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EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES IN PAPUA, 1874-1914:

A GROUP PORTRAIT

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements of the
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Except where otherwise
acknowledged, this thesis
is based on my own original
research.

Diane Laymore

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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.¹ In 1889, the head of the Sacred Heart Mission boasted that at Yule Island, headquarters of his mission, alone, there were more Europeans than there were in the administrative centre of Port Moresby.²

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.³ 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

1 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.)

2 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.'⁴ 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.

Anthropologists 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.'⁵ T.O. Beidelman, having surveyed the literature of missionary activity in Africa, concludes:

4 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.⁶

The Pacific may have fared better than the rest of the world with recent studies by Gunson, Hilliard, Laracy and Wetherell,⁷ 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

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- 6 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, Messengers of Grace; D. Hilliard, God's Gentlemen; H. Laracy, Marists and Melanesians; D. Wetherell, Reluctant Mission.
- 8 E.g., G. Daws, Holy Man: Father Damien of Molokai; 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 histories⁹ 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,¹⁰ 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.

9 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).

10 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 steal, 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

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

12 W. Somerset Maugham, 'Rain', in The Works of W. Somerset Maugham: 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 Bulletin which was, in the late nineteenth-century, of the 'firm opinion that missionaries in the Pacific were merely one aspect of European exploitation.'¹³ '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. They were 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, Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime; L. Saulep, 'Left with Nothing', J.P.N.G.S., V (1), 1971; J. Waiko, 'A Payback Murder: The Green Bloodbath', J.P.N.G.S., 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, Twenty-one 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'.²⁰ 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 élites in their own societies: politicians, scientists, intellectuals or high-status socio-economic groups. For such

20 J.E. Carruthers, Lights in the Southern Sky, 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 group-biography.

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 group-biography. 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 élite. Furthermore, if the élite 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 'élitist' 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.

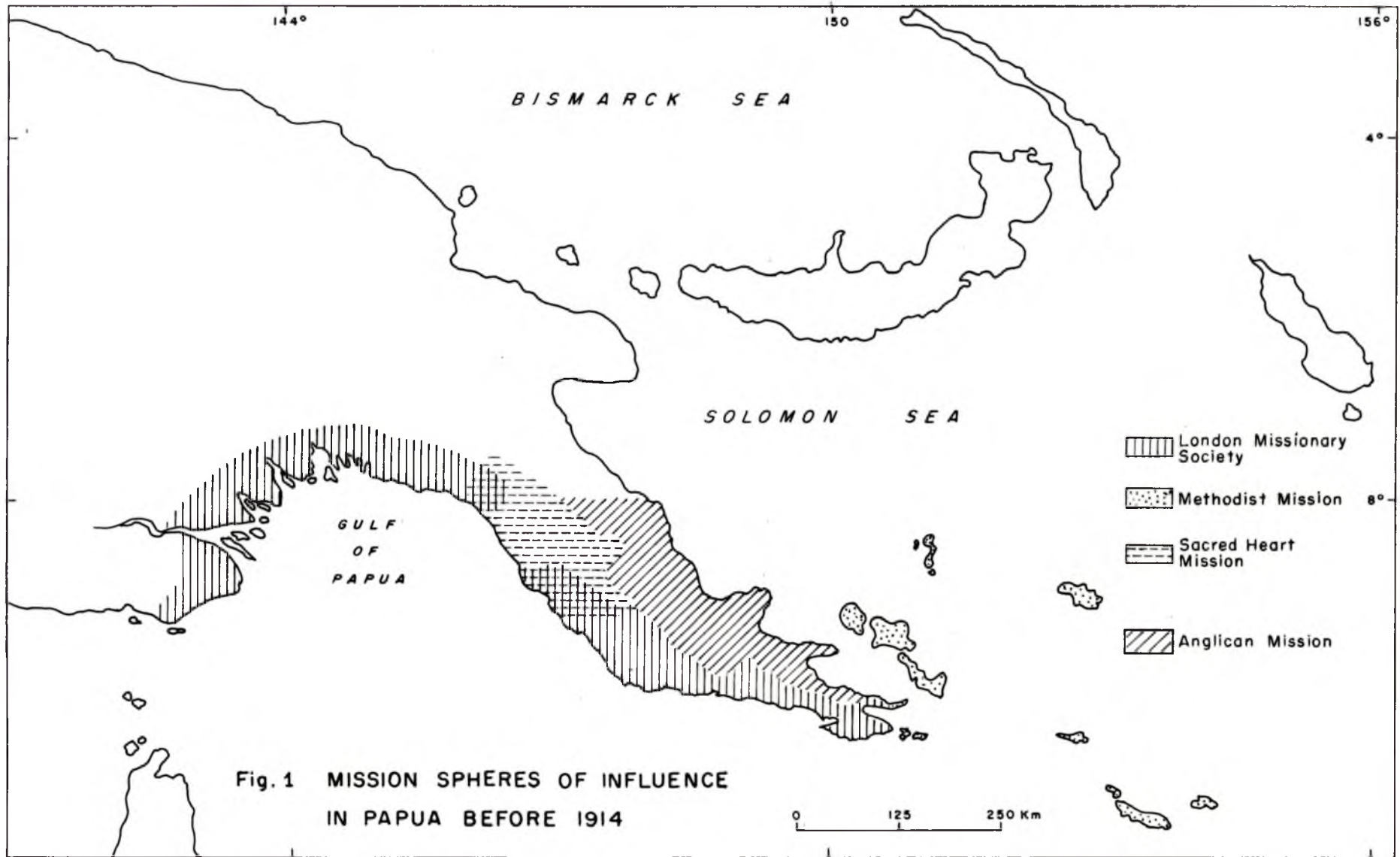
22 See, for example, Cushing Strout, 'Ego Psychology and the Historian', History and Theory, VII (3), 1968, 281-97; G. Daws, "All the horrors of the half-known life", some notes on the writing of biography in the Pacific', in Niel Gunson (ed.), The Changing Pacific; and J. Dollard, Criteria for the Life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

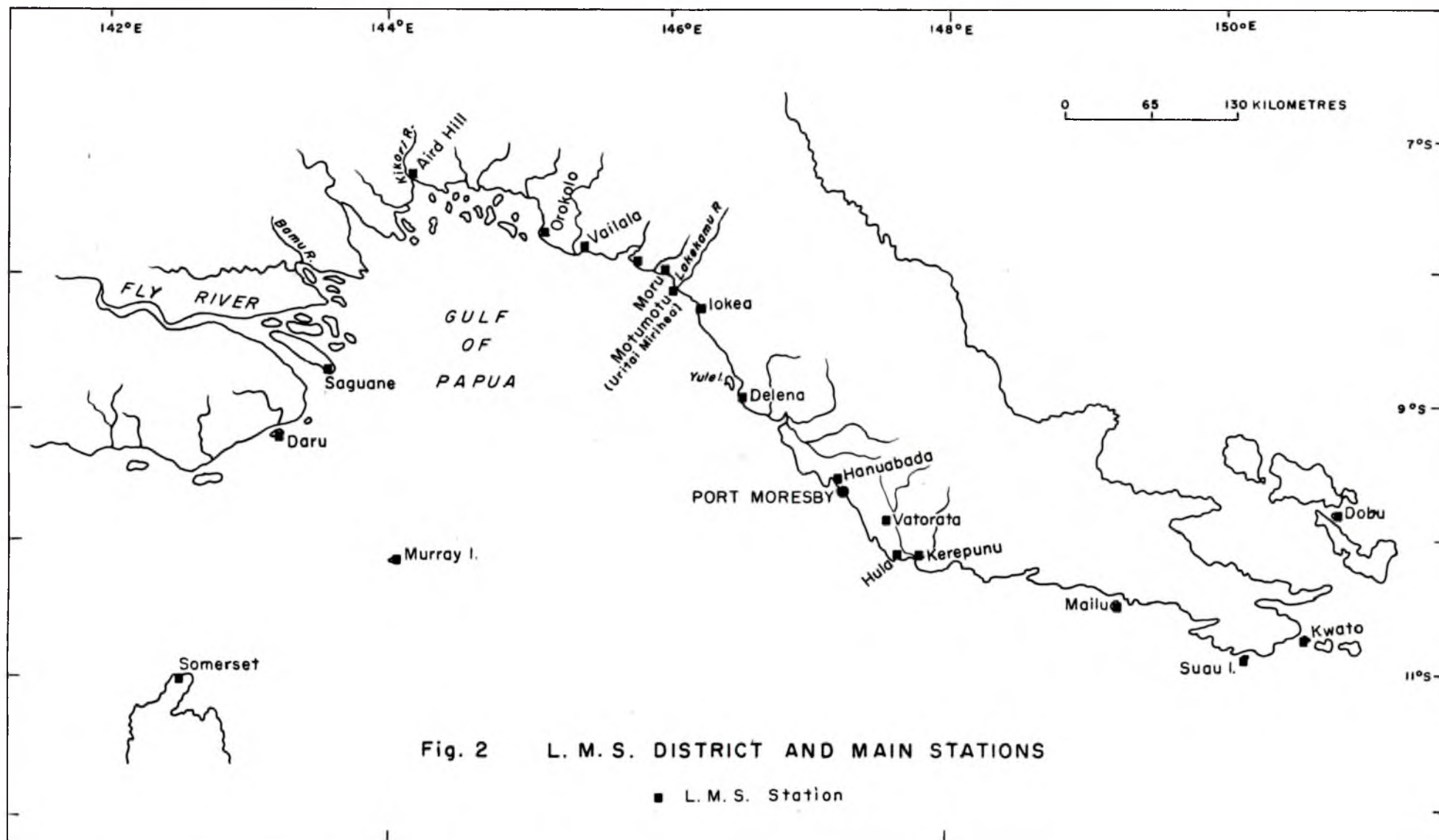
23 E. Erikson, Young Man Luther, 18.

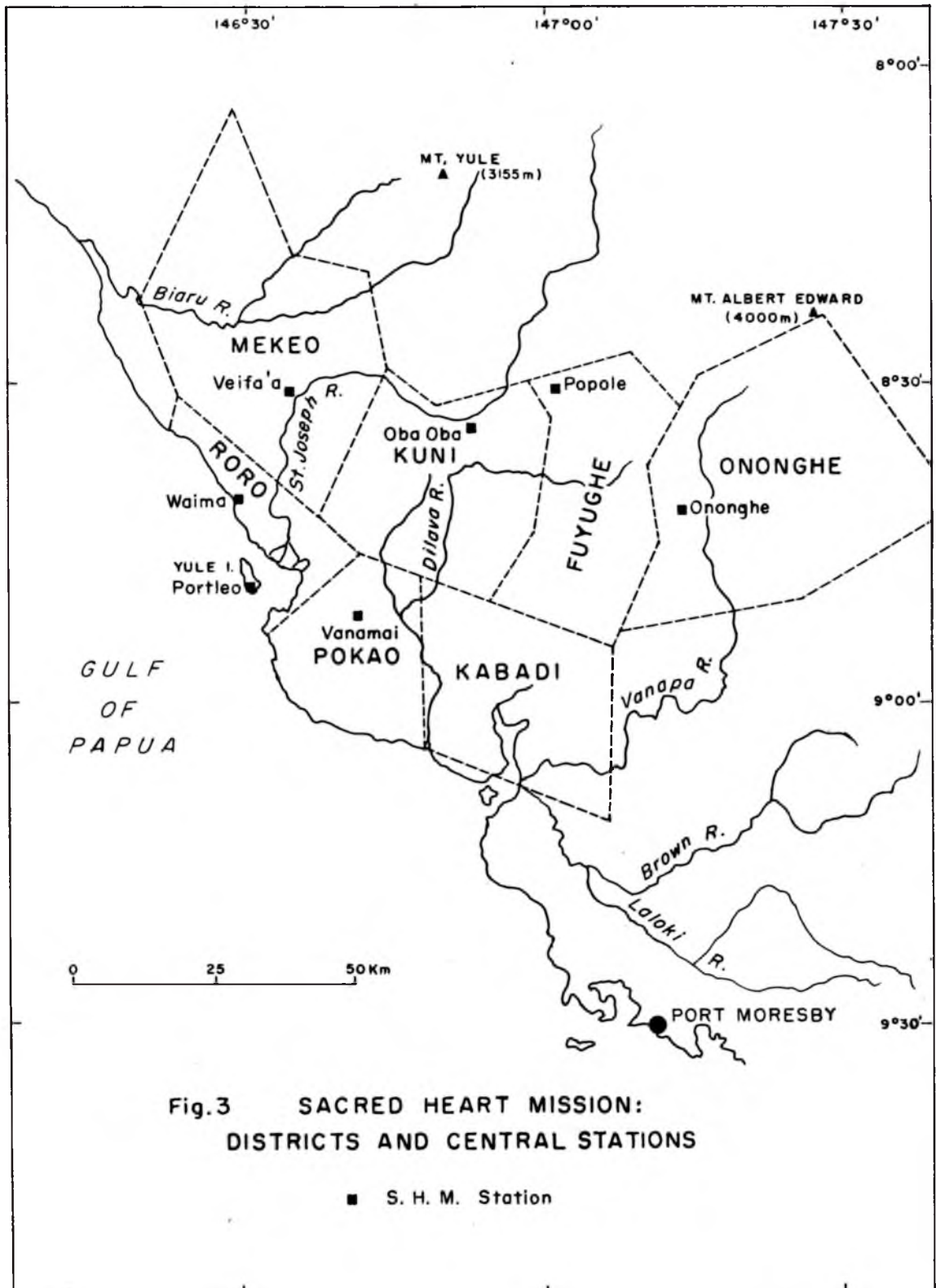
Distinguishing the various 'tones of voice' of a number of subjects is a difficult task and, despite rigorous testing through content analysis, what is derived is only a subjective interpretation of the attitudes behind the words.

While recent critiques of prosopography²⁴ 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.

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







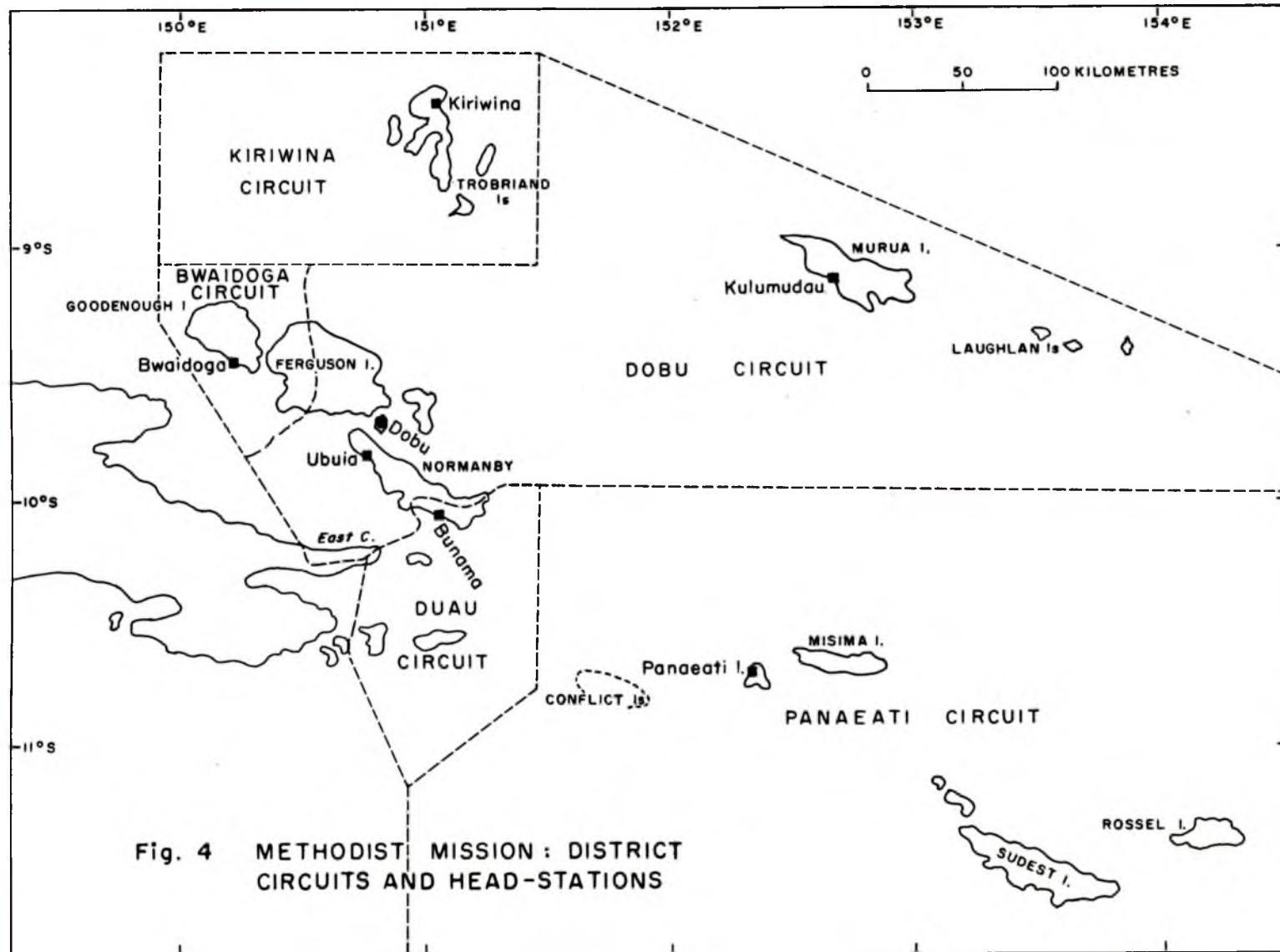
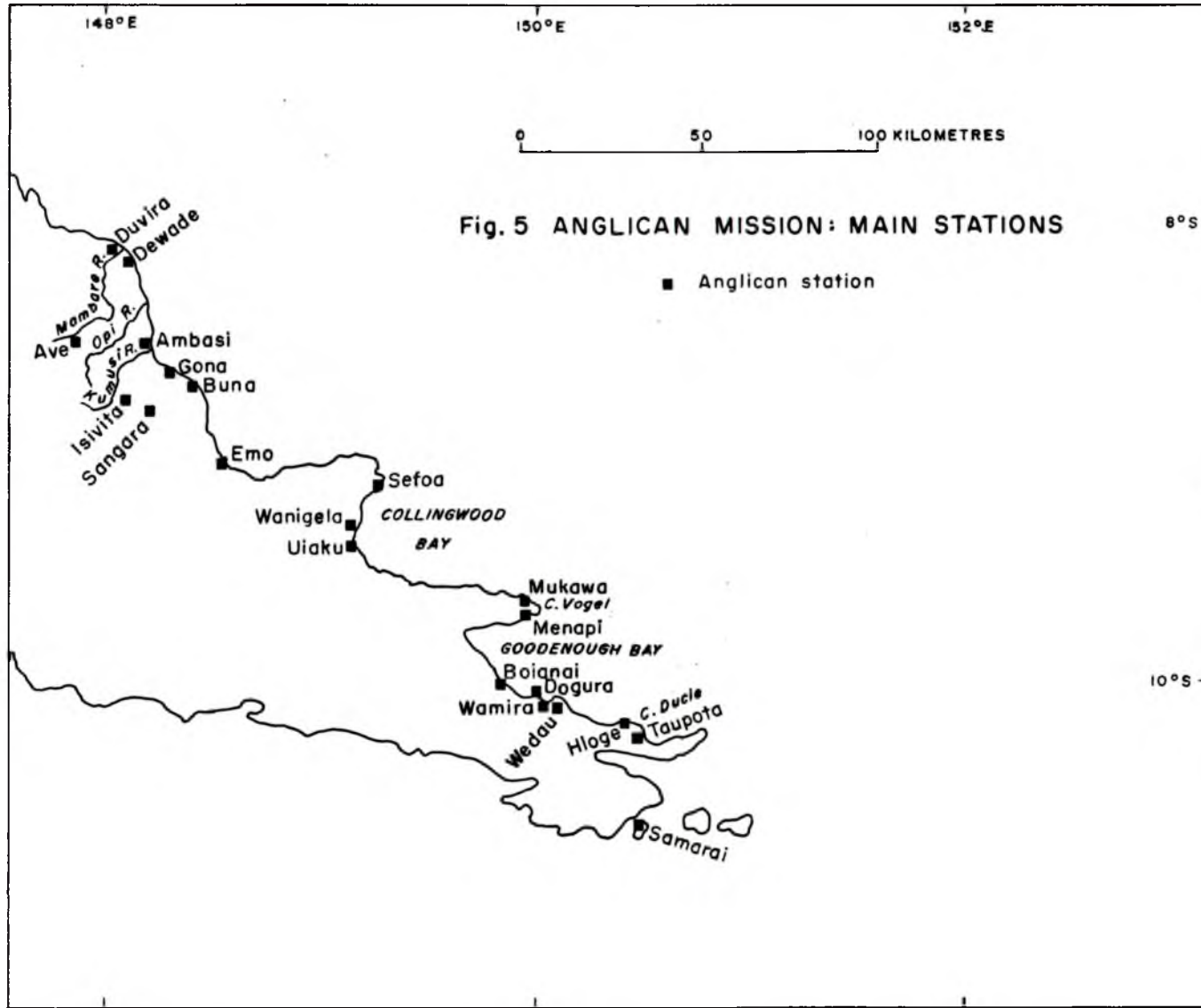


Fig. 4 METHODIST MISSION : DISTRICT CIRCUITS AND HEAD-STATIONS



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
<u>A.D.B.</u>	<u>Australian Dictionary of Biography</u>
A.M.H.S.	Australasian Methodist Historical Society
A.N.U.	Australian National University
<u>A.R.</u>	<u>Annual Report</u>
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)
<u>J.E.H.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>J.I.C.H.</u>	<u>Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History</u>
<u>J.P.H.</u>	<u>Journal of Pacific History</u>
<u>J.P.N.G.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society</u>
<u>J.R.A.H.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society</u>
<u>J.R.A.I.</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</u>
<u>J.R.H.</u>	<u>Journal of Religious History</u>
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
<u>M.R.</u>	<u>Missionary Review (Australasian Methodist Missionary Review)</u>
M.S.C.	Missionary of the Sacred Heart (Missionaris Sacratissimi Cordis)
N.L.A.	National Library of Australia
<u>O.P.</u>	<u>Occasional Paper</u>
P.D.C.	Papua District Committee
<u>P.I.M.</u>	<u>Pacific Islands Monthly</u>
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
<u>S.M.H.</u>	<u>Sydney Morning Herald</u>
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

PROLOGUE

CHRISTIAN missionary activity in New Guinea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was largely the product of earlier religious revivals which had revitalised both British Protestantism and French Catholicism. Protestant missions were the outcome of that 'great movement of the spirit' of the previous century, the Evangelical Revival.¹ Both the London Missionary Society² (L.M.S.) and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society - parent of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (A.W.M.M.S.) - were born of the enthusiasm and earnest commitment generated by the Revival, the impact of which was also felt in the Church of England.³ But Anglican missionary activity in New Guinea also drew its inspiration from another source: the Anglo-Catholic conviction that evangelisation was the responsibility of the church, and not of a mission society.⁴

In nineteenth century France, the fashionable scepticism of the Enlightenment and the radicalism of the Revolution gave way to an ardent and romantic Catholicism, partly inspired by Chateaubriand's Génie du Christianisme, published at the beginning of the century.⁵ Popular piety increased and, despite periodic anti-clericalism, religious congregations burgeoned. The years from 1815 to 1915 saw

1 O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, I, 5.

2 The London Missionary Society was established in 1795 and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1818. See below, Chapter 8.

3 The Church Missionary Society (1799) was an evangelical Anglican equivalent of the Protestant societies. Chadwick contends, however, that the influence of the Evangelical Revival quickened not only the evangelical wing of the Church of England, but the whole church, including those who 'carried their ardour of soul into Puseyism'. (Victorian Church I, 387).

4 See below, 288-89.

5 F. Chateaubriand, La Génie du Christianisme (1802). See also, L.E. Elliott-Binns, Religion in the Victorian Era, 123; K.S. Latourette, History of the Expansion of Christianity, IV, 23-26; A. Dansette, Religious History of Modern France, I, 144-45.

the birth of more new orders than any previous century.⁶ Many had a professed missionary intent. By 1830, a new Catholic missionary movement was under way, largely of French origin. In 1900, about 70 per cent of Roman Catholic missionaries were French.⁷

The first effect of these great missionary movements to be felt on the mainland of New Guinea⁸ was the arrival of the pioneer L.M.S. missionaries. New Guinea was, for the L.M.S., the last shore of that 'great tidal wave of missionary endeavour that rolled across the South Seas from East to West!'⁹ In 1871 Samuel MacFarlane began work in the Torres Strait, and three years later, William Lawes, with his wife Fanny, settled in a small weatherboard cottage on a hill overlooking the newly-charted harbour of Port Moresby, the first missionary, and indeed the first European, to establish himself in south-eastern New Guinea. Thirty-one other L.M.S. missionaries followed MacFarlane and Lawes to New Guinea (Papua)¹⁰ in the period up to 1914. All were male and all were ordained. They settled at stations scattered sparsely along the south-eastern coast, each one the centre of a surrounding district, staffed by Polynesian, and later Papuan, pastors.¹¹

The Missionaires du Sacré-Coeur (Missionaries of the Sacred Heart - M.S.C.), a French congregation founded in 1854, came to New

6 K.S. Latourette, op.cit., 26-27.

7 Ibid, 60.

8 Missionaries had, in fact, worked previously off the coast of New Guinea on Murua (Woodlark Island). French Marists settled there in 1847, but, defeated by dissension and disease, were replaced in 1852 by missionary priests from Milan who, in turn, abandoned Murua in 1855. (See H. Laracy, Marists and Melanesians.)

9 J.W. Burton, Modern Missions in the South Pacific, 44.

10 The name New Guinea is used in the thesis for the period before 1900, consistent with contemporary usage, and British New Guinea for the years of British rule 1885-1900. The name Papua is used for the period after the assumption of Australian authority.

11 A more detailed analysis of the structure and organisation of the four missions is given below in Chapter 8.

Guinea at the request of Pope Leo XIII. Debarred from entry by the Queensland Government, an ardent young priest, Fr Henri Verjus, with two coadjutor brothers, made an illicit pioneer voyage from their pied-à-terre, Thursday Island, on the lugger of a sympathetic trader, known as Yankee Ned. Arriving at Yule Island in August 1885, they bought land and erected primitive buildings on a site which they named Port Leo, and which was to remain the headquarters of the Sacred Heart Mission (S.H.M.). There, after a precarious beginning, the pioneers were joined by other members of their own congregation, and by sisters of the associated congregation, the Filles de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur (Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart - F.D.N.S.C.). Confined by the operation of a 'spheres of influence' policy,¹² they evangelised a narrow corridor through Roro and Mekeo, and expanded into the unevangelised, and largely uncontacted, mountainous interior. By 1914, 60 priests, 65 sisters and 47 brothers had lived (and, in many cases, died) in Papua.

New Guinea was chosen as a special field of missionary endeavour by the A.W.M.M.S., to commemorate the centenary of the death of John Wesley. In 1891, William Bromilow led the pioneer party of Wesleyan missionaries to Dobu Island in the D'Entrecasteaux Group, headquarters of the field determined for them by the 'gentleman's agreement' of 1890, which had initiated the spheres of influence policy. In their energetic evangelisation of the islands at the south-east tip of New Guinea, the A.W.M.M.S. employed ordained Methodist ministers, missionary sisters, male lay missionaries and South Sea Islanders, all organised, according to the dictates of Methodist polity, into districts, circuits and stations. Between 1891 and 1914, forty-eight European¹³ missionaries (18 ministers, 23 missionary sisters and 7 laymen) served in the Methodist mission field in Papua.

The Anglican missionaries, whose arrival in 1891 was the eventual outcome of the intermittent concern of the colonial bishops

12 See below, 323.

13 I use the term 'European' as did (and do) the Papuans for all people of white skin, regardless of origin.

for the Aborigines and other 'heathen' of the islands near Australia,¹⁴ also had their sphere determined by the agreement of 1890. They were to be responsible for the whole north coast of British New Guinea, except for a small strip at the south end which was handed over to the Methodists. In August 1891, a priest, Albert Maclaren, with three lay colleagues, bought land on the grassy plateau of Dogura at Bartle Bay and, with considerable effort, erected the large prefabricated house, shipped from Victoria, which was to be the heart of the Anglican community. Between 1891 and 1914, seventy-four Anglicans (18 priests, 28 women and 28 lay-men) served at Dogura and the other Anglican stations, which stretched from the Mamba River, near the German border, to Taupota, in the east.

After the First World War, other missions entered the Territory of Papua. The new era had been heralded, in fact, by the arrival of a Seventh Day Adventist pastor, before the war. And, of course, after the interruption caused by the war, new recruits continued to come to the four original missions. But the men and women recruited after the Great War were different people from those who came before, and they served in a different world. The 'golden age' of mission was over.

¹⁴ Australasian Board of Missions: Report of a meeting of the Bishops, clergy and laity of the province of Sydney, N.S.W., on Tuesday October 29th 1850 convened for the purpose of establishing an Australasian Board of Missions.

CHAPTER ONE

'FEW ARE POWERFUL OR HIGHLY BORN'

THE 327 European missionaries who worked in Papua before the First World War came from a wide diversity of national, ethnic and class backgrounds, of which any simple stereotype of 'the missionary' fails to take account. The mores, values, assumptions and aims which they brought with them to the mission field were inevitably moulded by their cultural and subcultural backgrounds, as much as by their religious formation.

TABLE 1: Country of origin of missionaries

Country of Origin	L.M.S.	S.H.M.	Methodist	Anglican	TOTAL
Great Britain	30	1	10	21	62
Ireland		4			4
Australia	3	19	30	46	98
New Zealand		1	8	1	10
Canada		1			1
U.S.A.				1	1
France		83			83
Holland		22			22
Belgium		15			15
Germany		12			12
Italy		8			8
Switzerland		4			4
Austria		1			1
Spain		1			1
Unknown				5	5
TOTAL	33	172	48	74	327

In what became first a British and then an Australian colony, neither the British nor the Australian presence was heavily preponderant in the mission field. Forty-five per cent of all missionaries came from continental Europe, the French alone accounting for 25 per cent. The largest single national group, however, was the Australian who comprised 30 per cent of all missionaries while Great Britain contributed 19 per cent.¹

The nationality of the missionaries was, predictably, closely correlated with the mission in which they served. All of the continental European missionaries belonged to the Sacred Heart Mission, two-thirds of them coming from France, homeland of the congregations of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart and the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart. The L.M.S., by contrast, was overwhelmingly British. Throughout the period it continued to draw most of its recruits for Papua, as for its other fields, from England and Scotland. The Anglican Mission was more colonial in origin. Sixty-five per cent of its missionaries were Australian-born, and of the twenty four-born in Britain seventeen were British migrants to Australia, recruited there. Most colonial of all was the Methodist Mission. More than three-quarters of its missionaries were born in Australia or New Zealand, and of the eleven British-born, six were recruited in Australia and five in New Zealand, most of

1 For information of the national origins of individual missionaries and for biographical data which forms the basis for many of the conclusions in this chapter, see Appendix IV: Biographical Register.

them having migrated with their parents during their youth and grown up in the colonies.

Within the Sacred Heart Mission, the national composition of the priesthood was notably different from that of the lay-brothers. Thirty-seven of the sixty priests were French, and the second largest national group were the six German priests, all of whom were born after the Franco-Prussian War on the newly German soil of Alsace, but of loyal Catholic families who commonly retained an emotional and cultural allegiance to France. Of the forty-six brothers only seven were French. Holland contributed twenty, almost half of the total, Belgium 6, Italy 5, Germany 4, Switzerland 2 and Austria, Australia and Canada one each. The Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart were, like the priests, predominantly French (thirty-nine of the sixty-five).

The French missionaries came almost entirely from those regions of France identified by Gabriel Le Bras in 1880 as containing 'real' rather than 'statistical' Catholics and which generally resisted the pressures of anti-clericalism to remain the 'Christian regions' of France up to the mid-twentieth century.² Most outstanding was the strong Breton presence in the mission. With a respected clergy, an aristocracy that preserved the faith and a distinctive syncretic religion in which Catholicism co-existed with pre-Christian ritual and beliefs, nineteenth century Brittany was described by one historian as 'the most steadfastly religious province in France'.³ Thirty-two of the eighty-three French missionaries came from Brittany, nineteen of them from one diocese, Nantes, noted for its piety.

2 A. Dansette, Religious History of Modern France, II, ii; see also T. Zeldin, France 1848-1945, II, 988.

3 T. Zeldin, op.cit., 54-55. See also Dansette, op.cit., 12. Bishop de BoisMENU wrote to one of the clergy of Nantes in 1902: 'In your region, apostolic vocations abound. I know the Bretons, they will enlist in numbers for New Guinea.... May God hear our call and choose for us...some of the sons of Brittany whose golden heart and iron head will usually work marvels in the Mission'. Annales du Notre Dame du Sacré-Coeur (hereinafter Annales), 1903, 632.

Alsace, another region of 'real' Catholics, contributed eight French missionaries to Papua, besides the six of German nationality. Neighbouring Lorraine provided a further three. Other notably religious areas from which the French missionaries came were Savoy (4), the Pyrenees (4), the Auvergne (4), the Calvados department of Normandy (3), the Vendée (3), and the Lozère and Franche-Comté one each. A further seven missionaries came from the Loire Valley which, though more mixed in the strength of its religious adherence, was the cradle of the two congregations.

The distinction between real and statistical Catholics did not reflect a simple dichotomy between rural and urban areas. Although Paris was regarded as a city where the hold of religion was weak, Marseilles was commonly believed to be more Christian than the rural environs of Provence. Paris provided only one missionary for Papua before the First World War: Marseilles two.

Had the French orders not been subject to the anticlerical policies of the Third Republic, the congregations of the M.S.C. and the F.D.N.S.C. probably would have remained more homogeneously French. But the prohibition of teaching orders under the Ferry Decrees of 1879-80 and the renewed and more intensified attack in 1901 under the Law of Associations, dispersed the congregations into other European countries. After a temporary exile in Barcelona, apostolic schools and novitiates were established in 1880 in Holland, first in the diocese of Bois-le-Duc and then in 1882 in the neighbouring industrial town of Tilburg, and soon after in Belgium at Borgerhout, near Antwerp. These areas supplied the S.H.M. with a number of missionaries, especially lay-brothers. Seven came from the villages or small towns of Bois-le-Duc, two from the environs of Tilburg and four from Breda, nearby. Of the six Belgian brothers, all were from the neighbourhood of Antwerp or the nearby towns of Mechelen and Melsele.

Despite the differences in national composition within the S.H.M., priests, sisters and brothers all had predominantly rural backgrounds. The majority of priests and sisters came from the smaller towns and villages of the French provinces; the brothers came from the villages and regional towns of Holland, Belgium and, to a lesser extent, of France, Italy, Germany and Switzerland.

The missionaries of the L.M.S. were mostly of urban origin. Many were born and bred in towns or cities and of those born elsewhere, most had established themselves in a town, often in employment, before applying to the L.M.S. Two were Londoners and two others were living in London when recruited. Manchester, Glasgow and Aberdeen each provided two, as did the small Staffordshire town of Walsall. The midlands and north-eastern industrial towns of Halifax, Burnley, Nottingham, Bradford and Hull each supplied one, but a greater number came from small regional towns, where Congregationalism was traditionally stronger.⁴ Of the three Australian L.M.S. missionaries, one was from Richmond, Melbourne, another from Balmain, Sydney, and the third from Milton, in Brisbane.

The Methodist missionaries were drawn most heavily from New Zealand and the south-eastern states of Australia. Thirteen were born or brought up in New Zealand, 12 in Victoria, 11 in New South Wales and 6 in South Australia. Western Australia and Tasmania provided two missionaries each, and Queensland one. Besides being colonial rather than English, the Methodist missionaries differed from those of the L.M.S. in more frequently having rural backgrounds. Of the thirteen recruited in New Zealand, all but two or three came from farming regions such as Blenheim, Lower Hutt, Willowby, Napier, Howick and Waitara. The Australian Methodist missionaries were more commonly from country towns. Of the twelve Victorians, for example, 4 were from Geelong, a notably strong Methodist area, 2 from Ballarat, 2 from Bendigo and one from another goldfields town, Clunes. Two of the Victorians, however, were from metropolitan Melbourne and amongst the eleven Methodists from New South Wales were five from the suburbs of Sydney.

Like the Methodist Mission, the Anglican Mission had a strong Australian component, again mainly from the eastern states. Of the sixty-six Anglican missionaries recruited in Australia, 26 came from New South Wales and 15 from Victoria. But whereas the Methodist workers were drawn almost entirely from the south-eastern

⁴ R. Tudur-Jones, Congregationalism in England 1662-1962, 247.

states, the Anglican Mission recruited thirteen workers from Queensland, three of them English priests working in the colonial church. Three Anglicans came from Western Australia and two from Tasmania. Australian Anglicans also more frequently came from the capital cities of the eastern states than their Methodist colleagues. Nine of the 13 Queenslanders were from Brisbane, eleven of the 15 Victorians from Melbourne, and amongst the twenty-six recruits from New South Wales, at least 16 were from Sydney.⁵

WHILE much is known of the social origins of a few missionaries who achieved eminence in their careers, the backgrounds of many rank-and-file missionaries, some of them distinguished only by the fact that they served for a few months or years in the mission field, remains obscure. Inferences must be drawn from such indicators as their occupations, and those of their fathers (Table 2), and their educational experience, where such information is available, and from such general allusions to their background as have been made by the missionaries themselves, their contemporaries or descendants. Some elude even such a loosely-woven, widely-cast net, to remain shadowy figures until their arrival in the field.

In the Sacred Heart Mission, this problem is compounded by the fact that the majority of priests went into holy orders without first engaging in any secular employment. Hence their backgrounds can only be deduced from their fathers' occupations, where known (see Table 2), or from vaguer, more general references to their families. Two of the best known priests were men from eminent families. Alain de Boismenu, who served in the mission from 1898 to 1945, becoming in 1900 the youngest bishop in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, was the son of a ship-owner, of an 'old and noble' Breton sea-faring family, in whose veins, it was said, the blood of the corsairs of St Malo mingled with that of medieval Irish princes.⁶ André Jullien, an introverted, highly intelligent priest

5 It is not known from which part of N.S.W. five of the Anglican missionaries came.

6 See A. Dupeyrat and F. de La Noë, Sainteté au Naturel: Alain de Boismenu, Evêque de Papous, passim; Annales, 1948, 20; Australian Annals X, 1899; Annales, 1953, 186-87.

Table 2: Socio-economic origins of missionaries: occupational status of fathers*

Socio-Economic Grouping ⁺	L.M.S.	Methodist	Anglican	S.H.M.		TOTAL
				Priests	Sisters	
I. Large employers, merchants, bankers, high officials in shipping and insurance, liberal professions, private means		2 (4%)	11 (15%)	4 (7%)	4 (6%)	21 (8%)
II. Small employers, small dealers, wholesalers, retailers, local government officials, teachers, subordinate officers in insurance and church, clerical occupations	14 (42%)	9 (19%)	11 (15%)	1 (2%)		35 (13%)
III. Artisan crafts, skilled labour, lower class traders	5 (15%)	7 (14%)	4 (5%)	8 (13%)	3 (5%)	27 (10%)
IV. Small farmers, peasant farmers	2 (6%)	8 (17%)	5 (7%)	8 (13%)	23 (35%)	46 (16%)
V. Semi-skilled workers, sailors, soldiers, subordinate government service, police, miners		6 (12%)	6 (8%)	8 (13%)	3 (5%)	23 (8%)
VI. General unskilled labour, unskilled work in transport, municipal labour					4 (6%)	4 (1%)
Unknown	12 (36%)	16 (33%)	37 (50%)	31 (52%)	28 (43%)	124 (44%)
TOTAL	33	48	74	60	65	280

* The occupational status of the fathers of missionaries can often only be gleaned from the missionaries' birth certificates. Because of the difficulty of obtaining such data, this table is no more than suggestive. (Percentages may not add up to 100, due to rounding.)

