and fowls, and they also cultivated gardens. Many of these gardens tended to become small plantations as, for instance, the sugar cane fences belonging to Orsmond and Simpson. In the earlier years it was easy to procure native foodstuffs. From the middle twenties, in the Society Islands, especially with the growth of a money economy, the missionaries found their salaries quite inadequate to purchase native foodstuffs, and gifts of food were not as frequent as in former days. Although at times, and on various islands, domestic servants could not be obtained, in most instances the missionary's lady had several house-girls and boys at her beck and call.<sup>(1)</sup> The missionary house-wife regarded herself as an ambassadress for the Christian women of Britain, and she took pains to cultivate the "home of taste".

The first missionaries to Tahiti had to think more about clothing themselves than about clothing the poor heathen. Shoes and stockings could not be replaced, so that missionaries and their families often went long periods without proper footwear. When Bicknell arrived in England

(1) In Samoa, the unmarried women of the ana luana, who traditionally slept as a group in a house of their own, were moved where possible into the pastor's house - and probably into the environs at least of the European mission house. This gave a very big supply of domestic labour [J.W.Davidson].

in 1809 he was little removed from beggary. Joseph Fox, an Evangelical philanthropist, said of him that he was "reduced almost to a state of nakedness," and that "he had not had a shoe on his foot for eight years, and his clothing was in the most tattered condition."<sup>(1)</sup> Fox told a pathetic story of the Tahitian "Tapeoe" being sent back to Tahiti with a great quantity of clothing and footwear, while Bicknell had a very meagre supply for himself.<sup>(2)</sup> Orsmond recorded some of the difficulties of the older brethren. He had seen the children of some families clad only in a "round-about" cut out of the mother's old garments, and the mother with hardly any clothing herself.<sup>(3)</sup> Even the sheets were cut up into gowns for the children. Orange leaves were used instead of tea. In 1818, Threlkeld observed how the decline of the pork trade had affected the standard of living of the missionaries.

"The decrease of the demand for pork at the Colony will account for the unhappy appearance of the Miss<sup>E</sup>. Children whom we saw at our arrival running about the Sea shore without hats, shoes, or stockings, sometimes naked, boys and girls 6 or 7 years old who mixing together with the naked native children learn all those practices which stop the peace of a parent's breast..."<sup>(4)</sup>

Conditions had not changed very greatly by 1820. Thus Platt commented on his condition after several years' labour on Moorea:

"I generally preached in a jacket made out of Mrs. Platt's old skirt, and my every day trowsers, through her good management and industry, were so patched that it would have been difficult for a stranger to tell which was the master patch or which the original piece."<sup>(5)</sup>

Because the older brethren had been forced to live poorly through necessity, many of them were reluctant to "keep up" with their more

(1) Fox, An Appeal, 74.

(2) Fox, An Appeal, 79.

(3) Orsmond, "A Friendly Hint to Missionaries", 26 March 1828, S.S.J., no. 92.

(4) Threlkeld, 29 September 1818, S.S.L.

(5) Platt, 7 November 1820, S.S.L.

progressive brethren. Henry Nott was content to live in a native-style house. John Davies was perhaps the worst offender in this respect. Captain Grimes, who visited Tahiti in 1821, commented on the great difference between the manners of Davies and those of the other missionaries he met. Davies, he said, "appears so much accustomed to the native habits, as to feel awkward in the company of Englishmen".<sup>(1)</sup> Davies was much criticised by the other missionaries, particularly by those, like Barff, Williams and Threlkeld, who had not experienced the trials of the earlier years. Barff criticised Davies for his "dress and a filthy habitation which was a great impediment to Civilization".<sup>(2)</sup> Although the other missionaries respected Davies, they regarded his simple way of living as a betrayal of their cause. When his frugal existence is compared with that of his brethren, it is less surprising that he was able to leave a small fortune to the son of Hephzibah Bicknell, his stepdaughter, who kept house for him for a number of years.

Orsmond criticised Davies and some of the older missionaries for not stimulating the people's interest in the amenities of "civilization", and for not bothering to alter the condition of the native houses.

"The person who ought to set a better example has an earthen floor; on the table you may see the teakettle, the frying pan, the tea-pot, one cup and saucer, one plate and an old tin pot to hold the milk."<sup>(3)</sup>

Even the Tahitian, he felt, had cleaner habits, for he changed the leaves from which he ate. Davies, however, regarded his own frugal existence as possessing some virtue. As late as 1845, he was criticising the "fine

(1) Grimes, Journal, 9, S.S.J., no. 57.

(2) Barff, 2 July 1822, S.S.L.

(3) Orsmond, 10 November 1828, S.S.J., no. 92.

living" of younger men.

"To dine upon a piece of breadfruit, and a bit of fish or salt pork, and a drink of water from the brook as myself and Senior brethren had generally done was mean and vulgar, it would not do for a reformer or Gentleman missionary."(1)

We may conclude, nevertheless, that Davies was an exception to the general rule, on the evidence of the reactions of other missionaries who visited his station at Papara.

"The old Gent was litterally a heap of dirt and rags, and his house in a most filthy state," wrote Buzacott in 1852. "It did not appear that his house or furniture had been cleaned for a long time. He had the appearance as if he had just returned from a long voyage, and we were the first to enter, the dirt and dust was so patapata tui. The good gent had dined; but he got a plenty of cold fish and breadfruit for us, of which we ate heartily being rather hungry after our long ride."(2)

The standard of living of the Leeward Island missionaries was noticeably higher than that of the Windward brethren. Williams and his colleagues believed that physical comfort was essential for the missionary and his family, and they were more keenly interested in the civilizing doctrines.

Closely bound up with the standard of living was the notion of social superiority, a tendency to snobbery, signs of which first appeared in the South Seas missions after the arrival of Pritchard and his brother-in-law, Simpson. Although these men came from similar backgrounds to the earlier missionaries, they had received longer periods of theological training than those still in the Tahitian mission, with the exception of Orsmond. They were much less willing to compromise with indigenous conditions, and posed as English gentlemen. The older missionaries expressed disgust

(1) Davies, 2 October 1845, S.S.L.

(2) Buzacott, Tahitian Journal, 5, S.S.M., 225.



when they heard of the recreations of their new colleagues, such as bird-shooting and sailing. Pritchard and Simpson both took pride in their domestic establishments, and their standard of living was higher than most of their contemporaries. Indeed, much of the hostility to both these men was possibly engendered by their social pretensions. Mrs. Simpson was very careful whom she received, and on more than one occasion offended the members of the older families who were obviously less refined,<sup>(1)</sup> and whose insular tastes, she believed, would be inimical to her daughter, who received private tuition in music and French from a Frenchman living at Papeete.

Social distinction was yet more apparent after the arrival of the missionaries brought out from England by Williams in 1838. In earlier days College life had been all too often an intensive academic course following an even more intensive period of self-education combined with heavy manual work. Those who came out with Williams had had more opportunities to cultivate leisure, and the transformation from clerk to gentleman missionary was greatly assisted by the new prestige which missionaries were then enjoying in the public eye. Whilst, during his visit to England, Williams dallied with his Dukes, the missionary recruit was conscious of his apprenticeship to the ranks of polite society. The older missionaries severely criticised the new missionaries for their "modernism". Orsmond, of course, was the most vituperative, but it is quite clear that there was a marked contrast between the life of the newcomers and that of the veterans of the mission. Orsmond remarked that the new missionaries found it irksome to live amongst the heathen, "where there are no circles of

(1) See Sarah Simpson, 26 July 1843, S.S.L.

polite Literature".<sup>(1)</sup> He recorded with some little derision that they played at marbles, at swinging, at leap-frog, at boating and at horse riding. They slept late and ate voraciously. Surely they were going too far when they required their servants to burn and grind the coffee on the Sabbath morning, "that the more exquisite flavours might be enjoyed".

"Why did the Directors not send them to the bowers of the Muses," he concluded, "to dispute with doctors, to spin a mathematical garb [sic] for the Christian Church, and to split hair like syllogisms in defending Christian conduct."<sup>(2)</sup>

The older brethren who had nearly all become converts to teetotalism in the thirties,<sup>(3)</sup> and had found the methods and propaganda of that movement a practical and effectual check to the drunkenness at their stations, also resented the moderate drinking of the younger men. Davies remarked that they did not co-operate with the Temperance Societies, and said that Teetotalism might be "consigned to Father Mathew and Co". He wished that they would "stay at home and enjoy their wine and their brandy without offending us and our mission."<sup>(4)</sup>

Amongst the Wesleyan missionaries, the standard of living appears to have been a little lower than in the other missions. In Tonga, at least, this may have been due to the policy of one man, John Thomas. Like Nott and Davies, Thomas was content with a fairly humble dwelling. He maintained an influence unparalleled in any other mission, so that he could afford to voice his criticism. Thus, as late as December 1856, he gave his opinion about Vercoe having timber sent for his house at Mua,

(1) Orsmond, 22 November 1840, S.S.L.

(2) Orsmond, 16 January 1841, S.S.L.

(3) See *infra* 375 ff.

(4) Davies, 2 October 1845, S.S.L.

"The day is gone by in the Islands when a Missionary will put with ground floors with dry grass and mats upon it to walk on - your men nowadays - yes and their wives - are too tender - too delicate in their health to endure such a state of things and this country is only thinly wooded."(1)

Vercoe's dwelling, notwithstanding, was simply a "good native house", and doors, windows and boards were only needed to make it complete!(2) Overall, the Wesleyan missionaries seem to have placed less importance on domestic comforts. David Cargill was much criticised for bringing furniture to Tonga, a padded sofa being considered an unnecessary luxury.(3) His spirit-drinking habits were looked upon with critical disapproval.

Each generation of missionaries tended to demand a higher standard of living than the previous one, and older missionaries resented the improvements as unnecessary. Thus Platt of Raiatea was piqued at Charter, because he employed European carpenters to make a better house than the Raiateans would have built.(4) However, by the fifties, most of the missionaries in the South Seas were comfortably established. The missionary's lady had a well-trained domestic staff. The table was well-stocked, and the guest at the mission station was possibly afforded the best hospitality which could be offered in the islands.

(1) Thomas, 4 December 1856, A.W.M.S., Tonga-Missionaries' Letters.

(2) Vercoe, 9 February 1857, A.W.M.S., Tonga-Missionaries' Letters.

(3) See Orton to Thomas, 30 November 1833, W.M.M.S., Sydney D.L.B., 160-162.

(4) See Platt, 8 July 1841, S.S.L.

XV.

The Use and Abuse of Language

"Is it possible that any one Missionary of the Cross can content himself or satisfy his conscience in blowing the trump of Jubilee through an Interpreter. Surely it is impossible. An interpreter is ignorant of the gospel himself and will give turns as wild as truth is from falsehood. Let every Missionary of the 19 Century obtain a Native tongue for himself and tell with his own mouth and soul the wonders of redeeming love."

J.M. Orsmond, 28 October 1824, S.S.J., no 75.

All the Evangelical missionaries accepted preaching as one of the principal means of conversion, but for this end, and indeed for all other purely religious purposes, a knowledge of the vernacular was necessary. The first Directors of the L.M.S. believed that there would be little difficulty involved in learning Tahitian. This was largely due to the fact that Dr. Haweis had supplied the missionaries of the Duff with a vocabulary drawn up by the Bounty mutineers.<sup>(1)</sup> This vocabulary was hopelessly inadequate, and it would seem that a considerable time passed before the missionaries realized that the grammatical and idiomatic differences between English and Tahitian were so marked. Nor were they assisted with the "gift of tongues" to overcome these difficulties. Certainly they had the aid of interpreters, but these interpreters gave very loose translations, and even their integrity was questionable. James Puckey asserted that the "sole cause" of the missionaries leaving Tahiti in 1798 was Peter Hagerstein, who misrepresented things to the Tahitians and was their "secret enemy".

(1) See ante, 123

(2) Puckey, 1 September 1799, Australia Letters.

Perhaps in no other mission did the missionaries take such a considerable time to acquire anything like a proficiency in the vernacular, as in the Tahitian mission. Broomhall, Jefferson and Nott appear to have been the only Duff missionaries to have made much progress in the first ten years, and of these, only Nott remained in the mission. Already in 1799, Puckey had written that Broomhall and Nott, "dear young men", had made a "rapid prograce in the language".<sup>(1)</sup> In July 1802, Davies remarked that Jefferson had an extensive knowledge of the language, although Nott was the best speaker.<sup>(2)</sup> Elder, writing at the same time, spoke of Jefferson as an authority.

"Mr. Jefferson says that it is a copious language, and not a barren one. He says it is sufficient to teach any Doctrine taught in the Bible."<sup>(3)</sup>

Davies, who arrived in 1801, soon came to share the linguistic honours with Nott. He developed quite a scholarly interest in philology, and had the natural advantage of being bilingual. After the defection of Broomhall and the death of Jefferson, and until 1817, Nott and Davies were the only missionaries to have obtained anything like a mastery of the Tahitian language, although others were able to preach and to make some conversation. Preaching in the language was often the mere reading or recitation of a sermon which had been written by someone else, and very often the same sermon was made use of frequently. Tessier died in the service without ever mastering the simple elements of the language, his missionary labour consisting mainly in the transcription method of teaching.<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) J. Puckey, 1 September 1799, Australia Letters.

(2) Davies, 25 July 1802, S.S.L.

(3) Elder to Waugh, 28 July 1802, S.S.L.

(4) See Crook, 29 June 1813, Australia Letters.

Orsmond asserted that, when he arrived in 1817, Nott was the only missionary at Tahiti who could preach to the people intelligibly. Orsmond had acquired some knowledge of Tahitian on the voyage out, and made sufficient progress to be able to make himself understood. At a meeting shortly after his arrival, he states that one missionary spoke as follows:

"Oh brethren, you must now try to preach. Here is one new Missionary who can already converse with the natives, perhaps others are coming, and what will be said if you do not try to preach."(1)

Orsmond further asserted that the natives could not understand them when they did preach.

"He who had come to preach came in and read the verse which on Saturday night had been translated for him, in my presence, by Mr. Nott, made a short oration, said farewell, turned on his heel and departed..."(2)

The older missionaries were not as unintelligible as Orsmond insinuated, although it is doubtful whether many of them spoke Tahitian fluently. Henry Bicknell took the first opportunity to refute the charge:

"I wish I knew the Language better but I have been preaching to the natives these fifteen years and were never told till now of late that I did not understand the language."(3)

Orsmond, however, was the first missionary to reside permanently in the islands, who had received a regular academic training. Doubtless he had a better understanding of grammatical principles than the others, and he would have been more conscious of incorrectly phrased speech.

After 1817, owing largely to the pioneering work of the older brethren, the missionaries made much greater progress in learning the language, and it no longer became the real difficulty which it had been for so many years.

(1) Quoted Orsmond, O.O.M., 4-5.

(2) Orsmond caricatures the average service in his journal, 8 October 1826, S.S.J., no. 81.

(3) Bicknell, 5 July 1817, S.S.L.

In 1820 Gyles reported to the Directors that all the missionaries were able to preach in Tahitian except Hayward and Tessier, and that each missionary had a native to consult with on all occasions as an instructor. Nott, Davies, Henry, Bicknell, Wilson, Crook, Orsmond, Williams, Ellis and Barff were all reasonably advanced. Darling, Threlkeld, Bourne and Platt were not so proficient.<sup>(1)</sup>

Before the compilation of dictionaries, the missionaries were more exposed to the incorrect use of words. Stories of wrongly used or wrongly pronounced words in missionary sermons are legion, and not a few missionaries have had the disturbing experience of unwittingly turning a hallowed sentiment into a gross obscenity, or a highly comical image.<sup>(2)</sup> This danger was particularly real in the early years of any mission. However, when the older missionaries criticised the younger ones for being "too forward"<sup>(3)</sup> in addressing the people, the younger men regarded this caution as a measure of jealousy, and not as an attempt to prevent them from falling into gross errors of speech. Orsmond, however, believed in learning by experience, and possibly his forthright policy enabled him to attain a knowledge of the language comparable to that of Davies and Nott.

Through the efforts of the missionaries, the Tahitian language became a written one, and much time was spent in settling questions of phonetics and orthography. The pioneer work done by Nott and others in this field was considerable. Most missionaries began by drawing up vocabularies. In 1820 Crook had one in hand, and Orsmond had begun a Tahitian Grammar.

(1) Gyles, 1820, S.S.L.

(2) The Wesleyan missionary who informed his congregation that "the time of women was now come", had less reason to be embarrassed than some of his colleagues.

(3) See Hayward, 1819, S.S.L.



This work was by no means a straightforward task. As each missionary worked independently, he tended to adopt his own alphabet for the Tahitian sounds. No attempt was made to discuss the question on a scientific level until the main work of Bible translation was completed. William Henry abandoned a Tahitian Grammar on which he had been working for a number of years.

"When I had it nearly finished, finding that brother Nott and the King, in the translations they had in hand, had not only entirely discarded from the Tahitian alphabet and Language, the w and y, but also the b and d, ... and learning also that brother Crook had done the same in a Vocabulary he was forming, I felt disappointed and vexed, supposing that what they were doing would be considered as a standard for the language, and that what I had been doing was consequently in vain, at least as to the orthography, I from vexation and in a kind of pet threw my Grammar in the fire; but for which I have been sorry many times since, finding that the brethren to Leeward, and likewise the Majority of the brethren here, are for retaining the b and d at least ..."(1)

Henry thought of resuming this labour, and had Professor Lee's grammar of the New Zealand language in mind as a model.

Translation of the Scriptures was a part of every missionary's accepted duty, and began quite early in the Society Islands.(2) Gradually the work fell more and more to the translators with the greatest output, but in the initial stages of the work each missionary attempted one or two books. The missionaries went through each other's translations and usually took copies. Sometimes it happened that duplication occurred. Orsmund translated Ruth, Nahum, Peter's Epistles, Hebrews and Habakkuk, only to find that Nott had also translated them.(3) Fresh translations were continually

(1) Henry, 21 May 1822, S.S.L.

(2) The most comprehensive account of Bible translation in the South Seas is given by A.W.Murray, The Bible in the Pacific. For a fairly complete list of translations and other works printed at Tahiti see Harding and Kroepelien, The Tahitian Imprints... 1810-1834.

(3) Orsmund, 24 September 1823, S.S.J., no. 68.



being made as the missionaries learnt more about the language, and manuscript translations, especially of extracts, were in circulation, which were never printed.

Henry Nott was the principal translator, but he was assisted by Crook and Davies. Considerable assistance was also given by Pomare II. Crook records how Pomare would write down the verses on his slate and correct the language. He would furnish the missionaries with words that they had not heard before, give them examples, and tell them where it was proper or improper to use them.<sup>(1)</sup> Davies would give Pomare the manuscript and he would mark every place where he thought the language was faulty.<sup>(2)</sup> Translating in conjunction with the King must have had its disadvantages, as Crook tells how Nott had to avert his eyes to avoid seeing the attentions of the king to a favourite mahu.<sup>(3)</sup>

In 1821, Thomas Jones was sent out by the Directors for the express purpose of supervising the translation work. Like Davies, Jones was a bilingual Welshman, and had devoted his time at Llanfyllin and Gosport particularly to language studies. Some months after his arrival he had collected some hundreds of words. He regarded the language as being "in some points very precise, in some, very redundant, and in some, very defective."<sup>(4)</sup> At the end of the following year, he had compiled the draft of a Tahitian-English dictionary containing above 5000 words. Jones's attempts to systemize the language were cut short by his resignation from the mission.<sup>(5)</sup> After Jones left, Nott again asserted his position as the principal authority on the

(1) Crook, 27 and 28 July 1817, S.S.J., no. 46.

(2) Davies, 31 March 1818, S.S.J., no. 50.

(3) Crook, 6 February 1821, S.S.J., no. 54.

(4) Jones, 6 April 1822, S.S.L.

(5) See *infra* 300.

Tahitian language. Events determined that a "mechanic missionary", rather than a man who had received academic training, should be regarded as the most competent linguist.

On 18 December 1835, Nott completed his revision of the Scriptures for the press. He had been employed longest on the task, and had done most of the translation. However, it should not be forgotten that Nott also revised the work of others for the complete translation, and others had translated separate parts of the Bible which he ignored. Williams was not very pleased with Nott's sense of justice.

"It is much to be regretted that Mr. Nott is coming back. He will be of no use here and might have rendered lasting good to the Mission by translating and writing books in England. ...He has done great injustice to his brethren by representing himself as the sole translator and they feel it (,) especially to good old Mr. Davies.<sup>(1)</sup>

Orsmond's criticism was much more stringent than that of Williams, but it should not be ignored. In a lengthy paper entitled Queries for Directors, he asked eleven pertinent questions.<sup>(2)</sup> Most of these were reflections on the ability of Nott as a translator. In thirty years he had not formed a vocabulary of his own. He felt that the translation must suffer because Nott had performed it "for the most part away from all natives", whilst being daily goaded by domestic broils, or else ill in bed. He complained that it had not been investigated by a select committee, and that only parts of it were sent round to the other missionaries, "the mass having never been seen by any eye save that of the individual translator". More important, Orsmond lamented the fact that Nott wrote in language which the average Tahitian did not use. Not only was there a paucity of words, some being

(1) Williams, 16 May 1839, S.S.L.

(2) Orsmond, 16 December 1839, S.S.J., no. 118.

used to convey meanings which the people never thought of, but the language already differed from when the missionaries first arrived. Orsmond believed the Bible was in danger of becoming a sealed book, saying that already it was being called a "dark Foreign language". Nott was also criticised for forming his own vocabulary from the Pomare translation, hence giving the words meanings which had not always been attached to them. Two years later, Orsmond was complaining that the "host of foreign words" in the translation was "as dark as the wilds of America".<sup>(1)</sup> In the main, Orsmond's criticism was valid, although one must take into account a kind of professional jealousy, the refusal to believe that an untrained bricklayer was capable of such an achievement.

"Though there may be fidelity to the great leading doctrines of Christianity yet what sort of a Translation might we expect from him who cannot speak his own language grammatically, who has never learned his own grammar, much less the Tongue, the original tongue(s) in which the Bible was written."<sup>(2)</sup>

It is not easy to assess Nott's place as a linguist without a thorough knowledge of Tahitian. On the other hand, the meaning of many words has possibly been fixed by the work of the early missionaries, so that it is almost impossible, even for the comparative philologist, to know the full qualities of the vernacular spoken in the Society Islands at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As early as 1823, Orsmond had made the following relevant criticism, at the same time acknowledging Nott's competency as a linguist:

(1) See Orsmond, 6 September, 12 October 1841, S.S.L.

(2) Orsmond, 16 December 1839, S.S.J., no. 118. Orsmond stated that when he arrived he began to teach Nott the conjugation of English, and that when he asked Nott for a sentence containing every part of speech in Tahitian, he could not give it.

"He however labours under this inconvenience that he leans almost implicitly to a Native's ipse dixit, instead of aiming to possess the resources within himself. A native you know can conceive of nothing with regard to the word of God but through the medium of representation. If this falls short that is defective. Not to say that natives from mere indolence will often give a yes to a profound absurdity."<sup>(1)</sup>

Orsmond himself believed in obtaining his knowledge from "purer" sources. He said that he "dug" all his information from the "stores of the old Priest(s), Prophets, Public Speakers,"<sup>(2)</sup> with whom alone are the beauties and delicacies of the language". In this respect, at least, one feels that Orsmond was competent to speak.

Notwithstanding this criticism, Nott had acquired a familiarity with the language of everyday living which gave a certain value to his translation. Davies praised the actual rendering as being "very excellent", saying that Nott "excelled in being dramatic, which is a more rare attainment than many are aware of".<sup>(3)</sup> Simpson remarked that, although Nott had received much assistance, it was "his mind that cast them into that classic form in which they appear".<sup>(4)</sup> Nott appears to have had a wide knowledge of Polynesian idiom and, whatever mistakes he made, his translation was used as the basis of Bible translations in some of the other groups.<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Orsmond, 24 September 1825, S.S.J., no. 68.

(2) Orsmond, 14 January, 21 January 1824, S.S.J., no. 74.

(3) Davies, 29 March 1859, S.S.L.

(4) Simpson, 16 August 1844, S.S.L.

(5) The value of Nott's translation might be assessed from the following: "The remarkable Tahitian bible of Nott is the masterpiece of the Tahitian language - everybody agrees with it. It is a real pleasure to speak and to preach at Paofai in that language." Charles Vernier to T.Green, 20 September 1944 [L.M.S.]

It was obvious from the great number of technical errors<sup>(1)</sup> that the Tahitian Bible would have to be revised. This task was given to Orsmond.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1844, when Orsmond's connexion with the L.M.S. ceased, the task was given to Howe and Joseph. Davies regarded them both as not being "competent to the work". Although the errors of the press were very numerous, he was "not aware of a single instance where a point of Doctrine, or a moral precept" was affected.<sup>(3)</sup> The revision process was complicated by the fact that Nott had used Boothroyd's edition of the Bible, and the Bible Society required conformity to the Authorised version. Davies protested because of Howe's imperfect knowledge of the language. Although Joseph's knowledge was better, he was a "heedless young man," who was "in the habit of using words that did not convey to the people the meaning he intended." Furthermore, Henry, Wilson, Simpson, Orsmond, Darling and himself had not been consulted on the matter.<sup>(4)</sup>

The new edition gave less satisfaction. Although the typographical errors had been corrected, and the omissions from Boothroyd's version had been supplied, Davies felt that unnecessary changes had been made, and that there had been "meddling with things not well understood".<sup>(5)</sup> In listing these, he mentioned that "where no erroneous ideas were conveyed by the words formerly used", the words in their place conveyed "positive errors". Thus, with a modifying word omitted, the sense of Luke II, 7-12, was changed to suggest "a pig's sty for the place and a pig's trough for a manger"! There was every justification, he felt, for the Catholics to

(1) Davies attributed the misprints to Nott's infirmities, 29 March 1839, S.S.L.

(2) Joseph (secretary), 30 September 1843, S.S.L.

(3) Davies, 2 October 1845, S.S.L.

(4) Davies, 23 November 1846, S.S.L.

(5) Davies, 30 March 1849, S.S.L.

call it a "monkey Bible".

Similar difficulties arose in connexion with the translation of the Rarotongan Bible. Most of the translation work was done by Pitman and Buzacott, but like Nott, Pitman was charged with "monopolizing the Scriptures".<sup>(1)</sup> Matters were further confused by Williams, who altered the Rarotongan New Testament to be in conformity with Nott's translation. In 1847 Pitman resigned from "all future labour in translating, correcting or revising the Scriptures", so that the work of translating the whole of the Old Testament devolved on Buzacott.<sup>(2)</sup> The Rarotongan translation was evidently a work of greater scholarship than the Tahitian. Pitman was a fine Hebrew scholar, and he had the advantage of being able to draw on the idioms and theological terminology used by Nott, Barff, and Baldwin of Hawaii.

The translation of the Bible into Samoan was the result of a greater division of labour, and there was possibly greater critical revision than in the other missions.. Separate books were issued, as in the other missions, until a complete New Testament was printed in 1849. The Old Testament was completed in 1855, and the whole was then revised, and printed in 1860. It was Pratt who was ultimately claimed as the principal translator, but the "experimental" translation was carried on by most of the missionaries. Many of the Samoan missionaries also attempted translations into the various Melanesian tongues of the westward islands. Translation work was an exacting task, and the missionary translator had little leisure time. Joseph Johnston, in describing a scene of domestic bliss at the

(1) See Pitman, 14 June 1846, S.S.L.

(2) See W. Gill, 28 February 1847, S.S.L.



Papara station in Tahiti, thus describes the visiting missionary:

"Whilst I am writing thus Mr. Heath is sitting in my parlour translating one of David's Psalms into Samoan. He has before him the Hebrew Psalter and the English and Tahitian versions. Mrs. Johnston is preparing dinner, and little Eliza Mary is in the verandah calling out to the horse that is feeding a few yards from the door."(1)

William Day, whose classical knowledge earned him the nickname of "the professor", regarded Heath as an assiduous translator, but not a "close" one.(2) He believed that the most accurate translators were Turner and Pratt. Heath had very definite views about the acquirement of language. In surveying all the Evangelical stations in the Pacific in 1842, he stated that "all the languages want more careful studying and comparing and measures taken for the progressive improvement of translations and the extension of literature among the people".(3) He complained that one Tahitian word was made to answer to "some half score in the original", (e.g. faaora, to save, etc.; maitai, good, etc. ;) Heath's principal criticism was an important one:

"In this translation [Tahitian] also, as well as the New Zealand, Tonga and others, due care has not been used in the adoption of theological terms. Thus faaroo (in Tahitian and the corresponding word in several other dialects) made to translate  $\text{ἰστέω}$ , to believe, whereas it sometimes answers for  $\text{ἀκούω}$ , to hear, give attention etc., and sometimes to  $\text{ἄγω}$ , to obey. In the Hawaiian and Samoan other terms have been adopted for  $\text{ἰστέω}$ , but there also, it may be, other words of this class want revising."

Heath was least satisfied with the translations made by the Wesleyans. They had "decidedly the far greater number of faults". They had "so much

(1) Johnston, 5 June 1846, Australia Letters.

(2) Day, 11 January 1849, Australia Letters.

(3) Heath, 26 February 1842, S.S.L.

anglicised the idioms, and introduced so many broken<sup>(1)</sup> english words, that to one who knows anything of pure Polynesian, the effect on the eye and ear is tormenting."

The linguistic difficulties of the pioneer Wesleyan missionaries to Tonga had been considerable, and not having any intimate connexion with the Tahitian mission, the Tongan brethren had also to become pioneers in this field. It is quite evident that Thomas and Hutchinson had great difficulty in mastering the language, and it was only Thomas who persevered and finally achieved success. When the elder brethren were critical of the linguistic abilities of Wellard, the Rev. Joseph Orton was not backward in reminding Thomas of his own slow progress.

"With every feeling of respect to some of the Brethren now labouring in your District had these cases been disposed of at the termination of a period much greater than 3 months; the mission would have lost some of the most valuable Missionaries now employed in the Friendly Islands who laboured for a considerable time under the most distressing discouragements as to their ever obtaining a competency to teach in the native language etc."(2)

Some of the missionaries acquired the language very quickly. West mingled a great deal with the native children, and received daily lessons from the chief judge of Vava'u, so that by the end of three weeks he claimed that he was able to compose a short sermon and conduct part of the service. Rabone published a Vocabulary of the Tonga Language in 1846 (pp 217) and West published a grammar in 1865, which was the first since Marriner's Tonga Islands had been published. Bible translation was considerably behind the other groups.

(1) i.e. English words spelt as Polynesians would pronounce them.

(2) Orton to Thomas, 25 April 1837, W.M.M.S., Sydney D.L.B., 409.



The Fijian translators appear to have been more talented. Cargill was responsible for the adoption of the orthographical conventions used in writing the Fijian language.<sup>(1)</sup> He began the translation of the New Testament, and commenced a grammar and dictionary of the language spoken in the Lau group. He took an academic interest in the work and wrote an essay on the language. Hunt did not altogether approve of Cargill's methods, saying that he "found it easy to translate; but he translated carelessly and used a kind of Anglo-Fijian idiom."<sup>(2)</sup> Various elementary books were translated into the dialects of Lakemba, Rewa, Mbau and Somosomo, but it was decided that the New Testament should be translated into the Mbau dialect. Lyth and Hunt were appointed the principal translators. When Hunt began his translation work, he had part of a translation by Cross, and Cargill's translation in the Lakemba dialect. However, he stated that he did not intend "to call any man master", but to think for himself.

"I know it is the way of opposition, but I think it is the right way for me. I leave others to do as they please. My plan is this: 1. To read over the chapter for translating in the Greek Testament, and examine particularly any word of which I have any doubt as to its meaning. I read Bloomfield's Notes and Campbell's translation and any other books that I have to assist me to ascertain the meaning of the text. 2. After having mastered the chapters as I think, I commence translating and I use as my standards for the text the Greek and the English translations and for the translation not any man exclusively, but myself, all the Natives I can have access to, and the translations that have been already made."<sup>(3)</sup>

Hunt was a careful translator, and had systematic rules for writing.

"A translation should if possible make the sense of the original as plain to those who read his translation as the original was for those for whose use it was written. When we can be literal

(1) See Henderson, Fiji and the Fijians, 187-188. John Hobbs, then in charge of the press at Tonga, was actually responsible for choosing the letters used.  
(2) Hunt, February 1846, quoted Henderson, op.cit., 196 (footnote 6).  
(3) Hunt, Private Journal, 92.

and do this, let us be literal, but when we are so literal as not to give the sense of the original, we are so far from being good translators that we are no translators at all. At the same time I think we should not use too great freedom, or use too much circumlocution. The first thing I think in a translator should be to give the sense, and the second to give it in a form as much like the original as possible. By giving the sense I do not mean that he should explain the meaning of the words in the original. What I mean is that he must use such words and in such a form as when explained will bring out the meaning of the original."<sup>(1)</sup>

As in the other missions, one missionary dominated the translation of the Scriptures. The New Testament appeared in 1847, and Hunt was asked to undertake the work of translating the Old Testament. The various local grammars were early superseded by David Hazlewood's Grammar and Dictionary of the Fijian Language, which was completed in 1850, and which became a standard of its kind.

Another remarkable linguist was Hiram Bingham of Micronesia. After six months' residence at Abaiang, he was preaching publicly to the Gilbertese. His main mission work was destined to be connected with the language, and his Bible and Dictionary have been accepted standards.

In Polynesia, the acquisition of one language usually enabled a missionary to make better progress in another. Thus Darling, who had learnt to speak Tahitian comparatively fluently, was able to acquire Marquesan in a very short time, whereas his younger colleagues, Stallworthy and Rodgeron, had great difficulty in mastering the language. When Darling finally left them, they were merely reading sermons which he had written. Nor does it seem that they made very rapid progress after he left, and their backwardness in this respect may well have been a decisive factor in their

(1) Hunt, Private Journal, 114. See also Henderson, Fiji and the Fijians, 196, for a further statement.

abandoning the mission. The short time that Ellis spent in the Society Islands gave him sufficient knowledge to acquire Hawaiian fairly rapidly, and both these tongues were useful to him in Madagascar. However, this experience was not always the case. Wyatt Gill asserted that a sermon in Tahitian would be "perfectly unintelligible to a Rarotongan or Mangaian congregation", and Krause did not find it so easy to adapt himself to the Rarotongan dialect after his missionary experience in Tahaa. (1)

Missionaries tended to have a specialized vocabulary, and very often they were able to grasp sufficient detail of the language to be able to speak correctly, but they were still ignorant of much of the idiom, and many aspects of the language were not known to them. Often they realized their limitations at the expense of their dignity. (2) Orsmond complained that there was a monotony about most of the missionaries' sermons.

"There is so much sameness in the words in common use, so much lameness in the construction of sentences, such a share of English Tahitian, so great a portion of lifeless monotony, and so great an absence of native oratorical vivacity that it is no wonder sermons become uninteresting. He who exhibits a greater variety than is usual is said to study the old customs too much, (3) while the natives are at the same time rejoicing in what they have heard. In the choice of words and phrases there certainly (is) great need of chastity and prudence, yet there is no getting either at feelings, or judgement but through the avenues which words in constant use open to the preacher." (4)

The Tahitians, so Orsmond said, had a proverb, that the man who continued to bring out the same song (pehe) without variety would not be listened to. (5)

Apart from the limitations of the language, the missionaries had to be careful that they did not use words which gave offence. On the other hand,

(1) See W.W. Gill, 26 August 1859, S.S.L.

(2) See ante, 192

(3) An interesting comment on Orsmond's growing interest. See ante, 165.

(4) Orsmond, 29 November 1826, S.S.J., no. 83.

(5) Orsmond, 13 December 1826, ibid.

missionaries could often be "insulting", whereas native pastors would have been discredited for the same thing. Heath recorded the example of a Samoan chief who ceased to attend Chapel because the preachers introduced the subject of "the fire" appertaining to the miseries of hell.

"I ought to tell you that allusions to such matters, or even to death, before Chiefs, are contrary to Samoan etiquette. From us the chiefs will hear anything, but our native teachers are sometimes reminded of this old custom."<sup>(1)</sup>

Although preaching to the heathen was a regular missionary pursuit, it is questionable whether much success could be attributed to this means. Converts were rarely gained by preaching, except under revival conditions. Thomas Williams of Fiji was quite aware of this.

"I preached more than 20 sermons, and delivered a greater number of addresses. These were chiefly to persons already Christians; not that I judge it useless to preach to the heathen, or neglect to conduct open-air out-of door services for their benefit; but I think sermons alone are not calculated to do the thorough heathen much good, because of their inability to comprehend the import of many even of the commonest terms that occur therein. I think they might hear sermons alone for 40 years and be no wiser at the end...."<sup>(2)</sup>

This was certainly the experience of the Marquesas mission, 1854-1841, when preaching was the principal method used. The natives regularly attended open air services for weeks on end without comprehending what the meetings were about.

In most areas, the written word had a much more far reaching effect than the spoken word. There was a kind of magic appeal about the printed book: it came first to each island as a sacred object which spoke to them. The book was one object of "civilization" which retained its appeal when the enthusiasm for missionary ways had subsided.

(1) Heath, 30 March 1840, S.S.L.

(2) T. Williams, January 1847, quoted J.T.W., 386.

From the secular point of view, one of the greatest achievements of Evangelical missionaries in the South Seas was the standardisation of the various island tongues, and the creation of a vernacular literature. Whereas Evangelical doctrine was destructive to the old culture, the preservation of the language was a modifying force.

The Place of Education

"From their dependent state, the poor are peculiarly the object of the care and attention of the higher classes... The cultivation of the mind by the instruction afforded in these Schools [British and Foreign] opens and expands the faculties, impresses on the heart a deep sense of moral and religious duty, and produces habits of industry, order, and subordination."

Evangelical Magazine, XXX, 522 (Dec. 1821)

Early mission work consisted mainly in collecting groups of people together and preaching to them, in having conversation with them in public meetings, and in giving them some form of catechetical instruction, so that they would know the form even if they were unable to feel the spiritual experience of religious worship. Apart from occasional journeys, itinerations or tours lasting from a few days to over a month, the missionary's life was restricted to considerable routine, of which the regularity was seldom broken. All the missionaries had secular teaching duties during the week, and also taught in the Sabbath schools. One morning each week was usually devoted to medical or dispensary work. The L.M.S. missionaries usually held Monday Church meetings, mid-week services, and Friday "conversational" meetings, besides several services on the Sabbath. The Wesleyans held love-feasts (i.e. testimony meetings), and class meetings during the week nights, and the several Sabbath services. The short terms of residence of many of the Evangelical missionaries, in contrast to those of Catholic missionaries, must have affected the proficiency of teaching, translating and preaching; and consequently, the actual effective work of the missions was largely that of those men who gave longest service.



Lesson, the French voyager, attempted to denigrate the educational work of missionaries. (1) He argued that the South Sea islander had more knowledge of poetry, cosmogony, and religion, and more dexterity in gymnastics, and more skill than the peasants of France had ever had. The missionaries, however, were not concerned with non-Christian civilizations.

They saw nothing of the presence of God in the pagan systems, and they tended to associate the externals of worship of the islanders with the "superstitions of Popery". They believed that the "means of instruction" were necessary to enable the people to read the Bible for themselves. Study of the Bible inevitably led to the study of other subjects, such as geography and history. Training in the "three Rs" was also another means to civilization. Primary education had played an important part in the home missionary labours of the Evangelicals, and week day schools, besides Sabbath schools, were sponsored by the various Evangelical churches. Because of this interest, the Evangelicals were in the forefront of educational method, and the various theories of the leading educationalists were usually first put into practice in the Evangelical schools. The monitorial system, first developed by Lancaster and Bell, and promoted by the British and Foreign School Society and the National School Society respectively, was introduced into the islands very shortly after this system had first been promulgated.

In the Society Islands, the works of both Bell and Lancaster (2) appear to have been used, although in published reports only the Lancastrian system

(1) Lesson, Voyage autour du Monde (1839), I, 427.

(2) Bell's principal works were An Experiment in Education, made at the Male Asylum at Madras, suggesting a system, whereby a school, or family, may teach itself under the superintendence of the master or parent, 1797, and The Madras School, or Elements of Tuition, 1808. Lancaster published his views in Improvements in Education, 1803.

was mentioned, no doubt out of courtesy to the Dissenting Churches, who patronised that system in connexion with the British and Foreign School Society. "Tapeoe", the Tahitian, who returned with Bicknell in 1810, received instruction at Lancaster's own school.<sup>(1)</sup> Besides relying on monitors, the Lancastrian system also depended on means such as slates, globes, alphabet wheels, and other aids which the missionaries were sometimes at a loss to procure. As a result, this system sometimes could only be partially adopted, although substitute means were often found.

The first mission school in the islands was that conducted by John Davies at Matavai in Tahiti. Davies took upon himself the credit of having introduced at least one of the new teaching methods on his own initiative.

"Writing in sand I had partly in use, before I ever heard of Bell or Lancaster or their plans. I had heard of the Bengalese writing on the ground, and many years ago... at Matavai, I used to amuse the late King Pomare in writing with him on the sandy beach, under the shade of a tree."<sup>(2)</sup>

In his report for April 1808, Davies said that he had a daily attendance averaging between fifteen and twenty four. On Sabbath evenings about thirty attended catechising exercises. Several persons had been reading "for some time", and would have made good progress in writing, but at that time there was no paper for them to practise on. However, most of his pupils could spell "pretty well". His pupils were mostly boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen.<sup>(3)</sup> Most of these youths had been mission servants, and it was from them that the first converts were drawn, before Christianity was adopted as the national religion by Pomare.

<sup>(1)</sup> Fox, An Appeal, 14.

<sup>(2)</sup> Davies, Report, 1827, S.S.L.

<sup>(3)</sup> See Davies, May 1808, S.S.J., no. 33.



Although the school had to be abandoned when most of the missionaries withdrew to N.S.W., many of Davies' pupils were able to pass on some of their knowledge. When Davies resumed his school teaching in 1812, he introduced the system of mutual instruction, and writing on the sand. In the ensuing years he lamented that he could not follow the whole of the plan "for want of slates, proper lessons, the irregularity of attendance."<sup>(1)</sup> Davies' knowledge of the Lancastrian system was doubtless somewhat limited, although he would have learned about its practical application from W.P. Crook, who was at that time his bosom friend. Crook had introduced the system into his academy at Sydney.

In 1820 Gyles reported to the Directors that some of the missionaries continued to instruct in the "old way", although Crook pursued "Bell's system".<sup>(2)</sup> In 1821, Barff of Huahine reported that they followed the Lancastrian plans as nearly as they could.<sup>(3)</sup> However, as they had an "abundance of Teachers", they had no need to adopt some of Lancaster's plans. On the other hand, Platt wrote in 1822 from Moorea that they wished to make an attempt "on the Lancastrian or British system", but they had no means. They contrived to teach the people to read and spell "in the old way" which, in part, was to write on the sand. He required an alphabet wheel and slates.

"The adults must continue to be taught on the old plan, as they could not be brought to the system."<sup>(4)</sup>

In 1824 Orsmond wrote that he wished they had lessons prepared and adapted to the "Foreign and British schools" mode of instruction.<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Davies, Report, 1827, S.S.L.

(2) Gyles, 1820, S.S.L.

(3) Barff, 7 June 1821, S.S.L.

(4) Platt, 26 June 1822, S.S.L.

(5) Orsmond, 27 January 1824, S.S.J., no. 74.

The Directors sought for some uniformity in the means of instruction, and accordingly required their missionaries to conduct their schools on the plan of the British and Foreign School Society. Orsmond replied that such was to be desired, but that none of the missionaries "perfectly comprehended the plan". He suggested that a teaching assistant should be sent out.<sup>(1)</sup> Davies took occasion to remind the Directors that the plan had been "partly adopted" in many of the schools for upwards of fourteen years.<sup>(2)</sup>

Possibly the most indefatigable educationalist in the first thirty years of missionary activity was W.P. Crook. At his station of Bogue Town, in 1824, he had an adult school for women comprising four classes, two of which were taught by his daughters Mary and Hannah. There was also a men's school of five classes, and a children's school. His daughters took five classes of girls and he took the boys, assisted by his son and another missionary youth.<sup>(3)</sup>

In 1829 Orsmond was still bewailing the fact that little assistance was being given to promote the cherished plan. He requested the Society to send them supplies of slates and pencils, with books on their system, and "to print a large supply of their reading papers which have been translated by J.M.O.", and several other elementary books. He further praised "the suitableness and expediency of the British system of education among these people".<sup>(4)</sup> Just how accurate Orsmond's assessment of the educational position at this time was, it is not easy to say, and it certainly did not apply to every missionary.

(1) Orsmond, 8 June 1826, S.S.L.

(2) Davies, Report, 1827, S.S.L.

(3) Crook, 5 January 1824, S.S.J., no. 73.

(4) Orsmond, May 1829 (10,11) S.S.J., no. 97.

"All of us have been wickedly slothful in the schools 1½ hours in each day seems almost more than some can spare...The present general mode of adult teaching is highly injudicious...The youths are growing up like organ pipes, they make signs but they do not generally know how to put 2 letters together...The foreign and British mode of teaching should be extensively used and introduced into all the Islands of these Seas."(1)

Orsmond, although perhaps not justified in abusing his colleagues thus, was deeply concerned with the educational problem, because of his own position as tutor to the missionaries' children.

It was not easy to get the young Tahitians to attend school, and youths were always running off to join the "wild young men" in the mountains. Even the more promising scholars preferred the wreath of faded leaves, the badge of the tutae auri, to the laurels of scholarship. In the mountain forests, away from the discipline of the stations, sexual license and intemperance carried no moral stigma. Besides, it might be all right for Orsmond and his kind to punish their own sons, but they were not going to endure such an indignity. In cases of severe discipline, punishment was consigned to the judges. When some of Crook's scholars tattooed themselves, he "prevailed" on the judges not to send them to labour on the road "with those who will not fail to make them worse", but to bring them to the school and punish them with a dozen lashes with a cat-o'-nine tails. The punishment was inflicted by the teachers, some of whom were judges.(2) The missionaries usually resorted to some form of confinement for ordinary class misdemeanours. When compulsory education was introduced, the chiefs exercised a greater degree of disciplinary power. Orsmond was not very happy with the system.

(1) Orsmond, "Friendly Hints to the Directors", 1828, S.S.J., no. 92.

(2) Crook, 5 January 1824, S.S.J., no. 73.

"Chiefs and others make laws to enforce the attendance on schools, the(y) make stocks into which to put the feet of delinquents, i.e. those who do not learn and who will not attend worship yet all is ineffectual."(1)

In the matter of Infant Schools, the South Seas were influenced by the success of infant schools in South Africa. Buzacott wrote in 1833 that he was much interested in Dr. Philip's account of their progress in Africa, and wished that they could adopt something of the kind.(2) John Williams felt the need for more efficient training of the very young, and regretted that none of the missionaries who went out in 1838 knew anything of the system. At Capetown he was "very anxious to procure a nice youth about 14 years of age who has just been received by the Infant School Committee as a Master."(3) He was, however, dissuaded from engaging him by Dr. Philip. Williams maintained that training in the Infant School system was preferable to training received in a theological college. At the time of Williams' visit to the Cape, three of the sons of James Buchanan, one of the founders of the English Infant School system, were engaged in infant school teaching. James Buchanan, who had early been connected with Robert Owen's settlement at Lanark, had worked independently of Froebel, but his system was very similar to that of the great German educationalist.(4) One of James Buchanan's sons, Ebenezer, responded to Williams' appeal, and was engaged for five years "to introduce the system into all our stations".(5) This was a great benefit to the mission, as Ebenezer Buchanan had already had considerable experience teaching both European and native children, and he

(1) Orsmond, 26 September 1837, S.S.L.  
(2) Buzacott, June 1833, S.S.L.  
(3) Williams, 18 July 1838, S.S.L.  
(4) See Buchanan, Buchanan Family Records, passim.  
(5) Williams, 18 July 1838, S.S.L.

was naturally very familiar with the methods introduced by his father.

On the voyage to the islands, Buchanan instructed the Royles in the system so that, when they arrived at Rarotonga, they were able to assist Buzacott in establishing an infant school.<sup>(1)</sup> Buchanan began a very intensive programme at Falealili, in Samoa, where he conducted five schools each day. He gave his teaching instruction in English in the afternoons for two months. He was also employed in making "arithmeticians" and lesson boards for the use of the schools. During his first year twelve schools were established on Upolu and about twelve on Savaii.<sup>(2)</sup> He continued his duties of training infant school teachers, and opening schools in Samoa, until 1841 when he removed to Tahiti.

The Infant School System had preceded Buchanan to Tahiti about 1839, when it was introduced by Pritchard at Papeete.<sup>(3)</sup> When Buchanan arrived in 1841 he was expected to replace Johnston, the only other teacher in the mission, who had to go to the colony. Johnston had conducted a boys' boarding school at Papara since 1839, and Buchanan was not particularly suited to the kind of work involved. However, he continued to foster interest in infant schools, despite the cool reception accorded him by older missionaries such as Davies. Such schools, patterned closely on the English model, were introduced at Papara, and at Orsmund's station at Teahupo.<sup>(4)</sup> Teaching in the infant schools was work particularly suited to the adult daughters of the missionaries. A knowledge of Tahitian was necessary, as the rhymes were recited in the vernacular, and English was

(1) Williams, 16 May 1839, S.S.L.

(2) Buchanan, 14 May 1839, 2 April 1850, S.S.L.

(3) Howe, 27 August 1839, S.S.L.

(4) Buchanan, 2 April 1850, S.S.L. See also Orsmund, 16 August 1842, S.S.L.

also taught. Isabella and Mary Orsmund conducted a school with more than fifty children attending.<sup>(1)</sup> Darling's daughter also used the system at Punaaiua.

Buchanan's career is of particular interest, as it shows the difficulties facing an educationalist when confronted by island conditions. The boarding school at Papara was for the sons of chiefs and "youths of talent and piety". It was also open to half-caste boys whose parents wished to send them. English was given special study.<sup>(2)</sup> Johnston had considerable difficulty in managing this school, especially in regard to discipline, and Buchanan had to face the same difficulties. The thing which most appalled Buchanan was the apparent obscenity of much of the conversation and gestures of the Tahitian youth. Because of his background, and his limited understanding of the Polynesian way of life, Buchanan could not but fail to misunderstand the full extent of the moral problem involved. Perhaps of all the missionaries, only Orsmund realized that the Polynesians could be made to conform to another set of standards in public for a time, but that they would still accept the old pattern of behaviour as normal. Buchanan dealt with the problem as if it was something which could be suppressed by school-room discipline. For a time he believed that he had effectually "banished obscene gestures and much of filthy conversation" from the school and playground. However, the number of his scholars was greatly increased by the law enforcing children to attend school and compelling parents to send them.<sup>(3)</sup> He complained that the children and young people attended the public trials where "cases of the most disgusting nature

(1) See Buchanan, 3 December 1842, S.S.L.

(2) See Rodgeron, 16 March 1839, S.S.L.

(3) Buchanan, 3 December 1842, S.S.L.

and impure tendency" were examined, and attributed the behaviour of the new boys to witnessing these trials.<sup>(1)</sup>

Buchanan next moved to Papeete, where he conducted a "flourishing Infant and day school", but he regretted that there were no eligible young men to train as teachers. In August 1844 he returned to Samoa, and trained twelve young men in the "Normal School" at Saluafata in a course of reading, writing, arithmetic, astronomy, Scripture and natural history.<sup>(2)</sup> He made counting frames, blackboards and maps and other aids to teaching. Whilst Mills was in England, Buchanan conducted a "Normal School", a boarding school, and an infant and day school at Apia, where he was assisted by Pritchard, who was then British Consul in Samoa. Pritchard, of course, was thoroughly acquainted with the Infant School System.<sup>(3)</sup> After 1848 Buchanan's position was not a very satisfactory one. The missionaries who conducted the Institution at Malua for giving theological training to Samoan teachers, tended to be rather jealous of his separate institution. Others complained that the teachers Buchanan had trained would not do as they ordered them. Petty charges were also brought against him, his institution was no longer considered necessary, and he was left without a station or occupation. Although it was intended that he should join the staff at Malua, he decided to leave the mission and return to England. With Buchanan's departure, educational work in the L.M.S. missions once again came under the more exclusive control of the ordained missionaries.

Most of the missionaries appreciated the value of giving their converts a basic secular education. Not only did it help the people to read the

(1) See Buchanan, 29 August 1842, S.S.L.; also 3 December 1842, ibid.

(2) Buchanan, 18 October 1847, 2 April 1850, S.S.L.

(3) Pritchard gives some details of the system at work in the islands in The Missionary's Reward, 128.

Bible and understand much of what they read, but it also helped to promote "civilization". Nevertheless, the greatest emphasis was on the means of religious instruction. Religious instruction was given mostly by the catechetical method. Catechisms had been drawn up and translated very early in the history of the Tahitian mission. Dr. Haweis drew up a specimen Scriptural Catechism which gives some idea of the substance of these works, although his does not appear ever to have been translated into Tahitian.

Q: What religion do you profess? A: The Christian.

Q: Why do you call it Christian? A: Because Jesus Christ is its Author.

Q: Who is Christ? A: He is the Son of God, and the Son of Man, who came into the world to save Sinners.

Q: Are you then a Sinner? A: To be sure I am.

Q: How came you into this State? A: I was born in Sin and conceived in wickedness. ....

Q: Is Death the wages of Sin? A: It is universally.

Q: Are you then doomed to Death? A: I am, because of Sin. ...

Q: Is it not then a fearful thing to fall into the Hands of the living God in our Sins? A: To be sure it is and if he thus dealt with me how could I abide it.

Q: And will he not thus deal with you? A: He justly might and I receive the just reward of my deed, in the place of Torment.

Q: And why doth he not thus punish you? A: It is of the Lord's Mercies that we are not consumed because his Compassions fail not.(1)

Although the missionaries drew up their own catechisms, they also made use of several standard Evangelical catechisms. Those of Dr. Isaac Watts were popular.(2) Ayliffe's Catechism on Divine Revelation and the Assembly's

(1) Haweis, Letters, IV.

(2) e.g. The Catechism of Scripture Names. First Catechism for Children.



Catechism were more standard ones. Milk for Babes<sup>(1)</sup> was a catechism in verse, intended as an introduction to the Assembly's Catechism. There were also non-Scriptural catechisms on geography, grammar and rhetoric. The first Tahitian catechism was sent to England to be printed in 1806. No copies of this survive, but the Catechism printed at Sydney about 1815 consists of 118 questions and answers.<sup>(2)</sup> The catechetical method of instruction had been popular in the early Sabbath schools, and it had been the principal means of instruction in Evangelical homes. Its principal disadvantage in the islands was that the people quickly learnt their catechisms, understanding them even less than European children. Often they learned their lessons by rote without learning to read. When Stevens arrived in 1839 he was appalled that the old system had survived so long. He spoke of remodelling the instruction of children, and hoped that the "uninteresting and injurious practice of repeating by rote some of the most abstruse doctrinal and experimental chapters in the Scriptures" would be superseded by the "more useful and rational efforts of teaching the children to read and understand."<sup>(3)</sup> If the "reforming" missionaries of the late thirties were mistaken in their approach to other problems, their attitude to religious instruction was possibly a wiser one than that of the older brethren. In 1845 Davies spoke with some bitterness about the "great neglect of Catechising or of teaching and explaining the principles of Christianity or the doctrines and ordinances of the New Testament." He said that those who had lately left them "if not opposed to catechizing ... were

(1) See review of Milk for Babes in Evangelical Magazine, XII (July 1804).

(2) Te mata no te parau - na te Atua (The first of the books of God), 16 pp.

(3) Stevens, 25 July 1839, S.S.L.

no friends to it".<sup>(1)</sup>

By the time the Wesleyan missionaries took a specialized interest in the means of instruction, the systems of Bell and Lancaster had in many ways been replaced by those of other educationalists, particularly that of David Stow of Glasgow. As we have seen,<sup>(2)</sup> the Wesleyan teachers were sent to Stow's "normal seminary" at Glasgow, in order to be trained by him. After this policy was adopted in 1839, it was not long before the Glasgow system was introduced into all the distant fields of Methodism. When Amos returned to England from Sierra Leone in 1846 the W.M.M.S. sent him, at their own expense, to Stow's Training Institution at Glasgow. He was then appointed as Superintendent of the mission schools in the Friendly Islands. He was expected to "teach the Glasgow System to the Native Teachers and Children in these Islands", and "to take charge of the Educational Department." He was also to teach English to the trained teachers and perhaps a few children".<sup>(3)</sup> Amos was allowed the same salary and privileges as a regular missionary, but the teachers could only be selected by the other missionaries. At the other Tongan stations attempts were made to introduce the system. In May 1851, Peter Turner of Vava'u wrote in his journal that he was reading Stow's Training System, and was quite discouraged "as we seem to come so far short". "We cannot carry out the System," he wrote, "for want of better school houses, an open school or a playground."<sup>(4)</sup>

When the Rev. Robert Young arrived on a deputational visit to Tonga in 1853, he seemed to be satisfied with the state of education.<sup>(5)</sup> Not fewer

(1) Davies, 31 December 1845, S.S.L.

(2) See ante, 98

(3) See Amos to Lawry, 18 July 1847, Rabone, Letters to.

(4) P. Turner, 4 May 1851, Journal, X.

(5) See Young, The Southern World, 1855, 241.

than 8,000 could read the Scriptures "with more or less ability", and about 5,000 could write. Writing was taught on slates in the schools. Arithmetic, geography, and "some other branches of learning" were also taught. The principal disadvantage was that the teachers received no salary. Amos appealed for an educational grant from the Society, because the men repeatedly said that they could not teach so many schools, and work for their families besides.

The Glasgow system was also introduced into Fiji by the appointment of two qualified teachers of the system, or "training masters" as they were known. These two men, Binner and Collis, appear to have been fairly successful. Collis was stationed at Lakemba, and had already made considerable progress when Young arrived. At that time he was instructing about 400 scholars under "a modification of the Glasgow system." The subjects included Scripture knowledge, reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography and singing, "with some hints on Natural History".<sup>(1)</sup> Similar methods were used in teaching a class of young men composed of teachers and trainees. Young reported favourably of the experiment, and was pleased to find so many who already possessed "a considerable amount of New Testament knowledge". Several could read well, and a few could write a good and legible hand, and work sums in simple addition. In 1854 Collis reported that the system was being adopted by the native teachers.<sup>(2)</sup> Binner conducted his school on the same plan at Levuka, Ovalau. Although the Wesleyans placed much more importance on primary education than they did on secondary education, their schools do not appear to have reached the standard of

(1) See Young, The Southern World, 1855, 286.

(2) Collis, 4 October 1854, W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, VII.

those at Calvinistic stations. However, there was definitely a marked improvement following the appointment of the "training masters".

Apart from the primary schools, the other chief means of instruction was the dissemination of vernacular literature. In most stations spelling books, catechisms and abstracts of Scripture facts were distributed before the missionaries were able to translate the separate books of the Bible. This was a matter of necessity rather than policy. The missionaries felt that actual translations from the Scriptures should be as perfect as possible, and therefore they could not be too premature in publishing the Bible.<sup>(1)</sup> Most of them believed, however, that the circulation of the Bible was the highest work in which they could be engaged.

Most of the literature, which was printed for the people in the vernacular, was of a religious character. The only other work, besides the Bible, of any great literary worth, to be translated into the various island languages, was Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. Davies translated it into Tahitian, and Pitman made a translation of this into Rarotongan. It was also translated into Tongan and Fijian by the Wesleyans. Pilgrim's Progress was by no means an easy book for the converts to understand, and this is well illustrated by some extracts from the journal of Charter of Raiatea.

"At our meeting today the people expressed their inability to understand what they had read in the Pilgrim's progress. They said 'it is a very dark book'. When we examined it they were able, at least some, to see its design to some extent. They thought it did not relate to any person but was entirely a 'parau faau', figurative account. That is a tale without foundation."<sup>(2)</sup>  
"Titabu came to me and stated he felt very much ashamed yesterday because he could not understand the portion of the pilgrim upon which we conversed in the chapel. I told him he must not give

(1) See Lovett, History of the L.M.S., I, 203, for discussion on this point.  
(2) Charter, 17 November 1848, Journal.

way to shame, but persevere and he would understand it in time. He said 'we are not like christians.' I reminded him that a child did not become a man in a day."<sup>(1)</sup>

"This morning we conversed upon the subject of Christian's conflict with Apolian, and his passing the gloomy valley. Poor creatures they had no idea what Bunyan intends to convey, nor of the weapons he mentions. Some of them said we have looked it over and read it but do not understand its meaning. ...They appear destitute of such doubts and fears, and probably it is not possible in their state of ignorance, so lately emerged from barbarism, to experience, to any great degree such emotions, and conflicts. They cannot view sin in its true light, nor feel its burden."<sup>(2)</sup>

These extracts not only show the difficulties of the Raiateans in understanding the complex English allegory, but they also serve to illustrate the restricted outlook of the missionaries. Charter regarded the Raiateans as children in need of instruction. Possibly because he himself was so much involved in the inner struggles of Bunyan's world, he assumed that an understanding of the book came with a growth in inner experience. Just how the Polynesian entered the pseudo-Scriptural world of Bunyan it is difficult to say, except that it was a considerably darker world than that of the Bible. Charter's experience must have been typical of that of his colleagues, assuming that they also took time to discuss the work.

The missionaries very early realized the importance of pictures to convey ideas, and this overcame many of the difficulties of teaching. John Williams wrote in 1821:

"For a serpent their present Idea is a sea eel, and for a trumpet a Conch shell! Many beautiful passages in Scripture relative to pastoral affairs are utterly lost to them, for want of a mode of conveying Ideas which pictures alone can afford."<sup>(3)</sup>

Visual aids became a necessary part of every teacher's equipment. Lantern

(1) Charter, 18 November 1848, Journal.

(2) Charter, 20 November 1848, Journal; see also entries for 27 November, 1 December, 8 December, 11 December.

(3) Williams, 8 June 1821, S.S.L.

slides, when they were introduced, became a very popular means of instruction.

The Friday evening conversational meetings held at most of the L.M.S. stations were concerned mainly with religious instruction. It is significant, that when the new Christians became more sophisticated in their religion, these meetings were discouraged. In Tahiti they very frequently developed into political discussion groups, or at least the discussion tended to become secular. In Samoa such meetings were designed more for the promotion of morals. However, Pratt of Matautu, Savai'i, was for a long time suspicious that the "Friday" was exerting a pernicious influence on the minds of many, by leading them to look with satisfaction on their conduct.<sup>(1)</sup> He disbanded the meeting and substituted a Bible class. His example was followed by Hardie and Macdonald, all being convinced that "it tended to obliterate the line of demarcation which should separate the church from the world."

The view of the missionaries towards education was that it should assist people to read and understand the Bible. Most of them also believed that a religious education not only produced a Christian man, but that it opened all the doorways to civilization. Moreover, education was something for which every missionary had a profound respect. To teach all, but especially the young, was one of his principal duties.

(1) Pratt, 10 February 1841, S.S.L.

Part Four.

The Effect of Circumstance and Environment

XVII.

Home Policy and Authority for Action

John Williams: You know, my young friend that the Directors are not acquainted with the state of things and we are, and we must adapt our proceedings to circumstances. The Directors write excellent instructions, which look very well upon paper but they become a mere bagatelle when we get here.

J. Johnston, 15 December 1843.

The Evangelical missionaries were largely influenced in their work by the ideas which they brought with them, and by the nature of the work they came to do, to preach, teach and heal the sick. But there were environmental and circumstantial forces which played an important role in shaping the history of their missionary activity.

The dependence of the missionaries on home policy presented a problem of no small consequence. Distance, and the time taken to communicate with the Directors or Committees of the various societies, prevented the missionaries from receiving advice and assistance when it was most needed. Also it was not easy for the home authorities to obtain a clear picture of affairs and conditions in the islands. Although full accounts were received from the field, these were often misinterpreted, and as all the matter for publication was carefully edited, a false picture was built up which careful study of the documents would have dispelled. Popular missionary propaganda directed at obtaining funds and recruits, drew upon the South Seas of the poets and romancers as much as upon the annals of the missionaries. The home authorities also made hasty decisions, and censured

their agents on the basis of limited knowledge.

Until Arthur Tidman became Foreign Secretary in 1841, the Directors of the L.M.S. left the missionaries much to themselves in conducting their stations, but they had a tendency to interfere in matters of petty detail to an irritating degree. On one occasion William Henry was censured for calling his son Daniel Tyerman Bennet Henry. This was regarded as a slight on George Bennet (of the L.M.S. Deputation to the Islands) as only one of his names had been used, or as a slight on Henry's colleague George Platt. Henry explained to the Secretary (it happened to be George Burder) that he was very attached to the name George, but he already had one son by that name, and his deceased first-born had also been called George!<sup>(1)</sup> In the early years, the problem of communication was a very real one, and rumours often travelled home faster than fact. There was a marked disposition to regard the missionary, who wrote home uncomplaining letters giving impressive figures, as a successful and faithful servant of the society, whereas a missionary whose reports attempted to give a full picture, often at the expense of his own success, was often regarded as a dissatisfied and unbalanced person. Letters from the Directors could often be harsh and cruel. Orsmond spoke some truth when he exclaimed, "How easy to sit in full board and deal out anathemas while coffee, tea and cracknells feast the stomach."<sup>(2)</sup>

From their point of view the Directors had a very difficult task. Although they had some personal knowledge of the missionaries, or at least of the younger ones, very few of them had any experience of the circumstances

(1) See Henry, 26 January 1828, S.S.L.

(2) Orsmond, 8 October 1820, S.S.J., no. 55.





and environment in which they were placed. Even William Ellis was unfamiliar with the state of Tahiti after the accession of Pomare IV. His "researches" were largely the researches of others, and yet he was regarded as being more of an authority on the South Seas than those who were actually engaged in the field.

The difficulties arising from an insufficient knowledge of conditions in the islands were numerous. Financial difficulties were perhaps the greatest cause of unrest and dissatisfaction. Invariably, the expenses incurred in New South Wales on the voyage out, earned recriminations from the Directors, who did not appreciate the facts. The principal bone of contention in the islands was the question of salaries, and the belief of the Directors that the missionaries could be self-supporting or live on the charity of the people. The early missionaries at Tahiti found it necessary to purchase hogs from the people by means of barter, salt the pork, and send it to New South Wales. They suffered many privations and found it difficult to support their families.<sup>(1)</sup> The result of this was that most of them found a certain amount of trading necessary for their subsistence. They raised cattle in order to sell beef to visiting ships, and some of them planted sugar. A fixed allowance was not paid until 1819, when it was resolved that each missionary should receive £30 for himself, £20 for his wife, and £5 for each child.<sup>(2)</sup> This annual allowance was to be payable in London as each missionary ordered. At first the annual allowance seemed adequate, but it was not long before it became insufficient. Most of the missionaries continued their trading activities in order to make ends meet.

(1) See ante, 183.

(2) See Marsden, Papers, V, 68.

Some missionaries, like Darling at Punaauia, were fortunate in that the local chief saw that the people ministered to the missionary's wants. But this was not usually the case. Barter soon became a difficult means of purchasing foodstuffs, as the people came to demand money. Exorbitant prices were asked for local products. In addition, the fixed salary was not sufficient for the missionary to obtain all his overseas wants from London, or from New South Wales where prices were higher.

The extent to which the missionaries became involved in trading became a scandal to the Tahitian mission, and it was only by raising the salary considerably in 1843, and by absolutely forbidding trading of any sort, that the Directors were able to effect a change. Of the Tahitian missionaries before 1839, Charles Barff and Orsmond were the only ones who refrained absolutely from trading.<sup>(1)</sup> Orsmond, at one stage, had a sugar cane fence for his own use, which he afterwards gave up. Pritchard, who was stationed at Papeete, acted as purveyor for the visiting ships on behalf of the other missionaries. They would send him their oxen, and he would purchase articles for the domestic use of the missionaries, and for barter with the people. The Directors charged Pritchard with "trading to an unwarranted extent" and with "great keenness in trade".<sup>(2)</sup> The mission at Rarotonga was also considered "a trading mission", even after the Directors had expressly forbidden it, but it was never on the same scale as at Tahiti.<sup>(3)</sup>

The missionaries who arrived in the islands in 1838 and 1839 had no illusions about the trading habits of their predecessors. Stevens said

(1) John Barff, 29 August 1846, S.S.L.

(2) See Pritchard, 31 January 1834, S.S.L.

(3) For documentation on this point see the correspondence of the Rarotongan missionaries in 1847, S.S.L.

that the Society was to blame in the first instance, and that it was only those missionaries who had been able to gather around them cattle and general stock who were able to manage satisfactorily.<sup>(1)</sup> Although they condemned mission trading, they found their salaries insufficient to support themselves. Joseph said that they would not sell on any consideration, and that the natives would not barter with them, as they wanted money "and money only".<sup>(2)</sup> They could only purchase cattle and poultry from the older missionaries with money. Howe lamented the fact that the people expected him to become a merchant, and that a missionary became contemptible in the eyes of the people, if the people could not obtain some temporal advantage. He believed that the custom of barter for food adopted by the missionaries was "most injurious to the interests of the Mission", and thought the Directors should end barter by increasing salaries, although to do so "might occasion the loss of influence of a certain kind to the Missionary".<sup>(3)</sup>

In 1846 John Barff wrote to the Directors about his father's financial difficulties, saying that it was impossible to live on the annual salary, if the Directors wished them to live "in the same style as a journey man trade(s)man in London."

