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EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES IN PAPUA, 1874-1914: A GROUP PORTRAIT

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Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is based on my own original research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments				
Abstract				
Preface				
Abbreviations			xxiii	
Prologue			1	
Chapter	l	'Few are powerful or highly born'	5	
	2	'Whom God has called'	43	
	3	'The object lesson of a civilised Christian home'	94	
	4	'Books and quinine'	126	
	5	'Though every prospect pleases'	155	
	6	'Preaching, teaching and knocking around'	198	
	7	'The gracious influence of wise and thoughtful womanhood'	242	
	8	'Brothers in the faith'	272	
	9	'The sinister trio'	312	
C.	10	'A peculiar people'	362	
Appendi	хI	Chronology of missionary activity in Papua 1874-1914	402	
	II	European Missionaries in Papua 1874-1914	405	
	III	L.M.S. and Methodist wives in the Papuan mission field 1874-1914	416	
	IV	Biographical Register	419	
Bibliography			ևչև	

MAPS, TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps	1	Mission Spheres of Influence in Papua before 1914	x viii
	2	L.M.S. district and main stations	xix
	3	Sacred Heart Mission: districts and central stations	xx
	4	Methodist Mission: district, circuits and head stations	xxi
	5	Anglican Mission: main stations	xxii
Tables	1	Country of origin of missionaries	5
	2	Socio-economic origin of missionaries	11
	3	European missionaries, male and female	242
	4	Length of service of women missionaries	265
	5	Census of European work force, 1908	354
	6	Length of service	380
	7	Reasons for termination of careers	384
	8	Deaths in the missions	386
Illustrations		The Pious Pirate Hoists his Flag	хi
		Savage Life in the South Seas	179
		The New Guinea Protectorate	318
		The Cocoa-Nut Religion	357
		Faithful beyond Death	387

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ABSTRACT

EUROPEAN missionaries, through their numerical strength, their geographical spread, their proximity to the people and, above all, their commitment to conversion, were significant agents of change in Papua, as elsewhere. Yet little is known of missionaries as a social group. Perceptions of them today, as in the past, are based on pervasive stereotypes rather than factual analysis. This thesis, by presenting a group-portrait of the 327 who served in Papua up to the First World War, examines the missionaries as a distinct social group. It attempts to analyse their origins, their style of living and working in the field, and their interactions with the Papuan people, their colleagues, their counterparts in other missions and colonial society at large. It concludes by considering the endurance of the missionaries in the field, the trials that beset them and the convictions that sustained them.

The reality in the Papuan mission field was much richer and more multi-faceted than any stereotype could capture. The ethnic and social origins of the missionaries were diverse, a majority being drawn, however, from the lower (though not the lowest) ranks of European, British and colonial society (Chapter 1). Despite their social diversity, there is evidence of strong and steady religious influence in the early lives of most. Their decisions to become missionaries, usually prompted by a genuine sense of vocation, were frequently reinforced by secular compulsions which either repelled them from western society or lured them to the Pacific. Their religious formation varied in both nature and scope, the one common factor being its failure to prepare them adequately (Chapter 2).

In Papua, despite similarities imposed by a common environment, the missionaries organised their lives around two fundamentally different systems, lower middle class domesticity on the part of the Protestants, and community on that of the Catholics. Each had its strengths and shortcomings as a basis for mission work (Chapters 3 and 4).

In their perceptions of the societies which confronted

them, missionaries revealed much of the complacent superiority characteristic of Europeans of the period. But more intimate association with Papuan cultures and, for some, exposure to the new discipline of anthropology, fostered growing appreciation. The extent of missionary iconoclasm depended, however, not only on their degree of perception but also upon their own cultural and theological assumptions (Chapter 5).

Throughout the period, the missionaries' conception of their work broadened, a reflection of a growing concern for the well-being of the whole person rather than a simple preoccupation with salvation (Chapter 6). In all missions, the individual's performance was supported and constrained by the structure and organisation of the mission and his or her status within it (Chapters 7 and 8).

Although accomplices in the processes of imperialism, the missionaries defined for themselves a distinctive role which, at times setting them against both settler and official, ameliorated some of the more exploitative aspects of colonial rule (Chapter 9).

Many missionaries found comfort in the rationalisations for suffering which their faith provided. Some found ultimate solace in the exaltation of martyrdom. All were sustained by a lofty self-image, based in part on the esteem of contemporaries, but more fundamentally on their belief that they were 'co-workers with God' (Chapter 10). It was this self-image, together with convictions born of their social and religious formation, which provided the impetus for their confident and assertive intrusion into the history of Papua.