⁺ These groupings are based on those constructed by G. Stedman Jones, Outcast London, 355-56. He stresses that the classification does not purport to be a class analysis. His table has been modified to include a rural component. In this study, because of the difficulty of making cross-cultural comparisons, it should be regarded as a categorising rather than a ranking classification.

who served as superior of the mission from 1895 to 1909, was the son of a 'rich and honourable' family from Marseilles.⁷ But there were also men of humble birth among the mission's leaders. Archbishop Louis-André Navarre, first Vicar-Apostolic of Melanesia, was the son of a peasant vine-grower of Bourgogne, near Auxerre.⁸ His 'right arm', Henri Verjus, founder of the mission, whose intense mystical faith and premature death were to make him the best-known of all Sacred Heart missionaries, was also of modest origins. His father was a Savoyard soldier (and in peace time, rural constable) who married an Italian peasant woman while serving in Piedmont, where Verjus was born.⁹ Louis Couppé, who achieved eminence after his years in Papua as Vicar-Apostolic of New Britain, was the son of a locksmith, in the small French town of Romorantin.¹⁰

What is known of the backgrounds of other priests within the S.H.M. suggests that many were men whose families were of modest socio-economic status. Father Jean Genocchi, whom Sir Hubert Murray regarded as 'a most enlightened man' and 'perhaps the greatest scholar' he had ever known, was the son of an unsuccessful small-businessman in Ravenna.¹¹ Several had artisan fathers. Henri Eschlimann was the son of a house-painter; Edmond Joindreau the son of a blacksmith; Bernard van Riel the son of a builder; and Maximilian Branger the

7 See Annales, 1922-24, passim, for serialised biography of André Jullien, by Fr Eugene Meyer.

8 L. Navarre, 'Notes sur sa Vie'.

9 J. Vaudon, Henri Verjus: premier apôtre des Papous, 1-5; extracts from Spiritual Journal of Mgr Verjus, Annales, 1910, 200.

10 Birth certificate, File: Louis Couppé. A.D.B. records.

11 See V. Ceresi, The Life of Father Genocchi (ms. translation from the Italian by Fr L. Rumble, M.S.C.).

son of a tile-maker.¹² The fathers of three priests were engaged in skilled or semi-skilled industrial work, two as machinists and one as an iron-moulder.¹³ Father Gsell himself, later Bishop of Darwin, worked as an apprentice in a cotton-spinning factory.¹⁴ But more were from rural backgrounds. Theophile Dontenwill's father was a farmer, Joseph Caspar's a gardener, Jean-Pierre Lang's, like Navarre's, a vine-grower, and Joseph Chabot's, steward of an old castle.¹⁵ Fathers Fastré, Norin, Cramaille and Rossier, all of whom had distinguished careers, were the sons of peasant farmers, trained and ordained at a time when the aristocracy had given way to the peasantry as the main recruiting ground for the French clergy.¹⁶ Other fathers whose stated occupations are more ambiguous - boat-man, sea-captain, store-keeper, oil-man and 'splint-man' - were probably also of working class origins.¹⁷ The only priests known to be from

12 Personal files, M.S.C. Archives, Rome. I am indebted to Fr Bertolini, M.S.C. Archivist, Rome, for this and all other information from the personal records in the M.S.C. Archives. It is impossible to obtain complete data concerning the families of the M.S.C. missionaries. Fr Bertolini writes: 'For various religious Congregations including our own the young man intending to become a priest or brother had little immediate contact with his family for many years. And even more so, the religious Congregation itself had little close contact with the families of its members. So even though the Archives of such Congregations will usually have accurate details of their own members, this accuracy will not normally extend to a comprehensive record of the sociological data pertaining to the family of any given religious priest or brother.'

13 Ibid, and birth certificate: William Burke.

14 F.X. Gsell, The Bishop with 150 Wives, epilogue.

15 Personal files, M.S.C. Archives, Rome, and A. Dupeyrat, Le Sanglier de Kouni.

16 Personal files, M.S.C. Archives, Rome; Annales, 1897, 44; Annales 1955, 158-59. On changes in the social structure of the French clergy, see Zeldin, op.cit., II, 995. For the peasant origins of children educated by the M.S.C., see André Dupeyrat in Annales, 1955, 159.

17 Personal files, M.S.C. Archives, Rome, and birth certificates: Leonard McCarthy and Edward Bailey.

the haute-bourgeoisie were Fernand Hartzler, whose father was director-general of prisons in Alsace, and Vincenzo Egidi, the son of an Italian civil servant.¹⁸

The brothers of the S.H.M. were all, despite their range of nationalities, men of modest origins.¹⁹ Many were artisans, the Dutch brothers being traditional masters of three trades. Amongst their ranks were three blacksmiths, two carpenters and cabinetmakers, two clock-makers, two bakers, a pastry-cook, a printer, a spinner and a clog-maker. Another seven were sailors and fishermen, five of them from the small Dutch fishing village of Volendam. Most of the remaining brothers, especially those of France and Italy, were peasants.

Like the priests, the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart were of more diverse origin (Table 2). Sister Kostka Duflôt was a Parisian French aristocrat,²⁰ Mother Liguori Debroux, born into an affluent Belgian family, had assisted in her father's prosperous grocery and drapery business before deciding that she was called to a different destiny; Mother Therese Jean was the daughter of a lawyer and Mother Paule Perdrix was the cultured and much-travelled daughter of a solid Strasburg family. But many others were women of modest origin. Until the early years of the twentieth century the congregation retained a division, common at the time, between choir-sisters and lay-sisters, which reflected the accepted stratification of society on the basis of birth and the resultant distinctions in 'education and refinement of manners'.²¹ Choir-sisters were expected to furnish a dowry on entering the congregation. Most of the European sisters who went to New Guinea before the turn

18 Sr M. Venard, The Designs of His Heart, 10-18; Annales, 1930, 13-15; and personal files, M.S.C. Archives, Rome.

19 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., passim; A. Henkelmann, 'Notice sur nos Frères Coadjuteurs morts en Nouvelle-Guinée', Annales, 1928, serialised.

20 Personal communication, Sr Martha, Kensington, N.S.W., January 1979.

21 Sr M. Venard, op.cit., 130.

of the century were lay-sisters and hence of humble family,²² the daughters of peasant farmers and artisans. Raphael Suramy sewed in a work-shop, Eusebia Dedierjean worked in a silk factory, and Madeleine Masselin served in a small Parisian shop before entering the congregation.²³ The European sisters were supplemented, in the decade before the Great War, by women whose fathers were skilled tradesmen, farmers or unskilled labourers in Australia.²⁴

In 1906 Bishop Stone-Wigg drew the attention of readers of the Anglican Mission's annual report to the fact that during the eight years of his episcopacy, the 'professional classes' of Australia had given no recruits to the mission. And yet, he reminded them, 'the Church of England has a preponderating influence among these classes.'²⁵ The Anglican Mission in New Guinea did not have the same aristocratic ethos as its counterpart in Central Africa, nor even the upper middle class character of its neighbour, the Melanesian Mission which, despite its failure to fulfil its founder's injunctions concerning the acceptable background for recruits, still drew heavily on the ranks of university-educated English gentlemen.²⁶

There were a few such men in the New Guinea mission. Stone-Wigg himself was the son of a 'fine old English gentleman', a justice of the peace, an alderman, a benefactor and pillar of the community of the elegant town of Tunbridge Wells.²⁷ His successor,

22 See, for example, fathers' occupations listed in death certificates of Leontine Renaud, Marie Dugast, Clothilde Merlet, Josephine Poiron, Rosalie Baluçon, Theodorine Bachelier, Françoise Bouffort, Augustine Deniaud, Marie Deniaud.

23 Annales, 1927, 341-44; Annales, 1949, 22-25.

24 See birth certificates: Srs Finbar Fox, Apoline Daniels, Lucy Roarty, Brigid Fox, Elizabeth Daniels, Margaret Sweeney, Mary Lenehan, Veronica Darcy and Honora Heffernan.

25 New Guinea Mission, Annual Report, 1906-07.

26 D. Hilliard, God's Gentlemen, 31-33, 124-27. For the U.M.C.A., see Wilson, History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa.

27 'A Memoir of the late John Stone-Wigg, Esq., D.L. J.P.' (Reprinted from the Kent and Sussex Courier, 24 and 31 December 1897). Also, birth certificate: Montagu John Stone-Wigg. Stone-Wigg Papers.

Gerald Sharp, second bishop of New Guinea was the son of Thomas Beatt Sharp, 'gentleman' of Lowfields, Childer Thornton in Cheshire.²⁸ Despite Stone-Wigg's protestations, a number of priests of professional background were recruited to the mission, though often before or after his episcopacy, and sometimes from England rather than Australia (Table 2). Copland King, co-founder of the mission with Maclaren, was a member of the Sydney élite, son of the Reverend (later Archdeacon) R.L. King, Principal of Moore Theological College, and great-grandson of Philip Gidley King, third governor of New South Wales.²⁹ His nephew, Frank Elder, was also the son of an Anglican priest, as was Romney Gill, whose father had moved from British nonconformity into the Church of England.³⁰ Another English priest, Ernest Wesley Taylor, was the son of a Methodist minister, a brilliant Oxford scholar and brother of a professor of philosophy at McGill.³¹ Henry Newton, third Bishop of New Guinea, was brought up in Australia as the adopted son of a scholar and later priest, John Frederick Newton.³²

But the mission also encompassed priests of humble origins. Albert Maclaren was a Scottish stone-mason's son who had found employment, before ordination, with the Ordnance Survey.³³ His fellow pioneer, Samuel Tomlinson, ordained after serving the mission as carpenter for twelve years, was the son of a foreman pattern-maker.³⁴ Percy Shaw and Frederick Ramsay, also ordained during their missionary careers, were of working class origins.³⁵ Like a number of their L.M.S. counterparts, William Murray, Frank Elder and John Hunt were clerks before seeking ordination.

28 Birth certificate: Gerald Sharp.

29 G. White, A Pioneer of Papua, 9.

30 E. Gill, Autobiography, 94.

31 'In Memoriam: Ernest Wesley Taylor', Guardian, 9 September 1903, Stone-Wigg's Newspaper Cuttings. Also personal file, box 23, A.A.

32 H. Newton, A Life Story of the Reverend Frederick Robert Newton, 1-13.

33 E. Rogers, A Pioneer of New Guinea, 2-6; F. Synge, Albert Maclaren, 2-5.

34 Death certificate: Samuel Tomlinson.

35 Marriage certificates: Percy Shaw and Maud Griffiths; Frederick Ramsay and Annie Armitage.

The priests were a minority in the Anglican Mission. Twenty-eight of the missionaries were laymen. Whereas the priests were men of varied social backgrounds, the laymen whose origins are known were nearly all of working class or, occasionally, lower middle class families.³⁶ They were the sons of small farmers, artisans and minor officials, among them a police-magistrate and a postmaster. Before joining the mission, they worked as artisans (printer, carpenter, blacksmith, engineer, baker), as farm-labourers or miners, or in white-collar employment as draper's assistant or architectural draftsman. The only three laymen known not to share these origins were Francis de Sales Buchanan, born of a wealthy propertied family in the southern United States and grandson of the fifteenth president;³⁷ Ernest Davies, son of a London physician;³⁸ and Eric Giblin, stepson of a stationowner, whose family bore a 'good name' in Tasmanian society.³⁹

The twenty-eight women in the Anglican Mission were of less homogeneous origins. Many were women of middle-class or upper middle-class origin, to whom Bishop Stone-Wigg referred, probably with some acidity, as 'lady-workers'.⁴⁰ Two such women were Gertrude and Louise Robson, the former a teacher, the latter a nurse, both daughters of John Shield Robson, a ship-builder from Durham, sisters to Ernest Iliff Robson, first headmaster of North Sydney Church of England Grammar School, and sisters also to Sir Robert Garran's wife, Hilda. They were a prominent family in Sydney and Garran described Gertrude, who ran a private school, as a 'cultivated and much educated woman'.⁴¹ Several women had sufficient private means to be able to serve without

36 Personal files, boxes 20-23, A.A. (filed alphabetically); also birth certificates: Norman Fettell and Sydney Ford.

37 G. White, Francis de Sales Buchanan, 9-10.

38 Birth certificate: Ernest Owen Davies.

39 Bishop Montgomery, Tasmania to Stone-Wigg, 25 November 1899; Personal file - Giblin, box 20, A.A.

40 Stone-Wigg to Bishop Montgomery, 7 May 1904. Stone-Wigg Papers.

41 R. Garran, Prosper the Commonwealth, 165.

claiming any allowance from the mission. But like the priests of the Anglican Mission, the women were of mixed origins. Women such as Elizabeth Tomlinson, diminutive and retiring migrant from working-class Manchester, or Alice Cottingham, daughter of an English farmer, or Ellen Combley, a yeoman's daughter who worked at Guy's Hospital and the Plague Hospital, London, before nursing massive dysentery epidemics in Papua and finally succumbing to the disease herself, were as much at home in the mission as the 'lady-workers' from Sydney.⁴²

Despite Stone-Wigg's disparaging remark, there was more professionalism amongst the Anglican women than amongst those of any other mission. Twelve of the twenty-eight women were certificated teachers, nine were fully-trained and two were partially-trained nurses. Their acceptance by the mission depended upon the skills which they had to offer as well as their commitment to the cause.

During the early nineteenth century, the London Missionary Society had recruited most of its missionaries from 'pious congregations of artisans and tradesmen...from the lower middle and mechanic classes',⁴³ a humbler stratum of society than was characteristic of the adherents of Congregationalism in general.⁴⁴ The century saw a general rise in the social status of L.M.S. candidates, but this section of society remained its most fruitful recruiting ground for the Papuan mission.⁴⁵ Amongst the thirty-three who came before the First World War, only four could be considered to have come from professional families. Fourteen were 'black-coated workers': the clerks, accountants, small retailers, shop-assistants and elementary school-teachers who, although in Marxist terms proletarian, were often accorded honorary

42 Birth certificates: Ellen Combley and Alice Maud Cottingham; personal files, Combley, Cottingham and Tomlinson, boxes 20 and 23, A.A.

43 W.N. Gunson, *Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas*, 33-34, (Ph.D thesis).

44 K.S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England, 15. See also Chadwick, The Victorian Church, I, 407-08.

45 See Candidates Papers, L.M.S. All biographical data relating to L.M.S. missionaries in this section is from this source unless otherwise indicated.

lower middle class status because they were salaried and they performed semi-skilled non-manual work with little supervision and in clean and 'respectable' surroundings.⁴⁶ Nine were clerks, one was a book-seller, one a warehouseman and three were from that most fertile of L.M.S. recruiting grounds, the draper's shop. The next largest group were the artisans or skilled tradesmen, from the section of society described by Kitson Clark as labour's aristocracy,⁴⁷ which although scarcely distinguishable from the black-coated work force in terms of income, was more likely to retain a proletarian identity and way of life. They included a printer, two shoe-makers, a house painter, an engineer, a ship-builder and an able seaman. Only two L.M.S. missionaries were skilled or semi-skilled employees in manufacturing industry, and three had jobs which required no particular skills.

During the forty years between 1874 and 1914, L.M.S. recruitment in general was moving away from the artisans and skilled workers towards those of middle class occupations. But this trend was not reflected in the Papuan mission. Over the four decades there was no appreciable difference in the occupational status of those recruited. Of the pioneer missionaries of the first decade, Samuel MacFarlane was an archetypal 'godly mechanic' born of a large and poor family and employed in a railway machine shop; William Lawes, a tailor's son, and James Chalmers, a stone-mason's son, had both joined the black-coated workforce, the former as a draper, the latter as a clerk; and William Turner, a medical student and son of a missionary, was one of the four to come to Papua from a professional family. Each subsequent decade saw the arrival of one missionary from a professional background: another student and missionary's son, and two chemists and druggists, one of them also a medical student. In each decade the largest recruitment was from the black-coated workers, the next largest group the artisans, with only a few skilled or semi-skilled industrial workers, or unskilled labourers.

46 D. Lockwood, The Black-Coated Worker, 27-34; see also H. McLeod, Class and Religion in a Late Victorian City, *passim*.

47 G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England, 132.

The occupational status of the L.M.S. missionaries was at times, however, a misleading indicator of their background. Most were only at the outset of their careers, often in apprenticeships or lowly positions from which they might aspire to rise. For others, intent upon a career in the ministry, a secular occupation was seen only as a temporary necessity. One of the three missionaries working in an unskilled job had a father who was a clerk, and the father of another was managing-director of a firm of scale-makers. These were not proletarians. The third unskilled worker, Ben Butcher, whose father was liveryman in the Clockmakers' Guild and who helped other members of his family sell fish at the big wholesale market at Billingsgate, also asserted a middle-class identity. Theirs was a very old London family and Butcher was, by patrimony, a Freeman of the City.⁴⁸ Similarly, two of the clerks had fathers from the greater middle-class, one the owner of a successful paint factory, the other headmaster of a private school.⁴⁹ The social backgrounds of the L.M.S. missionaries may not always have been, then, as modest as their occupations suggested. Nevertheless, recruits for work in Papua remained, throughout the period, overwhelmingly lower middle-class or artisan in origin.

The early Methodist missionaries in Papua came from occupations basically similar to those of their L.M.S. contemporaries. Four of the five members of the pioneer party were white-collar workers or artisans. William Bromilow, leader of the group, was a carpenter's son who had been a school-teacher before ordination.⁵⁰ John Field, the son of a customs house agent, was an architect and builder.⁵¹ James Watson, whose father was an engineer, was himself an engineer and blacksmith, and George Bardsley, the only layman in the group, was a carpenter.⁵² The fifth member of the party, Samuel Fellows, had

48 B. Butcher, We Lived with Head-hunters, 16.

49 Personal communication, J. Beharell, 8 November 1978, Canberra; also O.F. Tomkins Papers.

50 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years Among Primitive Papuans, 15-20.

51 Death certificate: John Thomson Field; also M.R., June 1941, 5.

52 Death certificate: James Watson; Bardsley Diary; M.R., June 1941, 5.

worked in rolling mills in Derbyshire before emigrating with his family and studying for the Wesleyan ministry in New Zealand.⁵³

Where the occupations of the fathers of Methodist missionaries are known, they suggest a greater diversity of social backgrounds and a lower concentration of clerical employment than in the L.M.S. Whereas the urban black-coated workforce was the main recruiting ground of the latter, that of the Methodists was the farm. Of the thirty-two Methodist missionaries whose fathers' occupations are known (Table 2), eight were the sons or daughters of farmers. The fathers of seven were semi-skilled workers and of seven, artisans or skilled workers. A further seven had fathers in white-collar employment.⁵⁴ Only two belonged to the families of professionals or large property owners: Ambrose Fletcher was the son of a school-master who was the third member of his family to be Principal of Wesley College, New Zealand, and James Williams' father was a 'gentleman' of private means.⁵⁵

Unlike those of the Sacred Heart and Anglican missions, there was no apparent variation in the background of the ordained missionaries as compared with those of the lay men and women. Almost all, regardless of status within the mission, were drawn from families of farmers, artisans, small businessmen and clerical employees, which was consistent with the social composition of colonial Methodism in general.⁵⁶ While numbers of the male missionaries moved into the

53 S. Fellows, Diary (biographical note), M.R., June 1941, 4.

54 Information drawn from family papers and biographical notes kindly supplied by descendants of Colebatch, Gilmour, Ballantyne, Francis, Jenness, Lill, Jamison, Scrivin and Bardsley; Billing Papers, M.O.M.; marriage certificates: Jenness and Ballantyne, Corfield and Waterhouse, Jamieson and Scrivin; death certificates: Edward Glew, Andrew Ballantyne.

55 Death certificate: Ambrose Fletcher; C. Brundson Fletcher, 'A Footnote to the History of Christian Missions', A.M.H.S. Journal and Proceedings, I, 1933, 8-9; death certificate: J.R. Williams.

56 On the social background of colonial Methodism see R.B. Walker, 'Growth and typology of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New South Wales', J.R.H. VI(4), December 1971; R. Howe, 'The Social Composition of the Wesleyan Church in Victoria during the nineteenth century', J.R.H. IV(3), June 1967; and R. Howe, The Wesleyan Church in Victoria 1855-1901, its Ministry and its Membership.

middle classes through ordination into the Methodist ministry, several of the women also rose in status, five by becoming qualified teachers and two by becoming certificated nurses.

DIFFERENCES in nationality, rank, period and family history ensured that the domestic experience of the missionaries varied considerably. Glimpses of this diversity are captured in the recollections of the small minority who have committed their memories of childhood to paper, or allowed others to do so.

Even amongst the British missionaries there were appreciable differences in home environment. William Lawes' settled early Victorian childhood, centred on the chapel, the school and his modest, godly home at Aldermaston,⁵⁷ was a different experience from that of his colleague and friend, James Chalmers, who tasted the freedom of Scottish lochs and glens as his family moved from place to place according to his father's work.⁵⁸ Ben Butcher, born in late-Victorian London, remembered a childhood of horse-drawn buses, weekly baths before the kitchen fire in tubs filled from huge cast-iron kettles, candlelit bedrooms, and naked gas-jets in the best rooms.⁵⁹ Charles Abel, also born in London, a decade earlier, recalled genteel evenings with his lower middle-class family gathered around the piano in their suburban home.⁶⁰ Romney Gill's brother, sculptor Eric Gill, wrote of the childhood they shared with their eleven brothers and sisters in Brighton and Chichester, sometimes with a maid-servant but often not, because their strong-willed mother, an opera singer before her marriage, 'was not good at keeping servants'. Their father painted 'quite well' and read Tennyson, Carlyle, Maurice, Robertson, Farrar, George McDonald and Kingsley, naming his children after them and their characters.⁶¹

57 J. King, W.G. Lawes of Savage Island and New Guinea, 1-10.

58 J. Chalmers, Autobiography - Notes for Lizzie, ms. (n.p.) L.M.S.

59 B. Butcher, op.cit., 14-15.

60 R. Abel, Charles Abel, 9-12.

61 E. Gill, op.cit., 42-50.

Although few of the missionaries referred to the political affiliations of their families, it can be assumed that the British nonconformists, like most of their kind, would have been more or less actively Liberal. This would also probably have been true of those Anglicans such as Gill, Taylor and Stirrat, whose heritage was that of Dissent. Some families may have joined the large scale nonconformist defection from Gladstonian liberalism to Liberal Unionism in the 1880s as did Romney Gill's;⁶² others, like those of Charles Abel and Oliver Tomkins, would have remained loyal to Mr Gladstone.⁶³

Looking back on his childhood, wrote Eric Gill, was like looking back on a different world, and 'the chief thing about that world was this, that...we believed the world of England was divinely guided, the British Empire a divinely ordained institution, Religion the mainspring of political and social structures.'⁶⁴ Such confidence was probably shared by all the British missionaries, irrespective of their differences in background. Ben Butcher, of humbler birth, reflected similarly on growing up in the 'heyday of the Victorian era',

when Britain ruled the waves and boasted of an Empire on which the sun never set.... It was a whiteman's world and the British thought themselves in charge of it, and for lads like myself it was a world full of boundless possibilities with vast areas unknown and waiting to be explored.⁶⁵

There was as much diversity in the family background of the French missionaries. Louis-André Navarre, in old age, recalled his romantic, youthful delight in the beauty of the fields, the forests, the flowers and the vines of Auxerre, and the chagrin of growing up,

62 Ibid, 94. On the defection to Liberal Unionism see Tudur-Jones, Congregationalism in England 1622-1962, 275, and N.J. Richards, 'Nonconformity and the Liberal Party', J.R.H. 9, 1976-77, 387-401.

63 R. Abel, op.cit., 9; C. Binfield, So down to Prayers, 223.

64 E. Gill, op.cit., 58.

65 B. Butcher, op.cit., 15.

motherless, under the control of a shrewd, pragmatic peasant father to whom religion mattered little.⁶⁶ Alain de Boismenu, whose mother died after his birth, grew up in a comfortable family home in the old maritime town of St Malo, submitting to a strict paternal discipline and the even less welcome discipline of his eldest sister.⁶⁷ His pupil and friend, Paul Fastré, experienced the rough childhood of a peasant born on the poor, arid soil of the Pyrenees, on which, as a youth, he grazed his father's two or three cows.⁶⁸ André Jullien, only son of a wealthy widowed mother, passed a different childhood, with winters spent in the town of Marseilles and summers at the family's country estate, Château Gombert, surrounded by a wide circle of rich and cultured relatives.⁶⁹

Although the French missionaries seldom referred to the political allegiances of their families, these can be inferred with a fair degree of certainty from pioneering psephological studies of nineteenth century France.⁷⁰ In general terms, the French church, although a supporter of Napoleon III in the early days of the Second Empire, was, during the Third Republic, an ally of legitimism, whose traditionalist values were closely associated with Catholicism. There is a close, though not complete, correlation in the map of the strength of religious adherence with that of the strength of the Right in 1876 and 1914.⁷¹

The majority of French missionaries came from areas noted both for religious observance and for the strength of the vote for the Right. They were mostly in the west of France, stronghold of the Right, and included Brittany, Normandy and the lower Loire in the

66 L. Navarre, Notes sur sa Vie, 10-13.

67 A. Dupeyrat and F. de la Noë, op.cit., 1-10.

68 Annales, 1955, 158-59.

69 Annales, 1922, passim.

70 This analysis is based on R.D. Anderson, France 1870-1914, Politics and Society, which synthesises and analyses the results of most of the available scholarship on the subject. See also Zeldin, op.cit., I, 365-92.

71 R.D. Anderson, France 1870-1914, 54-55; cf. Zeldin, op.cit., II, 988.

north-west, and the Aveyron, the Lozère and the higher Loire in the Massif Central. In the north-west, from where more than two-thirds of the French missionaries originated, the conservative influence of the church was reinforced by that of the château, for through the system of fermage (use of land for a cash-rent) common in that region, the landlords exerted control over the peasantry. In the Massif Central, where peasant proprietorship was prevalent and hence, it has been suggested, more independence could be expected of the peasantry, the clergy retained unusually strong political influence.

A third area which supplied a number of missionaries, French Lorraine, Franche-Comté and Burgundy, was a region of peasant proprietorship with a long democratic tradition. But like the other areas from which the missionaries came in strength, it was a Catholic area, and during the first decade of the twentieth century, it rejected radicalism to join the vote for the Right. Conversely, few of the missionaries came from the regions where republicanism was strong, which included the Midi, several departments of Central France, Paris and the northern industrial areas. Nor were many of the missionaries from the middle classes amongst whom republicanism found its strength.

Born of loyal Catholic peasant families, deferential to both priest and landlord, many of them in the strongholds of legitimism, most French missionaries grew up amidst conservative political influences. Father Bodet of the Vendée was proud of his Chouan heritage and all his life, 'like all good Chouans', remained loyal to the King of France.⁷² Father Norin, of Breton peasant stock, was also a self-proclaimed monarchist.⁷³ The few whose families were notables were likely to have grown up in a similar political milieu, for the provincial landed gentry, Catholic, patriotic and conservative, had also, after 1883, thrown itself solidly behind the legitimist cause. Although loyal Catholic families were bound, in the 'nineties, to

72 Annales, 1961, 67. A Chouan was a royalist insurgent during the French revolution.

73 Annales, 1946, 29.

heed Leo XIII's policy of Ralliement, it is doubtful whether it had much appeal, especially after the assault on the religious orders.

For many of the French missionaries, childhood was less tranquil than for their English contemporaries. About half of them, born during the Second Empire, experienced the dislocation caused by the Franco-Prussian War and the establishment of the Third Republic. Sister Madeline was probably the missionary most closely touched by the war, a cannonball lodging itself in the linen-press which she was sorting.⁷⁴ During the bombardment of Strasburg, Fernand Hartzler, his mother and brother, with other women and children, were evacuated to Switzerland.⁷⁵ After the war his family, like those of other Alsatian missionaries, had to choose between German citizenship and exile. Joseph Poupenay saw his father, mayor of a village in Franche-Comté, taken prisoner by the Germans for refusing to pay war-contributions.⁷⁶

The colonial childhood of the Australian and New Zealand missionaries has scarcely been documented. Surviving family records generally suggest only its outlines. For some it included the long voyage by sailing ship with their migrating family and the struggle and adventure of settlement in a new land. Several, like William Bromilow, had fathers who felt the 'lure of the goldfields' and tried their luck before returning to their trades or settling on the land.⁷⁷ Margaret Jamieson, a Methodist sister and later wife of a fellow-missionary, Arthur Scrivin, grew up on the forty-acre farm which her father, an immigrant from the Shetland Isles, had carved out of the bush at Marawatu, New Zealand. Her father died when she was a child and she and her six brothers and sisters were brought up by their mother, also a Shetland Islander, who had taught herself to read.⁷⁸ Another missionary sister, Maisie Lill, growing up in a large and

74 'Sister Mary Madeline', ts., Y.I.A.

75 Sr M. Venard, op.cit., 1-18; Annales, 1930, 1-14.

76 Annales, 1918, 239.

77 W. Bromilow, op.cit., 15.

78 Notes on Scrivin family supplied by Dr Lionel Scrivin.

happy New Zealand farming family, counted riding a cow among the accomplishments of childhood.⁷⁹ These experiences were far removed from those of Copland King, whose intellectual interests were fostered by scholarly private tuition in his family's Sydney home.⁸⁰

Families from which the missionaries came were of all sizes. Those of Romney Gill and Alphonse Clauser, each with thirteen living children, were the largest whose size is known. Other missionaries also came from the large families typical of the period: of the fifty families whose exact size is known, ten contained ten or more living children, and another ten between seven and nine. But a slightly greater number were from families of medium size. Ten missionaries are known to have come from families of five or six children, and twelve from families of three or four. There were a few very small families, six with two children and two where the missionary was the only child. In all these eight cases, the smallness of the family could be attributed to the death of either the father or mother during the missionary's childhood. As was common in the period, family size in general was curtailed frequently through infant deaths. Surviving records show the occurrence of the deaths of up to five children in the families to which the missionaries belonged. The position of the missionary in his or her family, where known, shows great variation and no significant pattern, except perhaps a tendency for the missionary to be about the middle of his family more frequently than the eldest or youngest.

Even more difficult than discovering the external contours of the missionaries' families is to uncover the nature of the relationships within them. Although evidence is necessarily fragmentary and impressionistic, two motifs recur. The first is testimony to the over-riding influence of the mother in the life of the male missionary as a child, especially in his spiritual formation.

Missionaries recall hearing bible stories at their mothers' knee or claim that they owe everything to the prayers of their mothers who

79 Notes on Lill family supplied by the Rev. George Carter.

80 G. White, A Pioneer of Papua, 9-10.

'prayed as only a mother can pray' for their spiritual welfare.⁸¹
 'All I am or ever will be is owing to her everyday Christian life',
 declared Methodist missionary, Ernest Johns.⁸² The second motif is
 the close relationship which frequently existed between mother and
 son and which is attested to by the missionary himself, either
 explicitly or through the tenor of the letters written to his mother
 from the field, or by the observations of contemporaries. 'Oh
 mother, see how I love you', wrote Henri Verjus, 'all I do, I do it
 first for the love of God and then for the love of my dearest mother'.⁸³
 André Jullien, whose mother, on her husband's death, had resolved to
 devote herself solely to God and her son, said a Magnificat whenever
 he received her letters.⁸⁴

To make these observations may be to do no more than to
 state a basic fact of nineteenth century family life: the upbringing of
 children and especially the inculcation of religion was almost
 exclusively the concern of the mother.⁸⁵ This was as true for the
 French peasantry as for the English middle classes. Louis-André
 Navarre lamented the deprivation of religious understanding that the
 death of his mother caused him: 'It is the mother, if she is really
 Christian, who conveys [such things]'.⁸⁶ Seen in this context the
 close bond of affection between mother and son may have been no more
 than the response of those children who were, for whatever reason,
 predisposed to be sympathetic to what their mothers, frequently devout

81 Candidates Papers: Albert Pearse, L.M.S. See also Candidates
 Papers: Dauncey, Cribb and Cullen.

82 Johns to Danks, 21 April 1911, Letterbook 1911, M.O.M., 119.

83 Australian Annals, August 1894, 199 (cf. Vaudon, op.cit., 18-19,
 62-64, 164). See also letters of Stone-Wigg to his mother (Stone-
 Wigg Papers); letters of Jullien to his mother (e.g., Annales,
 1922, passim) and letters of O.F. Tomkins to his mother (Tomkins
 Papers). See also, M. Thurston, 'The man I knew - Mr E.W.
 Harrison' (ts.).

84 Annales, 1923, 387.

85 See H. McLeod, Class and Religion in a Late Victorian City, 56.

86 Navarre, Notes sur sa Vie, 13.

women, stood for and the gratified response of a mother to a child who fulfils her expectations.

But in many of the families in which the missionaries grew up, the strong positive influence of the mother appears to have been counterbalanced by the exceptionally negative influence of the father, through death, absence or failure of sympathy. This characteristic is most apparent among the families of the priests of the Sacred Heart Mission, possibly only because more evidence is available. Of the eminent S.H.M. missionaries, about whose childhood most is known, Navarre had lost his mother when aged twelve, Henri Verjus had lost his father at the age of ten, Fernand Hartzler's father died when he was eleven and André Jullien's when he was four. Alain de Boismenu, whose mother had died soon after his birth, lost his father at thirteen. Another eminent M.S.C. priest, Jean Genocchi, had a father whose 'irresponsible and ruinous habits' alienated him from his family, which was sustained by his mother, a 'pious and strong character'.⁸⁷ Of the sixty priests in the S.H.M., seventeen are known to have lost their fathers during childhood or adolescence. Others may have.⁸⁸

Indications of similar patterns are present in the less comprehensive records of the other missionary societies. Of the thirty-three L.M.S. missionaries, seven are known to have lost their fathers early.⁸⁹ Eighteen are known to have had living fathers, and of the fathers of eight nothing is known. There is evidence that some missionaries had very limited or inadequate relationships with their living fathers. James Chalmers recalled in his autobiography that his father was often away from home and that it was his devout highlander mother who raised the family.⁹⁰ Charles Abel's son wrote

87 Personal files, M.S.C. Archives, Rome. For accounts of the parentage of Verjus, Jullien, de Boismenu and Genocchi, see biographies by Vaudon, Meyer (Annales, 1922-24), Dupeyrat and de la Noë, and Ceresi respectively. Hartzler's father's death is described in Venard, op.cit., and Annales, 1930, 13-15. See also Verjus' account of his father's death in his Spiritual Diary, quoted in Annales, 1910, 202.

88 Because family histories contained within the M.S.C. Archives are incomplete, it is impossible to ascertain whether or not the death of a father of a religious was always recorded.

89 Information drawn from Candidates' Papers, L.M.S.

90 J. Chalmers, Autobiography, n.p. L.M.S.

of his father's childhood that 'there was little real understanding and no intimacy between the father and his sons in those early days, for William Abel led his life apart.'⁹¹ One had a father who was a drunkard, and another, whose father was a 'n'er do well', had a 'saintly' mother to whom he was 'devoted'.⁹² Ben Butcher, who as a young man had little contact with either parent, adopted a substitute mother, a wealthy patroness, to whom he wrote daily letters, addressing her as Mater II.⁹³

Insights into the familial relationships of the Anglican and Methodist missionaries are even more scarce, but there are glimpses of comparable patterns. Albert Maclaren remembered his father as a remote, dour and punitive man, of whom he was in awe.⁹⁴ Montagu Stone-Wigg's father, ostensibly a model Christian gentleman, had little sympathy for and no intimacy with his son.⁹⁵ After his death, Stone-Wigg's uncle wrote to him: 'He would have been more to me and possibly to you if he had been less interested in public engagements and had given up a little more time to family interests.'⁹⁶ Henry Newton was fatherless, although he did have a strong substitute in his adoptive father. Francis de Sales Buchanan, deprived of his father at the age of four, by his death in the American Civil War, had a 'very tender relationship' with his mother.⁹⁷ Nine of the seventy-four Anglicans are known to have lost their fathers during childhood or youth.⁹⁸ Amongst the Methodist missionaries, for whom

91 R. Abel, op.cit., 9.

92 Candidates Papers: Charles Rich and Edward Baxter Riley, L.M.S.

93 See Butcher Papers, N.L.A.

94 F. Synge, Albert Maclaren, 4.

95 Personal communication, Mrs Beattie (Stone-Wigg's daughter), Sydney, 17 April 1978. He was a 'hard' man who disowned his daughter for an unsuitable marriage, an action which Stone-Wigg found difficult to forgive.

96 Clements to Stone-Wigg, Lincoln, Conversion of S. Paul, 1898, Stone-Wigg Papers.

97 G. White, Francis de Sales Buchanan, 9-10.

98 Based on personal files of Anglican missionaries, boxes 20-23, A.A.

information is most scant, five of the forty-eight while young suffered the death of their father.⁹⁹ Conversely, of only ten Anglican missionaries and twelve Methodist missionaries is it known with certainty that their fathers did not die during their childhood or adolescence.

Although the evidence available is too fragmentary, subjective and uneven to afford any firm generalisations about the patterns of relationships in the missionaries' families, it does seem that an exceptional proportion of them experienced the death of their father during childhood or adolescence. While the data is too incomplete to have any statistical significance, it may, nevertheless, be compared with what is known of more general trends. It has been suggested, on the basis of the British 1921 census figures, that in the decades up to the end of the First World War, about 1 per cent of British children up to the age of fourteen had lost one or both parents.¹⁰⁰ Although the figures are not comparable as the missionaries came from other places besides Britain, and their adolescence, moreover, has been defined as up to eighteen years, there is nevertheless a marked contrast in their experience. Despite the scarcity of the data, 28 per cent of the priests of the Sacred Heart Mission, 21 per cent of L.M.S. missionaries, 12 per cent of Anglican missionaries and 10 per cent of the Methodists are known to have lost their fathers in this period.

But such maternal dominance must not be over-emphasised. The majority of missionaries grew up with both a mother and a father, and several of them acknowledge the influence of and their gratitude to their 'godly parents' rather than singling out their mother for special comment.¹⁰¹ And a few spoke with special appreciation of

99 See Walker, Diary; Billing Papers, M.O.M.; Notes on Scrivin family; Johns to Danks, 21 April 1911, Letterbook 1911, M.O.M., 119.

100 This calculation was made by Lucille Iremonger, to whose book, The Fiery Chariot, I am indebted for recognition of the potential significance of parental deprivation in group-biography. She uses the findings of the 1921 census that 0.7 per cent had experienced the death of a father, 0.2 per cent the death of a mother and that 0.1 per cent were orphans as the basis for her calculations on juvenile bereavement. See The Fiery Chariot, 5.

101 See, for example, Candidates' Papers: Walker, Barlett, Beharell, L.M.S.

their fathers: Brother Rintz Bosma, in his last letter written before his death, recalled for his 'beloved father' the time when seated on his knee he learned to make the sign of the Cross and repeat the 'Our Father'; L.M.S. missionary, James Clark, attributed his 'conversion' to the solicitous concern of his father, and Harry Dauncey regarded his father as his 'greatest chum'.¹⁰² But such tributes are rare.

The loss, by so many missionaries, of their fathers during childhood may have been part of a more general experience of bereavement which is harder to quantify. As well as the seventeen priests of the S.H.M. who lost their fathers, at least five had lost their mothers. Three of the forty-eight Methodist missionaries were known to be orphans, as were two of the L.M.S. missionaries, one of the Anglicans and four of the Sacred Heart missionaries.

WHAT education the missionaries received before their formal theological training depended upon both the socio-economic status of their parents, and the time and place of their early years. The earliest missionaries in New Guinea, who had grown up in England and Scotland before the establishment of a national system and the provision in 1876 for compulsory education, had very little schooling. They were dependent upon the village schools established by such voluntary bodies as the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor and the British and Foreign School Society, which received grants-in-aid from the government, or, in Scotland, upon the parish schools. Those educated after the institution of Robert Lowe's Revised Code in 1862, with its 'payment by results' received an education which concentrated on routine drilling in the three Rs.

When applying to the L.M.S., these early missionaries were generally unspecific about the education they had received.¹⁰³ Lawes described his as 'a very partial one at a village school', Savage

102 Annales, 1892, 636; Candidates' Papers: James Birkett Clark, L.M.S.; Dauncey to Thompson, 10 January 1908, P.L., L.M.S.

103 Information about the education of the L.M.S. missionaries is drawn from the Candidates' Papers, L.M.S., unless otherwise stated.

described himself as having had the 'ordinary educational advantages of childhood and youth', and Sharpe referred to his education even more vaguely as 'an ordinary one'. Samuel MacFarlane admitted that his 'advantages at school' had not been 'very great', and Hunt confessed that his education was 'not all it should be', while Pearse referred to his simply as 'limited'. Such statements, where translated into more concrete information, suggest that most of the early L.M.S. missionaries left school at about eleven or twelve, or even at ten, which was to become in 1876 the minimum school leaving age.