"When trading in a small way was not strictly prohibited by the Directors, almost every missionary except my father saved a little money by selling their surplus cattle and horses, by trading and by selling those vessels which they had built for the purpose of the mission."<sup>(4)</sup>

Barff went so far as to say that some of the serious evils which they had to deplore in the mission could be traced to "the penurious manner" in which

(1) Stevens, 10 June 1839, S.S.L.

(2) Joseph, 13 December 1839, S.S.L.

(3) Howe, 12 October 1840, S.S.L.

(4) J. Barff, 29 August 1846, S.S.L.

it had been supported. Besides being led to trading, their minds were filled with care, and they were prevented from keeping their children from associating with the people.

Even as late as 1855, the missionaries felt that the salary was inadequate for their needs. Nisbet reminded the Directors that the Australasian Wesleyan Conference for 1855 allowed £140 for each married missionary and 12 guineas for each child, in Tonga and Fiji,<sup>(1)</sup> while the L.M.S. allowed £100 to each missionary in Samoa.<sup>(2)</sup> Although the Directors granted a salary which they believed would supply the basic needs of the missionaries, they do not appear to have grasped the real nature of conditions in the islands, and perhaps they placed too much faith and too little works in the dictum that the Lord would provide.

#### Authority for Action

Mission policy was left very much in the hands of the missionaries at their individual stations. Missionaries of the L.M.S. and A.B.C.F.M. had greater freedom in this respect than those of the W.M.M.S. The L.M.S. missionaries were early divided on the score of authority. Officially, authority lay in the body of the Directors, but as this authority was so far removed, it was only valid for general policy, and as a sort of court of appeal. Decisions involving the immediate problems of the missions had to be taken in the field. The L.M.S. agent in N.S.W. was able to exert some influence on mission policy, but he was really little more than a business agent and a channel for communications.

(1) Nisbet, 15 October 1855, S.S.L.

(2) The Samoan missionaries were permitted to barter. In 1843, the Tahitian missionaries were allowed £120 but were forbidden to barter.

At the beginning of the Tahitian mission, the ordained brethren had no more authority than the others, and decisions were taken by a majority. One of the reasons behind the first exodus from Tahiti was the failure to agree on this matter. Examined by the Directors in 1800, Cover said that the Society had been "disturbed" by the brethren Main, Oakes, Cock and Gillham ("who was the worst of the whole"), and that both the Puckeys and Smith had been influenced by them. Main had been one of the ringleaders, and Cover accused him of having "democratic principles" which he defined as "want of due subordination to the rules and orders of the Society", and maintaining that they would "have nothing done but by the whole body".<sup>(1)</sup> Until November 1806, one of the missionaries was elected "President", but this office was discontinued by a majority vote.<sup>(2)</sup> It was later urged that a Director should be sent out to guide the affairs of the Society, but this was discouraged on the grounds that Pomare would resent anyone in this capacity, and that it would lower the present missionaries in the king's estimation. However, it was also pointed out that if the Directors felt that such a move was necessary, Nott was the logical person to be chosen as "Head" of the mission, owing both to his knowledge of the people, and his influence with Pomare.

After 1817, the independent nature of the missionaries, especially the newer ones, led to a reaction from the movement towards uniformity. A party spirit was not only created within the Windward mission, but it practically divided the Windward and Leeward missions into rival camps. In all questions where direction was absolutely necessary, the lot was resorted to,

(1) "The examination of Mr. Cover", 12 September 1800, S.S.L.

(2) Youl, Bicknell, etc., 3 November 1806, S.S.J., no. 29.

as a scriptural means sacred to God. Even the godly young women sent to N.S.W. to become missionary wives were apportioned by lot! When the mission was divided in 1817, the separation was made by lot, and names were placed in a hat.<sup>(1)</sup> But even this method resulted in unpleasantness. The names of the brethren connected with the printing press were not included, and some of the brethren resented being separated from their friends. Crook stated that he and his wife had come to "a determination that it was rather our duty to separate ourselves from the society than to be stationed with persons with whom we could not unite."<sup>(2)</sup> Davies went so far as to read a paper on the evil of abiding by the decision previously reached by lot, and after some opposition, particularly from Nott, a new arrangement was made.<sup>(3)</sup> It would also appear that, in this case, decision by lot would have run contrary to the wishes of the king, who did not wish to be separated from either Nott or Davies.<sup>(4)</sup> Davies mentioned the instance of Wesley and Whitefield disputing about election. Wesley, "instead of making use of his reasoning powers and search(ing) the Scriptures in order to learn whether these things were so, had recourse to a lot, which, without a doubt was a rash act of sinful presumption."<sup>(5)</sup> Not all the brethren were in favour of the lot system, but acquiesced because of the majority.

In 1818, the problem of authority was again raised in relation to the division of the mission. Threlkeld, Darling and Bourne strenuously opposed the decision to settle the number of persons for the Windward station by

(1) See Crook, 24 February 1817, S.S.J., no. 40.

(2) Crook, 25 February 1817, S.S.J., no. 40.

(3) *ibid*, 11 March 1817.

(4) *ibid*, 29 April 1817.

(5) Davies, 21 February 1817, S.S.J., no. 44.

a majority of votes, and the placing the names of the new brethren in a hat. (1) It had been suggested that, as Threlkeld had received some medical training, he should be expected to go to the Leeward islands, on the grounds that Crook, the other missionary with medical knowledge, had already been balloted for Tahiti. Threlkeld maintained that the Society had not sent him out as a doctor, but as a missionary, and he was "not going to submit to inconvenience because he happened to have a little medical knowledge". Threlkeld, Bourne and Darling further declared that submitting to a majority was "tyrannical".

The breach, already begun, was widened by a paper drawn up by Davies at the suggestion of Nott, which proposed a number of rules for the various stations to follow. These "rules" were aimed at producing a "unity of proceedings in respect of Missionary work in all the stations, particularly in respect of admittance to Baptism, the mode of administration, Church government and discipline". These nine rules stressed the decision of the majority as binding, which had been the procedure since the commencement of the Tahitian mission. Davies thus recorded the reactions of some of the younger men:

"Dr. Threlkeld declared he was a free man, and would never consent to put the yoke of bondage on his neck, he would have no rules or regulations, nor would he ever submit to a majority nor could he think of ever joining himself to men that held such principles." (2)

Darling, Bourne and Platt shared this view, arguing that the Bible was their rule, and they would act "notwithstanding 'rules and majorities' everyone as he thought proper". These men resolved to separate "two and two"

(1) Davies, 15 January 1818, S.S.J., no. 50.

(2) Davies, 15 January 1818, S.S.J., no. 50.

together in order to escape majorities. At this stage Crook adopted their principles, and maintained that "everyone stands or falls to his own master."<sup>(1)</sup>

In the ensuing years this independent spirit remained a characteristic feature of the Tahitian mission. In 1828 Orsmond complained of what he termed the "levelling system", and an "injudicious use" of the terms, "We are independents". He believed that the Directors did not "sufficiently consider the necessity of having a sort of head to the various Missions".

"We are dissenters, we are Independents, we have one master Christ and one rule the Bible sounds forth whenever remonstrance is made against any measure that appears inelligible."<sup>(2)</sup>

As late as 1840, Heath complained of the independent spirit in the Tahitian mission.

"The Tahitian Mission has suffered immensely, and lost its character, because each has been determined to have his own way. One will print off a book, another will remove to a fresh station etc. etc., without so much as consulting his brethren. Another will even concur in a vote at a committee meeting and then go and act contrary to it."<sup>(3)</sup>

The Directors had given instructions that business should be conducted by the decision of majorities, and Heath said that the system had "hitherto worked admirably and harmoniously" at Samoa. Davies, however, denied that the situation was so bad, and asked, "did not the Directors know, that all the public affairs of the Mission were so conducted for more than 40 years past", and considered the charge of "want of unanimity" to be a "mystery".<sup>(4)</sup>

It is certainly true that in spite of this very vigorous independent spirit in the Society Islands missions, there was a considerable degree of unity on matters of major policy. Decisions were reached at quarterly meetings,

(1) Davies, 11 and 13 February 1818, S.S.J., no. 50.

(2) Orsmond, "The Mission its own Bane", 26 March 1828, S.S.J., no. 92.

(3) Heath, 17 December 1840, S.S.L.

(4) Davies, 31 December 1842, S.S.L.



and there was some degree of cohesion. Whatever individual missionaries might say in the heat of their ecclesiastical idealism, they realized that they could not push their independence too far without damaging the entire mission structure. Thus, when Threlkeld changed the date of the Sabbath at Raiatea, Hayward severely criticised him:

"It ought to be a matter of serious grief to every missionary here that such disunion should exist among them."<sup>(1)</sup>

When the Directors finally wrote to him on the matter, Threlkeld excused himself on the grounds that the same alteration of the Sabbath had been intended by the Windward brethren. He further affirmed that it was always his endeavour "to compromise, so far as [he] could with a clear conscience", and defended the "purity of [his] motives", saying that he abhorred and detested "the spirit of doing right for opposition's sake".<sup>(2)</sup>

Other sources<sup>(3)</sup> suggest that it was only the Directors' letter which induced Threlkeld to have the Sabbath changed back, but this illustration shows that the independent spirit was ultimately subject to the authority of the Directors, and usually simply to the authority vested in the mission as a whole.

As each new mission was commenced by the L.M.S., it became independent, subject only to the Directors. New missions, worked mainly by a native agency, were subject directly to the parent mission, and authority was mainly vested in the missionaries sent as a "deputation". When the Marquesas

(1) Hayward to Rev. R. Hill, 16 August 1822, S.S.L.

(2) Threlkeld, 10 February 1824, S.S.L.

(3) e.g. Bourne, 31 March 1824, S.S.L. [Sixteen documents connected with this affair are contained in L.M.S., Home Letters, Box 10.]



mission was restaffed by Europeans in 1834, decisions concerning actual policy in the group were reached by the few missionaries themselves. Thus the date of the Sabbath was altered, although the Tahitian brethren had voted otherwise.

Interference, or more exact direction in policy, was much more marked after 1841 when Tidman became Secretary. As early as 1810, there had been complaints about the arbitrary management of the Society by the Secretarial "clique". Joseph Fox complained of the assumption of power by the Directors in "constituting themselves a DISSENTING ECCLESIASTICAL COURT, from whence they might issue forth their bulls in strict analogy with those of the degraded and dispersed council of the Vatican".<sup>(1)</sup> However, there was considerable internal harmony until the secretaryship of Tidman. In 1847 an unpleasant popular controversy arose in which Dr. Andrew Reed severely criticised the Tidman régime.<sup>(2)</sup> In their letters home, most of the South Seas missionaries expressed their sympathy with Tidman, but it is difficult to know their real feelings. Thomson was the only missionary who openly criticised Tidman, and that was in a letter to Reed himself.<sup>(3)</sup> At the time of writing, Thomson had separated from the other missionaries. He criticised the "paramount influence" allowed to the Secretary in the Sub-Committees, and "even at the Board", and attributed the fact that "a clique ruled in the Mission House" to Tidman and his friends.

"The principles which now prevail in Blomfield St. need to be scrutinized. Ever since Mr. Tidman came into office, the correspondence here has been very unpleasant. During the war in Tahiti, when we were distressed beyond measure, Mr. Davi(e)s, a Missionary of 50 years' standing said in Committee, 'we have had more unpleasant correspondence during these 4 years than

(1) Fox, An Appeal, 131.

(2) Some of the controversial pamphlets are listed in the Bibliography.

(3) Thomson to Reed, 30 March 1850, S.S.I.

during the previous 40.' Such was the state of the correspondence with the Board, when you stated that they had mismanaged the Tahitian question."

Thomson also asserted that the replies to some letters showed that their own letters had been read "in a great hurry" and were "often not understood."

Tidman's policy is further reflected by a letter written by Davies at the same time.

"In former times our honoured Directors did not dictate to us as to our arrangements about the stations etc., but left it to ourselves as being better acquainted with local circumstances, and why it should be otherwise now we know not."<sup>(1)</sup>

The situation could not be easily accommodated. There was obviously a need for greater conformity to some sort of authority, but it was also obvious that it was the missionaries only who really understood the difficulties and exigencies of their situation. In the Samoan mission, care was taken to avoid the dangers inherent in the system prevailing in the eastern islands, and when the missionaries differed, they were careful to ascertain whether they agreed to differ.<sup>(2)</sup>

With the Wesleyans there were similar difficulties concerning authority for action in the field. Although the Methodist system of church government did not allow for a great deal of independence at the various mission stations, there was a tendency for the mission field as a district to assert itself in a forcible way. The missionaries in the field were often highly critical of home policy, and distance and faulty communications were often responsible for misunderstandings. When Lawry followed the decision of the Colonial Committee for the South Sea Missions, and did not proceed with

(1) This letter is enclosed with Thomson's letter to Reed.

(2) e.g. Murray and Powell agreed to differ on the question of baptism, Powell, 1 September 1851, S.S.L.

Leigh to New Zealand, he was censured by the General Committee in London. Furthermore, he was transferred from Tonga to Tasmania. When he arrived in England in 1825 his interview with the Committee was far from pleasant, and it was some days before he was acquitted of "false doctrines, heresy and schism".<sup>(1)</sup> Complications arose when new districts were created, and came into direct relationship with the General Committee. When the N.S.W. District Meeting secured the approval of the New Zealand District Meeting for the appointment of Weiss for Tonga, they were not aware that the islands had been formed into a separate district. In May 1827, they felt it necessary to enter the following statement in their minutes:

"The Committee will of course understand, that the relation in which we now stand to the Islands, is purely executive... our official responsibility will extend only to the due execution of the orders we receive from the Islands, and the safe custody of the goods sent out from London."<sup>(2)</sup>

The Secretaries of the W.M.M.S. adopted a rather severe and paternalistic attitude to the Secretaries of the various districts. They expressed their disapproval of the word "Despatches" used by the Sydney Committee to designate their business letters and reports.

Although the N.S.W. District had virtually no authority in the island missions, the relationship was a much more significant one than that existing between the N.S.W. Auxiliary to the L.M.S. and the L.M.S. stations. Methodism had a large following in Australia, and it was ultimately the Australasian Conference which took over the entire responsibility for Wesleyan missions in the South Seas. Many of the Wesleyan missionaries were recommended to the N.S.W. District Meeting.

(1) Lawry, Diary, 125, 146.

(2) W.M.M.S., Sydney D.D.B., 57.

The problems of administration were also less complex in the Wesleyan missions. Whereas the L.M.S. was an independent organization which had to form its own rules, the W.M.M.S. simply took the Church to the field. The Wesleyans followed the "connexional" system, conducted class-meetings, leaders' meetings, quarterly meetings, and adopted most of the ecclesiastical machinery of the home church. In this way the Chairman of the local District assumed the direction of local affairs. The system itself appeared to work sufficiently well in the islands, although many of the missionaries were criticized by their brethren for their ignorance of the correct system and procedures of Methodism.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1844 Hunt wrote of the success of love feasts and class meetings.

"We find these means are as applicable to Feejee as to England.  
'Methodism for ever!!'"<sup>(2)</sup>

The Methodist "Rules of Society" and Wesley's service manuals were rigidly adhered to.<sup>(3)</sup>

The churches associated with the L.M.S. were independent congregations, linked together through the missionaries who were all responsible to the Society. In the mission field the churches had a "national" character about them, and consequently were less like the "gathered" churches associated with English Congregationalism. A kind of associationism developed, which invariably adopted a Presbyterian complexion, and not infrequently the role of the missionary was definitely episcopal in character. The Wesleyan Methodist system was possibly better adapted for actual missionary endeavour, as lay agents were a necessary part of the scheme, and like the

(1) See Calvert to Hoole, 16 July 1843 (Cross), W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, III ; Orton to Thomas, 18 November 1833 (Cargill), 3 October 1834 (Hobbs), Orton, Letter Book 2.

(2) Hunt, 30 August 1844, W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, IV.

(3) See W.M.M.S., T.D.M., 23 March 1841.

monitors in a Lancastrian school, they reproduced the labours of the missionary to a great degree. The Methodist system was fundamentally missionary in character, having evolved from an organisation designed to stimulate spiritual revival within the English Church. Of course this system had natural drawbacks, owing to the very inadequate religious knowledge of most of the numerous lay agents, both local preachers and class leaders. The principal missionary disadvantage of the Wesleyan system was probably the rule that a minister could not stay indefinitely at one station. This had its disadvantages for the missionaries, in that they were possibly just beginning to make a little progress when required to move, but it must have been more disadvantageous to the people who tended to have proprietary rights over their teachers, and who would have to begin afresh to understand a new missionary. This Royce wrote as late as 1860:

"I am inclined to think that our itinerating system is not the one to be carried out in Feejee, however admirably it may work at home, natives don't like fresh faces, and it takes some time to know the people and the work."<sup>(1)</sup>

He also added that the L.M.S. missionaries had the better of them in this respect. Within the Methodist system of church government, there was no room for that spirit of independence which tended to disrupt the harmony of the Tahitian mission.

As reports from the field, and from the published journals of voyagers, were often conflicting and disturbing, the Mission authorities in London felt it necessary to send impartial and disinterested observers to the field. The L.M.S. sent the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet as a Deputation to the South Seas, Java, the East Indies and Madagascar (1821-1829). These men were able to see for themselves the weak points of the missions, but

(1) Royce, 25 May 1860, Journal.

their reports were written principally to boost the work of the missionaries, and little practical benefit - on a major policy level - seems to have been derived from this visitation.

The Wesleyans took a more decisive action and appointed a General Superintendent to visit their South Sea stations. The need for this post had been strengthened after a Committee had been appointed to investigate certain matters relating to a missionary recalled from New Zealand.<sup>(1)</sup> The Rev. John Waterhouse, who was appointed in 1838, arrived in Tasmania in 1839. One of his first tasks was to accompany the Rev. Joseph Orton to Tonga "for the purpose of obtaining information as to the state of the work in general", and to investigate certain charges against Thomas made by the Chevalier Dillon, in order to "meet the traducer before the bar of the British Public".<sup>(2)</sup> Orton did not go, and Waterhouse paid his first visit to the islands in 1841. Waterhouse died in March 1842, and Lawry, the former missionary to Tonga, was appointed his successor. The appointment of a General Superintendent who did not reside in the islands, and yet who had so much influence in the mission, was a sore point with many of the missionaries, especially the younger colonial men. Thus Joseph Waterhouse wrote angrily in 1852:

"Mr. L. is of no use to us - The Gen. Super. should live in Feejee as one of us and not live comfortably at Auckland [and write lies]. We took Mr. L's book up very warmly and the seniors were obliged to interfere..."<sup>(3)</sup>

The letters of the missionaries reveal considerable dissatisfaction with Lawry, and one wonders how much this was simply due to the fact that Lawry

(1) See John Waterhouse, Diary, 31.

(2) Orton to Thomas, 22 November 1839, Orton, Letter Book, 487.

(3) Jos. Waterhouse, 21 July 1852, Jos. Waterhouse, Correspondence from

was not "one of them". He is shown as a sort of parasitic functionary clothing his family in the best charity offerings sent out to the mission field.(1)

In 1852 the Wesleyan Conference sent out the Rev. Robert Young on a deputation to Australia and Polynesia, in order to make preliminary arrangements for the colonial churches to be "cast upon their own resources".(2) Joseph Waterhouse welcomed the prospect of the missions being run from Australia, and wrote enthusiastically to his brother:

"I thank God for the prospect of an Australian Methodist Conference. The world requires it. I am more of a Methodist than ever; but I am for a Methodism startling hell itself by its aggressive movements..."(3)

However, in another letter, he added:

"Remember - NO General Super. for us - With an Australian Conference there is no need of one and we don't want one. We should like a Missionary Secretary. ...Don't let Mr. Boyce run this Mission for the sake of Australia."(4)

In another letter(5), Waterhouse wrote that Boyce had been very unpopular in Fiji and was so still.

The missionaries were not very satisfied with Young's deputational visit. Waterhouse complained that they were spoken of "disparagingly". His brother Samuel's comment was brief:

"Young only paid a flying visit - He only called at two stations and we heard nothing of him until he had gone."(6)

(1) See particularly Jos. Waterhouse to T. and M. Padman, 14 October 1850, W.C.

(2) Young, The Southern World (1855), 2.

(3) quoted Young, The Southern World (1855), 337.

(4) Joseph to Jabez Waterhouse, 24 July 1854, P.S. 15 August 1854, Jos. Waterhouse, Correspondence from.

(5) Joseph to Jabez Waterhouse, 20 September 1856, Jos. Waterhouse, Correspondence from.

(6) Samuel to Jabez Waterhouse, 25 December 1853, P.S. 24 January 1854, S. Waterhouse, Correspondence from.



Mutual satisfaction between the home authorities and the missionaries was a balance difficult to achieve. It was made more difficult by the fact that the home authorities not only expected favourable reports from their mission station, but they tended to take a missionary to task who consistently cried Ichabod. Not only was their particular Society's reputation at stake, but it did not seem honourable to doubt the glorious work which God was about.

#### The Samoan Question

The most delicate point of contact between the missionaries in the field and the home authorities was the observation of contracts made by the home societies. Much unpleasantness was caused between L.M.S. and Wesleyan missionaries because of a decision taken in London by the Directors of the L.M.S. and the Wesleyan Committee. Both societies agreed that the L.M.S. should have the entire missionary charge of Samoa, whilst the Wesleyans should have entire charge of Fiji. This agreement was reached after John Williams had informed the Directors that he had consulted the Wesleyan missionaries at Tonga, in company with Charles Barff, and that they had agreed to divide the field in this way. However, the Tongan brethren did not bring the matter before their District Meeting, and they had already entered the Samoan field before they received contrary word from London. The Wesleyan missionaries concerned in the first agreement with Williams did not consider it as binding, because it was simply their opinion at the time that the spheres of the two societies should be kept separate, and they did not have the sanction of the rest of the District to make a decision for the whole body. Moreover, the Tongan lotu, or Wesleyan Christianity, had

already reached Samoa from Tongatapu and Niuatoputapu. The first misunderstanding led to others, and the two missions which had so much in common, and which had previously been on such good terms, became almost hostile competitors in Samoa. This was a case in which the L.M.S. Directors relied too much on the word of their missionaries in the field, and the Wesleyan Committee took action without first obtaining the approval or advice of its agents. It should also be remembered that, whereas the L.M.S. agents could not act without the authority of the Directors, the Wesleyans in Tonga had more local authority, and strongly resisted the policy pursued by the Committee. The whole affair was complicated by the Samoan-Tongan political situation, which ultimately decided the issue. Though the Wesleyan missionaries actually withdrew from Tonga in order to observe the London agreement, certain chiefs in Samoa and Tongan agents maintained a Wesleyan cause against all opposition and persuasive means. The Australasian Conference did not hesitate in sending a missionary to succour their cause, despite the London agreement and other contracts.

\* \* \* \* \*

The policy of the home authorities depended on their knowledge of the conditions in the islands, and it was the limitations in this respect which most hampered good relationships between those at home and their agents in the field. Two of these limitations stand out. One was the tendency to regard the "success" of mission work according to completely false standards, to see an Eden, where the missionaries only saw one or two eyesores removed from the daily scene. "I often wish," wrote Orsmond

to the Directors, "that our joy on the shores of Tahiti were in some measure proportionate to yours on the platform in Exeter Hall",<sup>(1)</sup> and this was a sentiment which the other missionaries could share with him. The other limitation was the tendency to accept too readily the first impressions of new arrivals in the islands, who did not appreciate the changes already effected. The advice of the Tongan veteran, Thomas Adams, was fairly sound, when he suggested that the correspondence of a missionary during his first year should be burnt.<sup>(2)</sup> It was exceptionally difficult for those at home to appreciate that change in the islands was a very gradual process.

(1) Orsmond, 8 May 1839, S.S.L.

(2) Adams, 16 October 1858, Rabone, Letters to.

XVIII.

The Missionary's Place in Native Society

The way in which missionaries were received into the various island societies varied according to place and time, although the variants were relatively few. The old myth that the white men were returning ancestors or gods was quite widespread, although in some groups the people were already disillusioned when the missionaries arrived. Nevertheless, there was much to perpetuate this belief. Fair skin was regarded as a sign of high birth throughout Polynesia and some of the western islands, and in some communities chiefly youths were protected from the sun. Naturally the superior skills of the white men also suggested divinity or chieftainship. Even the arrival of the missionaries was sometimes fraught with mystery. The Tahitians reported an earth tremor at the time of the arrival of the Duff, and a very high tide which left "prodigious heaps of fish" behind. One old chief recalled the event in 1828.

"I felt the trembling of the earth when the Duff first came. We were all frightened but now I think it was the struggle of the false Gods."(1)

In many of the groups the missionaries gave the impression that they were gods, or at least the vehicles into which gods entered. This was largely due to the conceptions of priestcraft and chieftainship in the various societies. In some groups, however, much of the contact between the people and visiting white men had been disastrous. Also, the people soon realized that the white men fell into different categories, and had different values. When not converted to Christianity, they regarded Jehovah as

(1) Orsmond, 31 October 1827, S.S.J., no. 92. See Henry, Ancient Tahiti, 4, 9, 450.



the particular god of the white people, existing independently of all their own deities, and unrelated to the creation of their own lands and peoples.

In Tahiti and the neighbouring islands, the missionaries were accepted less on a supernatural basis than in some of the other groups. They were recognized more as the priests of the King, having his protection, and consequently to be feared and respected. If they gave prestige to a local community, it was largely due to their property, and the fact that they were visited by ships. In less sophisticated groups, however, they were regarded more as chiefs in their own right, not very far inferior to the Kings, George and William, and Queen Victoria, whom they were always mentioning. This was often reinforced by the personal appearance of the missionary. If he was a big, corpulent man, he was usually reckoned a great chief in his own country.<sup>(1)</sup> The fact also, that these men were religious teachers, strengthened rather than weakened this belief in their chiefly status, because of the priestly function exercised by many of the chiefs in their own communities. Thus, missionaries often had the protection or assistance of supernatural power, of which they were not always conscious.

On the other hand, the missionaries were accepted only on the basis of their property or the protection of a chief. If they were regarded as chiefs, it was as chiefs of another land, and, where Christianity had been adopted, of another god. In fact, it was more usual for the missionary to be regarded as an alien than as an accepted member of the society in which he worked. Although usually protected by the laws of hospitality, he was often in a position of considerable compromise.

(1) See ante, 118.

There were groups in which the missionaries had to overcome the widely held belief, often founded on fact, that missionaries (no less than their irreligious country men) were the bringers of disease. This was the principal cause of the failure of the first mission to Tonga, and the belief which was then prevalent was still active when the Wesleyans recommenced the mission, and it proved a serious handicap to their progress on Tongatapu.<sup>(1)</sup> In the New Hebrides this belief was also widely held, and many native teachers were sacrificed accordingly.

Thus the range of acceptance varied considerably. In their role as religious teachers, the missionaries not infrequently possessed an authority derived, not so much from what they preached and taught, as from their role as the priests of the chief, or as chiefs in their own right. On the other hand, as white persons, they were regarded as aliens, and only those, like the mission children, who were actually born in the islands, were accepted fully into the native societies. In their role as chiefs, the missionaries were supported by the activities of British and American naval power, which played a considerable part in effecting the social reforms and peace, which missionaries advocated, but could not always secure.

The Evangelical missionaries were not backward in assuming the role of "big white chiefs" where circumstances were favourable. When they adopted attitudes of dependency, it was usually only before one supreme chief or king. They had nothing but scorn for the Catholic priest who assumed the mantle of servility, and went through the obsequious rites of

(1) It was believed by the Tongans that the missionaries caused death by their prayers, see Lawry, 30 June 1823, Diary, 120-121; Missionary Notices, No. 257, 462.

homage. Pratt wrote in 1846 that the two priests in Samoa carried their "voluntary humility" to great lengths.

"If chiefs are gathered together in a house, they stoop down while passing them like the most abject menials and sit on the very threshold of the house."<sup>(1)</sup>

The Wesleyans perhaps exceeded the other missionaries in their assumption of chiefly status. Erskine was a little discouraged by what he saw at Tongatapu in 1849.

"I am, indeed, bound in justice to remark, that, in respect to their treatment of the people here and at Vavau, the gentlemen of this mission do not compare favourably with those of the London Society in the Samoan Islands. A more dictatorial spirit towards the chiefs and people seemed to show itself, and one of the missionaries in my presence sharply reprov'd Vuke, a man of high rank in his own country, for presuming to speak to him in a standing posture, a breach of discipline for which, if reprehensible, I was probably answerable, having encouraged the chief on all occasions to put himself on an equal footing with myself and the other officers. The missionaries seemed also to live much more apart from the natives than in Samoa, where free access is allowed to them at all times."<sup>(2)</sup>

Against this picture of the missionary shutting himself up like a sacred king, and issuing ultimatums like a patriarchal lawgiver, we must also place the picture of the missionary literally "despised and rejected" by the people. Henry Nott in his old age, no longer protected by the powerful Pomare II, was all but persecuted by the people at his station.<sup>(3)</sup> In the final analysis, the missionary's place in native society was determined by the degree of sophistication attained by the people, and by his own personal effectiveness. A missionary who was big and strong and

(1) Pratt, 24 January 1846, S.S.L.

(2) Erskine, Journal of a Cruise, 151.

(3) See Nott, 11 November 1834, S.S.L.; Pitman, 27 August 1835, Journal, III.

sympathetic was unquestioningly treated as a chief.

### The role of conversion

It would possibly be true to say that the missionary was not fully accepted into native society until the people had been "converted", or in other words, until the entire religious basis of society had been changed. Until this change took place, the missionary was a powerful alien and a rival priest. There were two types of conversion experienced by the islanders. There was the experience of heart-acceptance or faith, and there was the outward profession necessitated by a national change of religion. Even this nominal profession, or renunciation of the old gods, was a major break with the past, and it gave the missionaries considerable advantages, especially as there was an element of novelty in the situation. The people invariably displayed an eagerness to learn, not only to please their chiefs, but because of their own great curiosity. However, this was only part of the pattern. Old superstitions persisted, and it was only the heart conversion in which the missionaries found satisfaction.

To a certain extent, conversions in the islands were little different from conversions elsewhere, and similarly, the reasons for conversion were not always wholly spiritual ones. All that one can say of these conversions is, whether they were dramatic emotional experiences, as at revivals, or whether they were due to particular events, such as the influence of another person by example, persuasion, or even nagging; a fear of disease or death, and the belief that Christianity either provides immunity or eternal life, and also the desire to be united with deceased loved ones; vows taken on the sick bed, or in dangerous circumstances, and recovery



or rescue, regarded as an intervention of Divine Providence; fear of God's wrath as gathered from teaching, or a sense of guilt derived from carnal living, and consequent fear of punishment for breaking Divine commands; and perhaps also a simple belief in the story of the Crucifixion itself, which might be regarded as a "spiritual" means of conversion. (1)

Actually, the spirituality of the reasons for conversion, was not regarded as of supreme importance by the missionaries. Most had themselves been led to change their lives by similar influences. What mattered in this conversion experience, was that the convert became serious in his religious duties, attended all the "means of grace and instruction", adopted the practice of regular prayer, and eventually showed by his changed way of life that he was, in all likelihood, a regenerate soul.

But despite the similarities, the differences were far greater. These differences were mainly due to the strangeness of many of the Christian doctrines to the native mind, and also to the difficulties of the missionaries in determining how thoroughly, or how accurately, these doctrines were understood. It is quite clear that they did not always know. They quite early realized that lip-service could be given to some doctrines, when the person was quite incapable of explaining them.

Missionaries were frequently surprised by the nature of the questions which they were asked. George Turner records several of the questions asked by students at Malaua:

"If we feel sleepy at prayer, should we open our eyes?"  
"How tall was Zaccheus; how many feet do you suppose?"  
"What is the meaning of cymbal? Is it an animal, or what?"  
"Did Isaiah live before Christ, or after him?" (2)

(1) I have examined about 60 accounts of conversion and religious experience by islanders.

(2) G. Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, 138-139.

Charter records some native "howlers" which are even more revealing:

"After a week's consideration our deacons and those who attend the Monday class expressed it as their opinion that the 'Joseph' who begged the body of Jesus was the same Joseph who was sold into Egypt, i.e. the son of Jacob. Mark VI. 9. This means Missionaries should not have two coats, and they ought to give their property to the people."<sup>(1)</sup>

But if the missionaries were a little puzzled by the knowledge of their heart-converts, they had less illusions about the many nominal professors, especially in those islands where the "conversion" had been on a national level. The pre-church Christianity of Tahiti, for instance, was merely an expression of the will of Pomare, based on the religious habits (not the beliefs) of the English missionaries. It was perhaps less easy for the missionaries to distinguish those nominal professors whose reasons for adherence were other than political. In Samoa, for instance, support of a particular church was often closely linked with social prestige. Nevertheless, an Evangelical missionary could usually pick out his "Christians" from the rest, by means of various tests.<sup>(2)</sup>

The missionaries knew that they held their place in the community only through their acceptance by this same community reformed as a church. Where no church could be formed, as at the Marquesas, the missionary was very much a displaced person in society. Although it was the chiefs who were the arbiters, who decided whether the missionaries remained or not, little could be done unless they also sanctioned the establishment of a nominally Christian society. Once this was achieved, the chiefs were often more of a handicap than an asset to the missionaries. Chiefs who were only

(1) Charter, Journal, (end pages)

(2) See *infra* 372 ff.

nominal professors were inclined to interfere in what the missionaries regarded as their own particular province. In the secular world, the co-operation of the chiefs was often the only way to effect social reforms, but in spiritual matters it was through the church members, rather than the secular authorities, that the real changes were made. Only by creating fellow-Christians was the missionary able to make a place for himself.

Something of the missionary's place in the new society is revealed in Hardie's report on the Sapapall'i station in 1840. The church members had obtained "a decided influence over the people". Almost every matter of importance was "more or less referred to their decision".<sup>(1)</sup> The church members were the surest guarantee to the missionary's investment.

(1) Hardie, 3 April 1840, S.S.L.

XIX.

Evangelical Political Thought and Island Politics

"The hand that scatters liberty will always be caressed."

J.M. Orsmond, apropos of the reception of the Gospel at Tahiti,  
Papers, II. 1.

"I had a conversation with some natives. Among other things we talked of England and liberty. They seemed to be much pleased with liberty, England's boast; but they know very little of it in Feejee."

John Hunt, 15 May 1844, Missionary Notices, III, 134.

Amongst English Evangelicals, there was a considerable range of difference concerning the nature of political freedom. In regard to some major issues they were openly divided. Wilberforce and many of the Anglican Evangelicals, who took a decided view on the question of slavery, were quite antipathetic to the claims of the industrial workers. Most of the Evangelicals also stressed the value of education, in teaching the duty of subordination to Christian government. Wesleyan Methodism tended to have a soporific effect on the people, instead of stirring them up to take political action. The Rev. Jabez Bunting, for many years the guiding spirit of the W.M.M.S. and of Wesleyan Methodism in general, was a thorough-going Tory.<sup>(1)</sup> Occasionally a "Methodist" preacher was found amongst the Radicals, but he was usually a renegade. Methodism's major contribution to political and social reform was the adaptation of its system and methods to the more radical movements.<sup>(2)</sup> The Rev. John Waterhouse records in his journal his own intervention in the "Pitman's Strike" of 1810. The colliers of the Tyne and Wear district took an oath not to work until their demands for

(1) See particularly E.R. Taylor, Methodism and Politics, 115-133.

(2) For this aspect of Methodism see Wearmouth, Some Working Class Movements.

higher wages were universally met. Waterhouse and Dr. Taft determined to break the "illegal conspiracy", and "under the advice of a man eminent in law", they attempted to prevail on their members to abjure their oaths. They went to Percymain, met the Wesleyan Society there, and desired all who had taken the oath and wished to remain in Church fellowship, to accompany them to the parties who had administered the oath. In return for their pains they were locked in the house, and told that, as they came in for their own pleasure, they would go out for that of the colliers. Although Taft was not a little alarmed, Waterhouse secured their quick eviction by announcing, "Well, Dr. never mind, I have a Hymn Book and we can have a prayer meeting all night."<sup>(1)</sup> Waterhouse also mentions going in peril of his life in the Huddersfield Circuit, owing to the marked hostility of the Luddites, who were provoked by the "known loyalty of Methodist Preachers", and their public and unqualified disapproval of these men. The Wesleyans, however, were champions of religious liberty, and also, like most Evangelicals of the nineteenth century, they had an emotional hatred of slavery.

It was from the tradition of Dissent that the principal impetus to the cause of "liberty" received its strength. Dissenters had a much greater political awareness. They had been forced to fight for most of the religious privileges which they enjoyed, and which had made the lot of the various Connexionalists so much easier. The works of the Rev. Robert Hall are indicative of the political consciousness of the Dissenters. In his Christianity consistent with a Love of Freedom (1791), he maintained that a government which was more interested in the emoluments of office, the consolidation of its own power at home, and assistance to foreign despots,

(1) Waterhouse, Diary, 9.

than in the comfort and welfare of individuals "in middle or lower life", whose burdens it increased, was a government that should be opposed by every lawful constitutional means. Hall's Apology for the Freedom of the Press, and for General Liberty (1793) was even more popular. He affirmed the close connexion between the struggles for religious and for civil liberty, and defended the position of the Dissenters. The political proceedings of the Dissenters in the first quarter of the century can be reviewed in the pages of the Evangelical Magazine. During these years, sentiments were fostered which became known as "Christian Patriotism", and which, to a large extent, influenced the Evangelicals in their attitude to state affairs. The Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty was formed, and led the struggle for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828. Dr. Andrew Reed, one of the most prominent of the "Christian Patriots", published The Case of the Dissenters<sup>(1)</sup> in 1833. Reed's activities brought into renewed life a newspaper under the joint care of Josiah Conder and John Middleton Hare, which served the Nonconformist interest and promulgated their religio-political principles. The Patriot Newspaper was restricted mainly to the Nonconformist public, but it was nonetheless an influential paper. Many of the L.M.S. missionaries subscribed to it, and some contributed to it.

Despite the near radical pressure for parliamentary reform and religious or denominational equality, the Evangelicals almost entirely adhered to a constitutional platform. Not only was the parliamentary system upheld as an almost sacred institution, but the House of Hanover was regarded with pious veneration, despite the madness of one king and the morals of his sons.

(1) See Reed, Memoirs, 210.

Unrestrained by the latter impediments, this veneration increased considerably after the accession of Victoria.

In so far as the missionaries had a united political view, it was that every man had a right to worship as he chose, and that government should be in the interest of the greatest number. This central core of belief in religious and civil liberty found many forms of expression from an almost Jacobinical attitude to despotism, to a conservative revulsion from anything which seemed to threaten the peace of society and the sacred institution of Parliament.

It has been suggested that the missionary found some compensation for his position in the fact that he was denied the opportunity of attaining public influence in England, and that the missionary career served as an outlet for the talents and intellectual energy of an ambitious labourer or artisan.<sup>(1)</sup> The latter statement is undoubtedly true, but it would be false to assume that the missionary went to Africa or the South Seas because he was denied political rights at home, and one wonders if there would have been fewer missionaries if the position of Dissenters had been on a level with that of the Anglicans, both politically and socially.

The missionary had his political views and they naturally influenced him, but it must always be kept in mind that he was honour bound not to take any active part in politics. The missionary's political role was determined solely by his circumstances and environment. The very nature of the forms of government prevailing in the different island groups, in all of which

(1)W. Kistner in his monograph The anti-slavery agitation against the Transvaal Republic 1852-1868, 21, maintains that the missionaries acquired political power because they were excluded from the possibility of attaining public influence in Great Britain.

religion played a predominant role, and was considered as an inseparable feature of it, necessitated a reform of government, and a rethinking of the role of religion in society. Naturally the missionaries were expected to contribute to this rethinking process.

The political influence of the South Seas missionaries has frequently been examined,<sup>(1)</sup> but the actual dilemma of the missionaries has not always been clearly stated. The question of the relationship between Caesar and Christ has been the occasion for much dispute throughout the history of Christianity, so that, independently of the nature of native governments, there were many potential problems. The principle that missionaries should not interfere with native governments was always maintained by Evangelical missionaries. It was the policy of Directors and Committees, and a maxim taught to missionary candidates. The missionaries, however, regarded their role as advisers very seriously, and in this capacity exercised considerable and far reaching influence in native politics.

The first missionaries to Tahiti were under the protection of the chief Pomare I, and his son Tu (the nominal king), who had obtained the ascendancy in Tahitian politics. The high chiefs of Tahiti and the neighbouring islands exercised despotic power over their people. Although the missionaries realized that they owed the preservation of their property and persons to this power, they did not believe in any form of tyrannical oppression; and, if they did not preach active rebellion, they did not think it inconsistent with their profession to proclaim the virtues of the British system, which limited the authority of the monarch.

(1) See K.L.P. Martin, Missionaries and Annexation; A.Koskinen, Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands.





Although the direction of the French Revolution had effectively stemmed the Republican movement in England, many of the leading Evangelicals had been associated with such principles. William Carey, the leading missionary of the new era, had been censured by Andrew Fuller for not drinking the King's health.<sup>(1)</sup> Haldane had voiced equally revolutionary opinions, although he afterwards modified his position, and Dr. Bogue had republican sympathies, though he kept out of controversy. Indeed, many of the leading Nonconformist divines were identified with radical political views through their writings on behalf of civil and religious liberty. It is little wonder then, that the first missionaries to Tahiti talked to the people about the virtues of the rule of law, and parliamentary institutions.

In 1808 a political revolution took place in Tahiti which overthrew the despotic government of Pomare. The immediate cause of this uprising was the commission of a number of atrocities by Pomare in June 1807.<sup>(2)</sup> However, James Elder, writing of the event in 1824, asserted that the missionaries had their share in stimulating opposition to the despotism.

"The conversations of the Missionaries on Civil Government, hastened the Revolution, and was the cause of their forming the present Government in existence at the Society Islands ... When the free and equitable Government of England was made known to them, they quickly perceived all its advantages, and panted for one as nearly as possible to resemble it. The Chiefs were well aware of the Tendency of our Conversation, and address to produce rebellion."<sup>(3)</sup>

Elder's statement must be regarded in a polemical context, as he was attempting to refute the claim that the state of things in Tahiti in 1824 was directly attributable to the preaching of his former colleagues. However,

(1) P. Carey, William Carey, 6.

(2) See particularly Adams, Tahiti, 149, 153.

(3) Elder, 10 March 1824, Australia Letters.

a statement by Davies in the Public Journal for 1808, partly confirms Elder's claim that the missionaries made their sentiments known. It was believed in May 1808 that Pomare was likely to die, and the missionaries expected that there would be a restoration of the old government, "Heau Manahune or government of the people".

"We think the people universally know, we do not approve of the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of their chiefs."<sup>(1)</sup>

As far as the missionaries were concerned chiefly government, whether by one paramount chief or by a number of independent chiefs, was tyrannical. However, with one ruler, they had a better opportunity of introducing constitutional reform.

When Pomare finally returned to Moorea, it was on condition that he conformed to the new order. Elder went so far as to say that Pomare accepted Christianity because his people regarded such a profession as a virtual acceptance of an enlightened government. On the other hand, the account given by the mission historians suggests that it was the king's conversion which brought about the change, and they regarded the "glorious Revolution" as nothing more than an insurrection against Pomare's rule. For them, the battle of 1815 was the significant event. Orsmond regarded Pomare's acceptance of Christianity as being merely the ratification of a contract. Before he went to Tahiti, the missionaries said to him:

"Now Pomare we have followed your father and you many years, have fallen and risen, have rested, and taken flight with you, and we have not yet effected that for which we came....You are now going to Tahiti to wage war, and if you get your government again, order that all must be Christians and burn their idols."<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Davies, 2 May 1808, S.S.J., no. 31.

(2) O.O.M.

Pomare's agreement with the missionaries, not only secured for him the position of virtual "head of the church", but he was assisted in re-establishing his despotism.

The missionaries, however, had exerted political influence in other ways very soon after their arrival. The first change which they demanded was a reformation of the country's morals. On 11 November 1797 they had a meeting, in order to adopt rules to suppress infanticide, sodomy, and human sacrifices.<sup>(1)</sup> There was disagreement at this meeting, as some were in favour of telling the people that if they did not give up these customs, they would do nothing for them, and not allow them to come near their dwelling. A deputation was finally sent to Tu (Pomare II) and the other chiefs, to inform them that if they would give up these customs the missionaries would serve them in anything that lay in their power. Although little was then secured, they continued their campaign against these practices. But if to urge for suppression was legitimate, any concern with punishment came under the category of interference with politics. Hence, in February 1803, they wondered whether they should apply to the chieftainess Idea to have a man removed from the district who had murdered another on account of theft.

"Some thought that we could not act in the path of duty as Christians and missionaries, unless we did inform Edeea of the heinousness of the man's crime and request his removal from the district. Others again thought it had nothing to do with our Christian and missionary character to interfere in the business in so publick a manner. It belonged to the civil government of the Island, which we were not to intermeddle with: and tho' it was murder in our eyes, it was not so in the eyes of this government."<sup>(2)</sup>

The majority decided against any interference.

(1) Hassall, 11 November 1797, S.S.J., no. 2.

(2) Jefferson, 16 February 1803, S.S.J., no. 13.



Wherever entire communities in the South Seas adopted Christianity, there arose a need for replacing the old religious regulations for governing society. Laws adapted to Christian society were felt to be absolutely necessary for the better governance of the people. In the formulation of Law Codes, the missionaries acted in the capacity of legal advisers. Although they were responsible for the wording of the Codes, these documents were submitted to the Chiefs and people for approval, in the manner that constitutions are usually submitted at public meetings. It is quite apparent that the chiefs desired to have some guide in civil affairs, as they could not invoke the threats of the old system, and they were constantly being told by the missionaries that their punishments and commands were often unjust. However, the actual formulation of Law Codes was the result of home policy.

As early as November 1815, Matthew Wilks proposed to George Burder that the mission should promote the formation of laws.<sup>(1)</sup> The precedent for introducing simple law codes had been established in the Calvinistic missions amongst the Indians of North America.<sup>(2)</sup> However, Wilks was most directly influenced by the Code of Laws drawn up by the Rev. John Campbell, and agreed to by the people of Griqua town in South Africa.<sup>(3)</sup> Wilks further suggested that a deputation of missionaries should go and "call a meeting of all the chiefs and others(,) present them for their consideration - but not to interfere at all, or act except called by all parties - or they might send to a few of the leading chief(s) to meet and consult on what shd. be read to them, and then all the chiefs together to deliberate - that might bring in all

(1) "Mr. Wilks' observations on the public letter to Eimeo", November 1815, L.M.S., Home Letters (Box 3.)

(2) John Eliot introduced law codes at Noonatomen and Concord.

(3) This Code is given in full in John Campbell, Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the Request of the Missionary Society, 1815, 254-255.

the Society Islands under the same regulations - I think you ought to draw up something of the kind - send it to the brethren, and leave it to their discretion how to act, that is whether to present it or not."

Nott and Davies carried on a correspondence with the king on the matter. It is probable that the missionaries received legal advice from Edward Eager, an emancipist lawyer in Sydney, at that time a strong supporter of all things Evangelical.<sup>(1)</sup> At a meeting in January 1818 Nott stated that progress had been made. It is significant that the missionaries who had recently arrived questioned the propriety of the matter. Davies wrote in his private journal that "they were told plainly that no interference was intended on [their] part in respect of the civil and political affairs of the islanders, farther than to give [their] best advice in compliance with the repeated request of the King and principal chiefs."<sup>(2)</sup> Threlkeld and some others "caviled so as nothing could be settled and the subject was dropped." At a meeting in May 1818 Nott was requested to produce the laws which had been "violently opposed at a former meeting".<sup>(3)</sup> These were read and approved. Nott and Davies were appointed to confer with the king on the matter, and Nott was to translate them into Tahitian.

Pomare at first showed considerable reluctance to act on the advice of the missionaries. He hankered after his former despotic powers, and yet he could also see that the missionaries, and general contact with Europeans, had so influenced the people and chiefs, that he could do nothing without popular consent. He was an astute politician, and compromised to

(1)Eager was a Wesleyan. Lawry stated that the laws were originally drawn up in Sydney, Missionary Notices, N.S. IX, 154.

(2)Davies, 15 January 1818, S.S.J., no. 50.

(3)Davies, 14 May 1818, S.S.J., no. 50.

his own advantage. It was not until after his death that the Tahitian government could be brought to resemble more closely "the free and equitable Government of England".

The Tahitian Code, containing eighteen articles, was publicly "approved" on 12 May 1819.<sup>(1)</sup> Although it demanded strict observance of the Sabbath, most of its clauses related to the normal requirements of criminal law. In most respects it did not impinge very greatly on the arbitrary will of the King. A similar Code, containing twenty-five articles, was adopted for Raiatea, Tahaa, Borabora and Maupiti on 12 May 1820. The missionaries, Threlkeld and Williams, who designed it, introduced the measure of trial by jury, as a deliberate means of checking the power of the chiefs,<sup>(2)</sup> and it is clear that the Tahitian missionaries would have liked to have been able to induce Pomare to limit his own powers. In May 1822 a further Code of thirty articles, worked out after a careful review of the Tahitian Code, was adopted at Huahine.

It is significant that these early Codes were considerably revised. On 10 April 1823 the amended Raiatean Code was adopted at Borabora.<sup>(3)</sup> On 2 May 1823 a revised Code was adopted at Huahine.<sup>(4)</sup> This Code was further revised in 1826, and extended to include fifty articles. The process of revision was more or less an annual event, and new laws were added as the necessity arose. The principal revision of the Tahitian Code took place in February 1824, when it was extended to include forty clauses. The missionaries were in a particularly influential position, as they were the virtual guardians of the young king Pomare III. This revised Code came much nearer to the

(1) Ellis, Polynesian Researches, III, 136. This Code is given in full with French translation, Bouge, J.S.O., VIII, 5-26.

(2) Threlkeld, Memoranda, 18.

(3) Montgomery (ed.) Journal (1831), II, 19.

(4) Montgomery (ed.) Journal (1831), II, 34; Ellis, Polynesian Researches, III, 178. See Barff, Translation of the Laws (1823).

missionaries' ideal, and approximated more closely to the Codes of the Leeward Islands. Some of the new laws concerned rights of land usage. Crook wrote thus in November 1825:

"The law that is now printed and is in the hands of the chiefs, tends gradually to civilize the people: As it ascertains more clearly the right of private property, and protects them from the unjust ravages of the chiefs. The natural consequences however are numerous litigations and disputes amongst the various claimants of the land... We have taught them the nature of arbitration and have prevailed on some of our church members to settle their matters in that way... ." (1)

A form of the Raiatean Code was adopted at Rarotonga on 19 September 1827<sup>(2)</sup>. Much time had been spent in conversation with the principal chiefs as to the "propriety of which laws it would be best to introduce".<sup>(3)</sup> One of the main difficulties concerned land rights. Pitman expressed his wish to avoid having anything to do with the political concerns of the people, and maintained that when the laws were finished, he would do no more than give his advice when asked. Law Codes similar to the first three Codes were adopted in all the islands where the L.M.S. had teachers. Platt records taking part in a meeting at Rimatara in 1827, when four new laws were adopted by the people. These laws concerned land usage, and Platt found it difficult to understand two of the "statutes" because of his ignorance of native custom.<sup>(4)</sup>

The guidance given by the L.M.S. missionaries is in strict contrast to the policy followed by the American missionaries in Hawaii, who regarded that "to write out anything like a system of government and a corresponding code of laws, make the ideas plain and familiar to the chiefs and people, and help them to carry the whole into practice would have been a task hopelessly

(1) Crook, 21 November 1825, S.S.J., no. 80.

(2) Pitman, 19 September 1827, Journal, I.

(3) Pitman, 28 July 1827, Journal, I.

(4) Platt, 11 May 1827, 8 May 1828, S.S.J., no. 93.

formidable and an intermeddling with political affairs plainly inconsistent with explicit instructions."<sup>(1)</sup> The adoption of the Ten Commandments as the basis of the laws of Hawaii was a measure with definite theocratic implications. In 1827 more definite laws were adopted, and in 1829 these laws were extended to resident foreigners. When at Tahuata in the Marquesas, Darling felt it necessary to read the Ten Commandments to the people, "that they might know the Laws of God".<sup>(2)</sup> At that stage, however, he was not in a position to see that they were adopted.

The Wesleyans followed the procedure of the Tahitian missionaries, and urged the formation of a Christian Law Code. The first formal Law Code in the Tongan group was adopted at Vava'u on 10 March 1839.<sup>(3)</sup> This Code was presented publicly to the chiefs and people, and each regulation was approved singly. Thomas remarked that the system was not a novel one.

"The code of laws is not altogether new, the spirit of most of them having been acted upon for some time past; but a few hundred copies have just now been struck off; and the King has given them the royal sanction."<sup>(4)</sup>

These laws contained the essence of a criminal code, but they also reflected the supreme power of the King, and regulated Christian duties. It was some years before a more comprehensive and sophisticated code was adopted. At the annual meeting of the missionaries in 1847, presided over by Lawry, it was recommended that the king should obtain the "opinion and advice of the highest English legal authority in New Zealand."<sup>(5)</sup> The advice received from this authority was that the king could do no better than adopt a code

(1) Dibble, History of the Sandwich Islands (1909), 209.

(2) Darling, 16 November 1834, S.S.J., no. 105.

(3) This code is given in full, Missionary Notices, N.S.I., 282-283.

(4) Thomas, 10 March 1839, quoted Missionary Notices, N.S.I., 350.

(5) West, Ten Years, 212.



similar to that of Huahine published in Ellis's Polynesian Researches, with the necessary alterations and modifications. A translation of the Huahine laws was prepared and placed in the hands of the king and chiefs, and various alterations and additions were made. The missionaries also suggested several important alterations.

"We were very careful to impress them with the conviction, that these laws must be adopted and promulgated as their own, and not as the laws of the Missionaries. This was accordingly done; and, when the code was finally completed, and made law, by public and regal authority, the Missionaries found in it much that was contrary to their own views. It was, however, a great advance upon the brief and imperfect code already in operation, and would, no doubt, prepare the way for something better still."(1)

The resulting Code of forty-three articles was a marked advance on the earlier one. The more theocratic element was excluded, and specific punishments were recommended.(2) Pritchard, the British Consul at Samoa, appears to have influenced the chiefs to unite with the king in drawing up the new code.(3) Peter Turner remarked in November 1849 that the King and chiefs were becoming jealous of the missionaries "interfering with what they think their prerogatives."

"We have been recommending to them a better code of laws, but o no things must remain as they are and we are thought evil of for our wishing to elevate them in the scale [of] civilization; and we have but little hopes of seeing them much better."(4)

As the law codes helped to support traditional authority, there was little opposition from the chiefs. It was also characteristic of these codes that they were regarded as the arbitrary rule of a supreme high chief, and as being consonant only with his rule. When there was chiefly opposition it was usually rooted in opposition to Christian morality.

(1) West, Ten Years, 212-213.

(2) A copy of this code is given in Young, The Southern World, as an appendix.

(3) P. Turner, 1 November 1849, Journal, X.

(4) P. Turner, 28 November 1849, Journal, X. See also Missionary Notices, N.S. IX, 71.

In Samoa, and also in Fiji, where chiefly authority was restricted to comparatively small districts, and where even paramountcies rarely extended over all the districts of an island, there was a virtual absence of any authority which might enforce a Law Code. In the smaller islands and groups national circumstances, and the considerable influence of European contact, had enabled one high chief to establish a "permanent-type" authority unknown in traditional culture. This had not eventuated in Samoa, although the missionaries, especially Williams, had at first thought that Malietoa was the equivalent of the other island kings. The missionaries regarded all attempts at Samoan unification by themselves and other interested parties to be in vain.<sup>(1)</sup> They found that even in each district there were chiefs and heads of families who were not "converted", and who were not "willing to abide by the laws of God". However, in Samoa, traditional "law" survived the effects of contact, and there was less need for laws from the point of view of civil order. The missionary felt his duty was more obviously the amelioration of methods of punishment.

Tutuila and Mamu'a were the only islands in the Samoan group where the missionaries made any progress in introducing a Law Code. Their opportunities were greater than in other parts because of the comparative smallness of the islands, the apparent political unity, and the strength of religious pressure. Both Slatyer and Murray were considering the question in 1841. In October 1841 Slatyer explained to the chiefs "a court of Justice in England and showed them the firmness of English Judges".<sup>(2)</sup> In November he talked with Murray about the "propriety of advising the Chiefs to have a code of simple laws drawn up and written."

(1) See G. Turner, Nineteen Years, 291-292.

(2) Slatyer, 15 October 1841, Journal.

"We definitely fixed on 3 only, on which to give them our advice at present - as new laws can be added according as circumstances require - On Adultery - Theft and fighting - we were particular in explaining to them the footing on which we stood as only advising.- and they conscious of their standing replied to our statements - saying very good you have stated your advice - leave it with us - we will assemble our body of Chiefs and consult whether these things be agreeable to us - and we will tell you the result saying also as for themselves they felt the need of such arrangements and were quite agreeable to it."(1)

The first Tutuila Law Code was drawn up under the guidance of Murray, and consisted of a number of written laws "respecting murder and theft, and adultery, and fornication; and clandestine marriages, and lost property and fruit gathered without the owner's consent, and assisting those who act wickedly."(2) Although it was officially adopted, this written code was considered to be a failure by the missionaries. In July 1853 Powell wrote that the Code was ineffectual because it did not affect the lawgivers. He considered the real weakness to lie in the fact that each chief had so much authority in his own local sphere, and the other chiefs did not have sufficient power to see that the Code was observed outside their own spheres. Furthermore, the individual chiefs resented the "interference by missionaries" in their local concerns.(3) However, during 1851 Powell and Murray had visited Manu'a, and Murray had been successful in "getting a written code of laws ostensibly adopted by the whole island."(4)

Powell endeavoured to frame a more definite Code for Tutuila in 1854. He attempted to persuade the people, by means of a sermon, that their "path of duty was plain, not as politicians, but as Christians and Christian

(1) Slatyer, 15 November 1841, Journal.

(2) Murray, 21 January 1852, S.S.L.

(3) Powell, 14 July 1853, S.S.L.

(4) Powell, 1 September 1851, S.S.L. Murray, 21 January 1852, S.S.L. Murray said it was the Tutuila Code but some laws had not been adopted.

teachers", to propose new measures.<sup>(1)</sup> A Code of 19 laws was framed, based on Murray's earlier Code. Although some of the most influential chiefs were in favour of its adoption, it was vetoed by several of them who "Asserted that the former code was maintained and enforced". Nothing more could be done.

Besides the Law Codes, the missionaries were instrumental in persuading the chiefs to institute port regulations. In this they received considerable co-operation from visiting ships' captains, who occasionally took the initiative in the matter.<sup>(2)</sup> The missionaries were frequently abused for the moral support which they gave to the chiefs in enforcing these regulations. In cases where action was taken against offending Captains, especially in the first days of missionary activity, the culpable parties quite often regarded it as a kind of bad joke that "black men should make laws". For instance, Captain Potten of the Westmoreland, known to the natives as "the savage beast" - he was reputed to hoist naked females to the yardarm - must have been peculiarly incensed when subjected to Raiatean justice.<sup>(3)</sup> European settlers were also irked at mission-sponsored restrictions. Even in 1859 Platt reported similar sentiments being voiced at Raiatea.

"These Americans have no idea of being subject to a coloured government: Are disaffected to the laws, on which they always wish to trample, or set them at defiance, because they are only blackfellows laws."<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) Powell, 12 July 1854, S.S.L.

(2) e.g. Port Regulations were adopted at Tutuila on the recommendation of Captain Bethune.

(3) See Threlkeld, Memoranda, 18-20.

(4) Platt, 15 September 1859, S.S.L.

The existence of a theocratic element in the island states was more readily accepted, because of the close interrelation of religious and civil affairs under the old order, but it would be misleading to regard the "missionary kingdoms" as theocracies. Theocracy necessarily implies rule by either the clergy, or by the saints or church members. The island states were primarily chiefly in government, and it was the chiefs in their secular role who had the ultimate authority. It was largely the theocratic bias in the law codes which was responsible for spreading the idea that theocracies had been established. William<sup>Ellis</sup> was not quite correct when he compared the influence of a missionary with that of an active clergyman in England.<sup>(1)</sup> Nonetheless, the missionary's influence was more far reaching, and more comparable to the influence of Christian leaders during periods of the Church's ascendancy. Something of missionary influence might be gathered from the following narrative. On one occasion the judges of Moorea made a by-law concerning price-fixing which William Henry, the resident missionary, considered unjust.

"On these things coming to my knowledge I was much surprised, grieved and vexed. Surprised that they should take such a step without consulting me, as they had been in the habit of consulting me in everything of any importance; and grieved and vexed that they should establish so unjust and oppressive a law."<sup>(2)</sup>

Henry's anger increased when several women were committed to prison, including one of his own servants. When the morning of the trial arrived he went to the place of judgment.

"As soon as the judges had assembled and taken their seats, I arose and addressed them and the court at considerable length, pointing out the unlawfulness, injustice, and wickedness of such proceedings, and exhorted them to repent and to desist from judging the women ... I endeavoured to aggravate their guilt

(1) Ellis, Vindication, 76.

(2) Henry to Burder, 3 February 1825, S.S.L.

by the consideration that the women were members of the Church, and the greater part of the judges themselves members also."

Henry persuaded the judges to release the women, and letters arrived from Tahiti ordering them not to judge the women.

Henry was censured by the Directors for his interference in this matter, and wrote a lengthy defence of his actions.

"My opinion is that Judges, Noblemen, and Kings too who employ Chaplains and put themselves under spiritual guides, should be sharply and faithfully reprov'd by these guides when they deserved to be so delt with."(1)

He qualified his action still further by saying that all concerned were under his direct pastoral care.

"There is scarcely one of the Judges and Chiefs I reprov'd, but were members of the Church over which I am Pastor, and the very few who were not, had been baptized and were my hearers, and I therefore ask whether I had not a right to reprove them and that sharply when they deserved it? Not one of them ever told me that I had no right to reprove them; such an idea never entered into their heads."

Nevertheless, Henry agreed with the propriety of not publishing his account, as the world was ready to make "false judgements".

Although this was a case of the exertion of influence in civil matters, it was a type of influence which might take place in any Christian community, though in a less dramatic way. It was actual interference in political situations which was expressly forbidden to the missionaries, and such interference rarely took place. On the other hand, the influence of private conversations may have been far reaching, and almost certainly sermons were frequently chosen which carried political overtones.

(1) Henry to Burder, 26 January 1828, S.S.L.



Very often the missionary was unaware of the extent of his influence. Slatyer of Tutuila spoke to the chief Olo about the crime of the native teacher Isaia who had committed adultery. He urged Olo "as one holding high civil authority to be firm in shewing his disapprobation and abhorrence of the crime."

"I refused (though strongly requested by him) to specify any punishment - said it was entirely their business to determine the penalty as to nature and extent - all I said was it ought to be heavy - He said they would not flinch. ...His remarks led me to suppose I had a much greater influence over the people than I had been accustomed to think I had."(1)

Most of the missionaries did not hesitate to influence civil affairs, when they thought that their influence had a justifiable moral end. Orsmond went so far as to require certain standards of civilization from his church members,(2) and had a church law established to secure this end.

"While the people see they can obtain their wishes because the teacher is lenient they use every measure to deceive but I will now be prompt and will have uniformity both in carnal things as well as spiritual things."(3)

Orsmond was speaking about church members. Chiefs did not always appreciate the distinction.

If the missionaries influenced the making of laws, they were sometimes guilty of a certain social injustice, by adhering too closely to their platform of non-intervention in civil affairs. This is seen very clearly in their attitude to punishment. Not infrequently they had to intervene, in order to dissuade the chiefs from using rather barbarous methods. On the other hand, they did not always make it their business to know the real conditions of "justice". For them, the purpose of

(1) Slatyer, 1 March 1841, Journal.

(2) See ante, 179.

(3) Orsmond, 4 December 1823, S.S.J., no. 71.

punishment was to induce shame; for the judges and chiefs, the old maxim of an eye for an eye still prevailed, and there was a tendency to obey the letter, rather than the spirit, of the law. Some of the charges laid against Thomas of Tonga by the Chevalier Dillon were based on harsh treatment meted out by judges and chiefs.<sup>(1)</sup> Armitage was surprised at the indifference of the missionaries at Rarotonga.<sup>(2)</sup> Some men who had committed adultery received a whipping near where he was working. Not only were they whipped, but they also had to give up their property. The offenders were tied to a long pole. The drums beat, and then the judges came to administer the flogging. Some had whips and others had rope ends. Armitage watched six judges each giving each offender sixteen lashes, and Makea told him that sometimes more than ten persons flogged one individual. He asked the missionary why each person had received more than ninety lashes, and was told that the law was for forty only. Shocked by this, Armitage appealed: "Have missionaries any business to make laws for the State?" Perhaps it would have been more fruitful to ask if the missionary did not have a duty to see that the law was rightly understood, and to see that it was administered adequately.

There is considerable foundation for the belief that consciousness of the duty of the Christian missionary to remain aloof from political interference was in itself the root of much political difficulty. When a missionary acted simply as an adviser, Chaplain-fashion, his influence was often a corrective in island politics. As a mediator, he was often

(1) See W.M.M.S., Tonga District Minutes, 23 March 1841.

(2) Armitage, 25 March 1835, S.S.L.



able to prevent bloodshed or acts of barbarous cruelty. In island politics the "aloofness" of the missionaries often meant that the native legislation departed from the spirit of the teaching of the missionaries, and they themselves were usually blamed for such legislation. However, in cases where international politics were involved, the non-participation of the missionaries was twisted very often into passive resistance, obstructionism, and a policy of non-co-operation which had far-reaching political implications. This is made very plain by the attitude adopted by the dominant section of the L.M.S. missionaries in Tahiti at the time of the establishment of the French Protectorate.

The missionaries had a very good case for resenting the direction of affairs after the ultimatums of Du Petit-Thouars. The grievances and agitation which had brought about French intervention were viewed as quite insufficient justification for such drastic political interference. The chiefs who sought protection were regarded as dupes to Moerenhout's cunning, or as traitors to their sovereign. The missionaries were also imbued with a fiercely nationalist spirit, and saw in French policy the unseen hand of the Catholic Propaganda. Disappointment and uneasiness were to be expected.

The behaviour of certain members of the Tahitian mission after 1842 is highly questionable, for though they took no political action as such, their behaviour was calculated to frustrate and offend the French authorities. The missionaries cannot altogether be blamed for this as, to a certain degree, they were misled by the nature of the religious-cum-political agitation emanating from Exeter Hall and the Mission House. This propaganda and pressure was stimulated itself by a good deal of misinformation derived

from faulty knowledge of the real state of Tahiti, and from biased accounts sent home from the field. It seems quite clear that the shooting of McKean at Matavai, in June 1844, was accidental, and the missionaries on the spot did not suggest otherwise, yet Thomas Heath, who had not been present on the occasion, wrote in an article expressly written for publication, that it appeared "without doubt, that poor McKean was designedly shot by the French, tho it is not known that it was by the order of their commander."<sup>(1)</sup> Indeed, some of the missionaries appeared to welcome every unfortunate incident which they could bring against the French.

It is surprising that some of the missionaries were tolerated to the extent they were by Governor Bruat, and perhaps only his knowledge that the British Government had promised to maintain the right of the British Protestant missionaries "to enjoy entire and unrestricted freedom in the exercise of their religious functions",<sup>(2)</sup> prevented him from taking more stringent measures. Thomson was always complaining of ~~have~~ <sup>having</sup> the inconvenience of obtaining passports to visit the Tahitian camp at Papenoo, yet this very camp was hostile to the French, and by visiting it, and by only celebrating the ordinances there, Thomson was equally guilty of encouraging the "Patriots" to hold out against the French. Until Britain acknowledged the Protectorate, the missionaries, as Tahitian citizens as well as British nationals, were in the unhappy position of having to accept the French Protectorate, simply as a de facto government, and most of them did this, whilst openly sympathising with the Tahitian resistance. Heath described the camps as "well-managed,

<sup>(1)</sup>Heath to Mark Wilks, 7 December 1844, S.S.L. cf. Davies, 24 December 1844, S.S.L.

<sup>(2)</sup>see Hamond to the Missionaries, 6 May 1846, S.S.L.

and full of praying men - men of the Parliamentary-army-stamp in the struggle against Charles I".<sup>(1)</sup> Orsmond's connexion with the L.M.S. was terminated on the grounds of collaboration with the French, yet his policy seems to have been in the best interests of peace. When Britain recognized the Protectorate, the more militant missionaries still refused to co-operate, hoping that the continued resistance of the Tahitians would induce the French to withdraw. They earned the displeasure of Captain Hamond for expressing doubts respecting the durability of the Protectorate, and for introducing a subject "so foreign to the exercise of their religious functions" in a letter to Governor Bruat.<sup>(2)</sup> Hamond advised them to persuade the Tahitians to submit to the French.