PREFACE

BETWEEN 1874 and 1914, 327 European missionaries lived and worked in Papua. They belonged to four missions: the London Missionary Society, the Sacred Heart Mission, the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Anglican Mission. For the first decade of that period the L.M.S., first into the field, worked in a land free of any foreign governmental control. During that time, they were the main agents of European culture, as well as Christianity, in the country. After the declaration of the Protectorate in 1884, the missionaries shared the former role, and to some extent the latter, with a small force of government officers. But throughout the period to the First World War, the number of European missionaries in the colony was comparable to that of government officers. In 1889, the head of the Sacred Heart Mission boasted that at Yule Island, head-quarters of his mission, alone, there were more Europeans than there were in the administrative centre of Port Moresby.

Moreover, by their pattern of settlement, at the mission stations scattered along the coast, among the islands and, to a lesser extent, inland, rather than at centralised district stations, and by the priority they gave to learning the languages of the people among whom they settled, the missionaries were generally in a stronger position to exert sustained influence on the Papuans than were the government officers. Conflict between missionaries and officials sprang frequently from the jealousy of the latter at the former's influence.

The only other white men to have had much influence on

E.g., 1890: government officers 17, missionaries 28; 1898: government officers 21, missionaries 88; 1912: government officers 89, missionaries 82. (Source: B.N.G. A.R.s, Papua A.R. and mission archives.)

Navarre, Journal I, 1888-89, 42. Most of the source material for the Sacred Heart Mission was written in French. All translations are my own.

³ Cf. E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914, xvii.

Papuan life and culture during this period were the few traders and miners who had chosen to live with Papuan women. But their influence, though undoubtedly more intimate, was also more circumscribed and less disruptive, as miners and traders did not come, as did the missionaries, with the avowed intent of changing the lives of the Papuans.

The historian David Knowles has observed that history, when it touches men, 'touches them at a moment of significance, whether they are great in themselves, or...stand in great places, or like the men of 1914 are matched with great issues. Whether or not the men who came to Papua as missionaries were great in themselves, it is clear that history touched them at a moment of significance, when traditional Papuan societies were experiencing for the first time, a sustained and powerful onslaught from an alien culture and an alien religion. Because of their central role in this process, if for no other reason, the missionaries need to be seen as crucial actors in the colonial history of Papua.

What sort of influence the missionaries exerted in Papua, as elsewhere, depended on what kinds of people they were. As well as bringing a new religion, the missionaries brought a vast amount of cultural and intellectual baggage which was determined by their backgrounds, both secular and religious, their personalities and the era in which they came. Yet of missionaries themselves, as people with beliefs, opinions, aspirations, prejudices, emotions, ideas and ideals, there has been little serious study.

Anthopologists studying culture contact have lamented this neglect. Kennelm Burridge writes of Australian history: 'We know quite a lot about aborigines in the contact situation, but we know very little about the missionaries and others involved in the same situation.' T.O. Beidelman, having surveyed the literature of missionary activity in Africa, concludes:

D. Knowles, The Historian and Character, 13.

⁵ K. Burridge, Encountering Aborigines, 207.

Unfortunately none of these works conveys much about the ordinary activities and organizations of these missionaries at the grass roots, still less about their social backgrounds, beliefs and day to day problems, economic attitudes or patriotism....

Nowhere do we gain any idea of how any particular station was run or what a day at a mission station was like. There is no description of the career of any rank and file missionary. In general the historical studies of missionaries represent a rather dull form of scissors and paste history.

The Pacific may have fared better than the rest of the world with recent studies by Gunson, Hilliard, Laracy and Wetherell, but even of these authors, only Gunson has chosen to focus as centrally on the missionaries themselves as Beidelman believes desirable.

The limitations which Dr Beidelman notes are common to most missionary studies. Biographies of missionaries, or the best of them, 8 can give profound understanding of particular individuals, but they rarely suggest to what extent and in what ways the individual

T.O. Beidelman, 'Social Theory and the Study of Christian Missions in Africa', Africa, XVI (3), July 1974, 236-37. Since Beidelman wrote, the gap has been partly filled by a series of studies of the origins and motivations of particular groups of missionaries: F.S. Piggin, The Social Background, Motivation, and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India 1789-1858 (Ph.D., University of London, 1974); S.C. Potter, The Social Origins and Recruitment of English Protestant Missionaries in the Nineteenth Century (Ph.D., University of London, 1974); C.P. Williams, The Recruitment and Training of Overseas Missionaries in England between 1850 and 1900 (M. Litt., University of Bristol, 1976), and G. Oddie, 'India and Missionary Motives, c.1850-1900', J.E.H., 25 (1), January 1974.