James Chalmers, who, to the age of thirteen, attended Scottish parish schools, generally regarded as superior to those in England, and, briefly, a grammar school, received an education which was marginally more diverse than that of his English colleagues. He learnt a little Greek, elementary Latin, and mathematics 'up to Euclid'.¹⁰⁴ William Young Turner, also a product of the Scottish system, completed his education with a Scottish medical degree, as did one of the early English missionaries, Thomas Ridgley, who had been educated at Cowpers School House, Huntingdon.

Amongst the L.M.S. missionaries who arrived after 1888 and who had thus been at school in the 'seventies or later, there was a marked increase in the amount of schooling they had received. While only three of the twelve who arrived before 1888 had received anything beyond elementary education, of the twelve who came to New Guinea between 1888 and 1902, all but three had probably had some taste of secondary education. One had passed the Cambridge Junior with first class honours and another qualified for the Victorian Intermediate Certificate. The three who had not received any secondary education - Holmes, Rich and Schlencker - had, like many of their predecessors, left school at the age of eleven or twelve. The nine missionaries who arrived between 1902 and 1914 were, on average, better educated again. Two had completed only an elementary education, one in a board school, the other in a Scottish parish school, but the other seven had received a partial or complete secondary education. Three had gone on to tertiary studies, one of them

¹⁰⁴ J. Chalmers, *Autobiography*, n.p., L.M.S.

finishing as a Master of Arts from Glasgow and another a Bachelor of Arts from Melbourne. They brought to four the total number of graduates serving with the L.M.S. in Papua during this period. This proportion (13 per cent) was small compared with that of L.M.S. graduates in other places. In India, for instance, between 1850 and 1900, 27 per cent of L.M.S. missionaries were graduates.¹⁰⁵

After an elementary education in a National School, or an English school, or one of the newer board schools set up after 1870, the L.M.S. missionaries had received their secondary schooling at a variety of institutions, few of them in the mainstream of the English educational tradition. Two received an endowed school education, Reginald Bartlett at Winchester House School and Caleb Beharell at Stepney Grammar School, and two attended high schools. But most went to small private schools run by religious groups, individuals or proprietary companies. Will Saville, for example, spent five years at Caterham Congregational School; James Cullen went to a Moravian boarding school; Oliver Tomkins attended Great Yarmouth College, run by his father; and Ben Butcher was educated at Aske's, the school of the Haberdashers' Company, which, Sydney Webb considered, provided a 'very efficient education of an excellent modern type'.¹⁰⁶

Whatever the amount or quality of the schooling received by the L.M.S. missionaries, the outstanding characteristic of their educational experience throughout the period was their dedication to 'self-improvement' after their formal education ended. Like many of their generation and rank, they were earnest disciples of Samuel Smiles, whose Self-Help, published in 1859, sold 150,000 copies over the next three decades.¹⁰⁷ Samuel MacFarlane, an operative who worked from six in the morning to six at night, spent his evenings 'endeavouring to improve' himself in English grammar. At least twelve other L.M.S. missionaries, intent upon self-improvement, devoted

105 G.A. Oddie, 'India and Missionary Motives', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXV, no.1, January 1974.

106 S. Webb, London Education, 110.

107 J. Thomson, England in the Nineteenth Century, 101-02; see also A. Briggs, Victorian People, Chapter V.

part of their leisure to private study or to classes held by Mechanics Institutes, Working Men's Colleges or institutes set up by the Congregationalists for the training of home missionaries.

The Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society were the heirs of a missionary tradition in which educational qualifications were not rated so highly as in the Puritan heritage of the L.M.S.¹⁰⁸ Although a 'fair English education' was one of the attributes expected of even lay recruits to the Wesleyan mission, it was a requirement thoroughly subordinate to godliness, moral probity and zeal. A typical candidate's 'character' stated that while his education had not gone beyond the public school, he had read Wesley's sermons and works on the New Testament, he had 'no matrimonial engagement', was 'a total abstainer', did not smoke and had no debts.¹⁰⁹ It may be a comment on the attitude of the Wesleyan Methodists to the place of education in the formation of the missionary that surviving information on the attainments of its missionaries in Papua is scant.

Where such information exists, it suggests that the education of the Methodist missionaries was generally more limited than that of their L.M.S. contemporaries. While there were four university graduates among the L.M.S. missionaries, the Methodist Mission had none. Most highly educated of the Wesleyan workers was the chairman, William Bromilow, who, after completing a colonial education, attempted a Bachelor of Arts at Melbourne University, until the strain of study combined with school teaching precipitated a breakdown in his health.¹¹⁰ One or two of the other ministers, like Bromilow, had gained a colonial matriculation, but others had left school at or near the completion of their elementary education.¹¹¹

108 See W.N. Gunson, Messengers of Grace, Chapter 3, especially 78-80; and A. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England, 181.

109 Character of George R. Holland. Box of characters (restricted access) U.C.R. (Sydney).

110 W. Bromilow, op.cit., 15-20.

111 Scrivin and Waterhouse gained an adult matriculation; Fletcher may have matriculated. Fellows, Francis, Holland, Watson and Avery received an elementary education.

A few had improved their qualifications through adult education, but a preoccupation with self-improvement is not as apparent as amongst the L.M.S. missionaries. Most of the laymen whose educational experience is known had received only a primary schooling, or less - George Bardsley, the carpenter, left school at the age of eight.¹¹² One exception was Keith Chapman who arrived just before the outbreak of war, having completed two years at Hawkesbury Agricultural College. The best educated group among the Methodist missionaries may well have been not the ordained ministers but the school teachers, all women, several of whom had matriculated through the universities of Australia and New Zealand.¹¹³

The educational experience of the Anglican missionaries was as diverse as their backgrounds. A number of the priests of the Anglican Mission were the products of a public school education, though unlike the clergy of the U.M.C.A. and the Melanesian Mission, only one was educated at a 'great' English public school. Bishop Stone-Wigg received his education in one of the four commoners' houses of Winchester.¹¹⁴ Throughout his life he remained a loyal Wykehamist and a committed supporter of the 'public school' system. Writing to his father at the time of the Winchester Quincentenary in 1893, he remarked:

It almost makes one's eyes water to read about the dear old place - one does not realise the hold it has on one after these years until it is brought home to one in this way.... What a terrible blow to Australia to have no public school system of this kind.¹¹⁵

Gerald Sharp was educated at Manchester Grammar School which had, by the late nineteenth century, established an excellent reputation, especially for its science teaching. It won more Oxford and Cambridge scholarships than most of the 'great' public schools, and, although

112 Biographical information supplied by Bardsley's son, Howard Bardsley.

113 Among them, Minnie Billing, May Jenness, Florence Thompson and Doris Bembrick.

114 Biographical note accompanying Stone-Wigg Papers.

115 Stone-Wigg to his father, 4 September 1893, Stone-Wigg Papers.

a day school, was widely regarded as one of the élite band of 'public schools'.¹¹⁶ Other priests attended less eminent British grammar schools, or their colonial counterparts.

Eight of the Anglican priests were university graduates: Stone-Wigg, Abbot, Newton and Taylor from Oxford, Sharp from Cambridge, Maclaren from Durham, King from Sydney and Chignell from Adelaide. Unlike the others, whose university courses were the final stage of an uninterrupted academic career, Albert Maclaren had left school at fourteen and enrolled at Wrexham Grammar School as an adult to equip himself for further study. He subsequently took his degree at Durham supported by donations from the parishioners amongst whom he had worked in Queensland.¹¹⁷ Several of the priests ordained while in the mission field were men much more limited in education, Samuel Tomlinson, for instance, having received only an elementary schooling.¹¹⁸

Amongst the laymen of the mission were some who were the counterparts of the L.M.S. and Methodist missionaries, who came to Papua with only an elementary education, gained in the government schools of England or Australia. But others, such as Eric Giblyn and George Downton, had matriculated after an education in a colonial grammar school.¹¹⁹ The women missionaries, mostly teachers and nurses, were generally well educated, two of them being university graduates, and several matriculants.

Although the Anglican Mission had a leadership whose education, both in duration and in kind, set it apart from the Protestant missions, it was not, by Anglican standards, a highly-educated

116 See B. Simon and I. Bradley, The Victorian Public School, 108; Archer, Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century, 75, 186, 316; and J. de S. Honey, Tom Brown's Universe, 143. The term public school is here used to denote all those endowed schools, originally grammar schools, which served the English public. The 'public schools' are those of them, nine in number at the beginning of the nineteenth century and considerably more by the end, which had attained a reputation as élite, and generally boarding, institutions.

117 E. Rogers, A Pioneer of New Guinea, 6-11.

118 Personal communication, Canon Bodger, Alotau, P.N.G., 5 January 1979.

119 Personal files, Downton and Giblyn, box 20, A.A.

community. The eight priests who had degrees constituted 16 per cent of the total male staff. By contrast, almost half the male staff of the Melanesian Mission recruited up to 1920 were graduates, and 'probably more the average for Church of England missions', one quarter of the male missionaries of the U.M.C.A. had degrees.¹²⁰

The education received by the clergy of the Sacred Heart Mission is not readily comparable with that of the non-Roman Catholic missionaries. While clerical and lay members of the Anglican and Protestant missions had a secular education which was quite distinct from whatever vocational training they received after deciding to become ministers or missionaries, the education of most priests of the Sacred Heart Mission from the age of twelve was devoted above all else to the formation of the religious, the priest and the missionary. Under the benign provisions of the loi Falloux of 1850, the minor seminaries of France had been able to re-establish themselves as the purveyors of a traditional Catholic secondary education instead of being, as since 1828, merely schools for potential seminarists.¹²¹ However the Petit-Oeuvre of the M.S.C., their apostolic school or minor seminary, at which the great majority of the priests of the S.H.M. were educated, although equipping them for the baccalaureate, was fundamentally vocational. It was not, wrote a Superior-General of the Congregation, 'an ordinary school'. It welcomed only 'chosen children whom God [had] marked with the double seal of the priestly and the apostolic vocation'.¹²² It is thus more convenient to discuss the education of the M.S.C. priests within the context of their religious formation.¹²³

The lay-brothers of the M.S.C. came to their novitiates at Issoudun or the other houses of the Congregation with a very limited education. At a time when many priests were recruited from the peasantry,

120 D. Hilliard, op.cit., 125.

121 R. Anderson, 'The Conflict in Education' in T. Zeldin, Conflicts in French Society: Anticlericalism, Education and Morals in the Nineteenth Century, 51-52.

122 Annales, 1923, 308.

123 See below, 87-90.

educational attainment and potential rather than birth was probably the chief distinction between novice-priests and novice-brothers. Brother Alexis Henkelmann, who had received a 'good elementary instruction' was considered potential material for the priesthood,¹²⁴ but generally the brothers were unambiguously marked by their inferior education. Many, the sons of peasants, had received only a partial or seasonal education, their school attendance being dictated by the demands of the fields. The pioneer Italian brothers, Nicolas, Salvatore and Mariano were illiterate.¹²⁵

Consistent with the greater diversity of background of the sisters in Papua was their greater range of educational achievement. The distinction between choir and lay sisters reflected differences in education as well as birth.¹²⁶ Choir sisters such as Mother Ligouri and Mother Paule were said to be well-educated, as was also Sister Kostka.¹²⁷ But like the coadjutor brothers, many of the sisters had received only a limited education in parish schools. Sister Jeanne from Nantes, for example, was recorded as having 'scant reading ability'.¹²⁸ As amongst the other missionary groups, there was probably a progressive general improvement in the amount of education received. Observers commented on the difference between the commonly poorly-educated older sisters from France and the better-educated younger sisters from Australia.¹²⁹ But even during the two years preceding the war, the sisters who arrived from France were women whose rural backgrounds included only a simple elementary education.¹³⁰

124 Annales, 1952, 134-36.

125 Navarre, Journal I, 1888, 19, B.A.

126 Sr M. Venard, op.cit., 130.

127 Ibid, passim; and personal communication, Sr Paule-Marie, Issoudun, 23 December 1979.

128 Navarre, Journal, 12 August 1888, B.A.

129 Couppe to Jouet, 23 February 1885, Correspondence, R.A.

130 Personal communication, Sr Paule-Marie, Issoudun, 23 December 1979.

THERE were, then, considerable differences in the social backgrounds of the missionaries who served in Papua before the Great War. These differences existed not only between the personnel of the various missionary bodies, but also amongst the members of any one mission. Nevertheless it is possible to identify, amidst the diversity, Weberian 'ideal types'¹³¹ for each of the four missions.

The priest or sister of the Sacred Heart Mission was most likely to be French, and like the majority of his or her compatriots, of rural origins, the son or daughter of a peasant or artisan, born in one of those regions of France where Catholicism had most successfully withstood the assault of anti-clericalism. The M.S.C. brother was more likely to be Dutch, and a skilled artisan, recruited from one of those areas where the congregation was established. Alternatively he may have been of the European peasantry. The L.M.S. missionary was almost certainly British and urban in origin, a black-coated worker or perhaps an artisan, who had compensated for his limited social and educational advantages by an earnest programme of self-improvement. The Methodist missionary was more likely to be from a rural background, though possibly of English origin, brought up on a farm in New Zealand or in one of the provincial towns of south-eastern Australia where Methodism was strong. Like his L.M.S. colleague, his family was lower middle class or artisan, though his father was more likely to be a farmer than a clerical worker. Most elusive is the identity of the Anglican missionary. A university-educated English gentleman, a lady-worker from Sydney, a poorly-educated working man or woman of English origin, or a more highly educated colonial from one of the capital cities of eastern Australia - all were representative of the Anglican Mission.

Despite these differences in 'ideal types' and the much vaster differences in the reality that lay behind the ideal, several general statements can be made about the backgrounds of the missionaries. Nineteen centuries ago, one of the first Christian missionaries, Paul of Tarsus, wrote to his colleagues at Corinth: 'My brothers, think

131 For a definition and summary of this concept, see R. Bendix, 'Weber, Max' in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XVI, 499.

what sort of people you are whom God has called;...few are powerful or highly born'.¹³² The same might have been said of the missionaries who worked in Papua before 1914. Despite the differences in the socio-economic origins of the missionaries of the various bodies and, indeed, within each mission, most were men and women of the lower ranks of nineteenth century society. The great majority were drawn from the semi-skilled, white-collared workforce of the lower middle class, or from labour's aristocracy, the artisans. From these two sections of society came most of the L.M.S. missionaries, many of the Methodists and a high proportion of the non-ordained members of the Sacred Heart and Anglican missions. Small farming families, of comparable social status, supplied the Methodist and Sacred Heart missions with most of its other workers. The only missionaries in Papua during that period who were of higher social rank were the few 'highly-born' members of the Sacred Heart and Anglican missions, and the small minority of middle-class men and women from professional backgrounds, mostly concentrated in the Anglican Mission and scattered lightly in the other three.

But if the very highest ranks of nineteenth century society were thinly represented in the Papuan mission field, so were the very lowest. Observers of nineteenth century British society remarked on the gulf which existed, not between the lower middle class clerical workers and the proletarian artisans, but between the artisans and the unskilled workers. To cross that gulf, wrote Henry Mayhew, was to move 'among another race'.¹³³ The race of unskilled labourers provided few recruits for the mission field. Domestic servants and unskilled workers, two of the largest sectors of the unskilled workforce after agricultural labourers, were totally unrepresented, a pattern common throughout the mission fields of the late nineteenth century.

132 I Corinthians 1, 27-28.

133 H. Mayhew, London Labour and London Poor I, 1862, 6-7, quoted in A. Briggs, 'The Language of Class in Early Nineteenth Century England' in A. Briggs and J. Saviile, Essays in Labour History, I, 73.

Less can be said with certainty about the domestic backgrounds of the missionaries. But despite the great diversity of home environments and the relative paucity of evidence about them, it can nevertheless be concluded that for many individual missionaries, during childhood and adolescence, a strong and close maternal influence was counter-balanced by a much more remote paternal influence, which was frequently severed completely by the death of the father.

Although the amount and type of education received by those who became missionaries in Papua varied with their socio-economic backgrounds, apart from the priests of the Sacred Heart Mission, whose extensive formal education was an integral part of their religious formation, and the few graduates in the Anglican Mission and the L.M.S., they were not men or women of great learning. But nor were many the equivalents of the unlettered missionaries who had staffed the evangelical missions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were fairly typical products of their class and their generation, distinguished neither by their birth nor by their education, but by their common conviction of a particular call from God.

CHAPTER TWO

'WHOM GOD HAS CALLED'

'I COULD as easily relate circumstances connected with the dawn of my conscious life as tell of my first religious awakenings', wrote Charles Cribb, applying in 1892 to become an L.M.S. missionary.¹ This was typical. Future missionaries grew up in homes which were permeated with religion. Most Roman Catholic missionaries were raised by pious parents and brought up within the protective arms of parish church and school. A faithful Catholic background, together with legitimate birth, was required of those who joined the Sacred Heart congregation.² L.M.S. missionaries came most frequently from devout Congregational homes, two of the three Australians, for instance, being from families which were 'standards of Independency' in Queensland.³ Four were the sons of ministers, three of them L.M.S. missionaries.⁴ Wesleyan missionaries were almost universally of staunch Methodist stock, two of them being offspring of leading colonial Methodist families, the Fletchers and the Waterhouses, and one the proud descendant of Yorkshire preacher, Dicky Birdsall.⁵

1 Questions for Candidates, Candidates' Papers: Charles Cribb. L.M.S.

2 Annales, 1921, 220.

3 W. Crosfield, ms. re deputation to the South Seas with the Rev. Wardlaw Thompson, 49-50. South Seas Personal, box 4. L.M.S.

4 W.Y. Turner, W.T.V. Saville, R.L. Turner and A.E. Hunt. See Appendix IV: Biographical Register.

5 Percy Waterhouse was a grandson of John Waterhouse, first General Superintendent of Wesleyan missions in Australasia; Ambrose Fletcher was one of seven sons of John Fletcher, all of whom became local preachers and four of whom were ordained. Ambrose Fletcher's grandfather was Methodist minister Joseph Fletcher, the son of W. Horner Fletcher who was called out and ordained by Wesley. For Eleanor Walker's descent from Dicky Birdsall, see The Methodist, 25 May 1940, 15.

The religious antecedents of the Anglican missionaries were more diverse, at least seven being of Protestant families,⁶ but numbers of them experienced steady, if not fervent, religious influences in childhood. 'Religion, in the world of our childhood, was the fundamental basis of life', recalled Romney Gill's brother, Eric.⁷ Six Anglicans were the children of clergy, and of the Methodists, although there were no offspring of clerical families, numbers had fathers who were lay preachers.⁸

Church-going and other religious observances were thus a major part of most childhoods. Ben Butcher recalled trooping into Marlborough Chapel each Sunday with his seven brothers and sisters and reflected that, though they rarely understood the sermon, it was, on the whole, a pleasurable experience.⁹ Protestant children attended Sunday schools and class meetings, joined Bands of Hope and other church-associated groups, and participated in family prayers and bible-readings. Some recalled, years afterwards, reading Pilgrim's Progress, or pouring over the coloured pictures in the great Family Bible, or learning to sing 'Rock of Ages' on a Sunday afternoon.¹⁰ Those who became Sacred Heart missionaries passed through the rites of a Catholic childhood, confirmation and first communion, frequently at an early age. Louis-André Navarre, who drifted away from the church after his father's failure to pay his mother's burial fee, was humiliated because he still had not made his first communion when conscripted into the army.¹¹ Most fervent of all Sacred Heart missionaries, Henri Verjus, was confirmed when six years old.¹²

6 A.A. Maclaren, W.H. Murray, J.B. Stirrat, E.W. Taylor, J. Hunt, H. Holland and S.R.M. Gill were from Protestant families.

7 E. Gill, Autobiography, 59.

8 Ambrose Fletcher, James Walsh, Doris Bembrick, Samuel Fellows, George Bardsley, Andrew Ballantyne and Rosemary Lill were amongst the children of lay-preachers.

9 B. Butcher, We Lived with Headhunters, 15.

10 Edith Turner, 'A Visit to the Home of the Gods', Turner Papers; Butcher to Mater II, 14 January 1906, Butcher Papers, box 4; O.F. Tomkins to parents, 21 January 1900, Tomkins Papers.

11 L-A. Navarre, Notes sur sa Vie, 5-12.

12 Extracts from the spiritual diary of Henri Verjus, 1860-72, Annales, 1910, 200.

Several of the leading missionaries were precociously pious. At the age of five, Verjus celebrated Mass on his mother's chest of drawers, and Alain de Boismenu, having decided at ten that he wanted to be a priest, asked for an altar.¹³ Jean Genocchi built himself an altar and pressed his sisters to join him in prayer.¹⁴ Albert Maclaren, founder of the Anglican Mission, as a child gathered his brothers and sisters together on Sunday evenings to preach to them.¹⁵ Verjus, in childhood, felt the stirrings of more intense religious desires: 'There was, at St Maurice at Annecy, a picture representing a martyr burned by tormentors. The picture always pleased me and whenever I looked at it I longed to be a martyr.'¹⁶

But more commonly, religion was an intrinsic but not dominant part of childhood. In such childhoods there was little place for the sudden, cataclysmic conversion experience often associated with the popular stereotype of the nineteenth century missionary who, having seen the light himself, hurries out to impart it to others. Only two of the L.M.S. missionaries, whose religious history, thanks to the thorough selection procedures of the Society, is most fully documented, claimed this kind of experience. Samuel MacFarlane testified to a change of desires away from 'the ballroom, the billiard table and other such fruitless and destructive pleasures' to things of the spirit. James Chalmers' description of his own conversion, during the 1859 Revival, was an archetypal account, with its allusion to a sinful youth, a casual encounter with God's word to which he had come to jeer, the moment of conviction and the ensuing ordeal through abasement and despair to deliverance:¹⁷

I was pierced through and through with conviction of sin, and felt lost beyond all hope of salvation. On

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- 13 Ibid; A. Dupeyrat and F. de la Noë, Sainteté au Naturel, 10.
- 14 V. Ceresi, The Life of Father Genocchi, M.S.C. (ms. translation, Fr L. Rumble), 6.
- 15 F. Synge, Albert Maclaren, 3.
- 16 Extracts from Verjus' diary, Annales, 1910, 202.
- 17 See E.P. Thompson, The making of the English working class, 311.

the Monday, Mr Meickle came to my help and...as he quoted 'The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin' I felt that this salvation was possible for me, and some gladness came into my heart. After a time light increased, and I felt that God was speaking to me in His Word, and I believed unto salvation.¹⁸

MacFarlane and Chalmers were children of the early Victorian era. In both their accounts, the sinfulness of their life before conversion was probably painted blacker than the reality to heighten the significance of the experience, a common tendency amongst Evangelicals of the time.¹⁹ Without doubting the genuineness of the experience, it is possible to suggest that their accounts were cast in terms designed to meet contemporary expectations of what a true conversion comprised.

Neither those of their colleagues who belonged to the same era nor those who followed them into the L.M.S. field in Papua claimed an equally dramatic experience. They were nurtured Christians. If they used the word conversion in their spiritual biographies, they used it to indicate 'the culmination, in a sense of spiritual rebirth of a lengthy and largely subconscious process of self-examination'.²⁰ They alluded to a stage, or stages, in their life when, perhaps after a period of indifference, their faith took on a heightened significance and a greater compulsion. Like those who experienced a sudden conversion, they made a token reference to past sinfulness, but unlike the dramatically converted, they gave little evidence of emotional stress in the making of their commitment. It was generally prompted by conversation with parents or other mentors, by reading of devotional books such as Angell James' The Anxious Inquirer, or by listening to particular challenging sermons, occasionally by eminent revivalists like Moody, but more commonly in local churches, and in most cases it did little to disturb the even tenor of steady spiritual growth which had its origins in infancy.

18 J. Chalmers, ms. Autobiography, Notes for Lizzie, n.p. L.M.S.

19 G. Godwin, The Great Revivalists, 7; H. McLeod, Religion in a Late Victorian City, 70.

20 G. Godwin, op.cit., 2-4.

Urged by the L.M.S. to pinpoint special circumstances associated with their Christian commitment, less than half the candidates could identify any. Nine of the fourteen alleged this commitment to have been made at the age of fourteen, fifteen or sixteen, reputed to be the most common age for male conversion.²¹ Two believed themselves to have been converted between seventeen and twenty, and three as early as eleven. Conversion was then for them, as for most Evangelicals, an adolescent experience, which frequently took place soon after puberty. Studies have suggested a link between conversion and the sexual confusion and tension of adolescence, and although no aspiring missionary admitted this link, if indeed he was conscious of it, the language used by some was compatible with it. Reflecting in his diary upon his conversion, one missionary wrote:

Repeated failure had led me to doubt whether I should ever get the mastery of sin. Romans VI seems now to mean that...Christ's powers will be so manifested in my life as to lead me to reason thus before yielding -: This is a temptation to gratify my old nature....[God's] claims are superior and [as] I cannot obey both I forego the lower claims as not worthy of my consideration i.e. I treat my old 'self' as dead....²²

In this confession guilt about masturbation, still regarded both as sinful and as a source of degeneracy and ultimately insanity,²³ may have been especially critical.

Seventeen of the thirty-three L.M.S. missionaries claimed no conversion experience of either kind, half of them explicitly denying its occurrence, asserting that there were no 'particular events', no 'definite time' or 'no special experience that I can distinctly call conversion'. These missionaries reiterated the influence of godly parents, or a devout mother, and described their spiritual development as a 'slow and steady progress' from infancy

21 Ibid, 7.

22 O.F. Tomkins, Diary, 12 January 1898, O.F. Tomkins Papers.

23 E. Gill, Autobiography, 42; see also T. Zeldin, France 1848-1945 I, 306, for an account of attitudes in nineteenth century France.

to the time of their candidature for the mission field. Contrary to what might be expected, there was not a progressive decline in the use of the term or concept of conversion in the testimonies of candidates through the years. The terminology employed seemed to depend more on the religious sub-culture with which the candidate identified than the era in which he applied. As early as 1880 Thomas Ridgley denied that there were any 'memorable circumstances' in his Christian commitment, while Oliver Tomkins, applying in 1899, imbued with the spirit of the Keswick holiness movement, could name the day on which he was saved with the same certainty as any eighteenth century convert.²⁴

Although conversion was a standard part of Methodist and evangelical Anglican religious experience, it does not feature prominently in the known religious histories of missionaries of those persuasions. Like most of the L.M.S. missionaries they testified to a steady growth of faith from childhood, with moments of intensified commitment. William Bromilow, for instance, although raised in a strong Wesleyan evangelical tradition, referred in his autobiography only to the growth of a 'deepened, more personal religious experience'.²⁵ The 'characters' of missionaries, submitted when they were seeking candidature to the ministry, suggest a pattern of close childhood involvement in church and Sunday school, culminating in a commitment conventionally called conversion. Frederick Winn's 'character', for example, read: 'His home training was of the highest order. From early childhood he attended a Methodist church and Sunday School. He was converted during a special session held in the church...in 1904, being then 16 years of age.'²⁶

All missionaries, having made a commitment to Christ, made a second commitment to the missionary vocation. There was

24 O.F. Tomkins to Leo Tomkins, Grunau, Bern, n.d. [1889].
O.F. Tomkins Papers.

25 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 19.

26 Box of 'characters' (restricted access) U.C.R., Sydney.
Cf. those of W.C. Francis, P. Waterhouse, G. Burgess,
G.R. Holland.

generally an interval of years between the two, but, like their profession of faith, the decision to become a missionary frequently had its roots far back in childhood. Missionaries Bromilow, Tomkins, Bartlett and Beharell all claimed to have been dedicated by their parents to the missionary cause at birth.²⁷ Albert Maclaren, as a child, was held and kissed by a black missionary who was reputed to have said: 'There, your son has been kissed by a black missionary, if he lives he will be a great missionary himself one day.'²⁸

The L.M.S. Candidates Papers, which provide the most thorough insight into the making of a Protestant missionary, reveal that of the thirty-three who went to Papua before 1914, sixteen claimed their wish to be a missionary to have originated in early childhood. While allowing for an obvious concern to impress the directors with the maturity of their decision, the emphatic phrases used - 'almost as long as I can remember', 'from my earliest recollections', 'ever since I can remember' - suggest that they at least believed themselves to have cherished a lifelong desire. Of those who did not claim a childhood decision, most alleged an aspiration of about seven or eight years' standing.

Less is known of the awakening of the missionary vocation amongst members of the other missions, but fragmentary evidence suggests similar experiences for some. Henri Verjus, at the age of three, joined the French Catholic children's missionary organisation, the Holy Childhood, becoming 'godfather' to a Chinese child. At five he told his mother that he wanted to be not a priest but a missionary.²⁹ Joseph Chabot, as a boy, read the life of the martyred missionary Theophane Venard and dreamt of mission work in Indo-China.³⁰ Anglican missionary, Romney Gill, explaining to his father his decision to become a missionary, wrote:

27 M.R. June 1920, 3 and Candidates Papers: Tomkins, Bartlett and Beharell, L.M.S.

28 F. Synge, Albert Maclaren, 3.

29 Extracts from Verjus' diary, Annales, 1910, 200.

30 A. Dupeyrat, Le sanglier de Kouni, 27.

I received this call, not at some public meeting, or when listening to some emotion-stirring sermon, or at...some particular date and moment fixed in my memory, as the Salvation Army people, who can tell you the exact date, place and moment when and where they were 'saved' but YEARS ago when a very young child.... Sometimes I wanted to be an engineer, sometimes a sailor, sometimes a 'cowboy' - and all the time something pointed to the Divine Life....³¹

After the death of Mary Alicia Newton in the Anglican Mission, her sister wrote to Stone-Wigg that it had been 'her one wish from quite a young girl to go out as a Missionary'.³² Although one Methodist minister and one sister testified to a similar childhood ambition,³³ it seems that for the ordained Methodist missionaries, on the whole, with their concept of a world parish, there was a less clearly defined distinction between the vocation of minister and that of missionary. Service in the mission field was seen as one phase in an uninterrupted clerical career, rather than a separate commitment.

The childhood desire to be a missionary, frequently a romantic response to heroic mission literature, sometimes cooled, and even if it remained fervent, it needed to be converted into a hard-headed and mature decision. This was often effected by the vast apparatus of the missionary societies, which also generally prompted the adult decisions of those without a childhood commitment behind them. By far the most potent influence was personal contact with a working missionary which seemed, at times, to work as a type of apostolic succession. W.G. Lawes, hearing William Gill and Isaiah Papehia, a Rarotongan, speak in 1858, 'there and then gave his life to God for missionary service'.³⁴ Chalmers, whose boyhood resolve had lapsed, had his interest rekindled by a conversation with

31 S.R.M. Gill to his father, 28 January 1903. S.R.M. Gill, Letters to his family.

32 Janie Newton to Stone-Wigg, 21 June 1904. Newton file, box 22, A.A.

33 Obituary: the late Rev. W.W. Avery, Minutes of Special Meeting, 8 March 1954, N.Z. Methodist Foreign Mission Board; Edith Lloyd to Martha, 30 September 1898. Letterbook I. M.O.M.

34 J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 9.

George Turner of Samoa.³⁵ Chalmers himself, with his homespun eloquence and intense conviction, inspired a whole generation of missionaries from deputation platforms. Amongst those who responded to his appeal for New Guinea were James Cullen, Will Saville, Oliver Tomkins and Reginald Bartlett.³⁶ His less flamboyant but equally dedicated colleague, Lawes, turned the boyhood wishes of Charles Cribb and Percy Schlencker, into a commitment to the L.M.S.³⁷

The same lines of personal communication are discernible in the vocations of members of the other missions. It was the persuasive enthusiasm of Albert Maclaren which convinced Copland King, as they shared a train ride through the dusty outback of New South Wales, that he should join Maclaren in the foundation of the Anglican Mission.³⁸ The other pioneers were recruited after hearing Maclaren preach at St Mark's, Fitzroy. Henry Newton was invited by Stone-Wigg to join the staff, and a number of the men and women who came to the mission around the turn of the century offered, as a result of hearing Stone-Wigg's appeals for staff in sermons given in local churches.³⁹ Invited to become third bishop of New Guinea, Gerald Sharp recalled that he had first been requested to join the mission by Stone-Wigg, just as Stone-Wigg had first been invited to New Guinea by Maclaren.⁴⁰ William Bromilow's missionary career began when he heard an 'inspiring' call for staff of the Methodist missions of Fiji and Tonga, and others, in turn, responded to his appeals for missionaries for New Guinea.⁴¹

Amongst the Sacred Heart missionaries, some had been impressed by the single-minded zeal of Henri Verjus, even before he reached

35 J. Chalmers, ms. Autobiography, Notes for Lizzie. L.M.S.

36 See Candidates' Papers, L.M.S.

37 Ibid.

38 B. Glencross, New Guinea! Not me!, 13.

39 See, for example, personal files, Dodds, Downton and Sage, boxes 20-22, A.A.

40 A.B.M. Review, May 1910, 32; Stone-Wigg to his mother, 18 February 1892, Stone-Wigg Papers; Lisbeth Rattigan to Stone-Wigg, 5 July 1911, box 40, A.B.M.

41 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 22; M.R. November 1913, 5.

the mission field. Navarre, Genocchi and Jullien all turned from actual or proposed careers as secular priests to the apostolate partly as a result of his influence.⁴² Many other young students and scholastics at Issoudun were inspired by the visits of missionary priests, especially Verjus and Genocchi, to make a commitment to the New Guinea field.⁴³

Mission literature was perhaps the second most important mechanism for arousing a missionary vocation. Missionary tracts and periodicals, and biographies of missionaries influenced Catholics and Protestants alike. Among the latter, books by and about David Livingstone probably outweighed all the other print devoted to the Protestant missionary cause in that generation.⁴⁴ The lives of Richard Knill of India, Gilmour of Mongolia, John Williams and Chalmers himself were also influential.⁴⁵ Young Catholics were similarly inspired by the biographical accounts of martyred missionaries, Chanel, Marchand and Venard.⁴⁶

A third influence on potential missionaries, especially Protestants, was the missionary meeting. Even without the dramatic presence of the missionary on deputation, the meeting could be an enticing influence which, perhaps aided by lantern slides, brought excitement and romance into the drabness of a small town or the tedium of a village. John Henry Holmes, at the age of ten, heard an

42 See Navarre's circular letter on the death of Verjus, Annales, 1893, 395; 'Le Reverend Père Jullien', Annales, 1921, 149; Genocchi obituary, Annales, 1926, 54.

43 V. Ceresi, op.cit., 186.

44 For example, The Christian, 1 December 1904, quotes Frederick Walker as saying that he felt the first impulse to be a missionary after reading 'that wonderful work, the Life of David Livingstone! See Candidates' Papers, L.M.S. for influence on other missionaries.

45 See Candidates' Papers, L.M.S., passim.

46 J. Vaudon, Monseigneur Henri Verjus, M.S.C. published in Australian Annals, December 1894, 4-5; A. Dupeyrat, Le sanglier de Kouni, 27.

illustrated lecture on India in his small Devon village, and from that time dreamed of being a missionary.⁴⁷

A more diffuse but no less pervasive influence in the making of a missionary was the general mission-mindedness of the community to which he or she belonged. Parents, priests, ministers and mentors were frequently people with a strong mission commitment. L.M.S. missionaries often attended chapels which, without any institutional links, were keen supporters of the Society. Ben Butcher remembered from his childhood collection boxes adorned with a picture of a 'well-dressed missionary standing under a coconut tree with crowds of very respectable brown people' around him, and book prizes illustrated with mission scenes, won by collecting for the mission ship, the John Williams.⁴⁸ Oliver Tomkins found the influence of a devout mother reinforced by Keswick Conventions and by the strongly missionary church at Princes Street, Norwich, associated with the Congregational Forward Movement.⁴⁹ Other L.M.S. missionaries besides Tomkins may have been influenced in the last decade of the century by the Forward Movement, a brave attempt at a time of dwindling resources, to put 100 new missionaries in the field, through an appeal to the 'intertwined consciences of countless chapel communities'.⁵⁰ Although most L.M.S. missionaries sought ordination with the intention of going to the mission field, a few trained for the home ministry and found their missionary interest kindled while at college.⁵¹

Many Anglican missionaries grew up in Queensland parishes whose members, besides being Anglo-Catholic and thus in sympathy with the prevailing ethos in the Anglican Mission, being on the frontier themselves, probably had a greater awareness of the need for pioneering church work than the more established parishes of the south. Of the

47 Questions to Candidates. Candidates' Papers: J.H. Holmes, L.M.S.

48 B. Butcher, op.cit., 15-16.

49 Candidates' Papers: O.F. Tomkins, L.M.S.

50 C. Binfield, So down to Prayers, 219.

51 See, for example, Candidates' Papers: A.E. Hunt, L.M.S.

Anglicans from New South Wales and Victoria, a disproportionate number were from Anglo-Catholic parishes such as Christchurch St Laurence, St Peter's, Eastern Hill, and St Mark's, Fitzroy.⁵²

In a generally apathetic ecclesiastical environment the personal influence of sympathetic bishops, Montgomery, Webber and White was an important factor in the making of Anglican missionaries.

A similar network of communal influence is discernible amongst the Roman Catholic missionaries, especially those of France. Many of the priests and sisters belonged to families which supported the two congregations through membership of the Archconfraternity of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart. Nine of the priests and at least four of the sisters were from families with other members in orders, usually the M.S.C. and F.D.N.S.C. Some of the families of missionaries, particularly those of Brittany and Savoy, were inter-related.⁵³ Although evidence is scant, it seems that many of the French missionaries belonged to a closely-knit and strongly-committed sub-culture which had firm bonds with the two congregations. For others, the links were less direct. As was common at the time, many M.S.C. priests took their first steps towards a clerical career when their exceptional piety or ability was noted by the parish priest, who then directed them towards the institutions of the M.S.C., with whose founder, Jules Chevalier, he might have had personal ties. Canon Robert of Nantes, a loyal supporter of the congregations, was responsible for a large proportion of that diocese's remarkable contribution to the mission.⁵⁴ Other potential M.S.C. were recruited by visiting

52 Among the forty-one missionaries from N.S.W. and Victoria at least ten were from these three parishes: St Mark's: Samuel and Elizabeth Tomlinson, Charles Sage, Norman Dodds; Christchurch St Laurence: C.E. Kennedy, J.B. Stirrat; St Peter's: Annie Ker, Albert Batchelor, Elizabeth Rattigan, Margaret Bechervaise.

53 In Brittany, the families of Fr Guilbaud, Fr Bodet and Sr Theodorine Bachelier were related; in Savoy that of Henri Verjus was related to that of Fr Allera and Sr Henriette Allera.

54 Canon Robert was director of the Petit Messager des Missionnaires de Nantes. See Annales, 1911, 15; Annales, 1906, 590.

representatives who toured the countryside in search of vocations. Paul Fastré, for instance, declined the invitations of a Franciscan, a Jesuit and an Assumptionist, before agreeing to join the M.S.C.⁵⁵ In one notable episode in Holland, a recruiting priest, told of the pious village of Volendam, gained the support of the parish priest who, in true Galilean fashion, strode amongst the returning fishermen and enlisted six volunteers to serve as brothers in New Guinea.⁵⁶

All Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, however recruited, chose to join the M.S.C., out of the vast proliferation of orders and congregations of the nineteenth century, because of their attraction to its distinctive features: its stress on the apostolic life, its devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and its worship of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart. These emphases were characteristic of the warmer form of piety which had grown up earlier in the century in reaction to the austerities of Jansenism.

MISSIONARY organisations were generally careful to scrutinise the motives of those who offered for the mission field. Aware of the array of considerations that might inspire such a decision, the L.M.S. asked a series of searching questions of its candidates, including for some years the pointed query: 'How long have you entertained the desire to become a missionary and what motivated you to form that desire?' In the Anglican and Methodist missions, selection procedures appear to have been less exhaustive, but in both cases applicants were personally interviewed either by the staff of the missionary bodies or by trusted agents. The large file of rejected applicants for the Anglican Mission suggests that even if their selection procedures were more random than those of the L.M.S., they were not entirely indiscriminating.⁵⁷ In the Sacred Heart Mission it was recognised that the long training for the priesthood and the intensive novitiate

55 Annales, 1955, 159.

56 E. Cuskelly, Father Jules Chevalier, 168.

57 Anglican Archives, U.P.N.G.

which preceded the taking of vows did not necessarily make a missionary, and the decision had to be made by mutual agreement between the religious and his superiors.