"This we could not do; partly from the temper of Pomare and her people, and partly from the efforts of their friends in Europe..."<sup>(3)</sup>

Davies, who exerted all his influence to induce the people to remain quiet, and who showed a "strong inclination to apologize for the French", was regarded almost as much a traitor as Orsmond.

The Tahitians were mainly responsible for their own stubborn resistance to the Protectorate, but it cannot be denied that they were considerably encouraged to resist, even after Britain had acknowledged the Protectorate, by the proceedings and attitudes of the missionaries who then, more than at any other time, voiced the doctrine that missionaries had no part in politics.

The Evangelical missionaries, whether they were Dissenters with a radical bias, or conservative Methodists, found that the world of island politics was quite distinct from anything they had previously known. Most

(1)Heath, 25 December 1844, S.S.L.

(2)Hamond to the Missionaries, 6 May 1846, S.S.L.

(3)Heath, May 1846, S.S.L.

of them believed in a doctrine of liberty, "England's boast" as Hunt called it, and openly preached against any absolute measures which they deemed to be anti-Christian. Their influence in island politics tended to be indirect and ecclesiastical, in a theocratic sense, rather than political. They were never agitators like some of their brethren in other parts. The great political issues of the world at large had no place in the missionary endeavour.

"But what a stir!" wrote the Rev. John Waterhouse in 1841. "Popery, Puseyism, Chartism, Socialism, and all the varieties of Republicanism, etc! But the armies of Emmanuel are in the field; the struggle may be severe; but 'truth is mighty, and must prevail.' Now, I must look to my own work among the Heathen. Lord, help me!" (1)

(1) John Waterhouse, Journal of a Second Voyage, 13-14.

XX.

The Missionary View of War

Missionaries in the South Seas were early confronted with local wars and with the problems arising from them. Warfare had a definite place in most societies, and prestige went with military prowess. War was one of the evils which the missionaries declared they had come to overthrow. Even the most sophisticated island peoples merited the style of "savages" for the atrocities which they committed in their wars. Burning of dwellings, indiscriminate slaughter, impaling of infants on pikes, and even cannibalism were common to many of the groups. European arms helped considerably to overthrow the existing balance of power, and early missionaries were occasionally forced to exchange muskets for their protection and for their subsistence.(1)

Missionaries were rarely able to prevent war, although they denounced warfare in their sermons. Nevertheless, they reduced the range of traditional type wars. One of the many associations which arose out of British Evangelicalism was the Peace Society, which aimed at the "adjustment of international disputes, and ... the promotion of universal peace, without resort to arms."(2) The influence of this Society was quite extensive, but if pacifism was the ideal, most Evangelicals believed that there were "righteous wars". Despite the efforts of missionaries to prevent war, it was left to the colonial governments of the latter half of the century to enforce the peace.

The missionaries came to distinguish three types of war, pagan, religious and political. Pagan wars were, for the most part, political. They took

(1) This took place in Tahiti only.

(2) See J. Campbell, The Martyr of Erromanga (1842), 48.

place where Christianity was not established, or where the Christian cause was very small. In these wars the missionaries desired their converts to take no part. However, they felt they had to permit them to fight in wars of self-defence. Only in Fiji was pacifism encouraged to almost disastrous lengths. By forbidding their converts to follow their chiefs in any campaigns, the Wesleyans not only encouraged disloyalty, but placed their followers in a highly compromised situation.<sup>(1)</sup> It is little wonder that, when the Christians were themselves threatened and were obliged to take part in a defensive war, they were refused assistance by their logical "protectors". The missionaries also discovered that, by adopting pacifism, the people were encouraging bloodshed. During the Mbua war from 1849 to 1852, the missionaries gave up their policy of forbidding their converts to engage in war, and instead, urged them to do all in their power to effect humane settlements.<sup>(2)</sup>

Pagan wars were mostly regarded as a direct visitation of Providence, in the same manner as famines and hurricanes. Thus the missionaries at Tahiti wrote in 1800:

"We hear great preparations are making, whether for war or peace is to be determined in a short time by some heathenish divination. If it should prove for war, those who are eager for blood seem determined to glut themselves. We rejoice that the Lord of Hosts is the God of the heathen as well as the captain of the armies of Israel; and while the potsherd of the earth are dashing themselves to pieces one against the other, they are but fulfilling his determinate counsels and foreknowledge."<sup>(3)</sup>

The wars which the missionaries recognized as religious, were fought by parties which took sides on the question of the new religion and the

(1) For discussion on this point see Henderson, Fiji and the Fijians, 242-260, "The Breakdown of Pacifism".

(2) See Henderson, op.cit., 246.

(3) 20 August 1800, quoted Adams, Tahiti, 143.



old culture. In these wars the missionaries saw a miniature war of light against darkness, and they were not slow to tell their flock of Jehovah, the God of battles. There was also a tendency to see religious issues as the object of wars which were equally political. However, the missionaries did not regard these wars as necessary. It would be more correct to say that the wars themselves were inevitable wherever pockets of pagan resistance remained. In most of the groups, these partly religious wars occurred before the final establishment of Christianity. In some areas the issues were complicated by the advent of Roman Catholic priests, who usually sought the protection of a pagan chief. In the Tongan war of 1852, it appears that the Wesleyans gave their full support to King George Tupou, in his attempt to put down minority resistance to his government. In this war the chiefs of Houma and Bea armed themselves, because they did not wish to submit to "the general laws of the land".<sup>(1)</sup> They argued that the king wished to force them to become Christians. The offensive seems to have been taken by the "rebels", but for them there was little alternative. The missionaries acted as mediators, but they could achieve little. West offered to accompany a messenger to Houma "to employ what influence a Missionary might have on such an occasion".<sup>(2)</sup> Throughout the war, the missionaries "felt it to be their duty to visit regularly the few fortified towns, as well as the stockades and camps thrown up around Bea, for preaching and other spiritual purposes."<sup>(3)</sup> However, they never went alone, and were provided with a guard of armed men by the king. In such wars the missionaries tended to feel that they were on the Lord's side.

(1) See West, Ten Years, 303-341.

(2) West, Ten Years, 325.

(3) Ibid, 327.

The political wars of the nominally Christian islands were the most disturbing. It was natural that pagans should war amongst themselves; it was inevitable that Satan should make his last stand against the forces of righteousness; but only human perversity and inattention to the Gospel could explain the wars of Christian countries. Political wars raged principally in Tahiti and the other Society Islands, and in Samoa. In these political wars the situation of the missionary was often painfully delicate. In the disturbances of 1831-32, the missionaries of the Leewards tended to be ranged on the opposite side from that of the missionaries on Tahiti. According to the chief Utami and one of Tati's sons, Williams of Raiatea made powder for the war, and gave sheet lead from the bottom of a sugar mill for bullets. They asserted that there would have been less trouble if he had been neutral. Utami regarded Williams as the tamu or root of the war - "had he staid at his post all would have been right."<sup>(1)</sup> Certainly Williams desired the defeat of Tapoa because of his support of the powerful Mamaia sect, or "fanatics" as he called them.<sup>(2)</sup> On the other hand, Orsmond did all he could to prevent the chiefs of Tairarapu from taking up arms against the Queen, and was rewarded by having his station pillaged. In his own account, Orsmond tells how he took a piece of melon to Taviri, the native governor and leader of the disaffected party, and held it by one end, desiring the chief to hold the other, and break it into two pieces. He reports himself as saying: "Now let us eat for the last time together. In eternity tell God that the gospel you would not hear, but that before you entered destruction your teacher and you mingled

(1) See Orsmond, 13 December 1832, S.S.J., no. 100.

(2) Williams, 27 September 1832, S.S.L., see Appendix IV.



our tears over a large piece of melon."<sup>(1)</sup> This device was only temporarily effective, but it reflects Orsmond's pacific policy.

In the later wars in the Leeward islands, the missionaries were continually acting as mediators, but they found it very difficult to prevent fighting taking place. Even in these political wars, one side was usually more pro-missionary than the other. The war of Tahitian resistance might be included amongst the political wars. The missionaries had access to the camps of the "patriots", and regarded the Tahitians as being on the side of "civil and religious liberty".<sup>(2)</sup> Most of them were sympathetic with the movement of resistance. Davies was the only missionary who expressed definite pacifist views.

"I do confess that my views of Christians engaging in war are not far from those of the Society of Friends."<sup>(3)</sup>

He criticised his brethren for deserting their stations, and lamented the charge that the Christian missionary, "the man of peace had been swallowed up in the hostile politician."

During the Samoan wars, the missionaries did not restrict their pastoral activities to one side, and they had free access into most of the camps. At some stations church members were excluded for joining the "war party".<sup>(4)</sup> Stallworthy deprived a teacher of his office for going to war in 1848, but he did not consider "the mere fact" of his church members and candidates going to war "a call for the exercise of discipline".<sup>(5)</sup> He feared, however, that they would be "exposed to many evil influences".

{1} Orsmond, 17 January 1833, S.S.L., no. 100.

{2} See Thomson, 18 May 1845, S.S.L.

{3} Davies, 3 July 1848, S.S.L.

{4} See Drummond, 14 May 1851, S.S.L.

{5} Stallworthy, 15 August 1848, S.S.L.

Barbara Isabella Buchanan records how difficult it was for those residing at her father's mission station.

"The people inevitably had relations in both of the belligerent parties, and their Christianity was severely tested when they firmly ignored taunts and rejected the temptation to avenge the death of these relatives as they would have done in pre-missionary days. This was specially hard when passing war parties, in addition to their jeers, exhibited the heads of those they had slain."<sup>(1)</sup>

In preaching against war, the missionaries naturally became involved in island politics. In teaching that the "conquered" party had equal human rights with the "victorious" party, they were introducing entirely new conceptions of justice and government. Although they considered that "righteous wars" were included in God's plan for the nations, the missionaries believed that their essential task was that of "messengers of peace".

(1) Buchanan, Buchanan Family Records, 76.

Part Five.

The Missionary as Individual

"If Missionaries are to follow the example of a Paul, a Swartz, a Brainard, or a Vanderkemp, they must be allowed to follow the leadings of Providence, ... and they must not be turned into mere Machines under pain of being Cashiered **and** Disgraced!"

Lancelot Edward Threlkeld, 28 November 1816.

XXI.

The Life of the Soul.

To some extent we have seen how the missionaries reacted to the life of the South Seas, and how they set about their missionary labours. There was a great aversion for much of what they saw, and there was an intense evangelical zeal which sustained them. Out of their experience often grew a new sympathy which gave them additional comfort in their labours. It is now to the individual missionary that we must look, not to his environment or the nature of his labours.

Religious experience, for the westerner at least, is a highly personal matter, and the religious man, in difficult or trying circumstances, is often the victim of intense introversion. The missionary was often alone. Frequently he was the only European resident, and apart from his wife and family, there were no kindred spirits with whom he could discuss his problems. Intellectually, he was prone to frustration, for his wife did not always possess the qualities which made her an intellectual companion. Charlotte Yonge, perhaps unfairly, referred to the wife of Carey of Serampore as a "dull, ignorant woman", saying that the missionary "never manifested anything but warm affection and tenderness towards this very uncompanionable person, and perhaps, like most men of low station and unusual intellect,

had no idea that more could be expected of a wife.<sup>(1)</sup> This was doubtless the position of many of the missionaries, although some of the missionary ladies were more talented and accomplished than their husbands.

The Evangelical missionary constantly asked himself what increase he was showing for his talents. Always conscious of death and "the brink of eternity", he lamented that there were many souls as yet unsaved by his labour. At the end of every year he reviewed his progress, always earnestly hoping that he would come out on the credit side of the great transaction of life.

Consciousness of time was not merely the result of the doctrine of stewardship, the belief that time, like property, was something which God had made available for man, and that a personal account had to be given for its use. It was also the result of strong contrast, contrast between the world of youth and training and the exotic world of the present. There was always the feeling that the present would be cut off as dramatically as the past had been. There was a certain anxiousness to complete the missionary task and to return home. Something of the "temporal" nature of their experience is captured by these reflections of Whewell, after labouring at Ha'apai for a year.

"Such is the rapidity of the flight of days and months, and such the crowd of trivial circumstances cram'd in to every day, that at the end of these several portions of our "Fleeting Being" we stand stun'd and bewildered (as one waking up from some dream) afraid to think another day another month is gone, gone for ever and only recollecting the most prominent and striking feature of the dream - dream of real life - of this life, the Katakai' (endurance) of it, I do not know that we possess any superabundance of that all precious grace "Fua Katakai.'" (patience). Yet in this place we find plenty of exercise for that grace."<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Yonge, Pioneers and Founders, 97.

(2) Whewell, 4 August 1856, A.W.M.S., Tonga M.L.

Soul-searching played an extremely important role in the daily lives of the missionaries. The Calvinistic missionaries were careful to record their trials and blessings, and lamented their unworthiness. The Wesleyans were perhaps more prone to the most vigorous self-examination, and continually prayed for a renewal of their initial experiences. Very few of the L.M.S. journals contain records of the heart-searchings and conflicts which troubled the missionaries, although Orsmond has left a fairly comprehensive record of his inner life. These are some of the entries from his journal.

11 August 1819: "I fear lest I should incur divine displeasure."<sup>(1)</sup>

19 August 1819: [He gives a long prayer and utterances of spiritual desolation]

"How long shall I wander in the dark, bear thy billows in my soul. When thou with rebukes dost correct man for iniquity thou makest his beauty to consume away as the moth ... Be propitious to me. Consign me not over to the power of darkness. Shew me thy bleeding heart, thy cheering smile, thy invincible grace. Surely my sins have separated between me and my God ... What is the cause of my distress. The ungodly all arround [sic] me sleep soundly sleep. They know nothing of these self loathings, these pangs of heart, these tears, these prayers. ... Tell me my name is in the book of life. ... I contemplate the plan of Redemption, admire the Goodness, Justice and love of God in all the features of the plan, but I am still destitute of an experiment(al) joy arising from these."

[More such entries follow including much religious verse].

14 October 1819 [at sea]: "Darkness pervaded my whole frame, I questioned the truth of Scripture, awful uncertainty stood before. ... My interest and right to heaven seemed a fiction."

18 October 1819 [at sea]: "Lord Jesus I have merited thy vengeance."

23 October 1819: If my eternal life depend  
On what myself can do  
My misery will never end  
My sins will me undo."

(1)Orsmond, S.S.J., no. 53.

[A slight change in his attitude is observable on the 24th and on the 26th he records "ease of mind, pleasure of hope, hatred of sin"].

28 October 1819: "... the fear and awful gloom that spread [sic] my mind when I left Raiatea ... has graciously removed."

16 July 1820 [Raiatea]: "While in the pulpit my mind was much distressed with wicked and blasphemous thoughts."(1)

14 January 1821 [Borabora]: "Forbid that I should shew others the path of Life and tread myself the path of death."

14 October 1822 [Tahaa]: "I am willing to follow the cloudy pillar. I am willing to bear my cross. I am ready to go to distant lands."(2)

10 November 1824: "Oh for the soul of a Baxter [,] of a Paul: Why are my powers so sluggish."(3)

5 October 1827: "Oh Jesus pierce my heart, and keep  
My feet among the chosen sheep  
And never let me tire  
Help me to sound this lyre till death  
And when I yield my fleeting breath  
Give me a new strung Lyre."(4)

Orsmond found some sort of relief in describing his state of mind to the people. He thus records something of a conversation after dark with about thirty Tahitians:

"When I said that no one of them had a worse heart than myself, that I often had filthy dreams, that I was prone to base, sinful thoughts and that I stood guilty before God every day, several of them said such things were new to them, that they had not heard a missionary say so much of himself and that perhaps I had been a very great sinner."(5)

As the years progressed, Orsmond gave less place to the workings of his own heart. Embittered with his situation, he filled his journal with

(1) Orsmond, S.S.J., no. 55.

(2) Orsmond, S.S.J., no. 64.

(3) Orsmond, S.S.J., no. 77.

(4) Orsmond, S.S.J., no. 91.

(5) Orsmond, 17 December 1824, S.S.J., no. 77.

criticism of his colleagues and lamentations about the people. The Directors censured him, to which he replied:

"Do not say Orsmond writes like a mad man and a hypochondriack. No I am not mad noble Félix."<sup>(1)</sup>

Despite what has been said, even in his old age Orsmond still recorded his spiritual state in his journals. "How little do I feel the solemn importance of eternal things," he wrote in February 1847, in the midst of his trials under the protectorate.<sup>(2)</sup>

When Thomas Slatyer mentioned his spiritual experience, his statements bore the Evangelical impress of the Methodist Revival, with its powerful love-to-Christ motif.

"I want unction, and a burning love to immortal souls - and a Supreme Love to Jesus. I cannot expect prosperity but in proportion to my own spirituality."<sup>(3)</sup>

Soul-searching often assumed rather morbid proportions. The journal of Isaac Henry,<sup>(4)</sup> the father of the Tahitian scholar, Teuira Henry, is in some ways a record of how a young man reclaimed himself to the moral values of his parents, by the discipline of the Calvinist doctrines. In his journal he did not hesitate to specify his temptations. On one occasion he suspected a church member of attempting to seduce him, whilst in the cabin of a boat during heavy rain.

"I for some time remained unmoved, but pityed the woman for her folly, suddenly however the evil suggestions of Satan began to fly around me, and those wicked corruptions of my own nature which have been for some time, mercifully restrained by the divine aid began to grow, and if encouraged would have led me to commit a sin which painful experience in the past has led me to see grows insensibly upon a persons passions, and would eventually if practiced drown my poor soul in perdition. These

(1) Orsmond, 12 September 1832, S.S.J., no. 100.

(2) Orsmond, 14 February 1847, Journal.

(3) Slatyer, 4 October 1841, Journal.

(4) Son of the Rev. William Henry, and a lay preacher at Tahiti.

reflections roused me to a sense of my duty and by the divine aid not from any strength of my own, I have been enabled to withstand this attack from the adversary. I write these things though ashamed of the depravity of my own heart, to show to myself or to any into whose hands these writings may eventually fall, that there is no dependance to be placed upon an arm of flesh."<sup>(1)</sup>

A real difference is discernible between the introversion of the Wesleyans and the Calvinistic missionaries. If the Calvinist fell into the state of desolation, he accepted his early conversion, and when he had time for heart searching, it was of a more intellectual nature: he weighed the pros and cons of his case, he measured his grace according to his works. The Wesleyan, however, demanded a renewal of his experience at frequent stages, in order to give him the necessary stimulus. With a doctrinal emphasis on the importance of holiness, his introversion often became intense, and his reactions were, in consequence, much more emotional.

Orsmond found that there was too little time to devote to spiritual development. Although spiritually alone, he was far removed from the solitude which he craved.

"When at home I thought that a missionary had the finest opportunity for the cultivation of personal religion but now in the field I find it vastly different."<sup>(2)</sup>

Walter Lawry, whilst at Tonga, found that the reverse was the case:

"For my part, I feel the benefit of my solitude. It proves favourable to my growth in Grace, to my close application to study, and to my digesting many important subjects, which in the whirl of Society, I had attended to but superficially."<sup>(3)</sup>

Certainly the average missionary did find time for study, and however hard he worked during the day, the evenings were usually devoted to the family circle and to study. Much of the work which the missionary had to perform

(1) I.S. Henry, Journal, 40-41.

(2) Orsmond, 6 March 1825, S.S.J., no. 77.

(3) Lawry, 12 January 1823, Diary, 102.



was of a research nature. He collected words for vocabularies, he translated the Scriptures and various educational texts, besides religious tracts. Missionary wives frequently read to their husbands from the various histories and biographies which were sent out to them. Many of the missionaries felt that their spiritual life was threatened rather than assisted by the routine of missionary labour.

"Feejeean missionary work is not so conducive to piety as one would suppose," wrote Joseph Waterhouse, "- It is only by diligence and earnest prayer that intercourse with God can be maintained. I feel unspeakably thankful that I feel that my heart is still the Lord's and that He is my Father and my Friend."(1)

Royce went further:

"How easy it is for a man however holy to lose his piety in Feejee. I feel this; a number of things take your thoughts from your proper work; so many affairs upon which you are called to give advice, both Chiefs and white men, then your domestic affairs, constantly a number of things on your mind, in addition to all the heat, or the rain, the wind, or the mosquitos and flies to annoy you; it is difficult to keep in a spiritual frame under such circumstances, retire to prayer and meditation, and a host of things crowd your mind, try to make a sermon and you have a number of calls - arrange for some engagement and ten to one if something does not cross you in the performance. Nothing can sustain one in Feejee but a sense of the Divine Presence, and a consciousness that we are not going a warfare [ sic ] at our own charge, the work is the Lords."(2)

Peter Turner perhaps provides the best example of a Wesleyan recording his inner life.(3)

January 1831: "I felt that I had lost the blessing of sanctification during the voyage ... I fear that I have sometimes given way to rebellious thoughts against the Government of the holy God."(4)

(1) Jos. Waterhouse, 22 October 1854, Jos. Waterhouse, Correspondence from.

(2) Royce, 19 February 1860, Journal.

(3) See also the journals of Lyth and Hunt.

(4) P. Turner, Journal, I, 42.

- May 1831 [Ha'apai]: "I do not feel so lively in spiritual matters as when at home, everything is new and am much tempted to omit private duties."
- 23 May 1831: "I am so dull, and stupid, and unthankful. Some unpleasant things have occurred - and have pained my mind. I fear my mind was unwatchful and I did not acquit myself manfully."
- 23 October 1831: "Have been attacked with temptation of a painful character, but have found relief by going to a throne of grace."
- 26 September 1832: "Still alive and possessed of the grace of God. I am longing for a clean heart."
- 4 July 1833: "I love solitude but a missionary must labour for the good of all."
- 25 December 1833 [Tongatapu]: "Have been tempted to be proud, but was enabled to resist the foul insinuations of the Arch-fiend."
- 25 April 1836 [Savai'i]: "My mind has been much subject to depression and foul temptations. Have been edified while reading Thornton on Prayer. I am much deficient in energy and perseverance in this duty."<sup>(1)</sup>
- 17 September 1837: "I hardly deserve the name of missionary when contrasted with such men as H. Martyn and Brainard and Swartz."
- 14 May 1838: "I do not persevere in prayer as I should ... I have not any enjoyment in religion as formally ... My service is marred with sin."
- 31 January 1840 [Ha'apai]: "[I] meditated this evening upon my character and my state. I was convinced of my pollution; and my need for a deeper work. The entire sanctification of my soul."<sup>(2)</sup>

The pursuit of entire sanctification was indeed the great work of the Wesleyan missionary. He felt that it was the true end of all his heart searchings and also of his labours. Hunt was so engrossed with the doctrinal significance of the holy life that he wrote his Letters on Entire Sanctification.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) P. Turner, Journal, IV.

(2) P. Turner, Journal, VI.

(3) See ante, 95.

Specific love to Jesus was also characteristic of the Wesleyan's inner life. Indeed, it had been one of the chief features of the Methodist Revival. We find expressions of this emotional approach which rank with the expressions of the great mystics. Such expressions are not only found in prayerful utterance, but they occur in a more impersonal way in much of the correspondence. Joseph Waterhouse thus wrote to his sister:

"Sometimes I feel a want of resignation to the Divine will: - but when I bow before the Mercy-seat and gaze upon Jesus; when the eye of my faith is firmly fixed upon the bleeding Saviour, my load falls off - my mourning is turned into joy - and the thought that there will be no melancholy in Heaven removed the sad feeling under which I labour."<sup>(1)</sup>

It was the continuance of the religious experience, the faith in their work, and their particular view of religion, which enabled the missionaries to adhere rigidly to their original views and opinions.

(1) Jos. Waterhouse to Mary Ann Padman, 18 March 1848, W.C.

XXII.

Aberration and Ill-health

All the missionaries did not experience that "deeper work of the soul", and many left the field or offended their colleagues by some type of defection. Some were disillusioned. Some had had insufficient knowledge of the mission field. Some left because of personal danger, some because a false picture had been created by other missionaries, and others left because of disagreements in the field, persecution or scandal mongering. Many left - especially the female missionaries - because of ill-health, nervous tension and climatic fatigue. Others left the missions owing to moral failings and backsliding.

Behind this failure and defection lies the problem of the search for stability, and the insecurity of the missionary in his strange environment. No social reason is needed to explain defections resulting from sexual temptation, although very often there had been prior loss of faith due to other reasons. There were two classes of those who had moral lapses: those who rebelled against their previous religious convictions, and those who regretted their lapse, and often gave service in other areas.

Various reasons have been assigned to the first defections. Of those who left Tahiti in 1798, the married brethren stated that they left because of the dangerous situation in which their wives and families were placed.<sup>(1)</sup> However, the creation of a rather bitter party spirit was largely responsible for the division,<sup>(2)</sup> and apart from Clode, Cover, Hassall and Henry, most of the brethren who left were not happy in the mission.

(1) See Missionary Transactions, I, 72 (1804).

(2) See ante, 230.

Actually, most of the single brethren who left had slept with Tahitian women, although it was not discovered till they were found out in their affairs in the Colony. Both Oakes and Cock were consorting with prostitutes in N.S.W., and Oakes admitted that he had "committed the like crime" at Tahiti.<sup>(1)</sup> There had been rumours about Cock while he was still at Tahiti. Main was living in adultery. He later professed repentance for his "scandalous conduct", and desired to return to Tahiti, but Marsden and Hassall opposed it because "his bad character was well known through all the Colony, and also among the Natives of Otaheite."<sup>(2)</sup> Main's subsequent conduct convinced his more righteous brethren that he was an incorrigible backslider.<sup>(3)</sup> Smith was also regarded as an "awful backslider", as he visited playhouses, and added to the ignominy of the party by being imprisoned for debt.<sup>(4)</sup> Henry criticised the Directors for not allowing some of the single brethren to marry before they left.<sup>(5)</sup>

Cock, Main and James Puckey all ruined their reputation by drunkenness. William Puckey, after some years of valuable service with the C.M.S. in New Zealand, together with his wife, both "drank themselves to death".<sup>(6)</sup> The Notts of Tahiti had a reputation for "guzzling", and Mrs. Nott, who was somewhat of a termagant, was regarded as a disgrace to the mission. "When intoxicated she is absolutely mad and cares not what she does or says," wrote Dr. Ross in 1846.<sup>(7)</sup> When she died some months later, Ross wrote that she had given no signs of repentance and he believed she "drank

(1) Henry to S. Pinder, 29 August 1799, S.S.L. Shelley, 30 April 1800, S.S.J., no. 8

(2) Elder and Youl, 22 January 1801, S.S.J., no. 9.

(3) See Crook, 31 January 1831, Australia Letters.

(4) Elder and Youl, 28 November 1800, S.S.J., no. 9.

(5) Henry to S. Pinder, 29 August 1799, S.S.L.

(6) See Marsden, 9 November 1827, Australia Letters.

(7) Ross, 27 May 1846, Australia Letters.

herself to death".<sup>(1)</sup>

In the later years, especially after the establishment of the Temperance Movement, there was less danger of a missionary drinking to excess. Thomas Jones and Simpson were the only L.M.S. missionaries who fell victims to intemperance.<sup>(2)</sup> Some of the others like Orsmond and Rodgeron were subject to occasional censure by their colleagues, but Orsmond, at least, was a very moderate drinker, was one of the first missionaries to adopt temperance rules at his station, and regarded himself as a "teetotaller by conviction and pleasure".<sup>(3)</sup>

Although the Church has been fairly uniform in its attitude to sexual mores, the Puritan churches have always equated sin more specifically with sex. Wesley, who might well have seen more sinfulness in various aspects of social injustice, adopted whole-heartedly the Puritan-precisionist attitude to sin. In his view, sexual vice, like drunkenness and swearing, was a sign of the deepest unregenerate state. Evangelicals, of whatever party, were united in their severe denunciation and fear of anything which savoured of immorality. The missionary who fell from grace, not only offended God, but he betrayed his colleagues.

When Benjamin Broomhall found that heathens were not necessarily miserable in their unregenerate state, and found himself desiring to accept the native way of life, he defied the Calvinist teachings of his Chapel, denied the immortality of the soul, and **succumbed** to the tempting offers of a Raiatean chieftainess.<sup>(4)</sup> When the Rev. Thomas Lewis was denied membership

(1) Ross, 25 November 1846, Australia Letters.

(2) See the subsequent references to Jones and Simpson.

(3) Orsmond, O.O.M. Marsden was "much hurt at Mr. Orsmond taking so much wine", 15 May 1818, Australia Letters.

(4) See Jefferson, 24 July 1800, S.S.J., no. 7.

of the Church in Tahiti, he refused to give up his friendship with a Tahitian woman, and preferred ostracism to Christian fellowship with his disapproving brethren.<sup>(1)</sup> George Vason of the first Tongan mission underwent a kind of conversion in reverse, for not only did he give up all the "means of grace", but he adopted the way of life best adapted to gaining the confidence of his Tongan protectors. In taking several wives, and in adopting the dress and markings of the people, his defection was complete.<sup>(2)</sup> Of these three men, Lewis never rejected his Evangelical principles, and he was loyal to the one woman with whom he lived, and who possibly instigated his murder. Dr. Haweis lamented that Lewis had not been with Vanderkemp and Read who decided that, in such circumstances, a native wife was better than none at all.<sup>(3)</sup> It is also interesting that both Broomhall and Vason only adopted an unconventional way of life whilst in the islands. Removed from the scenes of their defections, they eventually showed signs of repentance. Nine years after his defection, when Broomhall appeared at Calcutta, he confessed himself to the Baptist missionaries there, and even spoke of rejoining the Tahitian mission, having abandoned his infidel principles.<sup>(4)</sup> Vason likewise underwent a second conversion, and ended his earthly career as the very respectable Governor of Nottingham Gaol, and a convert to Baptist principles.

Besides these early moral defections, very few of the L.M.S. missionaries were found guilty of immorality. Moral charges were made against Thomas Heath of Samoa, but there is no evidence for them,<sup>(5)</sup> and his colleagues

(1) For Lewis' defence of his marriage, see Haweis, Supplement, 179-182.

(2) See his own account cited in Bibliography.

(3) Haweis, Autobiography, II, 107.

(4) See Broomhall to Harris and Hassall, 27 July 1810, P.R.H., I, 317-319.

(5) These charges are recorded by the Marist priests.



do not appear to have suspected him. Heath committed suicide in a fit of "temporary insanity".<sup>(1)</sup> He had not only been harassed by the peculiar difficulties of his station, but he had been nervously unsettled by the death of his wife, and of an English woman whom he had thought of marrying. It is possible, of course, that Heath's melancholia could have been effected by moral temptation.

In the case of Samuel Wilson, the son of Charles Wilson of Tahiti, the adoption of "infidel" principles (like Broomhall he became a Deist) was simultaneous with his moral lapse.<sup>(2)</sup> Familiar with Polynesian ways since his childhood, and with some educational training in languages and theology, he preferred to live on a more intimate level with the people, a proximity which possibly led him to sympathise more readily with native values, and to crush the scruples which had been instilled into his conscience by mission teaching and the counsel of Dr. Lang.

Carl Schmidt had a more unfortunate "fall", if such it can be called. Like Heath, he was unmanned by the loss of his wife, and found solace in the company of a converted Samoan woman. It seems fairly clear that Schmidt never realized that his association with the woman was causing so much comment amongst the mission families and the native teachers.<sup>(3)</sup> After his dismissal from the L.M.S., he married the woman (as he appears originally to have intended), and accepted a responsible school-teaching position. However, his good name had been marred, and he suffered from the prejudice that the motives for associating with a native woman were invariably base.

(1) See Macdonald, 16 May 1848, S.S.L.; Mills, 18 August 1848, S.S.L.

(2) See ante, 82, 165, 169.

(3) Full details of this case are given by Turner, 20 March 1857, S.S.L. See also unsigned letter to Lang, 27 May 1862, Lang, Papers, XV.



Here we have a real problem. Almost any missionary, who was either single or widowed, was likely to be subjected to the closest scrutiny by his colleagues and by the people. To the Polynesians, the virtue of chastity was something little understood. Even Christian converts who allowed, in theory, that it was possible to observe chastity till an early marriage, were intensely suspicious of persons of more mature years who were either unmarried, or not living with a woman. The wife of a Marquesan chief undertook her own investigations to discern whether the Rev. John Harris was a whole man, when he failed to treat her as his wife, in accordance with the Polynesian notion of friendship.<sup>(1)</sup> The single brethren at Tahiti were suspected of lying with the several married women, or of lying together.<sup>(2)</sup> It was even a popular belief that the missionaries lay with their own daughters, as the natural means of producing their nubility.<sup>(3)</sup> When solicited by women, the missionaries invariably resorted to the argument that their bodies were tabu or sacred, but this argument was only of use in unevangelised areas.<sup>(4)</sup> Loyalty to a living wife seems to have been accepted in most areas, although such fidelity was rarely found in the island communities.

The case of the Rev. John Davies is a pathetic commentary on the loneliness of a single missionary, on the prurience of the people, and on the petty mindedness of some of the missionaries. Davies believed that to win the love and confidence of his people, he must live as one of them. Though he lived in better quarters than they, he hoped that they

(1) [Anon], Account of Marquesas Islands, 147 ff.

(2) Davies and Youl, 24 March 1806, S.S.J., no. 27.

(3) Orsmond, O.O.M., 3, 24.

(4) See Williams, 25 October 1832, S.S.J., no. 101.

would follow his example, and he <sup>was</sup> not averse to sharing his own room with natives of both sexes. It was not long before various stories were being circulated about him both in Tahitian and mission families. Davies defended himself, vigorously saying that "European invention" was behind much of the "vile business".<sup>(1)</sup> Threlkeld, however, maintained that a native had seen Davies in "criminal connection with a native woman", and that others "acknowledged his throwing them on his bed and taking improper liberties with them".<sup>(2)</sup> Examinations of witnesses were held; the old brethren at Tahiti tended to side with Davies, whilst Threlkeld and his colleagues appeared eager to have the charges confirmed. This unpleasantness lasted for several years, and must have had peculiar effects in the mission. It seems quite clear that some of the missionaries had other grievances against Davies, and found a certain satisfaction in believing the rumours.<sup>(3)</sup> Crook spoke of Davies' "usual method of fawning over the women, frequently having a great number at his lodging and keeping them till very late at night singing. Some that we considered loose girls took great liberties with him and one got clothing from him that had done no work for him of any consequence."<sup>(4)</sup> On another occasion, Mrs. Ellis and Mrs. Crook went to visit him and were "shocked at the indelicacy and indecency of his appearance". The specific charge was that Crook's servant, Betty, had been "shut up with him in his bedroom", while Orsmond and Crook tried to obtain admission. When the door was opened, Betty came out. When questioned, she said that Davies had "frequently taken liberties with her and once had

(1) Davies, 19 March 1819, S.S.L.

(2) Threlkeld, August 1819, S.S.L.

(3) Some of these grievances are listed by Davies, 24 February 1821, S.S.L.

(4) Crook, 11 September 1821, S.S.L.

fastened the door on her, laid her on the bed, laid down by her side, felt her breasts, and got up desiring her to let no one know what had passed." Davies himself admitted the great improprieties of his behaviour, but he does not appear to have been guilty of Threlkeld's principal charge against him. Indeed, his position was very similar to that of Dwight of Hawaii.<sup>(1)</sup>

Orsmond not only suspected Davies and Simpson of immoral conduct, but insinuated also that Pritchard had a "lady of pleasure".<sup>(2)</sup> Jones made similar charges against some of the <sup>other</sup> brethren, but these may largely be regarded as malicious slander. Crook refers to a document drawn up by Jones.

"It is to this effect. He is determined to be revenged on his enemies before he leaves the Island, he then proceeds. Darling keeps two in his printing office which he uses by turns. Crook called up Betty in the night to drive the cows out of the garden and used her as his wife. Crook's girls were tried at Mairipehe in their way to Papara. As to myself, we never had a female about our house named Betty since we came to Tahiti,<sup>(3)</sup> nor did the cows ever break into our garden. The other matters are so vague that they may mean anything or nothing."<sup>(4)</sup>

Jones, himself, disillusioned by the state of things at Tahiti, and frustrated in his career - he expected to be head of an Academy in the islands - was addicted to drunkenness, profanity, and beating his wife. He imagined his wife was unfaithful, and treated her accordingly, although there appears to have been no foundation for his charges.<sup>(5)</sup> After his wife's death, Jones's habits became a scandal to the mission, and he was forced to resign.

(1) For Dwight's affair see ante, 150.

(2) Orsmond, O.O.M., 24.

(3) The Betty previously mentioned was at Moorea.

(4) Crook, 2 April 1827, S.S.J., no. 85.

(5) See Crook, 14 December 1825, S.S.J., no. 80. Wilson, Pritchard and Darling, 20 November 1826, S.S.L.



Only one other L.M.S. missionary was dismissed for immorality, and that was the erst-while "highly useful" Alexander Simpson, whose reputation in his last days was spoilt by charges of drunkenness and adultery. Simpson, who was a family man, does not appear to have been popular with many of the missionaries, and his situation as Headmaster of the South Sea Academy placed him in a difficult position. The moral charges against him were so many, and his position in the mission was so unsatisfactory, that the Directors were forced to dismiss him.<sup>(1)</sup> His subsequent heavy drinking convinced the other missionaries of his guilt. Not having recourse to a proper trial, Simpson was in many ways the victim of slander, intrigue and jealousy. He may have had affairs with Tahitian women, but he denied them, and his wife supported him. It is unlikely that he was the "monster of depravity" which some missionaries represented him. The pathetic thing was, that a man who fell into temptation, and subsequently repented, was a marked man. His preaching became ineffectual, and he spent his days between suffering and remorse.

There were also Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga and Fiji who fell from grace, although none of them brought overt disgrace on the mission, and none of them relinquished their religious principles. When Watkin was found guilty of some moral lapse, and had to leave the Tongan mission,

(1) I have examined the evidence in Simpson's case, and feel that the evidence for his adultery, cumulative as it seems, is not conclusive. Too many of his accusers or traducers were interested parties, attempting to save the reputation of their families, reputations which were damaged by other evidence. The accusation that he had seduced, or attempted the seduction of the daughters of the missionaries, may well be regarded as stories invented by sex-obsessed school girls, to explain some of their own indiscretions.

even the authorities in N.S.W. were reluctant to believe that the charges were true, and he was not prevented from becoming a leading Methodist minister in Australia and New Zealand. Watkin did not attempt to conceal his lapse. He said that he had been "accused of improper conduct which is alas too true and which caused [him] immense misery, but [he could] not but feel grieved with the mode pursued by [his] accuser."<sup>(1)</sup>

"I deserve to suffer. O that religion may not suffer by my folly and wickedness."

Watkin spoke of his "fault" and the "vulture of remorse" and his "guilty stain". He "yielded awfully to temptation" and wished himself out of the world.<sup>(2)</sup>

The defection of Thomas Jaggar of Fiji was another pitiable affair.<sup>(3)</sup> He was accused of committing fornication with a native girl, daughter of a Lascar man and a Fijian woman. She was a church member, and lived with the Hunts as a servant. The account of this affair is made even more sordid by the revelation of the prying and false witness. After he had been removed from Fiji, Jaggar continued to be a devout Wesleyan, and rendered assistance to young candidates for the mission field.

The only other Wesleyan missionary to earn strict censure for moral reasons was David Cargill, the talented pioneer missionary to Lakemba. Cargill was a temperamental man, who easily irritated some of his more coarse-grained colleagues like James Calvert. Cargill ultimately committed suicide when considerably inebriated. Stories of Cargill's intemperance at Lakemba may have little foundation. Like many of the earlier

(1) Watkin, 17 April 1837, Journal.

(2) Watkin, 20 April 1837, Journal.

(3) Details of this case are given, W.M.M.S., Feejee District Minutes, 1848, Appendix A.

Evangelical missionaries Cargill, liked his liquor, and younger men professing teetotal principles may well have exaggerated. After the death of his first wife, to whom he was greatly attached, he may well have found some solace for his grief in drinking. Little reliance should be placed on Calvert's statement that Cargill was a "dreadful man".<sup>(1)</sup> Whatever his personal defects, he was a man of considerable imagination, talents and understanding.

As in other missions, characters were "bandied about" long after the decease of those concerned, and early heroes and idols were later besmirched by less talented rivals. Thus Samuel Waterhouse wrote to his brother, Jabez:

"Did you ever hear that J. Bumby was not in N. Zealand what he was in England? That he used to sit with the Maoris round the fire smoking a dirty black pipe - that he was fond of brandy - that he felt very uncomfortable and quite out of place."<sup>(2)</sup>

It is in the children of the missionaries that we see more significant signs of a breakdown in the Evangelical moral fibre. Most of the missionaries had a particular brand of faith which enabled them to live apart from the environment in which they worked, having an inward vision of the moral world of more temperate climates. The children of missionaries, on the other hand, knew no other world than that of the islands, and even if they had seen other shores, their experience was really limited to contact with the islanders. They heard their speech, and understood their gestures; however carefully they were guarded, they seemed to have easy access to the native mind. The people, their nurses, and even casual acquaintances,

(1) Calvert to Rev. E. Hoole, 16 July 1843, W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, III.

(2) Sam. Waterhouse to Jabez Waterhouse, 6 November 1852, S. Waterhouse, Correspondence from.

would tell them things which their parents would never be told.

The mission children suffered considerably, for they could not be the children of both cultures and be happy. In accepting - largely through circumstance and ignorance - the morals of their island friends, they became estranged from their own proper social community. The temptations, inhibitions and opportunities for sexual experiment were more real for them than for children in other spheres. The moral records of some of the families of the most pious and industrious missionaries read like case-book examples of the degenerate family. In one family alone, the eldest daughter was a nymphomaniac, most of the daughters had affairs with native boys while still at school, and most of the sons had had affairs with native women. Two of the children also committed incest. Most of the members of this family were able to readjust themselves to the values of their parents, and attained a certain respectability in later life. However, it needed an Evangelical conversion of the nature of their parents' experience, to give them the strength to make the adjustment. It was said quite openly in the Society Islands mission that, apart from the Rev. John Barff, all the mission sons who grew up in the islands departed from grace.<sup>(1)</sup> However, many of these youthful defections were merely incidents of adolescence and post adolescence, accentuated by the environment, and the guilty ones afterwards became quite moral citizens.

The story of the South Sea Academy is a record of the trials of the parents and teachers in the mission. The boys got themselves tattooed,

(1)Platt, 16 January 1849, S.S.L.

were circumcised in the native fashion, and ran off to the hills; and the older ones fell into the sin of fornication.<sup>(1)</sup> The girls also found ways to offend the sensibilities of their elders, and some were also tattooed.<sup>(2)</sup> Orsmond, who was the first Master of the Academy (largely against his better judgment), found his position extremely frustrating. Simpson, who succeeded him, found the task equally difficult. He found that his scholars were thoroughly familiar with native habits, and he lamented that some of them were "permitted to hear all kinds of native Conversation, and to go abroad and return at their own pleasure."<sup>(3)</sup> Some of them came to school at the age of seven, not being able to read words of one and two syllables. Some of the older ones, about twelve years old, were permitted "to roam about in the bush with natives in search of cattle etc. during the Annual Recess". They then returned to school with "depraved and filthy minds". Even Crook, who zealously guarded his large family of daughters, was not able to guard them against the effects of local rumour.<sup>(4)</sup>

The experience of the first missionaries was of considerable value to those who came later, and it became the practice of the L.M.S. to send the mission children to schools in England, endowed for that purpose. Most of the children of the Wesleyan missionaries were also sent out of the islands to be educated. Most of them attended the Wesleyan boarding school in Auckland. However, whenever the children had remained too long in the islands, they presented a real problem. When Samuel Waterhouse

(1)Orsmond, 24 July 1829, 28 August 1829, S.S.J., no. 97; Buzacott, 30 July 1832, Tahitian Journal.

(2)Orsmond, 19 August 1829, S.S.J., no. 97; Crook, 25 May 1831, Australia Letters.

(3)Simpson, 18 May 1833, S.S.L.

(4)See Mary Crook to Thomas Hassall, 23 September [1823], H.C., II, 643-645.



was staying at the College at Auckland, as late as January 1853, he wrote to his brother Jabez:

"Some of the Missionaries(,) children who are now at the College have suffered much, in a moral sense, by remaining at the Islands."(1)

One of the principal causes of the disillusionment of later missionaries was the moral character of the mission children and their families.

#### The place of ill-health

Most of those who left their missionary labours in the South Seas were neither disillusioned nor dismissed for immorality. A great many of them suffered from ill-health, and in the majority of cases it was the ill-health of the wife. In the L.M.S. service, Blossom, Charter, Harbutt, Joseph, Mills, Pitman and Stevens left because of their own ill-health. Bourne, Day, Hayward, Law, Macdonald, Slatyer, James Smith and Sunderland, all left because of the sickness of their wives. Many of the other missionaries who remained had ailing wives, and some died of illness at their stations. Many of the missionaries themselves remained at their stations although in poor health. Missionary wives were often as active as their husbands, especially when they taught large classes of women, but there seemed to be a tendency amongst many of them to **succumb** to every sickness. Dysentery and nerves played frightful havoc. Amongst the Wesleyans, Brooks, Daniel, Davis, Ford, Hazlewood, Hill, Hutchinson, Millard, Spinner, N. Turner, S. Waterhouse, Watsford and West, and their wives, were some of those who left for reasons of health.

In some cases, poor health was the direct result of failure to take proper personal precautions, as in the case of Crawford of Fiji, who let

(1) Sam Waterhouse to Jabez Waterhouse, 31 January 1853, S. Waterhouse, Correspondence from.

his drenched clothes dry on him, caught a severe chill, and died. In other instances, as at the first station in Lakemba,<sup>(1)</sup> the mission premises were situated in an unhealthy swamp region. Diet must have played an important part also. However, we should not ignore the incidence of hypochondria or allied mental states, which served to cloak the fears, frustrations, disappointments, and failures of missionaries and their wives.

The first victim of mental ill-health in the islands was Williams Waters of Tahiti.<sup>(2)</sup> Completely unbalanced, he laboured under a peculiar infatuation for the Tahitian Queen, refusing to be fed unless from her hands. At moments he could converse intelligently, but even the people grew tired of his simple-mindedness. Just how far Heath and Cargill suffered from mental ill-health, it is difficult to say. Heath was certainly physically unwell. He showed "symptoms of dyspepsia strongly developed accompanied with hypochondriacal lowness of spirits."<sup>(3)</sup> Orsmond, whom some of his colleagues openly said was "cracked",<sup>(4)</sup> was generally believed to suffer at times from the after effects of continuous exposure to the sun.<sup>(5)</sup> Certainly his usually active mind suffered "blackouts", and his writings occasionally betray a kind of melancholia. One curious case of mental ill-health was Joel Bate of Tonga. The missionaries at their District Meeting in 1847 were "clearly" and unanimously of the opinion that he was "suffering and has long suffered from a disordered intellect".<sup>(6)</sup>

(1) See Seemann, Viti, 16 (Lakemba), 224 (Mbua)

(2) See Jefferson, 8 December 1802, S.S.J., no. 13; 7 September 1804, S.S.J., no. 22.

(3) Macdonald, 16 May 1848, S.S.L.

(4) e.g. Heath, 7 December 1844, S.S.L.

(5) Howe, 21 June 1842, S.S.L.; Platt, 2 February 1841, S.S.L.

(6) Minutes of Friendly Islands District Meeting, 1847, W.M.M.S., Synod Minutes.

"Those of the Missionaries wives who have had good opportunity of observing him have come to the conclusion that Mr. Bate is less mental than morally wrong, and in this opinion many of us concur, while others are unable to decide one way or the other; but all of us see and lament his indolence, pride, ignorance and indifference to the duties and objects of a christian Missionary."

Amongst the missionary wives, both Mrs. Slatyer and Mrs. Gee became insane whilst in Samoa. Mrs. Barff, the wife and mother of missionaries, suffered from "hypochondriasis", or, as her son described it, "that most distressing of all monomanias, viz. a religious one".<sup>(1)</sup> Family affliction and political troubles had aggravated her condition. Hysterics were frequent in some households, especially where the women were directly confronted with unsavoury sights, such as were associated with cannibalism in Fiji. Joseph Waterhouse considered that his brother Samuel was too soft-hearted, and that he should have adopted the "cold water cure" with his wife.<sup>(2)</sup>

The letters of William Hill of Tonga read like those of a hypochondriac, but it is difficult to tell how ill he really was.<sup>(3)</sup> Thomas, who suffered from very poor health himself, may have been unduly severe on another sufferer. Whewell regarded Hill as being quite physically fit, and suggested that his symptoms were the result of his psychological state.<sup>(4)</sup>

Very few of the missionaries and their families continued unscathed by disease. The average missionary was constantly hindered in his work by domestic sickness. Even when not actually ill himself, he gave the appearance of general fatigue. What Consul Toup Nicolas said of the Society Islands missionaries in 1853, was true of most of them.

(1) J. Barff, 4 November 1852, 21 July 1853, S.S.L.

(2) Jos. Waterhouse to Jabez Waterhouse, 24 July 1854, Jos. Waterhouse, Correspondence from.

(3) See particularly Hill, 20 August 1860, A.W.M.S., Tonga.M.L.

(4) Whewell, 19 December 1860, A.W.M.S., Tonga.M.L.

"Many of them look delicate and most of them fagged, as if their constitutions were crying out for more bracing air, and this I think would avail them much."(1)

It was ill-health which was the canker within mission society, rather than the several cases of immorality. The effects of human frailty were sometimes quite considerable, but it was disease which took the greatest toll in zealous lives and which ate at the expenditure of the missionary societies.

(1)Toup Nicolas, 31 March 1853, S.S.I.

XXIII.

The Closed Community

Introversion, moral defection and ill-health played a significant part in the pattern of mission life and influence. These, however, were largely the concerns of individuals. Very many missionaries were able to bear their cross without stumbling. The inner life was tortuous for some; for others it was redeemed by a mystic vision. It was in his contact with other missionaries that the missionary revealed his character, and exposed his inner life to a considerable degree. In many of the groups, mission stations were isolated and far apart, and depended on ships for contact with each other. At many of the more important stations several missionaries and their families would be congregated.. At some stations there would be a teacher, an assistant or an artisan, besides the pastoral missionary. On some of the larger islands, such as Tahiti, or the islands of the Samoan group, the stations would be only several hours travelling distance from each other, and communication would be far more frequent. Also, new missionaries would often spend up to a year at another missionary's station in order to learn the language, and the working details of the mission. It was fairly common for at least two missionaries (as suggested in the apostolic injunction) to be stationed together.

These small European communities were shut off from the rest of the world. At many of the stations, few other Europeans were seen. Interest in one another's family was often abnormally developed. Potentials for a great intimacy were also potentials for great ill-feeling. A great deal

of importance was assigned to fairly petty things. There was a tendency to develop unhealthy complexes, particularly persecution complexes. Certain personal characteristics were often developed which would otherwise have been kept in check. The "broken reed" type of character had no chance of survival against the dominant personality, which in turn, tended to become sadistic. When two ambitious characters were brought together, there was a likelihood of them becoming fierce rivals, sacrificing many things in their fight to become foremost. Although great stress was placed on the maxim that they should all dwell at unity together, the missionaries were notorious for their failure to keep the Psalmist's advice. Mission feuds could be intensely bitter, and must have done considerable harm to each mission.

The Tahitian mission was undoubtedly the most offending one in this respect, although none of the missions were entirely free from dissension. In the Tahitian mission, after the Duff missionaries had been joined by reinforcements, there was a greater range of denominationalism, education, age and temperament, and this division was not assisted by living together at close quarters. What is more, a party spirit developed early in the Tahitian mission,<sup>(1)</sup> whereas there was a greater unity in the other missions, and the "outsiders" were promptly returned home with a certificate of incompetency. Orsmond of Tahiti, whose lengthy journals are a record of bitter feelings, and the personal animosities of the missionaries, occasionally put his sentiments into verse:

"The natives hear and scoff  
The Devils gaze and smile  
To see Christian ministers in arms  
And Missionaries act like swarms  
Of Serpents swollen with guile."<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) See ante, 230.

(2) Orsmond, 8 March 1829, S.S.L.

To review the various quarrels and personal animosities of the Tahitian missionaries would be tedious. The following extracts serve both to illustrate some of the internal difficulties of the mission, and the type of writing which the Directors had to read and assess.

"Love never travelled 15 miles to cast cold water on the humble attempts of his younger brother, to turn away the minds of the people from him. Love never said to his enquiring brother do the best you can in the native language do not look to me among the people as the root of their own language. Love never had audacity enough to stand forward and tell people, friends all that you here [sic] these young Missionaries say comes from me. I wrote it with my own hand. ...Love never said to a body of native chiefs. Oh these young teachers will do for you they are all dumb. ...Love never held his head up the first time of meeting with a company saying Mind we are all on the same level. There is no one superior amongst us ... ." (1)

In a paper entitled The Mission its own Bane, Orsmond denounced the "little contracted, self-willed soul".

"Those who cannot speak to each other but by the means of a note do sometimes meet to sign a public letter ... Yea some will surround the Lord's table together who nevertheless will not speak to each other."

"I have seen a Missionary order a native out of his house because he began to praise the Sermons and the knowledge of the Missionary where he resided!" (2)

When William Henry and Elijah Armitage were together at Papetoai, Moorea, they were frequently not on speaking terms. Henry, with his strong Church leanings, was horrified when Armitage committed the sacrilegious act of sitting on the communion table in the Church during school hours. (3) Armitage accused Henry of trying to sabotage the cotton industry. Bitter notes passed between them, and both parties eventually appealed to the Directors.

(1) Orsmond, 14 October 1824, S.S.J., no. 75. Cf. Orsmond, 8 October 1826, S.S.J., no. 81.

(2) Orsmond, 26 March 1828, S.S.J., no. 92.

(3) See Armitage, November 1826, 45-46, S.S.L.

The matter which led to William Woon leaving the Tongan mission seemed an equally petty affair. Newspapers had been sent to Woon from Sydney which he appropriated for his exclusive use. Thomas contested Woon's rights, which led to angry words, and Woon resigned, joining the New Zealand mission.<sup>(1)</sup> However, Woon had been out of harmony with the other missionaries since leaving England, and there was considerable dissatisfaction with/<sup>him</sup> and discontent/in the mission.

"I never met with so weak a Man," wrote Watkin, "and as to his Ministerial qualifications they are out of the question. He trifles away his time ... Because I am severe upon his conduct he accuses me of sarcasm."<sup>(2)</sup>

At the District Meeting of 1832, Woon was admonished for "having prevaricated on several occasions, also for not having governed his family according to the doctrine of Christ".<sup>(3)</sup> He was placed in a difficult position as his wife was not a member of the Wesleyan society, and she neglected "all the ordinances of religion social and public - English and native to the grief of the Mission party and injury to the cause of God." Thomas's attack on Woon was singularly bitter. Like Pratt of Savai'i, Thomas had nothing but contempt for a missionary who showed any signs of weakness.

There were women like Mrs. Woon in the other missions. Mrs. Scott of Tahiti was not a church member, but she was esteemed for her character. Mrs. Nott, who came out as one of four godly young women, however, was a thorn in the side of the missionaries. A young woman of "perfect curvature", according to Hayward, she employed "her more superior Faculties to her own disgress and the grieffe of others".<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) See Orton to Woon 13 March 1834, W.M.M.S., Sydney D.L.B., 184-188

(2) Watkin, 22 December 1830, Journal.

(3) Thomas, 10 December 1833, W.M.M.S., In-Letters, Australia, Box 14.

(4) Hayward to R. Hassall, February 1813, P.R.H., II, 50-51.



"Her Tong is daily employed in abusing her Husband in the most unjust and cruel manner and to slander others without the least just cause. Her hands are employed in endeavoring to blaiken in the Colony the Character of the most of us here. Her Feet of late are never directed to the place where prayer is wont to be made but daily she joins with those who are studious in their design to perplex and thwart us."

At one stage Nott was compelled to leave home for his own peace of mind.<sup>(1)</sup> The effect of such domestic unpleasantness must have been considerable, as it was common talk amongst the Tahitians. After Nott's death, Simpson referred to his widow as a "messenger of Satan to buffet him", and "a clog to her husband, and a bane to the Mission," and prophesied that she would be "carried off by delirium tremens."<sup>(2)</sup>

Some unfortunate affairs were caused indirectly by the Directors. Often the Directors would reveal information about some of their missionaries in the field to new missionaries about to join them. This was done with good intentions, but on the whole it was not wise. It was almost impossible for a new missionary to remain impartial, and he was rarely sufficiently discreet to withhold the information. Orsmond rightly resented Simpson, because Dr. Henderson had spoken to him about the Directors' opinion of himself.<sup>(3)</sup> Similarly, Day was never able to obtain the confidence of his colleagues in Samoa, because Williams - "on the authority of one to whom he was accustomed to look up with a degree of reverence as his spiritual father" - had introduced him to the Samoan missionaries as a "litigious and overbearing character likely to prove a pest (if not a curse) to the Samoan Mission".<sup>(4)</sup> A further cause of disharmony was the tendency of the mission families, always starved of news and company, to engage in gossip.

(1) See Crook, 24 January 1828, S.S.L.

(2) Simpson, 16 August 1844, S.S.L.

(3) Orsmond, "A Friendly Hint to Missionaries"; see note, 1828, S.S.J., no 92.

(4) Day, 15 February 1845, S.S.L., also 23 February 1841, S.S.L.

A new missionary was very soon made acquainted with the "true state of things", and which members of the mission families were "really Christians" and which were not.

Mission feuds could be very bitter. That between Howe and Thomson regarding the position of pastor over the church at Papeete, divided the mission and led to Thomson's dismissal. Thomson was hot-headed and stubborn; Howe was unbending and self-righteous. From the point of view of the Directors, Howe was in the right, but Thomson had quite a good case.<sup>(1)</sup> Similarly, the feud between William Gill and Pitman at Rarotonga, was singularly bitter. An observer found it difficult to believe that both men could really be devoted to the same cause.

"It is to me utterly inexplicable," wrote Royle of Aitutaki, "how an enmity so deep and so complaisantly cherished should have obtained a place in hearts so long under the influence and operations of divine grace."<sup>(2)</sup>

The islanders could not help witnessing the effects of controversies and feuds amongst their teachers. Williams has some interesting remarks on this point, although his view of the other missions appears a little rose-coloured.

"Whatever difference of opinion may arise among themselves they carefully avoid making the natives a party in those differences. This has been and still is the curse of the Tahitian Mission and I think Mr. Orsmond's conduct in this respect must be taken notice of and if he does not alter he must be removed ...It is ruining the Mission. The Tahitians would never have felt to the Missionaries as they now do had it not been for this impolitic this devilish practice."<sup>(3)</sup>

Perhaps the greatest cause of personal embitterment was the different attitudes of a younger generation. It was usually not easy for younger missionaries to adjust themselves to the direction which the mission was

(1) See South Sea Letters for Tahiti, 1847-1851.

(2) Royle, 15 December 1849, S.S.L.

(3) Williams, 16 May 1839, S.S.L.

taking. On the other hand, the older generation invariably resented the new ideas which the younger brethren brought with them. It was also very easy for the younger missionaries to underestimate the difficulties of the situation. Not only did they have preconceived ideas about how the mission should be organized, but they did not realize the considerable changes which their predecessors had wrought.

There was another side to the closed community in which diverse personalities were placed together. Some firm friendships arose. Nott and Hayward of Tahiti were particularly intimate. Crook and Davies were friends who ultimately fell out. Hunt and Calvert of Fiji were friends from their days together at Hoxton. Friendship or reserve was almost necessary, or otherwise familiarity tended to breed contempt. The growing mission families were also a source of joy, despite the many causes for sorrow. The pages of Orsmond's journals which describe the joys of his domestic circle redeem his character from entire misanthropy.<sup>(1)</sup> Crook gives a very full picture of the missionary's day.<sup>(2)</sup> His elder daughters spent each morning teaching. After the midday dinner all his daughters sat "round their mother in the bedroom at their needles, one in rotation reading some good author while the rest work." After evening prayer, two hours were usually spent "in reading and conversation for mutual improvement." Despite the emphasis on "improvement", some of the journals suggest a happy atmosphere within the family circle. The average missionary regarded his "home of taste" as a refuge from all his other cares.

(1) See Orsmond, 8 May 1839, S.S.L.

(2) Crook, 4 May 1829, S.S.J., no 95.



"O God of my life now send a fine gale  
To waft me in peace to my far distant home  
That stands near the hill in a fine peaceful vale  
And goes by the name of my Tairabu home  
Home, home, yes blessed home,  
I praise thee oh God that [I] have such a home."

This was Orsmond's song as he returned from the Australs. The missionary was often ill at ease with his other missionary brethren, but in his little family circle he found a certain content. In that circle he held pride of place.

The Development of Class Characteristics

The average Evangelical missionary was in the process of establishing himself more securely in the social class towards which his sympathies were directed. As a 'godly mechanic', or as a more privileged member of a mechanic-class family, he had claimed the privileges, adopted the conventions, and ~~imitated~~ the manners of the greater middle class. In many ways, the missionary career served as a qualifying certificate in respect of this change of status. Had the missionaries been more secure in their social position at home, it is less likely that they would have been less concerned with social betterment in the islands. However, it was one of the effects of their social aspirations, that they sought to mould a society in which they could project those social qualities which they admired. The emphasis on conformity to European social values was accentuated by the lonely condition of the missionaries isolated from their social group. It was the missionary's duty to preach to the islander, but the desire for congenial company and customary social intercourse, induced him to relieve his Crusoe-like isolation by making Man Friday somebody acceptable to talk with. The missionary's wife must have found some social satisfaction in having tea parties with island royalty, dressed in gowns and bonnets, reclining on sofas, and being waited on by servants.

Besides accentuating this need for company, isolation developed many aspects of missionary character. Some men developed their intellectual capacities by research or literary improvement. Others developed in a more individualistic way. Their rise in the social scale had been an independent struggle, much of their education had been acquired by personal



efforts, and their conversions had been highly personal. Every man was his own priest and master of his own destiny. Thus, it is not to be wondered at that two qualities tended to be brought out, which were plainly discernible amongst the Evangelical missionaries. One might be described as political opportunism, and the other as a proclivity to trade. Those who were distinguished by these qualities tended to degenerate from the missionary ideal, but because they were representative of an intimate section of the larger social group or class to which they belonged, this more worldly-minded type of missionary received some acceptance.

There must have been something about the personality of John Williams which captured the imagination of middle-class Englishmen. He was solid like John Bull, yet his voyages suggested an adventurous and daring folk-hero. Williams was undoubtedly pious, but it is evident that there were more worldly strains in his nature. His interest in British commerce was also the interest of a trader, and Williams the navigator was very much a trader. Many of the older L.M.S. missionaries had been compelled to engage in some trading, in order to keep themselves reasonably clothed and fed. Many of them had herds of cattle, which enabled them to sell fresh meat to visiting ships, in return for articles necessary for their own use, or for barter.<sup>(1)</sup> This sort of trading, which had arisen from necessity, was not so necessary when salaries were raised. With Williams, however, trading acquired a virtue of its own. Commercial enterprise was as much a civilizing agent as the gospel, and although he paid lip-service to the doctrine that it was Christianity which produced the desire

(1) See ante, 226.

for civilization, he was not unfamiliar with the nature of cupidity.

Despite his limitations, Williams was obviously talented. In addition to his other characteristics, he possessed a highly developed sense of calling. God to him was a personal Providence, and Providence had a habit of over-riding people, and less practical interests for its own favourites. This side of Williams has not lived for posterity, except that he is recognized as a kind of forerunner of Empire. Like many of similar social origins, Williams was a hard-headed businessman, in whom the capitalist ethic had outgrown the less demanding virtues which nourished it. Williams' interest in a missionary ship which would pay for itself by engaging in trade, does not seem beyond the limits of the missionary vocation. However, as early as 1823, when Williams was required to sell his ship, the people of Raiatea expressed their resentment at making sacrifices which had come to nothing. According to Orsmond, the people "called him a liar and deceiver and said that because of him children instead of being brought forth at home were brought forth on the mountains while the parents were in search of arrow root for the Ship."<sup>(1)</sup>

"Not one of all the Islanders that I could find took his part or spoke in his favour. How dangerous to meddle with mercantile affairs to the utter neglect of ones more sacred duties."

It was in his later days that Williams more openly "meddled with mercantile affairs". When he returned to the islands in the Camden at the end of 1838, most of the new missionaries were quickly disillusioned by his attitude. Both Royle and Charter were unable to bring out all their luggage and supplies, because one-third of the vessel was occupied

(1) Orsmond, 14 October 1823, S.S.J., no. 69.

by goods belonging to John Williams, Junior, who was going to set up as a merchant at Apia. Williams' high-handed manner in the direction of the ship made him much disliked. The missionaries believed that he wished them to be "under the necessity of purchasing things from his son John".<sup>(1)</sup>

Peter Turner, of the Wesleyan mission at Samoa, recorded many of these grievances in his journal, after he met the newly arrived missionaries. Although he had reason to dislike Williams, on account of the earlier "agreement" over Samoa and Fiji, most of Turner's account is substantiated by entries in Charter's journal. According to these sources, not only was the vessel "filled with his own things and the things of his son John", but the missionaries had no supplies of sugar and flour, and on one occasion at Apia, Williams and his family were eating pancakes whilst the "rest of the party" had to make do with cold taro.

Turner also records how easily Williams was provoked to rage, when the other missionaries wished to have some direction in the ship's itinerary.

"He says the vessel is my own - to take where I please - or to burn if I please. No one has any control over me, or my vessel. Mr. Hardie said Mr. W. is the vessel yours, or does it belong to the Society. He answered 'It is my vessel' ... ."

This is also confirmed by Orsmond:

"Mr. Williams the Explorer has twice visited Tahiti in the Camden but no supplies for contemptible missionaries in Her. She is his own, he says. He can sell her, or sink her or burn her or do as he pleases with her."<sup>(2)</sup>

Both Simpson and Pritchard had similar trading tendencies, and the Directors were constrained to censure them, though they both defended their activities.<sup>(3)</sup> Pritchard asserted that, because he lived at the principal

<sup>(1)</sup>Peter Turner, 17 January 1839, Journal, V. See also Charter, 1 March 1839, S.S.I.

<sup>(2)</sup>Orsmond, Memorandum 1839, S.S.J., no. 118.

<sup>(3)</sup>See ante, 227.



harbour, the other missionaries used him as their agent, especially in selling their cattle to the ships. In a letter from the Directors, 24 October 1832, he was not only charged with trading to an unwarranted extent, but also with "great keenness in trade". In defending himself, he said that he had always endeavoured to obtain things at the lowest rate possible, and that most of the Captains were "a set of sharpers". Furthermore, he denied that he had any "attachment" to trading.<sup>(1)</sup> Simpson also engaged in the sugar business, and defended his activities on the grounds of stimulating native industry, and giving employment to an "industrious white man". He had also acted on behalf of George Bicknell and Moerenhout on occasions "without compensation".<sup>(2)</sup> The account given by Armitage in 1835, certainly suggests that both men had considerable business ties.

"Mr. G. Pritchard and Mr. Alexander Simpson had established themselves as general Merchants for Several years before buying and selling everything that was likely to turn to a profit or very nearly so. They traded with the people in Arra root Oil and Hogs and Timber. The exchange was generally Cloth, Ribbons Hardware Stops and Muskets. With vessels they bought and sold ships stores, Boats, Pearls and Shells. Mr. P. had bought a very extensive Sugar works on which he had upwards of 40 men ... ." <sup>(3)</sup>

At a meeting of the missionaries at Tahiti after Williams's final return to the islands, Simpson is reported to have asked him if the Directors considered sugar boiling in the light of trading.

"The Rev. John Williams said No, they do not. Mr. Simpson will resign the School, but keep his sugar plantation." <sup>(4)</sup>

Both Pritchard and Simpson spent a considerable amount of time in connexion with business affairs and, whatever their motives, they gave the

(1) See Pritchard, 31 January 1834, S.S.L.

(2) See Pritchard, 16 April 1834, S.S.L.

(3) Armitage, 25 March 1835, S.S.L.

(4) Orsmond, Memorandum 1839, S.S.J., no. 118.

impression that they were merchant-missionaries.

The missionary trader, as a type, was less common amongst the Wesleyans. However, lay missionaries were not bound to any agreement compelling them to refrain from trading. Binner, the Wesleyan school master at Levuka, did not regard it as inconsistent with his profession to engage in trading.

"With respect to my launching into business I don't think anything I do that way lessens my moral or other influences for good among this people, or among the white residents." (1)

It was his policy never to refuse to purchase native produce when it was brought to his door, and he believed that he was conferring a great benefit on the people, as many of the Fijians commenced attending the services "in consequence of it".

W.T. Pritchard suggests that some of the Wesleyan missionaries in Fiji, not only purchased lands from settlers and Fijians "in their own name or in the names of their children", in order to provide for their children, but often made such purchases "avowedly for church purposes, with the unmistakable intention of keeping those lands for [their own] benefit". (2)

Political opportunism was closely linked with the trading spirit. Indeed, we find both qualities in George Pritchard. Because of his key position, there were opportunities for Pritchard to become influential in the "foreign politics" of Tahiti. He was constantly called upon to act as interpreter, and in his capacity as Chaplain, he acted as adviser to the native sovereign. To voyagers, he often gave the appearance of having greater influence than he actually possessed. As a commercial

(1) Binner, 13 October 1859, A.W.M.S., Fiji Letters.