⁷ W.N. Gunson, <u>Messengers of Grace</u>; D. Hilliard, <u>God's Gentlemen</u>; H. Laracy, <u>Marists and Melanesians</u>; D. Wetherell, <u>Reluctant Mission</u>.

⁸ E.g., G. Daws, <u>Holy Man: Father Damien of Molokai</u>; H.G. Cummins, Missionary Chieftain: James Egan Moulton and Tongan Society, 1865-1909; O. Ransford, David Livingstone, The Dark Interior.

is representative of the genre. Mission histories are helpful in explaining the context within which the missionaries worked, but their sweep is too broad and their aims too diverse for them to be able to give more than a passing glance at the missionaries as individuals or as a social group. Other studies, especially those of African nationalist historians, concentrate on the impact of the missionaries on traditional societies, but there have been no systematic attempts to relate that impact to the beliefs, principles, attitudes, opinions and mores that informed the missionaries actions.

Sharing Beidelman's conviction as to the necessity of knowing who the missionaries were in order to understand their role in colonial history, I have attempted to write a group-biography of the 327 missionaries who came to Papua before 1914. I have investigated their ethnic origins, their socio-economic background, and their intellectual and religious experience in the belief that these inevitably influenced their behaviour and their responses to the environment in which they found themselves. I have then looked at the missionaries in the field, exploring their way of life, their style of work, their interaction with their contemporaries, both Papuan and European, and their personal responses to the mission situation. My concern is not so much with their achievements as with their objectives and aspirations, their perceptions of the situation and their reactions to it.

E.g., E. Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society (2 vols);
R. Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895
(2 vols); N. Goodall, History of the London Missionary Society
1895-1914; G. Findlay and W.H. Holdsworth, History of the
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, and K.S. Latourette,
History of the Expansion of Christianity (7 vols).

See, for example, E.A. Ayandele, op.cit.; J.F.A. Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891; A.J. Temu, British Protestant Missions; H.W. Mobley, The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary. R. Oliver's pioneering study, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, though not the work of an African nationalist, also belongs in this category, as do E. Hallden, The Culture Policy of the Basel Mission in the Cameroons, 1886-1905. R.W. Strayer, The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa, and T.O. Ranger and J. Weller, Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa. See also R. Strayer, 'Mission History in Africa, new perspectives on an encounter', African Studies Review, XIX (1), April 1976, 1-15.

Despite the lack of serious scholarship, popular stereotypes of the nineteenth-century missionary flourish. The poet, James McAuley, analysed some of the images of the missionary entrenched in common folklore. 11 The first is of the missionary who, at great personal cost, rescues the heathen from the darkness of superstition, converts him, cures him, teaches him and trains him to 'wash and dress with propriety'. This is the image that has been represented by missionary society propaganda and promulgated by the sermons and Sunday schools that are a half-remembered part of many childhoods. The second stereotype, that of the missionary as champion of native rights against those who threaten them, is derived largely from the writings of the missionaries themselves and reinforced by other mission literature. The third and perhaps most prevalent image of the nineteenth-century missionary is that of a 'narrow-minded killjoy' who introduced a sense of sin into South Sea Island paradises, destroying native dances, festivals and arts; who was more intent on imposing lower-middle-class Victorian prudery than promoting the more generous virtues. This image, which finds its inspiration in the 'noble savage' romantic literature of Rousseau, Chateaubriand and their followers, draws on modern popular literature for its image of the ignoble invader of paradise. Louis Becke, James Michener and Somerset Maugham are amongst the writers who have perpetuated this image. Maugham's caustic portrait of the haunted, repressed Mr Davidson in 'Rain' is a fine example. 'You see', Maugham has Davidson explain to a fellow passenger in the Pacific,

they were so naturally depraved that they couldn't be brought to see their wickedness. We had to make sins out of what they thought were natural actions. We had to make it a sin, not only to commit adultery and to lie and to thieve, but to expose their bodies, and to dance and not come to Church. I made it a sin for a girl to show her bosom and for a man not to wear trousers. 12

J. McAuley, 'Christian Missions', <u>South Pacific</u>, VIII (7), August 1955, 138-46. For other analyses of the stereotype, see M. Warren, <u>Social History and Christian Mission</u>, 74, and H.W. Mobley, The <u>Chanaian's Image of the Missionary</u>, 1-2.

W. Somerset Maugham, 'Rain', in <u>The Works of W. Somerset Maugham</u>: The Trembling of a Leaf, 252.

Music hall parodies, cartoons and review skits have seized joyfully on this stereotype, of which Noel Coward's irreverent portrait of 'Uncle Harry' presents a mirror-image. This portrayal of the missionary has also become popular with writers of new nationalist history, in reaction against the eurocentric interpretations of colonial history with their narratives of great men and noble exploits.