The prime motive for all Christian missionary endeavour was obedience to the divine commission: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature'. Confronted with this command, many earnest Christians felt that it was a matter of 'plain duty' to obey.⁵⁸ Some asked themselves, as Hudson Taylor urged supporters of the C.I.M., not why they should go, but why they should stay at home.⁵⁹ 'Possessing a strong constitution and being free of any obligations to stay in England, I feel myself marked out to go', explained Frederick Walker to the L.M.S. and concluded: 'Lastly, but above all, the simple command of Christ to preach the gospel to all nations personally outweighs all considerations which might otherwise lead me to remain at home.'⁶⁰

A number of missionaries of all persuasions claimed the conviction that the general command had been translated into a personal call from God. 'I have felt all along...that were I to stay at home while the way is open for me to go abroad would be a deliberate neglect on my part of what I feel to be God's will for me', wrote James Birkett Clark, applying to the L.M.S.⁶¹ Anglican missionary, Mary Alicia Newton explained to Bishop Stone-Wigg: 'My Lord, I came out to New Guinea in answer to a command from God which I dared not disobey.'⁶² Other religious convictions which had moved an earlier generation of missionaries, the desire to work for the greater glory of God and gratitude for one's own salvation, were only occasionally listed in conjunction with Christ's command. Despite a revival in pre-millennial

58 See, for example, Candidates' Papers: Schlencker and Ingram.

59 C.P. Williams, The recruitment and training of overseas missionaries in England between 1850 and 1900, 169, (B.Litt thesis).

60 Questions to Candidates, Candidates' Papers: Frederick Walker, L.M.S.

61 Questions to Candidates, Candidates' Papers: J.B. Clark, L.M.S.

62 M.A. Newton to Stone-Wigg, n.d. Newton file, box 22, A.A.

teaching during the nineteenth century, eschatological anxiety was not an apparent motive.

Among the L.M.S. missionaries, response to the divine command was frequently reinforced by a realistic appraisal of need. Believing that the gospel was for all men, they were impressed by the 'greater need of the heathen' and the scarcity of labourers to meet it. Their response was to the Macedonian cry. Some added candidly that the home churches were already over-supplied; others recognised that their talents and training fitted them for mission work rather than service in the home churches.

John Wear Burton, going out to the Methodist field of Fiji in 1903 gave his interpretation of the needs of the heathen to a missionary audience before his departure. He told them that it was not the belief that the heathen was destined for hell that impelled him to go forth but the 'unhappy condition of people deprived of the joy of the gospel'. His statement provoked a violent response from one of his audience, the venerable Presbyterian missionary, John G. Paton:

Then the grand old warrior rose, shook his leonine head and in his downright manner, and with the weight of his great personality, and with his record of long and sacrificial service behind him, hurled his burning indignation at the view I expressed. 'Young man', he almost roared, 'do you think I would have risked my life amongst the savages and cannibals of the New Hebrides if I had not believed that every man, woman and child I met was going to hell?'⁶³

Changes in contemporary theological belief, which were themselves influenced by the missionary movement, led to a decline in the importance of the 'perishing heathen' motive as the nineteenth century progressed. Information afforded by the evangelisation of distant lands led to an increased awareness of the immense numbers condemned to eternal torment by the current theory of everlasting punishment of the wicked. It was challenged by F.D. Maurice in 1853 in Theological Essays and more fully by Dr Samuel Cox in 1877 in a

63 J.W. Burton, Modern Missions in the South Pacific, 12.

series of essays published as Salvator Mundi. Their doctrine of universalism, or the 'larger hope' which inspired Tennyson's influential poem 'In Memoriam', was taken up in the theological debate which gathered momentum in the late 'seventies and the 'eighties. Another theory was supplied by the Congregational theologian Edward White who, while attacking the grounding of missionary activity in the belief in hell, nevertheless felt that universalism reduced the urgency of the missionary task. To universalism he posed as an alternative the doctrine of 'conditional immortality' which, he believed, resolved the conflict between the love of God and eternal torment. According to White's conditionalism, God created mankind mortal but with a capacity for immortality which is achieved through Christ. For those without faith in Christ, mortal life is followed not by eternal torment but by annihilation.

This evolution of belief is reflected in the papers of the L.M.S. candidates who came to the Papuan mission field during this period.⁶⁴ A few of the older missionaries claimed that for them, as for Paton, their apprehension of the needs of the heathen included the conviction that, unsaved, he was destined for hell.

I consider there are plenty of labourers at home while thousands of my heathen brethren are perishing for want of knowledge concerning that Saviour by which alone they can be saved, and therefore while few respond to the cry, 'Come over and help us', I am constrained to say,...'Lord send me',

wrote James Chalmers in 1862. The last of the L.M.S. missionaries to Papua to state this motive explicitly was Albert Pearse who, in 1866, told the directors that his heart burned to 'save the perishing heathen'. Those who followed him preferred to allude more generally to the 'need of the heathen' or like Burton, more specifically to their entitlement to share in the good news of the gospel. In his exposition of conditionalism, Life in Christ, published in 1875, Edward White claimed that the doctrine of everlasting punishment of the heathen was doubted by missionaries and in 1882, one of their number, T.E. Slater, declared

⁶⁴ The following analysis is based on the Questions to Candidates, Candidates' Papers, L.M.S., which is the source of all quotations unless otherwise acknowledged.

that it had been abandoned.⁶⁵

Towards the end of the century, concern for the after-life of the heathen was largely replaced by a concern to ameliorate the conditions of his life in this world. He became a 'suffering' rather than a 'perishing' heathen. This concern was sometimes allied to a sense of moral trusteeship which urged aspiring missionaries to introduce the unconverted to the best while protecting them from the worst of European civilisation. James Cullen, who had been a sailor, wrote that his missionary commitment was strengthened by the knowledge that 'the first effect of civilisation upon savage races was to impart to them all the vices and none of the virtues of our own country', and a longing 'to counteract the injuries being done to such lands....'

The changes in Protestant belief which were reflected in the statements of the L.M.S. candidates took place within the context of larger shifts of emphasis in contemporary theology, from the wrath of God to the fatherhood of God, from atonement to incarnation, and hence to a more socially-oriented gospel. The 'perishing heathen' slipped so effortlessly from the candidates' declarations of motivation that it seems that even by the 'sixties the concept was rhetorical rather than the motivating power that Paton had found it to be in the 'fifties.

How much and for how long the doctrine of the 'perishing heathen' motivated Methodist missionaries is difficult to tell because no statements comparable to the L.M.S. Candidates' Papers have survived. It seems likely that the doctrine persisted longer amongst Wesleyans than amongst the L.M.S. missionaries.⁶⁶ Samuel Fellows, training for

65 G.A. Oddie, 'India and Missionary Motives, c.1850-1900', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXV no.1 January 1974; see also Rowell, Hell and the Victorians, 131-215. In a letter written in 1901 missionary Edwin Pryce-Jones lamented the loss of hell. 'The old missionaries could depict, without violence to their own consciences, the terrors of a material future punishment but we can...merely preach the effect of evil persisting, and I believe that is the general attitude today.'

66 See R. Howe, op.cit., 39, for the persistence of the doctrine in Victorian Methodism.

the ministry in 1886 heard a colleague point out in a sermon that 'there were some in hell because of our faithlessness' and, much impressed, reconsecrated himself to the salvation of souls.⁶⁷ Pioneer Wesleyan missionaries who preached hell to unbelievers⁶⁸ presumably believed the doctrine they taught, but it is likely that some later Methodists such as Matthew Gilmour, possessed of a more liberal, humanitarian theology, would have shared the convictions of their contemporary, John Wear Burton, rather than those of Paton.

For Anglo-Catholic missionaries, who accepted the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, the problem was not so acute as for the Evangelicals who had only the alternatives of salvation and damnation. Educated and enlightened men, some of the Anglican priests may have accepted the universalist convictions espoused by broad churchmen. 'It was no grim feeling, such as had moved our forefathers, that the heathens should be damned if they were not converted that inspired [us] to spread abroad the religion of Jesus Christ', asserted one Anglican missionary.⁶⁹

Roman Catholic missionaries experienced no comparable challenge to the motivating power of this belief. Like their Methodist counterparts, pioneer priests threatened unbelievers with hell.⁷⁰ The salvation of souls remained the proclaimed raison d'être of their apostolate. It was however closely tied to a second motive which at times seemed to become dominant in their commitment to the missionary task. This was the desire for the achievement of personal sanctity through suffering and sacrifice, the ultimate manifestation of which was martyrdom. 'The only authentic missionaries', wrote Henri Verjus, 'are those who aspire to the missions for one sole reason - to suffer and sacrifice themselves totally for the salvation

67 S. Fellows, Diary I, 21 June 1886.

68 Ibid, see also Diary V, 7 August 1892; Bardsley, Diary, 58, 29 November 1891, and J. Tinney, Diary, 19 April 1892.

69 Occasional Paper, 51, 4.

70 Navarre, Report to Society for Propagation of the Faith, Annales, 1887, 228, and Toublanc to parents, Annales, 1889, 26.

of souls'.⁷¹ A common conviction at the time, for Verjus it was an obsession. While at the apostolic school of the M.S.C., he organised a sodality dedicated to suffering for the Sacred Heart. Its act of consecration, signed in blood, stated: 'Oh Sacred Heart, we desire to be Thy victims.... Make martyrs of us.'⁷² During his novitiate he prayed for 'Sufferings! sufferings! and more sufferings still! then death, the most ignominious, hidden and cruel!' and begged for grace to be 'a saintly missionary and a holy martyr'.⁷³ Reading a graphic account of the torture and martyrdom of Joseph Marchand of Indo-China, he prayed for 'as cruel a martyrdom as that'.⁷⁴ By the time of his ordination, the missionary vocation and martyrdom were synonymous:

I do and wish everything in view of my dear missions. This is my vocation, my raison d'être, my object, what I have been created for.... My longing for the missions and martyrdom is maturing in a way that is a puzzle to myself.⁷⁵

Other Sacred Heart missionaries expressed a similar aspiration. Jean Genocchi, in his first as in all subsequent Masses, 'begged of God the grace to die for Him in the Missions'.⁷⁶ Sailing with a large contingent of priests, brothers and sisters for the Papuan mission field, he reported them unanimous in their conviction that those of them who died in the field would be 'greatly blessed'.⁷⁷ This preoccupation with the attainment of personal holiness was criticised by those of other religious persuasions. William Crosfield, member of a deputation of the L.M.S., reacted to a visit to Yule Island

71 Venard, The Designs of His Heart, 28.

72 J. Vaudon, Monseigneur Henri Verjus, M.S.C., quoted in Australian Annals, August 1894, 198.

73 Ibid, November 1894, 27.

74 Ibid, December 1894, 5.

75 Ibid, March 1896, 76.

76 V. Ceresi, op.cit., 186.

77 Genocchi to Vedère, n.d., quoted in Annales, 1893, 442-47.

with the terse observation that 'by a course of privation and hardship they were all engaged in saving their own souls.'⁷⁸

Yet despite traditional evangelical suspicion of asceticism, something of the same orientation was found among evangelical Protestants. A Wesleyan preoccupation with entire sanctification could inspire acts of dedication such as a commitment to the missionary vocation.⁷⁹ The growth of a holiness movement within evangelicalism in the 'eighties, with its stress on a life of sacrificial discipline, gave added impetus.⁸⁰ Those influenced by the Student Volunteer Missionary Union or by Keswick Conventions learned to see suffering as a source of spiritual growth, as well as a proof of spiritual vitality. 'I cannot describe to you exactly what prompted me to do this', Oliver Tomkins wrote to his brother after applying to the L.M.S., 'It may only be possibly to try my faith and lead me to further consecration.'⁸¹

It would be naive to assume that most missionary commitments were inspired by purely altruistic considerations; it would be cynical to assume that they were wholly self-interested.⁸² Like most major decisions, the decision to become a missionary was, for most, prompted by a complex of motives, some conscious and articulated, some recognised but unconfessed and others subconscious. Obedience to Christ's command, the needs of the heathen, whether he was 'perishing' or 'suffering', and, in a milieu where it was acceptable,

78 W. Crosfield, ms. re deputation to the South Seas with the Rev. Wardlaw Thompson, 107, South Seas Personal, box 4, L.M.S.

79 See, for example, S. Fellows, Diary I, 20 February 1888.

80 See A. Porter, 'Cambridge, Keswick and late-nineteenth century attitudes to Africa', J.I.C.H., 5-33; also Williams, op.cit., 180-90.

81 O.F. Tomkins to Leo Tomkins, 31 August 1895. O.F. Tomkins Papers, Cf. J.H. Holmes, Diary, 7 August 1893, L.M.S.

82 For a useful recent assessment of missionary motivation see the article by Stuart Piggin: 'Assessing nineteenth century missionary motivation: some considerations of theory and method', in D. Baker [ed.], Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian, 327-37.

the desire to achieve spiritual growth through sacrifice, were the most commonly declared motives. Those which missionaries kept to themselves or of which they were barely conscious must be inferred from their behaviour, from statements made in unguarded moments, or, with caution, from the observations of contemporaries.

The modest social background of the majority of missionaries in Papua prompts the question whether for them the missionary vocation was an attractive avenue of upward mobility. Missionaries who had been regarded as 'the dregs of humanity' at the end of the eighteenth century and who were still 'not quite gentlemen' in the 1850s, were by the last quarter of the nineteenth century respected and esteemed.⁸³ In England, eminent missionaries on furlough were lionised by the church-and-chapel-going public, featured by the press, consulted by academics and civil servants, and occasionally received by royalty. The romantic saga of David Livingstone's life and death turned the missionary into a modern day folk hero. In deputation speeches, missionaries gave glimpses of a different world, where they ruled like kings over their domains, surrounded by black subjects to whom their word was law.

All this was apparent to the young men and women who attended mission meetings and read mission literature. For those of artisan or lower middle class origins, an attempt to better their social position would have been perfectly consistent with the prevailing philosophy of self-improvement. An immediate enticement for prospective L.M.S. candidates would have been the free theological education that all received till 1881 or even the partially free training offered after that date.

The astute Administrator of British New Guinea, Sir William MacGregor, discerned ambition in the pioneer, Albert Maclaren. 'He was ambitious.... He hoped to be a bishop and had he lived he

83 Guardian Review, July 1886, 143; Williams, op.cit., 235. See also MacFarlane to Thompson, 20 February 1886, Papua Letters, L.M.S., which describes the honours accorded him and concludes: 'So you see our work is recognized in the high places of the earth.'

would have done so.'⁸⁴ Anglican layman, William McMullan, finding the missionary vocation intolerable, confessed to Bishop Stone-Wigg that social advancement had been his motive in joining the mission.⁸⁵ The social may have been mixed with the spiritual in the ingenuous account given of the decision of a Breton clog-maker, Auguste Lainé, to become a brother with the M.S.C. 'He thought his life mediocre. Would it not become more marvellous if he gave it to God?'⁸⁶ Years later Brother Lainé recalled the past when 'in the world' he had been 'only a clog-maker in a little lane of his village'.⁸⁷ For peasant boys, selection by their parish priest for a seminarian education and ordination was an obvious channel of upward mobility, and was accepted as such.⁸⁸ Eric Gill recognised in his autobiography that the move of his father, himself the son of an evangelical artisan missionary, from nonconformity into the Church of England, was prompted partly by his parents' social ambitions,⁸⁹ and it is conceivable that their missionary son's espousal of Anglo-Catholicism was also fed partly by the same ambition. Certainly, in his missionary career, Romney Gill derived innocent pleasure from his close association with gentlemen like Gerald Sharp, bishop of New Guinea, and Sir Hubert Murray, lieutenant-governor of Papua.⁹⁰ The other six Anglican missionaries known to have moved from their Protestant origins into the Church of England may well have been similarly influenced by social ambition.

While the prospect of status may have been, to some, an additional enticement to the mission field, there is little evidence

84 MacGregor, *Diary III*, 6 January 1892.

85 McMullan to Stone-Wigg, Hioge, 22 February 1901, McMullan file, box 22, A.A.

86 Quoted in *Annales*, 1952, 95.

87 Lainé to Canon Robert of Nantes, February 1902, quoted in *Annales*, 1903, 32.

88 See Dansette, *op.cit.*, I, 3-7.

89 E. Gill, *Autobiography*, 65.

90 See Letters of S.R.M. Gill to his family, for example, to E.R. Gill, 15 July 1943; Gill, *Diary*, 2 November 1919.

of wealth being a consideration. Although no one could accuse the Sacred Heart missionary of trying to get rich on forty francs per year, or an Anglican on £20, Protestant stipends were sufficiently large to have been an attraction.⁹¹ L.M.S. missionaries received between £144 and £240, Methodist missionaries between £160 and £180. In 1906 the average annual wage of a British manual worker was £72.⁹² The average salary of a commercial clerk was £80, with 75 per cent of them receiving less than £150.⁹³ The salary of an artisan was comparable. Stipends of nonconformist ministers varied widely but probably only a minority could have hoped for £200.⁹⁴ The Methodist Magazine of 1860 noted that in some districts the average was less than £70 per annum.⁹⁵ The missionary received other material advantages as well: a house, which was generally spacious and comfortable, servants, and provision for the education of his children and for his own old age.

The four decades in which the missionaries arrived spanned periods of severe economic stress in both England and Australia. Whether the desire to escape economic hardship or seek economic security entered into the consideration of any missionary is difficult to judge. Most L.M.S. missionaries stressed in their applications that they were leaving good prospects in their present employment to go to the mission field. The only New Guinea missionary whose subsequent behaviour raises the question whether he saw the mission field as a source of financial gain was Samuel MacFarlane. His amassing of wealth on Lifu was notorious. Declaring that he had 'never been troubled with the feeling that because we are missionaries we ought to deny ourselves of easily acquired conveniences and comforts' he, with one other missionary, made a large personal fortune from

91 For further information on missionary salaries, see below, 126-29.

92 Lockwood, op.cit., 27-28.

93 McLeod, op.cit., 20.

94 Chadwick, op.cit., I, 416-17, 522; II, 168.

95 Williams, op.cit., 224.

trading and, when forced to leave the Loyalty Islands, 'abandoned acres of property and houses and workshops which would have been the delight of many an English squire.'⁹⁶ New Guinea provided him with more modest worldly prospects, but Archbishop Navarre, admittedly a partial witness, reported him in 1885 as saying that he was only there to make a fortune and would return to England as soon as possible.⁹⁷ The raw, uneducated operative from the railway machine shop had come a long way, but whether the possibility of wealth was even a subconscious consideration in his decision to become a missionary, or whether he merely succumbed to opportunities in the field, is impossible to tell.

Diametrically opposed to those whose attraction to the mission field included some consideration of enhancement of prospects in the world they knew were those who were lured by the enchantment of an unknown and exotic world. Nurtured frequently by the literature which they read as children, for some there remained a romantic element in their decision to become a missionary. Ben Butcher admitted that for him 'the idea of travel and adventure had a lot to do with it',⁹⁸ and James Cullen remembered his boyhood imagination which 'pictured a life full of romance and adventure'.⁹⁹ The love of adventure was recognised as a strong motive amongst M.S.C. missionaries,¹⁰⁰ many of whom came from villages of Brittany and Normandy which faced out across the sea. Towards the end of the century, the prevailing romance of imperialism coloured attitudes as, largely owing to Livingstone's influence, Christianity, commerce, civilisation, colonisation and imperial expansion became increasingly associated, and missionaries could feel the attraction of serving a patriotic as well as a spiritual mission.¹⁰¹

96 K. Howe, The Loyalty Islands, 43.

97 Letter of H. Verjus, 22 April 1885, published in Annales, 1885, 16.

98 Questions to Candidates, Candidates' Papers: B. Butcher, L.M.S.

99 Ibid, James Cullen.

100 V. Ceresi, op.cit., 190.

101 See Williams, op.cit., 238-40, for an interesting exploration of this theme.

Missionary work had a romance of its own, which was nourished by the stirring tales of great deeds of missionary heroes. Romney Gill's turning from his dreams of being a cowboy or a sailor to becoming a missionary was not solely a move from fantasy to reality, but from one romantic career to another. Bromilow recognised romance in his response to the call to the Methodist mission field: 'The call was an inspiring one; the glory of the first triumphs of these missions had only recently thrilled the Christian world, and to follow in the steps of the heroic pioneers...might well appeal to a young ministerial candidate.'¹⁰² Amongst Roman Catholic missionaries the romance of missions was particularly strong, associated as it was with their aspirations for holiness through suffering and their attraction to martyrdom. The historian of the Sacred Heart Mission in Papua, André Dupeyrat, wrote of the late nineteenth century as an era of 'religious romanticism' when Joseph Chabot, like many of his contemporaries, longed to 'cross the seas, win souls and die'.¹⁰³

Besides those who were drawn to the mission field partly by the prospect of status, or the glamour of the missionary career, or the lure of the unknown, there were those whose decision was in some degree influenced by a desire to escape from various pressures in their home environment. While some may have looked clear-sightedly at the mission field as providing an opportunity for social betterment, it seems likely that others perceived it in a more intuitive way simply as an escape from the anonymity and constraints of a lowly position in a complex and hierarchical society. 'I know well in England I am nobody - lost, unknown - here I am Tamate - a king with great power...', wrote James Chalmers from New Guinea, declining to even visit his native land.¹⁰⁴ Many, like Chalmers, were people of initiative and energy, to whom the constraints of lower middle class or working class expectations would have been particularly irksome.

102 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 22.

103 A. Dupeyrat, Le sanglier de Kouni, 27.

104 J. Chalmers to Hutchin, 25 April 1885, Papua Personal, L.M.S.

Romney Gill, working in Bognor, recoiled from the pressure to 'settle down in business and make a home for myself and perhaps become "Town Clerk". What fun!!!'¹⁰⁵ One writer has drawn attention to the number of men who committed themselves to the L.M.S. during their apprenticeship, a time of notable restlessness and insecurity.¹⁰⁶ Others took their first steps towards the mission field at particular moments of frustration. Bromilow, for example, applied for the ministry after his failure to combine school-teaching with attempting a university degree,¹⁰⁷ and Navarre, humiliated at his rejection for the teaching service, heard a voice tell him, 'You will be a priest.'¹⁰⁸

For some, the escape might have been from the complexities of modern industrial society. Anglo-Catholic missionaries with a romantic, neo-mediaeval abhorrence of industrialism, may have been especially susceptible to this pressure. Departing for the mission field, Chignell reflected: 'It was very good indeed to feel that I was going at last on foreign service, and to look forward to a "solitude cure" after living too long in cities and crowds.'¹⁰⁹ Others, it has been suggested, may have sought escape from the complexities of theological debate and the atmosphere of increasing doubt in the late nineteenth century.¹¹⁰ If this was a factor in their decision, it was one to which they were unlikely to admit.

Some sought escape from difficult or unsatisfactory personal relationships. Sydney Ford volunteered for the Anglican Mission after a quarrel with his brother.¹¹¹ Four L.M.S. missionaries left broken engagements behind them.¹¹² Natalie Debroux joined the

105 S.R.M. Gill to father, 28 January 1903. S.R.M. Gill, Letters to his family.

106 S. Potter, *The social origins and recruitment of English Protestant missionaries in the nineteenth century*, 158-59.

107 Bromilow, *op.cit.*, 19.

108 L-A. Navarre, *Notes sur sa Vie*, 136.

109 A. Chignell, *An Outpost in Papua*, 128.

110 Williams, *op.cit.*, 182.

111 Ford to Stone-Wigg, 24 October 1900. Ford file, box 20, A.A.

112 See Candidates' Papers: Tomkins, Butcher, Saville. L.M.S.

Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart when she was about to be married,¹¹³ and H  l  ne Dufl  t, while laundering the clothes of the priests in New Guinea, was heard to lament that she had come to the mission field to get away from one man and now she was washing for a dozen of them.¹¹⁴ Eleanor Walker applied to the Methodist missionary society after her fianc   died on the eve of their wedding,¹¹⁵ and James Williams, after the death of his wife and child.¹¹⁶ Montagu Stone-Wigg probably left England for the other side of the earth, like all but one of his brothers and sisters, partly to escape from an unsympathetic father.¹¹⁷ For others, was the influence of a solicitous and over-protective mother a trifle oppressive?

While missionary societies could test the strength and authenticity of the approved religious motives, the underlying motives mostly remained locked within the individuals, who sometimes scarcely recognised them themselves. Conclusions about unacknowledged or subconscious motivation must be tentative, nevertheless it seems that the prospect of enhanced status, the romance of the missionary profession, the lure of foreign lands and the desire to escape from the pressures of their present lives joined the professed motives of obedience to Christ's command, need and the desire for sanctification in providing the dynamic for the missionary service of some individuals. Indeed it may have been the nexus of self-interest and idealism which generated a motivation strong enough to withstand the inevitable privations, frustrations and failures of a missionary career.

Apart from the greater Catholic stress on sanctification through sacrifice, and the shift amongst Protestants from concern for the salvation of the perishing heathen to a more temporal and

113 Sr M. Venard, The Designs of his Heart, 59.

114 Personal communication, Sr Martha, Kensington, January 1979.

115 Obituary - Eleanor Walker, The Methodist, 25 May 1940.

116 See death certificate: James Williams for dates of bereavement.

117 Personal communication, Mrs E. Beattie, Sydney, 17 April 1978.

humanitarian interest, these motives varied little from mission to mission, and scarcely altered through time. For the majority of missionaries of all persuasions, commitment was based upon strong theological conviction, reinforced in varying degrees by a range of social and psychological compulsions.

THE policy on which the London Missionary Society based the training of recruits for the mission field during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century was framed at meetings of its Funds and Agency Committee in 1867.¹¹⁸ The committee reaffirmed the necessity, recognised since the 1830s, for a 'sound and complete education', but resolved that such should be acquired through the existing Independent colleges rather than through any institution of their own. Gosport Academy which, under the direction of Dr Bogue, had trained most of the L.M.S. missionaries of the early nineteenth century, had been closed soon after his death because of the expense incurred by the L.M.S. in running it. Bedford College, an institution offering more elementary training, at which W.G. Lawes and Samuel MacFarlane studied under Jukes and Alliott, closed in 1867 on the death of the latter. Farquhar House, in Highgate, established by the L.M.S. in 1861 to give candidates a year's training in linguistics, comparative history, mission history and other subjects related to their prospective career, closed in 1872, again on the grounds of cost. James Chalmers was the only New Guinea missionary to study there, after an abbreviated course at Cheshunt College.

From the 1870s missionaries were trained for New Guinea, as for the other L.M.S. fields, in such colleges as Cheshunt, Hackney, Western, Lancashire, Airedale and Rotherham. Most influential upon the New Guinea field was Cheshunt College, which trained eight of the thirty-three pre-war missionaries. Situated in a quiet village near Bishops Stortford, with the New River flowing through its grounds, and in 1905 transferred to Cambridge, it was originally established for the training of ministers by the Countess of Huntingdon.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ R. Lovett, History of the L.M.S., II, 669.

¹¹⁹ S.C. Orchard, Cheshunt College, passim.

By the mid-nineteenth century it was predominantly Congregational, but still characterised by a rigid, conservative and uncritical Calvinism, under which Edward White (Mark Rutherford) suffered.¹²⁰ But the coming to Cheshunt of those destined for the New Guinea field coincided with the transformation which followed the appointment of the Reverend Henry Reynolds, a renowned scholar and preacher, as president. Under his guidance, the students were delivered from the 'narrower confines of evangelical theology'.¹²¹ Scholars from London University were invited to give lectures, senior students were encouraged to become 'deans' to rural parishes, and the syllabus was modified.¹²²

Subjects studied included Hebrew, Old Testament and New Testament exegesis; homiletics; ecclesiastical history; theology; mental and moral philosophy (later called psychology) and political economy.¹²³ New theological emphases were reflected in content. Although one term of theology concentrated on 'the doctrine of sin treated biblically, doctrinally and historically', another was devoted to 'the person and work of Christ'. By the opening of the twentieth century the syllabus had broadened to include the 'comparative science of religion', the 'philosophy of theism', natural philosophy and modern languages.

The formation of those attending other Congregational colleges was similarly influenced by the tone of the college and the leading personalities within it. Six missionaries received their training at Western College, most of them under the guidance of Dr Charles Chapman.¹²⁴ Courses were comparable to those at Cheshunt.

120 C.M. Maclean, Mark Rutherford, 59-62.

121 Orchard, op.cit., 12. Those who studied under Reynolds included Chalmers, Dauncey, Walker and Abel.

122 Ibid, 13.

123 See reports of Cheshunt College students, included in Candidates' Papers, L.M.S., for changes in syllabus.

124 See R. Tudur-Jones, Congregationalism in England 1662-1962, 238.

After 1895, when L.M.S. missionary training was extended from four to six years to bring it into line with that of the home ministry, it comprised three years of arts and three of theology, which included Hebrew, Greek Testament, apologetics, theology and church history and polity. By the turn of the century, comparative religion, philosophy and the history of religion had been introduced.¹²⁵

The five missionaries who attended Hackney College, although sitting similar courses, were subject to more conservative theological influences. Originally designated the 'Village Itinerancy of the Evangelical Association for the Propagation of the Gospel', its evangelical tone was maintained in the late nineteenth century by its principal, Alfred Cave, foremost champion of conservative Congregationalism in the maelstrom of theological debate of the 'seventies and 'eighties.¹²⁶

A minority of the missionaries were exposed to more liberal theological and intellectual influences. Watson Sharpe studied at Rotherham under Elkanah Armitage, a man of 'broad social sympathies' who required his students to read Henry George.¹²⁷ William Lawrence, who attended Airedale Independent College, studied under A.M. Fairbairn, the 'father of liberal Evangelicalism among Congregationalists.'¹²⁸ Familiar with biblical criticism and aware of the importance of comparative religious study, Fairbairn was instrumental in introducing a broader theological viewpoint into ministerial education.¹²⁹ Lancashire Independent College, which trained two New Guinea missionaries, also had a strong intellectual tradition,¹³⁰ and the four missionaries who studied at theological halls associated with Glasgow and Edinburgh

125 See reports of Western College students included in Candidates' Papers, L.M.S.

126 Tudur-Jones, op.cit., 236; Chadwick, op.cit., II, 105.

127 C. Binfield, So down to Prayers, 221.

128 Tudur-Jones, op.cit., 267.

129 Idem.

130 Ibid., 237, 252-53.

Universities may also have received a broader theological education.

Few of the candidates who found their way to New Guinea were distinguished scholars. Handicapped by their limited schooling, many probably fell short of the level of educational attainment regarded by the Society as desirable in their candidates. However, a conviction seems to have persisted within the L.M.S. that work amongst the pre-literate societies of 'savages' required less intellectual equipment than work amongst 'barbarians' possessed of a written language and a 'higher' culture. Thus men of limited education such as Holmes, Bartlett, Abel, Schlencker and Cullen were accepted and trained on the tacit understanding that they would become 'pioneer missionaries' amongst 'backward races'.¹³¹ In college examinations all but a few of the New Guinea candidates appeared regularly near the bottom of their class lists, and tutors' reports habitually made glancing references to their 'slender' attainments before passing on to reassurances about their earnestness, piety and consecration.

Aspiring missionaries were accepted by the L.M.S. at various stages of their training. Until 1881 they could apply before commencing their courses, which were then financed by the Society. In the years that followed they were expected to complete half their training before the L.M.S. accepted financial responsibility for them, although most had made informal approaches to the L.M.S. and undertaken training with the sole intention of becoming a missionary. In 1897 the L.M.S. resolved not to take any financial responsibility until the completion of training. Acceptance by the Society, whenever it occurred, depended upon interviews with the examinations committee, satisfactory performance in college and acceptable responses to a series of questions to candidates.

Through these procedures the Society ensured the theological orthodoxy of its candidates. Although the Calvinism of early nineteenth century

131 See Slater to Jones, 4 December 1890, Candidates' Papers: Holmes; Cave to Johnson, 6 October 1892, Candidates' Papers: Cribb; Chapman to Johnson, 5 November 1904, Candidates' Papers: Bartlett. L.M.S.

Congregationalism had crumbled by the last quarter of the century, and a greater tolerance of divergent theological positions was acceptable, what the L.M.S. expected of its candidates was still essentially a statement of evangelical faith. Asked to name the principal distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel, all repeated, with limited variation, a formula which was an encapsulation of basic evangelical theology.¹³² Grounded in belief in one God, in the Trinity and in the divinity of Christ, it included the creation of man in God's image, the fall and subsequent depravity of man, redemption through Christ, justification by faith and regeneration through the Holy Spirit. Some added the second coming.

While the main contours of belief remained the same throughout the period, there were some shifts of emphasis, themselves pale reflections of changes in contemporary Protestant theology. Early missionaries either stated or implied an endorsement of the substitutionary theory of the atonement. From around the turn of the century, candidates preferred to subscribe to no particular theory but contented themselves with alluding to it in general terms. Many had been influenced by Robert Dale's study of the atonement, published in 1875, which sought to reassert its centrality without resorting to the offensive substitutionary theory.¹³³ A few of the twentieth-century candidates were uneasy with the whole concept of atonement and employed instead such terms as restoration or reconciliation. 'The word Reconciliation rather than Atonement seems to me to express more accurately my belief concerning it', wrote Ben Butcher in one of a series of answers which, for their lack of 'evangelical insight', almost earned him rejection by the Society.¹³⁴

A decreasing emphasis on the atonement was counterbalanced by a new appreciation of the importance of the incarnation and the

132 See E. Halévy, History of the English Speaking People, IV, 347, on the rudimentary nature of British evangelical theology.

133 Tudur-Jones, op.cit., 267.

134 Comments of examiners, 9 September 1903, Candidates' Papers: B.T. Butcher. L.M.S.

life of Christ as a 'pattern' or 'perfect example'.¹³⁵ The Calvinist conception of the wrath of God received no expression in the papers of the candidates, many of whom stressed that salvation was available for all men. Conversely, the love of God, advanced by some individuals throughout the period as one of the principal doctrines of the gospel, was mentioned increasingly as time passed. The penultimate missionary to arrive in Papua before the Great War reflected a contemporary attraction towards the social gospel in his reference to the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.¹³⁶

Candidates trained in the 'eighties and early 'nineties frequently volunteered a belief in the infallibility, or at least the divine inspiration, of the scriptures. Of the fifteen who applied to join after 1895, only two expressed a similar conviction. While absence of comment does not necessarily imply disbelief, it does suggest a sensitivity to the effects of biblical criticism on fundamentalist faith. Butcher, expressing doubts on this subject, was championed by Owen Whitehouse, Reynold's successor at Cheshunt, who told the L.M.S. secretary that he sympathised with Butcher's hesitation on the question, 'if infallibility implied inerrancy'.¹³⁷

Intending missionaries were also asked from time to time to name the books they had read.¹³⁸ The lists which they supplied were generally modest, some of the earlier candidates, especially, demurring that they had done no serious reading. Predictably, considering the purpose for which the list was intended, theological and devotional books were the largest category. The books of this

135 See, for example, answers to Questions for Candidates, Candidates' Papers: Barlett, Butcher, Clark, Riley. L.M.S.

136 Questions for Candidates, Candidates' Papers: T.O. Harries. L.M.S.

137 Whitehouse to Johnson, 12 October 1903. Candidates' Papers: B.T. Butcher. L.M.S.

138 The following analysis is drawn from the lists supplied in their application papers by the thirty-three candidates who served in New Guinea before 1914.

nature most frequently listed were Henry Drummond's Natural Law in the Spiritual World (1883), William Paley's Evidences of Christianity (1794), and F.W. Farrar's Life of Christ (1874), three books which, though exceedingly popular, were not in the vanguard of nineteenth century scholarship.¹³⁹

Frequent reading of bible commentaries by the candidates revealed the influence of textual criticism,¹⁴⁰ but the authors whom they read, such as Westcott, Farrar and Godet, were amongst the more conservative of such scholars.¹⁴¹ Their appreciation of homiletics was enriched by the works of eminent preachers such as Beecher and Spurgeon. Other theological and devotional books which they read were also written by respected nonconformists such as Henry Reynolds, Joseph Parker, Robert Dale, Alfred Cave and R.F. Horton.

Their reading lists are as interesting for what they omit as what they include. If any had read F.D. Maurice, whose challenges to prevailing ideas of the atonement and of everlasting punishment had profoundly influenced contemporary thought, they did not mention it. Nor did they admit having read other eminent scholars and critics such as Jowett or Baden Powell. None mentioned the influential Essays and Reviews. They read Farrar's Life of Christ but not the more controversial studies by Strauss or Renan. One missionary listed Samuel Cox's universalist Salvator Mundi.

139 Paley's Evidences, a collection of illustrations which 'proved' Christianity by use of the external evidence such as in miracles, was both obsolete and irrelevant by the late nineteenth century. Henry Drummond's Natural Law engaged superficially with the debate between science and religion, applying the laws of nature to the world of the spirit. But although very successful, it did little to advance the debate, its contribution limited by Drummond's confusion of the analogous with the identical. Farrar's Life of Christ, was 'the best-selling biography of the late Victorian age'. It made use of the German critics but was nevertheless the work of 'a man of faith for men of faith'. Chadwick, op.cit., II, 31. See also J. Hunt, Religious Thought in the nineteenth century, 2-3.

140 Chadwick, op.cit., II, 67.

141 Ibid, 108.

The amount of secular literature listed increased throughout the period. Most often mentioned were the works of Tennyson which, according to the historian Owen Chadwick, embodied 'Victorian hesitation and its reverence before a perhaps divine mystery'.¹⁴² Next most popular were the poetry of Shakespeare, Milton and Wordsworth, and the novels of George MacDonald who, by the late nineteenth century, had abandoned his earlier religious radicalism. Dickens, the most popular writer of his time with society at large, was listed by the candidates slightly less frequently, and only as often as Charles Kingsley, George Eliot, Walter Scott and Macaulay. Almost as popular were the essays of Charles Lamb and the works of Ruskin and Carlyle.

The third large category of reading which the candidates mentioned was missionary biography. Most often listed were biographies of Livingstone, followed closely by books by or about Robert Moffat, James Chalmers, John Williams, J.G. Paton and Bishop Hannington. They also read biographies of Richard Knill, James Gilmour and William Carey.

One category of reading which was notably slight in the candidates' bibliographies was the sciences and the newly-emerging social sciences of anthropology and sociology. Only one missionary, Charles Abel, listed Darwin's Origin of Species. Even the great contemporary debate between science and religion was scarcely reflected in their reading. Apart from Drummond, only one other writer on the subject was mentioned, by one missionary. One had read on astronomy, one on physiology and one on engineering. No L.M.S. missionary listed any anthropological or ethnographic works, and only one a study of comparative religion.

The Society sought in other ways to test the suitability of the applicant through their candidates' papers. The first was to ensure that he had had some type of home missionary experience, the second to test his expectations of the missionary career. Missionary candidates could generally furnish an impressive list of the Christian works with which they had been associated. Almost all had taught

¹⁴² Ibid, 129.

Sunday school, and many had participated in local missions, which frequently demanded open-air preaching. Two had worked with the North Sea Fisherman's Crusade and three had been employed as home missionaries, working in Glasgow and Bristol. Three had worked with the Y.M.C.A. and one with a temperance society. Others had conducted prayer meetings and bible classes, or distributed religious tracts. Most exotic was the experience of Charles Abel who had combined trading with preaching to the Maoris.

Asked what they considered the most important qualities for a missionary and the severest trials and temptations he would endure, most showed a realistic appreciation of the missionary career. A strong faith, love of God, wholehearted commitment and personal piety were the qualities considered most essential. Good health and physical strength were frequently mentioned. Eight believed love and understanding of men to be important and four of the later missionaries stressed the need for adaptability to the thought of the people. Willingness to work and sacrifice were frequently listed, and occasionally, patience, perseverance, courage, geniality, enthusiasm, humility, sound judgement and a good education.

By far the greatest trial foreseen by the aspiring missionaries was separation from their families and from the spiritual refreshment of Christian society. The effort of learning a new language and adjusting to a foreign culture was mentioned by some and several anticipated the trial of being surrounded, as one bluntly put it, by 'dull, dead heathenism'.¹⁴³ Several listed the rigours of climate or other physical privations. Only two apprehended physical danger and one of the two L.M.S. missionaries to die violently in New Guinea, James Chalmers, foresaw the possibility of 'bloodshed and death'.¹⁴⁴ Lack of success was realistically expected by several, but only one foresaw what was to become the bane of many of their lives - monotony.