(2) W.T. Pritchard, Polynesian Reminiscences, 245.

agent for the other missionaries, he was in constant contact with the visiting Captains on purely business matters. Pritchard ultimately accepted a position as British Consul, and resigned from the L.M.S. At first he had thought he could retain both offices, and justified this position on the grounds that Morrison of China had held a civil office.<sup>(1)</sup> Although, as Consul, Pritchard was no longer an official representative of the L.M.S., he remained an active missionary, and was regarded as being one of their number by most of his colleagues. Only Darling and Orsmond spoke openly against Pritchard's accepting the office of Consul, and told their congregations that he had "given up the sacred for a profane office".<sup>(2)</sup> Most of the others favoured a Consul who shared the same values, but few of them believed that the two offices could be united satisfactorily.

With the "promotion" to Consular status, Pritchard became more completely absorbed into the greater middle class to which he had long aspired. It is typical of the man and his position that he dressed with much unnecessary flourish. Some of the missionaries were scathing in their remarks. "Never was I so disgusted and so ashamed," wrote Orsmond, "to see a poor missionary in the tinsel of gold bouncing about and swaggering with a long sword by his side."<sup>(3)</sup> When he visited Papeete, he observed that he did not call on Consul Pritchard - "He is now above us." On the other hand, many of the missionaries felt that Pritchard did them a service by being Consul, and no doubt enjoyed the prestige which it seemed to give them as a body. Pritchard was by no means the most politically astute of the missionaries. His career was distinguished more by

(1) G. Pritchard, 11 March 1836, S.S.L.

(2) Williams, 16 May 1839, S.S.L.

(3) Orsmond, 21 November 1837, S.S.J., no. 118.



vigour than by natural ability, and his "decay" as British Consul in Samoa much more plainly reveals his limitations.<sup>(1)</sup>

Political opportunism was a less marked feature of the Wesleyan missionary. On the other hand, the Wesleyan displayed a more obvious patriotism. The L.M.S. missionary was an Imperialist only, in that he introduced British institutions and concepts. The Wesleyan missionary had a greater tendency to wave the British flag.

Joseph Waterhouse of Fiji assumed political importance through his influence with Thakombau. His identification with British interests was symbolised by his flying the Union Jack from the masthead of his canoe, until Consul (W.T.) Pritchard sent an "impudent half-caste boy" to order him to take it down.<sup>(2)</sup> That Waterhouse appears to have had no qualms about acting as unofficial representative of the Fijian authorities, is clear from his participation in the affair over the American indemnity in 1855. Williams, the U.S. Consular Agent, had claimed damages for the accidental burning of his house in 1849.

"What a pity that those who have no sympathy with the black races are sent to 'protect' American interests in Polynesia!" wrote Waterhouse in 1855. "But I question whether this gentleman's [i.e. the Captain] arbitrary conduct will not cost him his commission yet. My position as 'Attorney-General' for the poor befriendless natives has thus prevented my attendance at the Annual District Meeting."<sup>(3)</sup>

Class characteristics were more obviously developed in the children of the missionaries. Perhaps none of the missions equalled the Hawaiian one in this respect. However, the children of most of the missionaries,

(1) See Mills, 12 October 1852, S.S.L.; Hardie, 11 June 1853, S.S.L.

(2) Binner, 31 December 1860, A.W.M.S., Fiji Letters.

(3) Joseph Waterhouse, 13 November 1855, quoted Missionary Notices, Third Series, III, 1856, 128.

especially those who left the islands or settled in Honolulu, Papeete, and Apia, were commercially successful. There was a certain drive and capitalistic ethos which resulted in many of the children and grandchildren of missionaries achieving worldly and professional success.

In 1836 Newman complained of what he thought was perhaps the characteristic of the English, and which English prosperity "so miserably fosters", that "low ambition which sets everyone on the look-out to succeed and to rise in life, to amass money, to gain power, to depress his rivals, to triumph over his hitherto superiors, to affect a consequence and a gentility which he had not before."<sup>(1)</sup> If it was a characteristic of the national life, there was certainly evidence for it in the lives of some of the Evangelical missionaries.



<sup>(1)</sup> Newman, Parochial and Plain Sermons, (1872-1879), VIII, No. 11 (1836), 159.

The Attitude to Other Europeans

The missionary character in the islands was also strongly influenced by the presence of other Europeans. In reading published missionary accounts, it is easy to assume that the missionaries, in particular cases, were the only white people on an island, when actually the presence of other Europeans was of considerable importance to them. In the majority of cases, the lay community was indifferent to the missionaries. Others, however, actively opposed the work of missions, and made themselves as obnoxious as possible. In his sermon, Puritan Missions in the Pacific, the Rev. Samuel Damon told the story of the beachcomber who, when he was asked his name by an English missionary, replied: "My name is Satan."

"By no other name would the man ever be known. Alas, the name was fitly chosen. He was an adversary, and represented a class."<sup>(1)</sup>

The spectacular lives of the rogues and criminals who set themselves up as adversaries present an illuminating and vivid contrast to the routine-dominated lives of the missionaries. Crook's adversary in the Marquesas was an "Italian renegado", who led the islanders in "furtherance of his abominable practices."<sup>(2)</sup> Similar war-delighting rogues were found in Tonga. In Samoa the missionaries encountered men like the notorious Taluava'a, an escaped convict, who was regarded as a great warrior by the people. He blackened himself with charcoal, greased his body and went entirely naked. After a battle, he would besmear himself with

(1) Damon, Puritan Missions, 21.

(2) Fanning, Voyages, 91.

the blood of his victims, and ride in triumph back to his village on a stage, surrounded by the heads of the slain "in frightful array".<sup>(1)</sup> Even as late as the fifties, there were settlers in some of the islands who lived more barbarously than the people, and who opposed the missions. Royce reports the savage practices of Burt of Kandavu. This man kept a number of Fijian women, one of whom ran to Royce for protection.

"Burt had marked her by cutting off one of her toes, and branding her private parts and arms, her body was one mass of scars with his stripes, and her ankles in a fearful state where she had been manacled. How can a missionary avoid coming in contact with such a brute."<sup>(2)</sup>

Most of the worst types lived by themselves amongst the people, but the missionaries regarded many of the communities of Europeans as being equally depraved. In many instances, as at Tutuila,<sup>(3)</sup> the majority of these men moved to other islands when the missionaries appeared, not because they feared them, but because they knew that warships would be more likely to call at mission stations, and because, in some instances, the missionaries themselves represented law and order in a civil capacity.<sup>(4)</sup> The largest white community without a mission nexus was that of Levuka on the island of Ovalau, a settlement, notorious in the mission annals, for its drunkenness and debauchery. For the white community in Fiji in 1857, Royce had few good words to spare. They were "a specimen of the devil's darlings, full of uncleanness, cursed children."<sup>(5)</sup>

"Their lives are drawn in flaming colours, lying, cursing, backbiting, fraud, murder, licentiousness, laziness, filth

(1) See Williams, 27 October 1832, S.S.J., no. 101; also Missionary Enterprises, 463-464.

(2) Royce, 23 August 1859, Journal.

(3) See Murray, Forty Years, 34-38.

(4) Henry was a J.P. at Tahiti; Chisholm was Acting Consul at Raiatea.

(5) Royce, 3 May 1857, Journal.



and foul deeds of the darkest dye fit only for some dark den in the bottomless pit."

He wrote of them "fighting, cheating, lying, swearing, whoring, gambling and drinking in the superlative."<sup>(1)</sup> He regarded Lauthala as "one out of the many watering places, or summer seat of Beelzebub." Despite this fierce denunciation, some of the missionaries appear to have been on friendly terms with several of the residents of these communities.<sup>(2)</sup>

Actually the missionaries had less to fear from the "devil's darlings" than from some of the less brutish residents. Native authority, and the influence of ships' captains, was generally opposed to the wild white men, especially wherever war had been outlawed. A great many Europeans of the run-away-sailor type, willingly gave their services to the missionaries, partly because they realized that the missionaries were not likely to be turned away, and partly because they expected to benefit materially. Some were even converted and became assistant missionaries.<sup>(3)</sup> Others, such as Hagerstein of Tahiti, and Singleton of Tonga, served as interpreters to the missions, but, useful as their services were, the missionaries were somewhat embarrassed by them, and the interpreters tended to use their position to their own advantage. Even when the Europeans were on comparatively harmonious terms with the mission, the missionaries kept themselves very much apart. They willingly employed any who appeared sympathetic with their cause, but they reprimanded any of their number who unduly fraternised with beachcombers and their like, and used their

(1) Royce, 19 May 1857, Journal.

(2) There are several complimentary references to the family of David Whippy in Wesleyan letters.

(3) e.g. Hunkin and Gibbons at Tutuila, and Martin in Fiji. See Appendix V.



influence with chiefs and Captains of ships to have all dubious persons removed. Caw, who had been received most ungraciously by the Tahitian missionaries, was censured for "his intimacy with runaway seamen".

"It has been found necessary to come to the resolution of denying to br. Caw the right of attending when any publick business of any kind is in agitation among us: for it has been found that he makes so improper use of it as even to carry the account of some of our proceedings to the seamen that are living about here ... ." (1)

The most critical opponents of the missionaries were those of the semi-official and merchant type. Most of these men were of middle-class origin. Some were well educated and highly intelligent, but they had different standards and values, and tended to despise anything which savoured of Evangelical enthusiasm. There were men amongst this class who maintained good relationships with some of the missionaries, but more often than not, they would seize every opportunity to discredit missionary work. The Belgian, J.A. Moerenhout, merchant and Consul at Papeete was for some time on a fairly friendly footing with some of the missionaries. They deplored his deistic principles, and were not very happy with his private life, but when he did not interfere with them, they were on terms of social acquaintanceship. When he published an article which emphasised the adverse side of the mission, and cast reflections on the missionaries, Moerenhout was regarded with much greater aversion. (2) His published journal did not mollify them, and when he openly sided with the Catholic interests, he became their public enemy. The British Vice-Consul, Thomas A. Elley, also belongs to this category. He appears to have been

(1) Jefferson, 22 October 1804, S.S.J., no. 22.

(2) See Darling, 4 January 1833, S.S.L.; Orsmond, 14 January 1833, S.S.J. no. 100.

friendly with William Henry, and told that missionary in 1827 that he was apprehensive that reports which he had already sent home would be considered too highly coloured and make him "appear as if unfriendly to the Missionaries and their design."<sup>(1)</sup> He gave as his excuse that at the time of writing "a number of concurring circumstances of a perplexing, discouraging, and trying nature, excited in his breast most unpleasant feelings, and led him to give them too high a colouring." However, Henry's good opinion of Elley was not shared by many of the missionaries. Orsmond, of course, exceeded them all in his vituperation:

"Wicked, Letcherous, Debauched Mr. Elly has his bottom marked all over with the native tatoo, did all he could in company with Mr. Charlton<sup>(2)</sup> to injure and displace Missionaries ... he became like the Devil when sick, rather Monkish, borrowed money and other sorts of property of the Missionaries ..."<sup>(3)</sup>

Also in this category were those missionaries who had left the mission, and the children of missionaries who reacted from the strict codes of their fathers. George Pritchard, the ex-Consul from Tahiti, and his sons, were bitterly criticized by the Samoan missionaries, especially when they engaged in the liquor trade.<sup>(4)</sup> George Platt's sons were a similar source of embarrassment at Raiatea.<sup>(5)</sup> Captains Henry and Ebrill of Tahiti engaged in the rum trade, and their depredations in the sandalwood islands were hardly in accordance with the gospel preached by William Henry.<sup>(6)</sup> Although Captain Henry openly assisted the L.M.S., many of his ventures, before he professed an Evangelical conversion in 1836,

(1) Henry, 4 September 1827, S.S.L.

(2) British Consul.

(3) Orsmond, July 1829, S.S.L.

(4) e.g. Hardie, 11 June 1853, S.S.L.

(5) Charter, 18 August 1846, 18 September 1846, 1 June 1847, S.S.L.

(6) See Armitage, November 1826, 50, S.S.L.

were carried out in contravention to the policies of the mission, and some regarded the killing of John Williams at Eromanga as the direct consequence of the slaughter made by Henry's crew in earlier years.<sup>(1)</sup>

W.T. Pritchard, British Consul in Fiji, regarded himself as being pro-missionary, yet his policy conflicted considerably with that of the Wesleyan missionaries, and they were equally denunciatory of his actions.

Perhaps there was no one resident in the islands more hostile to the missionaries than J.B. Williams, the American Consular Agent in Fiji.<sup>(2)</sup> How little Williams was held in the esteem of the Wesleyan missionaries is shown by this extract from the journal of Royce.

"One of the U.S.A. Consul's women, or lady, has taken to her heels this week and made a clean pair, which unfortunately has so troubled this fornicating representative of the U.S.A. as to seize a poor unfortunate fellow in the town of Nanuka upon suspicion of having advised her to leave the service of J.B.W. Esq. This man was not only seized but put in irons for this horrid deed: Upon our interference his highness informed us he had acted quite in accordance with the rules of his country if so one may well say - o dieo, o moreo. He informed us that the difficulty was great to keep servants by these people coming to persuade them to leave, if he had said concubines we would have believed him."<sup>(3)</sup>

Relationships between these parties could hardly be cordial, and Williams went out of his way to denounce the missionaries.

With a third class of European, the missionaries were less able to hold their own. They knew that they stood or fell by the reports of Naval Captains and distinguished visitors. It was a constant and often onerous duty for the missionary to defend himself and his colleagues against the insinuations or charges of those visitors whose reports tended to give one

(1)e.g. Orton, 1 December 1839, Journal, I, 328.

(2)See ante, 325.

(3)Royce, 3 October 1856, Journal.

side of the picture only, or which cast doubts on the sincerity or accuracy of the regular reports of the missionaries. On the other hand, the missionaries were able to assess this criticism, and they often benefited by it. Criticism of the missionaries by contemporary visitors ranged from fierce denunciation to almost blind eulogy. Over all, the majority of the critics were convincingly pro-missionary, but their praise was not unmixed with censure.

It was in their contact with these visitors that the missionaries were made most aware of their social position. The first missionaries, who were compelled to receive their honoured guests in comparative rags, made a sorry appearance, which did not give a favourable impression to those already biased against them.<sup>(1)</sup> In later years the missionaries made every effort to keep up appearances. Even if they had to go about their work in over-patched clothes, they kept a respectable dark suit packed away, to wear when they had to go on board ship or when they had to receive ships' officers on shore.<sup>(2)</sup> Often there were deeper barriers than appearances to overcome. Naval captains who ~~shared~~ other religious views, Catholic, Orthodox (in the case of Kotzebue) and non-Evangelical Anglicans frequently would not give the missionaries their due, purely on sectarian grounds. Distinguished travellers also showed their prejudices. Mrs. Smythe, proud of her Anglicanism, reluctantly gave considerable praise to the Wesleyans.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) e.g. Jorgensen, State of Christianity, 22.

(2) e.g. Platt's account of himself, ante, 183.

(3) Smythe, Ten Months, 173-174.



In most cases the missionaries and their visitors were on exceptionally good terms whilst together. Despite the few Captains of standing who looked down on the missionaries, feelings of outward mutual respect usually prevailed. Many visitors who enjoyed hospitality from the missionaries were regarded as little better than traitors when they published their experiences, and made unfortunate generalisations. Thus, quite early, the missionaries learned to be more guarded when speaking to visitors, and even recorded their suspicions of those who appeared most favourable to them. Thus, Henry wrote of the visit of Captain Waldegrave to Tahiti in 1830:

"Captain W. himself informed us, that his officers on their arrival here were all strongly prejudiced against us, and were ready to take hold of and collect everything unfavourable respecting us, or to that effect; and that he and the Chaplain only were on our side or favourable to us. This being the case, and as we are not certain that the Captain's professions of friendship were sincere, and as we know that the Chaplain, although there is reason to believe is a truly pious good man, (which, I think, there is reason to fear is not the case with the Captain, although he may be considered moral and religious) yet is rather a bigot, we ought not perhaps to be sanguine respecting the result of the visit..."<sup>(1)</sup>

Usually, when the visitors complained about the moral state of the stations, the missionaries referred in their letters home to the personal immorality of their traducers.<sup>(2)</sup> Such charges could be conveniently made. On the other hand, "blue laws" were notoriously unpopular with European seamen.

Naval captains were regarded as representing the countries from which they came, and in the peoples' eyes, English missionaries and English

(1) Henry, 14 June 1830, S.S.L.

(2) e.g. Orsmond's diatribe on Captain Beechey, 22 April 1832, S.S.J., no. 100.

captains were equally the representatives of King George or Queen Victoria. The captains had property, and the missionaries always received property from the ships. The captains also had guns, and they were obviously more important chiefs than the missionaries in their own lands. The missionaries could denounce the behaviour of European residents, but it was not easy or altogether wise to speak out about ships' captains and other obviously superior Europeans. The frequency of shipping contributed very considerably to the breakdown of the moral authority of the missionaries. The arrival of American temperance ships was usually regarded as a special thrust from Satan, as the seamen who were denied their grog on shipboard were usually the most abandoned on shore, and the Captains of temperance ships frequently traded with spirits.<sup>(1)</sup> The existence of a "double morality" within the European community was a distressing feature of the culture contact. The missionaries constantly aimed at uniformity, when all the elements within their own society were various and divisional. Even the visit of the Quaker deputation to the South Sea missions illustrated this division, as the two visitors did not hesitate to travel on the Sabbath, to absent themselves from all formal worship (at that time it was compulsory at Tahiti), and to sit during hymns and prayer.<sup>(2)</sup>

The missionaries accepted preaching to visiting travellers and seamen as part of their general duties. At each of the mission stations, which were also frequent ports of call, churches were built which were known as Bethel Chapels. The Hawaiian missionaries issued a newspaper entitled

(1) See Wheeler, Memoirs, 316.

(2) Henry, 7 October 1835, S.S.L.

The Friend, a Semi-Monthly Journal, devoted to Temperance, Seamen, Marine and General Intelligence,<sup>(1)</sup> which circulated widely in the islands. This paper proved a more subtle means of spreading Evangelical doctrine, as its pages contained much general information.

Apart from the few German missionaries, the majority of the Evangelical missionaries in the Pacific were from the British Isles, the east coast of the United States or the Australasian colonies. Their loyalties were exclusively to Britain or to America. The missionaries had a dual attitude to their home countries. They regarded their **lands** as being particularly blessed. The English speaking races were in some ways a new Israel, with whom their God had made a new Covenant, a Covenant of an exclusively Protestant nature, recognizing them alone as the witnesses of a pure faith. This national sanctification gave the missionaries an even greater belief in their vocation. On the other hand, they also held their particular countries as being mainly responsible for the Satanic influences at work in the islands. If it was inevitable that Europeans should settle in the islands, the missionaries desired them to be people of their own class and persuasion.

(1) See Bibliography; originally published as Temperance Advocate and Seamen's Friend.

The Attitude to Roman Catholicism

One of the attitudes which dominated Evangelical thinking in the South Seas, especially from the middle twenties onwards, was that towards the Roman Catholic Church. The struggle against Catholicism was a peculiar one. In the islands, it not only represented the more universal struggle within the Christian Church, but it became both a pastoral and a national issue. It also presented a conflict of conscience on the question of toleration.

Most Evangelicals held the belief, derived from Scripture prophecy, that three great causes would take up the energy of the Christian Church after the great temporal disturbances dating from 1789. These causes were the conversion of the Jews, the defeat of Anti-Christ, and the evangelisation of the heathen world. The overthrow of Anti-Christ was the avowed aim of the British and Foreign Bible Society, sister organization to the missionary societies. Few Evangelicals doubted that the Papacy was the Anti-Christ referred to by the prophets. It was a belief dating back to Reformation times, and held widely by the Puritans. Evangelicals undertook the war against Anti-Christ by disseminating the Scriptures, particularly in Catholic countries. The opposition which the British and Foreign Bible Society met with from the Catholic Church (such as the imprisonment of George Borrow in Spain)<sup>(1)</sup> only increased the hostility of the Evangelicals.

But underlying the religious issues was a long history of national feeling. Cromwell had succeeded the great Elizabeth as English protagonist

(1) See Borrow, The Bible in Spain, chapters 38 and 39.



against the "Catholic power", and the old national sentiments still lived. They were largely preserved in the literature of the period, especially in the novels of the Romantic school. In this literature, certain aspects of the Catholic Church had been exploited, particularly the horrors of the inquisition and the evils of monasticism.<sup>(1)</sup> Besides this sensational or Gothic material, there was an even more insidious type of fiction which derived mainly from the Evangelical movement itself. Perhaps the greatest exponent of this school was the renowned Mrs. Sherwood, friend of the missionary Henry Martyn, and author of such works as The Nun (1833) and The Monks of Cimiés (1834). Mrs. Sherwood did not merely exploit Catholic "evils" for the sake of deriving Gothic sensations of horror. She wrote deliberately as a Protestant propagandist, especially after the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. It should also be remembered that anti-Catholic feeling was almost as prevalent outside Evangelical circles.

Most of the Catholic missionaries who entered the South Seas were members of French orders, and the French priesthood was doubly obnoxious for "national" reasons. After the overthrow of the monarchy, instead of becoming a city of equality and fraternity, Paris had become the city of the goddess of Reason. After the rise of Napoleon, France had become the national enemy. After the restoration of the Bourbons, France was again viewed with suspicion as a Catholic power. It was not only Catholicism but "the desolating encroachments of the French Antichrist;"<sup>(2)</sup> which disturbed the Evangelical missionaries.

- (1) e.g. the novels of Marryat and Bulwer-Lytton.  
(2) Lundie, Missionary Life, 280.



In that Catholic mission policy was a challenge, the missionaries were justified in adopting means to distinguish between the two divisions of Christianity. Catholic policy, as formulated by the Propaganda at that time, was avowedly to convert those who had become Protestants, rather than to win new converts.

Rumours of the designs of French Catholicism on the South Seas, reached the islands some time before the actual arrival of missionaries belonging to the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (of Picpus) in the Hawaiian group.<sup>(1)</sup> These rumours and the disturbances<sup>(2)</sup> in Hawaii, early induced the L.M.S. missionaries to "prepare" their own flocks for the approaching onslaught.

At the advent of Catholicism in the South Seas, there was considerable evidence of civil and moral breakdown in Tahitian society. Heresies had sprung up, intemperance had presented a major problem, and the influence of the missionaries was largely restricted to church members. The additional threat of a "Romanist invasion" was openly regarded as a judgment on the people. In 1828, Orsmond stated that it was written in their District Minute Book that "if the Jesuits are suffered to land", they would all leave.<sup>(5)</sup> In 1827 he had been requested to write a Catechism exposing the "Jesuits", but it was not published, and he enlarged it in 1829. This work contained "the History, an account of the peculiar tenets, vile and desperate actions and fatal tendency of that body of people".<sup>(4)</sup> Most of the information was derived from an article in the Encyclopaedia

(1) See Appendix II

(2) For the A.B.C.F.M. version see Dibble, A History (1909), 315-356; for the Catholic version see Piolet, Les Missions Catholiques, IV.

(3) Orsmond, "Friendly Hints to the Directors", No. 23, S.S.J., no. 92.

(4) Orsmond, 4 August 1829, 3 November 1829, S.S.J., no. 97.

Britannica on the Jesuits. This Catechism was not approved by all the brethren, as some thought that it was "too plain and might be viewed as an unjust provocation". Henry said that Orsmond had painted them as "black as the Devil himself".

The feature most common to all the missionaries in their attitude to Catholicism was their ignorance of the doctrines and orders of the Roman Catholic Church. All priests were referred to as Jesuits, yet those in the South Seas belonged to two distinct orders. Even Jesson, who had been trained for the Catholic priesthood, exploited the popular hatred for Jesuits.

"Were I to judge from their dress," he wrote of the two priests at Papeete in 1842, "I should say they belong to one of the orders of Mendicant Friars but I strongly suspect they are Jesuits in disguise. That they are contemplating some deeply laid project I feel tolerably confident."<sup>(1)</sup>

When confronted with statements of Catholic doctrine by the priests, the missionaries very often accused them of not giving a fair statement of their beliefs.<sup>(2)</sup> Their own conception of Catholicism, or Popery as they called it, was based on certain controversial doctrines, on pre-Reformation corruption in the Church, on Protestant martyrology, and on highly-coloured anti-papal literature.

The missionaries watched the arrival of "the Jesuits" with anxious eyes. In 1835 William Henry wrote that "the grand enemy" was "ready to pour in upon [their] field of labour like a flood, a host of popish Missionaries".<sup>(3)</sup> Although the will of God was sovereign and could frustrate their

(1) Jesson, 22 March 1842, S.S.L.

(2) See Pratt, 24 January 1846, S.S.L.

(3) Henry, 7 October 1835, S.S.L.

designs, Henry feared that God might "be about to chastise the people here and ourselves, by their instrumentality." The missionaries were particularly upset when not all of the chiefs agreed with Queen Pomare's decision to forbid the establishment of a Catholic mission. Two of the principal chiefs "wished to make a trial of the poisonous doctrines".<sup>(1)</sup>

In view of the association of Evangelical Dissent with the general movement for religious and civil liberty, the question of toleration in the islands is particularly important. Most of the missionaries regarded toleration as an essential feature of their beliefs. On the other hand, they were aware of the complications which would arise if there was a strong Catholic party in the islands, and regarded the priests as being politically inimical to the state. Emotionally, most of them shared Hannah More's opinion, that Mohammedanism or the Jewish religion were preferable to "popery".

When the first Catholic priests were expelled from Tahiti in December 1836, the missionaries believed themselves safe from the charge of intolerance, as the priests had broken the law that forbade foreigners to reside without obtaining the sanction of the queen. Despite this, it was inevitable that they could not depend on such legal provisos to exclude the priests from the island. It was a dangerous precedent to follow: indeed, the repercussions of that one episode were to lead to the intervention of the French, and to provide the priests with a species of diplomatic immunity.

The toleration issue came to a head early in November 1838, when a meeting was held at Papara to establish a law by which the Catholic priests would be prevented from teaching their doctrines. This law forbade "the

(1) Wilson, 30 March 1836, S.S.L.

propagation of any religious doctrines, or the celebration of any religious worship, opposed to that true gospel, of old propagated in Tahiti, by the missionaries from Britain; that is, these forty years past."<sup>(1)</sup> The Mamaia sect,<sup>(2)</sup> which was regarded as a political faction, was specifically mentioned, but it had ceased to be a significant threat to the government of the island. The Mamaia were, however, regarded as "a people prepared for the papists", as their practices were said to be very close to Catholic ones.<sup>(3)</sup> Mark Wilks, the apologist for the missionaries, was wrong when he asserted that they "as a body, and probably as individuals, disapproved, on various grounds, of the act of the legislative assembly, and therefore could not have prepared the project; nor, had they desired its adoption, did they possess the means of procuring its enactment."<sup>(4)</sup> The apologists justified the missionaries, just as the American missionaries in Hawaii had justified themselves,<sup>(5)</sup> by claiming that they were not really responsible for the civil laws of the country. In Tahiti, however, it was clearly in the power of the missionaries to have prevented this legislation. Darling, whose church had been disrupted earlier by the Mamaia sect, openly supported the law, on the grounds that "every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation."<sup>(6)</sup> Others were certainly uneasy about it and Rodgeron, the Secretary, said that he had only given his consent as a temporary measure.<sup>(7)</sup> Orsmond urged that the missionaries should take no part in the matter.

(1) Wilks, Tahiti, 86.

(2) See Appendix JV.

(3) See Darling, 18 January 1842, S.S.L.

(4) Wilks, Tahiti, 86.

(5) Dibble, A History (1909), 343.

(6) Luke XI, 17.

(7) Rodgeron, 9 November 1838, S.S.L.

The law, however, did not prevent the priests from practising their own faith, but they were not to establish schools or churches.

Every attempt was made by the missionaries to "expose" Catholicism. Towards the end of 1836, Davies had written that he was preparing an article "concerning the Church of Rome, and its principal Errors", to print in the second issue of a periodical (Te Teaaite Tahiti) which he was publishing.<sup>(1)</sup> An early favourite translation into the island tongues was Fox's Book of Martyrs. Lantern slide evenings were also given to illustrate the "evils of popery". The missions were not lacking in anti-Catholic extremists, and only a leaven of more practical men prevented their measures from being effected. Thus the Samoan missionaries, in 1849, refused to accept Footsteps of Popery prepared by J.B. Stair. This work, "with the exception of little more than the last chapter, [was] chiefly confined to the exhibition of the cruel persecutions and atrocious/<sup>and</sup>murderous deeds of the papists, including statements respecting the political affairs of the French at Tahiti, and also respecting the Roman Catholic priests", some of which, the missionaries believed, could not be sustained.<sup>(2)</sup> They decided that their arguments should be scriptural rather than historical.

The Evangelical missionaries continually criticised Catholic mission policy. They regarded the emphasis on the importance of baptizing, the neglect of Bible teaching, and the policy of minimum interference as sops to heathenism. Repeatedly we find the missionaries lamenting the passive role of the Catholic priests in a society not converted to their word. Whereas the Evangelicals attempted to reform the society, whether heathen

(1) Davies, 2 November 1836, S.S.L.

(2) Stallworthy (Sec.) 20 June 1849, S.S.L.

or nominally Christian, the Catholic priests appeared to be only interested in their own converts. Furthermore, the priests appeared to be more wary about applying pressure to their "adherents", so that the Evangelicals repeatedly affirmed that the Catholic natives were little better, if not worse, than heathens. Something of this attitude is contained in an extract from a letter written by Joseph Waterhouse from Ovalau in 1851.

"Here the popish chameleon allows the eating of human flesh, indecent songs, and gross immorality: it burns the bible: and injures the property of the English missionaries! Is popery changed? Come to Feejee and see. It has fairly roused my Protestant blood. Let us hear no more about Popery being improved; Popery in Great Britain only yields to the Spirit of the Age, in Feejee it is darkness and blackness itself..."<sup>(1)</sup>

The part played by the French priests at Tahiti,<sup>(2)</sup> their statement of grievances, and the backing of Moerenhout and the chiefs under his influence, rendered them particularly odious in Evangelical eyes. Throughout the other Evangelical mission stations in the South Seas, considerable alarm was taken at the movements of French priests, and the French warships which so invariably escorted them, or followed in their wake. Indeed, after the Tahiti affair, fear of Catholic and French intervention in the other groups reached almost alarmist proportions.

In 1844, the chiefs of Manono in Samoa agreed <sup>among themselves</sup> to fine and banish any chief or people who received Catholic priests. George Turner explained this by saying that the Samoans were "in terror", and looked to them for counsel. He advised them "to do nothing rashly - to beware of such forcible measures".<sup>(3)</sup> Bullen added that he would have been sorry if the chiefs had

(1) J. Waterhouse to G.M. Waterhouse and T. Padman, 12 December 1851, W.C.

(2) The most popular account of this affair was Mark Wilks' Tahiti.

(3) G. Turner, 3 July 1844, S.S.L.

adopted any measures "which savour of persecution", and feared they might be used against themselves.<sup>(1)</sup> In these years the missionaries were much more willing for the chiefs to seek British protection.

A second major religio-political scare took place in the islands in 1852. After the Tongan war of that year, one of the French priests in those islands went to Tahiti to lodge a complaint against the Tongan king for depredations to mission property during the war.<sup>(2)</sup> Howe, at Papeete, was particularly indignant, because the priest was taken to Tahiti on board George Pritchard, Junior's, schooner.<sup>(3)</sup> When the French warship, La Moselle, arrived on 12 November, a formal investigation was held, but Captain Belland acquitted the king of the charges against him, and the document claiming pecuniary compensation was not delivered. In the same year trouble was expected in Fiji. Joseph Waterhouse wrote from Ovalau in August:

"The French are going to make another Tahiti affair of Feejee we fear. The priests expect two ships-of-war daily and then the natives are to be converted to the Holy Church.<sup>(4)</sup> The priests do not tabu war or scarcely anything that is bad. What would Adelaide Papists say to this? They tell the most awful lies ... I would sooner trust ten cannibals than one Papist. I came to Feejee with very little prejudice against the Papists, but their conduct makes me conclude them to be worse than any heathen I ever met with or read of. The Lord save us from Popery!"<sup>(5)</sup>

In 1854 the fear was still strong. Murray of Apia wrote that he had "no reason to doubt" that the French had designs on Samoa, and that the "popish priests, with the Bishop at their head", were their pioneers, "as they were

(1) Bullen, 6 August 1844, S.S.L.

(2) West, Ten Years, 329-330.

(3) Howe, 16 November 1852, S.S.L.

(4) For a more detailed study of the situation in Fiji see Henderson, "Wesleyan Methodists and Roman Catholics", Fiji and the Fijians, 204-229.

(5) J. Waterhouse to T. Padman, 30 August 1852, W.C.



at Tahiti". He believed that the French needed Samoa and Tonga "to complete their chain across the Pacific."<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1855 the French again intervened in the affairs of Tonga, and a convention was drawn up between King George Tupou and M. Du Bouzet, the French Governor at Tahiti.<sup>(2)</sup> This convention declared the Catholic religion to be "free in all the islands under the King of the Tonga islands", and guaranteed the priests the same privileges as those accorded to Protestants. Although this convention recognized the Tongan government as independent, the scare was not abated. Hysteria was again revived in 1858, when Vercoe of Ha'apai influenced the local high chief to prevent priests from landing.

"We do not shrink from the fact that we gave the advice to abide by Tonga law", wrote Vercoe on behalf of himself, Whewell and Stephinson, "(and what nation is punished for abiding by its rules - though they be as foolish as those of Japan?) and keep them [the priests] on board till the King came. That advice was either good or bad. If bad, it was given conscientiously, we thinking it our imperative duty to throw every obstacle in the way of the coiling (slow but sure) of the deadly Boa around the emerald Isles of Oceania."<sup>(3)</sup>

However, the Australian Secretary did not approve of the action, feeling that "the advice was wrong and under present circumstances impolitic."<sup>(4)</sup> Although Vercoe was intensely anti-Catholic, he was more favourably impressed with his opponents than some of his brethren, saying that the priests were "gentlemanly, well-bred men who have, evidently, received a collegiate education", and he felt (to his shame) that they were "better up with Ancient Church History and the Fathers" than himself. He felt that his opponents

(1) Murray, 28 June 1854, S.S.L.

(2) The articles of the Convention are given by West, Ten Years, 388-389.

(3) Vercoe, etc., 13 August 1858, A.W.M.S., Tonga-M.L. See also Adams, 18 October 1858, A.W.M.S., Tonga-M.L.

(4) Eggleston to Thomas, 1 October 1858, A.W.M.S., Letter Book-Friendly Islands.



were better "prayed down and lived down, than discussed down".<sup>(1)</sup>

Perhaps no better idea of the influence of Evangelical instruction about Catholicism, and the overall attitude of the missionaries, could be obtained than from reading some verses which Joseph Waterhouse proudly asserted were the original composition of a blind Fijian boy aged about fourteen years.

On Popery

"The articles of Popery are recapitulated:  
Their religion is useless;  
They hate the law of God;  
They disbelieve it;  
That which is prohibited they say is permissible;  
Many things they nullify;  
Their practices are abominable;  
Their hearts are unenlightened."  
"They afflict mankind;  
They frequently burn them with fire;  
Awful deeds they perform;  
Their road truly leads to Hell.  
The religion of Jesus they hate,  
They say 'let it be exterminated'.  
Impossible! on account of the Lord!  
Strong is the Almighty God!  
His work still extends!  
His miracles are still accomplished!"<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Vercoe, July 1857, A.W.M.S., Tonga-M.L.

(2) J. Waterhouse, 27 November 1853, W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, VII. Calvert, writing in 1852, mentioned that the priests were much annoyed with a rhyme "composed by a native blind youth, which they attribute to the Missionaries." Missionary Notices, N.S. XI, 66 (May 1853).

Part Six.

The Consolidation of the Churches

XXVII.

The Formation of Churches

In the pattern of missionary activity in the South Seas, two cross-currents of missionary influence can be discerned in moulding the shape of the new society. One of these currents, the more dramatic, was of a negative kind. It swept away many of the old features of the traditional society robbing the old gods of their power, and the people of many of their pleasures. But against this was a more positive current, which in large measure helped to preserve much of the old culture. This was the form of Christianity itself, the movement towards formation of churches and associations of churches.

In some of the groups, Christianity was established as the national religion under benevolent despotisms (Tahiti and the Society Islands, Tonga, and some of the other Polynesian islands.) In other groups where the power of one chief was not predominant, large numbers professed the new creed, due to the influence of powerful chiefs, as in Samoa. Even in Fiji and the Melanesian islands, the power of local chiefs cannot be ignored. Certainly, persecution of Christians did take place in many of the groups, but where it was more pronounced, as in Fiji or Tongatapu, we find that the persecuted minorities were headed by Christian chiefs, who were allied to more powerful Christian chiefs.

Thus it was, that in the areas fully evangelised before 1860, we find that the communities affected by Christianity were generally entire communities embracing the whole population, or all those in allegiance to

a particular chief or group of ~~chiefs~~. Instead of being minorities who had to refashion their corporate life within social contexts radically unaffected by the change, each entire community took the decisions which otherwise would have been taken by individuals. Because of this community development, the essential fabric of the native society remained unchanged, and consequently we do not find independent, more democratic, institutions growing up beside the old traditional forms, as has occurred in other mission fields. Naturally, the church which grew up in one of these chiefly communities approximated more to the "parish" type than to the "gathered" type.

Most of the Evangelical missionaries were more familiar with the concept of the "gathered" church. The majority of the L.M.S. missionaries were Dissenters, and were so imbued with this concept as to call the building in which the church met in the islands by the term chapel. Thus we find William Henry, a Church man who had been associated with the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, resenting his octagonal church at Moorea being referred to as a chapel, instead of a church, by the other missionaries.<sup>(1)</sup> In the "gathered" churches, membership was always strictly regulated, and was usually by profession of faith, and the consent of the other members. In the "parish" type churches, membership was usually controlled by the minister of the church, and the baptized were usually admitted to membership.

In the islands, the Methodist system was possibly more adapted to the situation, as all converts could become "members of society" whether they belonged to the inner circle or not, whereas in the churches formed by the L.M.S. missionaries, the distinction between the elect (or church members)

(1) Henry, 3 February 1825, S.S.L.

and adherents, was much more marked. The first missionaries to Tahiti, possibly due to the influence of Calvinistic Methodism, had published a catechism in Tahitian which inferred that all who were baptized might be admitted to communion. Thus it was that, in the period immediately after the mass "conversion" of the people due to Pomare's influence, there were no baptisms, although numerous nominal professors could be found. This was further complicated by the fact that Pomare, who had declared himself to be on the side of Christianity in such a public way, was not regarded as a fit subject for membership for moral reasons. The Directors took the view that there should be little delay in baptism, and resolved "that every person making a deliberate and credible profession of believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Saviour of sinners, ought speedily to be baptized."<sup>(1)</sup> They also resolved that the passage in the Tahitian catechism relating to the subject of baptism should "be made to conform" to these instructions, contained in the Secretary's letter of 1 September 1818.

After the first baptisms, it was left to the individual missionaries of each station to decide for themselves on the question of membership. Most of the missionaries drew a marked distinction between the qualifications of candidates for baptism, and candidates for church membership. Naturally, the Evangelical missionary was not satisfied with a mere profession of belief, and demanded a second conversion, which he believed to be the work of Grace. Because a community movement was so deeply involved with the desire for membership, it was not easy for the missionaries to cope with the situation. It meant, very often, that they accepted people

(1) Resolutions [1819?], Marsden, Papers, V, 67.

into the church, only to exclude them again. This suspension and excommunication became marked features of church life. Some missionaries endeavoured to restrict membership as much as possible, but the majority, no doubt for a variety of reasons, including their own missionary reputation and the difficulty of discriminating between the converts, were content to accept those who appeared to be consistent in their professions of faith. Bourne was criticised by Buzacott for having baptized numerous persons at Rarotonga, whom Buzacott felt were devoid of godliness.<sup>(1)</sup> The L.M.S. missionaries made similar criticisms of the Wesleyans:

Orsmond stated his position as follows:

"I do not baptize them because I believe them to be really converted to the Lord Jesus Christ, but because they have avowedly cast away their vile practices of stealing, adultery, cursing, and are learning with diligence the word of eternal life ... on this subject I pleaded when I first entered the Islands and though it was then scorned it has at length come to the same thing."<sup>(2)</sup>

Of candidates for church membership, he said:

"I see the same people from years end to years end, not a new face, I know their dwellings, habits, and have them in daily tuition; I can say nothing against the external deportment, they attend punctually all meetings, yet when they come to solicit the privilege of church fellowship there is a vagueness and certain something in the conversation that leaves the case doubtful as to the propriety of refusing the person's request."<sup>(3)</sup>

No doubt, most of the missionaries would have agreed with George Pritchard, who affirmed in 1826 "that nine-tenths, of those who [were] in church fellowship [were] strangers to the power of vital Godliness."<sup>(4)</sup>

The "reforming" missionaries who came to Tahiti in 1838 and the years

(1) Buzacott, June 1833, S.S.L. For Pitman's requirements, see Appendix. I.

(2) Orsmond, 24 December 1820, S.S.J., no. 55.

(3) Orsmond, 24 September 1823, S.S.J., no. 68. See Appendix. I

(4) Pritchard, 19 October 1826, S.S.L.

following, attempted to apply the principles of the "gathered" church more rigidly to the Tahitian churches. McKean was particularly critical of the different standards of communion which had been adopted in Tahiti.

"It must be remembered, however," he wrote, "that a principle [sic] part of the former missionaries have either imbibed their views of church fellowship from an indifferent source at home, or, having no experience of such matters ere they came forth, have found their views on this topic from their experience here. For example when it has been expressed as matter of surprise to one missionary that he could dispense the ordinance of the supper to such people, - it has been answered that the great bulk of Church members were almost as good as those of the Church of England of which he himself had been a member."<sup>(1)</sup>

McKean reduced the number of his church members from 97 to 28,<sup>(2)</sup> but he was sadly disillusioned by them. The older brethren, who preferred to work in larger numbers, felt that fewer mistakes were made in being less restrictive. The remodelling of the churches was not a success. As far as the missionaries were concerned, the flaws in the church systems, which emerged in the islands, were those which Dissenters usually claimed to be the flaws in established churches.

When forming the churches under their care, the missionaries attempted to make them resemble those with which they were familiar at home. Amongst the missionaries who shared a Congregational background, the Church Members' Guide, by John Angell James, was very popular. Pritchard translated this work into Tahitian, and it was retranslated into Rarotongan by the native teacher Okotai.<sup>(3)</sup> Even some of the church buildings were closely modelled on English chapels. The Church at Moorea was built in the tradition of the Methodist octagonal chapels built during the Evangelical Revival, and

(1) McKean, 3 September 1843, S.S.L.

(2) Simpson, 16 August 1844, S.S.L. The first figure is for 1839.

(3) Buzacott to Ellis, 1 July 1840, S.S.M., item 63.

was inspired by Surrey chapel. This building had certain local features and blended quite well with the local architecture. On the other hand, Buzacott of Rarotonga did not seem to be concerned with retaining any of the native features, and wanted a building which had "buttresses, Gothic windows, Tower and vestry."<sup>(1)</sup> However, a great many of the church buildings were native-style structures, combining features of the traditional art with the few essential features of a Christian place of worship. Native-style churches were perhaps more predominant in the Wesleyan missions, where some of them really did achieve an indigenous variant of the "beauty of holiness". It is a fair comment on the formation of churches in all the islands, that the missionaries often had to remove emblems and designs from the church buildings which they deemed ugly and obscene, but which the people regarded as part of the basic pattern of life, and not inconsistent with the glory of God. Often in the interior design of the church buildings, the native craftsmen excelled themselves, thus preserving some of their culture which the missionaries were destroying in other ways.

(1) Buzacott, 16 January 1854, S.S.L.





The Place of Enthusiasm

"Lions and beasts of savage name  
Put on the nature of the Lamb."

A.W. Murray, 22 October 1840, S.S.J., no. 128.

Methodism had evolved, or rather perfected a technique, which in some measure counteracted the Laodicean tendencies associated with the "parish" type church. This was revivalism, which played an important role in the ecclesiastical history of the South Seas. Although it was inseparably linked with the Wesleyan missions, it became a feature of the missions of the L.M.S. It never developed to any great extent in Tahiti and the groups to eastward, although examples can be cited, but it developed in a typically Methodist fashion in the L.M.S. missions in Samoa, particularly on the island of Tutuila. Evangelical religion, by its very nature, contained a fair measure of enthusiasm or holy zeal. The revival was more than a mere manifestation of holy zeal. It was held to be the Pentecostal visitation of the Holy Spirit; it was a form of religious crowd hysteria. Revivals have occurred throughout the history of the Christian Church. Some theologians have maintained that they are essential to true Christianity, whilst a great many Christians have frowned upon them as exhibitions of emotionalism. However they may be interpreted, revivals can be explained in part by the accustomed laws of behaviour.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Perhaps one of the most stimulating books written on the subject of revivals is The Great Revivalists, by George Godwin (Thinkers' Library, 140). This book purports to be a psychological study of the great revivalist preachers from St. Paul to Evan Roberts. Godwin's studies of Edwards, Wesley and Whitefield are pointed and not flattering. If the thesis does not convince, it at least warns the ordinary person to be wary of the revivalist. Godwin suggests that the revivalist is usually a pathological case, and he gives the warning that religious hysteria and the sex instinct are closely related.

Although Methodism perfected the technique of revivalism, some of the first revivals in the history of Christian missions occurred under the preaching of Calvinist missionaries, the most notable examples being those amongst the American Indians in response to the preaching of David Brainerd.<sup>(1)</sup> In the South Seas, the Calvinist missionaries tended to be wary of any movement which savoured too much of enthusiasm. To the Calvinist, the visitation of Grace was always a much more rare and individual act than it was to the Wesleyan. The Calvinist was more often visited with Grace on the lonely road to Damascus. The Wesleyan received it in a more communal, less intimate way, whilst rubbing shoulders with his neighbours. In Samoa, the L.M.S. missionaries tended to be apologetic when referring to the mass movement. They presented the evidence for the world to draw conclusions. The Wesleyan revivals were readily accepted. They did not have to cater for the rationalistic Dissenting tradition of the Calvinists. As Methodists, purely and entirely, they accepted revivalism as an essential feature of their religion.

It must not be imagined, however, that there were no critics of the phenomenon of revivalism within Evangelical circles at home. The Rev. William Brown, a doctor of medicine and a Missionary Secretary,<sup>(2)</sup> did not fully accept the explanations of the revivals in the Pacific. Of the "Awakening" on Tutuila, which Lundie described in his Missionary Life in Samoa, he had this to say:

"Of such scenes, we confess, we are exceedingly jealous; but it would be rash to express any unfavourable opinion of them. Amidst something that was human, there might be also something that was divine; but how much there might be of the one or the other, we presume not to judge."<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) See Gillies, Historical Collections, 474.

(2) Scottish Missionary Society.

(3) Brown, History of the Propagation, (1854), II, 232.

He was more critical of the Wesleyan revivals.

"In judging of what are commonly called revivals of religion, we apprehend that great caution is necessary, more than is commonly shewn both by those who doubt or reject them. We are not prepared to pronounce an opinion in regard to the religious movement in the Friendly Islands ..., but yet we cannot help feeling great jealousy of it. Even supposing it to be, to some extent, a work of divine grace, we fear that the missionaries greatly over-estimated their success, and that they spoke much too confidently both as to the numbers converted, and as to the nature and truth of their religious experience. The work appears to have essentially resembled those movements which have not infrequently taken place among the Methodists both in England and America, and which they are accustomed to speak of as the work of God, though much of it is probably nothing more than the excitement of the imagination and the passions acting on numbers by means of sympathy, without being followed by any change of heart and life."<sup>(1)</sup>

It was even more significant when such criticism came from the Wesleyans themselves. Walter Lawry, as we have seen,<sup>(2)</sup> was quite a competent revivalist. However, he was a keen observer, and regarded the glowing reports from the field with some degree of cynicism, possibly the more so because he was familiar with the native responses. When Lawry visited the Tongan district in 1847, he showed that he was quite out of sympathy with the revivalists. Peter Turner complained of Lawry's "bitterness" towards him, and of his innuendoes about the revival at Vava'u in 1846.

"He complained of what he called unholy excitement - getting up a revival - long meetings extravagances, and all the objections which are generally brot. by those who hate or disapprove of any uncommon religious movement in any place."<sup>(3)</sup>

Much has to be taken into account in examining the revivals in Polynesia. We should expect to find features inherent in the various native societies,

(1) Brown, History of the Propagation (1854), I, 530 footnote.

(2) See ante, #3.

(3) P. Turner, 22 December 1847, Journal, X.



which would be conducive to mass movements in religion of a demonstrative nature. Most of the island communities were small and well integrated. The emphasis was on conformity rather than on individual choice. If the order of the day was enthusiastic conversion, then all were expected to conform. Religion in the islands was regarded very much as a public thing, whereas European religion usually emphasised the role of private devotion. Furthermore, most Polynesians were familiar with religious experience of a demonstrative nature. Possession by supernatural agencies was widely attested, and some of the externals of possession bore a close resemblance to the physical manifestations of revivalism. It was also asserted from the beginning of the nineteenth century, that the Polynesian religions emphasised the need for sacrifice for sin, and certainly this much is true, that there was a religious notion prevalent in the islands that gods or ancestors could be placated by sacrifice. Not only were offerings of first fruits made, but in some instances a human sacrifice was demanded. The missionaries asserted that the doctrine of the atonement fitted into this scheme of things, and the natives fully appreciated the idea of a willing sacrifice by the god himself through love to his people. A gifted preacher was able to "melt the heart" by means of preaching this doctrine of the Cross.

In some of the island groups, reactions from Evangelical Christianity took place which resembled the revivals in that they were characterised by spirit possession. Reactions appear to have been more marked in the Society Islands and Hawaii than in any of the other areas. The reactionaries were usually those who had been punished by civil law, or put out of

the church for moral offences, and they invariably resorted to traditional practices as an assertion of their hostility. The Mamaia heresy in Tahiti and the Hulumanu movement in Hawaii, besides the later Hauhau movement amongst the Maoris in New Zealand, were more subtle and organized forms of this reaction.<sup>(1)</sup> It may be significant that these movements arose, not only in areas where Calvinist doctrine was imparted, but where the church bore a more exclusive character.

It was difficult for the Polynesians to understand the more mystical experience which the missionaries claimed to have themselves, and naturally they brought their own concepts of the "spirit world" to their assistance. Usually the chronology of the Scriptures was beyond the comprehension of the islanders, and it is probable that they accepted Scriptural accounts of miracles in a more immediate and contemporary sense. Quite possibly, the intuitive demands of the Mamaia prophet Teao were as real to him as any of the visionary experiences about which he had read in the Scriptures, and he was noted for his great reading.<sup>(2)</sup> Whereas the missionaries had endeavoured to foster a type of religious experience which was pietistic in nature, their converts sought for more visionary and mystical experiences. Hunt mentioned how revival experience was often of a visionary nature,<sup>(3)</sup> and Peter Turner made the same observation. During the first revival at Vava'u, he remarked that some of the people wanted to tell him about the views they had of heaven and Christ while in a state of unconsciousness. The missionaries discouraged such accounts "as tending to

(1)The Siavili cult in Samoa, which in part derived from the Mamaia heresy, must be viewed in a different light, as it developed simultaneously with Christianity in Samoa. See Appendix IV.

(2)See Appendix IV.

(3)Hunt, Private Journal, II, 289.

lead their weak minds astray."<sup>(1)</sup> But the people claimed visions of heaven when quite uninfluenced by revivalism. Charter of Raiatea records the case of Terematai who had been almost insensible for two or three days. When she came to herself, she said:

"(') I have been to heaven. I saw Mr. and Mrs. Williams and a number of Raiateans there and I wished to remain but God sent me back to exhort my family that they may be saved.(') She was in a very happy state of mind and appeared wholly absorbed in spiritual subjects."<sup>(2)</sup>

The greatest incentive to revivals came from the individual missionary preachers. Evangelical religion was conducive to revivalist preaching. The Evangelical placed great emphasis on the "baptism by fire", and in Christian mission stations this state of conversion was not only expected but encouraged as much as possible. The chief means in this process was the prayer-meeting, as long hours at prayer usually effected the desired state.<sup>(3)</sup>

Although it was never actually acknowledged, revivalism had become an established theological science. An observant minister, given the psychological requirements, could educate himself to be a successful revivalist. The number of "text-books" on the subject, written by experienced revivalists, is significant. Gillies's Historical Collections relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel was an early work with a fairly orthodox approach to revivals. First published in 1754, with an "Appendix" added in 1761, it was republished with additional material by the Rev. Horatius Bonar of Kelso in 1845, after a revival period in Scotland. Two works by Jonathan Edwards were also popular, The Work

(1) P. Turner, Journal, II, 79.

(2) Charter, Journal, end pages.

(3) Peter Turner even conducted prayer-meetings throughout the night.

of the Holy Spirit in the Human Heart and Revivals of Religion: Their Nature, Defence and Management, which were both abridged for Methodist consumption by John Wesley. The Importance of Prayer-Meetings in Promoting the Revival of Religion, by the Rev. Robert Young, was another popular work. Mrs. Lundie Duncan, mother of George Lundie of Samoa, was the author of The History of Revivals of Religion in the British Isles, especially in Scotland. The writings of the American revivalist, Dr. Edward Payson,<sup>(1)</sup> were widely read by the South Sea missionaries. A.W. Murray later included Payson amongst his Eminent Workers for Christ. Dr. Sprague of Albany was another favourite, and his Lectures on Revivals of Religion were often consulted. However, the greatest revivalist of this period was undoubtedly Charles Grandison Finney, whose Revivals of Religion was a classic of its kind, and ran through numerous editions, the first of which was published in New York in 1835. Finney had some direct influence on the South Seas, as his disciple, Titus Coan of Hilo, was the revivalist of Hawaii.<sup>(2)</sup> Several of the missionaries record their indebtedness to Finney, notably L.H. Gulick of Micronesia, John Jones of Mare, Lyth of Fiji and the revivalist Peter Turner.<sup>(3)</sup> The intensity of Finney's message, if it cannot be discovered in the awful features of the man, might be measured from the three main principles which he emphasised, the practice of prayer with a definite object, the "awful responsibility" of each single individual, and the belief that the main business of life was to save souls.

(1) [1783-1827] see Dictionary of American Biography.

(2) See Pierson, The Miracles of Missions (1895), 43.

(3) See J. Jones, Notes ; Lyth, Journal, I, 721; P. Turner, Books read.

It has been shown that a revivalist always precedes a revival, and sometimes the individual history of the revivalist is significant.<sup>(1)</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that those who experienced dramatic conversions were less likely to be disciplined in their psychological attitudes. Sufficient evidence of a psychologically impelling nature might be deduced from the doctrine of reparation (or retribution), to account for the approach of the revivalist.<sup>(2)</sup>

Archibald Wright Murray was an extraordinarily interesting figure. His zeal seemed limitless. Brought up for a time by his grandmother, who was a niece of the explorer Mungo Park,<sup>(3)</sup> Murray was early familiar with the adventures of his illustrious relative, and doubtless wished to emulate him. As we have seen, Murray had spent part of his young manhood in the intensely Evangelical atmosphere of Kelso.<sup>(4)</sup> In this town he had been familiar with the circle of Mrs. Lundie Duncan, the author of The History of Revivals. On 17 August 1855 Mary Lundie, daughter of Mrs. Lundie Duncan, wrote from Edinburgh that Murray had visited them, on his way to London to leave for the islands.

"It once seemed as though he would never have got forward, but a way was opened for his education under Dr. Pye Smith; his feeble health is much improved, and he is on the eve of commencing his labours in the work he loves ... ."<sup>(5)</sup>

Murray's ill-health may well provide a clue to his activity in the islands. A further sidelight to his career, is that he developed very strict views on baptism, and ultimately joined the Baptist church. He was a man whose

(1) See ante, 113, 114, 354.

(2) See ante, 14.

(3) Steel, A.W. Murray, 30.

(4) See ante, 109.

(5) Lundie Duncan, Memoir of Mrs. Mary Lundie Duncan, Edinburgh, 1853, 171-172.



inner life was much harassed by personal struggle.

When George Lundie arrived in Samoa the revival at Tutuila had already begun. Lundie refers to the effect of his mother's book.

"Mr. Murray finds my dear mother's "History of Revivals" a precious book for getting his mind into a good frame for preaching. That is peculiarly interesting to me in present circumstances. ...Who would have thought that the influence of her book would have been felt, as it has been, among these distant islands?"<sup>(1)</sup>

Murray was also familiar with the Thoughts of Jonathan Edwards.<sup>(2)</sup> His own account tends to suggest that such books influenced him in a more negative way.

"Neither Mrs. Murray nor myself knew anything of revivals, as these general awakenings are usually called, except what we had read in books, and to this perhaps our anxieties and misgivings were chiefly owing."<sup>(3)</sup>

Murray fostered intense religious application amongst his flock. Long periods of prayer were encouraged. It is also significant that, although the revival broke out in different places at the same time, there were young men present who had attended Murray's sermon on the previous Sabbath. The part of the young men in the revival is worth noticing. Murray appears to have selected a band of disciples whom he trained in rigorous revival discipline. One young Samoan named Lazereti lived with the Murrays. Murray said that he "hardly ever knew an individual whose prayers were so characterized by fervour, contrition and earnestness."<sup>(4)</sup>

"He is altogether a very exemplary character, and has been, I believe, to a considerable extent instrumental, in bringing about the great awakening in our family."

(1) Lundie, Missionary Life, 106.

(2) Murray, Forty Years, 159.

(3) ibid, 124.

(4) Murray, 24 November 1839, S.S.J., no. 122.

It was the awakening in "the family" that preceded the general revival.

Murray claimed that another young Samoan was "seized with deep concern" whilst at Nuuli, a village about one mile from Pangopango, at the same time that the movement began at Pango.

"He was quite ignorant of what was going on here, having left this early on the morning of the day when the awakening began; - this was on Monday. He had been present at the Sabbath services. He describes himself as having been greatly surprised when he came here and found so many similarly effected with himself." (1)

Surely it was Murray's Sabbath sermons which ignited the revival which had been in preparation for some time. The prevalence of disease, and the heavy death rate, undoubtedly gave the revivalists' appeals more meaning to the people.

One of the first fruits of the Tutuila mission was the young chief, Pomare. When he and others went as missionaries to the New Hebrides at the time of the revival, Murray wrote of the painful parting with those to whom his "bowels yearned". There may also be some psychological significance in the fact that the "lightest and giddiest" were the ones to be most affected amongst the people generally. (2) The element of "compulsion" which Murray observed, and assigned to a divine cause, may well have been a compulsion of a more sociological nature.

It is of particular interest that revivals occurred throughout Evangelical Polynesia. They were just as widely spread as nativist heresy movements, and some features were common to both. The principal revivals in Polynesia occurred between 1830 and 1850. A revival began at Vava'u in the Tongan group in July 1834, spreading to Ha'apai and

(1) Murray, 18 February 1840, S.S.J., no. 124.

(2) Murray, 23 July 1840, S.S.J., no. 128.

Tongatapu, and lasting till 1835. In September 1835 a revival was reported in the Society Islands, but it seems to have been no more than a swelling of church congregations by legal means, coinciding with the decline of the Mamaia sect and the beginnings of the Temperance movement. In 1834 Buzacott reported a "spirit of religious excitement" at Rarotonga.<sup>(1)</sup> The "Great Revival" of Hawaii took place in 1838 and 1839. In November 1839 a revival took place on Tutuila which lasted till 1842. The missionaries supposed a connexion with the Scottish revivals at Jedburgh, Kelso, Perth and Dundee at the same time. In 1845 a revival took place at Viwa and Ono in the Fijian group, and in the following year another took place at Vava'u. In 1851 there was one at Rarotonga that was attended by a minimum of physical excitement. Krause reported another in 1860.<sup>(2)</sup>

The revivals in the South Seas all followed similar patterns, and their features were essentially the same. To a certain extent revivalistic features were present in many of the Society Island churches. As early as February 1820, Henry and Platt wrote from Moorea that, at the communion service on the first Sabbath in January, there had been "few dry eyes" amongst the forty-three church members.

"Some wept aloud, and some were so agitated that they could scarcely get the cup to their mouths. Yea, we had literally to assist some lest it should be spilt through their trembling."<sup>(3)</sup>

However, most of the L.M.S. missionaries in the eastern groups had a little too much austerity, and a little too much cynicism to be good revivalists.

(1) Buzacott, 1 July 1834, S.S.L.

(2) Pitman, 25 July 1851, 25 August 1851, 18 November 1851, S.S.L.; Krause, 7 September 1860, S.S.L.

(3) Quarterly Report, 14 February 1820, S.S.L.

Orsmond suggests that if he had been less cynical he could have organised a revival.

"If high sounding expressions of grief and pain for sin, and high toned declarations of experience be needful as a proof of sincere love to God we have them not as yet. It is however a thing perfectly within our reach. There is no form of expression that is applicable to Christian experience that I could not put into the mouth of the people, but I prefer to witness the work of God, the Holy Ghost develop itself etc."(1)

The period of revival began at Utui, Vava'u on 23 July 1834, under the ministry of Peter Turner. It was characteristic of such movements, that the first manifestation was reported at a near-by out-station, as if to draw attention away from the revivalist himself. Isaiah Vovole, the Tongan local preacher, preached from Luke XIX, 41-42.

"As he preached he was much affected and the Holy Spirit came down upon him and on the people - he wept and the people wept."(2)

That Turner was able to stimulate a revival is not surprising, when we examine his journal. For months beforehand he records his longings and strivings for a revival.

2 October 1832, "Still I am longing to see a glorious revival among this people, when the word shall be attended with greater displays of saving power."

17 June 1833, "We are too formal, too dead. The natives do not pray for a revival as they should; Poor things they have not seen an outpouring of the Holy Spirit."

1 September 1833, "I hope the revival is not far distant."(3)

On 27 June 1834 Joel Bulu was "powerfully wrought upon" at a love feast. He "wept aloud and fell exhausted to the floor." Whilst in this swoon, the Tongan preacher thought that "a great light shone about him."

(1) Orsmond, 13 November 1823, S.S.J., no.

(2) P. Turner, 23 July 1834, Journal, II, 68-69.

(3) P. Turner, Journal, I, II.

This was the prelude to the revival, and it shows the direction of all the preaching and teaching. Turner explained to the people that such emotional demonstrations were what he had seen in England, and that this was what they had all been praying for. In the chapels the people became as "dead persons". They "swooned away by complete exhaustion of body and the overwhelming manifestation of saving power."<sup>(1)</sup> Scores were carried out of the various chapels. Schools had to be suspended. On 29 July 1834 Turner wrote jubilantly that "more than 1000 souls" had been saved within the preceding five days.

The fire of the great revival spread rapidly. James Watkin, then at Lifuka, greeted the news with enthusiasm.

"The account corresponds with some we have of ancient methodism and of the American revivals," he wrote, "O that the fire may come southward in all its plenitude and power ... We are expecting the descent of the Holy Spirit."<sup>(2)</sup>

The revival began suddenly, and all the mission party were affected besides the people. All were in tears, "men, strong and bold men became as little children, they could not pray for groans and sobs." Prayer meetings were held, and very few were unaffected. Watkin found difficulty in persuading the people to leave the chapel at night. On the Sabbath it was impossible to preach, so prayer meetings were held. Similar scenes took place at the out-stations. Watkin found difficulty in writing up his journal. "I am too much exhausted," he wrote, adding at the same time, "O Jesus ride on."

(1) A very full account is given by Cargill, 28 July 1834, Journal.

(2) Watkin, 9 August 1834, Journal.

"Chiefs are not ashamed to be seen weeping for their sins. We are not without noise but we have no confusion ... the blind and lame and some who are far from well crawl to the chapel that they may receive the blessing of forgiveness and a new nature."<sup>(1)</sup>

For weeks no business could be attended to.

"I never thought myself a good revivalist," wrote Watkin, "but thank God that he has given me strength and grace to engage heartily in this glorious work."<sup>(2)</sup>

In the case of Ha'apai, the influence of King George Tupou cannot be ignored. Moreover, he sent messengers from Vava'u where he had participated in the revival himself.<sup>(3)</sup> From Watkin's vivid description of the revival, and his own admission, it appears that he felt that the "latter day glory" was at hand.

The revival at Tutuila began almost simultaneously at three places near and including Pangopango.<sup>(4)</sup> Much prayer had preceded the emotional manifestations at each place. At Pango, the revival actually commenced in Murray's house during evening prayers, and the place became "a very Bochim". Murray's description suggests the emotionally charged atmosphere of the time:

"A cloud seemed as if it was hovering over us, charged with blessings, which seemed daily to thicken, while some few first drops here and there descending, till it actually burst and came down upon us, with a largeness and fullness, which equally surprised and delighted us; and, blessed be God, our cloud is not yet exhausted, but continues from day to day, to descend upon us 'like rain upon the mown grass and as showers that water the earth.'"<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Watkin, 11 August 1834, Journal.

(2) ibid, 13 August 1834.

(3) For the King's "justification" see Cargill, 31 July 1834, Journal[Vava'u]

(4) See Murray, Forty Years, 122 ff.

(5) Murray, 20 March 1840[4 November 1839]. S.S.J., no. 122.

In June 1840 the awakening seemed to be at its peak. At Leone, on 8 June, it seemed to Murray that "the Spirit descended like a rushing mighty wind and filled the place."<sup>(1)</sup> Thomas Slatyer arrived at Tutuila in the midst of the revival, and was at Leone when it broke out there in full force.

"I have not seen more feeling amongst the men," he wrote on 28 June, " - the preacher [Isaia] himself too tho' of a decidedly phlegmatic temperament was almost prevented from proceeding through the fullness of his heart. ..." <sup>(2)</sup>

On 31 August 1840, after a period of "retrogression", revivalism was again excited at Leone. Some were "taken out in violent convulsions as when the awakening first began - some were carried out less convulsed or not at all but overcome with feeling and some rushed out as quickly as they could to give vent to their feelings."<sup>(3)</sup> During some services the missionary was forced to wait for over a quarter of an hour before he could make himself heard.<sup>(4)</sup>

The revival at Tutuila also spread to Harbutt's district on Upolu. Harbutt was highly sceptical of the faintings, hysterics, and violent weeping, but he was satisfied by the sentiments expressed by those affected. However, he did not know whether it was "really the work of God or whether having heard of the work in Tutuila they consider it necessary to imitate."<sup>(5)</sup>

Descriptions of the Fijian revivals display even more violent features of emotionalism. Watsford gave an account of the revival at Viwa in a letter to the Secretaries.

(1) Murray, 7 June 1840, S.S.J., No. 124.

(2) Slatyer, 28 June 1840, Journal.

(3) Slatyer, 31 August 1840, Journal.

(4) Slatyer, 25 October 1840, Journal.

(5) Harbutt, 29 January 1841, S.S.L.

"The joy of those who were pardoned was as great as their distress had been. They danced and shouted aloud for joy. One man was so happy and danced at such a rate, that we thought it well to hold him, and spoke to four or five men to do so; but he shook them off with the greatest ease, and went dancing away, and shouting, 'My heart is on fire, and my soul is burning.'"(1)

At the conclusion of a similar account, Hunt remarked that when the congregation chanted the Te Deum, and came to such passages as 'Thou art the King of Glory O Christ,' some of them would clap their hands and shout for joy.(2) But Hunt was aware of the other phenomena which accompanied these revivals.

"Some had remarkable dreams, and others what almost amounted to visions, indeed the excitement was exceeding great, and some strange, useless and dangerous things could not but take place. It always was so in revivals."(3)

About the same time, Peter Turner was working for another revival at Vava'u. He held lengthy prayer meetings, and felt at the end of 1844, that the atmosphere was similar to the commencement of the previous revival. However, it did not commence until 21 January 1845. On the evening of that day the chiefs of Neiafu, and the head teachers of the stations in the circuit, were in Turner's study taking tea together. They were all affected.

"God did indeed baptize us with the holy light and with fire. One proposed that we should take the lights and proceed to the Chapel forth with that others might catch the divine influence."(4)

The meeting grew. Some of the women followed Turner back from the chapel to the study, and "God blessed them in an uncommon manner." The meeting

(1)Watsford, 1 May 1846[20 October 1845], W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, V.

(2)Hunt, Private Journal, II, 288.

(3)ibid, 289.

(4)P. Turner, Journal, IX,[passim].



continued till daybreak. The native drum was then struck, and the people assembled in the chapel for prayer. All cried out "for mercy". The meeting lasted for two hours, and was followed by an infant school feast. This was followed by another prayer meeting. The fervour of revival was Turner's supreme joy.

"I am now in my element and in this work would I live and die." During the revival, physical gymnastics were even more prevalent than during the first revival. Turner wrote that the "effects on some were very strange - Their bodies were greatly affected, some swooned away - while others were almost frantic - and violent." No one could doubt that 1 March was not a "glorious day".

"In the prayer-meeting in the evening the young men were so powerfully wrought upon as to make it almost impossible to keep them within bounds. They tore up the fence round the pulpit in their agony of mind. They seemed quite unconscious of what they were doing."