The fourth image identified by McAuley, that of the missionary as one of the 'sinister trio of capitalist imperialism' in league with the trader and official, is one that has long been popular with political radicals. It found pungent expression in the <u>Bulletin</u> which was, in the late nineteenth-century, of the 'firm opinion that missionaries in the Pacific were merely one aspect of European exploitation.' The Pious Pirate Hoists his Flag', (April 1886), is regarded as a 'typical May cartoon' by Margaret Mahood, who describes it thus:

[it] shows a black-clad missionary hoisting his skull-and-crossbones flag amid a group of cringing natives and rejoicing missioners in front of the New Hebrides Mission which is hung with posters advertising Coconut Oil and Religion and Greed and Gospel. 14

Later Bulletin cartoons elaborated the same theme.

The fifth and sixth stereotypes described by McAuley - the missionary as bigot and fanatic who will not let people worship God in their own way, and the missionary as underminer of traditional society - are closely related to the fourth stereotype and share the same roots in romantic literature. They have also been perpetuated, unwittingly or intentionally, by some anthropologists, especially the exponents of structural-functionalism, who have seen no further than the disruptive effects of the missionary on traditional religion and culture. 15

¹³ M. Mahood, The Loaded Line, 190.

¹⁴ Idem.

¹⁵ E.g., Pitt-Rivers, letter to Man, November 1930, no.152.



THE PIOUS PIRATE HOISTS HIS FLAG (Bulletin, 17 April 1886, 5)

Popular stereotypes presuppose that there was one identifiable creature: the nineteenth-century missionary. My thesis matches the stereotype against the reality as it existed in Papua between 1874 and 1914, and tries to bring to life the missionary as he or she existed in that time and place. But because differences in background, personality and experience produced a great diversity of ideas and attitudes, and hence of behaviour, it investigates the differences between the missionaries as well as the characteristics which they shared.

In Kitson Clark's useful phrase, it seeks to present the men and women who were 'the units covered by...large generalizations.' 16

The limits of this study must be stressed. The most apparent is that it is a one-sided study of culture-contact. It focuses solely on the missionary. In restricting myself thus, I am not trying to perpetuate the ethnocentric heresy that Europeans were the actors in the contact situation, the Papuans merely the passive reactors. For the story to be complete the other, and arguably the more important, side must be told. Papuan scholars are already recording and analysing the wide range of their people's responses to the intrusion of the missionaries and other foreigners. 17 I hope that my work may complement theirs. H.A.C. Cairns defends one-sided studies of culture-contact: 'British attitudes and responses had a logic of their own. derived from a fairly consistent climate of opinion which conditioned and moulded their perceptions and reactions. 18 It is possible to identify, though more tentatively, common European attitudes and responses. To describe and interpret them, as they were manifested in the missionary, is a limited but justifiable aim.

This study is not a mission history. All of the missions in Papua have their own official or informal histories. ¹⁹ Information about the growth and development of the missions has only been given when it casts light on the missionaries, who are the subject of the thesis. Moreover, it ignores the hundreds of Polynesians and Melanesians

¹⁶ G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England, 3.

¹⁷ See J. Waiko, Oro! Oro! Oro Dara: A Binandere Response to Imperialism; A. Maori Kiki, <u>Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime</u>; L. Saulep, 'Left with Nothing', <u>J.P.N.G.S.</u>, V (1), 1971; J. Waiko, 'A Payback Murder: The Green Bloodbath', <u>J.P.N.G.S.</u>, IV (2), and occasional articles on the subject in Oral History.

¹⁸ H.A.C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism, xv.

¹⁹ See R. Lovett, op.cit.; N. Goodall, op.cit.; A. Dupeyrat,
Papouasie, Histoire de la Mission; W. Bromilow, 'New Guinea',
in J. Colwell, A Century in the Pacific; A.K. Chignell, Twentyone Years in Papua; D. Wetherell, Reluctant Mission.

who gave heroic service in the mission fields of Papua. Both their pre-missionary experience and their roles in Papua were so different from those of the European missionaries that theirs too is a separate story.

My study is limited in time and place. It does not consider the missionaries of German New Guinea which was, for the period under consideration, a totally separate and different colony. Nor does it make more than passing references to missionaries in other parts of the world. It is a case-study of missionaries in one particular area. Within Papua, it looks only at the missionaries who arrived in the period before 1914, described by one writer as the 'golden age of missions'. The First World War was no watershed in Papuan history as was the Second World War, but as far as the missions were concerned, it cut off or curtailed recruitment for several years. Those who came to the mission field after the Great War were men and women who came from a different world.