143 Answers to Questions for Candidates, Candidates' Papers:
J.B. Clark. L.M.S.

144 Ibid, J. Chalmers.

Confronted with the prospect of such trials, most candidates felt, not surprisingly, that despondency and discouragement would be their greatest temptations. These would result from the enormity of the work and their lack of success in it. The second greatest temptation they foresaw was to spiritual, mental and physical slackness, the effect of the lack of spiritual and social support, and from the 'degradation' of their new environment. They feared 'sinking' to the level of those around them. Others anticipated the temptation to abuse freedom and become autocratic, impatient or irritable. Two feared becoming self-satisfied.

When a candidate had completed his college course and satisfied the examining committee, both personally and through his answers to the questions for candidates, that he was acceptable, he looked forward to ordination and his overseas posting. Most missionaries of the early twentieth century crammed into their last few months in England a short course of medicine at Livingstone College, founded to teach missionaries and missionary candidates how to care for their own health and to offer rudimentary treatment to the people amongst whom they would work.¹⁴⁵ Earlier missionaries had frequently gained similar experience through private arrangements with doctors or medical lecturers.

Although all mission candidates agreed to leave choice of their sphere of work to the Society, they were permitted to express a preference which was accommodated if possible. Hence the appointments of Dauncey, Bartlett, Tomkins, Cullen, Clark, Harries and R.L. Turner to New Guinea were a fulfilment of an 'earnest hope', while J.T. Scott, Ridgley, W.Y. Turner, Beharell, Holmes and Riley went reluctantly, the last three having requested service in Africa. Of Thomas Ridgley, who decamped after only six weeks in New Guinea, an exasperated Lawes wrote that it was 'the one place to which he did not want to go'.¹⁴⁶ The final stage in the making of the L.M.S. missionary was his ordination, which often took place in the church

¹⁴⁵ The Christian, 1 December 1904. Butcher Papers - unnumbered box.

¹⁴⁶ Lawes to Thompson, 12 June 1882, Papua Letters, L.M.S.

or chapel where he had grown up, with representatives of the congregation and the Society in attendance.

Candidates for the ministry of the Methodist church in Australia, whether destined for the mission field or the home ministry, went through a minutely regulated process of selection, training and assessment.¹⁴⁷ The superintendent of the district in which he worshipped nominated a candidate to the quarterly meeting, after ascertaining his knowledge of Wesley's works and of Methodist polity, and his general suitability for the work. Like their L.M.S. counterparts, most had already demonstrated their earnestness through Sunday school teaching, open air preaching and home mission work. All were fully accredited local preachers. Approved by the quarterly meeting, the candidate appeared before the examining committee and the district synod to give an account of his 'conversion', to reply to an oral theological examination and to preach a trial sermon. If accepted, he was, where possible, given three years' theological training, or else appointed to a circuit.

Of the Wesleyan ministers who served in New Guinea, the majority had no formal theological training, but were appointed directly to a district.¹⁴⁸ For many it was the New Guinea district. Hence the beginning of their missionary career coincided with the mandatory four-year period as a probationer which followed the acceptance of a candidate, whether or not he had attended a theological institution. For a minority of the older missionaries this apprenticeship had been served in circuits of Australia or New Zealand, or, in Bromilow's case, Fiji.

For those who came to the mission field as probationers, as for all other ministers on trial, the probationary period was committed to a prescribed course of private study, on which they were tested

147 See C.W. Rigg, A Digest of the Laws and Regulations of the Australasian Wesleyan Connexion; W.H. Fitchett, What Methodism stands for; Minutes of General Conference, and Minutes of Examining Committee 1885-1904, 1905-1912, Methodist Church Papers.

148 Fellows studied at Three Kings, Auckland, Avery and Scrivin at Prince Albert College, Auckland and Burgess and Ballantyne at Queen's College, Melbourne, the latter for one year only.

by annual examinations. The course was purely theological and in structure similar to that taken by L.M.S. missionaries after the completion of their humanities.¹⁴⁹ But it was more distinctly denominational in content. The first fifty-three of Wesley's sermons were studied over the first two years, and although Watson's Theological Institutes, 'the greatest textbook of Methodism after Wesley',¹⁵⁰ had been dropped from the course by 1891, it had been replaced by an equally classic statement of Methodist Arminianism, William Burt Pope's Compendium of Theology, which was studied over three years. Probationers were also examined on Gregory's History and Polity of Methodism and on the laws of Australasian Methodism. Other parts of the course were less distinctively Methodist. Each year probationers studied a portion of the Old and the New Testament, Fisher's History of the Christian Church, and part of Butler's Analogy of Religion. It was a conservative theological education. In 1913 students at Newington College, Sydney, pleaded with the Examining Committee for 'modern theological thought' to be put alongside Pope's theology in the syllabus: 'We feel that the age to which we shall minister is one which thinks of theological problems...in new terms.... Furthermore it is an age stirred to the depths by social problems.... The present curriculum makes little provision to meet either of these needs.'¹⁵¹

While the course prescribed varied little from 1890 to 1914, the list of recommended reading which accompanied it lengthened, broadened and, to some extent, changed in content.¹⁵² By 1895 it had expanded to include over seventy texts organised into five categories: biblical criticism and exegesis, theology, apologetics,

149 See Minutes of the Methodist Conference of New South Wales and Queensland, passim, for prescribed content of courses.

150 M. Edwards, Methodism and England, 87.

151 Letter from students of Newington College to secretary of Examining Committee, 22 November 1913. Examining Committee Minutes, M.C.P.

152 See prescribed reading lists, Minutes of N.S.W. Conference, passim.

church history and polity and pastoral theology (homiletics). The isolationism which had been characteristic of Methodism in its more sect-like days¹⁵³ had broken down, and probationers were encouraged to read selectively, not only from the works of such eminent nonconformists as Dale, Cave, Fairbairn and Drummond, but also amongst Anglican theologians from Bishop Butler and William Paley to Farrar, Liddon, Westcott and Lightfoot. Probationers from 1895 were also urged to 'acquaint themselves with the best classics of English and other literatures', a new trend in Methodism which had, at least since the death of Wesley, eschewed secular literature.¹⁵⁴ In 1901 a new category of miscellaneous reading was introduced. Initially it included only two books on temperance and one on the physical sciences, but in 1904, Black's Culture and Restraint was listed, and in 1907 A.R. Wallace's Darwinism and four texts on the issue of science and religion were included. A new category of books, sociology, was also introduced and in 1913 an eighth category, comparative religion. The 1913 General Conference also gave missionary probationers the opportunity of substituting some missionary subjects for those prescribed.

Despite the breadth of the reading list, there was no danger of studies of Methodist belief and practice being submerged. Wesley's Christian Perfection and John Hunt's Entire Sanctification introduced probationers to this essentially Methodist doctrine. After 1907 probationers were encouraged to read the theology of John Scott Lidgett who, drawing attention to Wesley's stress on the love as well as the omnipotence of God, outlined an immanentist theology which, like F.D. Maurice's, stressed the fatherhood of God and pointed to the social implications of such a gospel, which were in strong contrast with the individualistic theology of nineteenth century Methodism.¹⁵⁵

153 See D. Martin, A Sociology of English Religion, 78-80, for a definition of the characteristics of sect and church; see also Edwards, op.cit., 69.

154 Edwards, op.cit., 221.

155 Ibid, 93.

The oral examination to which candidates were subjected further ensured their understanding of evangelical doctrine in general and Wesley's works in particular. It tested their belief in scriptural infallibility, in the Trinity and in the divinity of Christ and their understanding of original sin, repentance, the atonement (without endorsement of any particular theory), justification, regeneration and entire sanctification. Their views on the after-life, the sabbath and the sacraments were sought, and they were asked finally for a submission to Methodist discipline and an unrestricted commitment to the church.¹⁵⁶ Preaching a trial sermon, the last stage of probation, was an ordeal dreaded by young candidates and one which several of the missionaries initially failed.¹⁵⁷ Most chose to preach on fundamental tenets of evangelical faith.¹⁵⁸

After passing these tests, the candidate was recommended to the annual conference to be received into 'full connexion'. He was examined by the president and senior ministers on 'his personal experience, his acquaintance with the Laws and Regulations of the Church and his determination to give himself fully to the work of the Ministry', after which he made a public statement to the conference, which then voted for his acceptance, rejection or continued probation. Admitted into full connexion, he was ordained by the imposition of hands.¹⁵⁹

Although given the opportunity, through their courses and bibliographies, to read widely, especially in the realm of evangelical theology, most Methodist missionaries, whose theological studies coincided with the diverting, difficult and busy phase of adjusting to a new language, a new culture and a new career, scarcely availed themselves of it. Reading of the prescribed texts was crammed into evenings at

156 See preface to Field, Handbook of Theology, also Rigg, op.cit., 150-53.

157 See, for example, Gilmour to Wheen, 9 December 1913. Correspondence with A.M.M.S. 1913-1914. Box 16, file 5, U.C.A.

158 See, for example, S. Fellows, Diary I, 5 November 1885.

159 See Minutes of the Methodist Conference of New South Wales and Queensland, passim, for admissions into full connexion.

the end of a long and often tiring day, and it was not uncommon for missionaries to be passed in their year without successful completion of the examination, on the grounds that study of the language or other work had placed undue demands upon them.¹⁶⁰ Compared with the L.M.S. candidates their training was essentially practical, an apprenticeship which allowed little time for sustained intellectual effort.

Anglican priests who came from England to the mission field had mostly received what was still in the late nineteenth century the traditional preparation for Holy Orders, a degree from Oxford or Cambridge.¹⁶¹ In this, theological learning frequently played a minor part. Although an honours school of theology was established at Oxford in 1870 and a theological tripos at Cambridge in 1871, most ordinands continued to study for Greats, which they regarded as providing a more exacting discipline. Thus while Ernest Taylor took a first class theology degree at Oxford, Stone-Wigg and Newton studied classics, as did Sharp, at Cambridge. Like most Anglican graduate ordinands, and unlike their Protestant counterparts, they received no financial support during their training, the assumption until the end of the century being that a clergyman was a gentleman and thus a person of means.

But as the supply of gentlemen recruits dwindled, at the same time as the Church of England was awakening to a sense of responsibility towards the masses,¹⁶² the sources of the Anglican ministry in England necessarily became more varied in the last three decades of the century. Despite resistance from a substantial element within the church, theological colleges were founded with the intention of preparing ordinands without a degree. Albert Maclaren received his training at St Augustine's, Canterbury, a college founded in 1848

160 First meeting of Synod, 10 November 1891, *Journal of Synod B.N.G.* 232. See also *Minutes of Examining Committee 1885-1904*, 140, 152. After 1900 probationers in their first year in the field were not examined.

161 B. Heeney, *A different kind of Gentleman*, 98-100; Chadwick, *op.cit.*, II, 439-53.

162 K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, 10.

especially for the preparation of missionary priests, and only some years after ordination took a degree at Durham. Another priest, John Hunt, also studied at St Augustine's, as did Ernest Davies, a lay missionary who failed to qualify for the priesthood. Acceptance at St Augustine's depended upon 'satisfactory testimonials' as to 'moral and religious character' and 'special promise for missionary service'.¹⁶³ Completion of the matriculation examination was followed by a probationary period, at the end of which the student had to 'declare his intention of devoting himself to the service of God, in the ministry of the Church of England, in the distant dependencies of the British Empire.' The three-year course was designed with this object in mind. Besides studying Latin and Greek classics, mathematics and physical science, the scriptures in English and Greek, evidences of Christianity, the standard Anglican divines, the Prayer Book and the thirty-nine articles, students also learned oriental languages, if 'intended for the East', undertook a short medical course, and studied mission history. Experience in preaching, pastoral work, and mechanical arts was also provided.

Three missionaries, Romney Gill, John Hunt and James Fisher studied at Burgh, another missionary college founded in 1878 to prepare candidates both for the field and for higher training at St Augustine's.¹⁶⁴ Studies included English, Latin, Greek, the scriptures and the Prayer Book, manual arts and pastoral work. A bursary fund gave assistance to a limited number of applicants.

Several of those educated at Oxford or Cambridge completed their training with a brief period at a theological college, this, according to Anglo-Catholic opinion, aiding 'the formation of clerical character' in the graduate, while ensuring a grounding in the received theological tradition.¹⁶⁵ Stone-Wigg and Wilfred Abbot spent a year at Ely, a Tractarian college designed for graduates, while Sharp went

¹⁶³ Official Yearbook of the Church of England, 1887, 282.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 283.

¹⁶⁵ Heeney, op.cit., 98. See also 'Ely Theological College' by an old student. The Treasury (London), I(4), 1903, 253-360.

to Lincoln, which offered a one-year course for graduates and two years to non-graduates.¹⁶⁶ Others prepared independently for the Preliminary Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders, which was in many dioceses a pre-requisite for ordination of non-graduate candidates.¹⁶⁷ Candidates were examined on parts of the Old and New Testaments (the latter in Greek); the creeds, the thirty-nine articles and the prayer book; ecclesiastical history and a translation from an ecclesiastical Latin author. Besides passing the preliminary, they had to satisfy various diocesan requirements. Although some dioceses accepted only graduates of Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin, most, by the 1880s, also took applicants who had completed two years at theological college. Most required letters testimonial from three beneficed clergymen and from their college, a baptismal certificate and a nomination to a curacy, and many subjected candidates to further examination, frequently in the works of Anglican divines such as Butler, Hooker, Paley and Pearson.¹⁶⁸

The Anglican priests trained in Australia were prepared for ordination on similar lines. Copland King took a Bachelor of Arts degree at Sydney University, but most who came from Australia to the mission field or who went from the mission field to Australia for clerical training, studied at Australian theological colleges. Despite the Anglo-Catholic orientation of the mission, several of the staff had trained at the evangelical Moore Theological College. Others studied at St Francis' College, Brisbane; St John's College, Armidale; Trinity College, Melbourne; St Barnabas' College, Adelaide, or St Alban's, Ballarat.¹⁶⁹

After being 'tried' and 'examined' according to the dictates of the preface of the ordinal in the Book of Common Prayer, candidates

166 Official Yearbook of the Church of England, 1888, 4-5.

167 Ibid, 635-36.

168 Ibid, 636-52.

169 Personal files: Giblin, Ramsay, Tomlinson, Shaw, boxes 20-23, A.A.

were ordained deacon by the bishop as prescribed by the ordinal. A 'Declaration of Assent' to the thirty-nine articles, an oath of allegiance to the sovereign and of canonical obedience to the bishop were required of the ordinand.¹⁷⁰

Like their L.M.S. and Methodist counterparts, most Anglican priests had some pastoral experience before departing for the mission field. Albert Maclaren, during vacations from St Augustine's, worked in a poor district of Canterbury, and in London and Gravesend dockside missions; Wilfred Abbot worked amongst factory workers at Kettering. Most had served curacies, often in urban parishes. Stone-Wigg confessed himself less at home amongst the 'swells' of Brisbane than amongst the artisans of Hammersmith, but preferred both to 'feeding on the luxuriant pastures of some English country living.'¹⁷¹ Gerald Sharp also served part of his curacy at Holy Innocents' Mission, Hammersmith, while James Fisher came from St Alphage's, Southwark. Some had colonial experience as curates, Maclaren amongst the 'Kanakas' of Mackay; Abbot, Stone-Wigg and Hunt in Brisbane; Chignell, Elder and King in parishes of Sydney and Ernest Taylor on the Western Australian goldfields.

Laymen and women of the Anglican and Methodist churches could expect no training before their departure for the mission field. Most had participated in those forms of good works expected of a devout laity. Several of the Anglican men were lay-readers and most of the non-ordained Methodists were lay preachers. Several of the women had worked in Methodist or Anglican sisterhoods in Australia.

The Missionaries of the Sacred Heart mostly began their training for the priesthood and the apostolate at the congregation's apostolic school, the Petit-Oeuvre du Sacré-Coeur, so named because it financed the education of its poor students from an annual donation,

170 Book of Common Prayer; Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, entry on orders and ordination.

171 Stone-Wigg to his mother, Brisbane, 27 April 1890. Stone-Wigg Papers.

from numerous benefactors, of one sou.¹⁷² Young boys of eleven or twelve, frequently the sons of peasants, entered the Petit-Oeuvre, originally housed in a former Benedictine monastery near Issoudun. They progressed through the school studying Greek, Latin, mathematics, physics, history, geography, liturgy, music and religion, finally reaching the first class, where they were introduced to rhetoric, in preparation for the baccalaureate.

Priding itself on being a school with a special purpose, it fostered a simple and affectionate family environment. Punishments were not employed, and the only sanctions were term and monthly reports from teachers. The atmosphere was pious but robust. Sports and recreation were encouraged, 'special friendships' amongst the pupils discouraged. Father Marie, the superior, became a true father to the fatherless Verjus, as to the other pupils, permitting him his Society of Victims but checking his more ardent attempts at mortification. Verjus expressed his delight in the regime of the school: 'Frequent communion, Mass every day, instruction regularly, excellent teachers, a superior who is to us a father.... Safe from the world, we labour to become saints and savants'.¹⁷³

After completing their humanities in the relatively benign atmosphere of the Petit-Oeuvre, most prospective M.S.C. spent a much more demanding year as novices.¹⁷⁴ The novitiate was, in the words of one member of the congregation, 'the crucible where gold is purified and shines forth'.¹⁷⁵ It was an austere regime, much of it spent in

172 For accounts of the history, organisation and teaching of the Petit-Oeuvre, see Annales, 1904, 741; Annales, 1955, 10; Fr L. Rumble, The Life of Bishop Verjus, M.S.C., 8-9; Australian Annals, May 1894, 128-30.

173 J. Vaudon, Monseigneur Henri Verjus, M.S.C., published in Australian Annals, June 1894, 151.

174 As in all orders and congregations, the novitiate was a mandatory period of preparation for the taking of vows, in which the novice reflected on his vocation, studied the constitutions and rules of the congregation, recognised the obligations imposed by the vows, adapted to an ordered communal existence, clarified his faith and, by 'conquering' himself, tried to regulate his life in accordance with the will of God.

175 J. Vaudon, quoted in Annales, 1893, 11.

silence and segregation. The novice-masters, such as Fr Ramot at St Gerand-le-Puy and Fr Piperon at Tilburg, men of unfaltering faith and profound devotion to the Sacred Heart, imposed a rigid rule.¹⁷⁶

Commencing with a short retreat and the taking of the habit, the novitiate had as its central feature the thirty-day retreat devoted to the complete practice of the Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius, a series of meditations and rules designed to lead novices to 'conquer their passions and give themselves to God.'¹⁷⁷ It was an extraordinarily effective and influential manual on Christian perfection. 'With this book I will become a saint', declared Henri Verjus, who left a detailed record of his progression through the Exercises.¹⁷⁸ Other influential texts for the novitiate were The Imitation of Christ and Rodriguez' Christian Perfection. The novitiate ended, after another retreat, with the taking of temporary vows, the three simple vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.

Their novitiate completed, most prospective missionary priests returned to their studies for the priesthood. As scholastics they embarked upon the required courses of philosophy and theology. The congregation had established its own scholasticate with the novitiate in the large château of St Gerand-le-Puy, but as the anti-clerical persecutions intensified, many scholastics of the 'eighties undertook their studies in exile, in Barcelona or Rome. At times of crisis in the mission, young scholastics completed their theology in Australia or in the field, under the supervision of Genocchi, Jullien and de Boismenu. When the persecution relaxed towards the end of the century, a scholasticate was re-established in France, only to be driven into exile again with the Waldeck-Rousseau laws of the new century.

176 Annales, 1955, 188-90; Dupeyrat, Le sanglier de Kouni, 28.

177 Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, entry on Spiritual Exercises, The. See also Australian Annals, October 1894, 246-48; November 1894, 270-71; January 1895, 30-31; February 1895, 52-55; March 1895, 80-81; Annales, 1955, 188-90 and Ceresi, op.cit., 119-24.

178 J. Vaudon, op.cit., quoted in Australian Annals, October 1894, 247.

Like most seminarian education of the period, the courses offered to M.S.C. scholastics were probably conservative and outdated.¹⁷⁹ The only students to be exposed to any intellectual and theological ferment were those who studied in Rome. The M.S.C. scholastics at the Pontifical Seminary of the Apollinare were taught by a series of eminent theologians.¹⁸⁰ Those who were students in the 'eighties plunged into the turmoil which followed Leo XIII's endorsement of Thomism, through the bull Aeterni Patris (1879), to which the Apollinare was resistant.¹⁸¹ Genocchi, studying at the Seminario Pio, and already a gifted scholar, threw himself into the debate as a pro-Thomist.¹⁸² There was also some opportunity for the study of biblical criticism, seized by Genocchi, resisted by the theologically able but more conservative Jullien.¹⁸³

After the conclusion of their courses, students looked forward to ordination, first as sub-deacon, then deacon and finally as priest. Their appointment to the mission field was in the hands of their superiors. Verjus, obsessed with his desire for the missions and martyrdom, chafed at the delay in his appointment as he watched two contingents of missionaries set out without him.¹⁸⁴ Navarre, who had joined the congregation after a period as a secular priest, never sought the apostolate, and joined the pioneer expedition reluctantly.¹⁸⁵ De Boismenu and Jullien were needed for teaching in the rapidly growing apostolic schools, and Gsell was obliged to teach scholastics in Sydney for three years before being appointed to Papua. But as there was a chronic shortage of staff in the field, exacerbated by the high

179 See Dansette, op.cit., I, 6-7.

180 Amongst them, professors Talamo, Sepiacchi, Checchi, Ulbaldi, Turzi, Penacchi and Satolli. (See Australian Annals, February 1897, 55.)

181 V. Ceresi, op.cit., 36-40.

182 Ibid.

183 Ibid and 'Le Reverend Père André Jullien', Annales, 1921, 181.

184 Verjus to R.P. Chevalier, Rome, 9 August 1894, Annales, 1905, 648.

185 Navarre, Notes sur sa Vie, 22.

death rate, sooner or later, most who desired missionary service found themselves embarking from Marseilles for distant Oceania.

Diverse as the range of training was for the missionaries of the various persuasions, one factor was common to it all. Almost none of the missionaries was prepared specifically for the mission field. Few encountered any language other than Greek, Latin or Hebrew during their studies; few had read texts in anthropology or comparative religion. More mundanely but no less importantly, many had received no medical training, and most, no training in manual skills. Their training was scarcely differentiated from that of the home ministry. L.M.S. missionaries studied essentially the same courses at the same colleges as Congregational ministers; Methodist missionaries passed through the same theological education and probation as their brethren in the colonial churches, with a token gesture towards reading for the mission. Anglican priests at Oxford or Cambridge, or in theological colleges, received an education which fitted them for a rural English benefice; only the few at the missionary training colleges received a training in any way tailored for the mission field. Training for the Roman Catholic priesthood was shaped by the universal dictates of Canon Law, and although the M.S.C. superiors discussed the desirability of a distinctive novitiate for prospective missionaries,¹⁸⁶ it remained essentially a classical novitiate moulded more by the objectives of the congregation than the needs of the mission field. The best missionary preparation that all could hope for was the contact with active or retired missionaries which association with the congregation or society provided.

THE final trial for the missionary eager to begin service was the sea voyage to New Guinea. Roman Catholic missionaries sailed from Marseilles to Australia in ships of the Messageries Maritimes Line. As they travelled in large contingents, they could maintain their communal life, using the six weeks on the sea for study, preparation and their religious offices.¹⁸⁷ British missionaries sailed individually from

¹⁸⁶ Chevalier to Jouet, 27 May 1883, Rome Archives.

¹⁸⁷ Ceresi, *op.cit.*, 190 and 211; Dupeyrat, *Le sanglier de Kouni*, 11-15.

England, frequently in P & O steamers, some joining in the social activities of shipboard life,¹⁸⁸ while the more pious dissociated themselves from its levity, participating only in the Sunday services, at which they were often invited to preach.¹⁸⁹ All persisted in their reading and devotions, despite, frequently, the presence of 'godless' cabin-mates, and the more enterprising took lessons in navigation.¹⁹⁰

Arriving in Australia they, like the colonial missionaries, looked for coastal shipping, frequently that of Burns, Philp and Co., or sailed in boats owned or chartered by the missions themselves. The pioneering Methodist party, sailing in the chartered three-masted vessel, the Lord of the Isles was, according to a later missionary, the 'largest missionary expedition in modern times' and, he added 'surely the best equipped'.¹⁹¹ Into the small schooner were packed eight Europeans, six Fijian ministers and their wives, twelve assorted children, material for three houses, a cutter, two whaleboats, stores, tools, a complete outfit for a blacksmith's shop, medicines, instruments, furniture, a cow and several dogs, as well as the trunks of the Europeans and the bundles and mats of the islanders. The missionaries on the deck watched the tearful crowd of well-wishers on the Sydney wharf receding while their own 'choking throats refused to sing... "God be with you till we meet again".'¹⁹² Subsequent Methodist missionaries travelled with less drama but usually, like the pioneers, in small, cramped ships, optimistically trying the latest remedies for sea-sicknesses, braving coarse meals in stifling saloons, trying

188 F. Walker, Journey from London to Thursday Island.... Papua Journals, L.M.S.

189 MacFarlane to O. Whitehouse, 23 June 1874; Riley to Thompson, 18 July 1800, Papua Letters, L.M.S.

190 Riley to Thompson, 18 January 1900, Papua Letters; Walker, Journey from London to Thursday Island..., 3 September 1888, Papua Journals, L.M.S.

191 M.R., July 1941, 1.

192 S. Fellows, 'Starting for a New Mission Field', M.R., June 1902, 8.

not to notice the cockroaches which invaded deck and cabin, and scanning the seas for the first sight of land.¹⁹³ All were pleased to leave behind the 'tedium' or 'slackness' of shipboard life, though neither the correct British nor the laconic colonials expressed quite such exuberant delight as the ardent French missionaries who, on reaching the 'Promised Land', threw themselves on their knees and kissed the soil.¹⁹⁴

193 E. Walker, Diary, May 1892; S. Fellows, Diary III, July 1891; T. Beswick, Diary, October 1878-January 1879; M. Billing, Diary I; O.F. Tomkins, Letters to parents 1899-1900, Tomkins Papers.

194 Annales, 1895, 700; 1899, 149; 1911, 22.

CHAPTER THREE

'THE OBJECT LESSON OF A CIVILIZED CHRISTIAN HOME'

WHEN the two young missionaries, Harry Dauncey and Frederick Walker, arrived in 1888 to take up work in New Guinea, their first taste of mission life was, as for most L.M.S. missionaries, at the Port Moresby station. The small weatherboard cottage in which William and Fanny Lawes had spent their first years had been replaced by a substantial timber building raised on piles and covered with a corrugated iron roof. Walker and Dauncey were enchanted by their introduction to the mission:

Dinner was served at Mrs Lawes's house - a long, narrow building, containing four small rooms, but furnished all round with a verandah, either side of which could be used as a dining place, according to the direction of the wind. I often found myself looking over the bay or watching the children, or gazing at the changing loveliness of the sky.... We were waited on by three bright looking native boys.... They seemed very proud of their duties and really did remarkably well.¹

After dinner Lawes escorted them round the station, pointing out the twelve bush material houses of the married student teachers, guiding them past the cooking-house, domestic quarters and Chalmers' small cottage, through a picket gate down the hill to the house of veteran Rarotongan missionary, Ruatoka, and to the long corrugated iron mission store. At the foot of the hill were clustered the villages of Hanuabada.

For the Methodist missionaries, who disembarked at Samarai, their first glimpse of mission life was frequently on the nearby island of Kwato, where they were received by the L.M.S. missionary, Charles Abel. It too was a gentle introduction to the mission field. Sister Minnie Billing described her arrival in 1895, in a letter to friends:

Envy me now as you read this. The beauty of the place surpasses anything I have ever dreamed of.... The house occupied by Mr Abel is a native one, but furnished in English fashion. The sitting-room...is such a pretty

1 Walker, Journal 3, 18-19, P.J. L.M.S.

room, beautifully furnished. The table at tea-time was lovely - the china and silver, serviettes etc. of the best. The native boys waited on the table very cleverly. It was like getting into perfect Paradise after the rough life of the 'Zephyr'.²

From Kwato, most Methodist missionaries went to their own district headquarters at Dobu, another orderly station resembling, by the turn of the century, a small village of about forty houses, dominated by the mission house. Raised on sturdy piles, framed by a shady verandah, and surrounded by a neatly fenced garden, it was regarded by Sir William MacGregor as the best house in New Guinea.³

Other Protestant mission stations were more rudimentary and their housing more primitive, but most shared the general features of Port Moresby, Kwato and Dobu. Most were coastal, frequently built on a ridge or hill with the missionhouse commanding a view across the rooftops of a village and its palm-fringed beach, and out to sea. High ground was allegedly chosen because it was healthy, it caught the breeze and allowed warning of approaching ships, but considerations of supremacy may also have been involved. Stations were not sited in villages partly because they were often low-lying and unhealthy, but more importantly, the missionaries argued, so that the mission could become 'a model village in itself' to draw the people from their pagan surroundings to a 'higher' way of life. Moreover, when neighbouring tribes were frequently at enmity, it was important to choose neutral ground.⁴

On any Protestant station, the focal point was the mission house. By the turn of the century most were, like those at Port Moresby and Dobu, large, simple, substantial houses of sawn timber with corrugated iron roofs, built on piles and surrounded by a verandah. Some replaced earlier bush material houses, the missionaries arguing not only that European houses were more conducive to health and comfort, but also that they were ultimately more economical, as 'native' houses had to

2 Billing, Diary I, 3 January 1895, 60. M.O.M.

3 M.R. October 1891, 4.

4 Ben Butcher, Letter to S.M.H., 29 March 1912.

be replaced every three or four years.⁵ Most houses were prefabricated in Sydney and shipped to New Guinea. In the early years such a house could be purchased for about £100⁶ but costs rose steeply and by the end of the century Archibald Hunt did not consider £600 excessive for a newly-erected mission house at Port Moresby.⁷ By 1914, the Methodist Mission could anticipate spending £1,000 on a new European house.⁸

Some individuals within both missions, including Chalmers, Schlencker and Holmes of the L.M.S. and the Methodist, Andrew Fletcher, remained committed to housing of local materials.⁹ But these were the exceptions. Most Protestant missionaries lived comfortably in their spacious, pleasantly-furnished houses, a cause of scandal to the ascetic James Chalmers. In an autobiography found amongst his papers after his death, he castigated all his L.M.S. colleagues, except Holmes and Schlencker, for their 'luxurious habits' and their 'palatial residences', far finer than that of the governor.¹⁰ Stung into reply, Hunt agreed that he and his colleagues did live in good houses: 'Better far to spend a few extra pounds on the houses than to spend it in necessary sick furloughs and constant breakdowns.' As for the charge that their houses were better than the governor's residence, as this was a poor cottage to which the governor himself referred as a 'biscuit box', it signified little.¹¹

Whatever the style, the mission house was the pivot of Protestant missionary endeavour. In this situation, it was agreed, 'the best of men was only a poor helpless creature' without a good

5 See, for instance, Dauncey to Thompson, 6 November 1900, and Lawes to Thompson, 3 September 1888, P.L. L.M.S.

6 Lawes to Thompson, 3 September 1888, P.L. L.M.S.

7 Hunt to Thompson, 23 January 1900, P.L. L.M.S.

8 Gilmour to Wheen, 1 July 1914. Correspondence with A.M.M.S. Box 16, file 5. U.C.A.

9 See, for example, Chalmers, Report, 1896, 45-46. Papua Reports, L.M.S.; Schlencker to Thompson, 1 May 1902, P.L. L.M.S.; Holmes, 'Seeing Brown', Ch.VIII, 3. Holmes Papers; and Williams to Danks, 28 January 1913. M.O.M. 119.

10 Hunt to Thompson, 3 June 1901, P.L. L.M.S.

11 ibid.

wife.¹² Having learned from its initial endeavours of the pitfalls of sending single male missionaries to the South Seas, the L.M.S. urged its candidates to marry before embarking on missionary service. The A.W.M.M.S. did not have such clear-cut expectations, and indeed forbade marriage to probationers going in to the field, but generally marriage, for ministers in full connexion, was approved. For many aspiring Protestant missionaries, therefore, acquiring a wife became an essential part of the preparation for missionary service, along with packing, vaccination, and ordination. For some, marriage and ordination took place in a breathless few days before embarkation.

They went about their wife-getting in a practical business-like way. William Bromilow described his courtship of Lily Thomson, a lively young woman whom he had met while preaching in the country in Victoria. 'I offered myself [to the mission] and was accepted. But for these posts an occupant must be married, a qualification I was prepared...to assume.' He sent a telegram to Lily's parents and, receiving a positive answer, married and 'at once proceeded to Sydney where I was ordained. Four days later we sailed.'¹³

The wives chosen by the missionaries were generally from backgrounds similar to their own. Those of the L.M.S. were, like their husbands, frequently from British towns; six were Australians. Most had no professional qualifications; of the thirty L.M.S. wives, five were trained as teachers and three as nurses. They were loyal church members; all except three of Congregational churches in which they might have taught Sunday school or participated in other parish works. One was an ex-missionary, three had close relatives who had served with the L.M.S. Two others were related to L.M.S. directors.

Numbers of the L.M.S. missionaries chose wives who, while of similar origins, were of higher social status than themselves. Samuel MacFarlane, the former factory operative, married Elizabeth Joyce, daughter of John Joyce, 'gentleman'. James Chalmers, an artisan's son,

12 Thompson to Dauncey, 9 February 1904, W.O.L. L.M.S.

13 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 23.

married Jane Hercus, of a family eminent in the scholarly tradition of Scottish Presbyterianism. J.T. Scott's wife, Eliza Mitchell, was 'a lady of high culture' while the wife of Harry Scott, former clerk, was the daughter of Professor Todhunter of Cheshunt. Riley, Rich and Harries, of artisan or small farming backgrounds, married well-qualified school-teachers, and in all cases were considered fortunate in their choice. Charles Abel, the knock-about trader, married Beatrice Moxon, a brewer's daughter who had completed her education in a Belgian finishing school, while Ben Butcher, from Billingsgate Fish Market, married Ena Davidson, whose family was prominent in the Bank of New South Wales. These discrepancies in social status may have been an indication of the esteem in which the vocation of missionary was held by godly Protestants, as well as a reflection of the desire for 'self-improvement' on the part of the missionaries themselves.

The Methodist wives were, like their husbands, more commonly from Australia or New Zealand. More were from rural backgrounds while others were daughters of clerks or small businessmen. Three had trained as teachers and two as nurses, and two had earned a living in trade, one as a tailoress, the other as a milliner. All were from staunch Methodist families and one had a sister, another a brother, in mission service.

In the case of the L.M.S. missionaries, if they were not prepared to be hard-headed in their choice of a wife, the board of directors was quite unsentimental. A 'lover's testimony' was not sufficient evidence of a suitable choice, it admonished one missionary.¹⁴ Missionaries were advised that 'satisfactory evidence of the lady's suitability for the position of missionary wife, as well as a favourable medical certificate' had to be furnished, that the directors' sanction might be given.¹⁵ Generally they received a testimonial from the local minister and other character references, besides a detailed medical report from a doctor designated by the Society. Once they refused to sanction a marriage, leaving their candidate Thomas Beswick with the

¹⁴ Thompson to Cribb, 1 January 1897, W.O.L.

¹⁵ General Regulations for the Guidance of Missionaries, no.10. L.M.S.

dilemma of whether to dishonour an engagement or to withdraw from a work to which he felt called by God.¹⁶

The Methodist mission secretary, George Brown, initially took no more than a paternal interest in the matrimonial manoeuvres of his missionaries. He wrote approvingly of Samuel Fellows having 'fallen a victim to a nice able-bodied widow' on his first furlough.¹⁷ But the disastrous health record of the first five Methodist wives in to the field convinced him to a change in policy. 'It seems a thousand pities that Missionaries should choose wives as unfitted for Mission Work as many do', he complained to Bromilow in 1895, adding, 'We require a medical certificate now.'¹⁸

Of all the Protestant male missionaries, only four L.M.S. and five Methodists remained unmarried during their missionary service. For those who, from inclination or necessity, came to the field as bachelors, finding a wife became a major preoccupation. Some L.M.S. missionaries succumbed to pressure from the Society to marry; most, of both societies, became convinced of the advantages of having a wife. These were usually explained in functional terms; romantic or sexual needs were rarely intimated. Baxter Riley, describing his new house to the L.M.S. directors, added:

Now it is absolutely necessary I should be in a position to keep that house in a fit and proper manner. There is only one way this can be done... and that is by getting married, a business which I am afraid will be a difficult matter....¹⁹

Others stressed the contribution a wife could make to the work.

16 Beswick, Diary, 2 October 1880; Whitehouse to Beswick, 4 July 1879. W.O.L. L.M.S. He finally agreed reluctantly to serve the L.M.S. for two years, after which he met and married his fiancée in Australia. Her health having been cleared, he set out with her to return to New Guinea, but died at Townsville, from pneumonia.

17 Brown to Field, 3 May 1894. Letterbook, 1893-1894. M.O.M.

18 Brown to Bromilow, 8 May 1895. Letterbook, 1895-1896. M.O.M.

19 Riley to Thompson, 18 April 1904, P.L. L.M.S.

New Guinea provided few chances for finding a wife. Four Methodist missionaries availed themselves of an opportunity that their L.M.S. colleagues did not have and married missionary sisters from their own staff. But most went 'wife-seeking' in the colonies. Many, like Riley, found it a difficult matter. Some of the L.M.S. missionaries were hostile to the thought of a colonial wife and self-conscious about the whole enterprise.²⁰ Saville reproved Wardlaw Thompson, the foreign secretary of the L.M.S., for the levity of his comments on the subject, while Robert Lister Turner, defending himself against Thompson's charges of becoming 'morbid' on the marriage question, explained most earnestly that he was awaiting the guidance of God.²¹ All agreed that a three month furlough was too short for their objective. 'Deputation work opens many opportunities, but of a fleeting character', observed a Methodist missionary. 'I am going about open-eyed and praying continually for direction.'²²

Sooner or later most Protestant missionary homes were presided over by wives. Many transformed austere functional houses into gracious suburban bungalows. Lizzie Chalmers described with pride the comfortable, cluttered parlour she had created in her 'semi-native' house on the mud-banks of the Fly River.

All my curios, and old glass and china, are on the corner shelves. Four small tables under the shelves hold photos etc., and books. My big likenesses on the walls.... The centre table is 3 ft. wide and 4 ft long, and two pretty and very comfortable large chairs and a delightful tête-à-tête lounge are all from Hong Kong.... Six ordinary chairs and one arm chair and couch of Australian bentwood.... My portable piano on a stand.... Photos wherever there is room to put them of all my dearest and nearest... with one or two oil paintings - plenty of cushions, covered, some in gold silk, some in green.²³

20 Saville to Thompson, 3 May 1902; Turner to Thompson, 4 January 1908, P.L. L.M.S.

21 Saville to Thompson, 1 January 1903; Turner to Thompson, 27 December 1903, P.L. L.M.S.

22 Williams to Danks n.d. [1909] Bendigo. Letters Received. M.O.M.

23 Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 5 April 1898, Papua Personal. L.M.S.

At Kwato, the comfortable, partially bush material house, which Minnie Billing had admired in 1895, was replaced soon after by an imposing European house, the only home in Papua to boast a grand piano and a marble fireplace.²⁴ Some wives found comfort in surrounding their houses with gardens full of 'gay English flowers'.²⁵

Within their homes most wives employed servants, usually young boys and girls who lived in the mission compound. They were trained by the wives, not all of whom had come from homes where servants were employed. The amount of skill and tact they exercised in this task varied. Many complained of the patience required to train their staff, but some succeeded admirably, as the comments of visitors on the competence and cleanliness of their servants indicated. Domestic staff waited on table, cleaned, laundered and helped prepare meals. Many wore a simple uniform, for the Kwato boys blue loincloth and white top.²⁶ Bromilow paid his house- and table-boys 5/- per quarter, considerably less than the wage of an unskilled plantation labourer who earned 10/- per month.²⁷ But for many such youths domestic service was the first step into a new Papuan élite. Lawes boasted that some of his best teacher trainees had begun their education in his wife's kitchen.²⁸

Although the influence of many missionaries' wives extended well beyond the confines of their home, her accepted role was that of 'help-meet' to her husband. She should support him in his work, run his household, bear and raise his children, and together they would provide the 'object lesson of a civilized Christian home'.²⁹ It was the role to which L.M.S. and Methodist wives had been accustomed

24 Billing, Diary I, 60, January 1895. M.O.M.; R. Abel, Charles Abel of Kwato, 73.

25 Fletcher, M.R., September 1893, 4; see also Holmes, Diary, 5 June 1908, L.M.S.

26 Walker, Diary, 23 May 1892, P.J. L.M.S.

27 Stone-Wigg, Diary II, 161.

28 Lawes to Thompson, 1 August 1903, P.L. L.M.S.

29 Thompson to Abel, 6 January 1893, W.O.L. L.M.S.

in other parts of the Pacific and elsewhere. Samuel MacFarlane, one of New Guinea's pioneer missionaries, wrote floridly:

And whilst the missionary is forming Christian churches, his wife is forming (what is equally important) Christian homes.... In the South Seas there are multitudes of homes which are centres of refinement, culture, happiness and intelligence, presided over by women, officiating in those offices recognised as her sphere of duty. In these abodes it is no mockery...to sing 'Home, Sweet Home'.³⁰

A female contemporary, the novelist, Ada Cambridge (Mrs George Cross) wrote of the 'killing strain' imposed upon clerical wives in Australia at the time. There was, she wrote, 'no doubt, as to which of the clerical pair is in the shafts and which is in the lead. It is not the parson who...bears the burden...but the uncompromising drudge who backs him up at all points'.³¹ The comment is applicable to the New Guinea mission field. Lacking the status of their husbands, and, in some cases, without their whole-hearted missionary commitment, the wives often bore the heavier part of the burden. For many, the transition from provincial city, town or farm to a remote station on the Papuan coast was harsh and they were perhaps less prepared than their husbands for the trials that were inevitably encountered as part of mission life. Some of the hardships, trivial or serious, affected the women especially.