Indeed, throughout the revival no work was done, prayer meetings were almost continuous, and the people became "quite exhausted and almost spent out". For several months all the meetings were scenes of much weeping and demonstration.

Thus it may be seen that revivals were largely organised religious movements, and depended on a revivalist. Where they occurred in the South Seas, the missionary was invariably a revivalist preacher, who, like Jonathan Edwards, Whitefield or Wesley, or his contemporaries, Sprague and Finney, could instruct, discipline and stimulate a given audience into a revival fervour. These missionaries had either studied the writings of the great revivalists and emulated their preaching styles, and their type of sermon, or they had actually participated in revivals themselves.

Religious revivals were also very well suited to a church which was coterminous with the community. For a people who had made the first step together, by making a public profession of faith, it was appropriate to give them the opportunity of being converted together.

XXIX.

Establishing a Steady People

As an institution in the life of the islanders, the church had a disciplinary function. In endeavouring to "sort the "sheep from the goats", the Evangelical missionaries used every means to test the faith of the people. Thus, often certain things were required of members as a kind of outward sign, although these requirements were not essential to the Christian system. As the principles of the Decalogue were usually enforced by the civil law, the godly community needed to be distinguished by conformity to yet stricter standards. In the Society Islands tattooing was not forbidden by civil law, except when the Codes were first introduced, and consequently it was forbidden only to church members. Candidates for baptism were also required to show that they were earnest in their wish to become Christians, by conforming to these outward signs.<sup>(1)</sup> Smoking was another issue used to separate the godly from the rest of the community. It was believed that by these means the church would more readily approximate to the gathered company of believers. This policy was not simply the result of arbitrary whims, as the things forbidden were regarded as being unbecoming practices for a Christian.

The missionaries of the L.M.S. and the W.M.M.S. were not consistent in their attitude to smoking. In Tahiti, Jones and Darling were both continuous smokers, whilst Platt threatened his members with excommunication for smoking on the Sabbath.<sup>(2)</sup> Lee of Tonga, who was a non-smoker, made scornful reference to the "fumish Fijian Brethren", and criticised some

(1) For Pitman's requirements at Rarotonga see Appendix. I

(2) See Orsmond, "Friendly Hints to the Directors", 1828, S.S.J., no. 92; Orsmond, 5 October 1836, S.S.L.

of his Tongan brethren for relaxing the laws that local preachers should not smoke. He said that the prohibition was "admirable as a test of principle". Lee praised Thomas for his condemnation of smoking as a "silly, nasty, dirty custom productive of much evil as well as an uncleanly and unwholesome self-indulgence."<sup>(1)</sup> The policy advocated by Lee, Adams and others was that unless the preachers "smoked for some purpose - and glorified God by it, it was wrong". Lee allowed the preachers to act according to their conscience, "but soon found that they made it not a matter of conscience but being unrestrained by any positive rule - many of them would take each a man with him when going to his appointment to follow with a firestick so that they might smoke when they pleased! Some of them went into the pulpit with a cigar behind their ears! so much for Tongan conscience and Tongan sense of propriety." Lee was able to dissuade the majority of local preachers in his particular circuit to give up the habit. If they were unable to do so, they were expected to resign. Several local preachers and leaders were lost in this way. The test of principle was a prominent feature of Evangelical church life in the islands.

In Samoa and Rarotonga, the L.M.S. missionaries were more united in their crusade against smoking. In 1848 the Cook Island missionaries passed a resolution to the effect that they resolved "to oppose by all moral means the use of tobacco, by the natives of these islands believing it to be most detrimental to the physical and social interests of man."<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Lee, 16 May 1862, A.W.M.S., Tonga M.L.

(2) W. Gill (Sec), 31 December 1848, S.S.L.

In the same years two students from the training institution at Rarotonga were dismissed "for not being willing to give up the use of Tobacco".<sup>(1)</sup> When Powell visited Manu'a in 1851, he found that all the members were addicted to smoking, and consequently founded an "anti-tobacco association".<sup>(2)</sup> A similar association was commenced at Tutuila. On Savai'i smoking was only forbidden to teachers. According to Pratt, when a teacher wished to leave the mission, he would make his pipe "a kind of devil's colors", an outward sign that he had "gone over to the enemy".<sup>(3)</sup>

There was a strong tendency for the Evangelical missionaries to tell their converts that smoking was morally wrong or sinful, instead of arguing that it was a "useless and wasteful indulgence". In doing this, as Bishop Patteson later remarked, they produced a "confusion of the moral sense". It was difficult to respond naturally to an "arbitrary prohibition of a practice which, as a matter of fact, is a common practice with thousands of excellent Christians".<sup>(4)</sup>

Another test of principle was abstention from alcoholic beverages. As in the case of smoking, there was division amongst the missionaries on the question of total abstinence. It was not until after the advent of the Temperance movement, so active in the 1830s, that teetotalism became a distinguishing feature of Evangelicals in British countries and in America, and even then there were those who regarded total abstinence as an unnecessary measure. In 1841, Dr. Ross advised the Directors of the L.M.S. that all their missionaries should belong to Temperance Societies, and that teetotalers should be preferred. Each missionary should be

(1) ibid [Report of Institution]

(2) Powell, 1 September 1851, S.S.L.

(3) Pratt, 10 June 1851, S.S.L.

(4) J.C. Patteson to S. McFarlane, not sent, Yonge, Life, II, 591-592.

asked, "Do you smoke? Do you drink brandy or gin or rum?"<sup>(1)</sup> It is interesting that some "teetotallers" did not regard the moderate drinking of wines and ales, when taken at meals or medicinally, as being contrary to their pledge. In 1840 John Hunt of Fiji examined himself, and came to the determination "to give up those needless self-indulgences, which [he] had not yet fully abandoned, such as drinking wine or spirits, or smoking tobacco, except any of them may be needed as medicine".<sup>(2)</sup>

Naturally, in establishing "a steady people", the missionaries excommunicated their church members for drunkenness. The Temperance movement, however, was a means used to influence the entire community rather than only the church members. Very few mission stations were unaffected by the spirit trade carried on by visiting ships and resident "grog" sellers. It is a revealing commentary on the missionaries that, although they attempted to protect their members and adherents from "the drinking Devil", they were slow to take public action, and took their initiative from the more universal movement. Although the missionaries were worried about the problems arising from heavy drinking by the people, it was not until they received temperance literature from their pastors at home and from some American missionaries, that they decided what action to take.

When a deputation of American missionaries visited Tahiti in 1832, they particularly urged "the doctrine of total abstinence from ardent spirits". The reaction of the Tahitian missionaries shows that, at that time, teetotalism was exceptional.

(1) Ross, 2 November 1841, Australia Letters.

(2) Hunt, 17 July 1840, Private Journal, I, 137.



"They were all disposed to plead for the temperate use. When we urged that at best it was unnecessary, some disputed and said they doubted not but we used strong ale or some other substitute, and when assured that we used nothing but water, they scarcely knew whether to believe us or not. We next urged that even if they did not drink to excess and if their health was not injured by it, their reputation was, for we had heard many reports that intemperance existed among them, founded no doubt on the fact they were moderate drinkers. We dwelt principally, however, on the consideration that the tide of intemperance which all acknowledge is desolating the land, could not be stayed while the people can plead the example of their teachers. The brethren received our remarks with kindness ... and agreed to read some reports of the American Temperance Society and other temperance documents ... Before we left the islands, we were pleased to know that the leaven we had cast into the mass was operating. Mr. Pritchard had resolved to purchase no more brandy for his brethren ... Mr. Armitage has resolved never more to taste spirits except as a medicine. Mr. Simpson (Principal of the South Sea Academy) is almost ripe for the same decision. Mr. Orsmond had adopted it some time ago."<sup>(1)</sup>

From then onwards Temperance Societies, with an emphasis on total abstinence, were founded in those islands where there had been a thriving spirits trade. In Tahiti liquor laws were adopted, but Nott claimed that the Temperance Society had a greater effect than any laws could have.<sup>(2)</sup> So popular did the idea become, that in Samoa societies were established to combat the influence of Kava drinking and smoking.<sup>(3)</sup> Proscription of Kava was eventually introduced at the Wesleyan stations in Fiji. Joseph Waterhouse wrote in November 1862:

"I have called in the aid of Teetotalism as a Missionary Auxiliary. In addition to ardent spirits the yagona or Kava root, is the curse of Fiji. For twelve years I have preached moderation, but in vain. With the Fijian of the present day it is all or none - stupefaction, or sense. What opium is to China that kava is to Fiji, and at last I have lifted up the standard of total abstinence."<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) Journal of the American missionaries at Tahiti, 1832, quoted Alexander, William Patterson Alexander.

(2) Nott, quoted Missionary Register, 1835, 210.

(3) See Powell, 1 September 1851, S.S.L.

(4) Jos. Waterhouse, 25 November 1862, quoted Wesleyan Missionary Notices, 362

Abstinence became a matter of principle, and the character of the Evangelical missionary tended to become more restricted, whilst the native churches became even more exclusive.



XXX.

Missionary Contributions

Although establishing a steady people appeared to be the principal work of the island churches, the missionaries very early stressed the obligations of church membership, not least of which was the duty of extending the work of the church. In the islands, the financial obligations of church membership were mostly directed towards missionary enterprise, and for this purpose auxiliary missionary societies were formed, to which yearly contributions were made. These contributions were paid in kind. Arrowroot, cocoanut oil, cotton and mats, were the more general articles of contribution, although more perishable articles were often sold and the money contributed.

As the missionaries themselves were supported by the home societies, the contributions went, or were supposed to go, directly to the parent missionary societies where they were added to the general funds. Contributions were often far from voluntary in the accepted sense of the word. It became not only a duty to the Church to give, but it was a social obligation also. The word of the chief was often a substitute for the voice of conscience. Visitors to the islands regarded the system of contributions as a form of taxation, rather than as "spontaneous giving". In some of the groups, particularly in Samoa, very liberal giving was induced by a competitive spirit, one community not wishing to be outdone by another. This competitive spirit also extended to families. In 1860 Pratt of Savai'i introduced the plan of writing down all contributions, with the result that "the whole herd of sixpenny and dime contributors vanished". One chief was compelled to sell one of two horses in order to maintain his prestige.

"Accordingly like gentlemen's plate at home the horse is melted into cash and all are satisfied, and your funds increased," wrote Pratt to the Directors.<sup>(1)</sup>

In Tonga, apart from the free will offerings which, according to Whewell, were in many cases not very freely given, the remainder was raised in obedience to the King's command. The men had to bring a bucket of oil annually. Whewell was not a little critical of the system:

"Taxes in support of religion are disliked by Englishmen, enlightened and civilized, from this you may judge that to a people like the Tonga people this oil making for the Church is unpopular."<sup>(2)</sup>

The history of contributions was not a smooth one. Very often the missionaries found that the people were reluctant to contribute, which was especially the case when a powerful chief was disaffected in some way, or had doubts about the affair. Doubts and suspicions in the minds of the chiefs and people were not uncommon. Sometimes these were due to misunderstandings with the local missionaries; and sometimes Europeans, who were unsympathetic with mission work, inferred that the missionaries derived some profit from the affair. What Crook said of the people generally, was particularly true in regard to the question of contributions:

"When they dip into money matters, they make the grossest mistakes, and sometimes unchristian reflections on us."<sup>(3)</sup>

Discontent first came to a head in the Society Islands at the May meetings at Moorea in 1827, and the result was that Henry, the missionary at Papetoai, decided to leave the island. The accusations were as follows:

"You Missionaries told us to make a Ship for the king (the Haweis) and that you have taken to yourselves. You then told us to buy one for the king, we did so, and that you have taken for yourselves.

(1) Pratt, 19 September 1860, S.S.L.

(2) Whewell, 4 August 1856, A.W.M.S., Tonga M.L.

(3) Crook, 10 May 1827, S.S.J., no. 85.

You then said Tamatoa must have one for himself. He purchased it and gave all the property off his Island, that you have taken for yourselves. We have been collecting oil for the Society these many years and all that you have taken for yourselves, this little money you have given into our hands [i.e. to the Treasurer] and now you want it back again. We will not give it ..."(1)

Of these charges, we are mainly concerned with the belief of the people that the missionaries appropriated all the money of the Society. In this particular instance, the oil had been sold for cash, and the missionaries regretted not having received a bank bill.<sup>(2)</sup> Long before this occasion, however, the people, and also Pomare II, had resented the fact that the contributions from each separate auxiliary were not acknowledged separately.

In May 1828, Barff wrote from Raiatea:

"It is of much importance to write short letters to the natives acknowledging the reception of their little subscriptions. Such a letter in the first place stops the mouths of mischievous men, who reside on the islands."<sup>(3)</sup>

The subscription issue was also one of the principal "grievances" which the Mamaia sect held against the missionaries.<sup>(4)</sup> Darling affirms that the Mamaia leaders were endeavouring to convince the church people that they were purchasing the salvation of their souls with the oil which they subscribed.<sup>(5)</sup>

"You have heard," wrote Platt from Borabora in 1830, "of the Prophets of Tahiti and of the Visionaries of Maupiti, but perhaps you are not aware that one half of their disaffection and spleen is against the subscriptions to the Society and the selling books and their teaching and practice are entirely against the Society - and all they have against us is our being agents of the Society and consequently embezzlers of People's property, and not a few of the simple have been beguiled by them."<sup>(6)</sup>

(1) Orsmond, 20 May 1827, S.S.J., no. 87; see also Henry, 26 January 1828, S.S.L.

(2) The charge of misappropriation was also voiced at Tahaa at the May Meeting in 1826, Bourne, 16 May 1826, S.S.L.

(3) Barff, 26 May 1828, S.S.L.

(4) See Appendix IV.

(5) Darling, 18 March 1829, S.S.L.

(6) Platt, 15 November 1830, S.S.L.



Some of the missionaries feared that the society would be dissolved at the May meeting in 1829, owing to the persistent belief in the charge of misappropriation. However, when it was put to the vote whether each governor should receive the contributions, or a person under the eye of the missionary at each station, the latter proposal was carried.<sup>(1)</sup>

Similar charges were made by enemies to the missions throughout the period, and similar suspicions were aroused. Charter of Raiatea did, for instance, retain the native contributions to meet his expenses, and asked the Directors to lay the amount to his account.<sup>(2)</sup> He also complained of the failure at headquarters to acknowledge the native subscription separately, and said that his position was made worse because of the efforts of certain foreigners to persuade the people that the missionaries misappropriated the contributions. The same problem was experienced in Samoa. As late as 1856 we find Pratt writing to ask that the contributions should be separately acknowledged, instead of with those from the whole of Polynesia, in order to clear the individual missionaries from the insinuations of the priests that they had kept the money.<sup>(3)</sup>

The problem which faced these young churches was much the same in all the missions, and it was natural that some of the missionaries realized that contributions, especially in cash, could well be spent in the field for the advancement of the churches and to cover local needs. That this was not apparent at an earlier date is surprising. However, the contributions were given largely on the assumption that they would help to free the peoples of Africa and India from the yoke of idolatry, and as

(1) See Crook, 4 March 1829, 15 May 1829, S.S.J., no. 95.

(2) Charter, 11 April 1843, S.S.L.

(3) Pratt, 27 November 1856, S.S.L.

a sort of tribute to the great chiefs in London.

In Tonga, where the Wesleyans had a well-established church in 1860, the problem was becoming very real, and was ultimately to lead to big changes in policy. Vercoe of Ha'apai lamented the unfairness of the contribution system as it stood in 1858, and what was more, he was conscious that the people were aware of it.

"Our chiefs and many of our people are quite sufficient arithmeticians to know the value of 30 tons of oil at £50 per ton. They know that, for four years, they have far more than covered all their Haabai Circuit expences."<sup>(1)</sup>

On the other hand, the people of Tongatapu and Vava'u had given far less in contributions to the Society, and yet they received the same benefits. Vercoe took a firm stand:

"That this little group, with some 4,000 people, should send away £1,000 per annum, whilst her chapels are mere sheds, and her native ministers and local preachers are in rags, is, I confess, a matter of which in the future we shall be ashamed."

Perhaps the most interesting commentary on the contribution system was the disaffection of the teachers of Tutuila in 1851, and their demand for salaries. Their principal ground of complaint was that the missionaries were paid and they were not paid. They further complained that the missionaries had not given them sufficient property. Their leading question was, "where ... were the contributions of oil which were received year after year?"<sup>(2)</sup> Powell, who was highly indignant at their conduct, told them that if the churches had anything to give them, it should be distinct from the contributions for the heathen.

(1) Vercoe, 22 July 1858, A.W.M.S., Tonga M.L.

(2) Powell, 1 September 1851, S.S.L.

"'Are missionaries everything then?' asked Vaiofaga in a rage. 'Are we birds to fly hither and thither and live on the bush? If that be the case, let Britain support the Missionaries and let leave the contributions of the church here to support the teachers.'"

The teachers further argued that the missionaries were paid to support them as well as themselves. The immediate result of this protest was that the teachers went on strike, and most of them were dismissed.

Notwithstanding this case, there were those who felt that the local churches should support their teachers. Doubtless the Tutuila affair impressed them with the need for such a system. In April 1852, it was entered in the Committee minutes that the missionaries had "long been convinced" that their native teachers in Samoa "might and ought to be supported" by the villages in which they worked.<sup>(1)</sup> In many places this had already been the case "to a considerable extent". An annual and strictly voluntary subscription was to be made in every village "of native and other property for the support of its teacher", commencing in January 1853. The brethren also felt that it was desirable to obtain the co-operation of their colleagues in the Society and Cook Islands. In 1855, George Turner reported that the increasing contributions for the support of the native teachers did not detract from the usual ones to the Society.<sup>(2)</sup>

In Tahiti, several of the native pastors refused to accept government pay. Napario, the pastor at Papaoa, was the last to resist the French in this matter. He was compelled to resign his office, and consequently he went to Raiatea, where he was put in charge of the station at Opoa.

(1) Murray (Sec.), 7 April 1852, S.S.L.

(2) G. Turner, 28 September 1855, S.S.L.

However, the people of his station were obliged to contribute to his support.<sup>(1)</sup> At Maupiti, the entire May subscription was devoted to the maintenance of Hiomai, another ordained Tahitian pastor who had left Tahiti.<sup>(2)</sup>

Thus, it was not until the 1850s that missionary contributions were being used more directly for the support of the island churches. It was also a period in which the missionaries became more aware that one of their principal tasks was to make the island churches self-supporting.

(1)Chisholm, 20 April 1855,S.S.L.

(2)Krause, 2 January 1854,S.S.L.

The Native Agency

One of the most important features of the consolidation of the island churches was the training of a native agency. The L.M.S. very early employed teachers, and in 1820 native missionaries were sent to other groups.<sup>(1)</sup> This policy of sending unordained missionaries to commence new stations was also adopted by the Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides. The Americans had ordained Hawaiians working in the Marquesas and Micronesia. The Wesleyans very quickly raised a great army of local preachers and class-leaders, and quite early appointed "Native Assistant Missionaries" who were given the designation "Reverend".

The work of the native missionaries was twofold. Those whom the L.M.S. called "pioneers" were expected to use their influence to break down the traditional religious systems. The instructions given by John Williams to some of the first teachers to the Cook Islands in 1823 are of interest, as the "evils" of Polynesian life are put in categories.

"All their lesser evil customs you will endeavor to cast down, going in a State of Nudity or nearly so, cutting and scratching themselves in seasons of grief - tatooing their bodies. Eating raw fish, their lewd dances etc. but the greater Evils will require your first attacks and then the smaller."<sup>(2)</sup>

Besides this work of a negative character, the native missionaries were expected to adopt similar procedures to the European missionaries. Those who were merely "pioneers" were usually replaced by teachers with more qualifications to carry out this work. Hugh Cuming gives an interesting picture of the native missionary at work in 1828 at Rurutu. He found

(1) A list of the L.M.S. native missionaries, and ordained Hawaiians, Tongan and Fijian missionaries is given in Appendix VI.

(2) Williams, 6 July 1823, S.S.L.



that "every frivolous amusement of the most minute description such as dancing and Music has vanished even the wearing Flowers in the Hair is no longer practised".<sup>(1)</sup> He regarded Puna, the native missionary, as the best educated islander he had met. After the morning meal, the "Sexton" of the church struck three or four blows on a metallic stone and everyone at the mission settlement came to prayers, after which Puna and "all those capable of cultivating ground" marched to their gardens.<sup>(2)</sup> Houses similar to those at Huahine had been introduced, and all ate together without distinction in the "Banqueting House". Besides preaching sermons from "skeletons" prepared for them, the native missionaries gave catechetical instruction and commenced schools.

Although the missionaries gave the highest praise to the native agency in their more public pronouncements, the prevailing opinion in all the missions seems to have been one of dissatisfaction with the system, or at least a disturbed recognition of its limitations. The missionaries possibly wrote more about this question than any other, as they naturally conceived that the island churches should and would be ultimately the responsibility of the people.

It was quite early realized that native teachers and missionaries should receive some specialized training, and the publication of Hints on Missions by James Douglas strengthened this conviction. However, attempts at systemized training came much later in the field than all the other progressive measures, and a great host of missionaries and teachers were employed who had only a rudimentary knowledge of Christianity, and some few of the L.M.S. agents were not even church members.

(1) Cuming, Journal, 107.

(2) Cuming, Journal, 110.

Even when the native teachers were adequate in a purely technical sense, they often disappointed the missionaries, owing to what might be termed cultural characteristics. Some of these characteristics just had to be accepted by the missionaries, who ultimately became convinced that even Christianity could not change them. The faa-Samoa, to take one example, which disturbed the missionaries of this period, was still disturbing the missionaries in New Guinea and the Gilbert Islands throughout the present century.<sup>(1)</sup> The Samoan teacher took a certain course of action, "because it was"the Samoan way", whereas the European missionary would have determined his action according to his "inner lights". Also the continued influence of Polynesian sexual mores was disturbing to the missionaries, who were shocked at the attitude adopted by many of their teachers to sexual lapses. Some of the most celebrated native missionaries were ultimately disgraced for having committed adultery. The Raiatean, Paumoana of Aitutaki, and the Rev. Benjamin Latusele of Tonga and Samoa, were two offenders in this respect.

Another failing of the native teachers who went to other groups, was their assertion of superiority over the peoples to whom they ministered. This was particularly true of the Society Islands teachers in the Tuamotus and Australs, of the Tongans in Fiji, and of the Samoans in all the lands to which they went. In 1828 Hugh Cuming observed that the teachers on Tubuai "wish'd the people to consider them above their Chiefs".<sup>(2)</sup> They would cause the people to be punished "for very trifling offences such as for singing a song". According to Watsford, the teachers at Ono were

(1) See Goodall, History of the L.M.S., 378-379.

(2) Cuming, Journal, 118.

equally tyrannical.

"They thought too much of themselves and wished to ride over the people, and had we not been led to take the step we did when I was left here I believe our cause here would have been ruined. One of the teachers was a Tonga chief and he wished to rule the land as well as preach the Gospel."<sup>(1)</sup>

When writing of native teachers in 1835, Pitman of Rarotonga said how difficult it was to convince a native of the difference existing between church and state.<sup>(2)</sup> When he had first arrived at Rarotonga in 1827, he had found the people living in fear of the teachers.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1839, C.G. Stevens of Tahiti visited some of the outstations on his way to New Zealand, and remarked that the native teachers "had not escaped the common failure of Natives elevated to Teachers - that of becoming both Mercenary and despotic".<sup>(4)</sup> Very often differences would arise between two native teachers, and the people of the island or station would divide themselves into two parties. Also, the first teachers to an island were very often received into the chiefly families by marriage. When these men were superseded, it was very difficult for the younger men to introduce more progressive methods than those hitherto used.

The missionaries early realized that the majority of native teachers were inadequately trained for their work, and that even the more sophisticated teachers misunderstood the significance of much Christian doctrine. Charles Wilson wrote in 1829 that the teachers were "all very deficient" and "only babes in knowledge and experience."<sup>(5)</sup>

(1)Watsford, 21 July 1847, W.M.M.S., Letters from Feejee, V.

(2)Pitman, 21 July 1835, S.S.L.

(3)Pitman, 22 May 1827, 12 September 1827, Journal.

(4)Stevens, 19 December 1839, S.S.L.

(5)Wilson, 29 July 1829, S.S.L.

"It is true many of the natives have tolerable consistent views of the way of salvation revealed in the gospel through a Mediator; but all I have met with even the best, are deplorably ignorant of the scope and sense of the Scriptures, they have in their hands, generally putting a fanciful interpretation upon them, indeed we have reason to fear that they teach things not contained in the Word of God, so that all must be convinced of the necessity and propriety of using means for remedying so great an evil."

Although training methods greatly improved in the ensuing years, the same type of criticism of the native agency was as valid in 1860 as in 1820. Pratt of Savai'i, who had as full an understanding of the Samoan character as any of his colleagues, wrote in 1856 that he had been "staggered" by a trifling circumstance in the conduct of a teacher whom he hoped to ordain to pastoral status.

"After the service was concluded and I was about leaving the chapel I saw him (the teacher) throwing down what bread was left over from the ordinance and they (the church members) still seated, scrambling for it as a lot of boys would for marbles."<sup>(1)</sup>

Pratt, like Joseph Waterhouse of Fiji, felt that the whole object of mission work was to raise up an effective native agency, on the assumption that the generality of the people could only understand Christianity in their own terms, and in the language of their own experience. Pratt remarked in 1859 that many of the Samoan teachers excelled as preachers, and that the Samoans were "getting to prefer them to a white preacher."

"Often the white preacher gives a white sermon - brim full of good theology, but in its effects, pretty much like trying to fill a small mouthed bottle by pouring water into it from a bucket."<sup>(2)</sup>

Yet these same teachers were often "very confused in their chronology".

Pratt had even been asked by a graduate of Malua, if Joseph the husband

(1) Pratt, 30 April 1856, S.S.L.

(2) Pratt, 31 December 1859, S.S.L.

of Mary, the mother of Jesus, was the same as the Joseph who was sold into Egypt.<sup>(1)</sup>

Most of the concern for the native teachers related to their high rate of moral defection. In 1839 Pitman and Buzacott lamented the "unholy lives and glaring crimes of too many who have here to fore been engaged as native Teachers", and the "irreparable mischief" they had done.<sup>(2)</sup> For instance, out of four Tahitian teachers placed over the church at Aitutaki, only one had been free from the sin of adultery, whilst the current teacher was in "a state of imbecility". Pratt of Savai'i believed in the maxim that little should be said about any of the native converts until after their death.<sup>(3)</sup>

Pritchard was the first missionary to devote his attention to training native teachers in the Society Islands. In the same year, 1829, Orsmond also began a training course. Up to this time, the native agency was simply regarded as a means to "clear away the rubbish" as the missionaries termed it. This was still regarded as the principal function of the native missionary throughout the period. In 1859, Pratt readily agreed with Bishop Selwyn that the native teachers were "better adapted for pulling down heathen systems, and reprovng sin than for building up converts in the faith."<sup>(4)</sup> The instructions given by Williams to the Raiatean teachers in 1823, partly explain the radical changes which took place in many of the islands, and illustrate the emphasis placed on "clearing away the rubbish".<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) See ante, 250.

(2) Pitman and Buzacott, 25 May 1839, S.S.L.

(3) Pratt, 30 April 1856, S.S.L.

(4) Pratt, 31 December 1859, S.S.L.

(5) See ante, 385.

The missionary course given by Pritchard at Papeete was based on the course which he had received himself at Gosport. Bogue's lectures, which Orsmond had translated into Tahitian, were used by him. In 1831, Pritchard reported that each student was taught reading, writing and arithmetic, and took with him to his station in manuscript, "a course of lectures in Jewish Antiquities, a course on the Scriptures, and a course of Missionary lectures." They were also accustomed to "write the heads and particulars of all the sermons they heard."<sup>(1)</sup> In 1833, the sole remaining student at Pritchard's institution, an Hawaiian, returned to his own group.<sup>(2)</sup> During the ensuing years, the main reason for not reviving the institution was the shortage of eligible young men. However, in June 1842, it was resolved to establish a seminary for training native pastors at Afareaitu, Moorea, under the superintendency of Howe. The course was to be not less than four years, and the students were to be given "a sound philosophical and Theological" training, together with instruction in English.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1844, when Howe departed for England, the institution was conducted by John Barff, but it was soon afterwards disbanded. After his return to Tahiti in 1848, Howe re-established the theological seminary at Papeete. At the same time, Thomson, who refused to recognize Howe's pastorate at Papeete, took in a number of students also.<sup>(4)</sup> Matters were further complicated in 1851, when the Protectorate government granted permission to Orsmond to train students for the ministry, independently of the L.M.S.<sup>(5)</sup> These men were then ordained and officially

(1) Pritchard, 3 June 1831, S.S.L.

(2) Pritchard, 23 May 1833, S.S.L.

(3) Howe, 21 June 1842, S.S.L. For Howe's course see Howe, 13 March 1844, S.S.L.

(4) See Howe, 27 March 1850, S.S.L.

(5) Howe, 27 March 1851, S.S.L.

recognized as ministers of the National Church. In 1852 Howe's connection with the Tahitian Church was dissolved, and his institution was closed. John Barff established another institution for the Society Islands in 1857 at Tahaa. The principal texts studied at these institutions were Bogue's Outlines of Theology, Anderson's School Geography, and Chamber's Introduction to the Sciences.

Events in the training of native teachers had taken a more even course in the other groups. In 1832, Buzacott commenced the education of Rarotongan teachers, and Bogue's lectures were also used.<sup>(1)</sup> The English practice of copying out the lectures was likewise adopted. However, a proper institution was not established till 1839.<sup>(2)</sup> Pitman declined superintending the institution, because he preferred the old system of each missionary instructing one or two teachers. In September 1839, Buzacott wrote that he had two students at the institution at Avarua. Apart from their theological studies, they were expected to devote four hours daily to mechanical and agricultural pursuits, and one of their first projects was to prepare wood for the construction of sofas.<sup>(3)</sup>

Perhaps the most significant event in the training of the native agency, was the establishment of the "Samoa Mission Seminary" or Malua Institute on Upolu in 1844. Until the establishment of this institution, Samoan teachers were given a three months' course of "theological and General Instruction of which the leading feature [was] a historical view of Human Redemption on the plan of President Edwards".<sup>(4)</sup> This course was conducted by Day, who afterwards became a tutor with Hardie

(1) Buzacott, Mission Life, 132, 134.

(2) Williams, 26 March 1839, S.S.L.

(3) Pitman and Buzacott, 25 May 1839, S.S.L.

(4) Harbutt (Sec.), 29 November 1842, S.S.L.

and Turner at Malua. By the 1840s, most of the "pioneering" work in other groups was being undertaken by the Samoan and Cook Islands missions. The Malua Institute not only became a seminary for Samoan teachers, but for potential teachers from the various Melanesian islands to westward. There were two courses of four years each. The first was a course in general education, similar to that given in other mission schools. The second was for those who were accepted as teachers.<sup>(1)</sup> Something of the nature of this course might be gathered from the report of the annual examination of the teachers' class in 1847. The students were examined in "Scripture Exposition, in portions selected from the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle to the Hebrews ...Scripture History selected from the facts from the giving the law on Sinai to the reign of Saul inclusive; also in various doctrines selected from the course of lectures on Systematic Theology; and in Pastoral Theology on the work of the Christian Ministry." In this examination "considerable prominence was given to the doctrines of Protestantism as opposed to Popery." Arithmetic, geography, astronomy and "some branches of Natural Philosophy viz. the elements of Pneumatics, Optics and Acoustics" were also included in the course.<sup>(2)</sup>

The training of the Wesleyan native agency was never as efficient, in the earlier years, as the training provided by the L.M.S. Buzacott went so far as to say that the only qualification of the Wesleyan teachers in Samoa in 1835, was that they could read the "B - A, ba."<sup>(3)</sup> Pratt was equally uncomplimentary of their abilities in 1841.

(1) See Erskine, Journal, 83.

(2) Heath, Buchanan and Sunderland, 30 September 1847, S.S.L.

(3) Buzacott, 21 November 1835, S.S.L.



"They are preaching this week - at the night dances next week, and about a month after they may again be appointed Teachers. ... Their preaching (which I have often heard) is a mere jumble of Old Testament History in which they make Abraham, Joshua and Dagon actors in the same story; or they talk about the laws of God and the necessity of a moral life in order to salvation."(1)

The L.M.S. missionaries also maintained that the Tongan teachers were mainly responsible for creating the party spirit in Samoa. According to Macdonald of Savai'i, the Rev. Benjamin Latusele preached "through the length and breadth of the land that 'it is the will of God that Samoa should be divided into two parties'."(2) Nisbet maintained that the Tongan teachers wished to keep a hold on Samoa "on account of the good things of this life they obtain thereby."(3)

However, some of the Wesleyans had no illusions about many of their teachers. Whewell wrote of the ignorance of the "Assistant Missionaries" in 1856.

"What can they know ... See their literature. Mr. Thomas' hymns - a translation of our I and II catechisms - one also on Geography - an unfinished Bible and the 'Morning Service'. This would be something to an English man but a Tonga - man's cast of mind and calibre of intellect and range of observation are as different as the same natural object appears viewed through different ends of a telescope."(4)

When the Rev. John Waterhouse visited Tonga and Fiji in 1841, he advocated the need for the better training of native teachers. At the Fiji district meeting, it was proposed to establish an institution "to be called the Feejee Islands Wesleyan Academy for the training of Native Assistant Missionaries." This institution was to be established at Lakemba under the superintendence of Hunt, who was to instruct them in "the great

(1) Pratt, 6 September 1841, S.S.L.

(2) Macdonald, 13 September 1843, S.S.L.

(3) Nisbet, 15 October 1855, S.S.L.

(4) Whewell, 4 August 1856, A.W.M.S., Tonga M.L.

principles of Wesleyan Theology, as embodied in our standard works (,) also in the English Language (,) Geography, writing and other branches of useful knowledge.<sup>(1)</sup> Hunt never fulfilled his role, and the training institution was commenced under the charge of Francis Wilson.

Joseph Waterhouse was perhaps one of the greatest advocates for an efficient well-trained indigenous ministry. He wrote that when he first came to Fiji, he enquired where the institution was which his father had started. He found it amongst the things which "had been", principally owing to a remark made by one of the Australian Secretaries to the effect: "We want no colleges."<sup>(2)</sup> Waterhouse wrote angrily that, unless a special missionary was set aside for this purpose, they were in danger of promulgating a "mongrel" Christianity.

"I could tell you tales of Native Teachers that would fill you with alarm and cause you to object to their employment altogether."

The "District Teachers' Training Institution" at Mataisuva, Rewa Bay, was not commenced till 1852, when the Rev. John Polglase was appointed principal. Waterhouse continued to advocate the importance of a native ministry. His reasons were set forth very clearly in a paper which he sent to the General Secretary after he had left Fiji, in 1873.<sup>(3)</sup>

It was in training up a native agency, and in extending the churches through these men, that the missionaries both established their work and enabled the church to take more of its character from the indigenous society.

(1)W.M.M.S., Feejee District Minutes [1841]; Colwell, A Century in the Pacific, 424. A similar resolution was adopted by the Tonga District Meeting, 23 March 1841, W.M.M.S., Tonga District Minutes.

(2)J. Waterhouse, n.d., A.W.M.S., Correspondence of J. Waterhouse.

(3)J. Waterhouse, 24 February 1873, A.W.M.S., Correspondence of J. Waterhouse. See also Wesleyan Missionary Notices; April 1873, 88-94.



The native teachers could understand the exigencies of local situations; where the missionary was often confused, they could realize the difficulties involved. They could understand idiomatic speech, which was difficult for the European, and use it to their advantage. Although the teachers had satisfied the missionaries that they had experienced heart conversion, their faith was generally tempered by influences which the missionaries themselves tended to discountenance. They considered traditional prejudices, local political feeling, and traditional standards of morality. In consolidating the church, they helped to break down the barriers of distrust, and they were free from the mental revulsion which was often discernible in the European missionary. The native teachers and missionaries, whatever their defects as Evangelical Christians, were at least free from many of the defects of their mentors. Their contribution to the social and religious life of the South Seas was their interpretation of the duties of a missionary as they themselves understood them.

XXXII.

The Place of the Church in South Seas Culture

To what extent did the institution of the church bridge the gulf between the island cultures and European culture, and to what extent was the church, as an institution, affected by the island cultures? From the point of view of Evangelical Christianity, the church is an institution adapted to the work of adjusting spiritual values to a hostile world. Thus, from the Christian viewpoint, there is no question of reconciliation to the world in a spiritual sense, and the bridge must be crossed regardless of culture. In other words, Christianity, as a religious way of life, stands outside both cultures. The problems lie mainly in the interpretation of the Christian gospel.

In most of the islands, the Christian religion was eventually adjusted to the existing structure of society, although not always without some civil reform. Perhaps the most difficult problem for the missionaries, in this adjustment process, was the role of the chiefs in the religious life of the community. In Tahiti, where Christianity had been established after a political revolution, the king became virtually head of the church, even to the extent of appointing teachers. Thus, the first missionaries from Moorea who went to the Australs had to receive the approval of Pomare II. No religious changes could be introduced without the consent of the king, who still retained those powers which had regulated the observance of the old religion. In 1834, Davies attempted to refute the insinuation that the Queen of Tahiti was actually "head of the Church", and show that the Tahitian churches were "voluntary societies" in accordance with Congregational

principles.<sup>(1)</sup> However, the ideal of the missionaries was often far removed from the actuality, and although the missionaries believed that they had established voluntary societies, they were also aware of the influence of the chiefs in church matters. The laws enforcing church attendance at Tahiti, shortly afterwards united the ecclesiastical and civil authorities much more closely, and the chiefs regained an arbitrary influence in church matters which the missionaries had been discouraging. Though some of the missionaries welcomed the opportunity to preach to crowded congregations again, most of them recorded their disapproval of compulsory worship. How much their attitude was one of compromise to British Evangelical opinion, it is difficult to determine. Simpson, although he disapproved of "compulsory religion", gave his approval to some resolutions passed at his own station by the principal chiefs and judges, which required compulsory attendance at the schools as well as the chapels.

"Believing as [I] do that the principles of Nonconformity as generally understood by Congregationalists, are the principles of the bible, and that perfect religious freedom is the birth-right of every son and daughter of Adam I should pause ere I gave my sanction to any Measure which would deprive them of that boon. This I conceive is not done in the preceding resolutions. They impose no restraint on the conscience nor tests but those of good citizenship, and no infr[inge]ment but such as are congenial with the Law of the land, and calculated to promote the common weal."<sup>(2)</sup>

It was in the period after 1834, that Tahiti came nearest to being a theocracy, in that ecclesiastical authority was assured on a national basis. However, the power was in the hands of the lay rulers, and not necessarily in the best interests of the church. New missionaries who arrived during this period were appalled by the state of religious life, and thought it would

(1) Davies, "Some Remarks", 18 July 1834, S.S.L.

(2) Simpson, 14 August 1836, S.S.L.

be far better to disband all the churches. Stevens wrote in 1839 that "the whole churches according to the most pious and candid Missionaries are radically corrupt and that it would be far better if they were entirely dissolved."<sup>(1)</sup> "We are Chief-ridden, law ridden, and form ridden," wrote Orsmond in his typical angry style in 1836.

"You may were you now in Tahiti see cripples, blind and bed-ridden persons crawling on all fours to schools and to hearing of the gospel. Some who cannot walk shuffling along on their bottoms the hands behind and the heels before with a sort of skid tied fast to the thighs on which to sit, sliding ludicrously but most painfully along over the stones and thro. the mud to the Chapel."<sup>(2)</sup>

Something of the nature of this chiefly influence might be gauged from the prevalence of the superstition that the churches were the sacred property of the Queen and chiefs, because of the chiefly rule that the chapels should be built on the ruins of the old maraes. At first the missionaries had regarded this as a symbol of the overthrowing of Satan's kingdom,<sup>(3)</sup> but they began to wonder, when, on occasion, the chapels were subjected to the arbitrary rulings of the chiefs. Indeed, sometimes the royal party would camp in a chapel when en route round the island.<sup>(4)</sup>

Although, when under the French protectorate government the Tahitian pastors were appointed by the chiefs and paid by the state, many of the missionaries protested that such state interference was contrary to all they stood for, some of them openly acknowledged that the system under the native government had been very similar.<sup>(5)</sup> The chiefly church was a very flourishing institution, when the chief was sufficiently interested

(1) Stevens, 10 June 1839, S.S.L.

(2) Orsmond, 5 October 1836, S.S.L.

(3) See Henry, 21 May 1822, S.S.L.; Howe, 28 October 1840, S.S.L.

(4) Orsmond, 29 May 1839, Journal, 15. See also Orsmond, 22 June 1839, S.S.L.

(5) e.g. Darling, 1 November 1853, S.S.L.

in promoting Christianity, and was a zealous Christian himself. Thus, the Wesleyans in Tonga had every reason to rejoice when their protégé, who became king of the three groups, was one of their foremost local preachers, and even something of a revivalist. However, even the chiefly church in Tonga had its drawbacks. If the influence of the chief was beneficial in establishing the church as an essential feature of community life, this influence often prevented the effectiveness of the preaching of the Tongan pastors. Thus George Lee, writing from Tongatapu in 1857, observed:

"It will be sometime before natives are completely free from under the influence of their Chiefs so as to preach as fearlessly as the English Minister who feels he is the Messenger of God, and a subject also of Queen Victoria and as great a chief himself as any of them. Indeed the great men of Tonga will bear that from the 'Faifekau' which a native teacher would be terrified to say."<sup>(1)</sup>

The chiefly church, of course, was only chiefly in that it depended on the chiefs for its establishment in the community, and was governed, as it were, by their temporal decisions. The question of church membership, however, was necessarily the department of the pastor or of the other members. In the churches associated with the L.M.S., every attempt had been made to show that office in the church was not synonymous with office in the state, and although chiefs were appointed as deacons, the first men appointed to that office, and most of the others, were not chiefs of the first order. A great number of the Society Islands chiefs never became church members, and not a few of the Royal Family were publicly excommunicated.

Some missionaries endeavoured to democratize the role of the church as completely as they could. Thus, in Raiatea, Threlkeld and Williams

(1) Lee, 14 December 1857, A.W.M.S., Fiji, Sundry Correspondence.

curtailed the temporal influence of the chiefs in spiritual matters as much as possible. They insisted that the native missionaries were sent by the church.

"We are sorry to say," wrote Threlkeld, "that the choice of native teachers and the sending of them would not have been in the hands of the Church had Pomare gained his aim in subjecting these Islands to himself; it has always been his practice to govern in the Church and it still remains in the hands of the chiefs at Tahiti, a measure we must conscientiously disapprove as contrary to primitive Christianity, and as such are counted by those chiefs, myself especially, as enemies to Caesar."<sup>(1)</sup>

In chiefly communities, it was also quite natural that the power of the pastor should be pitted against that of the chief. There were possibly signs of this before 1860, but it was more pronounced in the later period. Where it did occur, we usually find that the pastor was from another group. As already mentioned, not a few of the native teachers set themselves up as petty kings.<sup>(2)</sup>

It was not easy for many of the missionaries to accept the limitations of the chiefly church. Their democratic social views were often offended by concepts which they regarded as feudal and archaic. They were not always pleased with the way in which the chiefs were treated with ceremonial respect and homage. There were many concepts of behaviour which they found it difficult to understand, but which were part of the character of the peoples. They had been forced to rethink many of the issues for which they believed Christianity had but one law, e.g. the question of marriage.

Rethinking in the light of the indigenous culture was a necessary part of the adaptation process. After the establishment of Christianity in some of the groups, the idea prevailed that the native marriages were

(1) Threlkeld, 8 July 1822, S.S.L.

(2) See ante, 387.



invalid, and that wives could be cast off and a new one taken and married according to Christian rites. In rethinking this problem, Hunt of Fiji came to the conclusion that such persons were under the obligation of marrying one of their former wives. What was more, he recognized the native marriage as a legitimate one. He believed that when the man became a Christian, it was his duty to keep only one wife, and to provide for the rest and for their families; and although he regarded the previous union as sufficiently valid, he thought it a good plan to have a church marriage, to make it a religious contract as well as a personal and civil one. (1)

It is not easy to define the Christian character of the new churches which emerged. Certainly, there were individual converts who satisfied the requirements of the missionaries, and who were as sincere Evangelical Christians as themselves. But the pattern of the churches derived as much from the traditional nature of the communities as from the personal qualities of the individuals who made up each church. It is difficult also to discern just how much the religious values inculcated by preaching and reading the Scriptures were received on the level of the old religions. It might be satisfactorily assumed, that the distinction between nominal and converted Christians in the islands was far greater than in European Protestant communities, for although the islanders probably had a greater degree of formal knowledge, they had not accepted the concept of personal and voluntary action in religious matters. The converted native Evangelical, however, took a more definite step in this direction.

(1) Hunt, "On Marriage", Private Journal, II, 83-96.



The reaction of the missionaries to the native churches was often one of great disappointment. The picture which Orsmond drew of the Tahitian church towards the end of his career was not a favourable one.

"Sleep, not lively interest, seems to fill our chapels at the times of divine service."

"The feelings of Godly sorrow for sin - the love of all Holy Conversation, - the hatred of the soul to those who love and make lies, - the love of the brethren ... glorifying in the Cross of Christ, and the whole round of feelings that characterize the true guileless disciple of Jesus, and aspirations of souls after God, are not to be found on our coasts."<sup>(1)</sup>

In this outburst, it must be remembered that Orsmond was deliberately endeavouring to show that the opposite kind of picture which Williams and others had popularised, was false. The new brethren who arrived in the Society Islands after 1838, wrote reports which were just as damning - if not more so - than those of Orsmond.<sup>(2)</sup>

Other missionaries in other missions were equally despairing of the state of the church. Whewell of Tonga's letters, in the late fifties, give a picture which contrasts greatly with that drawn by the revivalists.

"The Tonga character and 'gaahi Aga' (manners) is a source of continual trial and endurance to the missionary. They are naturally proud indolent forgetful dirty and ungrateful and I may add deceitful."<sup>(3)</sup>

One might compare criticism of the "faa Samoa". Whewell proceeds to show that their Christianity was largely a matter imposed upon them by the government.

"As Christianity has taught the government to relax this influence and respect the rights of conscience - giving to the people a power of choice - they have settled down into a state of great indifference of spiritual religion and mental and moral improvement ... They disregard the proprieties of common decorum in the

(1) Orsmond, O.O.M., 8, 9.

(2) See particularly Stevens, 10 June 1839; Joseph, 22 September 1840.

(3) Whewell, 4 August 1856, A.W.M.S., Tonga M.L.

rituals of Christianity, and in the house of God they yawn and sleep and spit, and talk and laugh all the time of worship."

Whewell's letters were full of similar criticism, and he painted a picture no gloomier than some of the Tahitian missionaries. He condemned the social state of the people, lamenting their "filthy premises and wretched houses", and said that one half of the young women were working to atone for fornication. In another letter, Whewell went so far as to say that the people were better off in their heathen state, so far as industry, hygiene and morality were concerned.<sup>(1)</sup> The families of church members were baptized heathens, and the churches were made up of the aged and the maimed. Whewell was very early admonished for his gloomy reports, and after 1857 he conformed to the usual type of missionary letter, giving only the brighter side.

The angry or disillusioned missionary compared the church in the islands to the European churches with which he was familiar. He did not always appreciate the great changes which his earlier brethren had wrought, and he had invariably been led astray by the general, though nominal, profession of Christianity in most of the groups, which had raised his hopes before he reached the islands. It is when we find a reluctant, though honest acceptance of the character of the new churches, that we can discern any progress in Evangelical enterprise, for only by understanding the situation and people in an honest way, was the missionary able to adapt himself, not only to the people themselves, but to the Christian church in the islands. This comes out most clearly in a letter written by Thomson of Tahiti to

(1)Whewell, 24-December 1856, A.W.M.S., Tonga M.L.

The Rev. C.B. Andrews of Molokai, in December 1845, and published in the Hawaiian Friend.<sup>(1)</sup> In this letter Thomson spoke of the bitter disappointment he had received on landing at Tahiti, when "one scheme of usefulness after another, planned during a long voyage" proved to be "airy castles".

"Oh! how withering to the fresh love of the young missionary, the heartless coldness which met him at every step. How different indeed from the picture drawn by Williams."

Thomson suspected that such feelings were common to most missionaries on entering the field. He said that his imagination had been dazzled by reading the works of Ellis and Williams, and maintained that the fault lay, not so much with the actual state of things, as with himself. He said that he was more able to adjust himself to the state of things at Tahiti after he had returned from the Marquesas. He then found that the scene at Tahiti appeared differently, due to a change within himself.

"When I entered upon the duties of a church I felt surrounded by innumerable difficulties; I was not satisfied with what I found, and yet taken one by one I could find little to which I could object. I saw that the apparent tone of piety was low. I tried to raise it. This led to a full examination of their christian profession and national character. I compared the Tahitian churches with the report of missionary stations in other parts of Polynesia, in India, East and West, in Madagascar, in Africa, and came to the conclusion that the character of a Tahitian church is only the character of every church formed of unconverted heathens. Their conversion has elevated their character, improved their nature, not altered it. Many evil passions have been subdued; some remain, but religion does not make perfect on earth."

Thomson's conclusion was a valuable admission:

"The Churches of the apostolic days exhibited after the departure of the apostles the influence of old habits and prejudices. Every Church partakes more or less of the **previous** character of its converts ... The Tahitian Church is indolent, ignorant and fettered by narrow prejudices unbecoming them, but part of

(1) Thomson, quoted Friend, III, 177.

their former nature is gradually disappearing. There is much which I cannot approve, still I cannot condemn for there is much which I admire, and a spark of fire is as real fire as that in a furnace, and a spark of grace is grace - though in the midst of corruption, and our Saviour will never quench the smoking flax or break the bruised reed."

This attitude, which it took later missionaries a considerable time to appreciate, helps to explain why the older missionaries like Henry and Nott, not only tolerated, but almost venerated Pomare II, whom the younger missionaries of the Leeward Islands detested and abhorred, and why Thomas and Peter Turner gave great praise to the Tongan teachers, for whom many of the younger brethren, such as Dyson, had little sympathy. The adjustment process was slow, and each generation of missionaries, vigorously critical of the last, seemed to begin afresh. The native churches however, now an integral feature of the community life, developed as a natural growth, and it was the missionary who had to become adjusted, in order to improve.

Conclusion

The doctrinal position at the beginning of the modern missionary era in 1797 was much more clearly defined than in 1860. Apart from the Wesleyans, who did not arrive permanently in the islands until 1826, the Evangelical missionaries confessed to a belief in moderate Calvinism, often to hyper-Calvinism. The emphasis was on soul-saving, and in consequence there was a greater range of method. In the first decades one could find missionaries who lived much more physically close to the islanders. It was an age of itineration, perseverance and many trials. It was a kind of group Robinson Crusoe existence in which, as in the story, Crusoe was very much concerned with his own soul. It was a time of isolation. Indeed, years passed by before the mandates of the great men of the Mission House reached this new variety of missionary, who had chosen to live away from the countries of the civilized world. The early years were years of experimenting and of discovery. Great opportunities for mental expansion were in the very reach of men who had been bound in the social fetters of their homelands.

Yet it is a curious, though perhaps not a surprising thing, that the early missionaries and their successors were largely dependent on their own social origins. In seeking for a new security, they inevitably returned to the values and standards which European, particularly British middle class opinion, had impressed on the social life of the time. Edward Irving had postulated a St. Francis of Assisi type missionary, one without scrip and without purse, as the model to be followed; but it was in vain.

The formulation of new theories of colonization and of civilization, the pursuit of wealth, and the belief in the manifest destiny of the "British Israel", all tended to influence the course of missionary activity. Economic development, which was rapidly turning the godly mechanic into a solid middle class citizen in England, or the colonies, had an indirect effect on the missionaries, who were largely drawn from the mechanic class. The missionary attained, by a kind of "professional means", that rank in the social scale which his industrious brother achieved by economic means. Occasionally, as we have seen, the missionary was not beyond using economic means himself.

The missionary before 1860 belonged intrinsically to an age of faith, an age which had seen the triumph of the values and ideals inherent in the Evangelical Revival. It was an age in which orthodox Reformation theology reigned supreme, as yet undisturbed by the findings of science. It was an age in which the Evangelical polemic was more concerned with Puseyism and Newmanism, than with Neology and other latitudinarian doctrines. The missionary was not an isolated religious flying from some metropolitan Babylon. He came to the islands rather as an ambassador from a chosen people, whom God had raised up to be supreme in civilization.

Although, by 1860, missionary activity had become an accepted feature of society, and the idea of a man devoting his life to the peoples of non-Christian countries had ceased to appear novel and strange, men could still remember the time when missionary enthusiasm was generally regarded as being something extraordinary. As a consequence, the view prevailed that the "latter days" referred to in the Scriptures, were commencing in

reality. In pulpits throughout England and the colonies, and also the United States, preachers pointed to the work of missionaries, as a sure sign that the prophecies were being fulfilled. It was in this context of millennial dawn that the missionary saw himself as a man of destiny. The importance which he placed on his office was very considerable, and at times appeared little short of megalomania. The missionaries who had sailed in the Duff in 1796 believed that their charge was the most important since the days of the apostles. Their successors were imbued with the same belief. They were men who were conscious that they were making history. Their role was absolutely clear to them, as if the pillar of cloud was ever before them, and as if God was dividing the waters for their triumphal entry into the promised land. The missionary view of history was a simple one. As an instrument of Providence, the missionary was helping to effect God's plan for the world. In his difficulties, the missionary could call on God for supernatural assistance. He would also have to withstand the temptations and interference of the devil, but in the end he could be assured of an eternal reward.

Because he was so conscious of his vocation, the average missionary was often given to self-dramatisation. Hardships and privations were overdrawn, perils and dangers were frequently exaggerated, and stories of the interposition of Providence were tirelessly narrated. On the other hand, the missionary was thus equipped with the appropriate frame of mind to face real hardships, to face real dangers, and to take considerable risks. Although many stories of missionary endeavour contain much that is exaggerated, it is only fair to remember that some missionaries,



at times, proved themselves real heroes by any standards.

Conscious of himself as a man of destiny, the missionary emulated the great figures of the past whom he admired. He also believed implicitly that he had a mission to effect social change. It was said that man was born free, but that everywhere he was in chains. The missionary believed that man would remain in chains wherever Evangelical Christianity did not prevail. He voiced the doctrine of utter depravity, that man without God was given over to a reprobate mind, and was at enmity with God. It was the first duty of the missionary to save souls, but wherever he went he brought havoc to the existing social systems.

In the period before 1860, the missionary's principal concern in the South Seas was with the overthrowing of the old idolatries and heathen systems, and the formation of churches. In the period after 1860, the role of the Evangelical missionary became more diverse. His role as a crusader for social justice became much more marked. The concern for social justice came naturally within the framework of missionary thought. Those who had agitated for the abolition of slavery naturally resented all forms of racial intimidation. The missionaries first appeared as champions of the rights and liberties of the South Sea islanders, against the occasional cruelties of sea captains or European residents. They also protested against the depredations of various captains and crews engaged in the sandalwood trade.<sup>(1)</sup> However, it was not until the post 1860 period that the missionaries appeared as the champions of their island parishioners in any definite and influential way, when they organized

(1) See George McLean to Murray, 27 December 1843, S.S.L.



opposition to the recruiting of island labour.<sup>(1)</sup>

Although there were certain doctrinal and denominational differences amongst the Evangelical missionaries, there was a doctrinal and denominational unity which led to the development of similar attitudes, methods and patterns of contact in the islands of the South Seas. The Calvinistic missionaries placed a stronger emphasis on "civilizing" schemes than did the Wesleyans. The Calvinists also appeared to have a more definite interest in secular affairs. The Wesleyans tended to be more conservative in these matters. Just as in the education of missionary candidates, they moved in line with public opinion, rather than in advance of it. They were slower in developing the methods and means of their more politically-minded brethren. But they did adopt them, and there were few obvious contrasts between Calvinistic and Wesleyan mission stations, except on the level of personal efficiency.

Binding Calvinist and Wesleyan together in the pursuit of their vocation, was the great theme of the Evangelical Revival, the salvation of souls, and the need for a personal faith in the atonement of Christ. John Hunt perhaps came nearest to expressing the core of missionary theology in his time:

"It was one of the lessons our Lord taught his disciples that few should be saved. Even the preaching of the Gospel is the savour of death unto death to some, but we preach it to all because it is the savour of life unto life unto others. I would go on the same plan with respect to all other means we may use for the good of man and the glory of God."<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) For protests before 1860 see G. Gill, 30 November 1846, S.S.L.; Buchanan, Buchanan Family Records, 77 [29 January 1848]; Nisbet (Sec.), 29 November 1847, S.S.L.

(2) John Hunt, Private Journal, II, 160-161.

This was the belief common to the Evangelical missionaries, which they introduced into the islands. In the mouths of the native teachers it found blunt expression.

"I make known to them that don't lotu the fire of hell," wrote the Fijian Noa, "and to them that lotu the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his anger also."<sup>(1)</sup>

The pioneer missionary in the South Seas was a theologian before all his other interests, and his theology was something by which he lived, a type of faith which knew little about compromise and cultural tolerance.

Notwithstanding the vigour and zeal of the Evangelical missionaries, and their own belief that their methods were the most effective, they nowhere raised up a nation of believers or new Israel amongst the South Sea islanders. The church of gathered Christians had to remain a small minority, separated from amongst the indifferent and unheeding portion of the community. It seems to have surprised these modern apostles, that the people they came to instruct could be just as unconcerned about their salvation as so many, perhaps the greater part, of their fellow countrymen. They had thought that a "simple faith" would have appealed to peoples whom they believed to be less sophisticated than themselves. Everywhere in the islands the facts belied the idealistic conceptions still held by the orators of Exeter hall, and often half-believed by the missionaries themselves. It was true that idolatry had been put down, that polygamy and homosexuality were no longer openly practised, and that infanticide, cannibalism and the burial alive of the aged were practices which the missionaries had effectually eradicated, but the faith of the

(1) quoted Missionary Notices, IV, 66-67 (May 1846).

Evangelical Revival was still but a dim light in the conceptions of the islanders. There were Revivals of religion, but these revivals were part of the "Methodist" machinery, and must be viewed as such, rather than as outward signs of an inward and spiritual grace. There was a "Church" in the islands, but it was a smaller one than that envisaged by the speakers of Exeter Hall.

A different stage of development had been reached in each of the groups. In the Marquesas, little headway had been made by 1860. In the Society Islands and Tonga, the missionaries saw much which disturbed their minds, and which they tended to keep to themselves, rather than destroy the illusions of those supporting them. In Fiji, there was still a certain pioneering excitement - the same can be said of the whole of Melanesia in that period - and consequently there was less room for cynicism, and more outlets for creative energy. In the Cook Islands and Samoa, the missionaries had more reason to be satisfied, but they were aware that it was their prestige alone which - at that time - ensured the dignity of the Church. They realized that the indigenous church could only be developed gradually, that it was not something which sprang up spontaneously after the sowing of the Christian gospel.

But it was one characteristic of the Evangelical missionary, that he was essentially an optimist. All his thinking depended on the maxim that "all things work together for good to them that love God."

"You will rejoice in the report of the voyage of the John Williams to the West," wrote John Barff in 1857. "Our American brethren are also succeeding in Micronesia and the Marquesas. As also the Wesleyans at the Figis. Are we about another onward move in Polynesia. I trust we are, and that the spirit is granting us one of

those seasons of progress with which he makes the hearts of his people glad."<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1860, missionary doings were on the tongues of all sorts and conditions of men. Williams and Livingstone, and many others had been given a place in the national history. The missionary vocation, like the various trades, had been given a respectability of national recognition. The missionary, whether in the South Seas, Africa, or the East, was by 1860 not regarded simply as a religious eccentric with misplaced zeal, but as a representative type of Victorian English manhood.

(1)J. Barff, 30 September 1857, S.S.L.

Appendix I.

Specimens of Missionary Sermons and Questions proposed for Baptism  
and Church Membership

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Skeleton Sermon [L. M. S.]

Heb. 11, 6 : "But without faith it is impossible to please him: for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him."

I A profitless faith is

1. one that is born in man. <sup>full</sup>
2. one that dwells in a heart/of sin.
3. one that knows not God as its author.
4. one that has not strength to conquer the flesh.

II A faith that is pleasing to God.

1. We must not suppose that faith reconciles God to man or man to God.
2. A faith coupled with beautifully shining conduct.
3. A faith that glorifies all God's great truths/attributes.
4. A faith that purifies the heart and guards the mouth.
5. A faith that is bestowed by the power of the Holy Ghost.
6. A faith that believes God and trusts his Son Jesus.

III A faith that is followed by a great reward.

1. It is pleasing before God.
2. It brings great comfort into the heart.
3. It leads us to see that sin is pardoned.
4. An endless rest above the skies is its end.

IV. The improvement to all of us.

1. Faith and knowledge should go together.
2. Alas for all enemies of Jesus who have the faith of Devils.
3. Let us all pray that the Good spirit would increase our faith in God.
4. The man of God must wait till he obtain the end of his faith.

Translated from the Tahitian by J.M. Orsmond, 23 September 1827, S.S.J., no.91.

John 3, 3 : "Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

I The Nature, II The need of this change. In the first place I removed certain errors which I fear some of them have fallen into on this subject. I commenced with the fact that a person who is born again is a child of God, and they all think they are such. I therefore showed

1. That renouncing the gods and practices of heathenism is not being born again, though this is necessary to it.
2. Being baptised is not being born again, though baptism is a sign of it, and if rightly used may be a means of it.
3. That meeting in Class is not being born again, though an important means of grace.
4. Nor is repentance the new birth, though many are much affected by it and much changed by it.
5. Those who are born again truly repent of all sin, so as to abandon all sin. They truly believe in Christ so as to obtain the forgiveness of sin, and it is a consciousness of their acceptance with God given them by the witness of the Spirit which produces in them love to God in return and this is the principle of the new nature which is called being born again. This change is a change of soul, a change of the whole soul, and a change from sin to holiness. It is a spiritual change, a change of the whole spirit, and a holy change seen and known by its fruits.

II We must have this change

1. In order to enjoy the blessings of God in this world.
2. In order to enter heaven.  
It will avail nothing to be able to say at the bar of God, I have renounced idolatry, theft, adultery, fornication, murder, etc. I have met in class, been baptised, have cried for my sins, read the Bible, heard preaching etc. Unless these means have led to a change of heart and mind; "Except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God."

John Hunt, 11 January 1842, Private Journal II, 56-57.

Skeleton Sermon [W.M.M.S.]

Heb. 11, 24-26. "By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward."

I What Moses Refused. Three things which men in general seek after.

1. Honour. He refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter.
2. Pleasure. He refused to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.
3. Riches. He esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.

II What Moses Chose. To be united to God's people.

2. He chose this though his people were in bondage. He chose it he did not endure it.
3. He considered this, his honour, his pleasure, his riches. He esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt.

III The cause of such a choice and such a conduct. Faith. By this faith he saw -

1. The invisible God.
2. The invisible world, the recompence of the reward.
3. The blessedness of being united to the people of God, because by that means we are connected with Christ here and with heaven hereafter.

#### Conclusion.

1. What do you refuse.
2. What do you choose.
3. Why do you choose the one and refuse the other.

John Hunt, 13 November 1845, Private Journal II, 177-178. (1)

(1) Hunt's Private Journal contains the outlines of a number of sermons preached by him. Two interesting but lengthy sermons, which reflect on Fijian life, are those on Matthew 16, 24 (39-42) and the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (100-102). The latter gives a description of hell. See also 27-28, 29-32, 46-47, 49-51, 52-53, 67-68, 68-72, 72-82, 129-135, 170-171, 183-184. There are also notebooks containing skeleton sermons by Hunt, Peter Turner, and others.



Questions to propose to Candidates for Baptism [L.M.S.]

1. Is it agreeable to you to live with one wife?
2. Have you children? Are you willing to have them neatly attired, to attend with punctuality the Ord[inances] of Religion - schools etc?
3. Are you willing to erect a comfortable house - attend to cleanliness within and without?
4. Are you desirous of being taught to read - and attending to the word of God - also to instruction in your bubu [bible] every morning?
5. To renounce your former practices and regard those of Christianity?
6. Why do you desire baptism? Here explain its nature, design and requirements.

Pitman, Journal, III, (loose leaf).

Questions proposed to Candidates for Church Membership [L.M.S.]

1. Do you really and ardently desire to be united as one body, and to live as brethren before God, and the world?
2. Are you willing to take the Scriptures as your guide as to doctrine and practice?
3. Is it your determination to seek the destruction of all vice, and cultivate peace wherever you live?
4. Do you believe that Jesus is God and do you trust his blood as the only ground of acceptance with Jehovah?
5. Is it your belief that Jesus Christ, not the Chiefs, nor the King, is head of the Church on earth, and that the gospel is the rule for your practice?

Orsmond, 8 May 1859 [Anaa, 21 March 1859], S.S.L.

Appendix II.

The Establishment of the South Sea Missions: A Brief Chronological Account

Until Magellan had crossed the Pacific in 1521, the islands of the great South Sea were unknown to the Christian world. Even St. Thomas, the "Apostle to the Indies", and his disciples had not gone beyond the Malabar coast. Then, with the dawning of the great age of Spanish and Portuguese exploration and exploitation, new apostles sought to extend the labours of St. Thomas, entering the Pacific at first by way of the Indies, and also by way of the newly discovered Americas. These men were mostly Jesuits and Franciscans, who confined their attention to the South American coast, and to those archipelagos contiguous to the Asian coast, particularly the Philippines and the Indies, where the Spanish and Portuguese had commercial interests. Indeed, only one attempt was made to evangelise any of the South Sea islands during the long history of Spanish contact, when two Spanish priests were settled in the district of Tairapu in Tahiti in 1774, but they made no progress, and abandoned their mission in 1775.<sup>(1)</sup>

Protestant missionary activity entered the Pacific in conjunction with the Dutch interests in the Indies. Each Dutch colony was a district under the ecclesiastical rule of the Dutch Reformed Church. During the seventeenth century, Dutch ministers made some converts in Formosa and in the Indonesian archipelago. Their methods, however, suggest the close tie which existed between state policy and evangelism.<sup>(2)</sup> At Amboina, the chiefs received a command to have a number of natives ready for baptism whenever the preacher arrived. Furthermore, each preacher received a sum

(1) For an account of this venture see Corney, The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti.

(2) See especially Warneck, Protestant Missions, 45, 325; Graham, Missionary Expansion, 35-38; De Klerk, History of the Netherlands East Indies, II, 502-508.

per head for all those baptised. As a result, all kinds of pressure effected the baptism of those who would not otherwise have been considered suitable. It was not until the 1820s, with the advent of missionaries of the Netherlands Missionary Society, that disinterested missionary activity really began. However, some of the Colonial Church missionaries were evangelical in their methods, and already in the eighteenth century, before the principal Evangelical missionary societies had been formed in England or the Netherlands, these men were labouring in close proximity to the great island of New Guinea. In 1838, the Rev. John Williams of the L.M.S., paid a tribute to a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church who, seventy years before, had been "eminently successful in his Missionary efforts in the Arafura Sea".<sup>(1)</sup> The population of Kisar, near Timor, was then entirely Christian, and a large portion of the Aru islanders were Christian, having native pastors, schoolmasters and the Bible in Malay in Roman character.

The Dutch, however, never penetrated the South Seas. It was left to the discoveries and rediscoveries of the English voyagers of the eighteenth century, such as Wallis and Cook, to stimulate the interest of English Christians. At first only a humanistic and scientific curiosity was aroused. Cook, however, had issued a kind of challenge, by inferring that Christian ministers were not sufficiently disinterested to labour in such remote islands. It was also typical of the rationalism of the age that the view prevailed that the "noble savage" was sufficient unto himself, and would be spoilt by any kind of change. It was only in the newly stimulated Evangelical circles, both within and without the established Church of England, that any concern was shown for the "perishing heathen".

(1) Williams, 5 October 1838, S.S.L.; Prout, Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Williams, 520.

A pamphlet entitled A Letter from Omai, to the Right Honourable the Earl of ----- Late ----- Lord of the ----- Translated from the Ulaietean Tongue. In which, amongst other things, is fairly and irrefragably stated, The Nature of Original Sin: together with A Proposal for Planting Christianity in the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, published in London in 1780, appears to suggest a serious scheme for missionary activity, but it was, in fact, a satire on the Methodists and their view of the Atonement. The philosophy of the tract is contained in these words, supposedly from the pen of Omai:

"My first cousin Twainoonoo taking the moon or fire for God, and worshipping it to the best of his power, seems to me to put in as fair a claim for happiness in the next world as a Christian."<sup>(1)</sup>

Prominent amongst the Evangelicals interested in the South Seas was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Haweis, Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon. A man of considerable influence, Haweis made several attempts to establish missionaries in the South Seas.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1787, he had hoped to send three missionaries with Bligh, but according to Henry Bicknell, who later went out in the Duff in 1796, the ship sailed without them. An attempt to send another party in 1791 was thwarted by the refusal of the Bishop of London to ordain two of the missionaries - they were not University men - notwithstanding the influence of Wilberforce and the Rev. William Romaine. Dr. Haweis was probably the "reverent and learned Doctor" referred to in A Letter from Omai who, Omai suggested, should "settle amongst us with his fiddle and bass; nothing so readily softening the mind, and preparing it for the reception of new tenets, as music."