A group biography, besides sharing the problems common to a single biography, has problems peculiar to itself. The first is to define the group to be studied. Writers of large-scale prosopographical studies limit the scope of their research by selecting a random sample of the category to be investigated. In a study of a small group, such as is the subject of this thesis, it is possible to include all the individuals who comprise the group. But where records are incomplete, as was the case with this study, it is necessary to proceed in the fashion of the first prosopographers, the classical historians, by noting down a name whenever it occurred in the sources and gradually building up a file about the individual, in order even to identify the complete group.

Writers of small-scale collective biographies have generally studied groups that have been elites in their own societies: politicians, scientists, intellectuals or high-status socio-economic groups. For such

J.E. Carruthers, <u>Lights in the Southern Sky</u>, 65. Cf. R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor..., 229.

people, biographical data and often extensive personal records are generally available. Such was not the case with the missionaries who worked in Papua, most of whom were not, in the eyes of the world, eminent people. For some, the only known noteworthy action they took in their lives was to leave their homes to work in the mission field for a few years, or perhaps only a few months. Such people left little mark on their own societies and when mission records themselves are incomplete, it is difficult to uncover even such basic information as will allow the retrieval of the birth, death and marriage certificates which are an essential part of the skeleton of a groupbiography.

But if there are few surviving records for many of the missionaries, for some there is an overwhelming amount. There are, for instance, twenty-eight large boxes of the papers of the L.M.S. missionary, Ben Butcher, in the National Library of Australia. This unevenness of evidence presents obvious problems of generalisation. It is tempting to rely heavily on the statements of those whose lives are well-documented. But in the absence of comparative material, it is impossible to tell whether they are a genuinely random sample. Indeed the fact that such a wealth of their material exists suggests that they were an articulate and atypical minority.

This is a crucial but not insurmountable problem of groupbiography. Lacking the sociologist's option of questionnaire and interview, the group-biographer must, and can, use the sources that are available, uneven as they are. Although the material that survives cannot be assumed to be representative, and is often clearly not, accidents of history do lead to the preservation of the papers of carpenters, missionary sisters and others low in the mission hierarchy, as well as of the elite. Furthermore, if the elite is over-represented in the sources, they were generally the opinion-makers and the most influential actors in the field, and it is thus a useful exercise to understand as fully as possible their thoughts and actions. These can be presented without making false generalisations about the thoughts and actions of the missionaries as a group. More generally, much reading of the sources fosters an intuitive feeling for what are typical or atypical responses. This can be a dangerous exercise and one must embark upon it mindful of Kitson Clark's advice: 'do not guess,

try to count', but at the same time consoled by his approval of 'guesses informed by much general reading and...shaped by much brooding on the matter in hand', provided they are presented as such. 21

The apparently homogeneous group is in fact composed of a series of discrete or sometimes over-lapping sub-groups. The group cannot be characterised until the sub-groups are identified and analysed. In this study, Catholics, Protestants, liberals, Evangelicals, lay, ordained, men, women, professionals, artisans, missionaries of the 'seventies, the 'nineties and 1914 all have to be differentiated. Final definition of the group must take account of, and yet transcend the variables which the diversity of sub-groups produce.

The central issue in the methodology of collective biography is not, however, that of group and sub-group, but rather of group and individual. Striking a balance between the individuals and the group is an integral problem of prosopography, which is solved variously by different practitioners. At one extreme, for prosopographers of the 'mass' school with large computerised samples, the individual is essentially a statistical unit, and the end-product more a Weberian ideal type than a group composed of actual people. At the other extreme, among practitioners of the 'elitist' school, studying smaller and more socially eminent groups, the emphasis is on the individuals who comprise the group and the end-product a group-portrait pieced together from individual case-studies. Such studies generally have less statistical underpinning, but the individuals emerge from them with distinctive and recognisable features. The present study, from inclination as well as necessity, approximates more closely to the second type. It tries however to bridge the gap by using what modest statistics are available and by presenting ideal types as well as individual portraits.

Concentrating on the individuals who comprise the group introduces further difficulties into a collective biography. The group-biographer, like the biographer of the individual, recognises

²¹ G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England, 14.

the importance of 'peeling the skins of the onion' in an effort to understand the subjects at their innermost levels of being. 22 Issues such as parent-child relationships, childhood experiences, the processes of socialisation or, in Erikson's words, the 'framework of social influences and traditional institutions ²³ which mould perceptions and develop the beliefs and attitudes that define the adult are as important in understanding the individuals who constitute a group as in understanding the individual per se. Yet peeling 327 onions is a task of a different order from peeling one. It is inevitable that one's knowledge and understanding will remain more superficial, especially when the evidence is not easily accessible. Moreover, it is necessary at times to resist being drawn too far down some of the tantalising by-ways of individual personality which, while rich material for the individual biographer, shed little light on the group. Study of the group requires detailed charting of its external contours, its institutional framework and its relation to the larger society and this, because of limitations of time and space, must be achieved, to some extent, at the expense of exploration of the inner workings of the individuals.