Many grieved over the destruction of their household possessions by climate, portorage and pests. Contemplating their leaky thatched roof, Holmes reflected: 'poor, dear Ally, she is a woman and to see her few, very few, household goods spoiling must be a serious trial to her woman's heart, but never a complaint.'³² His colleague, Ben Butcher, wrote of the plight of Lizzie Chalmers who, a widow when she married James Chalmers, 'had been used to all the comforts of a lovely English home.' It hurt to think of her at

30 S. MacFarlane, Among the Cannibals..., 189.

31 Quoted by Ruth Teale, 'Matron, Maid and Missionary' in S. Willis [ed.] Women, Faith and Fetes, 119.

32 Holmes, Diary, 18 January 1908; see also Riley to Thompson, 11 July 1912, P.L. L.M.S.

Saguane, he wrote, 'for it was a dreadful place'. There, she 'faced loneliness and fever and watched the destruction of all the things she treasured as reminders of her English home.'³³

Tied to their stations by domestic responsibilities, most wives suffered more from isolation than did their husbands. Many especially craved the companionship of another white woman. 'I should much enjoy a lady friend', wrote Chalmers' first wife, Jane, from Suau.³⁴ Sister Edith Lloyd of the Methodist Mission described in a letter the pleasure of Bertha Williams, wife of the missionary of Panaeati, at her visit, the first she had received from a white woman in twelve months.³⁵ Frequently wives were deprived for weeks at a time even of the companionship of their husbands, whose work generally involved supervision of outstations as well as administration of a head-station. 'If I ever stop to think, I feel as if I can't live another day in this loneliness', Lizzie Chalmers confessed to an English friend during one of her husband's frequent absences.³⁶

Whether or not women had weaker constitutions and less capacity to withstand the climate, as many male contemporaries believed, their lives were haunted by illness. Besides the constant malaria, intestinal diseases and other ailments common to all missionaries, the women in the mission field were believed to suffer also from nervous complaints to which, it was assumed, men were more immune. Without doubt, the psychological well-being of many wives was affected by the stress of missionary service, resulting in some hypochondria, psychosomatic illness, and, in a few sad cases, insanity. But many, perhaps most, of the illnesses suffered by the wives were unmistakably organic, ranging from tuberculosis, blackwater fever, typhoid and peritonitis to gallstones, dysentery and malaria. Despite acerbic comments about the frequent trips south by missionary ladies, many

33 B. Butcher, We Lived with Head-hunters, 63.

34 Jane Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 26 July 1877, Papua Personal, L.M.S.; see also Butcher, Letter-Diary, 9 June 1914, Butcher Papers, MS 1881/3.

35 Lloyd, Letterbook, 23 July 1901. M.O.M.

36 Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 15 March 1890, Papua Personal. L.M.S.

wives battled against chronic ill-health and critical illness at their stations, only leaving at the insistence of husbands or colleagues when their lives were in jeopardy. In 1912 Harry Dauncey gave the L.M.S. directors a list of twelve wives who had been 'literally carried out of the country', two of them twice, since his arrival in 1888. It was doubtful whether any of them would have recovered had they stayed, he added.³⁷ Four of the Protestant missionaries' wives, Jane Chalmers, Mary Turner, Lizzie Chalmers, and Bertha Williams died in the field.

Childbirth was a recurrent source of stress and anxiety. Thirty-nine children were born to L.M.S. parents and twenty-six to Methodists during their mission service.³⁸ Although mission families were not excessively large, most of the wives spent their main child-bearing years in the field. In the early days of the L.M.S. mission, most wives followed Fanny Lawes' example and gave birth within their own home, attended by their husband or an experienced colleague. As the mission developed, Lawes became critical of an increasing tendency for wives to go to Australia for their confinements. To expect them to stay in New Guinea demanded no undue heroism; five non-mission wives had recently given birth at Port Moresby, he wrote in 1904.³⁹ A doctor was based at Port Moresby from 1895 and another at Samarai from 1900. Concerned that a number of the younger missionaries had no knowledge of midwifery, Lawes recommended that it should be an essential part of training.⁴⁰ But even in 1914, all four confinements of L.M.S. wives took place in Australia.⁴¹ Within the Methodist Mission it was more common for births to take place in New Guinea. Some Methodist wives, as well as some of the L.M.S., gave birth in the gracious surroundings of Kwato Mission, to

37 Dauncey, Notes on P.D.C. Minutes, March 1912, P.L. L.M.S.

38 See below, Appendix IV, Biographical Register.

39 Lawes to Thompson, 11 May 1904, P.L. L.M.S.

40 Lawes to Thompson, 28 December 1903, P.L. L.M.S.

41 Harries, 10 February 1914; Riley, 13 April 1914; Butcher, 23 April 1914; Burrows, 28 October 1914, P.L. L.M.S.

which the doctor could be fetched quickly from Samarai. Others were attended on their stations by nurses who were part of their own mission staff.

Infant deaths were frequent. Of the sixty-five children born during the parents' service, fifteen died.⁴² Ten died during their first year of life and another five, all girls, during their childhood, one from blackwater fever or kidney failure, one from whooping cough, one probably from sunstroke and two from unspecified illnesses. Deaths were spread evenly. Of the twenty-nine women who bore children during their missionary term, eleven experienced one bereavement and two lost two children. Although the numbers involved are too small to have any statistical significance, it seems that the infant mortality rate was considerably higher in the mission field than in Britain or Australia. In England during the second half of the nineteenth century the average remained fairly constant at about 150 infant deaths during the first year out of 1,000 live births, and by 1914 it had dropped to 105. By 1871, sixteen out of twenty children could expect to reach the age of twenty.⁴³

When a child died, the missionary frequently made the coffin and conducted the burial service himself. He and his wife found comfort in their faith, seeing their loss as part of the cost of being co-workers with Christ. 'We reckon it one of our sacrifices for having to live in New Guinea, and cheerfully submit to it for Christ's sake', wrote Andrew Fletcher after the death of his six-week-old son.⁴⁴ Some prayed for the fuller understanding and greater

42 See below, Appendix IV, Biographical Register.

43 B.R. Mitchell and P. Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics, 36-37; see also J.A. Banks, Prosperity and Parenthood, 194; F.B. Smith, The People's Health, 65, 122-23. Cf. Coghlan, N.S.W., Vital Statistics for 1901 and Previous Years, 85 and 92. In N.S.W. the infantile mortality rate was comparable to that of Britain. Over the years from 1895 to 1901, for example, it averaged 110.891 deaths per 1,000 live births.

44 M.R., August 1895, 2.

devotion that such a trial might bring.⁴⁵ Firm believers in the after-life, they were comforted by the thought that all was 'well with the child' and sustained by the hope of a reunion in Heaven.⁴⁶

But despite the brave words uttered for the benefit of mission boards or supporters, or for personal reassurance, faith did not render the missionary or his wife immune to the grief and pain of such an experience. 'The awful blank in our lives is beyond telling, for Nancy was the brightest spirit among all our children', wrote Charles Rich after the death of his two-year-old daughter. 'We try to trust and stay ourselves on the promises of Christ, and with Him, we know that all must be well with our treasure....'⁴⁷ Some missionaries looked beyond their own pain to the suffering of their wives. Ben Butcher wrote of the death of his seven-year-old daughter, Phyllis:

So many hopes centred on our little daughter and now they were shattered and my heart went out to my weeping wife who, in that dark hour, had no friends or neighbours to help or comfort her.⁴⁸

Most missionaries chose to avoid the risk of possible bereavement and the hazard of child rearing in such an environment by not bringing their children in to the field, or by having them there for the shortest possible time. Many were billeted in England, Australia and New Zealand, usually with relatives, or boarded at denominational schools which offered special places or reduction of fees to the children of missionaries. Separation was another of the sacrifices made for their calling. Albert Pearse who, with his wife, served the L.M.S. in New Guinea for twenty years, had four of his six children with relatives in England, and the youngest two, small girls when he began his service, billeted in Sydney.⁴⁹ Many of

45 Ibid; Rich to Thompson, n.d. [July 1911], P.L. L.M.S.

46 Lawes, Diary, 98; Rich to Thompson, n.d. [July 1911]; Rich to Thompson, 13 October 1911, P.L. L.M.S.

47 Rich to Thompson, n.d. [July 1911], P.L. See also Lawes, Diary, 25 August 1876, 97.

48 B. Butcher, We Lived with Headhunters, 184.

49 Pearse to Thompson, 16 May 1889, P.L. L.M.S.

his colleagues shared his conviction that New Guinea was 'no place for children' and chose instead the 'heartbreak' of separation.⁵⁰ 'The worst of it is one doesn't get over it', wrote another missionary commiserating with his wife at her impending separation from her children.⁵¹ For some of the L.M.S. missionaries, it was a cross to be borne for many years. Harry Dauncey, pleading for furlough, reminded the directors that during his youngest child's fourteen years he had spent only nineteen months in the same country as her, and that mostly on deputation.⁵² 'I hardly know my children', he complained.⁵³ In the Methodist Mission the problem was not so acute. Shorter terms of service entailed briefer separations and moreover, the Methodists, having missed out on the pioneering years of white settlement were, by the turn of the century, more willing to have their children in the field with them for the few years that most Methodist missionary careers involved.

Missionaries who did risk having their children with them found them to be a powerful asset in the task of evangelization. Within months of his arrival Lawes noted that his son Charley 'jabbars away in native as fast as he does in English.'⁵⁴ Over-burdened missionary parents frequently left the rearing of their children to trusty Papuan servants. Free of the prejudices and assumptions that their parents had brought with them, the children became a cultural bridge able to enter into the idiom, the thought forms and the lives of the local people in ways that their parents could never achieve. Amongst people for whom love of children was universal, the frequently fair-haired, blue-eyed sons and daughters of missionaries became a magnet which drew fearful, suspicious or otherwise reluctant Papuans into the orbit of the missionary's influence.⁵⁵

50 Ibid.

51 Pryce-Jones, Letter-Diary 1900, 208. L.M.S.

52 Dauncey to Thompson, 8 October 1913, P.L. L.M.S.

53 Dauncey to Thompson, 9 September 1914, P.L. L.M.S.

54 Lawes to Thompson, 18 March 1876, P.L. L.M.S.

55 See M.R. December 1915, 23, on Burgess children; Edith Lloyd, Letterbook IV, 11 July 1901 on golden-haired Ruve Bromilow; Rich, 3 May 1902, P.L., on the influence of his blue-eyed baby; Butcher, op.cit., 141, on blue-eyed Phyllis, and Mrs Barlett, 6 November 1910, P.L., on her blue-eyed child, the first such in the Delta region.

But of all the Protestant missionary families, only the Abels of Kwato managed to establish a permanent home for their children in New Guinea. For the others, a carefree childhood playing on Papuan beaches was a prelude to a life lived remote from parents in boarding school and lodgings. The L.M.S. paid an annual allowance of between £10 and £25, depending on age, for each child up to eighteen, later twenty, years.⁵⁶ Methodist missionaries were paid at the same rate as ministers of the New South Wales Conference, receiving a children's allowance of £12.12.-. for each child.⁵⁷

In New Guinea it was not usually, as in Polynesia and Africa, fear of contamination by a primitive environment that prompted mission parents to send their children away.⁵⁸ Generally, before the age when they would have been deemed susceptible to such corruption, parental concern for health or education had forced the decision. White children in New Guinea were generally regarded as pallid, listless and weakly.⁵⁹ The only opportunities for education were those provided in the missionary's home and frequently the missionary and his wife, struggling to cope with the running of a head-station and the supervision of out-stations, had little time or inclination for this task beyond a rudimentary level.

Their children away in England, Australia or New Zealand, missionary wives experienced the pain of divided loyalties. How they coped with it was largely a personal decision, although the tacit assumption in both mission societies was that the wife's place was beside her husband. The disruption caused to a missionary's 'domestic comfort' by an absent wife was regretted, especially if the solitary husband was left in a place where the local women had

56 See Missionaries Warrants for each year, W.O.L. L.M.S.

57 Minutes of First General Conference, 1904, 55.

58 See, for example, W.N. Gunson, Messengers of Grace, 159-60.

59 See Green, Letter to family, 27 March 1895, P.M.B.; Fellows, Diary V, 23 August 1894; and Pryce-Jones, Letter-Diary to wife, 33, L.M.S.

a dubious reputation.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, it was common for missionary wives to spend months and even years at a time caring for their children thousands of miles from their husbands. For some missionaries, such as Dauncey and Walker, this situation resulted in the virtual breakdown of their marriage.⁶¹ For others it was a constant source of pain, sometimes only revealed in their letters to their distant wives. 'It is so long since...I left you behind and I'm hungering for your nearness', Ben Butcher wrote to his wife.

I wonder to myself if I'm going again to see the love that has looked on me out of your eyes and whether I'm again going to know that you really care as I feel your arms round me. Love can make this place so rich and so companionable.⁶²

Samuel Fellows poured out his loneliness in love-letters to his wife, Sallie and 'cried like a child' on receiving her first letter.⁶³

Pryce-Jones wrote to his wife of his dream of a 'long, loving embrace' he had shared with her. 'I felt your arms round me and we clung to one another, Oh! it was nice, then I awoke!!!'⁶⁴ Later he confessed to her: 'Dear old sweetheart...I find the absence harder to bear now than in the days of our courtship. I love you, old woman, more than I ought to tell you.'⁶⁵

Godly domesticity remained the ideal in the Protestant missions, but in New Guinea, reality played havoc with the ideal. It was, for most missionaries, at best only a sporadic experience. The unresolved tensions of this existence caused Ben Butcher to ask a question that other married missionaries may have pondered:

I read this call to forsake wife and children for the sake of the Kingdom of heaven and I wonder whether

60 Brown to Bromilow, 6 December 1895. Letterbook, 1895-1896. M.O.M.

61 Pryce-Jones, Letter-Diary 1900, 239; personal communication, Cecil Abel, Alotau, 28 December 1978.

62 Butcher to Ena Butcher, 8 December 1920. Butcher Papers, MS 1881/1.

63 Fellows, Diary VI, 29 September 1899.

64 Pryce-Jones, Letter-Diary, 29. L.M.S.

65 Ibid, 44.

it really means the sort of thing we are doing....
I'm much troubled about that for it does not seem
fair to bring children into the world and then deny
those children a proper chance.⁶⁶

In anguished letters to his wife he debated the central dilemma
of his life: the conflicting claims of his family and of his Papuan
flock.

I don't moan to you all but at times I just dare
not think of all I'm losing and the price I'm
paying. I may be losing you all.... I know the
children need you - I know I'm losing touch. I
know they will grow away from me. I'm not blind
to all this but at present I see other needs....
I see a few beginnings of a Christian church and
thousands who look to me for help and guidance....⁶⁷

The answer for Butcher, as for most of his colleagues, was to resign
and leave Papua to rejoin his family, though in his case, only after
thirty-five years of service.

The missionary bodies that sent the married missionaries
to New Guinea came to doubt the wisdom of their policy, as did many
missionaries in the field. Lawes was firm in his conviction that
only one woman in a thousand was a true missionary (and he was married
to that one), and both he and Chalmers were adamant that newly-
married wives should not come to the mission field because of the
likelihood of pregnancy, 'the natural result of marriage...'.⁶⁸
His experiences led him to wonder whether a celibate mission was
not the answer, a possibility that had also occurred to Ralph
Wardlaw Thompson, the Society's foreign secretary in London.⁶⁹
George Brown, general secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society,
was similarly disheartened.⁷⁰ But neither society changed its
policy, modifying it only to the extent, in the case of the A.W.M.M.S.,
of insisting on a doctor's certificate as the L.M.S. always had, and

66 Butcher to Ena Butcher, 12 April 1920, Butcher Papers, MS 1881/1.

67 Butcher to Ena Butcher, 14 November 1937, Butcher Papers, MS 1881/8.

68 Lawes to Thompson, 22 May 1879 and 29 June 1890; Chalmers to
Thompson, 25 January 1904 and 11 February 1884, P.L. L.M.S.

69 Lawes to Thompson, 28 December 1903, P.L.; Thompson to Pearse,
13 December 1891, W.O.L. L.M.S.

70 See, for example, Brown, 6 December 1895. Letterbook, 1895-1896.

in the case of the L.M.S., of putting less pressure on missionaries to marry, especially at the outset of their careers.

The creation of the 'civilised Christian home' on the New Guinea mission field was then, to some extent, a dream that failed. One must ask therefore whether the missionaries saw any alternative to the disruption, uncertainty and anxiety caused by childbirth in the field. By the 1880s contraception was widely practised among the middle classes of England. Improvements in synthetic rubber moulding in the 1870s led to the manufacture of cheap sheaths, and spermicides were available by 1885.⁷¹ Ideas about birth-control promulgated by Place, Bentham and Mill were given widespread publicity by the Bradlaugh-Besant trial of 1877-78. After the trials, birth control propaganda became less liable to prosecution.

But it is doubtful whether the missionaries availed themselves of either the literature or the products advocated. Most belonged to the lower middle class, bastion of respectability, and even by the end of the century, contraceptives had a tainted reputation. Moreover the churches to which they gave their allegiance continued to oppose birth control although, in 1893, the influential Christian World gave its approval to the use of the 'safe period', alluding to 'certainly easily understood physiological laws' which could provide a mode of limitation free of the 'doubtful morality' of other methods.⁷²

The missionaries were, as would be expected, discreetly silent on the subject, but the Christian World, read in the mission field, may have influenced their thinking. It is not known whether any of the missionaries followed Jane Austen's advice about the 'simple regimen of separate rooms'⁷³ but it seems likely that 'prudential restraint' or, at most, use of the safe period were the

71 See J.A. Banks, Prosperity and Parenthood, 3-10; H. McLeod, Class and Religion..., 270; F.B. Smith, The People's Health, 300-302.

72 Quoted, D.V. Glass, Population Policies and Movements, 427n.

73 Banks, op.cit., 144.

only forms of birth control that the missionaries would have contemplated. One of the most enlightened and resourceful of the Protestant missionaries, Ben Butcher, wrote to his wife in 1920 of his longing for her as he anticipated her return:

Yet when I most long there comes a chilling remembrance that you will wish to deny me the loving intimacy of married love even when you are near.... I don't know which is harder, being apart like this or being together and yet obsessed with that ceaseless injunction to 'Take care'.⁷⁴

It seems that in Butcher's case it was his wife's fear of the unwanted child rather than the many other trials of their missionary life that turned their marriage from one of light-hearted, loving companionship to the 'broken, fettered thing' which Butcher later felt it to be.⁷⁵

For many, perhaps most, missionaries the only forms of limitation were involuntary ones such as frequent absences, the debilitating effects of malaria and other diseases, and miscarriages whose incidence may have been increased by the liberal use of quinine. Many would have seen any conscious attempt at contraception as an impious tampering with the will of God.

Some observers compared the family-based Protestant missions unfavourably with their celibate Catholic counterparts. An Australian who visited New Guinea in 1899 commented, on his return, on the greater preoccupation of the Protestants with salaries and material welfare.⁷⁶ Others objected to the inhibiting and constricting influence of the wife and family on the missionary. James McAuley argues this case most sweepingly, not of missionaries only, but of all

74 Butcher to Ena Butcher, 17 October 1920, 18. Butcher Papers, MS 1881/1.

75 See early letters of Ena Butcher to her parents, Butcher Papers, MS 1881. for evidence of happiness of marriage. Butcher's comment, Diary Letter to wife, 1920, 21. Butcher Papers, MS 1881/1.

76 Charles Rogers, Penny Post, Goulburn, 21 April 1900. A.A.

Europeans in the colonial situation. Why, he muses, does the 'great enterprise of European colonialism' breed rejection amongst its subjects?

Perhaps the simplest answer is: the white woman. While European men went out, without wife and family, they entered into a different sort of relationship, socially and sexually, with the people. When the white woman came out, it was all very different. It was not the woman's fault if her urge to create and defend a home and bring up children by the standards of her own community, made her wish to draw a circle of exclusion round her domain.⁷⁷

McAuley's criticisms have some validity. It was no accident that the missionary's move from his original simple bush-material house to his large European home frequently coincided with the arrival of his wife. Concern about salaries and allowances, furnishings, transport and health facilities also followed her coming and the birth of children. With a wife and children at home, some missionaries became less willing to spend time away from their stations: 'when one is married one cannot run round quite as much', Butcher explained, describing an unusually unadventurous year.⁷⁸ Chalmers, one of the few missionaries who made little concession for the comfort of his wives, castigated his colleagues for 'living a life of ease at head stations'.⁷⁹ The only two whom he excepted, J.H. Holmes and Percy Schlencker, were both then still bachelors. It is true, too, that many wives were the cause of their husbands' temporary absences from New Guinea and that twenty-two of the forty-nine married Protestant missionaries resigned on the grounds of the wife's ill-health or other domestic pressure.

But other aspects of McAuley's attack apply less to missionaries than to other colonial groups. Rather than constricting the missionary's relationships with the people, the missionary's wife

77 James McAuley, 'My New Guinea', Quadrant, 1961, 26.

78 Butcher to Mrs Holtum, 13 December 1913. Butcher Papers, MS 1881, unnumbered box.

79 Chalmers, Autobiography, quoted in Hunt to Thompson, 3 June 1901, P.L. L.M.S.

augmented them. Not only had the Protestant missionary generally eschewed any sexual relationships with Papuan women or girls, but he had also avoided any real contact with them at all. The coming of the missionary's wife meant that social relationships could be established with female as well as male Papuans. It is doubtful too whether the missionary's wife drew the rigid circle of exclusion around her domain that McAuley envisages. The mission house was generally part of a large compound and was, in varying degrees, accessible to the hundred or so Papuans who lived within its confines. Insofar as there was a boundary between the compound and the village, it was one that was frequently crossed, at least by the missionary's children.

Against McAuley's criticisms must be set the positive features of godly domesticity as it existed in the New Guinea mission field. Despite the practical, unromantic beginnings of many, a number of mission marriages embodied close, loving relationships. Lawes remained devoted to his 'dear Fan' until his death in 1907; Holmes believed he and his wife Alice, whom he had fetched from a Devon farm to the mud-swamps of the Papuan Gulf, to be 'about the happiest couple in the whole world'.⁸⁰ Lizzie Chalmers, a middle-aged and ailing woman awaiting her husband's return was 'more unsettled and fidgety than if I expected a young lover'.⁸¹ To a close friend she confided, 'I feel only half-alive without him.'⁸² Charles Abel's letters to his wife reflect a romantic love which did not abate with time.⁸³ Edith Turner, an ex-missionary from China whose marriage to R.L. Turner was the outcome of his anxious wife-seeking expeditions, believed herself to have 'the best husband in the world'.⁸⁴ It is impossible to doubt the comfort, strength and stability that

80 Holmes to Thompson, 29 June 1910, P.L. L.M.S.

81 Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 22 June 1891, Papua Personal, L.M.S.

82 Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 15 March 1890, Papua Personal, L.M.S.

83 N. Lutton, *Larger than Life: a biography of Charles Abel of Kwato*, 40.

84 Edith Turner to Thompson, 29 July 1911, P.L. L.M.S.

these relationships must have given the missionaries. Indeed, despite the conventional help-meet image in which they acquiesced, women such as sturdy, forthright Fanny Lawes, bustling, energetic Norah Gilmour or forceful, indomitable Lily Bromilow were arguably the stronger partner in the relationship.

Others besides their husbands felt their lives to be enriched by the presence of these women. Lonely, uncertain young missionaries of the L.M.S. regarded Mrs Lawes as the mother of the mission, Holmes comparing her to Mary Moffat in Africa.⁸⁵ Similarly, Mrs Bromilow, though a more formidable person, was Marama to the Methodist Mission. Even traders, who generally had little time for missionaries, paid tribute to the gracious and comforting presence of some of their wives. Jack McLaren described Mrs Riley at Daru,

a dear old lady who made much of me, and mothered me, and gave me tea in dainty china cups at her beautiful home which was manned by trained servants and delightful with the touches that only a woman can give.⁸⁶

Andrew Goldie, trader and naturalist at Port Moresby, marvelled at the indefatigable ministrations of Fanny Lawes, 'one of the Florence Nightingale heroines'.⁸⁷ Sir William MacGregor testified to the contribution of Fanny Lawes to the missionary cause:

A skilful and industrious housekeeper, a devoted wife, and an affectionate and sensible mother, Mrs Lawes put before the natives of the country an object lesson of a model home, and of pure and happy family life.⁸⁸

Elsewhere he declared: 'Perhaps no missionary did more good in New Guinea than Mrs Lawes and Mrs Bromilow.'⁸⁹ In such women at least the Protestant ideal of the 'help-meet' in the civilised Christian home was vindicated.

85 Holmes, Diary, 21 November 1898. L.M.S.

86 J. McLaren, South Seas Odyssey, 91.

87 J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 77.

88 Ibid, 288.

89 Introduction to J.H.P. Murray, Papua or British New Guinea, 27-28.

THE way of life in the celibate Sacred Heart Mission and in the Anglican Mission, which was celibate in ideal if not entirely in practice, was necessarily different from that of the Protestant missionaries. Whereas so much of Protestant mission life revolved around the individual and his family in their Christian home, the emphasis amongst the Roman Catholics and Anglicans was on the community, the total mission family. Sir William MacGregor compared the Sacred Heart missionaries unfavourably with their Protestant counterparts: 'They cannot, like the married ministers of the Protestant mission, put before the natives the example of family life, after the European model.'⁹⁰ In a spirited and ironic defence of the celibate mission, Archbishop Navarre reproved MacGregor:

If your Excellency is so anxious that the natives should have before their eyes the example of family life...why does not your Excellency set the example? ... But surely your Excellency must know that it is the celibate missionaries of the Catholic Church that have...given the world the true idea of the Christian home....⁹¹

Navarre objected to an allegation made by MacGregor that the communal life of the mission involved its members in spending too much time at Yule Island in 'ceremonial observances', replying that only for the eight-day annual retreat was the presence of all missionaries at Yule Island mandatory.⁹²

Nevertheless Yule Island remained the heart of the mission. It was the station through which new Roman Catholic missionaries were introduced to the mission field; to which they came for retreats, conferences, festivals; and to which the infirm and old were brought to convalesce or await death. The story of its foundation by the heroic Henri Verjus continued to grip the imagination and the hearts of later missionaries.⁹³

90 B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, xxiv.

91 Navarre to MacGregor, 31 July 1897, Mission/government file, B.A.

92 Ibid.

93 See, for example, Letter from Fr Vedère, Annales, 1906, 206.

By 1889 the buildings that Henri Verjus and the Italian brothers had erected four years earlier, on the windswept hill which crowned the island, were in ruins. Those added since, 'imitations of poor European barns',⁹⁴ were in little better condition. The eight brothers slept in a common dormitory with an earth floor. The sisters' house, built of native materials only two years earlier, was disintegrating. The missionaries resolved to replace these huts of reeds and grass with houses of sawn-timber and corrugated iron, raised on stilts, at the same time moving the station down the hill on to a sheltered plateau overlooking the jetty and more accessible to it. Lacking funds to import wood from Australia, the missionaries sawed their own from timber which they cut on the mainland and floated across to Yule Island. Visiting the Sacred Heart missionaries on his tour of inspection a year later, Albert Maclaren found them still living in their 'most primitive native buildings' but engaged in the construction of a presbytery, a chapel, and a sisters' house.⁹⁵ At the end of 1890, MacGregor noted that added to these buildings were a leathery, a blacksmith's forge, a carpenter's shop and a saw mill.⁹⁶ By 1896 it was a beautiful and imposing station, its main street lined by scarlet hibiscus and framed by coconut palms.⁹⁷

Unlike the other missions whose stations were mostly scattered along the Papuan coasts, the S.H.M., constrained by the 'spheres of influence' agreement,⁹⁸ founded most of its stations inland, on either side of the St Joseph River, on the marshy, humid Mekeo plain, and, after the turn of the century, in the mountainous interior, accessible only by the roads surveyed and built by the missionaries themselves. Numbers of these stations were simply a few buildings grafted on to existing villages, rather than separate compounds like the Protestant stations. Sometimes the mission buildings

94 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 168.

95 Maclaren, Diary, 7 May 1890, 10.

96 MacGregor, Diary I, 14 November 1890.

97 Annales, 1895, 523.

98 See below, 323.

were situated in the heart of the village, but more often the missionaries built at one end to preserve its traditional symmetry. In a typical Sacred Heart village, an avenue led from the village centre to the church. The father's house and the boys' school were at the right, the sisters' house and a girls' school to the left. Vegetable gardens and orchards surrounded the buildings.

Most stations were, initially, unprepossessing. Beatrice Grimshaw described Waima as she saw it in 1911:

A church, partly or wholly corrugated iron, with a few rude seats, a home-made communion rail, and an altar decorated by the hands of the missionaries themselves,...pitiful, brave shifts to hide the barest poverty - jam jars and bottles cunningly disguised in gilt paper and cardboard ...candlesticks out of tin. A house for the Fathers and Brothers - built of wattle sticks, with chairs, tables and beds all carpentered roughly from the nearest bush material.... A house for the Sisters much the same.... A tiny plot of garden ground, where some handfuls of carrots, half a score of aubergines, a couple of bean plants, struggle feebly in the sandy ground.⁹⁹

Other stations were similar. The first living quarters were always bush materials.¹⁰⁰ On most stations fathers and brothers lived in one functional, sparsely furnished house, sisters in another; frequently sleeping in rooms that served also as store-room, dispensary or library.

But as the stations became better established, bush-material huts gave way to timber and iron houses, built always from wood cut and sawn by the brothers. A large saw-mill at Aropokina provided timber for Mekeo and Yule Island while resourceful priests and brothers in the precipitous mountain districts built water-powered mills to serve their own areas. A team of brothers, trained in carpentry, was based at Yule Island and sent to stations as needed. Skilled artisans, the brothers and sometimes the priests built houses

⁹⁹ B. Grimshaw, op.cit., 15-16.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Annales, 1895, 452; Annales, 1911, 458; Fastré to Lanctin, 25 December 1906, Annales, 1907, 83; Fr. Pagès to Mlle Renou, January 1900, Annales, 1900, 567.

which, if simple, were solid and durable, and sometimes graced with furnishings which were the product of a craftsman's delight in his work. Visiting Father Fastré at Dilava in 1921, the photographer Frank Hurley observed:

His houses are adorned with aesthetic embellishments all made in his own workshop from local timbers. In a place so remote it seems incongruous to see such excellent buildings and so much learning.¹⁰¹

Hurley saw in these sturdy, well-constructed buildings evidence of the strength and permanence of the S.H.M.'s commitment to the country. 'The fathers have made everything here to last, like their work and faith. They are here for their lives....'¹⁰²

Besides the church, school and living quarters common to all mission stations, those of the S.H.M. had features which Protestant stations rarely shared. The forge, tannery, carpentry shop and saw-mill observed by MacGregor at Yule Island were repeated at other stations, most of which also had a farmyard and a garden. Confronted with dwindling resources and almost insuperable problems in getting supplies, Navarre had early enjoined the mission to the greatest possible self-sufficiency.¹⁰³ These efforts met with qualified success, but in the attempt alone they were distinctive. Father Hartzler, visiting New Guinea from Thursday Island in 1893, described the pleasant hum of activity which he found at Yule Island:

The sonorous and regular noise of a hammer striking an anvil came from Brother Simon's forge and mingled its merry village note with the distant bellows of the cattle. In front of us...Brother Rintz and Brother Gabriel drove a flock of goat and sheep to the mountain. Further away, at the Sisters' house, a murmur of children's voices chattering in the classroom.... Finally Brother Moorees kept the press clattering with a new catechism in Roro.¹⁰⁴

The poverty of the Sacred Heart stations in the early days was in stark contrast to the comfortable, well-equipped Protestant

102 Ibid., 10 July 1921, 12.

103 Navarre, Resources for the Mission. Notes 1886. B.A.

104 Hartzler, 'On the Banks of the St Joseph', Annales, 1893, 92-93.

stations. But through the craftsmanship of its staff, most stations reached a standard not far short of their Protestant counterparts, for considerably smaller cost. Critics believed that they paid for their road- and station-building with their lives,¹⁰⁵ but despite the high death-rate, the missionaries continued to take responsibility for the creation and maintenance of their stations. Unlike the Protestants they employed no servants and hired no labour, contenting themselves with accepting the services offered them by their parishioners. Constraints imposed by poverty joined with a conviction that they had come to give, not to take from the Papuans. The coadjutor brothers were responsible for most of the manual work on the station, the sisters taking charge of the farmyard, the garden and domestic chores.

On these stations, the missionaries lived in communities ordered and regulated by the constitutions of their congregations. When Navarre's parochial organisation gave way to de Boismenu's concept of centres of influence,¹⁰⁶ it was possible for the mission to become more communally concentrated. Priests, brothers and sisters lived at one of six, later eight, district centres from which, in their work, they radiated out into the surrounding countryside. The life of a celibate community has its problems no less than that of godly domesticity, but whatever the underlying crises or tensions, the overwhelming impression they gave to strangers was that of a united and happy family. Travelling through the Sacred Heart district, Frank Hurley was impressed by the camaraderie and good-natured banter of the priests and brothers, and the graciousness of the sisters. Departing, he let his 'unreligious' pen conclude: 'in all my travels I have never met a family so contented and united'.¹⁰⁷

105 See, for instance, MacGregor in B.N.G. A.R. 1890, 19, 82; Maclaren, Diary, 7 May 1890, 10; and J. MacKay, Across Papua, 168.

106 See below, 225, 302-03.

107 F. Hurley, Pearls and Savages, 67; Hurley, Diary D, 70. See also Maclaren Diary, 7 May 1890, 9; and Grimshaw, op.cit., 55, for similar impressions.

The Anglican Mission strove to create the same communal atmosphere. Its founder, Albert Maclaren, inspired by Anglo-Catholic communities in England, had dreamed of creating a similar celibate community in New Guinea.¹⁰⁸ Although forced to abandon his scheme, celibacy remained for him and his successors the norm in the Anglican Mission. Stone-Wigg, equally devoted to Anglo-Catholic principles was indignant to find that the writer of the Penny Post article contrasting Catholic communality with Protestant domesticity credited 'only one mission with the use of methods which two out of the four have adopted.'¹⁰⁹

Only ten of the forty-six male Anglican missionaries were married for any part of their missionary service, two of them only for a short final phase. Of the remaining eight, five married fellow missionaries during their service, a practice regarded as, if not desirable, at least acceptable, as it brought no extra expense to the impoverished mission. When Frederick Ramsay, a muscular Christian layman later ordained, requested permission to marry a prominent church-worker from Melbourne, to whom he had been engaged for three years, Stone-Wigg refused: 'I hope some way may be found by which your engagement...may be honorably terminated for...the work in New Guinea needs men without ties.'¹¹⁰ Later the bishop relented, perhaps recognising that at Samarai, with its large white population more a parish than a mission, a rector's wife could be useful. So entrenched was the celibate ideal that when Stone-Wigg's own engagement to Elsie Mort, a voluntary churchworker in Sydney, was announced in the year before his retirement, it provoked much surprise, some discomfort, and an enquiry from Mrs Tomlinson as to whether it was not a sin for a bishop to marry.¹¹¹

108 Lawes to Thompson, 29 September 1890, P.L. L.M.S.

109 Ninth Anniversary Address, 26 July 1900, 5.

110 Stone-Wigg to Ramsay, 5 May 1908. Personal Files, box 22. A.A.

111 Cottingham to Stone-Wigg, 6 September 1907, Personal Files, box 20. A.A.; Elizabeth Tomlinson to Stone-Wigg, 7 September 1907, box 22, A.A.; J. Tomlin, Awakening, 65 and interview with Canon Bodger, Alotau, January 1979.

For the thirty-six unmarried men and the twenty-one single women who had joined the mission by 1914, their family was the Anglican community. Stone-Wigg especially nurtured this concept. In his farewell letter to his staff, he exhorted them to 'maintain the family character of mission life'. He continued, 'I trust all will guard this family feeling and brotherly harmony. It secures a much-needed atmosphere of warmth and brotherhood for all'.¹¹²

Living arrangements reflected the communal ideal as far as possible. At Dogura, the male and female missionaries attached to the station all lived in the house slowly and painfully erected by the pioneers, Maclaren and Tomlinson. A large, airy building raised on ten-foot piles and surrounded by a wide verandah, it was built in the shape of a cross, with a chapel at its heart, and rooms for the staff in the arms.¹¹³ It was rebuilt in 1903, the chapel becoming a separate building, but Dogura House remained the home of the staff. Later when small cottages were built on the station for various staff-members, all still ate communally in the mission-house, a tradition which continued into the 1970s. A missionary who arrived at Dogura in 1955 has left a memorable description of dinner, a ritual which could have changed little since the days before the Great War. The priest-in-charge sat at the head of the table, the bishop at his right, with the other members of staff, in order of seniority, ranged down each side of the big refectory table:

The meal was a solemn one, formally served, with the dean carving while plates and dishes of vegetables were passed around. However he was not carving a roast of beef...or even a leg of mutton. He was carefully slicing up the contents of several tins of camp-pie, and the vegetable dishes contained yams, sweet potato, taro and boiled pumpkin leaves. Glasses were filled, but the beverage provided was water.¹¹⁴

112 Stone-Wigg to Anglican Mission Staff, 30 September 1908. Farewell letter. A.A.

113 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 49; Stone-Wigg to mother, 22 January 1897, Stone-Wigg Papers.

114 I. Stuart, 'The Life-Style of the Anglican Mission', J.P.N.G.S., IV(2), 1970, 78.

Numerically smaller than the S.H.M., the Anglican Mission could not provide the same opportunity for all its missionaries to live in communities. Many were, like their Protestant counterparts, scattered singly or in pairs, through a series of coastal stations from Mukawa, where the Tomlinsons lived, to the Mamba River, where Copland King had his remote station. Conscious of the isolation of these missionaries, Stone-Wigg and his successor Gerald Sharp spent much of their time travelling from station to station, providing a link between them and reinforcing the sense of community.

Apart from Dogura House, the rectory at Samarai and the Tomlinson's large white house with a gold cross on its gable at Mukawa, Anglican mission houses were made from bush materials. Belief in the virtue as well as the necessity of poverty, romantic idealism and perhaps a desire to identify as closely as possible with their Papuan flock led to a preference, on most parts, for 'native' housing. Describing a typical mission house with its thatched roof of sago grass, floor of strips of pliant wood and its walls of coconut fronds, Stone-Wigg assured his mother, 'Two ladies live very pleasantly in one of these'.¹¹⁵ Anglican missionaries deplored the necessity of later replacing their aesthetically pleasing thatch with roofs of corrugated iron. 'Utility has conquered art', lamented Henry Newton.¹¹⁶

In 1906, after the mission had been shaken by the deaths in rapid succession of three of the white staff, it resolved that it was 'desirable in future to use European buildings wherever white missionaries are placed'.¹¹⁷ The following year, a project to improve the houses of all European missionaries was initiated, but the use of bush materials persisted till well after the First World War, even the bishop's 'palace' remaining a building with walls of coconut leaf.¹¹⁸

115 Stone-Wigg to mother, 22 November 1897, Stone-Wigg Papers.

116 Newton, op.cit., 51; see also Gill, in O.P., 30 April 1912.

117 O.P., no.11, October 1906, 7.

118 O.P., no.41, January 1915. Sharp wrote that 'on no account would he live in a European house.' (Diocese of New Guinea. Its Rules and Methods.)