(1) A Letter from Omai, 4.

(2) See H.R.Haweis, Travel and Talk, II, 198-200; Davies, History of the Tahitian Mission, chapter 1; Lovett, History of the L.M.S., I, 117-119.

"And although I should not utterly despair of melting down my audience by half-a-score nose-flutes, yet do they rather resemble the natural bagpipical drawl of your Methodists."(1)

The founding of the Missionary Society, afterwards officially known by its sub-title, the London Missionary Society, in 1795,<sup>(2)</sup> in which Dr. Haweis took a prominent part, gave him the opportunity he had always wished for, and it was largely his own personal influence, and his liberal financial support, which persuaded the Directors to establish their first mission in the South Seas. A ship was purchased, the Duff, a ship which, as to crew and company, was far more saintly than the Mayflower. It took a complement of thirty missionaries, several of whom were married, and four of whom had received regular ordination, and established three missions in 1797 at Matavai in Tahiti, at Tongatapu, and at Tahuata in the Marquesas. The Tongan and Marquesan missions were shortlived, terminating in 1800 and 1799 respectively, but the Tahitian mission, though temporarily abandoned in 1808, survived to become the nucleus of the L.M.S. in the South Seas, and between 1817 and 1822, European missionaries were also established at Huahine, Raiatea, Borabora and Tahaa in the Leeward Islands. Thus began the first sustained Christian missionary activity in the South Sea islands.

In New Zealand, a similar Evangelical mission was established by the Church Missionary Society at the Bay of Islands in 1814, under the immediate direction of the Rev. Samuel Marsden. Although Marsden has received his due in most things, it is not often acknowledged that it was his direction and policies which most influenced the Church, London and Wesleyan Societies in the South Seas until 1826. As a Director of the L.M.S., he was principally responsible for the resumption of the Tahitian mission in 1811, and

(1) A Letter from Omai, 15.

(2) See the three histories of the L.M.S. by Ellis, Horne and Lovett.

his work as agent of the society, though often thankless, was an invaluable service. It was Marsden also who first really divided the South Seas into Evangelical compartments. Had there not been his disinterested zeal at the outset, sectarian differences might have been emphasised, and party quarrels taken into the South Seas. Marsden himself took part in the opening of the Wesleyan mission in New Zealand during the years 1819 to 1822.

The L.M.S. did not resume the Tongan mission, although one of the first missionaries, William Shelley, who served for some time in the Tahitian mission, never abandoned the idea of returning to Tonga himself. In 1807, he visited several of the islands, making observations relating to the suitability of establishing missions. In 1808, he sailed to England in order to obtain assistance in carrying out his plans. Marsden was also in England at the time, but both men were unable to influence the Directors who, in Marsden's own words, "for want of local knowledge and practical experience, were not able to appreciate the value of Mr. Shelley's communications to them."<sup>(1)</sup>

Although Shelley was disappointed, he visited the islands again in 1813, and formed the resolution of drawing up all his observations for publication. On another visit to Tonga, Shelley left a European with the people to prepare for his return with his family, but he died shortly afterwards in 1815, and the European was brought back to Port Jackson.<sup>(2)</sup>

Although Shelley never returned to Tonga, his widow continued to advocate the resumption of the Tongan mission, and the arrival of the first Wesleyan missionary to Tonga (Rev. Walter Lawry) in 1822, was part of a continuous movement, rather than an isolated attempt to found a new mission. Even

(1) Marsden, Funeral Sermon, 40-41.

(2) Marsden to Joseph Butterworth, 22 December 1817, W.M.M.S., Records-N.S.W.

Mrs. Lawry was the daughter of Rowland Hassall, an old Duff missionary. Owing to his own health and difficulties with the Committee at home, Lawry left the Tongan mission. Although supported by the Committee, Lawry's effort was in many ways a private venture.

As early as 1822, native missionaries from the church of Borabora were sent to Vava'u in the Tongan group. In 1826, Tahitian missionaries were sent to Lakemba in the Lau islands of the Fijian group, but they were detained at Tongatapu, and had begun an effective ministry there when the Wesleyan missionaries recommenced their labours in 1826.<sup>(1)</sup> European missionaries settled at the Ha'apai and Vava'u islands in 1830 and in 1832. Teachers from these groups were almost immediately sent to Niuatoputapu, Niuafu'ou and Uvea (Wallis). At Uvea, a civil war and the establishment of a strong Catholic mission resulted in the death of the Tongan teacher, and the withdrawal of the Wesleyans.

In 1835, the Wesleyans extended their labours to Lakemba, which had first been entered by three Tahitian teachers in 1830. These teachers had been forced to leave Lakemba about 1832, but had been quite successful at Oneata, where they continued to labour until their deaths. Rotuma was also taken over from L.M.S. native agents.

The Wesleyans also entered Samoa. This, unlike the entrance into most groups, began as a "follow-up" movement, some influential Samoan families having embraced Christianity, both at Tonga and by means of Tongans living in Samoa. The first Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. Peter Turner, arrived from Tonga in 1835. As early as 1830 L.M.S. native agents had been brought to Samoa. After the arrival of a large group

(1) Language difficulties prevented these Tahitian teachers from conveying much of a positive Christian nature.

of L.M.S. missionaries in 1836, a bitter controversy arose<sup>(1)</sup> between the two societies. Although the Wesleyan missionaries reluctantly withdrew, the followers of the lotu Tonga, as the Wesleyan worship was called, refused to unite with the L.M.S. In this they were largely influenced by Samoan political faction, the "imperialistic" policy of the Tongan king, the self-interest of Tongan teachers, and perhaps the encouragement given by some of the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga. The Committee of the Australian Methodist Missionary Society, who took over the South Sea Missions in 1855, regarded the continued existence of a Wesleyan cause in Samoa since about 1826 as sufficient reason for resuming the mission, and notwithstanding the various agreements between the two London societies, the Australian Conference sent a missionary (Rev. Martin Dyson) who arrived in Samoa in 1857.

Another early Evangelical missionary society to commence work in the South Seas, was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1820 a mission was established at the Hawaiian Islands. In the years immediately following, this mission was assisted by the Rev. William Ellis from the Society Islands mission, and a band of Society Islands teachers. The A.B.C.F.M. confined most of its labours to islands north of the line, but during 1833 and 1834 they attempted to establish a mission in the northern Marquesas. It was not until 1851 that they turned their attention to the great ocean of islands known as Micronesia. Stations were commenced at Kusaie and Ponape in the Caroline Islands in 1852, at Ebon in the Marshall group in 1855, and at Abaiang in the Northern Gilberts in 1857.

(1)The story of the Samoan controversy is told ante,<sup>242</sup>.



In Hawaii, a local missionary society was formed which reopened the Marquesan mission in 1853, and also sent ordained Hawaiians and catechists to Micronesia. The only European connected with the Marquesan venture was James Bicknell (afterwards ordained), great nephew of that Henry Bicknell who was to have come with Bligh.

There is little doubt that L.M.S. native agents played an important role in the establishment of the Wesleyan missions at Tonga, Fiji and Rotuma, and of the American mission in Hawaii. Between 1820 and 1830 many other groups were opened up by these agents. Native teachers were early sent from the Society Islands Churches to the Australs and the Tuamotus [Anaa, 1821; Rurutu, 1821; Raivavae, 1822; Tubuai, 1822; Rimatara, 1822; Rapa, 1825; Makatea, 1829; Mangareva, 1832]. No L.M.S. missionary resided on these islands, until Lind went to Rurutu in 1852 and remained until 1855, although two German missionaries, belonging to Gossner's Society, spent several months on the same island earlier in 1852. However, periodic visitations were made.

Native teachers went to Tupuaemanu<sup>(1)</sup> and to Maupiti in 1822. The various Cook Islands were also evangelised from the Society Islands by native teachers [Aitutaki, 1823; Rarotonga, 1823; Mangaia, 1823; Mauke, 1823; Mitiaro, 1823; Atiu, 1824]. European missionaries soon followed, the first arriving at Rarotonga in 1827. In 1825, the first native teachers were sent to the Marquesas, but they made little impression. They were still being sent when European missionaries arrived in 1834. In 1841, the mission was abandoned and no more attempts were made until it was reopened by the Hawaiian Missionary Society.

(1) More usually referred to as Maiaoiti in the mission records.

A new age of missionary pioneering began when John Williams sailed westward to the "dark" islands of Melanesia, and to his death. As early as 1839, teachers from amongst the Samoan converts were sent to the southern Melanesian islands, then known as "Western Polynesia". They were joined in this pioneering work by Rarotongan teachers. Samoan missionaries also laboured (from 1839 to 1845) at Rotuma, which the Wesleyan Missionary Society occupied in 1841. The various islands of the southern New Hebrides group were occupied in fairly quick succession [Tana, 1839; Eromanga, 1840; Aniwa, 1840; Aneityum, 1841; Futuna, 1841; Efate, 1845]. However, several attempts had to be made on some of them before missionaries could be permanently settled. For two years (1842-1843) European missionaries actually resided on Tana, but the mission was not permanently established until 1854. Samoan and Rarotongan missionaries also pioneered the mainland of New Caledonia (1841 - 1845), the Isle of Pines and the Loyalty Islands [Mare, 1841; Lifu, 1845; Toka, 1852; Uea, 1857], but the mission at New Caledonia was not resumed. There were no European missionaries resident in the Loyalty Islands until 1854.

During his visit to England (1854-1858), the Rev. John Williams appealed to the Presbyterian Churches for missionary support. He visited Scotland in October and November 1855, and stimulated interest in the South Seas as a mission field.<sup>(1)</sup> Judging by the reception accorded him by the United Secession Church, he believed that it would be possible for that body to support a mission to New Caledonia. He conferred with several ministers, and it was on the understanding that he should place native teachers on New Caledonia, that £500 was placed at his disposal. However,

(1) See Prout, Memoirs, 438-440.

when the first independent<sup>(1)</sup> Presbyterian missionary arrived (Rev. John Geddie, sent by the Church of Nova Scotia), he was placed at Aneityum in the New Hebrides.

From 1840 onwards, the Samoan mission of the L.M.S. was anxious to see the "Westward Islands" occupied by European missionaries. The Presbyterians were the first to respond to the encouragement of the Samoan mission, and occupied the Southern New Hebrides. On the other hand, New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, which had been the proposed "site" for the Presbyterian mission, were for a time without a sponsor. The Samoan brethren attempted to interest the Church Missionary Society, as a kindred Evangelical body. The C.M.S. does not appear to have been interested, and rather than expose the ground which the L.M.S. had prepared, to the Puseyite errors of the Melanesian mission, the Loyalty Islands were left in the hands of the L.M.S. This was facilitated by the decision of the Australian Congregational Churches (through the N.S.W. Auxiliary to the L.M.S.) to support two missionaries.

It is interesting that the L.M.S. missionaries at Samoa took such a definite stand against Bishop Selwyn, for whom they held a high personal regard, and with whom they corresponded in the most amicable way. Selwyn, himself, employed the greatest tact and diplomacy in dealing with them, and his counsel to the Rev. W. Nihill, whom he left on Mare because of his health, is a memorial to his good sense, and his desire not to offend the religious susceptibilities of his Evangelical brethren on what was virtually their own territory.

(1) There were already Presbyterians connected with the L.M.S.

"Even if the island were already ceded to us," he wrote, some discretion and tenderness would be necessary in altering the form of worship to which the native converts have been accustomed."(1)

At a meeting in Apia in June 1848, a minute was passed to the effect that the Samoan mission had engaged to pass over the New Caledonian group to the C.M.S., on the condition that the L.M.S. had the "exclusive occupation of the New Hebrides". In 1852, in referring to this minute, Murray and Sunderland revealed their views on the question:

"We are under no obligations however, from any past engagements to give up the Group to the Bishop as an individual, or to the Episcopal Board in Sydney. He and other parties connected with that Board are strongly suspected of Busevite leanings, and on this and other grounds we feel it to be a very responsible thing to hand over to them these thousands of souls ... "(2)

Consequently, at the next meeting, a further resolution was passed, that the New Caledonian group should only be handed over to missionaries who were under the "exclusive control" of the Directors of the C.M.S., and that Bishop Selwyn figured in the transaction simply as President of the Central Board of the C.M.S. in New Zealand.<sup>(3)</sup> Although for a number of years Bishops Selwyn and Patteson visited most of the Westward islands, they turned their attentions more to the northern islands of the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, where they eventually settled missionaries.

The island of Niue, popularly known as Savage Island, was also evangelised from Samoa. Several abortive attempts were made, but nothing was effected until the settlement of a native teacher in 1846.

Although the islands to westward had attracted the attention of the Cook Islands mission, opportunities were taken quite early to send mission-

(1) Selwyn to Nihill, 22 November 1853, S.S.L.

(2) Murray and Sunderland, 9 July 1852, S.S.J., no. 146.

(3) Nisbet (Sec.) 22 July 1852, S.S.L.

aries to the coral atolls immediately to the north. In 1849 a successful beginning was made at Manihiki and Rakahanga, and in 1854 and 1857 openings were secured at Tongareva (Penrhyn) and Pukapuka. An attempt was also made to land a Samoan teacher in the Tokelaus in 1858, but this group was not successfully entered till 1861. During the following decade, mission work commenced in the Ellice Islands and the Southern Gilberts, and to westward, the great island of New Guinea was entered from the Polynesian side, so that it alone remained, a great pagan land situated between the old Dutch Protestant influence and the new awakened Protestantism which had so quickly crossed so many reefs.

Of the German Evangelical missionary societies, Gossner's Society<sup>(1)</sup> was the only one which sent representatives to the islands, although the North German Missionary Society sent missionaries to New Zealand. Gossner had agents in western New Guinea and the Chathams, but his missionaries to the Australs abandoned their station after only a few months' residence. However, two of Gossner's former students were successful agents of the L.M.S.

In the pre-1860 period, there was one major political event which disturbed the progress of Evangelical religion in the South Seas, and which, to the missionaries of that period, seemed to loom over them like a great tidal wave. This was the advent of the French, independent of, yet closely identified with, the missionary enterprise of the Catholic Propaganda. The major ecclesiastical effect of the French protectorate which was established at Tahiti, was the "establishment" of the Protestant

(1) See Appendix III.



religion. During the initial stages of the process, the L.M.S. missionaries were recognized as pastors of the National Church. However, they were opposed to any connexion between Church and State, and maintained that the church members, not the Governor or the chiefs, had the right to appoint pastors. In 1852, a majority of the missionaries resigned over an issue of conscience in this matter. Only two elderly missionaries, Davies and Darling, retained their stations. The Rev. William Howe continued as minister of the English Church, and as agent of the L.M.S. at Papeete. The resignation of the missionaries virtually put an end to the effective labours of the L.M.S. in Tahiti, and the French administration encouraged the appointment of Tahitian pastors rather than Europeans. Nevertheless, Howe's ministry served as an important link between the L.M.S. and the Paris Evangelical Society, which finally accepted the superintendence of the Protestant Churches of Tahiti. Although Howe was one of those who sacrificed his society's mission for his own particular ecclesiastical principles,<sup>(1)</sup> his consistency, and his courageous stand against French governmental and Catholic episcopal intimidation, earned him wide respect, and was one of the principal factors in sustaining the Protestant Church at Tahiti.

The result of the French establishment of a National Church was that distinct missionary societies were no longer recognized, and that disconnected missionaries were employed by the Government to superintend the official

(1) Although these principles do not appear to be in exact harmony with the "fundamental principle" of the L.M.S., it should be remembered that at this period these principles would have been held by most of the supporters of the Society [Congregationalists], and that the missionaries themselves argued that Congregational principles had been adopted by the Tahitian Church.

Church. Both Orsmond and Simpson (who had been dismissed from the L.M.S., one for political, one for moral reasons) were employed as successive Directors of the National Church. Orsmond ordained pastors and superseded the L.M.S. in every way. However, Howe and his colleagues had little esteem for an establishment which excluded the rights of Dissenters, and much of Howe's ministry was occupied with a struggle for religious freedom. Such questions as this did not arise in any of the other groups in this period, for the indigenous governments took their character from missionary ideals.

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Roman Catholic missionary activity began almost thirty years after Protestantism had entered the South Seas. Proselytism was directed to converts to Protestantism as much as to pagans. The Fathers of the Sacré-Coeurs de Picpus (S.S.CC.) began their labours in Hawaii (1827), where they came into considerable conflict with the local government and the American missionaries. They wished to establish themselves at Tahiti, and with this end in view began a mission at Mangareva in 1854. However, it was not until 1841 that priests were permanently settled at Tahiti. Comparatively little headway was made by them although, under the Protectorate, and after the resignation of the L.M.S. missionaries, the priests and an order of Sisters were put in charge of many of the district schools. Catholicism advanced more successfully in the neighbouring islands of the Tuamotus, where priests were first established in 1849. As early as 1838, the Picpus Fathers entered the Marquesas, where they made some limited progress.

The other principal Catholic order in the South Seas in this period was the Société de Marie (S.M.). Just as Mangareva was established as the

centre of Picpus influence, so Wallis (Uvea) became the centre of Marist influence. Both Wallis and Futuna were first entered in 1857. In 1838 a Catholic mission was established in New Zealand. The remaining groups of the Central Pacific were entered in quick succession [Tonga, 1842; Fiji (Lakemba), 1844; Samoa, 1845; Solomons, 1845; New Hebrides, 1848; Tokelaus, 1852]. In the islands where Evangelical influence was firmly established, the Marists only made isolated advances. In Wallis and Futuna, as at Mangareva, they were able to establish themselves in the semi-theocratic manner of the earlier Evangelicals. However, they experienced considerable reverses in the more western Melanesian islands, particularly in the Solomons. A number of missionaries were killed, and in 1848 the Marists withdrew from the Solomons. A third society, the Foreign Missions of Milan, took over the work of the Vicariate of Melanesia and Micronesia in 1852, and sent out some missionaries to the Solomons, but this mission was withdrawn in 1855.

Another non-Evangelical organization, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints [Mormon Church], entered the South Seas in 1844, before that Church had been established at Salt Lake City. A Society Islands mission was established, complete with a High Priest as President. Although the Mormons were unsuccessful at Tahiti, Raiatea and Borabora, they were able to establish themselves effectively at Tubuai and in the Tuamotus. Serious difficulties arose after the establishment of French authority in those islands, and the Mormons were obliged to leave. Some years later, the Josephite or Reorganite Church (a breakaway Mormon group) attempted work in the same area.

\* \* \* \* \*



Despite the work of the Mormons, and especially the work of the Roman Catholic Church, the South Seas of the pre-1860 period was, apart from Mangareva and Wallis-Futuna, essentially Protestant and Evangelical. The islands of the South Seas experienced in full the extension work of the Evangelical Revival. Revival was not simply a quickening of an old faith, but "true conversion", the "rebirth of the new man", and to effect this spiritual rebirth, was the principal object of all Evangelical missionaries. Their mission or vocation was to convince all men (in whatever state all equally condemned) of their innate depravity, of their need for a Saviour or mediation with God, and finally of belief in the Atonement, and the consequent salvation of believers.

After 1860 revivalism still played an important part in the Pacific mission field, but in Polynesia proper a new era of Christianity was dawning. In most of the groups, European governmental influence was being felt, and the almost theocratic power of chiefs and missionaries was on the wane, and no longer of such significance. New doctrine and new ideas were making themselves apparent. Moreover, revivalism had achieved its great object: the destruction of the "old man". Strong churches had been built up in the islands, and missionaries were now preoccupied with combatting secular influence. It is true that Melanesia was only in the first phases of Christianization and less adaptable to revival techniques, but the missionary enterprise of "Western Polynesia" was an outlet for the Evangelical activity of the missionaries and the Polynesian Churches, just as Polynesia had attracted the Evangelicals from the beginning of the modern missionary era.

The American Board sent no more missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands after 1854. In 1855, the Australasian Conference undertook the direction of the Wesleyan missions in Tonga and Fiji. By 1860, the missionaries in Fiji had ceased to be the sole representatives of law and order, a British Consul having been appointed in 1858, and already the British Government was being reluctantly forced to consider the question of annexing Fiji. In 1862 the Protestant cause in Tahiti, which had been all but abandoned in 1852 by the L.M.S., was taken up by the Paris Evangelical Society. In the period immediately after 1860, missionary history in the South Seas was dominated by the great figures of Shirley Baker, George Brown, James Chalmers and W.G. Lawes. A new missionary era had dawned, and the commencement of missions in eastern New Guinea fulfilled, at least in geographical terms, the dreams of the first missionaries.

Appendix III.

German and other European Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas.

Evangelical missionary enthusiasm in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was not restricted to the British and the Americans. Indeed, the growth of the Evangelical Revival, and the new missionary societies in the English speaking world, was particularly influenced by the zeal of the United Brethren or Moravians, an Evangelical communion which had constituted itself into a missionary church. Beside the Moravians, there were many in the various Lutheran and Reformed churches in Germany and the Netherlands who exhibited<sup>a</sup> missionary spirit. Some of these men enlisted in the ranks of foreign societies before missionary organizations had been formed in their own countries. Such men as Christian Schwartz, who worked in India on behalf of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, were successful missionaries before the great missionary revival of the last decade of the eighteenth century. When the English societies were formed, some of the first recruits came from German and Dutch congregations. None of those who joined the L.M.S. or C.M.S., in the initial period of those societies, were sent to the South Seas. There were two very good reasons for this policy. Firstly, it was more natural to send Dutch or German-speaking missionaries to areas colonized by Dutch and German peoples, notably the Cape, Ceylon, and the East Indies. Secondly, the Dutch and German recruits were mostly better educated than English ones, and mission policy at that time - and indeed for long afterwards - was that such men should not be wasted on the South Seas, where mechanical knowledge and zeal were the only specified requirements.

The first German missionaries to the South Seas were connected with the New Zealand missions. Apart from Cort Henry Schnackenberg (1812-1880), who did not join the Wesleyan Mission till after some years residence in New Zealand, and several missionaries with Moravian backgrounds, such as Kissling and Baucke,<sup>(1)</sup> the other Continental missionaries in the South Seas were originally associated with the North German Missionary Society and Gossner's Missionary Society. The N.G.M.S. only sent missionaries to the South Island of New Zealand. They were trained at the Hamburg Seminary, and were also given some practical instruction so that they could teach handicrafts, and establish farms at each mission station. Honore, Riemen-schneider and Wohlers<sup>(2)</sup> were all missionaries in New Zealand. Volkner, an ex-soldier of the Prussian army, became a "missionary martyr" when he was beheaded by Kereopa te Rau, the Hauhau leader, in 1865.

Gossner's Society was the only Continental Society which sent missionaries to the smaller island groups. Johannes Evangelista Gossner (1773-1858) was a convert to Evangelical Protestantism from the Catholic priesthood. He lost his benefice in 1817, but did not publicly embrace Protestantism until 1826. From 1829 till 1846 he was pastor of the Bethlehem Church in Berlin. In 1851 he became one of the Directors of the Berlin Missionary Society, but he did not agree with the principles of his associates, and resigned from his office in 1856. He then began his own Missionary Society (Gossnersche Missionsgesellschaft), in order to put his missionary ideals into practice. He was opposed to the growing emphasis upon prolonged education of missionary candidates, and believed that missionaries should support themselves by working with their own hands. He undertook the

(1) See the D.N.Z.B. for biographies of these missionaries.

(2) He was influenced by Watkin's Pity Poor Fiji.

direction of "a number of young men, mostly mechanics, who were anxious to engage in missionary work as Christian artisans, catechists, and teachers."<sup>(1)</sup> These men were required to earn their livelihood by manual labour, and their instruction was given to them gratuitously by pious students. As in the N.G.M.S., there was to be special emphasis on the practical side of mission work. Gossner's policy of recruiting the mechanic-type missionary was a return to that advocated by the Calvinistic Methodist founders of the L.M.S., Haweis and Hill, who placed so much emphasis on the influence of the godly mechanic. Gossner, like Edward Irving,<sup>(2)</sup> believed that current missionary practice was a departure from the apostolic pattern. He believed that the missionary should go into the field "without scrip and without purse."

Gossner particularly influenced the Rev. Dr. John Dunmore Lang of Sydney. It is possible that when Lang became interested in Gossner's policy he had already been influenced by Edward Irving, who had proclaimed his missionary ideal while yet an orthodox Presbyterian. Lang had criticised the C.M.S. mission in New Zealand, because he believed that the missionary artisans had pursued their vocations at the full expense of evangelisation. His criticism was directed principally at Marsden's management of the mission, and the undue emphasis on the civilizing influence of the mechanic.<sup>(3)</sup> Gossner's policy was based on different premises from those of Marsden. He believed in civilizing, but it was simply to be an adjunct to religious teaching, and it was to be a means of making the missionaries and the mission self-supporting. Marsden, on the other

(1) Brown, History of the Propagation (1854), III, 468.

(2) See ante, 102.

(3) See particularly Lang, "Account of the Tahitian Mission", Papers, XV.

hand, had believed that civilizing (by the example of engaging in mechanic pursuits) must necessarily precede the introduction of religious principles. In Gossner's scheme there was more likely to be a constraint on industry, and less danger of creating the desire to acquire more property, than in Marsden's experiment. Gossner's mechanics did receive religious instruction, and they were carefully supervised.

Gossner's missionaries shared most of the characteristics of the other German missionaries. The sanctity of labour<sup>(1)</sup> was perhaps the most important, and was doubtless due to the influence of the Pietist movement of the eighteenth century, so similar in many ways to the Methodist movement. Besides their 'godly zeal', the German Evangelicals were possessed of an unruly spirit of independence, and their reliance on what they believed to be God's will was as characteristic of them as it was of English Calvinists.

Gossner, like Wesley, regarded the world as his parish. He was prepared to send his missionaries anywhere, to India, where missionary problems were more complex, or to the South Seas, provided that there was an "open door". He had a particular penchant for the South Seas as a field, and stimulated interest within Germany in the other missions. In 1847, for instance, he sent a contribution of ten Fredericks d'or from the Countess Hahn for the Wesleyan mission in Fiji.<sup>(2)</sup> However, his society was connected with the missions in the Pacific region in more direct ways. Two of his missionaries were associated with Lang's mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, and later joined the L.M.S. He also

(1) See the article on Whalers in the D.N.Z.B. which gives an account of the manual labour of the North German missionaries in New Zealand.

(2) Missionary Notices, N.S. V, 157 (September 1847).

sent out a party of missionaries to establish a mission in New Caledonia, but the scheme was abandoned. Another party was sent to the Chatham Islands where they were reasonably successful. In 1851, Gossner sent two more missionaries to be located at one of the L.M.S. outstations in the South Seas. He also trained two Dutch missionaries, who commenced a mission in New Guinea in 1855.

The most notable of the German missionaries to the South Seas was Ernest Rudolph William Krause. Born at Torau, in Prussia, he was educated at the Gymnasium there. At the age of sixteen he "devoted himself" to missionary work. He spent five and a half years at the theological institution of the Berlin Missionary Society, and at the University of Berlin where he studied medicine. Gossner then sent him and five others to London "with the view of going to East India to the Revd. Mr. Hart." Krause's decision not to proceed with the mission is an interesting example of the importance given to finding out the will of God by these missionaries, and is best told in his own words:

"But I was stopt on my way by the Revd. Mr. Muller of Bristol, Agent of Mr. Hart, who asked me, whether I was sure in my mind, that East India and no other place in the world, was my destination. I could not answer this question in the affirmative for I felt myself quite at liberty to go to any place of the world, but he said, 'If a king sends a Messenger he tells him where he has to go, and concluded, that, because I could not say, that only and exclusively East India, was the place of my destination, I should not go to that country.'"(1)

At this time Lang was in England, and asked Krause to return with him to Australia to work amongst the Aborigines. Krause regarded Lang's offer as a call, and on 3 July 1839 he accepted. On 17 September he was ordained by Dr. Stein-kopf<sup>(2)</sup> and other German ministers. In November he accompanied

(1)Krause, 6 January 1840, C.P.

(2)Steinkopf was one of the leading Evangelical ministers in London.

Lang on a missionary tour from Edinburgh to Dysart, Aberdeen and Dundee. He became dissatisfied with Lang, and was even advised by some of the leading Evangelical ministers "by no means to proceed any farther with Dr. Lang." On 25 December he broke off his connexion with the proposed Aboriginal mission, and returned to London. He then acted as minister to a German congregation in London, but he was determined to become a missionary. In January 1840 he applied to the L.M.S.

"I do not know what I shall answer to my Lord in the day of Judgment when he asking me could say 'I have given since 12 years a desire in thy heart to go to the poor and benighted heathen, and have guided thee wonderfully all that time, and why didst thou not go?'"

Krause was not accepted, and decided to proceed independently to the mission field. He sailed to Guatemala in Central America, as chaplain to an English company there. (1) When this enterprise closed, he visited Tahiti, where he arrived in March 1842. He was encouraged by the L.M.S. missionaries to take over their station at Atiu in the Cook Islands. From Atiu he was appointed to Tahaa, where he was received by the missionaries 31 August 1844. He was then regarded as a fully accredited missionary by the L.M.S.

Krause and the other German missionaries were never fully accepted by the English missionaries. There was a certain element of distrust or even rivalry. Heath enquired if the Directors had "ascertained the theological sentiments of that pious gentleman."

"Is he not a good deal like Mr. Hughes of Hackney? If he tell the people about Christians in Germany and elsewhere working on Sundays, and the ladies taking their knitting to worship, etc. and do not condemn it, he will at least clash with the other brethren. DO Dr. Henderson and the rest really know him?"

(1) Perkins, Na Motu, 287.



He writes like a good man, but so he may be and yet teach many wild things."(1)

In so far as doctrine and theology were concerned, Krause does not appear to have come into conflict with his brethren. Platt regarded him as a hypochondriac, and disapproved of him accordingly.(2) "The fact is," he wrote, "he has allowed his nerves so far to become Master as to hurry him into odd fancies."(3) Platt's antagonism was largely due to the fact that Krause had "unchurched the church" on his arrival, which was regarded as a slight on the elder missionaries. It does seem that Krause conducted his station on more authoritarian lines than his English brethren.

Chisholm wrote that he was very difficult to co-operate with, and that the bad feeling which existed between Krause and the foreign residents was a "great evil".(4) Apart from this criticism, Krause appears to have been a very active and enterprising missionary. Edward Perkins describes the "smiling evidences of industry" at his station in Borabora, his garden, his observatory, his Priessnitz bathing-house, and his collection of rabbits!(5)

Whilst on leave in 1856, Krause visited Germany. This visit was in many ways comparable to that of Williams to England in 1856. It was arranged for him to have an interview with the King of Prussia, and also to deliver a lecture in the Hall of the Evangelical Association on the "past and present" conditions of the islands. "These lectures," he wrote to Tidman, "are given only by first rate men and attended entirely by

(1)Heath, 22 July 1845, S.S.L.

(2) See ante, 311.

(3)Platt, 28 May 1850, S.S.L.

(4)Chisholm, 18 March 1857, S.S.L. See also 28 March 1856, ibid.

(5)Perkins, Na Motu, 287-288, 345.

the upper classes."<sup>(1)</sup> He rightly attributed his success to the fact that he was the first German missionary to return from such an interesting field as the South Seas, and he believed that his visit would do "much for the general revival of the Mission Work in Germany". Before he left Berlin he visited Knak, Gossner's successor. In 1859 Krause resumed his missionary work in the South Seas at Rarotonga, where he remained till 1867.

Whilst Gossner lived, Krause had kept in communication with him, and he was mainly responsible for commencing the German mission to the Austral Islands. Krause also attempted to interest the missionaries of the other groups in the men trained by Gossner. In 1846 he wrote to the Directors saying that married laymen would be admirably suited to conduct a mission in the Australs. He stated that "such men accustomed to work for their own support and of tried piety" could be found "in a considerable number" in Germany, and they could be "best procured by the evangelical Missionary Society under the auspices of the Revd. Johannes Gossner" in Berlin.<sup>(2)</sup> Gossner had informed Krause by letter that he would maintain such missionaries "altogether", and they would be superintended by a committee of the L.M.S. missionaries. Gossner had also written to Dr. Ross suggesting that some of the Moreton Bay missionaries be sent to the assistance of the L.M.S. missionaries.

In September 1846, a resolution passed in Tahaa in August was accepted at Raiatea, confirming a letter written to Gossner requesting four or five lay brethren for the Australs, to work under the "fraternal superintendence" of one of the ordained missionaries. At long last, two of

(1) Krause, 17 January 1856, S.S.L.

(2) Krause, 20 August 1846, S.S.L.

Gossner's men were appointed, Julius Hones and Leopold Mohn.<sup>(1)</sup> In October 1851 they arrived at Borabora, where they received instruction in Tahitian from Krause. At the end of March 1852 they proceeded to Rurutu in the Australs. The two missionaries appeared highly satisfied with their reception by the people, and with the attentions of the royal family. "Their highnesses, the princesses, regularly supply us with glasses of water," wrote Brother Hones.<sup>(2)</sup> The original plan had been to settle one of the missionaries on Rurutu with the superintendence of Rimatora, whilst his colleague was to superintend Raivavae and Tubuai. However, as they were both unmarried, it was thought more practicable that they should remain at Rurutu. They carried on the normal missionary routine, but were hesitant about admitting the islanders to communion and baptism. After several months at Rurutu, they decided to quit the mission. Mohn was ill, it was said with elephantiasis, and they were both dissatisfied with the provision for their future maintenance. Whisholm made the following explanation to the other Leeward missionaries:

"They left Rurutu principally because Mr. Krause had written to them saying he had recommended Mr. Gosner not to allow them any salary, such being the case and their health not being good they decided not to remain any longer."<sup>(3)</sup>

Platt wrote rather scathingly that they had been disappointed in not finding heathen, "to whom they were devoted", but Christians, and consequently they had left and gone to America.<sup>(4)</sup> Lind mentions their "voluntary self exposure upon native vessels", and their illness on the island.<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Both men were single, although Mohn became engaged to Sophia, daughter of the Rev. William Henry, in Sydney, in August 1851.

(2) See Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde, CIII, no. 8, August 1936.

(3) Quoted by Charter, 21 September 1852, Journal.

(4) Platt, 13 December 1852, S.S.L.

(5) Lind, 25 October 1852, S.S.L.

Certainly the question of maintenance was a moot one with Gossner's missionaries. He, himself, was unable to support them adequately, and they were expected to earn their own living. In so far as unsettled areas were concerned, the scheme was utopian.

Before the abandonment of the German mission at Rurutu, Krause wrote to the Samoan missionaries in February 1852, offering to procure a number of assistant missionaries from Germany, to be supported partly by Gossner's Society, partly by the L.M.S., and partly by their own labour and trading. The missionaries passed a resolution that they would "welcome as many Evangelical ordained Missionaries as [could] be sent in full connection with the London Missionary Society", who were supported by those who sent them out, but they would never permit them "to engage in labor or trade to obtain a maintenance."<sup>(1)</sup> Unless the L.M.S. agreed to support them, Gossner's missionaries could not hope to succeed in the island communities.

Apart from Krause, Gossner's principal connexion with the South Seas was through the mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, although, despite Gossner's wish, Schmidt was the only one to leave that mission and proceed to the islands. In 1857 Lang invited some of Gossner's missionary "operatives" to preach to the aborigines in connexion with the Presbyterian church "in communion with the Church of Scotland" in N.S.W.<sup>(2)</sup> One of the first men engaged in this mission was the Rev. Karl Wilhelm Schmidt, a graduate of the Universities of Halle and Berlin. Schmidt was ordained as a minister of the German Reformed Church. His ministerial colleague in the aboriginal mission was the Rev. Christopher Eipper, a graduate of Basle. The other missionaries were mainly artizan catechists. The first

(1) Murray, 7 April 1852, S.S.L.

(2) Lang, Papers, XX.

party arrived in Sydney in January 1838, and removed to "Zion Hill", not far from Brisbane, in June. The mission does not appear to have been very successful, but sufficient progress was made for the society to persist in its efforts. The first reinforcement arrived in 1840.

In 1842 Gossner sent out four missionaries, only one of whom was married, to commence work in "one or other of the islands of the South Seas, without specifying which." They appear to have contemplated going to the New Hebrides. They were directed to Dr. Ross, the Secretary of the "Society in Aid of the German Mission to the Aborigines"<sup>(1)</sup> in Sydney, to decide their destination. When they arrived in Sydney in January 1843, Ross thought that they should proceed to New Caledonia, as the "Scotch brethren" had not availed themselves of the opportunity of opening a mission there. "Of course the L.M.S. has nothing to do with them," wrote Dr. Ross, "but they may be brought into contact not I hope into collision with its operations."<sup>(2)</sup> However, Gossner's mission to New Caledonia proved abortive, and the four missionaries decided to join their colleagues at Moreton Bay.<sup>(3)</sup> Some of them were anxious to go to the islands, and Gossner appears to have encouraged them in this. In November 1844 one of the lay missionaries, a smith named Zillmann, applied to Heath, then in Sydney, to join the Samoan mission.<sup>(4)</sup> Heath consulted with Dr. Ross, who decided that they could not take the responsibility. Ross displayed considerable hesitancy in his relations with the Germans, and this may have been one reason why Krause condemned him unequivocally as being unevangelical and not sufficient-

(1) The former L.M.S. missionaries Bourne and Threlkeld were members of this society.

(2) Ross, 4 January 1843, Australia Letters. Ross was the L.M.S. agent in Sydney.

(3) See Brown, History of the Propagation (1854), III, 468.

(4) Heath, 2 November 1844, S.S.L.

ardent in support of missions.<sup>(1)</sup> However Schmidt, who was an ordained man with university training, was more successful in his application. Dissatisfied with his work amongst the aborigines,<sup>(2)</sup> he contemplated going to America in 1844. Schmidt's letters reveal a desire to find out God's will on every matter, just as Krause had looked for "open doors". When Lang proposed that he should attempt to establish a congregation in Sydney before leaving for America, he wrote that he would "deem it tempting the Lord to commence any new thing, which he has not pointed out to me, before knowing how he will carry out his plan."<sup>(3)</sup> Schmidt then proceeded to England, where he was accepted by the L.M.S. and appointed to Samoa. From 1848 to 1857 Schmidt served on Upolu, where he appears to have carried out his work efficiently. His colleagues made it very difficult for him when he began to court a Samoan woman, and he was forced to resign.<sup>(4)</sup> After his marriage, he remained in harmony with his colleagues, and conducted a school for half-castes at Apia. Schmidt does not appear to have had any further connexion with Gossner's Society, nor to have given any support to Krause's proposal to introduce German artisan catechists into Samoa.

(1) Krause, 8 December 1859, S.S.L.

(2) See ante, 110-111.

(3) Schmidt to Lang, 15 January 1844, Lang, Papers, XX.

(4) See ante, 297.

Appendix IV.

An Account of the Mamaia or Visionary Heresy of Tahiti, 1826-1841.

"Lo here is Christ - and there are the Prophets - hear ye them." Quoted by Eliza Pritchard, 13 February 1842, S.S.L.

The Mamaia or Visionary Heresy was almost certainly the first millenarian movement to occur amongst the peoples of the Pacific. It was not an isolated movement. The Siovili Cult, which in part derived from it, began in Samoa about 1830, four years after the movement began in Tahiti. In Hawaii, a sect appeared about 1833, usually referred to as the Hulumamu or Hapu religion. In New Zealand, the people of the Hokianga district turned to a kind of parody of Christianity known as the Papahurihia, which flourished in the late 1830s. Throughout the nineteenth century similar movements occurred in Polynesia and Melanesia. They are still occurring in Melanesia and Micronesia.

The Mamaia centred around several men who styled themselves Peropheta or prophets. They appear to have been called Mamaia by way of derision. The Tahitians were obviously fond of figurative and parabolic language. The missionaries encouraged this, and their sermons were often rich with similes and metaphors. A Tahitian, clasping his Bible, would say that he had obtained a great pearl from a deep cavern, brought by the Scarlet Birds which flew from a foreign land across the vast sea.<sup>(1)</sup> Speakers at missionary meetings vied with one another in the use of similes. The missionaries were not slow in making use of such language, and Henry Bicknell once referred to the young people who refused to accept Christian standards as

(1) Orsmond, 29 November 1829, S.S.J., no. 97.

tutae auri<sup>(1)</sup> or "the rust of iron". This term was afterwards used to designate all the young and lawless in the Society and Cook Islands. The first mention of the term Mamaia in written records occurs in a tract prepared by J.M.Orsmond, to which he refers in November 1828. This tract was an answer, or refutation, to the "tenets circulated by those called Mamaia", and it was being stitched with another tract which he had written on the "history, doctrines and influence of Jesuitism."<sup>(2)</sup> The definitions of the term are all substantially the same. Davies gave its meaning as "abortive fruit that falls from the trees";<sup>(3)</sup> Orsmond said it meant "Fallings of unripe fruit";<sup>(4)</sup> and Darling gave the following:

"Unripe fruit, or fruit that falls from the tree before it is properly ripe and is considered by the natives good for nothing or not good for anything either for man or beast."<sup>(5)</sup>

In other words, it was simply a label given to the movement, and possibly derived from a figurative analogy in a missionary's sermon.

To understand the movement fully, it is necessary to take into account the considerable social change which had taken place in the Society Islands from the discovery of Tahiti in 1767 to the beginning of the movement in 1826. So many new material goods and processes of thought were introduced, that the Polynesians found it difficult to account for these things in terms of their previous beliefs, and it was difficult for them to grasp, let alone conceive, the explanations given by Europeans, whether traders, missionaries or travellers.

- (1) Probably intended as a pun on teuteuarii, "the king's attendants." [C.W.Newbury].  
(2) Orsmond, 24 November 1828, S.S.L.  
(3) Davies, "Specimens from Tahitian Dictionary", 1834, S.S.L.  
(4) Orsmond, 4 September 1832, S.S.J., no. 100.  
(5) Darling, Report 18 January 1842, 8, S.S.L.



Between the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries in 1797 and the establishment of Christianity as the "national religion" in 1815, the principal doctrines of Calvinistic Christianity were widely disseminated amongst the people. Even if the people still professed attachment to Oro and Tane, they came to hear the missionaries preach, and even followed them from place to place, whilst many young people attended the mission school, learning to read and write, and committing large sections of catechisms and scripture extracts to memory.

However, after the conversion of Pomare II in 1812, Oro and Tane and their like began to feel the power of Jehovah. Even if many of the Tahitians could not accept the new teachings and beliefs in their own hearts, their belief in the power of the old gods must have been greatly shaken. Pomare II began a campaign against the old religion which was dramatically effective. He encouraged his followers to intoxicate themselves, and when they were sufficiently drunk, they were sent out to wreck the maraes and destroy the images. Great fires were lit, and the principal images were thrown in. The image of Oro, the most powerful of the Society Islands deities, had musket balls fired through it before it was burned. Food, which had previously been held sacred, was publicly eaten by the reforming chiefs. Many of the priests, such as Patii of Moorea, high priest of Oro, joined the new Christian party; others were publicly discredited. Not only did some confess to "deceiving the people", but the missionaries sought every means to expose them as charlatans and conjurers. As in Hawaii and other Polynesian groups, there was more than one class of priests. The principal priests, like the chiefs, were usually hereditary. On the other hand, those usually referred to as "prophets" or taura were mostly "ihoffensive

and highly respected people, who gave way to their inspiration from time to time to make unexpected and unasked for predictions."<sup>(1)</sup> These prophets or "spirit medium" were not confined to one class. Like the prophets of all ages, they were even privileged to cross the paths of kings. The prophets were perhaps the least discredited part of the old religion. The missionaries, who referred to them sarcastically as "oracles", were prepared to believe that these prophets were actually the subjects of demon possession. There was "more than probability", wrote the missionaries in 1807, that some of the prophets "have been really actuated by the powers of darkness."<sup>(2)</sup> The missionaries further asserted that the prophets were "the very life and soul of their religious system". The Tahitians told them that they had had prophets "mae te po mae or from the remotest antiquity." Inspiration was "not confined to sex, age or quality", and all the prophecies concerned "the affairs of the present life, such as war and peace, ... death, restoration of health, division of lands, human sacrifices." The particular place of the Tahitian prophet in the social life of the people helps to explain some of the appeal of the Mamaia prophets, for, to adapt Milton's phraseology, the new prophet or Peropheta was but the old traditional prophet writ large - even to the cultivation of the beard.<sup>(3)</sup>

In looking for the germs of heresy in Tahitian Christianity, we should not ignore the early formulation of what the missionaries described as

(1) Jules Rémy in reference to the Hawaiian Kaula, quoted The Friend, N.S. XIV, 2.

(2) Davies, 17 September 1807, S.S.J., no. 31. See also Ellis, Polynesian Researches, I, 361 ff.

(3) There are quite full accounts of the behaviour of the Tahitian prophets (taura) in the missionary records. See particularly Davies, 13 January 1809, S.S.J., no. 33 (Prophet of Tane at Huahine).

"Antinomian doctrines". We might dismiss many of the missionary references to the Tahitians being Antinomians. Many of those who appeared to act inconsistently were merely living their former life, and paying lip-service to the new religion because it had been imposed upon them. They were not, in this respect, either hypocrites or believers in "false doctrine". However, there were others who did profess what might be called Antinomian principles, because they had come to believe the basic Calvinist teaching, and yet were firmly engrafted to their former mode of life. Pomare II, especially, appears to have held the view that God had withheld his grace from him, and consequently his moral and spiritual lapses were excusable. The arguments with which he answered the missionaries were exactly those used by Antinomians in the home churches.<sup>(1)</sup> Naturally, such doctrines took root where the life of the senses was in direct conflict with the ethical-religious teaching.

Another early movement in the religious history of Tahiti was the confessed return to "heathenism" by those who had already made an open profession of Christianity. For various reasons they had become dissatisfied with the Christian creed and abjured it. This reaction is important, because it suggests the rejection of both the early Polynesian religion, and the imposed Christian teaching. Such natives were hardly likely to re-embrace the old system entirely, and it is extremely likely that they had accepted certain Christian explanations of things, as being more credible than their own traditional accounts. One distinguishing feature of these early "break-away" Tahitians, was that they were not "afraid to die", whereas Christianity taught them to be afraid of God and death, unless they were extremely well prepared for eternity. From the very

(1) See Crook, 13 December 1821, S.S.J., no 23.

beginning of preaching in Tahiti, the people had tended to scoff at the idea of physical resurrection, whilst they had appeared to accept the more theologically complicated doctrine of the atonement, no doubt because of the importance given to propitiation and sacrifice in their old religion. The most notable break-away of this nature was the defection of two communicant members of the church of Papeete in 1821, during Crook's ministry. These two members, Tehoata and Taataino, could read well and had "a good understanding of the Scriptures".<sup>(1)</sup> Nothing inconsistent had been observed in their conduct except inattention, just prior to their announcement that they were tired of the fellowship. Crook said that they seemed to have embraced infidelity, as they told him they "wish to be heathens and they are not afraid to die". Crook's comment was: "There has been nothing to call forth the evil of the hearts of these people, but there must be also heresies among them."

There appears, however, to have been a political reason behind this defection, as these two communicants were implicated in an attempt to kill the king. They had also been tattooing their bodies. The two ringleaders, Pori and Mooriri, were sentenced to be hanged, whilst the four others arrested had to work on the roads and pay a fine. Pori seems to have been the only one who was disturbed by the Christian admonitions, and in a despairing state confessed to Crook that he should die "the second death and be lost for ever."<sup>(2)</sup>

During the Regency period, when the infant Pomare III was recognized as king, the movement towards a return to heathenism was much more pronounced.

(1) Crook, 30 June 1821, S.S.J., no. 58.

(2) Crook, 25 July 1821, S.S.J., no. 58.

Indeed, it was openly asserted that the "era of law" had died with Pomare II in 1821. Pomare II's absolute power had been established by traditional means,<sup>(1)</sup> superiority in battle and political manoeuvring: the new king would have to establish his own rule. The outward sign of those who broke away was to be tattooed. Apart from this, the main features of the movement were to return to the old pattern of behaviour, and to make a mockery of Christianity, especially prayer. Hostility to the missionaries was also marked. When Crook removed to Tairarapu in October 1823, he found defection a much more common thing. In December he wrote in his journal that it was a lamentable thing "that all the young men with very few exceptions and many of the young women turn out very wild. They go by the name of Tutai Auri or Rust of Iron. Most of them have been tried and condemned to labour at the roads, or make cloth mats."<sup>(2)</sup> He asserted that they tattooed themselves "out of bravado", and that most of them were guilty of fornication and adultery. The chiefs insisted that several steady men should sleep in Crook's house in order to protect them from "the wild young men who are in the mountains", but Crook did not perceive that the measure was as necessary as they made out.<sup>(3)</sup> It would appear that there was some organization behind these "wild young people", and that the ringleaders were certain chiefs who wished to re-establish the Arioi Society,<sup>(4)</sup> one of the most prominent institutions of their traditional life, and one in which the chiefs had special privileges. One of the persons responsible for the movement in

(1) These, of course, had been greatly assisted by English guns, and the additional prestige conveyed to his father by the early voyagers.

(2) Crook, 12 December 1823, S.S.J., no. 70.

(3) Crook, 19 December 1823, S.S.J., no. 70.

(4) For details of this organization see Ellis, Polynesian Researches.

Taiarapu was Taine vahine, the daughter of Inometua, chief of Hitiaa. Crook said that she had "behaved very bad for several years past", and that she had come from Hitiaa for the express purpose of seducing the young. Taine vahine was tried, reprimanded "severely but respectfully", and ordered to leave the district immediately.<sup>(1)</sup> After this admonishment, some of the "wild young men" entered into the community life by attending certain services, and Crook even devoted certain times to speak with them. These people were sometimes called "ariois" as well as tutae auris.<sup>(2)</sup> Many of them returned to the forests and the mountains, and even several of the school boys tattooed themselves in order to join the party. On 26 February 1824, Crook wrote:

"The behaviour of the tutoi auris as they are called is arrived at an alarming pitch. There are no less than six of our school-boys now in the mountains and people are going off from week to week."<sup>(3)</sup>

However, unlike the earlier defection at Papeete in 1821, none of the baptized or candidates for baptism joined them. At the same time, the whole district of Ahui was said to be given over to this revival of heathenism, and very few had not tattooed themselves, even the judges. They mocked prayers, and chose the Sabbath as their favourite day to tattoo themselves. According to Crook, they "cast off all religion and though most of them can read well, they neither read, pray or regard the Sabbath." The negative character of the tutae auri movement is clearly seen in the entire rejection of Christian teaching, and the attempt to go even further by mockery and desecration of Christian institutions.

(1) Crook, 21 December 1823, S.S.J., no. 73.

(2) Crook, 3 January 1824, S.S.J., no. 73.

(3) Crook, 26 February 1824, S.S.J., no. 73.

Between 1821 and 1826, the journals of the Tahitian missionaries are filled with reports of law breaking and the scheming of the chiefs. It is little wonder then that the unrest penetrated into the churches. Many of the deacons were chiefs, and church membership was a privilege which carried considerable prestige in the community. Indeed, excommunicated or suspended members would very often sit with the communicants at the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, though obliged to let the elements pass without partaking. In February 1826, Henry of Moorea wrote that there was a general reaction to Christianity in most of the Society Islands.

"This reaction has taken place and been in progress at these Windward Islands for some time past; and there is a great relaxation in the state of the general morals and circumspection of the people, as well as in their attention to the duties of religion, in all the stations here to windward, but not in all to the same degree; and yet, I trust, the cause of real vital religion is still on the increase. This reaction will, however, answer a good end; it will bring things to a proper level, and will discover who are really on the Lord's side and who are not. There has, indeed, been a great glare of religious profession and great shew and appearances here, and much, alas! too much, said about this and the state of things. It is much to be feared, that with all this great shew, and all these favourable appearances, but few comparatively were really born of God, and truly converted."<sup>(1)</sup>

Henry also mentioned that Pritchard had just commenced his ministry at Papeete, "where the reaction was in a state of the most rapid and alarming progress, and that without any barrier to oppose it."

It was in the very midst of this reaction that the Visionary Heresy began in a small way at Papeete. When Pritchard arrived in November 1825, the church at Papeete had been without a minister for two years. He found that his congregation knew "well how to talk about divine things", but he was convinced that nine-tenths of his church members were "strangers to

(1) Henry, 9 February 1826, S.S.L.

the power of vital Godliness".<sup>(1)</sup>

Some time between May and July 1826, one of Pritchard's church members, named Teao, had a remarkable dream, after which he predicted divine judgement upon the district, on account of the wickedness of the people. Teao was certainly not the first Tahitian to disturb the peace of the sinners of Papeete by his prophecies of divine retribution. When Crook had visited Papeete on 13 August 1824, he had found that the royal family had all removed to the little island of Motu utu in the harbour, on account of the remarkable dream of a man named Maruae. His dream was that a great many of the Tahitians were to be destroyed for their sins by a water spout, and he had been warned by a voice to make his escape to Moorea.<sup>(2)</sup> Remarkable dreams were part of the stock-in-trade of the prophets of the old religion, and even after the establishment of Christianity as the national religion, such dreams continued to influence the people.

Teao, however, had much more to say than Maruae. When Pritchard was absent from the station, he went to the chapel and ascended the pulpit, in order to warn the people. It is not clear whether Teao made his revolutionary pronouncements at this stage, or after he had been denounced by Pritchard. There is one story which asserts that he claimed to be Christ, or rather, that he was possessed by the spirit of Christ, and made his revelations in this manner.<sup>(3)</sup>

Teao's doctrine was revolutionary. At first he had preached the wrath of God. This was evidently preached at non-believers, and those who did not listen to what he had to say. His positive doctrine was that the

(1) Pritchard, 19 October 1826, S.S.L.

(2) Crook, 13 August 1824, S.S.J., no. 76.

(3) See Moerenhout, Voyages, II, 501-502.





Millennium had already commenced, and accordingly, there was no more evil in the world, and consequently, no need for any more law. He taught specifically that there was no hell, no sin, no devil, and no future punishment, and that in teaching the contrary, the missionaries taught nothing but lies. According to the missionaries, he also taught that, because the Millennium had commenced, man could do as he pleased; he could make spirits and get drunk, and he could commit adultery, and return to practices interdicted by the missionaries. However, there was one "means" to be kept, which was the observance of prayer. Teao further urged that all the old heathen songs and phrases should be adapted and used as prayers. In keeping with his prophetic role, he also said that they would see many visible signs, and he appointed days to wait for these signs.

Besides prayer, there were two features of Teao's message which had definite roots in mission teaching, divine interposition and chiliasm. The missionaries encouraged the belief in visible displays of divine interposition. Providence was to be seen at work in the works of nature, and the miraculous interpretation of natural phenomenon was rarely discouraged. Thus, in June 1817, Crook had received a letter from Utami, chief of Puna-ania, describing an extraordinary phenomenon. One dark and cloudy evening there was a loud clap of thunder, and the atmosphere appeared to catch fire. This fire appeared to "spread itself over all the western part of the district running along the surface of the ground and the adjacent sea." At the same time the king's house was struck. Utami wrote that some thought the day of judgment had come, and others, that God was manifesting his anger on account of their sins, and was preparing to burn up their country. He, himself, regarded it as a token of the divine displeasure

on account of the crimes of the people, and suggested that he and the whole district should observe a day of extraordinary prayer. Crook wrote back that it was well "when men were awakened to a sense of sin."<sup>(1)</sup>

The doctrine of the Millenium and the second coming of Christ was also specifically taught. Many of the first missionaries regarded the Millennium as an imminent event. They had interpreted the French Revolution and the Evangelical Revival in Britain and America as signs of the latter days. Millenarian heresies had come into being in Britain and America, a sure sign of the religious climate of the period. Crook records that in June 1817 his sermons and the "conversation meetings" had been on the theme of the first and second coming of Christ.<sup>(2)</sup> In December 1820, Davies mentions that Henry read one of Dr. Bogue's sermons on the Millenium at the English service.<sup>(3)</sup> Perhaps the most significant reference to the Millennium occurs in the concluding portion of the thirty-first report of the L.M.S. in 1825:

"The increase of intellectual and spiritual light in every direction, gradually progressive in its advances like that of the morning, which distinguishes the present era, when viewed in reference to THE TERMINATION OF THE GREAT PROPHETIC PERIOD, seems strikingly to indicate that the dawn of the Millennial Day has actually commenced; and to afford to all Christians assurance, that every effort, made in the spirit of prayer, faith, humility, and holy zeal, to disseminate Christianity throughout the world, will be rendered, under Providence, subservient to that great and glorious issue."<sup>(4)</sup>

It is just conceivable that Teao was familiar with the content of this report when he proclaimed that the Millennium was already begun. Certainly the language of the report has a strange irony.

(1) Crook, 24 June 1817, S.S.J., no. 45.

(2) Crook, 23 June 1817, S.S.J., no. 45.

(3) Davies, 10 December 1820, S.S.J., no. 56.

(4) Missionary Register, 1825, 454.

Prayer, another early feature of Teao's message, had also played an important role in the old religion, and praying or religious chanting was the principal feature of most ceremonial. There was also a strong belief in the malignant effectiveness of invocatory prayer. By 1826, however, prayer was regarded as one of the principal features of Christianity. The first converts at Tahiti had been distinguished as "praying people" or bure atua. The habit of going privately into the bush to pray was the distinguishing mark of a Christian, and under persecution some of the first converts went as far as abandoning family worship, and even an open profession of Christianity, but when they could, they would retire to the bush and pray in secret to Jehovah. It was this "secret", solitary prayer which appears to have been revived by the Peropheta. In the days when the persecuted Christians had resorted to the bush, they had also made use of their traditional prayers, not being familiar with any other form of words. It should also be remembered that the tutae auri, which was definitely a nativist movement, had made a point of ridiculing prayer.

Comparatively little is known of Teao's background. He was a native of one of the Leeward Islands, most probably Raiatea, and came to Tahiti with a number of other Leeward islanders, after Pomare II had been restored to the paramountcy of Tahiti in 1815. He was both attendant and friend of the king, and Pomare taught him to read and instructed him in the doctrines of Christianity. Teao became a voracious reader, and read all the books then printed in Tahitian. These consisted of a catechism, various spelling books containing scripture sentences and hymns, a summary of the Gospels and Acts, a hymn book, and at least four complete books of the New Testament, Luke, Matthew, John and Acts. There were also manuscript translations of

other books, and sermons were memorised from headings. It is suggested that Teao knew many of these works by heart.

Shortly after May 1826, Teao's wife was judged for adultery with another Tahitian. Teao was considerably angered by the whole affair, and according to the missionary Darling, he began to show "symptoms of a deranged state of mind."<sup>(1)</sup> It is difficult to assess this opinion, as most of our information is derived from missionary sources, and the missionaries easily assumed that the author of such blasphemous doctrines must necessarily be mad. As early as August 1826, Darling referred to the prophecies as the effects of Teao's "mental derangement".<sup>(2)</sup> In his May report for 1827, he referred to him more definitely as being "always a kind of half wited fellow".<sup>(3)</sup> Exactly the same kind of remarks were later made by the New Zealand missionaries about the Hauhau prophet, Te Ua. Bishop Williams referred to him as having always been "considered a harmless lunatic", whilst the Presbyterian chaplain to the Imperial troops wrote that he had evidently been "afflicted with a species of insanity for some years."<sup>(4)</sup>

The second principal prophet of 1826 was a man named Hue. Hue's background is much more significant in any study of the heresy. Whereas Teao may well have been the victim of his own illusions, Hue's participation could be interpreted as the calculated allegiance of an apostate Christian. Hue was a Raiatean, and related to Utami, the chief or arii of Punaauia. Both Hue and Utami had come to Tahiti from the Leeward Islands, in order to assist Pomare II in putting down opposition, and in establishing Christianity. Hue

(1) Darling, Report, May 1827, S.S.L.

(2) Darling, 24 August 1826, S.S.L.

(3) Darling, Report, May 1827, S.S.L.

(4) Quoted, Babbage, Hauhauism, 24.

was first noticed by the missionaries as a promising scholar in Davies's class at Papetoai in Moorea. When he and Utami removed to Punaauia, they began a school together, and both acted as teachers. Davies later remarked that Hue had been a good reader when with him, and that he was "generally inquisitive" about the meaning of what he read.<sup>(1)</sup> The missionaries, Bourne and Darling, settled at Punaauia in 1819, and when the church was formed there, Hue was one of its first members. Hue was also appointed a deacon, and was very active in church affairs. At the Annual Meeting of the Tahitian/Missionary Society in May 1823, Hue seconded Wilson who addressed the meeting on the success of the Gospel.

Some time before May 1826, Hue was reported to be "drinking too freely with some wicked persons". He was deprived of his office of deacon, and suspended from the church at Punaauia for intemperance and "some other improprieties".<sup>(2)</sup> After his public disgrace, Hue appears to have regarded himself as Darling's personal enemy. Whilst he was in this frame of mind, Teao made several visits to Punaauia. According to Darling, Hue was "seized with something of the same spirit", and embraced all Teao's doctrines.<sup>(3)</sup>

Both the Peropheta formed a party round them. These followers continued to attend the preaching of the missionaries, and Teao and Hue presumed to contradict Pritchard and Darling in public, saying that all that they taught themselves was directly revealed from heaven. Personal knowledge, and even access to heaven, were experiences which most of the people accepted. The belief in spirit possession and transmigratory experience had survived the destruction of the old gods. Even the missionaries, as we have seen,

(1) Davies, History (Bunaauia).

(2) Darling, Report, May 1827, S.S.L.; Davies, op.cit.

(3) Darling, 24 August 1826, S.S.L.

refrained from denying that the prophets of the old religion had been possessed by Satanic agencies, after having witnessed their contortions and prophesyings, and hence they did not regard belief in possession as a superstition in itself. The conception that disease was a form of possession was widely held, and this received some support from the accounts of Scriptural miracles. One of the most vivid examples of transmigratory experience is the story of the trance of Ariipaea vahine, the Queen of Huahine, and titular<sup>(1)</sup> consort of Pomare II. Ariipaea was convinced of the genuineness of her spirit wanderings, and claimed that she was visited by her spirit lover, until she became interested in Christianity, and joined Davies's class of students.<sup>(2)</sup> Such stories were popularly believed. Prophetic dreams persisted long after the suppression of heathen worship.<sup>(3)</sup> The language of religious revival used by the missionaries was also suggestive of spirit possession. Crook, writing in 1823, mentions a popular hymn, which was a translation or imitation of "Come, Holy Spirit, come!"<sup>(4)</sup>

The exact number of followers in 1826 is nowhere given. It does not appear that those church members who were followers in 1826 had any intention of leaving the church. Most of those who became followers were from amongst the baptized Christians, who had not been received as members. However, the movement was sufficiently popular, or notorious, to receive the serious attention of the missionaries at other stations. In July 1826, Crook set aside a day for personal retirement and devotion, and among other things prayed for the people, "deploring their apathy and the judgments of God upon them

(1) She had been 'betrothed' to Pomare II, but her sister was the actual wife of the king, and mother of his children.

(2) For this story see Henry, Ancient Tahiti, 220-223.

(3) For the story of Terematai, see ante, 359.

(4) Crook, 28 May 1823, S.S.J., no. 66.

in permitting false prophets to arise and lead many captives."<sup>(1)</sup> Darling first thought the matter worthy of reporting to the Directors in August. At the beginning of September, when the missionaries met together in Papeete, Davies preached a sermon on the text, "Be not carried about with divers and strange doctrines."<sup>(2)</sup> Also, in September, Utami and the other chiefs deported the prophets to Raiatea. Darling wrote in November that, although his station was in peace, and Hue's followers attended worship every Sunday, they continued to behave in a "very distant manner".<sup>(3)</sup>

After the Peropheta had been banished to Raiatea in 1826, there was little disturbance from their followers in the churches at Papeete and Puna-  
aia. However, the movement had lasted long enough to capture the popular imagination. In March 1827, an old man named Terua was relating extraordinary dreams to the people of Tairarapu. Crook relates that Terua came to the morning prayer meeting on 4 March, approached the person who had been engaged in prayer, and proposed to pray "speaking aloud a strange mixture of scripture and nonsense". The people said it was a "second Teao", and put him out of the chapel.<sup>(4)</sup> Some time before May 1827, the Peropheta returned to Tahiti, and began to proselytize again. In May, Darling wrote that Hue continued to do all the mischief he could, and that he was drawing away members of his church "under the pretence of getting into the bush to pray, using all the [old] expressions possible, many of which are Blasphemous to [a] high degree".<sup>(5)</sup> He also reported that Teao was almost worshipped by his disciples. Most of Hue's followers at Punaania belonged to the

(1) Crook, 22 July 1826, S.S.J., no. 80.

(2) Crook, 6 September 1826, S.S.J., no. 80.

(3) Darling, 20 November 1826, S.S.L.

(4) Crook, 4 March 1827, S.S.J., no. 85.

(5) Darling, Report, May 1827, S.S.L.

family of Utami, but the chief himself strongly opposed the movement, and promised Darling he would see that Hue was taken back to Raiatea.

Both Pritchard and Darling underestimated the appeal of the new movement, and the policy of banishment adopted by the chiefs contributed to the general spread of the visionary heresy. Those expelled from Papeete and Punaauia were sent to the other stations on Tahiti or Moorea, as well as to the Leeward Islands. In purging his church, Darling was able to write in September 1827 that the new sect was beginning to fall.<sup>(1)</sup> However, in the same month, Hue was in Tairapu gathering converts. He visited the mission station when Crook was absent, and succeeded in encouraging a "number of wild young people together with a baptized man who [had] turned apostate" to go into the forest on the night of 9 September, and join in the new prayers "that they may commit lewdness and intoxicate themselves when they please, and that the laws and scriptures may be set aside and the missionaries banished."<sup>(2)</sup>

The attitude of the missionaries to the new doctrines varied considerably. They were most surprised at the doctrinal content of the heresy. In June 1827, Orsmond considered that the number of "blasphemous errors" amongst the people was "truly astonishing", considering how young the churches were.<sup>(3)</sup> Orsmond's contact with the heresy was principally through those who had been exiled to his station on Moorea from Papeete and Punaauia. He regarded this policy as persecution, and maintained that he was able to win back all those who were sent to his station. In September 1829, he was able to report

(1)Darling, 5 September 1827, S.S.L.  
(2)Crook, 10 September 1827, S.S.J., no. 90.  
(3)Orsmond, 6 June 1827, S.S.J., no. 88.



that not one of the "New Lights" had "sprung up" at his station, and that the six or eight who had been sent there had been corrected by a "a little plain talking."<sup>(1)</sup> In November 1829, he was involved in a controversy with Darling for admitting some of Darling's former congregation to his church. The young chief Paraita had been exiled to Moorea from Punaauia about the beginning of 1828 for being "one of the false doctrine lads". Orsmond was satisfied with his conduct at Afareaitu, baptized him, and admitted him into the church. Subsequently, Paraita visited Tahiti, where he was treated "roughly". When he returned, he brought several friends with him whom Orsmond afterwards baptized. Darling took offence at this, and wrote angrily to Orsmond. Orsmond was in many ways an eccentric, but he had a shrewd knowledge of the way to handle people, and even after he was disconnected from the L.M.S. in 1844, his rival missionaries admitted that he had the most efficiently run station. What he wrote in his reply to Darling contained a leading argument:

"But for those false doctrine lads whom you and others have sent here our stations would not have known those gents. Yet all on coming here hitherto(,) so far as we know(,) behaved well. You have done all the stations in all the Islands an injury by judging and sending those poor men away for their erroneous sentiments instead of trying by gentle means and suasive arguments to win them. Had you and Mr. Pritchard left them alone for a few months I fully believe it would all have been forgotten. But the poor men were provoked to rage and are now determined foes."<sup>(2)</sup>

At the beginning of 1830, Orsmond's station was still free from the visionaries, and he wrote that all the exiles had been reclaimed without exception, and were reunited with them as church members. "A little friendly dispassionate reasoning," he wrote, does more than fifty public judgments."<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Orsmond, 4 September 1829, S.S.J., no. 97.

(2) Orsmond to Darling, copied 19 November 1829, S.S.J., no. 97.

(3) Orsmond, 13 January 1830, S.S.L.

On the other hand, Pritchard, at Papeete, seems to have resorted principally to the assistance of the civil magistrate. Some time before March 1828, he closed the church at Papeete for three weeks, because Teao had not been banished to another island, and because some of the congregation, including some church members, had followed the new doctrines. By resorting to expulsion, Pritchard purged his church but assisted in spreading the movement. Surprisingly enough, the only description of the visionaries in Pritchard's districts, comes from the journal of Hugh Cuming, who visited Papeete in January and April 1828. Cuming says that the visionaries had three houses near the harbour of Taunoa, where his vessel lay. He visited these houses several times, and found that the visionaries were often at prayer. He found them "very Industrious in making their houses neat and clean."<sup>(1)</sup> On the Sabbath he called twice, and always found them praying, but he was unable to gain any further information from them. As far as he could see they were ignored by their neighbours. Moerenhout also reports that they were always at prayer, and that they wore long beards.<sup>(2)</sup>

Persecution of the sect, of a more stringent kind, was most marked at the Papara station. In May 1827, Davies had written that there had been no doctrinal "innovations" in his church.<sup>(3)</sup> However, exiles from the other stations soon disturbed the peace of his station. One of the doctrines mentioned as being held by the sect after 1827, was that they were able to walk on water. This suggested a "punishment to fit the crime" which strongly appealed to Tati, chief of Papara, and the other chiefs and judges. Cuming reports this method of punishment being in use in April 1828. He said that

(1)Cuming, Journal, 104.