To focus on the individuals in a group-biography raises also the problem that much of what makes up a person cannot be quantified. While it is possible to tabulate and draw statistical conclusions from such data as ethnicity, occupational and marital status, mortality and even, with caution, class origin, it is not so easy to do so for ideas, prejudices, passions, beliefs, ideologies, ideals and principles. Even when evidence of such a nature is available, it must not only be tested, as in all biography, for irony, flippancy, insincerity, special pleading or other such motivations, but it must be placed in the context of the characteristic mode of speech - especially the rhetoric - of the sub-group to which the individual belongs.

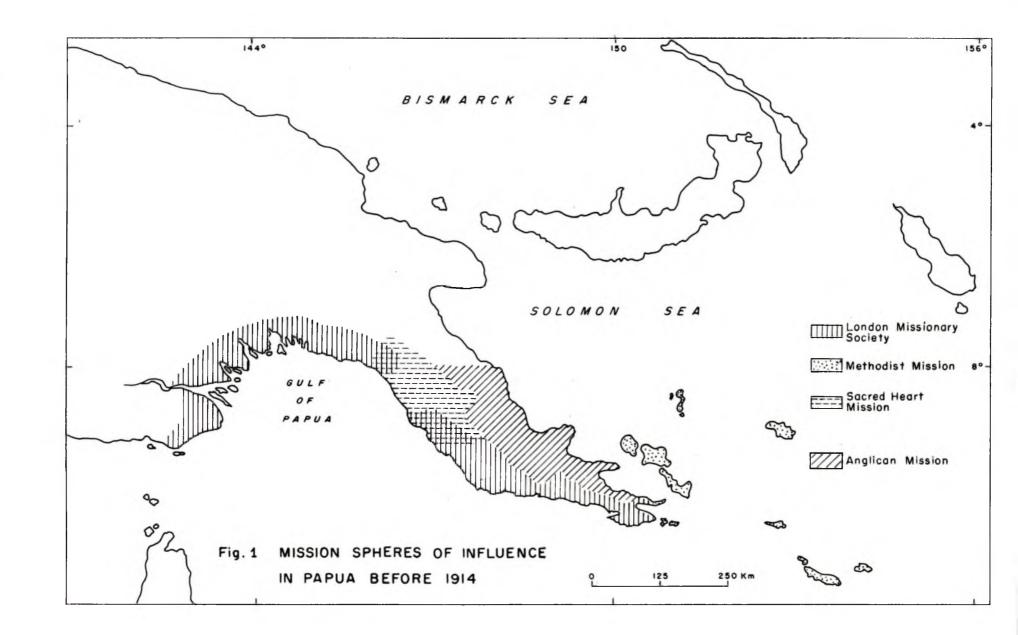
See, for example, Cushing Strout, 'Ego Psychology and the Historian', History and Theory, VII (3), 1968, 281-97; G. Daws, '"All the horrors of the half-known life", some notes on the writing of biography in the Pacific', in Niel Gunson (ed.), The Changing Pacific; and J. Dollard, Criteria for the Life History.