Some of the women, like their counterparts in other missions, created beautiful gardens around their houses, but the houses themselves were severe and poorly furnished, often lacking the personal touches and embellishments that the Protestant wives, or the Catholic sisters and brothers, had provided. Personal effects were few. Laura Oliver's will contained an inventory of her possessions after twenty-five years of missionary service: a cupboard, small organ, gramophone, bread-mixer, blackboard, china tea-pot, twelve pieces of cutlery, nine bits of china (two with pieces broken out), one cheap watch (no glass), several pieces of tortoiseshell, a small silver jug, an ornamental clock (works damaged), thirty-one books, four iron travelling trunks and one suitcase.¹¹⁹ The sole possessions of Francis de Sales Buchanan, most ascetic of Anglican missionaries, were said to be a gramophone, a set of patched clothes and a small library.¹²⁰

The poverty and austerity of the Anglican stations was similar to that of the Sacred Heart Mission in the early days. But unlike those of the S.H.M., Anglican stations remained little improved up to and beyond the First World War. Visiting the mission in 1921, Frank Hurley contrasted unfavourably its shabby, impermanent housing with that which he had admired on the Sacred Heart stations.¹²¹ Employing only one or two carpenters at a time, the Anglican Mission was as dependent on hired labour as were the Methodists and L.M.S. Its stations showed few of the marks of self-sufficiency which characterised those of the S.H.M. As in the Protestant fields, young Papuans were employed as domestic servants, receiving in return board, schooling and a little pocket-money. Laymen looked after the few cattle and coconuts belonging to the mission, and for a time the station of Hioge was a modestly successful agricultural centre. But in general Anglican stations were modest clusters of buildings,

119 Oliver, Inventory. Personal Files, box 22. A.A.

120 D. Wetherell, *Christian Missions in Eastern New Guinea*, 191.

121 Hurley, *Diary D*, 10 July 1921, 12. Cf. B.N.G. *A.R.*, 1899-1900, appendix C, and J.W. Burton, 'A Methodist at Dogura', *A.B.M. Review*, November 1923, 128-29.

almost engulfed in the lush vegetation of the north coast, and bearing evidence of neither the diversity of activity of the Sacred Heart Mission nor the orderly domesticity of the Methodist and L.M.S. stations.

CHAPTER FOUR

'BOOKS AND QUININE'

DESPITE the notable differences between the domesticity of the Protestant missionaries and the communality of the Roman Catholics and Anglicans, there were marked similarities in the way of life of all missionaries in Papua. All were guided by similar objectives and ideals; all were constrained by the same physical and social environment.

One of the dominant considerations affecting the missionaries' way of life was that they had not come to Papua for financial gain. Their mission societies forbade them to trade or to take remunerated public positions. For the Sacred Heart missionaries, the vow of poverty was one of the three simple vows made on entering the congregation.¹ Anglican missionaries were warned to expect no 'salary...or temporal advantage of any kind' in mission service;² the Wesleyans, moulded by their founder's strictures against 'softness and needless self-indulgence' were advised by the A.W.M.M.S. to 'regulate [their] expenses by as much conscientious regard to economy as may be consistent with...health and comfort.'³ Missionaries of the L.M.S. were exhorted similarly to: 'Avoid display and self-indulgence in your style of life; in your dress; in the food and furniture of your house; and in your personal habits.'⁴ A modest, self-denying life was enjoined upon all.

All were paid salaries or allowances that ensured that their

1 It was common for the congregations founded in the nineteenth century to require simple rather than solemn vows, because of the legal complexities of the latter.

2 Paper of Conditions, Personal Files, A.A.

3 General Rules of the Society, II and Instructions to Missionaries, no.9.

4 General Instructions for Missionaries in General Regulations for Guidance of English Missionaries.

way of life would be so, to a greater or lesser extent. Most highly paid were the L.M.S. missionaries. The Society, while stressing that stipends could not be commensurate with the value of the missionaries' service, undertook 'to make such provision for their support as, under the different circumstances of their missionary life, may secure to each an equal amount of comfort.'⁵ There were three scales of personal allowance. An unmarried missionary was paid £155, a newly-arrived married missionary, £206 and a married missionary of more than three years' standing, having passed the language qualification, £240. Allowances for children and for minor expenses were additional.⁶

Although these salaries compared well with those that their backgrounds and education might have led them to expect had they remained in the British workforce,⁷ most felt that they were barely sufficient for New Guinea. When a salary reduction was proposed during a financial crisis in the L.M.S. in 1889, most of the missionaries objected vehemently. Some compared their salaries adversely with those of government employees, Dauncey pointing out that his equalled 'two-thirds of that paid to the government cow-keeper' while Lawes maintained that his £240 was 'the same as that given to a single man who looks after houses for the government'.⁸ Married missionaries with growing children claimed the greatest hardship, finding it difficult to meet their children's expenses for board and education, and the cost of their wives' frequent trips from the mission field.⁹

5 Ibid.

6 See Missionaries' Warrants, W.O.L. L.M.S.

7 See above, 65.

8 Dauncey to Thompson, 27 May 1889, P.L. L.M.S. Government salaries were considerably higher. In the period in which Dauncey and Lawes complained of their salaries, 1889-90, Resident Magistrates of B.N.G. received between £300 and £500; Government Agents £250; the Government Gaoler, £200; the Collector of Customs, £300; and Sub-Collector of Customs, £200. Lawes' salary was less than that of his son, a Government Agent. (B.N.G. A.R. 1889-90, 15, Establishments.)

9 See, for instance, Hunt, 3 April 1889, Lawes, 5 July 1888, to Thompson, P.L. L.M.S.

The Methodist Missionary Society assured its workers that it was pledged 'to pay an affectionate attention' to all their wants and to 'afford them every reasonable and necessary supply.'¹⁰ It offered its married missionaries in New Guinea £160 per annum for the first two years of probation, £170 for the third and fourth year and £180 when received into full connexion. In 1913 these stipends were raised to £140, £190 and £210 respectively. When the new category of lay missionary was introduced, those thus employed received initially £100 per annum, increased in 1903 by £20 for married laymen. By the end of the period a married layman's salary could rise by annual increments of £5 from £150 to £170.¹¹ Although there is less evidence of discontent with salaries in the A.W.M.M.S. than in the L.M.S., Bromilow complained in terms similar to those used by the married L.M.S. missionaries, prompting the board, when threatened by his resignation on the grounds of financial stress, to vote him an extra allowance.¹²

Allowances paid to the Sacred Heart and Anglican missionaries bore no comparison to the stipends of the Protestants, nor were they expected to serve the same purpose, as these two missions provided its workers with food, furnishings and other material requirements. The Sacred Heart Mission paid its workers no salary, but permitted them a small allowance furnished by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Each priest received approximately £40 (F.1,000), the brothers and sisters slightly less (F.900).¹³ In the Anglican Mission although Maclaren originally intended paying his workers £300 p.a., and indeed employed the first workers on high salaries,¹⁴

10 Instructions to Missionaries, no.9.

11 See Minutes of First General Conference 1904, 55; Minutes of Fourth General Conference, 1913, 66.

12 District Synod Minutes 1902, Res.5; Brown to Bromilow, 4 February 1903, Letterbook, 1902-03. M.O.M.

13 J. Vaudon, Henri Verjus, 83. Navarre to Couppé, n.d. [1885] Correspondence 1881-89, R.A.

14 Lawes to Thompson, 17 June 1890, P.L. L.M.S.; Yarnold to King, 18 March 1895, box 15, file 53. A.A.

circumstances soon forced his successor to a change in policy. Stone-Wigg offered Anglican missionaries £20 p.a., an allowance less than a quarter of that paid by their Anglo-Catholic neighbours in the Melanesian Mission,¹⁵ and one that remained unchanged till the Second World War.

The simplicity and frugality enjoined upon the missionaries was reflected in their dress, which was casual and functional. That part of the stereotype of the nineteenth-century Protestant missionary which portrays him in sombre formal black frock-coat and top-hat, or his Catholic counterpart in 'impeccable soutane and starched surplice',¹⁶ never fitted the reality in New Guinea. Soon after his arrival, Lawes paused to wonder what his English supporters would think of his preaching in white trousers and collarless check flannel shirt.¹⁷ Khaki or white drill trousers with flannel shirt remained standard missionary dress, differentiating them little from the other Europeans in the colony. Pith helmets were occasionally worn, but more commonly felt or straw hats.

Sometimes dress might reflect individual tastes or idiosyncrasies. The eccentric Anglican, Wilfred Abbot, who was wont to impress his congregation by donning his 'gaudy Oxford hood', also had in his wardrobe riding breeches and gaiters, three black coats, two gross of collars, linen-faced, four dozen cuffs, one biretta and two surplices.¹⁸ His colleague Francis de Sales Buchanan embellished his outfit of white shirt and khaki trousers with a bright red silk scarf tied at the waist, as did also the sturdy veteran of the L.M.S., James Chalmers.¹⁹ The L.M.S. pioneer Percy Schlencker wore a garb 'suggestive of a Texan cowboy', while his Methodist contemporary,

15 D. Hilliard, God's Gentlemen, 146.

16 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 385-86.

17 Lawes, Diary, 22 February 1876.

18 A. Chignell, Twenty-one Years..., 105; Losses incurred by the Rev. Wilfred Abbot, 19 August 1899. Personal Files, box 20. A.A.

19 G. White, Francis de Sales Buchanan, 43.

Ambrose Fletcher wore a similarly rugged outfit of 'blue dungaree trousers and a Crimea shirt'.²⁰ Their dress, always simple, was frequently shabby. Ben Butcher described himself working in a 'very old shirt,... pair of paint-marked khaki pants tucked into socks that need darning and a pair of burst out boots'.²¹ A government officer was taken aback to be welcomed to the Anglican Mission by a priest, Copland King, dressed in 'flannel shirt and dirty trousers'.²²

In the Sacred Heart Mission, poverty in dress was even more noticeable. 'The Fathers and Brothers have barely enough common shirts and trousers (of the kind worn by miners and railwaymen) to keep them clad', Beatrice Grimshaw observed.

The habits of the nuns are patched and darned and faded; their veils are a wonder of stitchery. Boots and shoes are freely lent from one to another, patched, re-made, worked out to the last shred of leather.²³

During one of the mission's worst financial crises the sisters resorted to making shoes from discarded goat-skins.²⁴ Visitors to Mekeo and Roro were moved by the sight of gaunt, bearded priests, their eyes burning with fever, dressed in the patched khaki trousers and shirt of a navy.²⁵

The same frugality was apparent in the diet of the missionaries. Their commitment to simplicity was in this respect reinforced by the necessity, in an environment which yielded them only a limited variety and amount of food, of importing most of what they ate. The missionary's staple was tinned beef. A.K. Chignell's observations on the food served at Anglican stations describes the regimen, not only of most missionaries, but of most Europeans in Papua at that time:

20 W. Geil, Ocean and Isle, 211; M.R., November 1906, 10.

21 Butcher to Miss Holtumm, 10 September 1912. Butcher Papers, MS 1881 (unnumbered box).

22 Green, Letter to family, 18 March 1895, 18. P.M.B.

23 B. Grimshaw, op.cit., 16.

24 Navarre, Annales, 1891, 452.

25 J. McLaren, op.cit., 121; Annales, 1955, 217; Grimshaw, op.cit., 16.

The ordinary food on most of the stations...is tinned meat and biscuits three times a day at the conventional Australian hours. There may be a dish or two of badly cooked...native vegetables... and there is sure to be a big pot of...overdrawn tea,...but bulumukau [beef] and biscuits, biscuits and bulumukau seem to be the staple food.²⁶

A typical grocery list sent to Messrs Burns, Philp and Co. in Cooktown in 1891 included also tins of soup, honey, coffee, lard and butter; potted meats, two hams and bottles of chutney, herbs, oil, capers and sauce.²⁷ 'I live largely on tins from morning to night and seem to flourish on these strange articles', Ben Butcher informed a friend in England.²⁸

After the early years, scarcity was rarely a problem, but there are numerous feeling testimonies to the lack of variety in their diet. Visiting the Anglican Mission as Metropolitan in 1908, the Archbishop of Brisbane listed the 'intolerably nauseous monotony of tinned beef and milkless tea' as one of the missionary's greatest privations.²⁹ It was, said Henry Newton, 'deadly monotonous, the sameness of taste, or lack of taste.'³⁰ Confronted with this dreary diet, missionaries dreamt of grilled chops and begged friends to send delicacies.³¹ Albert Maclaren wrote to a lady supporter for a Christmas box, which he did not live to receive. He asked for currants, raisins and French plums. 'Don't be offended at my asking for sweets', he wrote. 'I often long for luxuries, perhaps its wrong.'³²

26 A. Chignell, An Outpost in New Guinea, 288; Staniforth Smith, Handbook of Territory of Papua, 2nd ed., 12.

27 Dauncey to Messrs Burns, Philp and Co., 19 November 1891, Letterbook, L.M.S. ms 1356/15 (M.L.).

28 Butcher to Mrs Holtumm, 22 January 1905. Butcher Papers, MS 1881/1.

29 O.P., 19 September 1908, 4.

30 Newton, op.cit., 66.

31 Riley to Thompson, 5 January 1910, P.L., L.M.S. Ena Butcher to parents, 27 July 1913, Butcher Papers, MS 1881/5.

32 Maclaren to Mrs Laidley, 9 September 1891. Letterbook. A.A.; cf. de Boismenu begging his sisters for chocolates in February 1906. (A. Dupeyrat and F. de la Noë, op.cit., 56.)

Fresh meat and dairy foods were rare treats in the Protestant and Anglican missions. At Dogura, a beast was killed on festive occasions, but fresh meat was unknown at most other stations. The Methodist missionaries at Dobu, receiving a breast of mutton from the Merrie England at the same time as Mrs Bromilow brought a sheep from Samarai, ate 'more fresh meat in one week than...we ever had in a year'.³³ Another Methodist missionary, J.R. Williams, visiting Rossel Island, where a resident kept cattle, marvelled: 'Fresh beef, fresh butter, new milk and cream.... When did I last have them?' The answer was, two years earlier on furlough, but at other times, added Williams, 'I've been four or more years without.'³⁴

As they became established, missionaries supplemented their diet with native and cultivated food. Most learnt to substitute sweet potato, yams and taro for English potatoes, and bananas for bread, and to use wallaby and pigeons for fresh meat. Buchanan's diet, consistent with his whole life-style, comprised mainly native food.³⁵ But only the most resourceful of the Protestant and Anglican missionaries wholeheartedly exploited their environment for foodstuffs. By 1914, Butcher could boast that he was growing successfully at Aird Hill oranges, limes, mangoes, macadamia nuts, pineapples, pumpkins, taro, sweet potato, banana, Indian corn, sugar cane and yams.³⁶ Several years later, he assured his absent wife that for a weekly food bill of 15/- he had a balanced and varied diet: eggs for breakfast, a small tin of soup for lunch, while for dinner he would 'kill a tin of meat' and make an Irish stew, finishing with fresh oranges and bananas.³⁷

Despite the initial poverty of the Sacred Heart Mission and the chronic shortages which brought its pioneer missionaries close to

33 Tinney, *Diary II*, 191, 6 January 1902.

34 M.R., October 1907, 13.

35 G. White, op.cit., 31.

36 Butcher to Mrs Holtumm, 30 January 1914, Butcher Papers, MS 1881/3.

37 Butcher to Ena Butcher, 12 April 1920, Butcher Papers, MS 1881/1; cf. Chignell, An Outpost..., 289.

starvation, later Sacred Heart missionaries managed, through their energetic self-help programme, to eat better than their Protestant contemporaries. Like them they depended partially on imported foods, turning on MacGregor's advice from salted beef, which was indigestible and frequently tainted, to tinned meat,³⁸ but with a large herd of cattle at Yule Island and small herds at other stations, they could more readily vary their diet with fresh meat.³⁹ They also exploited local food sources, eating crocodile and parrot as well as a wide range of fruit and vegetables.⁴⁰ The French sisters, schooled in domestic excellence, and the brothers, amongst whom were butchers, bakers and pastry cooks, were able to make the most of the resources at their disposal. They baked their own bread, made their own butter and cheese, grew and roasted their own coffee. Dining at Yule Island in 1891, Sir William MacGregor was served 'soup, a fowl, claret, cheese and one or two other dishes'.⁴¹ A few years later another visitor to Yule Island described a five-course dinner which included an entrée of bacon-cabbage croquettes; poultry, mutton and kid; dessert of pressed curds and cream; fruit, coffee, wine and brandy.⁴²

One of the major differences in diet between the Sacred Heart Mission and the others was the consumption of alcohol. In the Methodist Mission, where all were 'temperance enthusiasts', the only alcohol was a small amount of brandy locked in the medicine cupboard;⁴³ at the impoverished Anglican Mission, a bottle of claret might be opened for a special occasion such as the bishop's birthday;⁴⁴ and in the L.M.S., although Chalmers had his whisky, Rich his beer

38 B.N.G. A.R., 1889, 19.

39 In 1906 the S.H.M. had 100 head of cattle on Yule Island and 200 on the mainland (MacKay, Across Papua, 168).

40 V. Ceresi, The Life of Father Genocchi, 204-05.

41 MacGregor, Diary III, 2 September 1891.

42 John Green to family, 21 September 1892, 16 (P.M.B.).

43 Billing, Diary III, 9.

44 Gill, Diary, 3 November 1914, Gill Papers.

and Holmes and his wife, a 'nightcap', most were teetotallers.⁴⁵ But in the Sacred Heart Mission, alcohol was a standard part of the diet. The L.M.S. boat-builder, Robert Bruce, having enjoyed a 'splendid' dinner while visiting Yule Island commented, no doubt with some satisfaction: 'They do not spare the wine at meal-times.'⁴⁶ In the cold, damp, mountain stations, missionaries laced their tea with rum.⁴⁷ The presence at Yule Island of a copper still for distilling rum led to a lively correspondence between the missionaries and the government, ending in the former reluctantly handing over to the government agent 'one worm - part of a distilling machine.'⁴⁸ MacGregor explained that he thought it best for 'the moral and physical health of the mission' to confiscate it.⁴⁹

But despite their more varied and interesting diet, the daily fare of the Sacred Heart missionaries was as frugal as that of the Protestants. Hospitable to a fault, the fathers pressed wine and good food on guests, or celebrated their own feast-days with fresh meat, wine and home-cooked gâteaux, but generally meals were modest and simple. Genocchi noted in 1894 that wine was only served on Sundays.⁵⁰ Priests and brothers on remote stations often had makeshift cooking arrangements. Father Eschlimann's diet was simple: French fries for breakfast, lunch and dinner. Father Dubuy at Ononghe 'just opened a tin of meat and with a hunk of bread, washed down with a substitute for tea, made a frugal meal.'⁵¹

The diet of the missionaries, while only in exceptional cases leading to malnutrition, probably did little to maintain their

45 See, for example, Lawes, Diary, 8 April 1882; Holmes to Dauncey, 10 September 1903, L.M.S. MS 1356/13 (M.L.).

46 Bruce to Thompson, 30 January 1894, P.L. L.M.S.

47 See Annales, 1905, 267 and 1945, 89.

48 See receipt, 30 January 1895, and other correspondence, Mission/government file, B.A.

49 MacGregor to Navarre, 24 November 1897. Mission/government file, B.A.

50 V. Ceresi, op.cit., 239.

51 Annales, 1911, 459; Hurley, Diary D, 27 December 1921, 35; see also MacGregor, Diary II, 11 September 1892.

health, and still less their sense of psychological well-being. Most ate too little fresh food, especially green vegetables and dairy foods, were too dependent on carbohydrates, and had too little variety.

The missionaries' health was most influenced, however, not by their poor diet, but by the ubiquitous presence of the anopheles mosquito. Like all their contemporaries, the missionaries in New Guinea were ignorant of its malignant influence till the end of the nineteenth century, attributing their sufferings instead to the noxious gas emanating from decayed vegetable matter in swamps, a theory almost universally accepted since Roman times.⁵²

Malaria, or fever as it was commonly called, dominated their lives. It was 'the inescapable companion of the inhabitants of New Guinea'.⁵³ Old hands nursed newcomers through their first bouts, hoping that early attacks would give them some immunity. Father Cochard described the period of acclimatization of a group of newcomers to Yule Island:

Father Coltée was down with fever, Father Bouellat trembled like a leaf.... The next day I had fever; it gripped me for eight days then left me, but in a state of weakness that one could not imagine without experiencing it. I have not suffered the most. Brother Edmond raved for three days.... Father Claudius has been the only victim claimed for heaven, after six days of almost continual delirium. We have been in New Guinea for only a month.⁵⁴

Early attacks were often more acute, but for most missionaries, they were a continuing experience. Archbishop Navarre reckoned on half of his staff being ill at any time. Attacks were borne stoically. The Archbishop of Brisbane noted that at the annual conference of the Anglican Mission at Dogura in 1907, not once did the whole company sit down to a meal:

52 See Fellows in M.R., August 1892, 8; Verjus to Chevalier, 3 November 1885, in Annales, 1886; A. Chignell, An Outpost..., 304; and R. Ross, Memoirs, 118 ff.

53 Cochard, 8 December 1893, Annales, 1894, 273.

54 Ibid, 279.

Fever invariably seemed to claim a victim, but the matter, by a sort of tacit etiquette, was not referred to in conversation; it was accepted as the normal condition of things, to be borne without complaint.⁵⁵

Father Genocchi, reporting four or five stricken with fever added: 'but one knows it is transitory, and therefore little notice is taken of a malady to which we are so accustomed that we hardly take it into account at all.'⁵⁶

Despite such overt stoicism, some missionaries confided to diaries, memoirs and letters accounts of their intense sufferings.

Ben Butcher wrote:

It is a miserable experience and the first time it hit me I hardly knew what was happening. I had found life full of excitement...and then suddenly the zest of it all went from me and the days seemed heavy.... My head ached terribly and I shivered under blankets, while my skin was burning hot. I shivered so much that the bed shook and then the shivering gave place to heat and I would perspire...profusely. Then the attack would pass, leaving me exhausted....⁵⁷

'Yesterday I felt brave and well; today I am as useless as a piece of wet blotting paper', reported Matthew Gilmour.⁵⁸

Worse than the burning fever, the aching limbs, the vomiting, occasional delirium or unconsciousness was, for many missionaries, the condition in which a malaria attack left them. Charles Abel, amongst the strongest and most resilient of the missionaries, described the after-effects as 'most depressed spirits and an indescribable feeling of utter prostration.'⁵⁹ One of the 'most miserable looking

55 O.P., 17 September 1908, 4.

56 Genocchi, Letter, 22 November 1894. Annales, 1895, 22.

57 Butcher, op.cit., 49. See also A. Chignell, op.cit., 296-99; Beswick, Diary, 25 April 1879-12 May 1879.

58 M.R., February 1906, 3.

59 C. Abel, Savage Life in New Guinea, 168.

wretches' to be seen in the mission field, wrote Henry Newton, was 'a man sitting on a verandah after...fever, looking gloomy, surly, inwardly wondering why he had been such a fool as to come to such a place'.⁶⁰ It is impossible to understand the tensions, failures and breakdowns in the mission field without taking into account the lassitude and deep depression which pervaded the bodies and spirits of chronic malaria sufferers.

Even the earliest missionaries in New Guinea, while not knowing the cause of malaria, were familiar with the use of quinine in its treatment. Lawes noted that he was taking fifteen grains daily,⁶¹ a larger and more systematic dose than that generally taken by later missionaries. Methodist missionaries were prudent in using quinine prophylactically; a few others took regular doses of fifteen grains at the end of a ten day cycle, but it seems that, most commonly, missionaries simply dosed themselves at the onset of and during an attack.⁶² A bitter-tasting drug, taken in liquid form or later in five-grain tabloids, quinine could produce unpleasant side-effects ranging from headache, nausea, vomiting, diarrhoea and skin rashes to deafness, ringing in the ears, dizziness and disturbance of vision. Some could not tolerate it at all. MacGregor believed it was Maclaren's allergy to quinine that caused his premature death.⁶³ Arsenic was

60 H. Newton, op.cit., 65.

61 Lawes, Diary, 15 September 1877; W.G. Lawes, 'The Effect of the Climate of New Guinea upon Exotic Races', Australian Medical Gazette, 1887, 185.

62 Brown to Fellows, 15 September 1902. Letterbook 1901-02; Chignell, op.cit., 308-09; Lovett, James Chalmers..., 346; M.R., May 1898, 8; Money to Stone-Wigg, 1 April 1905, Personal Files, box 22. A.A.

63 MacGregor, Introduction to F. Synge, Albert Maclaren. However, Maclaren mentions several times in his diary and letters that he had taken quinine, without alluding to adverse effects. In the Methodist Mission, after the death of Sister Lise Truscott, the sisters passed a resolution requiring that ability to tolerate quinine should be a pre-requisite of missionary service.

another approved form of treatment in all four missions.⁶⁴ Veteran missionaries had their own remedies. Chalmers earnestly advised Sir Peter Scratchley to drink champagne,⁶⁵ while his colleague, Lawes, placed sober faith in Warburg's tincture, 'far and away the best medicine for New Guinea fever.'⁶⁵ Maclaren favoured a bottle of stout, while the trusted remedy of teetotaler, William Bromilow, was one tablespoon of rum or brandy, quarter of a teaspoon of black pepper, a few drops of laudanum, ammonia and nutmeg. 'The first two alone may effect the cure', commented Stone-Wigg.⁶⁷

Although there is no evidence of speculation by the missionaries as to the mode of infection, the more scientifically-minded charted the course of their attacks. Lawes published a paper in the Australasian Medical Gazette of 1887 based on more than a decade of careful observation.⁶⁸ Besides the simple intermittent fever and the remittent type recognised by medical science, he identified another type which seemed 'to partake of the character of both intermittent and remittent' with violent symptoms and premature recurrences.

In August 1897 Major Ronald Ross proved, after three years' investigation in India, that, as he and other scientists had long suspected, malaria was caused by parasites transmitted by a mosquito, which he identified as the anopheles. The following year he established the mode of infection.⁶⁹ The new century brought to the missionaries

64 See, for instance, Brown to Fellows, 15 September 1902, Letterbook, 1901-02; W.G. Lawes, 'The Effect of the Climate of New Guinea upon Exotic Races', Australasian Medical Gazette, 1887, 186; Letter of Father Vedère, n.d., Annales, 1905, 207.

65 MacGregor, Diary I, 25 November 1890.

66 Lawes to Thompson, 1 November 1886, P.L. L.M.S.

67 Maclaren to Primate, 10 November 1891. Fragment of Notebook IV, August-December 1891, 98. A.A., and Stone-Wigg, Diary II, 163.

68 W.G. Lawes, 'The Effect of the Climate of New Guinea upon Exotic Races', 185-86.

69 R. Ross, Memoirs, 201-91.

in the remote New Guinea fields, details of these discoveries. 'I have read a splendid lecture in Nature on Malarial Fever,' George Brown wrote from Sydney to his nephew, Ambrose Fletcher. 'It seems clearly established now that the infection is by mosquitoes.'⁷⁰ Later in the year, they read of these discoveries for themselves. 'There has been much in the paper lately about the malarial fever being caused by the mosquitoes', a Methodist sister noted in her journal in November 1900, adding that there was some scepticism about the theory amongst the Methodist missionaries.⁷¹

It is difficult to tell to what extent increased understanding led to the reduction in the incidence of malaria amongst the missionaries. The observation of the Archbishop of Brisbane as to its prevalence amongst the Anglican staff was made as late as 1907; but four years later it was reported of that same staff that its health was 'uniformly good'. The report added: 'The increased knowledge of malaria and how to avoid it has done wonders.'⁷² It seems however that the practice of using quinine to cure rather than to prevent persisted well into the twentieth century amongst missionaries as amongst other white residents⁷³ and that, consequently, malaria remained a major problem.

The handbook compiled for present and prospective residents in the first decade of the twentieth century assured its readers that Papua was free of most of the deadly contagious tropical diseases.⁷⁴ The three diseases listed as causing death in Papua were malaria, blackwater fever and dysentery. Blackwater fever, a reaction to falciparum malaria probably precipitated by incorrect and inadequate

70 Brown to Fletcher, 19 July 1900. Letterbook 1900-01. M.O.M.

71 Lloyd, Journal V, 4 November 1900; cf. Father Eschlimann's scepticism, Annales, 1910, 500.

72 Report of New Guinea Mission 1911, 14.

73 See, for example, Lawrence to Lenwood, 3 December 1915, P.L. L.M.S.

74 Handbook for Territory of Papua, 2nd ed., 12.

treatment with quinine,⁷⁵ but then regarded as a separate disease, wrought havoc in the Sacred Heart Mission. In one year, 1898, Navarre reported four deaths from this disease, known in the mission as haematuric fever (la fièvre hématurique), and in total at least ten Sacred Heart missionaries died from it.⁷⁶ Numerous others survived attacks. By contrast, only one non-Roman Catholic missionary died of blackwater fever,⁷⁷ and only five others are known to have suffered attacks.

Dysentery, a disease capable of decimating the Papuan population of this period, especially those concentrated on the goldfields of the Mamba and Lakekamu, threatened Europeans less. Amongst the missionaries, those who suffered most were single males living under primitive conditions on remote stations. One Sacred Heart priest died from it and a number of priests and brothers suffered attacks, a fact attributed by some observers to lack of care in selection of drinking water and to their tolerance of burials, within both mission and village, in close proximity to housing.⁷⁸ One Anglican layman, also living a spartan life on an isolated station, died from dysentery.⁷⁹

Minor stomach ailments plagued the missionaries, one of whom ranked them as a health problem second only to malaria.⁸⁰

75 A.R.D. Adams and B.G. MacGraith, Clinical Tropical Diseases, 48-49. I am grateful to Professor A. Radford of Flinders University, S.A., for this reference and accompanying comments. The authors characterise blackwater fever as a 'state of acute haemolysis accompanied by haemoglobinuria and associated with a history of past or present falciparum malaria'. The heavy incidence of blackwater fever within the S.H.M. may be attributable to what appears to have been a more erratic use of quinine in this mission, often enforced by isolation, poverty and poor supplies. Interesting, too, is the authors' hypothesis that blackwater fever may occur in cases with a history of 'excessive manual labour', as this was a characteristic that distinguished the Sacred Heart missionaries from their colleagues.

76 See below, 391-92.

77 Andrew Ballantyne, Methodist Mission, 1915.

78 See A.C. Haddon, Headhunters, Black, White and Brown, 276; Kowald to MacGregor, 24 September 1892, Mission/government file, B.A.

79 Edward Clark, 1899.

80 A. Chignell, An Outpost..., 292.

They suffered from biliousness, diarrhoea, 'Indigestion and Constipation and other kindred diseases of the Bowels',⁸¹ complaints undoubtedly related to their poor diet and, in some cases, to fever remedies. Other minor maladies endured were various skin complaints. Many suffered the misery of boils or watched small scratches spread into gaping tropical ulcers. Besides this host of tropical ailments the missionaries suffered from the same range of diseases as they might have incurred in a temperate climate - respiratory infections, influenza, pneumonia, rheumatic fever and tuberculosis - the only difference being that in the chronically anaemic state to which malaria reduced them, they had less resistance than they might have had elsewhere.

Given the continued prevalence of such a range of ills, major and minor, in the mission field, it is extraordinary that the mission societies themselves had so few qualified medical workers. In the S.H.M. where ill-health was so widespread, there was not a single qualified doctor or nurse, though a few of the priests had gained some practical experience in European hospitals, and many of the sisters had developed considerable nursing skill through years of devoted practice. In the Anglican Mission, eight of the women were trained nurses, but there was no doctor on the staff until the arrival of Cecil Gill in 1926. The Methodist Mission staff included two nurses but no doctors. In the L.M.S., after the abortive careers of Drs Ridgley and Turner, no further doctors were appointed before the First World War, although a number of missionaries took brief courses in tropical medicine in preparation for mission-work, as did a few of the Anglicans. Several mission wives were qualified nurses. But in general the missionaries were dependent for medical treatment on the two government doctors, or, between 1888 and 1898, on the kindly ministrations of Sir William MacGregor, himself a qualified doctor, or, in the overwhelming majority of cases, on the trial and error procedures of home treatment, an experience common to all in frontier situations. In all four missions it was accepted that critical cases could be taken off the field, and probably many lives

⁸¹ Tomlinson to Hughes, 15 October 1893, Thomas Collection.

were thus saved, but frequently isolation, poor communications and erratic shipping made this little more than a hypothetical expedient.

Despite the increased understanding of malaria, lack of proper medical attention and poor diet ensured that for many missionaries, chronic poor health remained a fact of life. Through the period up to the First World War, many missionaries faced their work anaemic from malaria, debilitated by intestinal ailments and irritated by a host of minor complaints. This was especially true of the Sacred Heart missionaries, a factor which contemporaries related to their more austere and arduous life. 'They half starve themselves so they soon fall victim to fever; they work at manual labour in the heat of the day and don't take care of their bodies', noted Albert Maclaren.⁸² Sir William MacGregor reported Father Vitale as saying that they were 'never well and never very ill', while Navarre explained to colleagues in Europe that when they said they were well, they meant they were not utterly prostrated by fever.⁸³ If the Protestant missionaries suffered less, their problems were compounded by the ill-health of wives, children and the South Sea Island teachers in their care. Archibald Hunt wrote of returning to Port Moresby 'weak as a rat', after being attacked by fever while travelling, to find 'Mrs Hunt semi-delirious, Ruatoka down with pneumonia, a Samoan teacher's wife bad with blackwater fever, and more than half my large family here down with colds and fever.'⁸⁴

Solicitude about the health of their workers led all the mission societies to stress the need for recreation as an intrinsic part of mission life. It was part of the rule regulating the lives of the Sacred Heart missionaries; it was constantly urged upon the L.M.S. missionaries by their paternal foreign secretary, Ralph

82 Maclaren, Diary, 20 May 1890. See also MacGregor, in B.N.G. A.R. 1890, 19.

83 MacGregor, Diary III, 14 September 1892; Navarre to Director of Holy Childhood, 19 December 1890. Annales, 1892, 333.

84 Hunt to Thompson, 13 January 1901, P.L. L.M.S.

Wardlaw Thompson; and it was encouraged in the Anglican and Methodist fields by the bishop and chairman respectively.

A number of missionaries devoted their leisure to developing and mastering hobbies and skills. For some, exploration or linguistics became a passion rather than simply an evangelistic tool. Hobbies frequently reflected contemporary interests. L.M.S. missionaries, Holmes and Saville, plunged with enthusiasm into the new science of anthropology; others such as Father Guis and Bishop Stone-Wigg became competent ethnographers. The scholarly Father Genocchi found that contemplation of the star-filled tropical sky impelled him to a profounder study of science and the universe;⁸⁵ Copland King pursued his life-long interest in botany and Ben Butcher collected butterflies, hoping to become a 'second-class entymologist'.⁸⁶ Young missionaries like Dauncey, Walker, Butcher and Giblin became fascinated by photography, occasionally earning rebukes for letting the hobby become too absorbing. J.H. Holmes revealed a typically Protestant concern to justify the use of leisure and the pursuit of science in his observation that working with his microscope reminded him of God's 'infinite skill in all his works'.⁸⁷

Sport was regarded as a proper part of the life of a muscular Christian. L.M.S., Methodist and Anglican missionaries played tennis with government officials at 'Port' or on the grass courts of the Anglican Mission at Dogura, and participated in games of cricket on pitches prepared under their own supervision. Some enjoyed riding, hunting and shooting; some played badminton and billiards. The Methodist sisters played decorous games of croquet, and swam on Saturday mornings. When it was too wet for outdoor sport,

85 Ceresi, *op.cit.*, 252.

86 Butcher to Ena Butcher, 12 April 1896, P.L. L.M.S.

87 Holmes to Thompson, 17 April 1896, P.L. L.M.S. See also comment by Holmes' colleague, Will Saville, 'We seem to grudge any time put into our own enjoyment', letter to brother, 4 January 1919, Saville Papers.

they tried the 'new game of ping-pong'.⁸⁸ At Dogura, Bishop Stone-Wigg escorted the lady missionaries on evening strolls to Ganuganuana, about half a mile away. There is not the same evidence of organised sport in the Sacred Heart Mission, perhaps because European Catholic missionaries did not share the same convictions about its character-building properties or perhaps because in their vigorous, outdoor lives there was not the same need for additional physical activity.

In the evenings, missionaries at the larger stations gathered for parlour games and music. It seems that even the traditionally austere attitude of the Methodists towards such amusements relaxed as the century drew to a close. 'Are we not frivolous?' a Methodist sister asked a former colleague in a letter detailing their recreation.⁸⁹ There is no evidence of missionaries playing cards, but the anthropologist Alfred Haddon played 'Ludo' with Archbishop Navarre; Ben Butcher learnt to play chess and other L.M.S. missionaries played 'Bobs' and 'Up Jenkins'.⁹⁰ Haddon delighted the Sacred Heart missionaries in 1898 by giving them their first experience of a phonograph and Methodist missionaries at Dobu welcomed visits from the resident magistrate, Campbell, for the same reason.⁹¹ During the early years of the twentieth century some stations acquired their own gramophones, but on most, missionaries provided their own music, usually in the form of an organ or harmonium around which groups could gather for communal singing. Several of the Sacred Heart missionaries were accomplished musicians. A colleague painted a memorable pen-portrait of Bishop de Boismenu spending an evening in the mission hut on the high mountain station of Oba-Oba, leaning back, eyes closed and smiling as Father Fastré, a gifted flautist, played his repertoire of airs from opera and comic opera,

88 M.R., July 1902, 8.

89 Walker to Billing, 30 August 1899, Billing Papers. M.O.M. 162.

90 A.C. Haddon, Headhunters..., 252, and see, for example, Butcher, Diary 1912, Butcher Papers, MS 1881.

91 A.C. Haddon, Headhunters..., 252, and M.R., January 1902, 9.

old French songs and religious music.⁹²

One mode of relaxation that was important in the lives of the Sacred Heart missionaries and notably less in the lives of the others was the use of tobacco. In the Anglican and L.M.S. missions some individuals indulged in a pipe or even a cigarette, but in the Sacred Heart Mission smoking was almost a universal habit amongst the male missionaries.⁹³ The ascetic Father Chabot, at first nauseated by his companions' smoking became a devotee of the pipe. Brother Lainé smoked a long tube of newspaper containing native tobacco, Father Guilbaud a bamboo pipe which stained his white beard orange, and Father Norin was always remembered after his death with an 'eternal cigarette'.⁹⁴ In a revealing comment made in a letter to his sisters, de Boismenu wrote: 'I must chat a little with you, a humble cigarette on the corner of the table. Don't open your eyes wide. It substitutes for so many things....'⁹⁵

For missionaries of all persuasions reading was a favourite leisure activity. 'Books, books, books - there is nothing as good out here.... Books and letters are as valuable as quinine', wrote Romney Gill from his lonely station on the Mamba River.⁹⁶ What books, and how many the missionaries read depended, as in any community, on background, education and personality. There is little evidence in the available records of the reading habits of the majority of the missionaries, but the diaries and letters of a small minority give some idea of what was read and enjoyed in the mission field.