(2)Moerenhout, Voyages, II, 515.

(3)Davies, Report, May 1827, S.S.L.

several of Teao's followers who resided at "a north part of the island" had been banished by the chief of their district, and ordered to proceed to the "royal domain".<sup>(1)</sup> In each of the districts they passed through, the chiefs made them walk on the reefs and swim over the openings. A reporter writing in the South-Asian Register, published in December 1828, and based on information supplied by Captains Kent and Henry (who had left Tahiti earlier that year), commented on the great persecution of the sect in Tahiti by the "higher powers", and the fear at one time that the movement would "almost subvert the government". The same source claimed that the sect was since suppressed, and that numbers of the most zealous adherents had been condemned to walk barefoot on the reef surrounding the island.<sup>(2)</sup> In November 1828 Crook, who was still at Tairapu, was surprised to see several persons swimming in the sea, and several judges walking along the beach. He discovered that those swimming were visionaries who had been members of Davies's church at Pajara. Tati had judged them, and they had been sent off from Papeeri through the sea. They were to be taken round the south and north ends of the island, and then presented to Queen Pomare. They had not committed any overt acts, but had been punished merely for "assembling together for their visionary practices."

"One said he was Jesus, another Peter,) another John(,) another Mary, and one or more of them said they could walk on water."<sup>(3)</sup>

They were allowed to come ashore in Crook's presence, and he found that their eyes were much swollen and inflamed with swimming so far. Like Orsmond, Crook strongly objected to any persecution of the sect. When the

(1) Cuming, Journal, 104.

(2) South-Asian Register, December 1828, 352-353.

(3) Crook, 17 November 1828, S.S.J., no. 94.

judges had wished to punish the visionaries in his own district for their prayers, in September 1827, he had advised them to leave them alone until they became "obnoxious to the laws", which he thought would be the case.<sup>(1)</sup> In the case of the reef-walkers, he advised the judges to deal "moderately and mercifully" with the "poor deluded creatures", urging that kindness, rather than severity, would be more effective.

Early in 1829, the visionaries first came to Matavai. Between April and August of that year eighteen church members were judged for adhering to Teao's principles and, with a number of others, they were sent round the island until they renounced their views and practices. Only a few returned, and a man and his wife were received into membership again. Some stopped at other stations. Those who returned attended school and church services, but manifested "no inclination to renounce their opinions"<sup>(2)</sup> These people were afraid to associate together in case they were judged and banished. Wilson reported that when six or eight were found praying or conversing together, they would be "dragged away in a cruel manner and judged." He claimed that he had interfered to prevent it more than once, because such methods were "illegal, and not likely to convince them of their errors."

The opposition of the principal Tahitian chiefs to the visionary heresy was decided and uncompromising. They were more clearly identified with the missionary-inspired laws of Tahiti than either Pomare III or Pomare IV. As governors and judges under the law, they retained much of the power which they had been in danger of losing under Pomare II. Under the Regency, they attempted to consolidate their power and build up their prestige.

(1) Crook, 10 September 1827, S.S.J., no. 90.

(2) Wilson, Report, December 1850, S.S.L.

Tati and Utami were, in many respects, the effectual rulers of Tahiti. As Supreme Judges of Tahiti, they gathered around themselves much of the old pomp of their former high chiefly status. Henry describes Tati and Utami in their judicial costume at Moorea in March 1832:

"The two judges were dressed nearly alike and had a very respectable, yea venerable and noble appearance, being robed in long scarlet dresses which reached nearly to their feet."<sup>(1)</sup>

Being civil magistrates as well as hereditary chiefs, these men often interpreted the law as they wished. As the Peropheta taught that the law was no longer necessary, the heresy was a direct threat to the authority of these chiefs. They regarded this aspect of the heresy as being treason in itself, and consequently were particularly severe in their judgments. Both Teao and Hue were banished to Raiatea at least once again before 1830.

It was during these years of persecution that the visionaries received the name Mamaia from their Tahitian detractors, and that Orsmond wrote his tract against their teachings. The doctrines of the sect remained substantially the same as in 1826, and it is difficult to know which were held at the beginning of the movement and which were added later. The principal doctrine was that of the effectiveness of prayer. Crook mentioned in 1829, that the visionaries prayed for three days and nights, in order to be favoured with their visions. In their inspired state, they claimed to hear voices or see visions.<sup>(2)</sup> Darling observed that when they were in their "frenzy way", they believed themselves possessed with the spirits of Paul, John, Peter and Mary, and saw "visible signs from heaven of various things."<sup>(3)</sup> The reporter in the South-Asian Register described their doctrine as follows:

(1) Henry, 22 March 1832, S.S.L.

(2) Crook, 13 April 1829, S.S.J., no. 95.

(3) Darling, Report, November 1828, S.S.L.

"They hold, that the pleasures of this life are good, that they are the blessings of the faithful, bestowed upon them from the earliest ages of the world; that Abraham, Noah, David and Solomon, were favoured to partake of them more largely than common. As for what the Missionaries urge, it is all very well in part, and the sayings of Jesus Christ are worthy of acceptance, but there is no Day of Judgment for the faithful, no condemnation unto them who believe, but they will enter heaven immediately, having their humanity renewed, and their enjoyments made infinite boundless, lasting for ever. They prophesy, moreover, that all things are fulfilled."(1)

The view that they were particularly blessed, as befitting a covenant or chosen people, was a conspicuous belief throughout the history of the movement. Their faith acted as a kind of charm against all odds, whether enemy gunfire or disease, in the same manner that the Hauhau soldiers of New Zealand believed that their prayers and charms could ward off enemy bullets.(2)

Some of the missionaries did not even mention the Mamaia in their reports, and only Darling, Crook, Wilson and Orsmond mention specific beliefs. Blossom dismissed it as being a "good deal of something like Joanna Southcott nonsense."(3) However, Orsmond's account of the doctrines in 1832 agrees with the accounts given in 1826. In September 1832, about two dozen Tahitians were "detected in performance of those vile ceremonies of those called Mamaia<sup>^</sup>", many miles inland from Orsmond's station in Taia-rapu. These persons were judged and banished as "disturbers of the common peace", although Orsmond referred to the sentence as a "species of persecution." He then specified the doctrines:

"They professed (1) that their leader was at the time of inspiration really God (2) that the missionaries are all liars in as much as they state that the soul never dies (3) that hell fire

(1) South-Asian Register, December 1828.

(2) See Babbage, Hauhauism, 34.

(3) Blossom, 25 September 1827, S.S.L.

is figurative not real. (4) that men ought to eat and drink abundantly and take any wife they long for that the land may be full of people."(1)

This last belief has been characteristic of other millenarian movements. The Hauhau prophets taught that men and women should live together promiscuously, so that their children might be as the sand of the seashore.(2) Anti-missionary propoganda also became a more marked feature of the Mamaia in these years. During 1826 and 1827, dissatisfaction had been expressed amongst orthodox church members with the system of voluntary contributions to the L.M.S. Insinuations of misappropriation of the funds by the missionaries, were made.(3) Indeed, the question was such a moot one, that Henry considered it necessary to resign from his station at Papetoai in Moorea in June 1827. The principal abettors in the affair were the tutae auris, who should not be confused with the Mamaia, though doubtless their insinuations were welcomed or shared by the visionaries. In March 1829, Crook was opposed by one of the exiled visionaries at his station, for stirring up the people to bring in their subscriptions for the L.M.S. This man had been one of Crook's church members at Papeete; he had then been excommunicated, and became a church member at Nott's station at Papaoa, where he was frequently excluded for drunkenness and immoralities. He had since been banished from Pare, and sent to Tairapu, for uniting with the visionaries. He asserted at the meeting that the followers of Teao were really inspired with the spirit of God, and a church member, whom he had influenced, supported him. This apostate church member declared that the bible was a "black book", but "their new religion was a white book, and that he was resolved to follow

(1) Orsmond, 4 September 1852, S.S.J., no. 100.

(2) See Babbage, Hauhauism, 57.

(3) See ante, 379.

it."(1) In the same month the visionaries sought to convince Darling's congregation<sup>at</sup>/Punaauia that they were "purchasing the salvation of their souls" with the oil which they were subscribing.(2) There was also active hostility, and attempts were made to burn Darling's house.

Very limited figures are available for the spread of the Mamaia heresy in the years 1827 to 1830, and it is also difficult to determine the influence of the movement in regular church attendance. Orsmond wrote in November 1827 that Darling had "hardly anything but forms to preach to", and that no people had "so degenerated as those at Burder's Point".(3) However, intervention by Utami in exiling the leaders was effective in checking the separatism, and former followers were induced to attend church again. In November 1828, Darling was able to write that many had cast their errors away. On the other hand, he was aware of others who attended church, but who still held their visionary beliefs, and privately made use of the "most inconsistent sentences and words" in their prayers.(4) An article in the Caledonian Mercury for 30 June 1828 mentioned that Darling's church had been deserted. Darling denied this, saying that his station had been no more deserted than that of Papara, and that of Papeete. Not more than ten or twelve members had ever left his church, and most of these had applied to be readmitted. When he wrote in January 1830, he asserted that the whole system had "died or nearly so" at Punaauia.(5) Figures for church members, however, are not as revealing as those for the baptized. The heresy had a greater appeal to the baptized, and to suspended members who were denied

(1) Crook, 4 March 1829, S.S.J., no. 95.

(2) Darling, 18 March 1829, S.S.L.

(3) Orsmond, 10 November 1827, S.S.J., no. 92.

(4) Darling, Report, November 1828, S.S.L.

(5) Darling, 12 January 1830, S.S.L.



the privileges of membership.

The figures for Papara, where the movement was very strong, are also only partly informatory. In May 1828 Davies already had three or four members who were "countenancing wild notions", and one had to be suspended.<sup>(1)</sup> However, there are no other figures to suggest the extent of the movement at his station. Wilson of Matavai reported 30 excommunications in 1829, 18 of which were for "following the prophets", and two were received again.<sup>(2)</sup>

By 1830, the visionary heresy, or Mamaia sect as it had come to be called, had passed its peak in the Windward Islands. In Tahiti, it was still fairly strong in the Matavai-Pare area. It had been most efficiently stemmed in Papara and Punaauia, where the chiefs Tati and Utami were its decided opponents, but it had not been eradicated. It had also found some degree of refuge in the Tairapu peninsula, where some of the chiefs were more actively sympathetic. In Moorea there were comparatively few supporters.<sup>(3)</sup> There is no record of the movement in the Tiarei-Hitiaa area at all. In the Leeward Islands the visionary doctrines were much more widely accepted, and the Mamaia threatened to subvert the entire missionary order.

Nowhere in the Society Islands did the visionary heresy reach such proportions as at Maupiti.<sup>(4)</sup> Nowhere else was it fully adopted by church and state. No European missionary had resided at Maupiti, and the quality of Christianity on the island depended on the native teachers. Maupiti was an outpost of the church at Borabora which, at the time of the rise of the heresy, was under the superintendency of Platt. The native teachers, Reva e and Farebua, had been taken there in 1822. The first church was formed on

(1) Davies, Report, May 1828, S.S.L.

(2) Wilson, Report [July or October] 1829, S.S.L.

(3) In 1828 there were only supposed to be two or three.

(4) Sometimes called Maurua.



2 March 1825, and the first members were the two teachers, the principal arii or king, Taero, and five others. On 5 March 1823, an auxiliary missionary society was formed on the island, and a thousand bamboos of oil were subscribed. Although the church began so auspiciously, it was the only church in the entire group which wholly succumbed to the doctrines proclaimed by Teao and Hue.

When the Peropheta were sent down to the Leeward Islands in 1826, they did not fail to communicate their beliefs, and their reputation for miracles and remarkable dreams all but travelled on the winds. Others who were banished from Tahiti continued to spread the doctrines. As early as November 1827, Orsmond received letters from Platt informing him that all of Maupiti, except about four individuals, had embraced the heresy. Both Reva e and Farebua had committed adultery, and were "in the practice of every vice."<sup>(1)</sup>

Maupiti had formerly been conquered by Mai, one of the high chiefs or "kings" of Borabora. When the island had embraced Christianity, Mai restored Taero, the principal arii of the island, to his former position. Just how far Taero was activated by the spirit of revolt, it is not easy to determine. He appears to have been one of the first to embrace the visionary doctrines, and the chiefs and people turned with him, just as they had turned en masse to Christianity. In a regular assembly, Taero and his chiefs revoked the Tamatoa Code,<sup>(2)</sup> which Mai had introduced from Borabora, and sent the laws back to Mai, announcing their intention to be no longer ruled by them. They acted according to Hue's principle, that all laws "human or divine" were to be held at naught, and deprived their governors and chiefs of all authority. According

(1) Orsmond, 6 November 1827, S.S.J., no. 92.

(2) The Law Code of Raiatea and Borabora.

to Cuming, Tamatoa of Raiatea sent an armed force to compel the people of Maupiti to receive the laws and their governors, but he was unable to restore orthodox Christianity.<sup>(1)</sup>

The visionary doctrine at Maupiti was much the same as at Tahiti. The people likewise claimed to be inspired by Paul, Peter and the Virgin Mary. As Bourne phrased it, they gave loose to "all the vile practices" of adultery, fornication, and dancing.<sup>(2)</sup> However, we are indebted to Samuel Crook, the son of the missionary, for a more detailed account of the "Maupiti madness" and the "many hocus pocus juggles" of the sect. Samuel Crook's account was probably based on Platt's letters, or the observation of Platt's sons. According to this account, the visionaries at Maupiti celebrated the Lord's Supper every Sabbath and on Wednesdays.<sup>(3)</sup> This communion was open to all, including children, and nobody was excepted. They took each other's wife "or a dozen wives in a day", and atoned for this by praying until they felt that their sin was forgiven, and then began again "with their wickedness."<sup>(4)</sup>

More significant, however, is the cargo doctrine which Samuel Crook describes:

"They are to have a ship load of cloth from the skies and a large boat made for the purpose is to bring the ship from above. They are to have swarms of fish come on the strand for their use, wine from heaven in bottles, and cows out of the clouds."

This aspect of millenarianism, common to so many movements in primitive societies, gives strong support for a more general interpretation of these cults and sects.

(1)Cuming, Journal, 105.

(2)Bourne, 20 January 1828, Australia Letters.

(3)The missionaries held Wednesday weekday services at their stations.

(4)S.Crook, 13 March 1828, S.S.L.

Platt went immediately to Maupiti to put down the heresy, but he was literally shouted down, and otherwise treated with disrespect. He was told that they had "more light", and that he was a false teacher. According to himself, there were few who resisted "the delusion".<sup>(1)</sup> From Maupiti the heresy spread to Borabora, and threatened the peace of Platt's church. He was constrained to suspend several members "on the Maupiti business", and several others were excommunicated. Amongst these was one of the teachers' wives from Maupiti, who became inspired during a church meeting. Platt was not sure of the sex of the spirit, for the name given was "as indefinite with respect to gender as Legion". However, as the pa or shell of the spirit was the teacher's wife, Platt referred to the spirit as a female. The spirit's name was Faaoti or "finisher", and she was "come to finish the work of God." She informed Platt that he was a true teacher sent from God, but he had two crimes. Anxious to understand more of the movement, he required her to be explicit. She then told him that he had sold the Scriptures "which [were] God's and ought to be given free", and that he had encouraged the people to collect property for the L.M.S., which was only to serve their own purposes. Platt, however, reacted rather angrily to these assertions, told them they had got the spirit and could work miracles, and suggested that, as they had most of the Scriptures, they should make their own paper and print and distribute their own books. The meeting ended in confusion, and the visionaries were excommunicated. That was in June. In August 1828 the people of Maupiti were still "completely infatuated and inspired." They had also revived their old "tricks of

(1)Platt, 5 June 1828, S.S.I.

deception" or "juggling tricks" in order to keep the support of the people.<sup>(1)</sup> However, in October, Platt reported that "the awful mania" on Maupiti was all over for the present.

Platt believed that the system of contributions was the principal cause of the visionary heresy.<sup>(2)</sup> The teaching and practice of the sect was entirely against the L.M.S. rather than against the missionaries. The latter were only condemned as agents of the society, and "consequently embezzlers of peoples' property."<sup>(3)</sup> Platt, no doubt, found it difficult to forget the revelations of the spirit Faaoti, who had come to "finish the work of God."

Hue was not the only prominent apostate Christian in the business. The principal Peropheta at Maupiti was the ex-deacon Taua of Huahine. Taua was formerly known as Mata puu puu, and was by birth a raatira or landowner. Under the heathen system he had been a principal Arioi, and succeeded his elder brother as chief priest of Huahine. In August 1813 he joined Davies's school at Papetoai, and later accompanied Ellis to Huahine, where he became a prominent church member and was appointed deacon. He was also appointed first Secretary of the Huahinean Missionary Society. His speeches at prayer meetings and May meetings were reported with some pride. During the visionary disturbances, Taua decided to renounce his connexion with the church, and removed to Maupiti where he "became most forward in promoting those wicked delusions".<sup>(4)</sup> Taua, however, was an exception. Many of the other leading Arioi priests, such as Auna, remained loyal to the Christianity of the missionaries. In the Hauhau movement in New Zealand, it was

(1)Platt, 28 August 1828, S.S.L.

(2)See ante, 380, for Platt's statement in 1830.

(3)Platt, 15 November 1830, S.S.L.

(4)Davies, History. (Maurua.)

the old tohunga priests who were the first to accept the Pai Marire religion. (1)  
 This was not actually the case with the Mamaia, but Taua's defection is interesting in this respect. Doubtless, he expected to regain something of the prestige which had been his in former times.

The visionary heresy spread throughout the Leeward Islands. In 1830, the people of Maupiti had unanimously adopted the doctrines, and the position was almost the same at Borabora. Even the arii Mai of Borabora united with the visionaries, and earned the additional censure of the missionaries for buying <sup>and</sup> drinking spirituous liquors to excess. When he was at Tahiti in April 1829, he was toying with visionary notions, although he appeared to reform under Crook's ministry at Tairapu. (2) During the wars which were to follow he became a supporter of the heresy again. By 1833, more than half the inhabitants of Tahaa and Raiatea were influenced by the Mamaia doctrines. Even Huahine was not unaffected. In November 1828 Barff had written that there were "strange notions" abroad. (3) The visionaries at Huahine claimed to predict future events, and to perform miracles by healing the sick. They even attempted to raise the dead "by virtue of the power God had given them." Barff regarded such claims as being "common traffick" of the people in their heathen state, and tended to regard the movement as a revival of heathenism. In September 1830 he wrote that, while he was at Tahiti, eight of his church members had been "drawn aside by some visionaries" transported from Tahiti. They had "carried their visionary dreams and insulting language so far as to abuse the chiefs in a most insulting manner "and threatened their lives"if they

(1)Babbage, Hauhauism, 38.

(2)Crook, 13 April 1829, S.S.J., no. 95.

(3)Barff, 23 November 1828, S.S.L.

did not receive their strange dogmas."<sup>(1)</sup> Before Barff returned to Huahine they had been judged and had repented.

It was during the wars at Tahiti and the Leeward Islands (1830-1833), that the visionary heresy flourished more openly again, but it was to be the swan-song of the movement.

In 1829, there had already been signs that the Mamaia sect was going to have political implications, and that disaffected parties would embrace the new doctrines for their own ends. When Tati had spoken at the May Assembly in 1829, he endeavoured to win over the other principal chiefs who were suspected of favouring the visionary heresy.<sup>(2)</sup> The hostile attitude to the laws and to the contributions already displayed by the Mamaia, appealed to those chiefs who wished for a change of government. Queen Pomare IV<sup>(3)</sup> and her advisers were also influenced by the new doctrines, although they did not actually indulge in the visionary practices. Several years after the death of Pomare II, the Tahitian court, or "travelling company" as it might well have been called, had become notorious for its freedom from moral restraint. After the accession of Pomare IV, her court was a virtual centre of "heathen" resistance to missionary teaching. The missionaries deplored the system of sending the visionary exiles round the island to the Queen's residence, on the grounds that they would only add to the number of "bad characters" around the Queen's person. In December 1828 Pritchard reported on the moral state of the islands:

"By a great part of the people the missionaries are treated as deceivers and as persons inimical to their interest. From the time the people in general embraced a profession of Christianity, there never was a period in which they manifested such a desire

(1) Barff, 27 September 1830, S.S.L.

(2) See Moerenhout, Voyages, I, 244-245.

(3) She had succeeded in 1827.

to return to their former customs, as they do at present. In this they are encouraged by the Royal family. The attendants of the Queen are of the very worst description of character. With these she unites in the worst of practices."<sup>(1)</sup>

The chiefs on Tahiti most sympathetic to the Mamaia were those of Tairapu, the ancient seat of Tahitian royalty. Some of these chiefs had reason to be dissatisfied with the missionaries. Whilst Crook was at Tairapu he had offended several of the chiefs. He interfered much more in the administration of the law than many of his brethren, and he showed little sympathy for native custom or traditional law. Thus, when chiefs took action, which was not mentioned in the law code, he regarded such action as being "illegal". In one instance, the chief Vahamai forbade his sister to marry a young man who was unbaptized. The chief's reason was that his adopted son was the friend of the young man, and that consequently the young man stood in the relationship of nephew to the chief's sister. When prevented from marrying, the couple ran off together. They were afterwards caught and treated cruelly. On 10 April 1826, they were brought to trial before Taaviri, the chief judge of the district, and a leading arii of Tairapu. The man was sentenced to banishment, and the woman was sentenced to hard labour "altho three months gone with child". Crook remonstrated against the sentence, and also suggested that the couple be allowed to marry. Taaviri accused Crook of "opposing the king and the laws and with opening a door for the commission of crime."<sup>(2)</sup> Crook regarded Taaviri's action as being contrary to the law code. The matter, he stated, actually belonged to the province of the district judge. The young man had not been sentenced to

(1)Pritchard, 26 December 1828,S.S.L. Orsmond describes some of these practices as if he had actually seen them, 1 November 1827, S.S.J., no. 92.

(2)Crook, 10 April 1826, S.S.J., no. 80.



work which was in contravention to the law, and accordingly Taaviri should lose his office. Crook further asserted that Taaviri, in supporting the opposition to the marriage, had interfered in matters outside his judicial capacity. Taaviri said that he would appeal to the court, and accused Crook of being against the laws. Taaviri, the chief Vahamai, and Tumatuma, one of Crook's deacons, wrote a letter to Tati appealing against Crook's influence, but Tati merely reproved them. On 17 April Crook excommunicated Taaviri, and suspended the deacon Tumatuma and Vahamai.

Vairaatoo, the paramount chief of Tairarapu, supported Crook in this matter, but he was far from being sympathetic with the Christian cause. At the May Assembly at Papaoa in 1827, he proposed "in the most artful manner that the old customs" of presenting property to the Queen "should be re-established, but his design was at length seen through, and firmly opposed by the parliament men."<sup>(1)</sup> Notwithstanding this, Vairaatoo and some of the other Tairarapu chiefs seemed "inclined to do away with the laws and to set up many of the old customs again."<sup>(2)</sup> When the Queen and her party arrived in Tairarapu, they presented her with large heaps of food, and large bundles of cloth in the traditional manner. Vairaatoo was further offended with Crook when his efforts forcibly to detain the missionary Buzacott, at the end of 1827, met with Crook's strict censure. Before Crook left in September 1830, he brought Vairaatoo to trial over a matter of fraudulence.<sup>(3)</sup> The old chief was possibly in the wrong, but his hurt pride caused his opposition to the missionaries to become more definite. According

(1) Crook, 10 May 1827, S.S.J., no. 85.

(2) Crook, 25 July 1827, S.S.J., no. 85.

(3) See Moerenhout, Voyages, I, 337-338.

to Moerenhout, he declared that he would not remain quiet until he had lit the fire of civil war, and caused the new sect to triumph.

Between the time of Pomare IV's accession and 1830, there were frequent indications of political tension. Utami and Tati were forced to act as mediators, and found it difficult to maintain the laws. However, by December 1828, they had so consolidated their position as to be able to dictate their own terms to the Queen. A letter was sent round to all the principal judges requiring them to meet, in order to discuss the conduct of the Queen and her family who had been participating in the traditional dances with the tutae auri at Moorea. <sup>(1)</sup> In January 1829, at a public meeting at Pare, the Queen was questioned by Paofai, on behalf of the Supreme Judges of Tahiti. She was told plainly that if she broke the laws in future "there would be no difficulty in the business."<sup>(2)</sup> Her mother and aunt, who were both ringleaders in the reaction, were reprovved, and regulations were made regarding the Queen's attendants. It was said that the tutae auri would rise if the Queen was brought to trial, but the meeting passed without any incident. As Nott described the proceedings, all was "appropriate, firm, grave, yea solemn and peaceable."<sup>(3)</sup>

During 1830, Pomare IV visited the Leeward Islands where she was considerably influenced by her relations, particularly Mahine, the principal arii of Huahine, who was also an arii in Moorea. Before the Queen returned from Raiatea, she sent messages to the Windward Islands, requesting the people of Tahiti and Moorea to make her some cloth which she desired to

(1) Crook, 21 December 1828, S.S.J., no. 94.

(2) Crook, 12 January 1829, S.S.J., no. 95.

(3) Nott quoted Crook, 13 January 1829, S.S.J., no. 95.

present to her relations, Tamatoa and Mahine, who were accompanying her. This was contrary to the Tahitian law, which required the people to give the Queen an annual stipend. Vara and the other chiefs of Moorea decided to comply with the Queen's request and perform the ceremony of presenting the Aa one. The Aa one was specially prepared cloth for persons of high rank, which was presented in a roll with an abundance of native productions. The finest cloth was held by men, women and children, with thumb and finger, walking on each side of it. The Queen landed at Papetoai on 8 December 1830. When warned that they would be judged, Vara and the chiefs argued that it was better to support the Queen than create war. On 20 December, the chiefs of Afareaitu were requested to attend the presentation, which they did. When they returned they informed Orsmond that dancing had taken place. However, the chiefs at Afareaitu decided to present their cloth without anything "indecent" occurring.<sup>(1)</sup>

Utami, Tati and Paofai were determined to oppose the revival of the homage system. They were further aroused to opposition by the reported insults of Mahine and Tamatoa. They announced that the Queen could come and take her rolls of cloth from where they were as they did not intend to present them, especially as they were required to be presented in an open state. They also said that they would judge the Queen and her relations as soon as they landed in Tahiti, and deport them. Orsmond regarded the opposition of the chiefs as being "as puerile as her request [was] childish."

Orsmond maintained that the judges who came across to judge Vara were drunk. When the Queen arrived at Afareaitu, she scolded the people for not detaining the boats and binding the judges with ropes. The Aa one was

(1) See Orsmond, 14 January 1833, S.S.J., no. 100. [5 January 1831].

presented at Afareaitu on 5 January 1831. Orsmond described the ceremony as being well-conducted, and his eldest son, who had been a companion of the Queen's deceased brother, presented her with three yards of cambric. He further asserted that the charge that Pomare wished to do away with all law was "a mere made up tale". He believed it had been "trumped up by the chiefs to give colouring to their ill founded opposition". Whilst in Moorea, she was "in persona punishing offenders and testifying publicly to her love to the laws."

In mid-January the Queen went across to Tahiti. Mahine and his party remained in Moorea because of the state of feeling against him in Tahiti. At the Assembly at Papaoa in January, the chiefs requested Mahine to be judged "as he was a mover of sedition".<sup>(1)</sup> In answer to this request, Pomare "stood up and remained speechless more than 15 minutes perhaps, understanding her meaning the Chiefs after some consultation agreed to drop the matter." However, they made it plain that they would not allow any cloth or food to be presented. They argued with the Queen's speaker for a number of hours, and proposed that she should wait till March, when the laws could be legally revised. It was at this point that the Mamaia openly sided with the Queen, as they were the only ones in Tahiti who had offered to receive the Queen with the ceremonial. Moerenhout says that she actually lived with the Mamaia in Tahiti at this critical stage, and showed her preference for them.

Vairaatoa, the old chief of Tairarapu, who had desired the revival of the presentation system in 1827, now openly defied the decision of the Assembly and the laws, and encouraged three other arii of Tairarapu, Taaviri,  
(1)Wilson, Report, 1831, S.S.L.[with 1830 Report].

Tapuni and Rora, to comply with the Queen's request. As a result, they went ahead with the ceremony. The principal ariis now insisted that the four rebellious chiefs should be judged. The rebels evaded their trial at Tairapu, and joined the Queen at Pare. She, in turn, fled to the islet of Motu utu in the harbour at Papeete. In this affair Darling, Nott, Davies, Wilson and Henry advised the chiefs, as they were afraid all the laws would be broken. Orsmond was regarded as having betrayed his brethren, and from then on his relations with them were somewhat strained.

Some of the chiefs threatened to come to Papeete under arms, and remove the rebel chiefs from the Queen's protection. In March, Pomare appealed to Williams and Barff, who agreed to help if she would re-establish the laws and give up her demands for the presentation of ~~the~~ cloth. Captain Sandilands of the Comet,<sup>(1)</sup> who was also at Papeete, took part in the mediation, and he and Pritchard endeavoured to prevent the chiefs from resorting to force. They, however, would not disband until the offenders had been given up. The Queen compromised by giving up Vairaatoa, and Otoore and Ua, two chiefs of Pare. Utami went to Motu utu and judged these three persons, deprived them of their office, and sent them to other districts. The other "vagabonds" - as Wilson termed them - Tapuni, Taaviri and Rora were not given up.<sup>(2)</sup> Darling asserts that the four Tairapu chiefs, who had presented the tribute, had all embraced the Mamaia doctrines.<sup>(3)</sup> At the end of March 1831, Davies wrote deprecatingly of the "wicked young Queen and her gang" of tutae auris, and the wicked example" of Mahine, Rora and Taaviri,

(1) It is interesting that Sandilands, in his account, does not mention the Mamaia, although they were still very much in evidence in the group.

(2) Wilson to Crook, April(?) 1831, quoted Crook, 6 June 1831, Australia Letters.

(3) Darling, 28 April 1831, S.S.L.

in supporting the Queen "in trampling the laws."<sup>(1)</sup> He said that Pare was a place of thieving, adultery and drunkenness. The Queen herself returned to Papeete on 2 April, and re-instituted the laws at a public meeting.

It would seem that, in the disturbances of 1830-1831, the Mamaia played a comparatively small part. The Queen received their support, but she does not appear to have embraced their doctrines. The rebel chiefs of Tairapu may have actively participated in visionary practices, but there is no direct evidence for this. They certainly bore less love to the missionaries than most. However, when Orsmond went to Tairapu in 1831, the chiefs do not appear to have held Mamaia beliefs.

It was in the Raiatea-Tahaa war that the Peropheta took a more active part. This war was an old dynastic struggle between the Faanue or people of Borabora and Tahaa<sup>(2)</sup> against the people of Huahine and Raiatea. The chief of the Faanue was Pomare tane, the husband of Pomare IV, afterwards known as Tapoa II. Tapoa had been insulted whilst in the Leeward Islands, and a battle was fought. A truce was then engineered by Utami and Ariipaea, the Queen of Huahine. Some time later, Tapoa decided to attack the Raiateans. This action surprised all who knew Tapoa, as he had repeatedly said that he would never be the aggressor. He appears to have been entirely influenced by the Mamaia, who promised him complete success. Tapoa was defeated and made a prisoner. Platt remarked that the Mamaia fought hard as there were so many of them slain.<sup>(5)</sup> Williams declared that Tapoa was "instigated by the fanatics to act as he did."

(1) Davies to Crook, 30 March 1831, quoted Crook, 25 May 1831, Australia Letters.

(2) Part of Raiatea was also included in this alignment.

(3) Platt, 18 July 1832, S.S.L.

"All the fanatics from all the Islands had collected around him, they pretending to be inspired assured him of an easy and certain victory."<sup>(1)</sup>

It was in their role as battle augurs, that the visionaries were the direct successors of the traditional prophets. Blind confidence had been inspired in Pomare II and his followers by the prophet Metea, before the battles fought in the first decade of the century. The Peropheta appear to have had certain superstitious fears about places of worship, as they urged Tapoa to attack before the chapel at Raiatea was completed. They also told him to attack in the night "as God was God of the day and not of the night."<sup>(2)</sup>

Tapoa's connexion with the Mamaia is particularly curious. Throughout his life he satisfied the missionaries with his moral conduct, and he was regarded as having the most upright character amongst the natives of the group. To what extent he was carried away by the visionary prophecies is not clear, but the alliance is more suggestive of political expediency. Pomare IV took the opportunity to divorce Tapoa whilst he was conquered and disgraced, and her second marriage to a young arii of Huahine led to the third disturbance in which the Mamaia sect was involved.

When Vairaatoa died, in March 1832, the chief judge, Taaviri, became the principal leader of disaffection in Tairarapu. In August 1832, Orsmond remarked that Hitoti and Paofai, who had previously been the "thorns" in the Queen's side, had become her principal allies.<sup>(3)</sup> Whereas, previously, they had driven out her attendants, they now "winked at every infamy". On 3 December, Nott married the Queen to the young chief from Huahine. This

(1)Williams, 27 September 1832, S.S.L.

(2)Williams, 27 September 1832, S.S.L.

(3)Orsmond, 22 August 1832, S.S.J., no. 100.

was immediately used as a pretext for renewing the hostilities of the 1830-1831 crisis. Both Moorea and Tairarapu protested against the marriage which was supported by Paofai and the other chiefs. In this instance, however, the opposition claimed to be on the side of the laws, asserting that the Queen had broken the marriage laws. A deputation from Tairarapu failed to defer the wedding, and left in displeasure. Orsmond advised the chiefs to write a short letter to the Queen "testifying that they opposed her wishes only out of regard to the laws as they understood; but since all Tahiti had agreed to her wish, they were satisfied and wished her peace and prosperity."<sup>(1)</sup> At first Taaviri <sup>took</sup> Orsmond's advice, and wrote the letter of agreement.

The principal opposition to the marriage came from the chiefs of Moorea, Fanaue, the chief judge of Moorea, was determined to make a case of the matter. Tati and the other judges determined to resist Fanaue's intervention, and Tati sent for Taaviri to attend in opposition to Fanaue. The chiefs of Tairarapu, with Orsmond's support, induced Taaviri not to go to Pare.<sup>(2)</sup> At the end of December, all governors and judges were ordered to attend at Pare to exert their influence in protecting the Queen in the case brought by the people of Moorea. A great host of people from Moorea came across to Tahiti, in order to judge Paofai and dissolve the marriage. At the same time the chiefs at Tautira, who had separated themselves from Orsmond's station at the time of his arrival, took the side of Moorea. At Orsmond's station at Teahupo, there was a certain amount of division. The chiefs were influenced by Tapoa's deputy, and called a meeting on 4 January 1833, to decide whether they should recant having signed the letter of

(1) Orsmond, 7 December 1832, S.S.J., no. 100.

(2) Orsmond, 17 December 1832, S.S.J., no. 100.



agreement, whether they should judge Moorea, or whether they should unite with Tautira and profess their determination to judge Paofai and his colleagues. Orsmond was able to persuade them to take no part in the affair.

Those who came from Moorea to judge Paofai lost their case and were judged in return, being ordered to work on the Queen's fortifications. They returned to Moorea chagrined, and Simpson at Papetoai noticed a marked falling off in the schools.<sup>(1)</sup> Many abandoned "both law and gospel", and possibly the Mamaia doctrines took some root. Those who claimed that they supported the laws against the marriage were sentenced either to banishment or to hard labour. Some of the people were actually observed buying muskets and gunpowder.

About the same time Taaviri, the chief judge of Tairapu, appears to have been judged for agreeing to the marriage, by the judges of Tautira. As a consequence, the other chief judges of Tahiti deputed Tati and some district judges to judge those at Tautira. On 17 January, Tati and all the judges proceeded to Tautira via Teahupo "in warlike equipment". Taaviri and Vahamai and the other southern chiefs now decided to take to arms, and raised a party to assist the people of Tautira in resisting Tati and the judges. Orsmond told the chiefs that he was for "peace and for the King", and endeavoured to dissuade them.<sup>(2)</sup> Taaviri eventually relented, and sent off messengers to call back the armed men, who had already proceeded two miles. Orsmond also attempted to dissuade Tati from pursuing his course. Tati, however, was determined to judge the judges of Tautira. The people of Tautira gave Tati a very rough reception, and he and several

(1) Simpson, 18 May 1833, S.S.L.

(2) For the story of the piece of melon, see ante, 281.

of the judges were actually bound with ropes.<sup>(1)</sup>

After this incident, hostilities were inevitable. Tati obtained his release, and returned to Papeari. The act of Taaviri and his confederates in taking up arms against the law, was considered as rebellion against the Queen's government. Orsmond wrote to Tati asking him to request Pomare to call a general meeting at Tarahoe, to reconsider the marriage, to reinstate the chiefs of Moorea, and to "seek means to re-establish the laws."<sup>(2)</sup> By this time all the "bloom of Tairapu" were under arms. A meeting was held by Pomare, Tati and the other chiefs, and it was decided that the chiefs of Tairapu would have to be judged for resorting to arms, and that they would be satisfied by judging Taaviri and Vahamai.<sup>(3)</sup> Accordingly, a messenger from Pomare arrived at Orsmond's station, demanding that the two chiefs "and all that followed them" be judged. Orsmond and the people endeavoured to persuade the other chiefs to give up the two leaders, but they refused. Orsmond was inclined to agree with their resistance, although it was in contravention to a law of March 1832, because he believed that Paofai and the Queen were in the wrong. On 26 January Tati sent another message, demanding that Taaviri and Vahamai should be given up, and two days later a number of judges arrived to judge them. Taaviri and Vahamai sent messengers to induce those under arms to return home. The judges made it plain that the leaders would still be judged, and this was tantamount to a declaration of war. Orsmond describes the arrival of a band of insurgents, who reached the station on 2 February. They were equipped with "spikes of the rudest kind, Bayonets, Swords and old muskets."

(1) See Darling, 16 April 1833, S.S.L.

(2) Orsmond, 22 January 1833, S.S.J., no. 100.

(3) Also called Teieie.

He claimed that he endeavoured to persuade them that resistance was wrong, and engaged in prayer with them. On the same day a missionary deputation arrived, including Davies, Darling and Pritchard, who attempted to effect submission to the laws, failing which they would remove Orsmond from his station. They brought with them a letter from Pomare, ordering Orsmond to remove to Papara.

On 4 February, a church meeting was held, and the members were asked who were "for the Laws, the gospel and the king", and who were not. About 40 men said that if Orsmond had to leave they would follow him. But the majority were for resistance.

"[All] seemed infatuated with the idea that they are in the right. tho. they have bound the Chief Judges with ropes and have joined in a bond to take up arms against the king."(1)

They informed the deputation that they would rather fight than yield.

On the same day Davies, Darling and Pritchard set off to Pare, to a meeting with the chiefs and Pomare. War was imminent. On 7 February, Orsmond and his family left home.

So far nothing has been said about the participation of the Mamaia in this affair. In the accounts, other than Orsmond's, the cause of the insurrection is traced directly to the Mamaia. "The cause of all the obstinate conduct of these people," wrote Darling, "seem(s) to be connected with the doctrine of the visionary fools. Two men of their number professed to be inspired to tell them that they would be sure to conquer."(2) These two men, who called themselves Peropheta, were Toutouai and Vaipai.(3) Not only did they promise the insurrectionists victory, but they advocated the

(1)Orsmond, 4 February 1833, S.S.J., no. 100.

(2)Darling, 10 April 1833, 18 May 1833, S.S.L.

(3)See Moerenhout, Voyages, I, 337.

return to their old customs, and the entire overthrow of the laws.

On 7 February, the Queen's aunt and mother, Utami, Paofai, Tati, Hitoti, and the other high chiefs, all armed themselves and proceeded to Tairapu. All the soldiers of Tahiti prepared themselves for the fight. Tati made a last desperate bid to prevent a war, and on 11 February, he proceeded by boat to the rebel camp. He was unable to persuade Vahamai to give himself up, but Taaviri came back with him and was judged. He was convicted, defranchised, and ordered to complete one furlong of road for the Queen. Peace was again declared, and the army retreated.

Taaviri's compliance seems to have been part of an organized plot, a subterfuge to distract the principal chiefs, for no sooner had the army begun to proceed back to the other stations, than Taaviri and his colleagues decided to attack. About seven or eight hundred men from Tairapu pursued the rear of the army. They declared that they would not accept the peace, and that they were determined to judge Paofai. On 12 February the first fighting took place. The firing lasted nearly three hours, and the rebels were finally forced to fly to the mountains. According to Darling, from twenty to twenty-five rebels were killed, while only six of the Queen's army were slain.<sup>(1)</sup> Orsmond asserts that hundreds followed those who went to fight, simply to plunder and destroy, and said that the heads of the slain were beaten to pulp.<sup>(2)</sup> Orsmond's station was partly destroyed. Even the floors of the old and new chapels at Teahupo were torn up, in order to make coffins for the dead. Taaviri was killed, the rebels returned to their homes, and the other chiefs were judged and banished from Tahiti.

(1) Darling, 10 April 1833, S.S.L.

(2) Orsmond, 14 February 1833, S.S.J., no. 102.

The effective quashing of the revolt at Tairapu put an end to attempts to restore the former customs of Tahiti, and to organized political agitation. The defeat of the rebels was virtually the defeat of the Mamaia who had prophesied their victory, and who had rallied around the person of Taaviri.

However, there was one feature of the movement which continued to obtain support from the people: this was the claim of the leaders to be able to heal diseases. Some of the "faith healers" who emerged in this period, may not have been directly associated with the Mamaia sect, but the missionaries regarded them as being equally committed to error. Moreover, the Mamaia leaders, themselves, claimed to be able to work similar healing miracles, as those performed by Christ. As early as November 1828, Barff had mentioned such claims being made by the visionaries at Huahine.

In May 1833, Darling wrote that his station had been disturbed by Satan in another form, and that a man claimed to be able to cure disease by commanding the evil spirit responsible, to leave the afflicted body. Darling said that this man had effected cures in several instances, and that people flocked to him from all the other districts.<sup>(1)</sup> Many of them believed him to be possessed with supernatural power. Disease and spirit possession were not only associated with scriptural accounts, but the same association was common to the old religion. Platt tells a story relating to the cause of disease, during the visionary disturbances of 1828 at Borabora. On the evening of 20 October, a dog had continued to bark very loudly, until a child of four or five was seized with convulsions. All the people around, except one, asserted that the dog had been barking at the approach of an

(1) Darling, 13 May 1833, S.S.L.

oromatua which took possession of the child, and they refused to believe that the child had some disease.<sup>(1)</sup> The curer of disease at Punaauia also claimed that disease was caused by the sin of the relations of the sick persons, and practised the "casting out of tiis or spirits." In January 1834, Darling wrote that he had carried his curing too far, and had been compelled to leave the district.<sup>(2)</sup>

The Mamaia, themselves, specialized in the healing of diseases, using incantation and faith-healing methods. Usually those possessed with the mana or powers were shrewd, observant men, expert in mental therapy, who could analyse the non-physical causes of illness. The reputation of the Mamaia healers saved the sect from complete disbandment, after the failure of the Tairarapu revolt, and Teao and his followers continued to cure diseased persons at their settlement in the district of Faaa. They specialized particularly in the cure of venereal diseases. It was their faith in their own curative powers which was eventually responsible for the complete annihilation of the sect.

Apart from the community centred around the prophet Teao at Faaa, the Mamaia made little impression in the islands after 1833. In July 1834,

(1)Platt, 21 October 1828, S.S.L. An oromatua was the malevolent ghost of a deceased person.

(2)It is possibly not coincidental that Punaauia was afterwards the residence of Tiurai, the "greatest of the Tahitian healers", who was not born till about 1835, and who died in 1918. The accounts given of Tiurai put him in the direct tradition of the visionary healers, and possibly of an earlier tradition of pre-Christian healers. Besides his healing powers, Tiurai was said to be gifted with prophecy, and to have made "a number of extraordinary predictions" which were fulfilled. Legends were told of the great wonder workers who had preceded Tiurai at Punaauia. It is significant that he professed to be a fervent catholic. Nor does the parallel end there. Tiurai died of an imported disease in the manner of the earlier sect. See Pacific Islands Monthly, November 1937, 41-42.

Davies referred to the Mamaia as a "sort of wild Antinomians" who had originally "made some pretence to religion", but that this was now "nearly laid aside", and they were hardly distinguishable from the tutae auri "being equally immoral". They were then little noticed "as a distinct class", and he prophesied that, because their novelty had worn off, they would "drop into oblivion".<sup>(1)</sup>

At the Assembly of 1854, the Mamaia were reproached with having endeavoured to change the received forms, and to establish new doctrines and ceremonies, for their own particular ends, and without the sanction of the majority.<sup>(2)</sup> A number of reformation laws were passed. These included a prohibition law, and another which made attendance at church and schools compulsory. This legislation made it much more difficult for the Mamaia to flourish.

The movement in the Leeward Islands possibly continued longer than in Tahiti, although there is very little evidence after 1854. In November 1835, Barff related the death of a man named Obu piti, who had been "led away by visionary folly". The man was repentant on his death bed, and lamented not having listened to Williams. Barff said that he was so affected, that every muscle was in "violent agitation", and he was covered with a profuse perspiration.<sup>(3)</sup> Mai, the rebel chief of Borabora, also continued to live in a heathen state. Moerenhout said that he took several women, and lived publicly in a way not even permitted under the ancient religion.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1835 Barff spoke of his wild costume, and referred to him as "the great leader in sin and mischief".<sup>(5)</sup> He lived in the valley of Faanui, where

(1) Davies, "Some Remarks", 18 July 1834, S.S.L.

(2) Wilks, Tahiti, 88.

(3) Barff, 2 November 1835, S.S.L.

(4) Moerenhout, Voyages, II, 515.

(5) Barff, 7 November, 12 November 1835, S.S.L.

his party refused to adhere to the laws, and where there was no observance of the Sabbath. Hue, the second prophet of the movement, was drowned at Tahaa, attempting to swim to Huahine.

Teao, the first of the Peropheta, lived at Faaa until 1841, when the movement virtually terminated with his death and the death of most of his followers. The missionaries regarded the extinction of the Mamaia as a special dispensation of Providence, and marvelled at the event. During the course of 1841, a smallpox epidemic raged. The missionaries endeavoured to combat the disease by means of vaccination, and were able to check the epidemic. On the other hand, the Mamaia refused to be vaccinated, and insisted on the effectiveness of their own cures.

One of the foremost supporters of the sect was Tere, a chief and Supreme Judge of Moorea. Although a church member, he appears to have hankered after the old ways. Whilst at Tahiti, he contracted venereal disease, but on his return he denied misconduct of any kind. He then returned to Faaa to the Mamaia party, who, at this time, were famed for their skill in curing such diseases. He remained at Faaa for some time, expecting to be cured, and whilst there, he fully adopted the visionary views. However, instead of recovering, he lost the use of his limbs and sight whilst under their treatment. About May 1841, he returned to Moorea with his wife and family, and a Mamaia priest. On the journey, they slept in a house where there was a severe case of smallpox. They had no fear, as they believed that they were favourites of God, and that no evil could befall them. They then crossed to Afareaitu, where they remained two nights. Tere believed that the house at Afareaitu was so full of spirits that he could not sleep, so





they proceeded to Teavano. Two days afterwards, the Mamaia priest showed symptoms of smallpox, and died in a few days. Tere's wife was the next victim, then a stepson, then his infant son, followed by a sister and a brother-in-law until, in all, thirteen of his relations had died of smallpox. He also caught the disease, but recovered. Howe described him as "lying upon his bed, blind and lame, as the fruit of his secret sin."<sup>(1)</sup>

One of Tere's brothers was a Mamaia "preacher". He returned to the settlement at Faaa, taking the disease with him. It spread so rapidly that the district was almost literally without an inhabitant. Upwards of a hundred died of the disease. Darling wrote that the missionaries never realized that there were so many, until they were "cut off" by the smallpox. A woman from the party went to Papetoai, where thirteen persons belonging to the sect died. "Thus," wrote Howe, "the sect of error, was made to become the source of death."<sup>(2)</sup> Eliza Pritchard wrote exultingly that they had been "suddenly consumed root and branch destroyed", and that wherever one or two were living in any part of Tahiti, "the disease appeared to search them out for its victims."<sup>(3)</sup>

There is little wonder that the disease was as fatal as it was, considering the refusal of the Mamaia to be vaccinated, and their own means of attempting to cure the sick. Darling asserted that they went as far as "blaspheming" the idea of vaccination. "Why vaccinate?" they mockingly asked the missionaries. "Was not the Son of God pierced for us according to what the teachers say and must we be pierced over again?"<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) Howe, 20 October 1841, S.S.L.

(2) Ibid.

(3) E. Pritchard, 13 February 1842, S.S.L.

(4) Darling, Report, 18 January 1842, S.S.L.

Their method of curing was to repeat certain incantations, and to repeat certain things which were told them by the spirits which possessed them. When the disease first began at Papeete, they boasted that they could easily cure the victims by means of prayers and incantations. They regarded the smallpox as one of the diseases known to themselves as oniho, a skin eruption, which they could cure with proper native medicine. Anyone who was afflicted with the disease was placed in the midst of a circle made by the members of the sect. All the pustules of the sick man were then opened, and the people repeated their prayers. Naturally enough, the disease spread rapidly after one or two cases had been treated in this manner. From three to five persons died each day in Faaa, and were mostly buried without coffins. Amongst them was Teao, who, as Darling phrased it, "died of smallpox in a miserable way in the bush." "Thus, " he continued, "they were all sent into eternity with a lie in their right hands."<sup>(1)</sup>

Apart from the faith-healing doctrines and miraculous cures, little is known of the general doctrines of the sect after 1834. Howe regards them as having some doctrines similar to those held by Roman Catholics, and called them "a people prepared for the papists".<sup>(2)</sup> They would not partake of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, because they believed that the bread and wine were really the body and blood of Christ. This seems to have been a new doctrine, and may well have been suggested by the information supplied by Orsmond's anti-Jesuit tract, and other anti-Catholic propaganda. It was only natural that those who were opposed to the missionaries should adopt the doctrines, or what they thought to be the doctrines,

(1)Darling, Report, 18 January 1842, S.S.L.

(2)Howe, 20 October 1841, S.S.L.

of those condemned by the missionaries. Darling also believed that the Mamaia would have united themselves to the Catholic party, had they been spared by the epidemic.<sup>(1)</sup>

During the years of decline, the Mamaia sect was little more than a discontented community of "faith-healers" and die-hards. Earlier reaction had been quelled by 1830, and the political significance of the movement was no longer valid after 1833. The Mamaia was a curious, yet a not altogether unexpected manifestation of the process of culture change. The true roots of the movement lay in dissatisfaction and reaction. The more general forms of this dissatisfaction were not always the most obvious. When the Tahitians changed their allegiance from Oro to Jehovah, they carried over their notion of reciprocal obligations. The failure of the new religion to bring property was fairly obvious. A popular notion in the islands in the early days of Christianity, was that learning to write was a direct means of acquiring property. Many found that, to their chagrin, the letters which they wrote were not sufficient to obtain property, whereas the missionaries and traders were quite successful with the same means. The same reasoning was applied to the system of contributing through the local L.M.S. auxiliary. The missionaries taught that faith was more important than works, and that good deeds, especially the giving of presents, was of no avail to salvation. The Polynesian, with his idea of reciprocal obligations on the part of gods and men, found this idea difficult to grasp. He was dissatisfied with a system which did not give him salvation in return for his good works, such as the giving of subscriptions. On the other hand, many were dissatisfied with the system of church membership.

(1) Darling, Report, 18 January 1842, S.S.L.

In their heathen societies, particularly the Arioi Society, membership was according to social rank, and chiefs knew where they stood. Those who were not able to grasp the significance of membership, looked upon the system as arbitrary and unfair, especially those who felt that they did more for the church and the missionary than some of the members.

Another form of dissatisfaction, was the failure to understand how the Tahitian and the European could share the same God. There was a strong element of dualism in the ancient Polynesian religion. A similar type of dualism is evident in the Mamaia teachings. Fundamental differences of character and colour distinction sought for an explanation in dividing the Christian godhead. Whereas in New Zealand, the Hauhau prophets later claimed Jehovah as their covenant deity, and Christ as the God of the whites, the Tahitian prophets sought their inspiration from Christ. Although there is no direct evidence that they regarded Jehovah as being the particular God of the missionaries, it seems that they held the belief that the "God of the Europeans" was a god of the day only. They also referred to the Bible as being a black book, and their own revelations as a white book. Doubtless, the most general reaction from Christianity was simply a dislike for the moral restrictions, and the severe moral discipline imposed by the chiefs and missionaries.

The Mamaia doctrine was essentially a heresy, an attempt perhaps, to "adjust" the orthodox teachings of the missionaries to the special circumstances of environment and events. It grew rapidly from the Christian seed, because it could rely on the measure of importance given to prophecy in the Bible, and the oracular ambiguity of certain key passages. It had dispensed

with Oro and Tane,, but the new Apostles and the new Christ had much in common with their Polynesian predecessors. It was a nativist movement,<sup>(1)</sup> but one worked out within a framework of half-digested Christian ideas, ideas interpreted according to the old cosmological ways of thought, in which the dual godhead of the sexual genesis reigned supreme.

Above all, the Mamaia or Visionary Heresy was dependent on a considerable number of historical circumstances which brought it into being. Calvinistic theology, early break-away movements, missionary-inspired laws, political reaction and discontent, the failure to understand European technical superiority, and a premature acquaintance with difficult scriptural passages and doctrines, all assisted in giving a cause to one or two "dreamers of dreams."

(1)According to Mühlmann the Mamaia was a resurgence of the old Arioi Society, re clothed in the terminology and some of the forms of the "new knowledge" introduced into their thinking by the advent of the European.

Appendix V.

List of Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797 - 1860.

B = Birthplace; D = Denomination; O = Occupation;  
S = Status; E = Education; F = Stations.

I. London Missionary Society

- ARMITAGE Elijah (1780 - ), B, Manchester; D, Congregational; O, Cotton manufacturer; S, "Artisan"; F, Tahiti, 1821-1823, Moorea, 1823-1833, Rarotonga, 1833-1835, Moorea, 1835.  
Nancy (1791 - ).
- BAKER William (1834 - ), B, Keynsham, Somerset; D, Congregational; O, City Missionary; S, Ordained; E, "English"; F, Lifu, 185-1861.  
( - ).
- BARETT Charles (1792 - 1866), B, Yorks; D, Calvinistic Methodist; O, Farmer, bricklayer and plasterer; S, Ordained; E, [Homerton]; F, Moorea, 1817-1818, Huahine, 1818-1864, Tahaa, 1860.  
SWAIN Sarah (1792 - ), D, Calvinistic Methodist.
- BARNETT John (1820 - 1860), B, Raiatea; D, Congregational; O, Missionary's son; S, Assistant afterwards ordained; E, South Sea Academy, Silcoates School, Turvey; F, Huahine, 1839-1843, Moorea, 1844-1847, Tahiti, 1847-1852, Borabora, 1852-1853, Tahaa, 1857-1860.
- BANES Amelia (1824 - 1906), B, Hackney, London.
- BARNDEN George (1811 - 1838), B, Portsea; D, Congregational; S, Ordained; E, Turvey; F, Tutuila, 1836-1838.
- BICKNELL Henry (1766 - 1820), B, Dorset; D, Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion; O, House carpenter, sawyer, wheelwright; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1808, Moorea, 1810-1818, Tahiti, 1818-1820.  
BRADLEY Mary Ann ( - 1826), B, Sherborne, Dorset.
- BLOSSOM Thomas (1777 - ), B, Yorks; D, Congregational; O, Carpenter, turner and wheelwright; S, "Artisan"; F, Tahiti, 1821-1823, Moorea, 1823-1844.  
Sarah (1796 - 1842).
- BOURNE Robert (1794 - 1871), B, London; D, Calvinistic Methodist; S, Ordained; F, Moorea, 1817-1818, Tahiti, 1818-1822, Tahaa, 1822-1827.  
Anne (1793 - ).
- BOWELL Daniel (1774 - 1799), B, Ipswich, Suffolk; O, Shopkeeper; S, "Mechanic", F, Tongatapu, 1797-1799.
- BROOMHALL Benjamin (1776 - 1809), B, Birmingham; D, Congregational; O, Buckle and harness maker; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1800. Left 1801.
- BUCHANAN Ebenezer (1812 - 1897), B, Haddington, Scotland; D, Congregational; O, Apprenticed armourer and brazier; S, Schoolmaster; E, Lancastrian school; F, Upolu, 1844-1849, Tahiti, 1842-1844, Upolu, 1844-1859.
- COWAN Jane (1815 - 1901).



- BUCHANAN John (1765 -     ), B, London, D, Presbyterian; O, Tailor;  
S, "Mechanic"; F, Tongatapu, 1797-1800.
- BULLEN Thomas (1812 - 1848), B, Clonakilty, Ireland; D, Congregational;  
S, Ordained; E, medical education, Hackney; F, Upolu, 1841-1843.  
Tutuila, 1843-1848.
- GEORGE Hephzibah (     -     ), B, Salisbury; D, Baptist.
- BUZACOTT Aaron (1800 - 1864), B, South Molton, Devon; D, Congregational;  
O, Farm labourer; S, Ordained; E, Hoxton Academy, Hoxton Mission  
College; F, Tahiti, 1827-1828, Rarotonga, 1828-1846, 1852-1857.
- HITCHCOCK Sarah Verney (1802 - 1877), B, South Molton; S, d.o. corn-  
factor and maltster.
- CAW William (     - 1820), D, Congregational; O, Shipwright, carpenter, boat-  
builder; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1804-1808, res. 1808-1820.
- CHARTER George (1811 - 1898), B, Melbourn, Cambridge; D, Congregational;  
O, Farm labourer (father's farm); S, Ordained; E, Turvey, Tahaa 1839,  
Raiatea, 1839-1853.
- UNWIN Martha (     -     ), B, Melbourn, Cambridge; D, Congregational.
- CHISHOLM Alexander (1814 - 1862), B, Turriff, Aberdeenshire; D, Presbyterian-  
Congregational; O, clerk of counting house; S, Ordained; E, Blackburn,  
Lancs; F, Savai'i, 1843-1846, Tahiti, 1847-1852, Raiatea, 1852-1860.
- DAVIES Elizabeth (1822 -     ), B, Oswestry, Shrops.; D, Congregational.
- CLODE Samuel High (1761 - 1799), B, London; O, Whitesmith and gardener; S,  
"Mechanic"; E, "Uneducated"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.
- COCK John (1773 -     ), B, Penzance, Cornwall; D, Congregational; O, Ship's  
carpenter; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.
- COOPER James (1768-1846), B, Rippon[Edinburgh]; O, Shoemaker; S, "Mechanic";  
F, Tongatapu, 1797-1800.
- CORRIE Rosanna (     -     ), B, Newport, Isle of Wight; D, Congregational;  
O, School teacher; S, Helper; F, Rarotonga, 1843-1846.
- COVER James Fleet (1762 - 1834), B, London; O, School teacher; S, Ordained;  
F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.  
Mary (1759 -     ).
- CREAGH Stephen Mark (1862 - 1902), B, Plymouth; D, Church of England after-  
wards Congregational; O, Painter and stationer; S, Ordained;  
E, Western College; F, Mare, 1854-1857, Upolu, 1857-1858, Mare,  
1858-1886.
- PEEK Susan Anna (     - 1855), B, Plymouth; D, Congregational.
- BUZACOTT Sarah Ann (1829-1915), B, Rarotonga; D, Congregational;  
S, Missionary's daughter.
- CROOK William Pascoe (1775 - 1846), B, Dartmouth, Devonshire; D, Calvinistic  
Methodist; O, Gentleman's servant; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahuata,  
1797-1798, Nukuhiva, 1798-1799, Moorea, 1816-1818, Tahiti, 1818-1830.
- DARE Hannah (1777 - 1837), D, Calvinistic Methodist.
- DARLING David (1790 - 1867), D, Congregational; O, Carpenter; S, Ordained;  
F, Moorea, 1817-1819, Tahiti, 1819-1834, Tahuata, 1834-1835, Tahiti,  
1835-1859.
- WOOLSTON Rebecca (1788 - 1858), B, Northamptonshire; D, Calvinistic  
Methodist.

- DAVIES John (1772 - 1855), B, Pontrobert, Montgomeryshire; D, Welsh Calvinistic Methodist; O, Apprentice to grocer, teacher; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1801-1808, Huahine, 1808-1809, Moorea, 1811-1818, Huahine, 1818-1820, Tahiti, 1820-1855.
- BROWNING Sophia ( - 1812), D, Calvinistic Methodist.
- BRADLEY Mary Ann ( - 1826), B, Sherborne, Dorset; S, Missionary's widow. [see Bicknell]
- DAY William (1794 - 1864), B, Lichfield, Staffs.; D, Congregational; O, Congregational Minister; S, Ordained; E, Wymondley; F, Upolu, 1838-1845.
- Barbara (1801-1886).
- DRUMMOND George (1808 - 1893), B, Cummock, Scotland; D, Congregational; O, Box-maker (snuff boxes, etc.); S, Ordained; E, Theol. Academy - Glasgow, Turvey, Ongar; F, Savai'i, 1841-1846, Upolu, 1846-1858, 1860-1872.
- DRUMMOND Agnes ( - 1855), B, Glasgow, D, Congregational.
- OGILVIE Catherine Ann (1822 - 1905), B, North Shields; D, Congregational.
- ELDER James (1772 - 1836), B, Scotland; D, Presbyterian; O, Builder and stonemason; S, Ordained; E, medical; F, Tahiti, 1801-1808, Huahine, 1808-1809.
- SMITH Mary (1788 - ), S, d.o. free settler, N.S.W.
- ELLA Samuel (1823 - 1899), B, London; D, Congregational; O, S, Printer afterwards ordained; F, Upolu, 1848-1862.
- BLACK Eliza Catharine ( - 1898), B, Ireland; D, Congregational.
- ELLIS William (1794 - 1872), B, Wisbeach, London; D, Unitarian afterwards Congregational; O, Candle manufacturer, gardener; S, Ordained; E, Gosport and Homerton; F, Moorea, 1817-1818, Huahine, 1818-1822, Oahu, 1823-1824.
- MOOR Mary Mercy (1793 - 1835), B, London; D, Congregational.
- EYRE John (1768 - 1854), B, London; O, [Blockmaker]; S, Ordained; F, Tahiti, 1797-1808, Huahine, 1808-1809.
- Elizabeth (1733 - ).
- GAULTON Samuel ( - 1799), B, Poole, Dorset; O, Assistant to cook on Duff; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tongatapu, 1797-1799.
- GEE Henry (1833 - 1901), B, Woburn, Beds; D, Congregational; O, Grocer's assistant; S, Ordained; E, "Good English", Bedford; F, Savai'i, 1860-1861, Upolu, 1861-1864.
- BURR Mary ( - ), B, Bedford; D, Wesleyan afterwards Congregational.
- GIBBONS Henry ( - 1864), B, Islington, London; D, Mission church; O, Sailor; S, Helper; F, res. Tutuila, 1837-1864
- ( - ), Samoan.
- GILHAM John Allan (1774 - ), B, Horndean, Hants; D, Calvinistic Methodist; O, Surgeon; E, Medical education; F, Tahiti, March-August 1797.
- GILL George (1820 - 1880), B, Tiverton, Devon; D, Church of England afterwards Congregational; O, Attorney clerk; S, Ordained; E, Hackney; F, Mangaia, 1845-1857, Rarotonga, 1857-1860.
- TREGO Sarah (1818 - 1898), D, Congregational.



- GILL William (1813 - 1878), B, Totnes, Devon; D, Church of England afterwards Congregational; S, Ordained; E, Turvey; F, Rarotonga, 1839-1852.  
HALLIDAY Elizabeth Lansborough (1811-1879).
- GILL William Wyatt (1828 - 1896), B, Bristol; D, Congregational; O, Student for ministry; S, Ordained; E, London University, Highbury and New Colleges; F, Mangaia, 1852-1872.  
HARRISON Mary Layman (1830 - 1883), B, London; D, Church of England.
- GYLES John (     -     ), O, Sugar planter in W. Indies; S, "Agriculturist"; F, Tahiti, 1818-     , Moorea, 1818-1819.  
Maria (     -     ).
- HARBUTT William (1809 - 1866), B, Newcastle-on-Tyne; D, Congregational; O, Clerk; S, Ordained; E, "Commercial"; Airedale College; F, Upolu, 1840-1849, 1853-1858.  
DIXON, Mary Jane (1813 - 1885), D, Congregational.
- HARDIE Charles (1802 - 1880), B, Newburgh, Scotland; D, Congregational; O, "Whaling"; S, Ordained; E, Turvey, Homerton; F, Savai'i, 1836-1844, Upolu, 1844-1854.  
HITCHCOCK Jane (1813 - 1894), B, South Molton, Devon; D, Congregational.
- HARPER Samuel (1770 - 1799), B, Manchester; O, Cotton manufacturer; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tongatapu, 1797-1799.
- HARRIS John (1757 -     ), B, London; O, Cooper; S, "Mechanic" afterwards ordained; F, Tahuata, 1797, Tahiti, 1797-1800.
- HASSALL Rowland (1768 - 1820), B, Coventry; D, Congregational; O, Weaver; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.  
HANCOX Elizabeth (1766 - 1834), B, Coventry; D, Congregational.
- HAYWARD James (1769 - 1850), B, Tisbury, Wilts; D, Calvinistic Methodist; O, Teacher, London Itinerant Society; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1801-1808, Moorea, 1808-1809, Huahine, 1809 -     , Moorea, -1818, Tahiti, 1821-1822.  
CHRISTIE Sarah (     - 1812), B, London; D, Calvinistic Methodist.
- WILSHIRE Mary (1770 - 1854), D, Church of England; S, Widow of ... Hewlitt.
- HEATH Thomas (1797 - 1848), B, Bramshall, Staffs.; D, Congregational; O, [Legal]; S, Ordained; E, Hackney; F, Manono, 1836-1842, Tana, 1842, Manono, 1845-1848.  
Eliza (     - 1838).
- HENRY William (1770 - 1859), B, Sligo, Ireland; D, Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion; O, Carpenter and joiner; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798, 1800-1808, Huahine, 1808-1809, Moorea, 1811-1827, Tahiti, 1827-1831, Moorea, 1831-1832, Tahiti, 1832-1840, res. Moorea, 1844-1848.  
MABEN Sarah (1774 - 1812), B, Dublin.
- SHEPHERD Ann (1797 - 1882), B, Ryde, Sydney; D, Church of England; S, d.o. free settler, N.S.W.
- HODGES Peter (1767 -     ), B, Woolwich, Kent; O, Blacksmith; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.  
Mary (     -     ).

- HOWE William (1798 - 1863), B, Ireland; D, Congregational; O, Infant-school teacher, Congregational minister in Manchester; F, Moorea, 1839-1844, Tahiti, 1847-1863.  
(c.1795 - 1882).
- HUNKIN Matthew (1815 - 1888), D, Mission Church in Samoa; S, Helper, F, res. Tutuila, Manu'a, 1841-1849.  
( - ), Samoan.
- JEFFERSON John Clark (1760 - 1807), B, Cornwall; O, [Actor, school teacher]; S, Congregational minister; F, Tahiti, 1797-1807.
- JESSON John Thomas (1806 - 1857), B, Littlewood Green, Warwick; D, Roman Catholic afterwards Congregational; O, In orders; S, Congregational minister; E, Downside Benedictine College - Bath, Highbury; F, Tahiti, 1842-1844.  
Mary (1800 - 1889).
- JOHNSTON Joseph (1814 - 1892), B, Stamford, Lincoln; D, Congregational; Teacher afterwards ordained; E, Stamford Grammar School; F, Tahiti, 1839-1849.  
PLATT Harriet (1822 - ), B, Moorea; S, Missionary's daughter.
- JONES John (1829 - 1908), B, Leigh Sinton, Worcestershire; D, Congregational; O, Shoemaker; S, Ordained; E, Cotton End Academy; F, Mare, 1854-1887.  
HERBERT Sarah (1822 - 1897), B, Worcester; D, Church of England.
- JONES Thomas (1790 - ), B, Llwynadda, Cardiganshire; D, Congregational; O, Ostler's boy; S, Ordained; E, Llanfyllin Academy, Gosport; F, Tahiti, 1821-1826.  
( - 1825), S, widow of ... Cox.
- JOSEPH Thomas (1816 - 1863), B, Llanybri near Carmarthen; D, Congregational; O, Student; S, Ordained; E, Caermarthen Grammar School, Presbyterian College-Caermarthen; F, Tahiti, 1839-1844.  
EVANS Catherine (1814 - 1882), B, Caermarthen; D, Congregational.
- KELSO Seth (1748 - ), B, Manchester; O, Cotton weaver; S, "Mechanic" afterwards ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1797-1800.
- KRAUSE Ernest Rudolph William (1812 - 1873), B, Torau, Prussia; O, Student; S, Ordained; E, Torau Gymnasium, Institute of Berlin Missionary Society, University of Berlin; F, Atiu, 1842-1843, Tahaa, 1843-1851, Borabora, 1851-1855, Rarotonga, 1859-1867.  
BANES Mina Carolina Ernestina Henrietta (1824 - 1855), B, Hackney, London.  
SCHARNBERGER ( - 1879).
- LAW William (1827 - ), B, Rawmarsh near Rotherham, Lancs.; D, Congregational; O, Roll turner(ironworks); S, Ordained; E, Rotherham, Bedford; F, Upolu, 1852-1854.  
HAWLEY Sarah ( - ), B, Masborough; D, Congregational.
- LEWIS Thomas (1765 - 1799), B, Caermarthen; D, Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion; S, Minister in C. of H. Connexion; E, Cheshunt; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.
- LIND William Alexander (1828 - ), B, London; D, Wesleyan afterwards Congregational; O, Copper plate engraver; S, Ordained; E, Hackney; F, Tahiti, 1852, Rurutu, 1852-1855.  
TRITTON Jane ( - ).