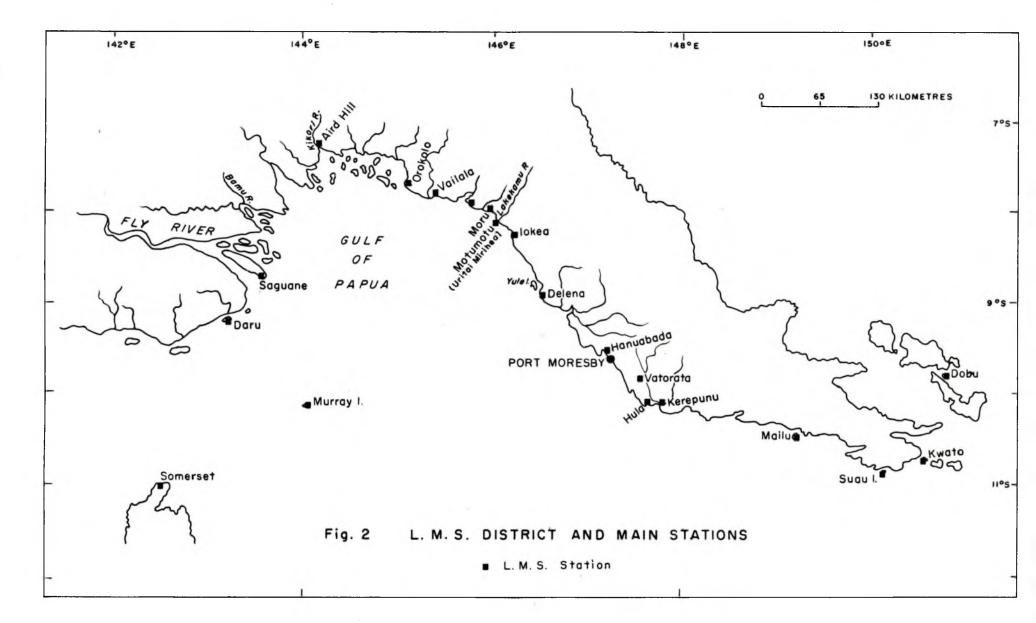
²³ E. Erikson, Young Man Luther, 18.

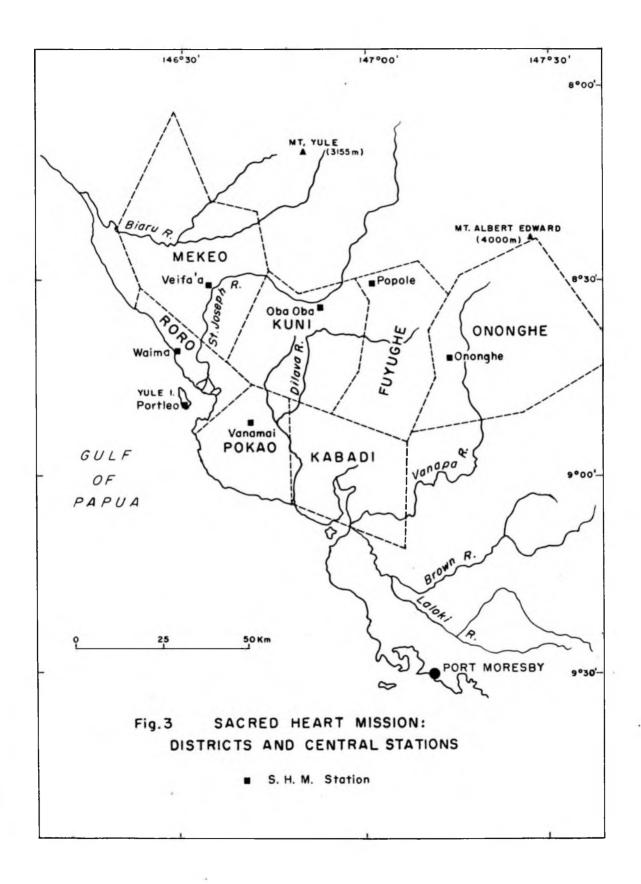
Distinguishing the various 'tones of voice' of a number of subjects is a difficult task and, despite rigorous testing through content analysis, what is derived is only a subjective interpretation of the attitudes behind the words.

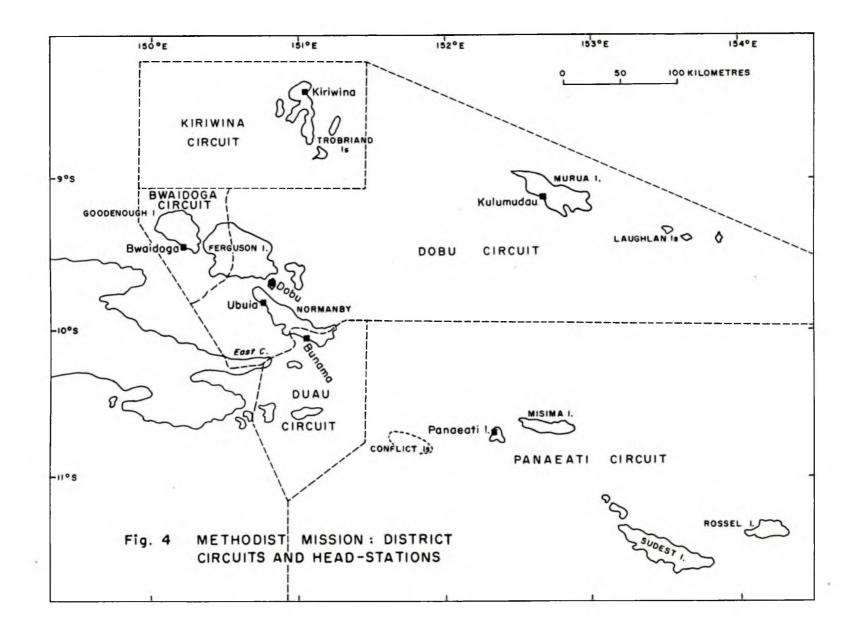
While recent critiques of prosopography 24 have been helpful in providing a conceptual framework for this thesis, it is not presented as a prosopographical study. Its main concern is not the identification and correlation of a few significant variables amongst the background characteristics of the group. The model upon which it is based is, rather, the biography. It is a loosely chronological study from birth to death of 327 men and women who constituted an identifiable group and while it seeks to identify the socio-psychological ties that bound the group, it also tries to present them as individuals in all their diversity. It is a group-portrait.