- LOXTON James (1809 - 1834), B, London; D, Congregational; S, Ordained; E, Highbury; F, Raiatea, 1834.
- NUTTER Emily (1809 - 1889), B, London; D, Congregational.
- LUNDIE George Archibald ( - 1841), B, Scotland; D, Presbyterian; S, Minister's son, helper; F, res. Tutuila, 1840-1841.
- MACDONALD Alexander (1813 - 1888), B, Perth, Scotland; D, Presbyterian and Congregational; O, Ship's surgeon, whaling ship; S, Ordained; E, Apprentice in drugshop, Turvey; F, Rarotonga, 1836-1837, Savai'i, 1837-1850.
- BLOMFIELD Selina ( - ), D, Congregational; S, Minister's daughter.
- McFARLANE Samuel (1837 - 1911), B, Johnstone, Scotland; D, Congregational; O, Railway mechanic; S, Ordained; E, Bedford; F, Lifu, 1859-1871, afterwards New Guinea.
- JOYCE Elizabeth Ursula (1857 - 1913), B, Bedford; D, Congregational; S, Missionary's sister.
- McKEAN Thomas Smith (1807 - 1844), B, Garlieston, Wigtonshire; D, Congregational; S, Congregational minister; E, Theol. Academy, Glasgow, 1834-1838, University of Glasgow; F, Tahiti, 1842-1844.
- GORDON Jane (1806 - 1872), B, Elgin, Scotland; D, Congregational.
- MAIN Edward (1772 - ), O, Tailor and soldier(R.A.); S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.
- MILLS William (1811 - 1876), B, Arbroath, Scotland; D, Congregational; O, Blacksmith; S, Ordained; E, Theol. Academy, Glasgow; F, Upolu, 1836-1846, 1848-1854.
- McCLYMONT Liliias ( - 1861), B, Stranraer; D, Congregational; O, Governess.
- MITCHELL James ( - 1827), O, Quartermaster of First Fleet?; S, "Mechanic"; Resigned Sydney, 1800.
- MOORE Joseph (1816 - 1893), B, Fareham, Hants; D, Congregational; O, School-teacher(classics); S, Ordained; E, Scholar-teacher, Cheshunt College; F, Tahiti, 1843-1844.
- PINNICK Mary (1815 - 1897), B, Fareham; D, Congregational.
- MURRAY Archibald Wright (1811- 1892), B, Jedburgh, Roxburghshire; D, Relief Secession, afterwards Church of Scotland; O, Grocer's assistant; S, Ordained; E, Turvey, Homerton; F, Tutuila, 1836- , Manono/Upolu, 1854-1861.
- COBDEN Ruth (1814 - 1882), B, Chichester, Sussex; D, Congregational.
- NISBET Henry (1818 - 1876), B, Laurieston, Glasgow; D, Presb. Relief Church; O, Clerk, hardware store; S, Ordained; E, "English", Relief Divinity Hall-Paisley, Cheshunt College; F, Tana, 1842-1843, Upolu, 1843-1850, Savai'i 1850-1859, Upolu, 1859-
- CROOK Sarah (1811 - 1868), B, Sydney, N.S.W; D, Congregational; S, Missionary's daughter.

- NOBBS Isaac (1772 - ), B, Wymondham, Norfolk; O, Hatter; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tongatapu, 1797.
- NOTT Henry (1774 - 1844), B, Birmingham; D, Congregational; O, Bricklayer; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1808, Moorea, 1808-1818, Huahine, 1818-1819, Tahiti, 1819-1844.
- TURNER Ann Charlotte H. ( - 1846), B, London; D, Calvinistic Methodist.
- OAKES Francis (1770 - 1844), B, London; O, Shoemaker; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.
- ORSMOND John Muggridge (1788 - 1856), B, [Portsea, Hants]; D, Congregational; O, Carpenter; S, Ordained; E, Gosport, 1813-1816; F, Moorea, 1817-1818, Huahine, 1818, Raiatea, 1818-1820, Borabora, 1820-1824; Moorea, 1824-1831, Tahiti, 1831-1856.
- Mary L. ( - 1819).
- NELSON Isabelle (1790 - 1854), B, Liverpool, N.S.W.; D, Church of England; S, d.o. teacher and farmer.
- PITMAN Charles (1796 - 1884), B, Portsmouth; D, Congregational; O, Clerk, afterwards Superintendent, timber trade; S, Ordained; E, Day School, Gosport, F, Tahiti, 1825-1826, Raiatea, 1826-1827, Tahaa, 1827, Rarotonga, 1827-1854.
- CORRIE Elizabeth Nelson ( - 1860), B, [Newport, Isle of Wight].
- PLATT George (1789 - 1865), B, Arnfield [Manchester]; D, Congregational; O, Cotton manufacturer; S, Ordained; E, "uncultivated", Manchester; F, Moorea, 1817-1824, Borabora, 1824-1835, Savai'i, 1835-1836, Raiatea, 1836-1865.
- Judith (1788 - 1854).
- POWELL Thomas (1817 - 1887), B, Cookham Dean, Berks; D, Church of England afterwards Congregational; O, Grocer's assistant; S, Ordained; E, Hackney; F, Tutuila, 1845, Savai'i, 1845-1848, Aneityum, 1848-1849, Tutuila, 1849-1885.
- HARRISON Jane Emma (1822 - 1890), D, Congregational.
- PRATT George (1817 - 1894), B, Portsea; D, Church of England afterwards Congregational; O, Apprenticed to Druggist; S, Ordained; E, Public School, Turvey; F, Savai'i, 1839-1861. See Register of Missionaries.
- HOBBS Mary Parsons ( - 1844), D, Congregational.
- BICKNELL Elizabeth (1827 - 1906), B, Tahiti; D, Congregational; S, Missionary's relative.
- PRITCHARD George (1796 - 1883), B, Birmingham; D, Church of England afterwards Congregational; O, Brassfounder; S, Ordained; E, "deficient", Stafford, Gosport; F, Tahiti, 1824-1837, res. Tahiti, 1837-1841, 1843-1844, res. Upolu, 1845-1856.
- AILLEN Eliza ( - 1871), D, Congregational.
- PUCKEY James (1771 - ), B, Fowey; D, Congregational; O, Carpenter and joiner; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.
- PUCKEY William (1776 - 1827), B, Fowey; D, Congregational; O, Carpenter; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798, afterwards N.Z. (C.M.S.)
- READ William ( - ), S, "Mechanic", Resigned Tahiti 1801, afterwards Ceylon.

- RODGERSON John (1805 - 1847), B, Workington, Cumberland; D, Congregational; O, Shipbuilder; S, Ordained; E, "no reading habit", Turvey; F, Tahiti, 1834, Tahuata, 1834-1837, Tahiti, 1837-1839, Borabora, 1839-1847.
- HASLAM Ellen (        -        ), B, Liverpool; D, Congregational.
- ROYLE Henry (1807 - 1878), B, Manchester; D, Congregational; O, Factory employee, Town missionary; S, Ordained; E, "few advantages", Manchester Mechanics Institute; F, Rarotonga, 1839, Aitutaki, 1839-1876.
- GRIFFITHS Sarah (        - 1877), D, Congregational.
- SCHMIDT Carl William (        - 1864), B, Germany; D, Reformed Church; O, Missionary to Aborigines, Moreton Bay, 1838-1844; S, Ordained; E, Universities of Halle and Berlin; F, Savai'i, 1848-1857, res. Upolu, 1857-1864.
- (        - 1855)
- SCOTT William (        - 1815), B, Scotland; D, Presbyterian; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti 1801-1808, Moorea, 1808-1809, Huahine, 1809, Moorea, 1811-1815.
- (        - 1836), D, Church of England(not church member).
- SHELLEY William (1775 - 1815), B, Hanley Green, London; D, Congregational; O, Cabinetmaker; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tongatapu, 1797-1800, Tahiti, 1801-1806.
- BEAN Elizabeth (        -        ), B, Sydney; D, Church of England; S, d.o. free settler, N.S.W.
- SHEPHERD Isaac (1800 - 1877), B, Ryde, N.S.W.; D, Church of England; S, Helper; F, Tahiti, 1818, Moorea, 1818-1819.
- SHEPHERD James (1796 - 1882), B, Ryde, N.S.W.; D, Church of England; S, Helper; F, Moorea, 1816, afterwards N.Z.(C.M.S.).
- SIMPSON Alexander (1801 - 186 ), B, Dundee, Scotland; D, Congregational; O, [Naval]; S, Ordained; E, Gosport, Mission College - Hoxton; F, Tahiti, 1827-1829, Moorea, 1829-1850, res. Moorea, 1850-186 .
- ALLEN Sarah (c.1800 - 1877), B, Alton; D, Congregational.
- SLATYER Thomas (1816 - 1854), B, Olney, Bucks; D, Congregational; O, School-teacher; S, Ordained; E, "commercial", Turvey, Western Academy; F, Tutuila, 1840-1842, Upolu, 1843-1845.
- ANSTIE Amelia (        -        ), B, Exeter; D, Baptist; S, Minister's daughter.
- SMEE Alfred (1815 - 1847), B, Crayford, Kent; D, Congregational; O, Printer and Compositor; S, Mission Printer; E, "English"; F, Tahiti, 1841-1847.
- CREDLAND M. Elizabeth (1805 - 1890), B, Croydon, Surrey; D, Congregational.
- SMITH James (1803 -        ), B, Aberdeen, Scotland; D, Congregational; S, Ordained; E, Mission College-Hoxton; F, Raiatea, 1831, Huahine, 1831-1832, Tahaa, 1833.
- (        -        )
- SMITH William (1775 -        ), B, London; O, Linen draper; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1797-1798.

- SPENCER George (1823 -     ), B, Taunton, Somerset; D, Congregational;  
O, Bookseller, stationer and binder; S, Ordained; E, "commercial", Hackney College; F, Tahiti, 1852-1853.  
SHEARD Emily (     -     ), B, Oxford; D, Congregational.
- STAIR John Betteridge (1815 - 1898), B, Warminster, Wilts; D, Congregational;  
O, Printer (Bookseller and stationer); S, afterwards Ordained;  
E, "commercial"; F, Upolu, 1838-1845.  
ROLLS Emily Maria (     -     ), B, Basingstoke, Hants;  
D, Congregational.
- STALLWORTHY George (1809 - 1859), B, Preston Bissett near Buckingham;  
D, Congregational; O, Apprentice; S, Ordained; E, Homerton  
College; F, Tahiti, 1834, Tahuata, 1834-1841, Tahiti, 1841-1844,  
Upolu, 1844-1859.  
WILSON Charlotte (1817 - 1845), B, Moorea; S, Missionary's  
daughter.  
DARLING Mary Ann (1819 - 1872), B, Moorea; S, Missionary's  
daughter.
- STEARNS A.W. (     -     ), B, Boston, U.S.A.; D, Mission Church; S, Helper;  
F, res. Upolu     -1858.
- STEVENS Charles Green (1810 -     ), B, Walsall, Warwicks.; D, Congregational;  
O, Foreman, hatter's shop; S, Ordained; E, Homerton;  
F, Tahiti, 1839-1840.  
BLOMFIELD Deborah (     -     ), B, Denton, Norfolk; S, Minister's  
daughter.
- STONIER [Miss] (     -     ), D, Congregational; O, Schoolteacher;  
S, Helper; F, Tahiti, 1857-
- SUNDERLAND James Povey (1821 - 1889), B, Sheffield; D, Congregational;  
O, Printer and binder, Congregational minister; E, Airedale  
College; F, Upolu, 1845-1851, Tutuila, 1851-1854, Mare,  
1854-1855.  
MANN Mary Elizabeth (     -     ), B, Stockport; D, Congrega-  
tional.
- TESSIER Samuel (     - 1820), S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1801-1808, Huahine,  
1808-1809, Moorea, 1813-1818, Tahiti, 1818-1820.
- THOMSON Robert (1816 - 1851), B, Dumfries, Scotland; D, Presbyterian, United  
Secession; O, Joiner, and architect's assistant; S, Ordained;  
E, Turvey; F, Tahuata, 1839-1841, Tahiti, 1841-1850.  
BAREFF Louisa Norton (1822 -     ), B,     S, Missionary's  
daughter.
- THRELKELD Lancelot Edward (1788 - 1859), B, Exeter, Devon; D, Congregational;  
O, Actor; S, Ordained; E, [Gosport]; F, Moorea, 1817-1818,  
Huahine 1818, Raiatea, 1818-1824. Afterwards missionary to  
Aborigines.  
GOSS Martha (     - 1824)
- TURNER George (1818 - 1891), B, Irvine, Ayrshire; D, Presbyterian Relief;  
O, Clerk (stationer-woollen merchants); S, Ordained;  
E, Glasgow University, Relief Divinity Hall-Paisley, Cheshunt;  
F, Upolu, 1841-1842, Tana, 1842-1843; Upolu, 1843-1882.  
DUNN Mary Anne (1817-1872), B, Glasgow; D, Presbyterian  
Relief; S, Minister's daughter.

- VTEESON George (1772 -     ), B, Nottingham; O, Bricklayer; S, "Mechanic";  
F, Tongatapu, 1797-1801.
- WARNER Gregory (     -     ), D, Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion;  
O, Surgeon, S, Ordained; F, Tahiti, 1807-1808, Huahine,  
1808-1809. Afterwards Macao.
- WATERS William (     -     ), B, London; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1801-1804,
- WILKINSON James (1769 -     ), B, Manchester; D, Calvinistic Methodist;  
O, Carpenter-Tool manufacturer; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tongatapu,  
1797-1800.
- WILLIAMS John (1796 - 1839), B, Tottenham High Cross; D, Calvinistic Metho-  
dist; O, Apprentice to furnishing-ironmonger; S, Ordained;  
F, Moorea, 1817-1818; Huahine, 1818, Raiatea, 1818-1827,  
Rarotonga, 1827-1828, Raiatea, 1828-1831, Rarotonga, 1832-  
1833, Upolu, 1833-1839.
- WILSON Charles (1770 - 1857), B, Tongh, Aberdeen; D, Presbyterian; O, Baker's  
apprentice; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tahiti, 1801-1808, Moorea,  
1808-1809, Huahine, 1809, Moorea, 1812-1817, Tahiti, 1817-1842,  
res. Tahiti, 1842-1844, res. Upolu, 1844-1857.
- WILSON Samuel (1811 - c. 1844/5), B, [New South Wales]; D, Presbyterian;  
O, Student, S, Assistant; E, Caledonian College - Sydney;  
F, Tahiti, 1834-1835, Savai'i, 1835-1836, Upolu, 1836-1839.
- YOUL John (1773 - 1827), B, [London]; D, Calvinistic Methodist; O, Itinerant  
preacher; S, Ordained; F, Tahiti, 1801-1807.

## II. Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

- ADAMS Thomas (1821 - 1885), B, Lidcot, Cornwall; O, Farmer; S, Ordained;  
E, Private school, Richmond Theolog. Institution, 1845;  
F, Tongatapu, 1847-     , Vava'u, 1848-1853, Tongatapu,  
1853-1854, Vava'u, 1857-1860, Tongatapu, 1860-
- FRENCH Maria (     - 1860), B, Taunton, Somerset; S, Tanner's  
daughter.
- AMOS Richard (1821 - 1870), B, Bulkington, near Birmingham; O, Brassfounder;  
S, School teacher, afterwards ordained; E, Stow's Training  
Institution, Glasgow; F, Tongatapu, 1847-     , Vava'u, 1856-  
1857, Tongatapu, 1857-1858.
- CAPEWELL Elizabeth (1819 - 1872), B, Birmingham; S, School  
teacher.
- BAIRD Charles J. (     -     ), S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1859-1861.  
(     -     )
- BAKER Thomas (1832 - 1867), B, Playden, Sussex; O, Boot and shoemaker;  
S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1859-1867.
- MOON Harriet (     - 1878).

- BAMBRIDGE Thomas (1801 - ), O, Carpenter; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tongatapu, 1826- , res. Tahiti, c. 1832 - .
- BATE Joel (1821 - ), B, Bideford; S, Ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1846-1847.
- BINNER John ( - 1863), B, Leeds; O, S, School teacher; F, Fiji, 1852-1863.
- CRAWFORD Leslie ( - ), B, [Ireland].
- BROOKS William Allen ( - ), S, Ordained; F, Vava'u, 1836-1840.
- OUTRIDGE Mary Ann (1810 - 1841), B, [Hobart, Tasmania].
- CALVERT James (1813 - 1892), B, Torquay, Yorks; O, Printer, bookbinder and bookseller; S, Ordained; E, Hoxton Theol. Institution, 1837; F, Fiji, 1838-1855.
- FOWLER Mary ( - ).
- CAREY Jesse (1832 - 1914), B, Loxton, Somerset; D, Church of England afterwards Wesleyan; O, Clerk, School teacher in Australia; S, Ordained; E, National School, Brit. and For. School; F, Fiji, 1859-1874.
- LAWFORD Lydia (1839 - ).
- CARGILL David (1809 - 1843), B, Brechin, Forfar, Scot.; O, S, Banker's son, ordained; E, King's College, Aberdeen University; F, Tongatapu, 1834-1835, Fiji, 1835-1840, Vava'u, 1843.
- SMITH Margaret (1809 - 1840), B, Aberdeen, Scotland; D, Presbyterian; S, Sea captain's daughter.
- BICKNELL Augusta ( - )
- COLLIS William ( - ), S, School teacher; F, Fiji, 1852- ( - )
- CRAWFORD John (1828 - 1858), B, [Ireland]; S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1857-1858. ( - )
- CROSS William (1797 - 1842), B, Cirencester, Gloucest.; D, Church of England afterwards Wesleyan; S, Ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1827-1835, Fiji, 1835-1842.
- Elizabeth ( - 1832)
- SMITH Augusta Margaret (1817 - 1847), B, Parramatta, N.S.W; S, Builder's daughter.
- DANIEL George (1823 - 1896), B, Henbury, Bristol, Glouc.; O, Printer; S, Ordained; E, Private school; F, Tongatapu, 1847-1852, Vava'u, 1853-1856.
- BURGE Caroline Eliz. (1821 - 1905), B, Bristol; S, Doctor's daughter.
- DAVIS Walter James (1824 - 1904), B, Shoreditch, London; O, S, Printer afterwards ordained; F, Vava'u , 1847-1853, Tongatapu, 1853-1855, Ha'apai, 1855-1857, 1861-1867.
- NEWMAN Jemima Jane (1819 - 1880), B, Shoreditch, London.
- DYSON Martin (1830 - 1910), B, Wash, Yorks.; O, Draper; S, Ordained; F, Ha'apai, 1857, Upolu, 1857-1865.
- FIELDING Sarah Ann (1836 - 1921), B, Manchester; S, d.o. manager of immigrant's home.
- FLETCHER William (1829 - 1881), B, Granada, W. Indies; O, School teacher; S, Ordained; E, London University; F, Fiji, 1857-1864, afterwards Rotuma.
- WALLIS (18 - 1924), S, Missionary's daughter.



- FORD James (1819 - 1887), B, Gloucester; S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1847-1849.  
( - )
- FORDHAM John Smith (1828 - 1904), B, Sheffield; D, Church of England afterwards Wesleyan; S, Ordained; E, Institution, 1852, [Medical]; F, Fiji, 1854-1862.  
( - )
- HAZLEWOOD David (1819 - 1855), B, Fakenham, Norfolk; O, Agriculturist (Gardener and farmservant); S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1844-1850, 1851-1853.  
McINTYRE Jane ( - 1849), B, [Liverpool, N.S.W.]  
WEBSTER Sarah ( - )
- HILL William (1832 - 1899), B, Kennington, Kent; D, Church of England afterwards Wesleyan; O, Farmer's son, grocer's assistant; S, Ordained; F, Vava'u, 1859-1860, Tongatapu, 1860.  
GIBBS Cecilia Kezia (1840 - 1863), B, Jersey, Channel Islands.
- HOBBS John (1800 - 1883), B, St. Peter's, Thanet; O, Builder; S, Ordained; F, N. Zealand, 1823-1827, 1827-1833, Tongatapu, 1833-1835, Vava'u, 1835-1836, Ha'apai, 1836-1838.  
BROGGREF Jane (1799 - 1888), B, Ramsgate, Kent; S, Actuary's daughter.
- HUNT John (1812 - 1848), B, Hykeham Moor near Lincoln; O, Farm worker; S, Ordained; E, Theolog. Inst. Hoxton, 1836; F, Fiji, 1838-1848.  
SUMMERS Hannah ( - )
- HUTCHINSON John (1792 - 1866), B, Scarborough, Yorks.; S, Ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1826-1828.  
OAKES Mary (1810 - 1880), B, Parramatta, N.S.W.; S, d.o. Chief Constable (former missionary).
- JAGGAR Thomas James (1814 - ), O, Printer; S, Ordained; E, Kingswood school; F, Fiji, 1838-1848.  
( - )
- KEVERN George (1817 - 1875), B, Devonport, Devon; O, Printer; S, Ordained; E, "common English"; F, Vava'u, 1840-1845, afterwards Calais.  
( - )
- LANGHAM Frederick (1833 - 1903), B, Launceston, Tasmania; O, School teacher; S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1858-1894.  
( - )
- LAWRY Walter (1793 - 1859), B, Rutheren, near Bodmin, Cornwall; O, Farmer; S, Ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1822-1823, afterwards Superintendent of Missions.  
HASSALL Mary Cover (1799 - 1825), B, Parramatta, N.S.W.; S, d.o. storekeeper (former missionary).
- LEE George (1829 - 1879), B, Tullamore, Ireland; O, Farmer; S, Ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1857-1860, Vava'u, 1860-1869.  
MATTHEWS Elizabeth (1832 - 1899), B, Penzance, Cornwall; S, Mason's daughter.
- LILLY George (1803 - 1867), B, Roscommon, Ireland; O, Carpenter; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tongatapu, 1822 - 1825.
- LYTH Richard Burdsall (1810 - 1887), B, York; O, Grocer's son, Surgeon; S, Ordained; E, Church of England Grammar School, York, London University; F, Ha'apai, 1838-1839, Fiji, 1839 - 1854.  
HARDY Mary Anne ( - ), S, Goldsmith's daughter.

- MALVERN John (1818 - 1901), B, Tewkesbury; S, Ordained, E, "English, French and Latin"; F, Fiji, 1847-1858.  
( - )
- MARTIN Edward P. ( - ), B, France; O, S, Printer; F, res. Fiji, 1849 - , 1856-1863.  
( - )
- MILLARD John Gane (1827 - 1897), S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1850.  
( - )
- MILLER George R. H. (1806 - 1854), O, Ship's surgeon; S, Assist. Missionary; F, res. Tongatapu, 1832-1841, Tongatapu, 1841-1853.  
LOUAKAU Mary Ann ( - 1847), Tongan.  
MILLER Mrs. Susannah (1813 - 1869).
- MOORE William (1821 - 1893), B, Parramatta, N.S.W.; O, Tanner and Currier; S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1850-1861.  
DUCKER Mary Ann (1826 - ), B, [Richmond, N.S.W.]
- POLGLASE John (1823 - 1860), B, St. Breage, Cornwall; S, Ordained; E, [Institution, 1850], F, Fiji, 1852-1860.  
FLETCHER Mary ( - ), B, [West Indies]; S, Missionary's daughter.
- RABONE Stephen (1811 - 1872), B, Burn Tree, Staffs.; O, Nailmaker; S, Ordained; F, Vava'u 1836, Tongatapu, 1837- , Ha'apai, 1839-1847, Vava'u, 1847-1850.  
THOMAS Eliza (1811 - 1868), B, Clent, Staffs.; S, Blacksmith's daughter.
- ROYCE James Stephen Hambrook (1829 - 1907), B, [Dover]; O, Draper; S, Ordained; E, Richmond Theol. Instit.; F, Fiji, 1856-1861.  
BERRY Elizabeth J. ( - ), B, Boughton, Kent.
- SHAW Joseph Taylor (1826 - 1894), B, Halifax, Yorks.; O, School teacher; S, Ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1859-1860.  
RILEY Anna (1827 - 1909), B, Oldham, Lancs.; S, Grocer's daughter.
- SPINNEY John (1813 - 1840), S, Ordained; F, Vava'u, 1836-1838, Ha'apai, 1838-1839, Fiji, 1839.  
( - )
- STEPHINSON William George Richards (1829 - 1890), B, Sunderland, Durham; O, Painter's son; S, Ordained; F, Ha'apai, 1858-1861.  
SWANTON Emma (1836 - 1904), S, Farmer's daughter.
- THOMAS John (1796 - 1881), B, Clent, Staffs.; D, Church of England afterwards Wesleyan; O, Blacksmith; S, Ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1826-1830, Ha'apai, 1830-1831, Tongatapu, 1831-1835, Vava'u, 1835-1841, Tongatapu, 1841-1848, Ha'apai, 1848, Vava'u, 1849-1850, Tongatapu, 1856-1859.  
HARTSHORNE Sarah (1792 - 1867)
- TINDALL Charles ( - ), O, Blacksmith; S, "Mechanic"; F, Tongatapu, 1822-1827.
- TUCKER Charles (1808 - 1881), B, Horton, Glamorgan, Wales; O, Farmer; S, Ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1833, Ha'apai, 1833- , Tongatapu, 1837-1841.  
HALL Jane (1806 - 1875), B, Bristol, Glos.; S, Glazier's daughter.

- TURNER Nathaniel (1793 - 1864), B, Wynbunbury, Cheshire; D, Church of England afterwards Wesleyan; O, Farmer's son; S, Ordained; F, N. Zealand, 1823-1827, Tongatapu, 1827-1831.  
SARGENT Anne (1798 - 1893), B, Ipstones, Etruria, Staffs.; Farmer's daughter.
- TURNER Peter (1802 - 1873), B, Manchester; O, Cotton, afterwards silk, weaver; S, Ordained; F, Ha'apai, 1831-1832, Vava'u 1832-1835, Samoa, 1835-1839, Ha'apai, 1839-1842, Vava'u, 1842-1843, Tongatapu, 1843, Vava'u, 1843-1847, Ha'apai, 1847-1848, Tongatapu, 1848-1849, Vava'u, 1849-1853.  
SMALLWOOD Mary ( - 1885), B, Macclesfield, Cheshire.
- VERCOE John (1827 - 1904), B, Pendavey, Cornwall; O, Farmer; S, Ordained; E, Richmond Theol. Instit.; F, Vava'u, 1854, Tongatapu, 1855-1858, Ha'apai, 1858-1860.  
McBEAN Jane (1829 - 1910), B, London; S, Tea merchant's daughter.
- WATERHOUSE Joseph (1828 - 1881), B, Halifax, Yorks; O, Minister's son; S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1850-1857, 1859-1864.  
WATSON Elizabeth (1828 - 1909), S, Shipbuilder's daughter.
- WATERHOUSE Samuel (1830 - 1918), B, Halifax; O, Minister's son; S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1853-1857.  
WILSON Esther Day (1829 - 1856), B, [Hobart, Tasmania].
- WATKIN James (1805 - 1886), B, Manchester; O, Soldier's son; S, Ordained; F, Tongatapu, 1831, Ha'apai, 1832-1835, Tongatapu, 1835-1837, [Vava'u, 1837], afterwards N.Z.  
ENTWISLE Hannah (1807 - 1900), B, Manchester; S, Niece of Rev. Joseph Entwisle.
- WATSFORD John (1822 - 1907), B, Parramatta, N.S.W.; O, Coachman's son; S, Ordained; E, King's School, Parramatta; F, Fiji, 1844-1849, 1852-1853.
- ( - )
- WEBB William (1812 - 1852), B, Botolph, Bucks.; O, Carpenter and joiner; S, Ordained; E, Nat. School, Institution, 1837; F, Ha'apai, 1841 - , Tongatapu, -1852.  
POWELL Maria (1811 - 1871), B, Harrow-on-the-Hill; S, Boot and shoemaker's daughter.
- WEISS John Von Mangerhousen (1799 - ), B, Liverpool, England; O, Supt. Government Boats, Sydney; S, Assistant Missionary; E, Royal Naval College; F, Tongatapu, 1827-1828.  
HEWLITT Elizabeth Wilshire ( - ), S, Missionary's step-daughter.
- WELLARD Thomas (1805 - 1889), B, Bromley, Kent; O, Builder; S, Assistant Missionary; F, Tongatapu, 1836.  
CALVERT Mary Ann ( - 1877), B, Leeds, Yorks.; S, Gun-maker's daughter.
- WEST Thomas (1824 - 1890), B, Glasgow; O, Bookseller's son; S, Ordained; F, Vava'u, 1846 - , Tongatapu, 1850- , Ha'apai, 1853-1855.  
ORR Mary ( - 1869)

- WHEWELL John (1825-1886), B, Glassop, Derbyshire; O, Civil Engineer; S, Ordained; F, Ha'apai, 1855-1858, Tongatapu, 1858-1860, Vava'u, 1860, Tongatapu, 1861-1865.  
 RUSSELL Sarah (1833 - 1914), B, Cork, Ireland; S, Architect's daughter.
- WHITTLEY William ( - ), S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1860.  
 H. (1850 - 1860)
- WILLIAMS Thomas (1815 - 1891), B, Horncastle, Lincs.; O, Carpenter and joiner; S, Ordained; F, Fiji, 1840-1853.  
 COTTINGHAM Mary ( - ), S, Farmer's daughter.
- WILSON Francis A. (1812 - 1846), B, Bickerton, Yorks.; O, Farmer's son; S, Ordained; E, Institution, 1837; F, Vava'u, 1840-1846.  
 SNOW Sarah (1813 - 1840), S, Linen draper's daughter.  
 HULL Sarah ( - ), S, Governess.
- WILSON Matthew (1808 - 1876), B, Bradford, Yorks.; S, Ordained; F, Samoa, 1836-1839, Ha'apai, 1838, Vava'u 1839, Tongatapu, 1840, Ha'apai, 1845-1854.  
 SMITH Maria (1808 - 1890), B, Bradford, Yorks.; S, Cord-winder's daughter.
- WILSON William (1828 - 1896), B, Dumfries, Scotland; D, Presbyterian afterwards Wesleyan; S, Ordained; E, Institution, [1850]; F, Fiji, 1854-1859.  
 McOWAN ( - 1859), S, Minister's daughter.
- WOON William (1803 - 1858), B, Truro, Cornwall; O, Printer; F, Tongatapu, 1831-1834. Afterwards N.Z.  
 GARLAND Jane (1804 - 1859), B, Marazion, Cornwall.
- WRIGHT Thomas ( - ), S, Ticket-of-leave servant; S, "Agriculturist"; F, Tongatapu, 1822 - .

III. Presbyterian Mission

- ARCHIBALD Isaac ( - ), B, Nova Scotia; D, United Presbyt. N.S.; O, School teacher; S, Lay Catechist; F, Tutuila, 1847-1848, Aneityum, 1848.  
 ( - )
- COPELAND Joseph ( - ), B, Scotland; D, Reformed Presbyterian; S, Ordained; E, Theol. Hall; F, Tana, 1858 - , Aneityum
- GEDDIE John (1815 - 1872), B, Scotland; D, United Presbyt. of Nova Scotia; O, Secession minister; E, Dalhousie; F, Tutuila, 1847-1848, Aneityum, 1848 -  
 ( - )
- GORDON George Nichol (1822 - 1861), B, Cascumpec, Prince Edward Is.; D, United Presbyt. N.S.; O, Farmer; S, Ordained; E, Free Church College, Halifax; F, Eromanga, 1857-1861.  
 POWELL Ellen Catherine (1833 - 1861), B, Bow, Essex, England; S, Builder's daughter.

- INGLIS John (        ), B, Scotland; D, Reformed Presb; O, [trade];  
S, Ordained; E, Glasgow Univ., Theol. Hall; F, Aneityum, 1852-  
McCLYMONT Jessie (1821 - 1885), B, Corrieveckloch, Scot.;  
D, Reformed Presb.; S, Farmer's daughter.
- JOHNSTON Samuel Fulton (1830 - 1861), B, Middle Stewiacke, N.S.; D, United  
Presbyt. N.S.; O, School teacher; S, Ordained; E, West River  
Seminary, Princeton College, Pennsylvania Medical College;  
F, Tana, 1860-1861.
- O'BRIEN Elizabeth (        - 1876), B, Noel, N.S.; D, United Presbyt.  
N.S.
- MATHESON John William (1832 - 1862), B, Roger's Hill, Pictou, N.S.;  
D, United Presbyterian; O, Farmer's son; S, Ordained; E, Penn-  
sylvania Medical College; F, Tana, 1858-1862.
- JOHNSTON Mary Geddie (        - 1862), B, Pictou, Nova Scotia;  
D, United Presbyterian; S, Merchant's daughter (Geddie's niece).
- PATON John Gibson (1824 -        ), B, Kirkmahoe, Scot.; D, Reformed Presby-  
terian; O, Stocking manufacturer's son; S, Ordained; E, Free  
Normal Seminary-Glasgow, Theol. Hall, Glasgow Univ.; F, Tana,  
1858 -
- ROBSON Mary Ann (        - 1859), B, Coldstream.

#### IV. Gossner's Missionary Society

- HONES Julius (        ), B, [Germany]; F, Borabora, 1851-1852, Rurutu, 1852.  
MOHN Leopold (        ), B, [Germany]; F, Borabora, 1851-1852, Rurutu, 1852.

#### V. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Hawaiian Missionary Society.

- ALEXANDER William Patterson (1805 - 1884), B, Paris, Kentucky; D, Presby-  
terian; S, Ordained; E, Princeton, 1831; F, Nukuhiva, 1833.  
Afterwards Hawaii.
- McKINNEY Mary Ann (1810 - 1888), B, Wilmington, Del.
- ARMSTRONG Richard (1805 - 1860), B, Turbotville, Pa.; S, Ordained; E, Dick  
College, 1827, Princeton, 1831; F, Nukuhiva, 1833. Afterwards  
Hawaii.
- CHAPMAN Clarissa (1805 - 1891), B, Russell, Ms.
- BICKNELL James (1829 - 1892), B, Tahiti, D, Congregational; O, Carpenter;  
S, "Mechanic" afterwards ordained; F, Fatuhiva, 1853-1855,  
Hivaoa, 1855-1857, 1858-1861. Afterwards Hawaii.
- BINGHAM Hiram (Jun.) (1831 - 1908), B, Honolulu; O, School teacher;  
S, Ordained; E, Williston Academy, Easthampton, Yale; F, Abaiang,  
1857-1864.
- BREWSTER Minerva Clarissa (1834 - 1903), B, Northampton.
- DOANE Edward T. (        - 1890), S, Ordained; E, Illinois College, 1848,  
Union Theol. Sem., 1852, F, Ponape, 1855-1857, Ebon, 1857-[1890].
- WILBUR Sarah (        - 1862).

- GULICK Luther Halsey (1828 - 1891), B, Honolulu; O, Surgeon; S, Ordained; E, New York College of Physicians and Surgeons, Union Sem.; F, Ponape, 1852-1862.  
LEWIS Louisa (1830 - 1894), B, New York City; S, d.o. dry goods merchant.
- PARKER Benjamin Wyman (1803 - 1877), B, Reading, Ms.; S, Ordained; E, Amherst Coll., 1829, Andover, 1832; F, Nukuhiva, 1833. Afterwards Hawaii.  
BARKER Mary Elizabeth (1805 - 1907), B, Branford, Ct.
- PIERSON George ( - 1895); O, S, Surgeon, Missionary to Choctaw Indians, 1852; E, Illinois Coll., 1848, Andover, 1851; F, Kusaie, 1855-1857, Ebon, 1857-1860.  
SHAW Nancy ( - 1892)
- ROBERTS Ephraim P. ( - 1893), S, Ordained; E, Williams Coll., 1854, Bangor, 1857, Ponape, 1858-1861.  
FARRINGTON Myra H. ( - ), B, Holden, Mass.
- SNOW Benjamin G. ( - 1880), O, S, Congregational minister; E, Bowdoin, 1846, Bangor, 1849; F, Kusaie, 1852-[1878].  
BUCK Lydia V. ( - 1887)
- STURGES Albert A. ( - 1887), S, Ordained; E, Wabash Coll., Indiana, 1848, New Haven, 1851; F, Ponape 1852-[1884].  
THOMPSON Susan M. ( - 1893).

Appendix VI.

List of Native Missionaries, 1820 - 1860.

P = Ordained; D = Dismissed (reasons not necessarily given);  
A = Charged with adultery; I = Dismissed for immorality(not necessarily specified); M = Died by violence.

1. Principal Agents of the L. M. S., 1820 - 1860.

The following list is largely a work of reconstruction, and does not claim to be complete. On the other hand, it may be regarded as being little short of an exhaustive list. Apart from Minutes of Committee meetings, and Davies's History of the Tahitian Mission, names and particulars have been derived from the Journals of the Voyages to the outstations, and from incidental references. Those native teachers who laboured exclusively in their own groups or islands are not listed. This includes quite a number of teachers like Ko Iro of Ngatangia in Rarotonga, whose labours belonged to the category of pioneering. Those Cook Islanders who went to other islands in their own group have been included. No attempt has been made to list those who were ordained for work in Tahiti and Samoa. Unless otherwise specified, most of the teachers listed were married men.

AHURIRO, Papetoai, Moorea: Raiavae, 1822 - [1825/29].  
AHURIRO (died before 1851), Papeete, Tahiti: Rurutu, 1822 - 1824.  
AIRIMA, Huahine: Tupuaemanu, 1822 - [1834].  
AKAEA, Mangaia: Aneityum, 1852 - 1853. [D].  
AKATANGI, Arorangi, Rarotonga: Eromanga, 1852 - Lifu 1857 - 1860. [I].  
AMOSIA, Samoa: Aneityum, 1852 - 1857, Nine, 1857 -  
ANANIA ( - 1848), Averua, Rarotonga: Manu'a (Tau), 1839 - ,(Olosenga),  
1842 - 1846, Tamarua, Mangaia, 1847 - 1848.  
APAISA, Samoa; Aneityum, 1845 -  
APELA[ABELA] ( - 1843), Leone, Tutuila: Futuna, 1841 - 1843. [M].  
APERAU, Ngatangia, Rarotonga: Samoa, 1858 -  
APOLO, Tutuila, Samoa: Tana, 1841 -  
APOLO, : Aneityum, 1842 - [1845].  
APOLO, Samoa: Lifu, 1854 - 1860, Urea, 1860 -  
APOLC, Aitutaki: Manihiki, 1849 - [1859 - ]

- ARU, Papetoai, Moorea: Marquesas, 1826 - 1828.  
 ARUE, Raiatea, unkm.: Sapapali'i, Savai'i, 1830 - [1836].  
 ARUI, :Tupuaemanu [1850].  
 ATAMOE, : Marquesas, 1829.  
 ATAMU[ADAMU], Manono: Tana [1840], Aniwa, 1840 - 1845 [Tana, 1845].  
 AUNA ( - 1835), Huahine: Hawaii, 1822 - , Tupuaemanu, 1825 - 1835.  
 AVAEINO, Tahaa: Mitiaro [1823].  
 BA[R]NABA, Rarotonga: Aitutaki, [1839] - 1839 [D].  
 BORABORA[FORAPORA, BOLAPOLA], Borabora: Vava'u, 1822 - , Tongatapu.  
 Died before 1830.  
 BOTI, Huahine, unkm.: Savai'i, 1830 - , Upolu, 1834 - 1836. [I].  
 BURE'IAU, Rarotonga: Samoa(Samata), [1840].  
 DAVIDA (1793 - 1849), Tahaa: Mangaia, 1823 - 1849.  
 DAVIDA, Tubuai: Tubuai [1840, 1842].  
 ELIA, Samoa: Eromanga, 1854 - 1857, Aneityum, 1857 - [1858]. Nine, 1859 -  
 FAAI, Papetoai, Moorea: Marquesas (Tahuata), 1831 - [1835]. [A].  
 FAARAVA, [Borabora]: Rimatara, 1823 - [1829].  
 FAAROU [FAAROAVAU]: Marquesas(Uapon), 1826 - [1827]. Died before 1830.  
 FAARUEA (1786 - ), Raiatea: Mangaia, 1829 - [1838].  
 FAARUEA[ARUE] ( - 1846), Moorea, unkm.: Fiji (Lakemba), 1830 - 1832,  
 (Oneata), 1832 - 1846.  
 FAATIA[FAATEA], Papeete, Tahiti: Marquesas (Fatuiva), 1831 - , Tubuai,  
 [1835] - 1836. [A].  
 FAINOU[FAINAU], Papeete, Tahiti: Rurutu, 1822 - [1825/29].  
 FALEESE (1826 - ), Tutuila, unkm.: Tana, 1841 - 1842, Aniwa, 1842 -  
 FALETA, Huahine: Hawaii [1825].  
 FANA, Tiarei, Tahiti [Native of Hivaoa], unkm.: Tahuata, 1831 - 1832.  
 FARAIRE, : Mauke, [1830, 1838].  
 FARANI, : Tongareva, 1859 -  
 FARAVA (1789 - ), Borabora: Rimatara, 1823 - [1838].  
 FAREBUA[FAREPUA], Borabora: Maupiti, 1822 - [1824].  
 FARE ORE, Huahine: Marquesas (Vaitahu), 1825 -  
 FAVELU, Samoa: [Western Polynesia], 1846 -  
 FETIU [FITIU, FITITIU], Borabora: Atiu, 1831 - 1842.  
 FILI ( - 1852) [=FILA?], Samoa: Mare, [1846] - 1852. [Efate, 1848].  
 FRIDAY (1791 - ), Borabora: Mauke [1831], [Raivavae, before 1835],  
 Mangaia [1835] - c. 1840 [A?].  
 FUATAIESE, Sapapali'i, Samoa: Aneityum, 1841, Tana, 1842 -  
 NGATIKA[RO], Arorangi, Rarotonga: Tongareva, 1854 - unkm.?  
 NGATIKILI, Rarotonga: Samoa [1841].  
 NGATIMOARI, Rarotonga: Pukapuka, 1857 -  
 HAAMA INO [HAAMA INE], Papetoai, Moorea: Marquesas (Tahuata), 1826 - 1828.  
 HAAPUNIA [HAAPUNEA], Matavai, Tahiti: Tubuai, 1822 - 1830. [A?].  
 HAARI [HARANEA?], : Atiu [1831].  
 HAAVI ( - 1853), Tahaa: Mangaia [1823], Mauke, 1823 - 1853.  
 HAPE, Pajara, Tahiti, unkm.: Tongatapu, 1826 - 1828, Rapa, 1831 - [1846].  
 Died before 1851.  
 HATAI [ATAI, FUATAI] ( - 1846), Moorea, unkm.: Fiji (Lakemba), 1830 - 1832,  
 (Oneata), 1832 - 1846.



- HIOMAI, Tahiti: Maupiti, 1854 - [P].  
 HITIMAHANA, Papeete, Tahiti: Tubuai, 1830 - [before 1836].  
 HITIMAHANA, :Rurutu, 1857 - [P].  
 HOROINUVU ( - 1833), Papetoai, Moorea: Raivavae, 1822 - [1831/32].  
 HOSEA, Samoa: [Western Polynesia], 1859 -  
 HOTA, Papara, Tahiti: Rapa:[1825], 1826 - 1835 [Bigamy?]  
 HUMU, Anaa [before 1830].  
 IOANE, Samoa: Tana [1845, 1846].  
 IOANE, Rarotonga: Samoa, - 1858, Mare, 1858 -  
 IOANE, Aitutaki: Upolu, 1857 - [Matautu near Apia].  
 IONA, Falefa, Samoa: Tana [1840], Aniwa, 1840, Tana, 1845. [Lifu, 1845?]  
 Returned 1846.  
 IONE [=IOANE?] ( - 1849), :Efate, 1848.  
 IONE, : Efate, 1852 - 1854.  
 ISAAKA, Samoa: Lifu, 1854 (1857?) -  
 ISALA, Samoa: Tokelaus [1858], [Western Polynesia], 1859 -  
 ITIO, Avarua, Rarotonga: Mauke, 1845 - 1852, 1854 -  
 JAKOBA [IACOPO], Samoa, unnm.: Rotuma, 1840 - 1845, Mare, 1845 - 1846. Returned.  
 JOSIA, Samoa: Mare, 1847 - 1848. Returned.  
 JOSIA, Samoa: [Western Polynesia], 1859 -  
 JOSIA, Ngatangia, Rarotonga, unnm.: Tongareva, 1854 - [A?].  
 KALAAU, Oneroa, Mangaia: Tongareva, 1858 -  
 KAKORUA [KAKARUA, KOKURUA], Rarotonga: Lifu, 1853 - 1857, Uvea, 1857 -  
 KALEPA, Samoa: Niue, 1852 -  
 KAPAO, Rarotonga: Tana, 1842 - Consumptive.  
 KAUI ( - 1850), : Tana, 1848 - 1850.  
 KA'TUKE, Arorangi, Rarotonga: Ivirua, Mangaia, 1844 -  
 KAVERIRI [KAVIRIRI] ( - 1855), Mangaia: Ivirua, Mangaia [1851], Efate,  
 1853. [M].  
 KUKU, Ngatangia, Rarotonga: Tana [1849], Aneityum, 1849 -  
 LALOLANGI, Samoa (not church member): Tana, 1839 - 1841. Returned.  
 LASALO ( - 1842), Tufulele, Samoa, unnm.: Eromanga, 1840 - 1841, Isle  
 of Pines, 1841 - 1842. [M].  
 LEALAMANU[A] ( - 1848), Samoa: Efate [1847] - 1848.  
 LEFAU, Samoa: Aniwa, 1845 -  
 LEIATAUA, Falefe, Manono: Rotuma, 1859 - 1845.  
 LUKA, Aitutaki: Pukapuka, 1857 - [A].  
 MAHAMENA [MAHAMENE], Raiatea: Rurutu, 1821 - 1830. Returned.  
 MAHANA, Papara, Tahiti: Rapa, 1826 - [1836].  
 MAILLEI (?), Samoa: [Western Polynesia], 1854 -  
 MAKA [John Turner Cummins] ( - 1875?), Avarua, Rarotonga: Mare, [1848] -  
 1858, Apia, Samoa, 1858 - 1861. App. Tokelaus, 1861.  
 MAKEA ( - 1860), Aitutaki: Aniwa, 1859 - 1860.  
 MANAO, Tahiti: Anaa, 1827 - 1837.  
 MARAE ORE, Taiarapu, Tahiti, unnm.: Marquesas (Vaitahu, Tahuata), 1825 - 1826.  
 MARAMA, Rarotonga: Manono, 1841 -  
 MARATAI, Borabora: Atiu, 1823 - 1831. [A].  
 MAREKO ( - 1850), :Tana, - 1850.

- MAPETU (c. 1802 - 1880), Ngatangia, Rarotonga: Mangaia, 1839 - ,  
Manihiki, 1854 - 1855, Ngatangia, 1855 - .
- MAROKAA, Arorangi, Rarotonga: Atiu, 1856 - 1857. Returned.
- MARU[N]GATANGA, Mangaia: Tana, 1845 -
- MATAIO ( - c. 1842), Averua, Rarotonga: New Caledonia 1841[-42].
- MATAITAI, Raiatea: Aitutaki, 1823 - [1838].
- MATATIA ( - 1855), Ngatangia, Rarotonga: Savai'i, 1839 - 1841, 1842-1845,  
(Malua), 1845 - 1852, Rarotonga, 1852 - 1855.
- MATTATORE [MATAORE], Huahine: [Marquesas], Hawaii, 1822 -
- MEARIKI, Arorangi, Rarotonga: Eromanga, 1853 - , Aneityum, 1857, Mare,  
1858 -
- MEREU, : Anaa, c. 1827 - [I].
- MIKA, Samoa : Mare [1848] - 1858.
- MOEA [MOIA] ( - 1854), Huahine [native of Raiatea]: Marquesas [1828],  
Savai'i, 1830 - 1834, Falelatai, Upolu, 1834 - 1842.
- MOOREA, Papeete, Tahiti [native of Anaa]: Anaa, 1821 - [before 1830]. Returned.
- MOSE, Saleimoa, Samoa : Tana, 1839 - [1841]. [I].
- MOSE, Samoa : Efate, 1845 - [1848].
- MOSE, Samoa : Niue, 1852 - [1854 - ].
- MUNAMUNA : Aneityum, [1848].
- MARII, Huahine : Marquesas (Tahuata), 1825 - 1826.
- MARII, Huahine : Tupuaemanu. Chosen Pastor, 1856.
- NEHEMIA, Avarua, Rarotonga [native of Rurutu?]: Manu'a, 1839 - [1854].
- NENE, Papara, Tahiti: Rapa [1825], 1826 - [1831.] Died before 1831.
- NIKI, Ngatangia, Rarotonga: Tongareva, 1857 - 1859. Returned.
- NOA, Manono, Samoa, un.: Isle of Pines, 1840 - 1842, New Caledonia, 1842-1845.  
Returned.
- NOOTU ( - 1860), Arorangi, Rarotonga: Uvea, 1857 - [Mare, 1858 - 1860?],  
Lifu [1860].
- OBEDA, Aitutaki: Manu'a (Olosenga), 1857 -
- OKOTAI, Avarua, Rarotonga: Atiu, 1841 - 1845, Samoa, [1846] - 1858,  
Pukapuka, 1858 -
- OO[O], Borabora, un.: Rimatara, 1823 - Died before 1826.
- OPETAIO[OBEDAIO] ( - 1853), Arorangi, Rarotonga, un.: Aneityum, 1848-1849,  
Tana, 1849 - 1853.
- PAGISA[PANGISA], Pangopango, Tutuila, un.: New Caledonia, [1840].
- PAKIAO[PAKAI], : Samoa, 1841 - 1844, [Aitutake, 1844 - ].
- PAKU, Rarotonga [native of Mangaia?]: Mitiaro, 1845 - 1848. [D].
- PALALA[PARARA], Huahine: Samoa -[1844]. Died before 1855.
- PAUO, Papara, Tahiti: Rapa, 1826 - [1831].
- PA'O[O], Aitutaki: Mulifanua, Samoa, 1837 - [Mare], 1841, Lifu, 1842 -  
[1858] [Mare, 1849].
- PAPATAI[PAPEAI], Rarotonga: New Caledonia [1846] Returned. Tahiti, 1846 -  
[1847] -
- PAPEIHA, Raiatea: Aitutaki [1823], Rarotonga, 1823 - , Atiu, 1836 - 1837.
- PAREPOU[PALEPO], Mangaia, un.: Aneityum, 1848 - , Mare, 1852 - 1853. [I].
- PATII ( - c. 1854), Papetoai, Moorea: Raivavae, 1831 - [1840].
- PAULA, Samoa: Niue, 1854 - 1859. Returned.
- PAULO, Samoa: Niue, 1849 - [1859].
- PAULO, Samoa: [Western Polynesia], 1854 -

- PAUMOANA, Raiatea: Aitutaki, 1823 - 1833. [A].  
PELEASARA[BELE[HE]AZARA] ( - 1853), Aitutaki: Aneityum, 1849 - 1852,  
Tana, 1852 - 1853.  
PENIAMINU[PENIAMINA], [native of Niue]: Niue, 1846 - [1848] -  
PETELU[PETERO] :Tana, 1845, [Aneityum, 1846].  
PIKIKAA ( - 1853), Avarua, Rarotonga: Efate, 1853. [M].  
PITA ( - 1870), Tutuila : Tana, 1845 [Aneityum, 1846 - 1852], Tana,  
1852 - 1853, Aneityum, 1853 - 1859. Returned.  
PITIU?. Borabora: [1834].  
POAKI[POANI?], Rarotonga: [Western Polynesia] 1853 - 1854. Returned. [D].  
POITO ( - 1857), Mangaia: Mare, 1853 - 1857.  
POMARE ( - 1840/41), Tutuila: Tana, 1840 - 1840/41.  
POTI[POTO], Samoa: Aneityum, 1845 -  
PUNA (c. 1788 - c. 1831), Raiatea (Borabora?): Rurutu 1821 - 1830.  
RAEKURA?, Rarotonga: [Western Polynesia], 1859 -  
RAKI, Aitutaki: Savai'i, 1830 - 1834, Upolu, 1834 - 1836, Tutuila, 1836 -  
1840. [I].  
RANGI ( - 1842), Rarotonga: Isle of Pines, 1841 - 1842. [M].  
RANGIA[RANGIIA], Mangaia: Tana, 1845 -  
RATAI ( - 1847), Avarua, Rarotonga: Efate, 1846 - 1847.  
RAURAA, Mangaia: Mitiaro, 1848 - 1854, Mangaia, 1857 - 1859. [D].  
REVAE[REVA E], Borabora: Maupiti, 1822 -  
RU, Aitutaki: Futuna, 1859 -  
RUATAI, Tahiti: Tuamotus (Makatea), 1829 - [1851].  
RUPE, Aitutaki: Tamarua, Mangaia, 1841 - , Atiu, 1844 - , Arorangi,  
Rarotonga, 1847 - 1848, Atiu, 1849 - 1856, Arorangi, 1857 - 1861,  
Atiu, 1861 -  
SADARAKA (formerly called MAMAE), Oneroa, Mangaia: Tamarua, Mangaia, 1848 -  
[1857] -  
SAILUSE, Samoa : Efate, [1848] -  
SAKAIIO[SAKAI], Samoa: Aneityum, [1852] - 1857, Niue, 1857 - [1859 - ]  
SAKARIA[ZAKARIA], Rarotonga: Lifu, 1842 - 1845. Returned. [I].  
SALAMIA[SALAMEA] ( - 1840/41), Sangana, Upolu: Tana, 1839 - 1840/41.  
SAMUELA, Matavai, Tahiti: Tubuai, 1822 - 1830. Returned.  
SAMUELA ( - 1843), Falealili, Upolu: Futuna, 1841 - 1843. [M].  
SAMUELA, : Niue, [1857] - [1859 - ].  
SARIA, Samoa: Mare, - 1859. Returned.  
SAU, Sanapu, Manono: Rotuma, 1839 - [1840].  
SEPANIA[SEFANIA] ( - c. 1849), Samoa: Efate, 1847 - c. 1849.  
SEPETAI[SEPETAI] ( - 1860), Samoa: Lifu, [1857] - 1860.  
SETEFANO, Samoa: Efate, 1845 - 1853. Returned.  
SIMEONA, [Samoa]: Aneityum, 1842 - [1848], 1853 -  
SIMI, Samoa: Tana.  
SIMONA ( - c. 1849), Samoa: Efate, 1846 - c. 1849.  
SIMONA[SIMIONA], Samoa: Aneityum, 1853 - [1858].  
SIPI ( - c. 1847), Tutuila: Efate, 1845 - c. 1847. [M].  
SOLIA, Samoa: Mare, 1846 - 1852, Toka, 1852 - 1859. Returned.  
SUALO, : [Western Polynesia], 1854 -

- TAAIILI?, : Efate, [1845] -  
 TAAMORE[TAMORE], , un.m.: Tupuaemanu, 1836 - Died before 1855.  
 TA AMOTU, Huahine: Hawaii [1825].  
 TAATU ORI [TAATA ORI], Raiatea: Savai'i, 1830 - [1836].  
 TAAVILI, Samoa: Efate, 1845 - [1848].  
 TAERO ITI, Raiatea: Maupiti [1839].  
 TAEVAO [TAEVAE], Arorangi, Rarotonga: Eromanga, 1857 - , Mare [1861].  
 TAFETA [DAVIDA], Papara, Tahiti, un.m.: Tongatapu, 1826 - .  
 TANGI-PO [TAGIPO] ( - c. 1846), Samoa: Tana, [1845] - c. 1846. [M?]  
 TAHARAA [JACERO], Papara, Tahiti, un.m.: Fiji (Lakemba), 1830 - 1832,  
 (Oneata), 1832 - .  
 TAIHAERE [TAI] (c. 1796 - ), Borabora: Aitutaki, [1830], Sapapali'i,  
 Samoa, 1830 - , Solosolo, - 1840. [I].  
 TAIRI [TAILI] ( - 1847), Rarotonga: Mangaia, Efate, 1846 - 1847.  
 TAILI, Rarotonga : Manihiki [1859].  
 TAIRI, Ngatangiaa, Rarotonga: Manihiki, 1849 - [1859] -  
 TAITI, Atiu : Manihiki, 1858 -  
 TAIVAO? ; Rarotonga: Eromanga, Mare, 1858 - [1859] -  
 TAMARUA, Ngatangiaa, Rarotonga: Ngatangiaa, 1856 - 1858, Tongareva, 1858-1859,  
 Matavera, 1859 -  
 TAMUA ( - 1860/61), : Aitutake, 1848-1852, Arorangi, 1852 - 1856,  
 Atiu, 1856 - 1860/61.  
 TANAO [TANIAO], : Mare, 1858 -  
 TANGI[I]A ( - 1846), Avarua, Rarotonga: Mangaia, 1845 - 1846.  
 TANIELA [DANIELA] ( - 1842), Mulifanua, Upolu: Eromanga, 1840 - 1841,  
 Isle of Pines 1841 - 1842. [M].  
 TANIELA [DANIELA], Tutuila: Isle of Pines, 1840 - 1842. Returned.  
 TANIELA ( - 1844), Pangopango, Tutuila: Mare, 1841 - 1844.  
 TANIELA, Falealili, Samoa: New Caledonia, 1841, [Isle of Pines, 1842] ?  
 TANIELA, Samoa: Lifu, [1854] - [1859] -  
 TAOITI, Oneroa, Mangaia: Tongareva, 1854 - [1859] -  
 TARIPOU, Rarotonga: Aneityum, - 1849, Mare, 1849 -  
 TATAIO, Sapapali'i, Savai'i: Mare, 1841 - 1848. Returned [Western Poly-  
 nesia], 1854 -  
 TATAU [TATAI], Rarotonga: Tahiti [Printing], 1854 -  
 TAUJA, Huahine : Hawaii, 1823 - [1855] -  
 TAUJA[A], Tahaa: Mangaia [1823], Mitiaro, 1823 - 1842. Returned.  
 TAAVINE [TAVINI], Papeete, Tahiti: Marquesas (Fatui'va), 1831 -  
 TAUNGA (1818 - 1898), Ngatangiaa, Rarotonga: New Caledonia, 1842 - 1845,  
 Mare, 1845 - 1846, Samoa, 1847, Manu'a, 1849 - 1852, 185 -  
 TAURI ( - 1854), : Efate, 1852 - 1854.  
 TAUTE?, Huahine: Samoa. Died before 1855.  
 TAUTE, Borabora: Vava'u, 1822 - [1830] - Apostate.  
 TAVITA ( - 1843), Sapapali'i, Savai'i: Aneityum, 1841 - 1843.  
 TEAHU [TEEHU?], Papetoai, Moorea: Marquesas (Uapou) 1826 -  
 TEAIA, Ngatangiaa, Rarotonga: Atiu, 1848 - 1852, Titikaveka, Rarotonga,  
 1852 - [1859] -  
 TEAMARA [TEAMARU] , Arorangi, Rarotonga: Efate, 1858 - 1861.  
 TEOA, Avarua, Rarotonga: Avarua, 1853 - [1859] - Chaplain to "Hervey  
 Islanders", Tahiti, 1854 - .

- TEANAROA, Mangaia: Manu'a, 1835 -  
 TEARIKI, Ngatangia: Mangaia, 1859 -  
 TEAUTOA ( - 1859), Arorangi: Efate, 1858 - 1859.  
 TEAVA, Rarotonga: Manono, 1832 - 1856, Falealili, Upolu, 1836 - 1838,  
 Leone, Tutuila, 1838 - 1852. Returned [1857].  
 TEAVAE [TEAVAI], Ngatangia, Rarotonga: Mare, 1853 - 1859. [Sydney, 1859 - ]  
 TEHAU, Tahiti : Tuamotus (Takarua), c. 1830 - 1837. [D].  
 TEHEI (c.1784 - ), Borabora: Atiu, 1823 - 1836, [Rarotonga, 1836 - 1838]  
 Returned - Maupiti, 1839 - [1845]:  
 TEKORI, Ngatangia, Rarotonga: Safune, Samoa, 1842 - 1844, 1844 - 1846 [D].  
 TEPAIRU, Tahaa, unkm.: Mangaia, 1823 -  
 TERA, Papeete, Tahiti: Anaa 1821 - [before 1830] [I].  
 TEREAVORI [TEPEAUORE], Rarotonga? : Upolu, - 1836. Returned.  
 TEREJU, Tahaa: Mauke, 1823 -  
 TEUKI [TEUHI?], Avarua, Rarotonga: Mitiaro, 1856, - [1859], 1844  
 TEURA ( - 1844), Rarotonga: New Caledonia, 1843 - 1844.  
 TEURUA, Ngatangia, Rarotonga: Rimatara, 1856 - [P].  
 TIAVAIRAU, Tiarei, Tahiti: Marquesas (Tahuata), 1831 - 1832.  
 TIBERIO[RIO], Raiatea: Rarotonga, 1823 -  
 TIERE, Tahaa, unkm.: Mangaia [1824] Died before 1826.  
 TILU ?, : Atiu - [1838].  
 TINOREI [TINONEI ?], Manihiki [1858, 1859].  
 TOHI, Papetoai, Moorea: Raivavae, 1822 - [1829/32] Returned.  
 TOMA, Samoa: Lifu [1854] - 1860. Returned.  
 TOMA, Oneroa, Mangaia : Efate, 1858 - [1859].-  
 TUATAI[A], : Mauke, 1852 - [1854].  
 TUAVA, Aitutaki: Samoa, 1830 - Died before 1836.  
 TUI, : Mare, [1846] - Lifu, 1848 - [1858 - ].  
 TUKA[A], Mangaia: Eromanga, 1857 -  
 TUKU, Arorangi, Rarotonga: Mitiaro, 1854 - [1856].  
 TUKUAN, Rarotonga: Samoa, 1842 -  
 TUMATAIABU [TUTALEPO] ( - 1850/51), Rarotonga: Aneityum, 1846 - 1847,  
 Tana, 1847 - 1850/51.  
 TUPOU, Samoa: Efate [1848].  
 TUTANE, Rarotonga: Samoa, 1842 -  
 TUTAU, Rarotonga: Eromanga 1853 - , Mare, - 1857, Lifu, 1857- [1858].  
 TUTE ( - 1858), Huahine: Hawaii, 1826 - 1858.  
 TUTIU, Borabora: Atiu, 1824 -  
 UEA, Mangaia: Manu'a, 1835, Solosolo, 1836 -  
 UMIA, Raiatea: Savai'i, 1830 - [1837] -  
 UPA[OUPA] (c. 1794 - ), Borabora: Atiu, 1824 - - [1849 - ].  
 UPOKUMANU ( - 1853), : Tana 1845 - [Aneityum, 1846],  
 Tana, 1847 - 1849. Returned, Tana, 1852 - 1853.  
 UTU, Huahine: Tupuaemanu, 1822 - [1825]. Died before 1855.  
 VA'A ( - 1857), Aitutaki: Eromanga, 1852 - [1853 - ].  
 VAARU [VAALU, VARU] ( - 1854), Mangaia: Efate, 1853 - 1854.  
 VAHAPATA, Raiatea: Aitutaki, 1823 -  
 VAIOFANGA [VAIAFAGA], Tutuila: Tana, 1840 - [1841].  
 VAHINE-INO, Raiatea: Rarotonga [1823], Aitutaki, 1830 - [1838 -] [A.?  
 VASA ( - c. 1846), : Aniwa, 1845 - , [Tana, c. 1846] [M].

ZORABABELA, Borabora: Vava'u, 1822 - Died before 1830.

II. Wesleyan Native Assistant Missionaries [N. A. M.]

This list only includes those Tongans and Fijians who were ordained as pastors. It represents a very small proportion of the total number of teachers and local preachers serving as "native missionaries" in these groups. The dates refer to appointments.

AHONGALU Barnabas, : Samoa, 1858 - [1861 - ].  
 BAONGO Mark, : Vava'u, 1858, Niuafu'ou, 1859 -  
 BUINDOLI Benjamin, : Mbau, 1857, Vewa, 1858 - , Rewa, 1860.  
 BULU Joeli ( - 1877), Tongan: Ono, 1852, [Lakemba, 1855], Nandy, 1858,  
 Mbua, 1859, Taviuni, 1860.  
 FAUBULA John, Fijian, son of Tui Nayau: Vava'u, 1856, Tongatapu, 1857,  
 Ha'apai, 1859.  
 FIFITA Naphtali, : Tongatapu, 1859.  
 FOTOFILI Aaron, : Mbua, 1859, Mbau, Vewa and Ovalau.  
 KATA David, : Ha'apai, 1856, Vava'u, 1859.  
 KETETHA Joel ( - c. 1875), Fijian: [Lakemba, 1855] Kambara.  
 KIENGA Jeremiah (c. 1813 - 1855/6?): [Lakemba, 1855].  
 LANGI[LAGI] Elias[Ilaiase, Eliesa], chief teacher, Uvea, 1848: Niuafu'ou,  
 1856, Ha'apai, 1859.  
 LANGY Wesley ( - 1853), Tongan: Vewa and Mbau, 1852 - 1853.  
 LATU John, Tongan: Uvea, 1852, Niuafu'ou, 1853, Ha'apai, 1857, Vava'u, 1859.  
 LATUSELU Benjamin, Tongan: Niuatoputapu, 1852, Tongatapu, 1856. [A].  
 MAIMAFAINOA Moses, Tongan: [Lakemba, 1855], Thithia, Kambara, 1860.  
 MASUKA Cornelius, : Mbau, 1857.  
 MATAYENANIU[MATAININUI] Joshua, Fijian: Vewa and Mbau, 1852. Supernumerary?  
 1853 -  
 MOHULAMU John, : Tongatapu, 1860 -  
 RAWAINDRANU Isaac, : Mbau, 1857 - Kora.  
 TAKELO Eliezer, : Rotuma, 1854 - 1857, Mbua,  
 THATAKI Nathan, : [Lakemba, 1856], Mothe, Ono, 1860.  
 TUILANGI Solomon, : Ovalau, 1856 -  
 VAVE Matthias, : [Lakemba, 1856], Vanua Mbalavu, Muala,  
 1859 -  
 VEA Paula ( - 1865), Tongan : Vewa and Mbau, 1852, Rewa and Ovalau,  
 1855, Kandavu, 1859.  
 VI Peter, Tongan: Ha'apai, 1856, Vava'u, 1857, Ha'apai, 1859 -

III. Ministers and Teachers of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

- AUMAI D.P. : Abaiang, 1858 - Returned 1868.  
KAAIKAULA B. ( - 1859) : Ponape, 1852 - 1859.  
KAIWI I[sai] W., Ordained 1857: Fatuhiva, 1853 - 1857, Hivaoa, 1857-1860,  
Fatuhiva, 1860. -  
KAIWI Levi : Hivaoa, 1858 - 1859, Tahuata, 1859 - [Vaitahu, 1860].  
KAMAKAHIKI S. : Ponape, 1855 - 1857. Licensed preacher, Maui.  
KANOA J. W. ( - 1896) : Kusaie, 1855 - 1857, Abaiang, 1857-1865,  
Butaritari, 1865, etc.  
KAPOHAKU Paulo ( - 1869) : Hivaoa, 1858 - 1861. Became blind.  
KAUKAU A. , Ordained : Hivaoa, 1857 -  
KAUWEALOHA Samuel, Ordained: Fatuhiva, 1853 - 1855, Hivaoa, 1855 -  
KEKELA James, Ordained: Fatuhiva, 1853 - 1855, Hivaoa, 1855 - 1858, 1859 -  
KUATHELANI Lota, Ordained 1858: Fatuhiva, 1853 - 1857, 1858 -  
MAHOE J. H. (1831 - 1891), Ordained 1860: [Abaiang, 1857] Tarawa, 1858 -  
Abaiang, 1860 - 1870, etc.

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- " Letterbook-Friendly Islands, 1856-1858, 51, M.O.M., item 30.
- " Minute Book of the Missionary Committee of, appointed at the Conference of 1855, [1855-Dec. 1860, 180], M.L., A 2808.
- " Mission District Minutes, 1855-1857, 1858-1860, M.O.M., items 5, 6.
- " Official Letters, London, 1842-1879, M.O.M., item 97.
- " Tonga - Missionaries' Letters, 1852-1879, M.O.M., item 170.
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