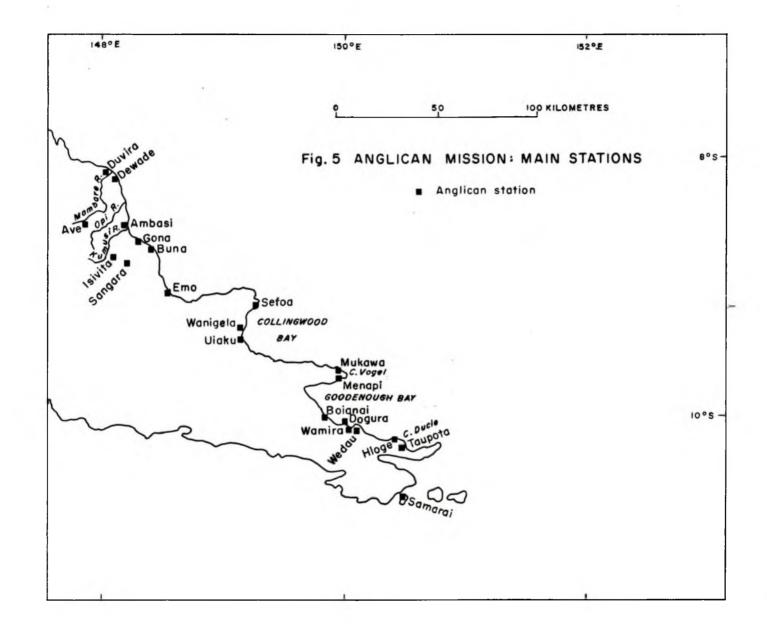
Two useful critiques of prosopography are Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', <u>Daedalus</u>, 1971, 46-79 and Lewis Pyenson, '"Who the guys were": prosopography in the history of science', <u>History of Science</u> XV, 1977, 155-88.











ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THESIS

A.A.	Anglican Archives
A.A.A.S.	Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science
A.B.M.	Australian Board of Missions
A.D.B.	Australian Dictionary of Biography
A.M.H.S.	Australasian Methodist Historical Society
A.N.U.	Australian National University
<u>A.R.</u>	Annual Report
A.W.M.M.S.	Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
B.A.	Bereina Archives (M.S.C.)
B.N.G.	British New Guinea
C.A.O.	Commonwealth Archives Office
C.I.M.	China Inland Mission
C.O.	Colonial Office
F.D.N.S.C.	Daughter of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (Filia Dominae Nostrae a Sacro Corde)
J.E.H.	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
J.I.C.H.	Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History
J.P.H.	Journal of Pacific History
J.P.N.G.S.	Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society
J.R.A.H.S.	Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society
J.R.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
J.R.H.	Journal of Religious History
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
M.C.P.	Methodist Church Papers
M.L.	Mitchell Library
M.M.S.A.	Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia
M.O.M.	Methodist Overseas Mission
M.R.	Missionary Review (Australasian Methodist Missionary Review)
M.S.C.	Missionary of the Sacred Heart (Missionaris Sacratissimi Cordis)
N.L.A.	National Library of Australia
0.P.	Occasional Paper
P.D.C.	Papua District Committee
P.I.M.	Pacific Islands Monthly
P.J.	Papua Journals

P.L.	Papua Letters
P.M.B.	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau
P.N.G.	Papua New Guinea
R.A.	Rome Archives (M.S.C.)
R.C.I.	Royal Colonial Institute
R.G.S.	Royal Geographical Society
S.H.M.	Sacred Heart Mission
S.M.H.	Sydney Morning Herald
S.S.O.	South Sea Odds
U.C.A.	United Church Archives
U.C.R.	Uniting Church Records
U.M.C.A.	Universities Mission to Central Africa
U.P.N.G.	University of Papua New Guinea
W.O.L.	Western Outgoing Letters