Much of their reading matter was 'improving' rather than entertaining. They read devotional books and theology, biography,

92 Annales, 1955, 193.

93 A. Dupeyrat, Le Sanglier de Kouni, 126; F. Hurley, Pearls and Savages, 157; Annales, 1895, 221.

94 A. Dupeyrat, Le Sanglier..., 126; Annales, 1952, 95; Annales, 1937, 190 and 193; Annales, 1946, 29.

95 A. Dupeyrat and F. de la Noë, op.cit., 61.

96 Gill to his mother, 31 August 1922. Gill Papers.

reference books and some modern classical literature. Ben Butcher's wife, arriving at Aird Hill after her marriage, was pleased to find that her husband possessed 'all Dickens, Thackeray and Shakespeare in nice handy little volumes, a lot of Ruskin and Walter Scott.' Of course, she added, there were also 'lots of religious books and various sundries on carpentering and Mechanical Things'.⁹⁷ Like many of her contemporaries, in the mission field as elsewhere, she sat down with her husband in the evenings to laugh with Mr Pickwick or to cry over Little Dorrit.⁹⁸

The only author as frequently mentioned as Dickens was Thomas Carlyle. George Bardsley and J.H. Holmes both recorded reading his great spiritual autobiography Sartor Resartus, the latter considering it 'next to the Bible in fascination'.⁹⁹ Other missionaries read Past and Present, The French Revolution and On Heroes.¹⁰⁰ Works by Longfellow, Thackeray, Tennyson, Ruskin and Whittier were also read. In the Anglican Mission Bishop Sharp read Jane Austen while travelling, and Romney Gill enjoyed Moby Dick.¹⁰¹ Ben Butcher and Romney Gill are the only missionaries known to have read a popular love story.¹⁰²

A visitor to the L.M.S. station at Kalaigolo was impressed by the size of the library of devotional books owned by its evangelical missionary, Percy Schlencker.¹⁰³ Other missionaries' libraries were

97 Ena Butcher to Mr and Mrs Davidson, 3 June 1913. Butcher Papers, MS 1881.

98 Ibid.

99 See, for instance, Bardsley, Diary, 15 September 1891; Holmes, Diary, 5 January 1895.

100 Ena Butcher to Mr and Mrs Davidson, 3 June 1913. Butcher Papers, MS 1881; Bardsley, Diary, 19-20 October 1891; Holmes, Diary, 20 December 1894.

101 See, for example, Lloyd, Journal V, 4 November 1899; Billing, Diary I, passim; Gill, Diary, 22 October 1916; and Gill to mother, 1 October 1922, Gill Papers.

102 Butcher, Diary, 9 December 1912, Butcher Papers, MS 1881, and Gill to mother, 1 October 1922, Gill Papers.

103 F. Lenwood, Pastels from the Pacific, 156.

more modest, but in most, religious books were preponderant.¹⁰⁴ Much of the religious literature read in the Methodist and L.M.S. missions seems to have been evangelical theology. Methodist probationers were given so extensive a reading list of such items that they would have had little time for any other reading. Even the biographies read in all four missions were mostly lives of great religious figures.¹⁰⁵

Only faint echoes of theological controversies then agitating British religious circles were heard in the New Guinea mission fields. L.M.S. missionary, Thomas Beswick, read Renan's Life of Jesus, still regarded as dangerously radical for its portrayal of Jesus as a man, but he read also Mozley's conservative book, On Miracles, which, although published in 1864, was pre-Darwinian in its argument from design.¹⁰⁶ In the first decade of the twentieth century Ben Butcher devoured the new theology of J.R. Campbell, whom he admired.¹⁰⁷ Anglo-Catholics such as Maclaren and Stone-Wigg read Lux Mundi in New Guinea, the former only a year after its publication and at the time when the controversy it provoked in the debate on biblical criticism was at its peak.¹⁰⁸

Whenever the mail arrived, missionaries received chunky packets of newspapers and periodicals, frequently months out of date. Anglican missionaries enjoyed reading The Times and Punch.¹⁰⁹ French missionaries practised their English with Australian dailies, and

104 See inventories of books owned by King (Personal Files, box 22, A.A.); Saville (Saville Papers); Fellows (Diary); Bardsley (Diary); Beswick (Diary); and Billing (Billing Papers).

105 Stone-Wigg, Diary I, 111, 117; II, 26; Bardsley, Diary, 28 November 1891; Lloyd, Journal V, May 1901; Annales, 1901, 681.

106 See O. Chadwick, op.cit., II, 62 and 131.

107 Butcher to Mrs Holtumm, 9 August 1914. Butcher Papers, MS 1881/3.

108 F. Synge, Albert Maclaren, 52; Stone-Wigg, Diary I, 105; O. Chadwick, op.cit., II, 101.

109 Combley to Stone-Wigg, n.d. [1901]. Personal Files, box 20, A.A.; A. Chignell, op.cit., 69.

Ben Butcher received the British Daily News and the Examiner.¹¹⁰ Describing the hunger of L.M.S. missionaries for such literature, Lawes appealed to supporters for copies of the British Quarterly, Nineteenth Century, Contemporary Review and Cassell's magazines.¹¹¹ Religious periodicals such as the Christian World, the British Weekly, denominational and mission magazines were received and circulated.¹¹² Father Verjus wrote of the 'almost childish joy' experienced by the Sacred Heart missionaries at the arrivals of the Annales of their Society.¹¹³ For at least one Sacred Heart brother, a missionary magazine, Le Petit Messager des Missions, from his home town of Nantes, was the only publication to reach his remote mountain station.¹¹⁴

The arrival of the mail was one of the high points in a missionary's life. New missionaries tried to hide their longing for the first mail from home; old missionaries never ceased to feel the excitement, anticipation, and nostalgia that its arrival evoked. 'The mail means so much to us poor missionaries', wrote Nurse Combley from the Mamba River. 'One almost dreads it sometimes.'¹¹⁵ An Anglican missionary, Arthur Chignell, devoted a whole chapter of his memoirs to the mail, describing the impatience and restlessness of the missionary as he awaited it, the 'frequent disappointments', worst of all the missionary's disappointments, the excitement of its arrival and the transformation it wrought in his ordered, uneventful life.

110 Butcher to Holtumm, 3 April 1906, Butcher Papers, MS 1881; cf. Saville to brother, 21 September 1906, Saville Papers.

111 Lawes to Thompson, 2 June 1883, P.L. L.M.S.

112 See, for instance, Saville to brother, 20 July 1908, Saville Papers; Danks to Gilmour, 17 May 1910. Danks, Letterbooks, M.O.M.

113 Verjus to Jouet, 21 July 1888, Annales, 1893, 11.

114 Brother Lainé, February 1902, Annales, 1903, 29.

115 Combley to Stone-Wigg, 10 June 1902. Personal Files, box 20. A.A. Cf. Father Meyer, 5 March 1903, Annales, 1904, 275.

I have tried as usual - and as usual I have failed - to be reasonable and take it calmly...and what with the tangle of string and newspaper wrappers on the table, and the dregs of the mailbag all over the floor, and one's amazement at the latest matrimonial engagements and episcopal appointments and one's deep, deep thankfulness that once again all is well 'at home' - it is no longer a steady-going missionary priest in his quiet room at the end of another day of happy, methodical, plodding work, but an excited, over-stimulated and uncontrollably effusive creature....¹¹⁶

Mails were infrequent and erratic. At the beginning of the 1880s letters from London took about six weeks to reach Thursday Island,¹¹⁷ but delivery from there depended on local shipping. Missionaries, traders and government officials cooperated in an effort to carry the mails to their destinations as speedily as possible. In 1911 Charles Abel reported that a letter from London had reached him in record time, thirty-nine days.¹¹⁸ Letters from Australia were little faster. One might take sixty days, the next nineteen, but rarely did they arrive in less than a month. It was not uncommon for missionaries to wait two or three months for mail, and services did not necessarily improve with time.¹¹⁹ Anglican missionaries who had received mail from England in two months when the mission had its own schooner, later had to wait up to a month longer because of their dependence on commercial shipping.¹²⁰

A missionary awaiting mail or supplies was well aware of his limited means of transport and communication. All missions had their own small fleet of boats, mostly for travelling round their own field. In the early days there were schooners, cutters and whale-boats. By the early 1890s the missionaries of the Sacred Heart and the L.M.S. were begging for steamboats to enable them to ascend

116 A. Chignell, An Outpost..., 259-63.

117 See list of mail services, back cover, Beswick, Diary.

118 Abel to Thompson, 12 January 1911, P.L. L.M.S.

119 Billing to Lizzie [Nicholls], 1 July 1895 and 28 December 1895. Billing Papers.

120 A. Chignell, op.cit., 250.

the fast-flowing rivers, the 'roads' to the interior. Henri Verjus brought a steamer back from Australia in 1890 and James Chalmers' eloquent pleading resulted in the arrival in 1893 of the Miro, a steam-launch for the Fly River.¹²¹ To the chagrin of the missionaries, neither performed satisfactorily on the log-strewn and, at times, shallow rivers. In the first decade of the twentieth century, motor launches were added to the mission fleets, their cantankerous engines invariably causing much grief to missionaries who depended on them.¹²² Short journeys were most commonly undertaken in native canoes or in whale-boats rowed by crews of four, six or eight Papuans, either mission employees or villagers engaged for the trip. A mast and sail were carried in the whale-boat in the hope of a favourable wind.

The names of the mission-boats reflected their owners' Christian concerns and objectives. The Sacred Heart Mission, purchasing Yankee Ned's lugger, the Gordon, rechristened it the Pius IX, and soon after, supplemented it with a thirty-five ton schooner, l'Annonciade and a smaller boat, l'Ange Gardien. Their steamer was named the Saint-Michel and a yacht which ran between Port Moresby, Yule and Thursday Island, the Saint Andrew after the patron saint of Archbishop Navarre.¹²³ The Methodists received years of sterling service from the their ketch, the Dove, purchased from Sunday school subscriptions, and a yacht belonging to the L.M.S., which generated much controversy because of its luxuriousness, was christened the Olive Branch.¹²⁴

121 See Chalmers, Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea, Chapters XI and XII; Annales, 1890, 530-39; A. Henkelmann, En bourlinguant sur la Mer de Corail, 110ff.

122 See, for instance, Danks to Gilmour, 4 November 1910, Danks, Letterbook 1910. M.O.M.; Butcher, op.cit., 83; Newton, op.cit., 37.

123 For the best account of the boats of the S.H.M. see A. Henkelmann, op.cit.

124 See, for example, letters to Thompson from Walker, 11 May 1896, 13 May 1896 and 30 April 1897, and from Abel, 8 September 1896, P.L. L.M.S.

The Anglican Mission remembered its founder with its fourteen-ton schooner, the Albert Maclaren, and one of its church's ancient seats with the cutter, Canterbury. Many of the boats were provided through public subscription or the generosity of individual patrons. The Ellangowan, a small schooner with auxiliary steam, sailed by the L.M.S. from 1874 to 1898, was given the name of the Scottish home of its benefactress, Miss Baxter.¹²⁵ The Abiel Abbott Low, a motor launch which served the Anglican Mission from 1903 till it was lost in a hurricane in 1912, was named after its American donor.¹²⁶

While the missionaries provided their own local transport, they were largely dependent on commercial shipping for links with the rest of the world. Sacred Heart missionaries travelling from Europe paid Messageries Maritimes 1,200 francs [£48] for each fare to Australia and then paid another 550 francs [£22] for a passage on an Australian boat bound for New Guinea.¹²⁷ Although the London Missionary Society's Pacific ship the John Williams called once or twice yearly at New Guinea stations, the L.M.S. missionaries were as dependent as their colleagues on regular and chartered commercial services for the transport of supplies and additional travel.

The company with whom the missionaries had most dealings was Burns, Philp and Co., who began a regular bi-monthly service from Cooktown to New Guinea in 1892.¹²⁸ The company signed comprehensive contracts with all the mission societies. In 1893 they offered to supply the L.M.S. with 'all necessaries' for 15 per cent commission on landed cost in bond at Thursday Island. Two sailing vessels, the Myrtle and the Wanganui were fitted out to carry passengers and cargo on this service.¹²⁹ Contracts drawn up with the Wesleyan and Sacred Heart missions in 1902 offered a regular steam ship service to Samarai

125 W. Barradale, W.G. Lawes, 11.

126 H. Newton, op.cit., 37.

127 Annales, 1887, 326.

128 M.R., December 1892, 2.

129 Burns, Philp to Chalmers, 11 January 1893, enclosed in P.L. L.M.S.

and Yule Island in return for a guarantee that all their work be given to the company.¹³⁰ Each mission was given one free passage per year, and rebates were offered on freights and fares. In deference to universal missionary opinion, the company agreed that no work would be done at mission stations on Sundays. By the end of the century, Burns, Philp still provided the only regular sea-link with the outside world. A schooner, the Alice May, still made the six to twelve day journey to Thursday Island but in addition a steamer, the Titus, offered a fifteen to twenty day trip to Sydney once every three months.¹³¹ Missionaries of all denominations grumbled at the monopoly enjoyed by Burns, Philp and the 'exorbitant' prices they were able to charge.¹³²

Besides travelling by sea, many missionaries tramped vast distances on foot, usually in parties that were small and modestly equipped compared with government patrols. In the Sacred Heart Mission most of the staff, priests, brothers and sisters, were accomplished horse-back riders. Individuals tried other modes of travel. Reginald Bartlett of the L.M.S. traversed Papuan beaches in true colonial style in a rickshaw,¹³³ while Wilfred Abbot terrified his Anglican parishioners by hurtling around Wanigela on a bicycle.¹³⁴

But for most, the sea remained their chief route to the world beyond their station, a cause of joy to some, of regret to many. An observer noted that James Chalmers visibly expanded with a deck beneath his feet.¹³⁵ Alexis Henkelmann, a Dutch brother who had begun his working life as a pastry-cook's apprentice, found his niche in the S.H.M. as 'admiral' of the mission fleet.¹³⁶ Mechanically-minded

130 Contracts (Miscellaneous) File. Burns, Philp Archives.

131 A. Henkelmann, op.cit., 101.

132 Ibid, cf. Annales, 1898, 264.

133 W. Reid, op.cit., 57.

134 J.W. Tomlin, Awakening, 50.

135 Obituary, H. Bellyse Baildon, Dundee Advertiser, 25 April 1901.

136 See his memoirs, A. Henkelmann, op.cit.

missionaries like Matthew Gilmour or Ben Butcher spent happy hours tinkering with the motors of their launches, the latter succeeding, after the war, in building two motor launches on his station.¹³⁷

But many missionaries never came to terms with sea travel and for them the frequent journeys on capricious seas in cramped boats infested with cockroaches and often permeated with the stench of copra, were a necessary but dreaded ordeal.¹³⁸ Each of the missions had its sagas of perilous journeys and shipwrecks.

Despite the network of local and Australian shipping around the Papuan coast, services were often sporadic and unpredictable. Missionaries frequently experienced the failure of a boat to arrive on schedule, sometimes with unhappy results. In his diary for June 1892 Archbishop Navarre noted that while they awaited the overdue Wanganui, which was bringing them a case of medicine and other supplies, one brother and one sister lay gravely ill. On 18 June, Brother Rintz died. On 29 June, as the ship appeared on the horizon, he wrote: 'Sister Berchmans is dying. She will not profit from the medicines that the Wanganui is bringing.' The following day, Sister Berchmans was buried, and the Wanganui anchored at the jetty.¹³⁹

Young missionaries had to learn to tolerate the tedium and frustration of awaiting an overdue boat. 'Anxiously waiting for the Harrier', noted Walker in his journal soon after his arrival in New Guinea. 'It seems very strange not to be able to telegraph or write and enquire about her.'¹⁴⁰ After three more days of fruitlessly scanning the horizon, he commented: 'Looking for a ship which never comes might, I can readily believe, develop into a sort of madness. We are all very restless and unsettled.'¹⁴¹

137 B. Butcher, We Lived with Headhunters, passim (see photos opp. 64).

138 Annales, 1889, 74, and 148; Butcher, op.cit., 52.

139 Navarre, Journal, June 1892. B.A.; see also Annales, 1889, 414; 1895, 221.

140 Walker, Journal: Visit to Motumotu, 25 January 1888, P.J. L.M.S. (cf. Annales, 1904, 268).

141 Ibid, 28 January 1888.

On all coastal mission stations, the cry of 'Sail, oh!' as a white speck first appeared on the horizon signified one of the high moments of mission life.

At Port Moresby in 1887 a telephone was set up between the mission house and the Government Bungalow, and the following year another line joined the mission to Andrew Goldie's store.¹⁴² At Ubuia in 1908 the first telephone in a Wesleyan South Seas station linked the mission house to the wharf.¹⁴³ But no such communication was possible over a distance. The missionaries' only contacts with the outside world were through mail and shipping services. Even the use of the electric telegraph at Cooktown depended on their having a boat to carry a message from New Guinea to Cooktown.¹⁴⁴ As late as 1915 when Methodist missionary, Andrew Ballantyne, died at Kiriwina on 7 June, news of his death did not reach his colleagues at Ubuia till 25 June or his relatives in New Zealand till 24 July.¹⁴⁵

Isolation was one of the chief characteristics of mission life. Links with the world beyond the mission were tenuous and difficult. This could cause anguish if there were a sick missionary to evacuate, an absent family, a colleague or urgent supplies to await, or simply mail to anticipate. But, except perhaps at times of crisis, the missionary did not spend his time 'gazing pensively over the sea in the direction of home.'¹⁴⁶ In June 1899 Methodist sister Edith Lloyd noted in her diary:

Not many or important events break the quietude of life at Dobu, not that there is any dulnes [sic] in the place,...only that our little world goes round almost independently absorbed in its own interests, with plenty to do.¹⁴⁷

The mission station was a world of its own, small, enclosed and absorbing. It was in this world that the missionary lived.

142 Walker, Journal, 1888, P.J.; Chalmers, Report 1897, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

143 M.M.S.A. Report, 1908, 138.

144 The electric telegraph was extended to Cooktown in 1874 (Queensland Government Gazette, 1874).

145 Gilmour letter, M.R., September 1915, 10; October 1915, 21.

146 Bishop Sharp, in O.P., no.36, 1913.

147 Lloyd, Journal II, 9 June 1899.

CHAPTER FIVE

'THOUGH EVERY PROSPECT PLEASES'

THE Encyclopaedia Britannica assured its late-nineteenth century readers that the Papuan was amongst the lowest forms of humanity, 'lower even' than the average Polynesian in intellect or character.¹ This was an opinion expressed by many of the early Protestant missionaries as they first confronted the Papuan and his culture.² Steeped in the evangelical literature which, since the end of the eighteenth century, had promulgated the image of the 'ignoble savage' in opposition to the 'noble savage' of the Enlightenment, they saw the degradation that they expected to find.³ Lawes, likening the vices of civilisation to 'weeds in a cultivated garden', contrasted them to the vice of heathenism which, he said, was 'one wilderness of little but weeds'. New Guinea was a land of 'moral degradation and spiritual darkness', he told L.M.S. supporters when he returned to England on furlough.⁴

Many of the Protestant missionaries who followed Lawes in to the L.M.S. and Methodist fields expressed similar initial responses, propagandist intent probably reinforcing strong personal reactions. Thomas Beswick, who joined the L.M.S. in 1879, found the people of Hula 'very low and degraded'.⁵ Arriving in 1894, J.H. Holmes declared

1 Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th ed.), 387.

2 This chapter does not enter the debate on the meaning and utility of the concept 'culture'. It uses the term in the sense employed by Geertz's definition: 'an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols...by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life.' (C. Geertz, 'Religion as a Cultural System' in M. Banton (ed.), Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion, 3.)

3 For an elaboration of this concept see B. Smith, European Vision in the South Pacific, 55ff.

4 King, W.G. Lawes..., 136, 150.

5 Beswick, Diary, 28 February 1879.

that he could almost feel 'the darkness of heathendom' in the atmosphere.⁶ In the Methodist field, Bromilow, settling at Dobu in 1891, saw only 'sullen savages, brutal cannibals and merciless women'.⁷ Samuel Fellows, first missionary at Kiriwina, found its inhabitants a 'dark and degraded people'.⁸ Gordon Burgess, arriving at Bunama in 1910, noted the 'awful degradation of the multitude' and Walter Enticott, pioneer missionary to the Rossel Islanders, wrote of the 'settled gloom' with which their faces were stamped by the 'iron of heathenism and darkness'.⁹

Some regretted the contrast between the natural beauty of their environment and the degradation which they professed to see among its inhabitants. 'If only the people were in accord with their surroundings, this place would be a second garden of Eden', lamented Sister Julia Benjamin in 1897.¹⁰ Others, reacting in the same way, fell back on the words of Bishop Heber's well-known missionary hymn, 'From Greenland's icy mountains':

...Though every prospect pleases
And only man is vile.¹¹

A few Protestant missionaries, prepared to find the darkest degradation, were relieved to discover 'redeeming traits' or features that were 'lovable' amongst the people.¹² Even Lawes found amongst the wilderness of heathenism characteristics to admire: the domestic affection of the Papuans, their industriousness, the absence of drunkenness and the relatively superior status of women.¹³

6 Holmes to Thompson, 29 December 1894, P.L. L.M.S.

7 M.R., March 1908, 7.

8 Kiriwina Circuit Report, A.W.M.M.S. Report, 1897, xxiii.

9 M.M.S.A. Report, 1910, 114; M.R., August 1914, 21.

10 M.R., October 1897, 4.

11 Holmes, Diary, 1 May 1894, L.M.S.; Fletcher, quoted in M.R., June 1901, 2.

12 Lawes, Speech at Exeter Hall, 15 May 1879, quoted in J. King, op.cit., 137.

13 Ibid.

Frederick Walker, arriving in 1888, gave a conventional description of the 'naked savages' who greeted him at Toaripi, their hair 'fantastic and wild', their bodies tattooed and their teeth 'red as blood' from betel chewing, yet at the same time he wrote: 'the people at home little understand how much there is that is lovable and good amongst these people'.¹⁴ His colleague, J.H. Holmes, commenting on the 'depravity' of the Torres Strait Islanders, added: 'I like the natives immensely, there is so much about even the hardest and fiercest...that is loveable [sic].'¹⁵ One missionary, the Christian Socialist carpenter of the Wesleyan mission, George Bardsley, found his preconceptions about primitive society shattered by his observations. 'All my thoughts of these men as cannibals are dispersed. They are exceedingly smart men', he wrote a month after his arrival. He found them intelligent, musical, sensitive and affectionate. 'I like these Dobuans very well', he concluded.¹⁶

The Sacred Heart missionaries expressed their first responses in terms similar to those used by the Protestants. Archbishop Navarre's severe verdict on the Papuan recalls that of W.G. Lawes:

Our Kanakas are like wasteland which has never been cultivated - all weeds grow there...their hearts are hardened by vicious habits, their spirits which do not rise above earthly joys, are little able to receive supernatural impressions.¹⁷

Henri Verjus believed the culture of his 'dear savages' to be the 'most obscure of paganisms ever invented by the devil'.¹⁸ Father Hubert made a typical assessment when he wrote in 1893 of 'these poor souls, so degraded and so low'.¹⁹ As amongst the Protestant missionaries,

14 Walker, *Journal of Voyage London to Thursday Island...*, 18 September 1888, P.J., L.M.S.

15 Holmes, *Diary*, 2 August 1893, L.M.S.

16 Bardsley, *Diary*, 5, 17 and 20 July 1891.

17 Circular Letter, 2 February 1889, Annales, 1889, 455.

18 Verjus, Letter of 30 September 1890, Annales, 1893.

19 Hubert, Annales, 1893, 209. Cf. Eschlimann, Annales, 1908, 326; Pagès, Annales, 1901, 682.

some Sacred Heart priests found characteristics to admire. Father Couppé was impressed by their intelligence, Father Coltée by their morality. 'What strikes us first is their morality', wrote the latter. 'It is clear that the Savage is other than a brute'.²⁰

While such judgements abounded in the writings of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries, they fell less readily from the pens of the Anglicans, for whom the 'ignoble savage' was less a part of their thoughts and experience. Their impressions of Papuan culture were generally warm and appreciative and unclouded by the metaphors of darkness and degradation in which Protestant responses were soaked. Albert Maclaren, arriving among the Massim in 1891, found them a 'very social, kind-hearted, contented lot of folk, and very affectionate'.²¹ Bishop Gerald Sharp wrote even more appreciatively of the 'great attractiveness of the Papuan people':

Affectionate, confiding, sunny tempered, polite in manner, attentive to one's wants, very graceful and winning in their manners, most distinctly good-looking, with a wealth of intelligence...they are people for whom one can easily conceive a very strong personal affection.²²

In contrast with his Protestant counterparts, Bishop Stone-Wigg concluded a report on one Anglican district with the observation: 'Every prospect pleases, and man is by no means vile'.²³

Missionaries of all persuasions found their preconceptions modified by experience. For some, close acquaintance with Papuan cultures only reinforced their opinions. William Bromilow, for nearly two decades the guiding spirit of the Methodist Mission, wrote of the people of Dobu: 'As we learn their manners and customs and get an insight into their village life...we are brought face to face with the terrible sin prevailing in the heart.' All his years as a

20 Couppé, Annales, 1888, 131; Coltée, Annales, 1895, 584.

21 Maclaren to friend in Melbourne, 7 November 1891, Letterbook IV, 95. A.A.

22 A.B.M. Review, 15 November 1910, 169.

23 Report of the New Guinea Mission, 1905, 24.

missionary served only to convince him of the 'essential vileness' of this 'ignorant and barbarous race'.²⁴ More commonly though, increased contact led to growing understanding and appreciation. Even the pioneer missionaries of the L.M.S., who had only their own observations to mould their impressions, made thorough and not wholly unsympathetic assessments of the culture of the Motu and their coastal neighbours. Lawes, visiting the village of Kerepunu, found a new 'respect for the stone period', extolling its technology, its social organisation and its 'cleanliness, order and industry'.²⁵ In 1878 his colleague W.Y. Turner read a paper to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, on the ethnology of the Motu, the first such study of mainland Papua.²⁶ Although some of his observations perpetuated stereotyped beliefs about the 'native', many were careful and objective. He believed the Motu to be moral, affectionate to their children and peaceable, but conservative, deceitful and dirty in their habits. His colleagues Lawes and Chalmers followed his lead in writing ethnographical papers, as did pioneers of the other missions, amongst them Frs Jullien and Guis, M.S.C., Methodist missionaries, J.T. Field and Samuel Fellows, and the Anglican bishop, Stone-Wigg.²⁷ While different writers found different features to praise in the various societies which they observed, there was general approval of some of the common aspects: the simplicity and self-sufficiency of Papuan life, the closeness of familial relationships and the communality and cohesiveness of the social system.

24 Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 98; Bromilow 'New Guinea' in Colwell, A Century in the Pacific, 543; Dobu Circuit Report, A.W.M.M.S. Report 1897, lxvi.

25 Lawes, Diary, 37, 5 April 1876; Lawes, Journal: Voyage to China Strait, 9-10; P.J., L.M.S.

26 W.Y. Turner, 'On the Ethnology of the Motu', J.R.A.I., VII, 470-75.

27 E.g., W.G. Lawes, 'Ethnological notes of the Motu, Koitapu and Koiari tribes of New Guinea', J.R.A.I., VIII, 369-77; J. Chalmers, 'Toaripi' and 'Anthropometrical observations of some natives of the Papuan Gulf', J.R.A.I., XXVII, 326-34 and 335-42; 'Notes on the Bugilai, B.N.G.', J.R.A.I., XXXIII, 108-10; J. Guis, La vie des Papous; S. Fellows, 'Atonement or peace-making ceremony of the natives of Kiriwina', Man, I, 45-47, and see also below n.39 and n.51.

Not all of the pioneer missionaries had the intellectual curiosity or the moral flexibility to adapt their preconceptions to reality. After more than a decade of service, Albert Pearse of Kerepunu wrote unsympathetically and uncomprehendingly of the continual feasting of the people and 'all their stupid ceremonies'.²⁸ The same blind complacency is apparent in Methodist sister Edith Lloyd's diary jottings in 1901: 'It is impossible to really understand the native mind.... What ridiculous creatures they are for the sake of custom.'²⁹ For others, the conflict between preconceptions and reality led to an unresolved ambivalence. Samuel MacFarlane, after leaving the L.M.S. mission field in 1886, published a book characteristically entitled Among the Cannibals of New Guinea. In it, standard evangelical phraseology abounds. The Papuans are 'howling savages', the 'debased savage', 'degraded savages'.³⁰ Yet the book also contains a lyrical outburst on the archetypal 'noble savage' as he existed in New Guinea,

where the natives are found in their primitive simplicity, the undisputed lords of the soil, displaying a proud independence, their lives void of care, and with little to excite either ambition or jealousy....³¹

THE new science of anthropology was crucial in helping the missionaries to shake themselves free of their initial cultural assumptions and in giving them a conceptual framework for their observations. Although none of the missionaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had much exposure to anthropological theory during their training, some found, when in the field, that intellectual curiosity or contact with practising anthropologists guided them towards it.

28 Pearse, Report 1896, Papua Reports. L.M.S.

29 Lloyd, Journal VI, 18 May 1901.

30 S. MacFarlane, Among the Cannibals..., e.g., 34, 95.

31 Ibid, 131-32.

For a small minority this led to close involvement with the discipline. One such was L.M.S. missionary, J.H. Holmes. A poorly educated Devonshire house-painter, Holmes arrived in New Guinea with the same prejudices as most of his colleagues. He found the nakedness of the Gulf men 'repulsive', the Maipua dubu (sacred house) 'too horrid to describe' and the New Guinean generally avaricious and insensitive.³² In 1898 the anthropologist Seligman visited Holmes' station at Moru and towards the end of the year Holmes started reading Tylor's Anthropology. From that time on, a change is apparent in his writings. His diary for January 1899 records his reactions to a cannibal raid which he witnessed at Maipua, where 'the whole night was given up to debauchery and revellings of the most immoral and base kind'.³³ Juxtaposed with this judgement, however, are scholarly and dispassionate notes describing the feast and the associated sexual ceremonies. His subsequent writings, which culminated in his large study, In Primitive New Guinea (1924), are marked by an attempt to see the Gulf peoples on their own terms. In the preface to his book he wrote: 'Their views of life do not lack a philosophy which was intelligible to them. I do not endorse them, neither do I condemn them. I have set them down as I got to know them.'³⁴

No other missionary was so obviously influenced by his exposure to anthropology. But in each of the mission societies there was a handful of workers whose understanding of the people was enriched by some contact with the discipline, while they themselves, by their unsurpassed knowledge of the language and their familiarity with the culture, enhanced the understanding of the anthropologist.

32 Holmes, Diary, 3 September 1893; 26 November 1894; 29 October and 3 November 1897. L.M.S.

33 Ibid, 10 January 1899. For Holmes's anthropological studies, see bibliography. For a more detailed analysis of the evolution of Holmes's anthropological thought, see R. Reid, 'John Henry Holmes in Papua: changing missionary perspectives on indigenous cultures', J.P.H., XIII, 3, 1978, 173-87.

34 J.H. Holmes, In Primitive New Guinea, Preface (n.p.).

Holmes's colleague, Will Saville, while on furlough, attended a course of lectures given by Malinowski, and afterwards published a study of the Mailu: In Unknown New Guinea (1926). Malinowski's personal opinion of Saville was typically acerbic - 'a petty greengrocer blown up by his own sense of importance'³⁵ - but he wrote a sedate appreciation of his work in the foreword of his book, depicting Saville as 'the modern type of missionary who has been able to fashion himself into an anthropologist.'³⁶ A.C. Haddon paid a similar tribute to the 'valuable contribution' of Baxter Riley to the 'ethnography of the Kiwai' by his book, Among Papuan Headhunters (1925),³⁷ and wrote appreciatively of Reginald Bartlett, 'a bright attractive youth' who attended his lectures before embarking for the New Guinea field.³⁸ In the Methodist Mission, J.T. Field's careful studies of totemism, exogamy and burial customs showed familiarity with the theories of Tylor and Morgan.³⁹ Haddon acknowledged his indebtedness to Field's notebooks.⁴⁰

The willingness of some of the Protestant missionaries to embrace the new science of anthropology may have been a reflection of the Samuel Smiles self-improvement philosophy which had so influenced lower middle class evangelical thought. Amongst the Anglican missionaries, King, Stone-Wigg and Giblin all collaborated with anthropologists in ethnographic studies, but in general the Anglican appreciation of the Papuan was more romantic than scientific. In the Sacred Heart Mission there was some scepticism about ethnography, a scepticism shared, incidentally, by one L.M.S. missionary, Charles Abel.⁴¹

35 B. Malinowski, A Diary in the Strict Sense..., 16.

36 Foreword, W.J.V. Saville, In Unknown New Guinea, 8.

37 A.C. Haddon, Report of the Cambridge Expedition...I, 16.

38 Haddon to Holmes, 21 July 1905. Holmes Papers. L.M.S.

39 J.T. Field, 'Notes on totemism - Tubetube', B.N.G. A.R., 1897-88, Appendix CC, 134; 'Exogamy at Tubetube, B.N.G.', 'Burial customs at Tubetube B.N.G.', A.A.A.S. Report, 8th meeting 1900, 301-07.

40 I am grateful to Martha McIntyre, A.N.U., for this information.

41 Annales, 1946, 29; R. Abel, Charles Abel, 214.

Nevertheless, an Italian priest of the S.H.M., Fr Egidi, published a series of studies of the Kuni which were well-regarded by anthropologists⁴² and a German priest, Fr Clauser, earned the gratitude of the anthropologist, R.W. Williamson, for his meticulous assistance in his study of the Mafulu.⁴³ Fr Gsell, who went from Papua to work amongst the Australian Aborigines, regretted that anthropology was only in its infancy during his early career as, had it been more advanced, he might have avoided many mistakes.⁴⁴

In a more diffuse way anthropological thought influenced all but the most rigid and inflexible of the missionaries after the turn of the century. Wholesale condemnation of practices such as infanticide and polygamy gave way to attempts to explain them.⁴⁵ Many missionaries stressed the need for understanding and at the annual conferences of the various missions, members read papers and discussed aspects of traditional culture. The terms used to describe the people softened. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century there were a decreasing number of references to 'savages' and 'degradation' from the English-speaking missionaries, doubtless partly a reflection of the changes that had taken place at the missionaries' instigation, but an indication, too, of a growth in sensitivity and understanding. Amongst the French-speaking missionaries, terminology was more complex. From the beginning, the Sacred Heart missionaries used five words to describe the Papuan: sauvage, canaque (sometimes kanak), noir, indigène and naturel. Henri Verjus invariably referred to the Papuans as mes chers sauvages; Archbishop Navarre favoured the term canaques and Fr Couppé never used any word but naturels. But most commonly the words were used

42 V.M. Egidi, 'La tribu di Kuni', Anthropos, 2, 1907, 107-15; 'Mythes et legendes des Kuni, B.N.G.', Anthropos, 8, 1913, 978-1009 and 8, 81-97, 392-404.

43 R.W. Williamson, The Mafulu, mountain people of British New Guinea, vii.

44 F. Gsell, The Bishop with 150 Wives, 173-74.

45 See, for instance, E. Prisk, About People..., 61; Osborne in M.R., May 1907, 2-3; M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans..., 37; H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 190 and 216.

interchangeably, although, like its English counterpart, the term sauvage became less common. André Dupeyrat, describing Fr Hubert's love for his sauvages, found it necessary to explain that he did not use the word pejoratively.⁴⁶ Fr Norin, writing in 1913 of the still-unconverted mountain people of Jebel ul Enda, used none of the words employed previously, referring to them simply as gens.⁴⁷

The influence of anthropology on missionary thought is best illustrated by the evolution of attitudes towards Papuan religion. 'Religiously all is a blank', declared W.G. Lawes after five years residence in New Guinea.⁴⁸ Pioneer missionaries of the Methodist and the Sacred Heart missions endorsed this opinion, as did his own colleagues. They saw only a 'slavish fear of evil spirits' and a 'deep and terrifying belief in magic'.⁴⁹ The Papuan had no 'religious enthusiasm', no 'devotional instinct', no 'notion of prayer' and no 'true penitence'.⁵⁰

The Anglican missionaries seem to have been more agnostic about the lack of Papuan spirituality from the outset; their writings avoid the confident assertions made by their colleagues. The first sustained appreciation of Papuan religion was made by Bishop Stone-Wigg, in an essay entitled 'The Papuans, a People of the South Pacific' (1907), in which he defined and analysed that 'religious instinct'.⁵¹

46 A. Dupeyrat, Le Sanglier de Kouni, 88.

47 Letter of Norin, 15 July 1913, Annales, 1913, 546.

48 J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 138.

49 W. Bromilow in J. Colwell, A Century in the Pacific, 594. See also Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 87-90; W.Y. Turner, op.cit., 492; Chalmers, 'Four Years After', in letter to Thompson, 28 October 1882, P.L. L.M.S.; C. Abel, Savage Life..., 99; Navarre, 'Le Nepou', Journal 1887, R.A.; Annales, 1891, 451.

50 Dauncey, Report 1896, Papua Reports; Saville to brother, Alf, 8 October 1902, Saville Papers; M.R., July 1892, 5.

51 M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans: A People of the South Pacific, 20-41. Published originally in H.H. Montgomery, Mankind and the Church, London, 1907, it was republished as a monograph in 1933.

among the Papuans, the lack of which had been asserted by many of his counterparts. Addressing himself to the question: 'How far can traces be discovered of anything that may be called a religion?', Stone-Wigg answered that 'the Papuan lives in daily and hourly realisation of an immaterial world in which he believes intensely.'⁵² He saw the whole of Papuan life as regulated by totemism. With a wealth of illustrative detail, he analysed the features of Papuan belief and observance, concluding that they embraced 'all the elements of a religious system', an openness to the supernatural, the use of propitiation, incantation and sacrifice, and a belief in the immortality of the soul.⁵³ While Stone-Wigg's perceptiveness depended in part on his own learned and flexible mind, it was also stimulated by an acquaintance with anthropology. In 1902 his sympathetic observations had combined with the theoretical understanding of A.C. Haddon to produce a joint lecture at Cambridge on the similarities of Papuan religion and Christianity.⁵⁴

The writings of two anthropologists especially were important in opening the shuttered minds of the missionaries to the presence of the spiritual in Papuan culture. They were E.B. Tylor and Sir James Frazer. Although Tylor's Primitive Culture was published in 1871, there is no evidence of missionaries in New Guinea reading it until the late 'nineties, and it was Frazer's more popular work, The Golden Bough, published in 1890, which was frequently the missionary's introduction to the concept of 'primitive' religion. Missionaries who came to Papua in the early twentieth century often came with a knowledge of Tylor's axiom that all people had a religion, an insight of which the pioneers had not been aware. They looked at Papuan culture guided by Tylor's comprehensive definition of religion as 'the belief in spiritual things' or by Frazer's alternative definition: 'A propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man, which are believed to direct

52 Ibid, 11.

53 Ibid, 29.

54 A. Quiggin, Haddon, the Headhunter, 124, n.i.; Manchester Guardian, 15 January 1903, 'The teaching of ethnology at Cambridge...'

and control the course of nature and of human life.'⁵⁵ It is not surprising that they found evidence of religion that their forebears failed to see. Ben Butcher, arriving in 1904, could assert, albeit with hindsight, that he never felt himself to be among 'an irreligious people'.⁵⁶ Older missionaries, originally dismissive of Papuan religion, revised their opinions. Holmes, for example, used animism, Tylor's minimum definition of religion, to organise his thoughts about the religion of the Papuan Delta, which he compared to the totemism of the Elema.⁵⁷

With a growing appreciation of Papuan religion came, for some missionaries, the recognition that Christianity could build on already existing foundations. Stone-Wigg had reached this conclusion after analysing Papuan religion: 'What a basis is here for the building up of the Christian faith and the Christian life!'⁵⁸ In the years that followed, the Anglicans sought to use traditional ceremonies for Christian purposes, hoping eventually to link the two great rituals of initiation and confirmation. Sacred Heart missionaries also used Papuan religion as a preparation for belief, and incorporated traditional practices into worship. In the L.M.S. mission, Ben Butcher wrote:

Quite early in my missionary career I sensed that if I were to get anywhere with the Papuan, I had to begin where I found the people and from there try to lead them on to that larger conception of God....⁵⁹

Charles Abel, despite his derogatory opinion of Papuan religion, also believed that there was a common substratum of belief - in a spirit

55 Quoted by W.J.V. Saville in Papua, A.R. 1930-31, Appendix C, 'Are the Papuans naturally religions?', 24.

56 Butcher, op.cit., 121.

57 The Religions of the Papuan, in 'The Soul of the Papuan', 12. Holmes Papers, L.M.S. For Holmes' growing appreciation of Papuan religion see, Holmes, In Primitive New Guinea, 150-55, and 'Schools of Namau', and 'Seeing Brown', Holmes Papers, L.M.S.

58 M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans..., 30.

59 B. Butcher, op.cit., 121.

world and in a future life - on which Christianity could build.⁶⁰ But amongst Protestant missionaries generally, recognition of Papuan religion was more likely to consist of token gestures such as the incorporating of Papuan music into worship.

Increased understanding of the complexity and coherence of Papuan culture and religion led to a growth in humility amongst some of the missionaries. Holmes later regretted his brash condemnation of the eravo system, and his colleague Edwin Pryce-Jones, re-reading his own diary, made marginal comments such as: 'Observations due to ignorance and conceit.'⁶¹ The veteran missionary W.G. Lawes, consulted in 1906 by Bishop Stone-Wigg about Papuan culture, was modest and tentative in his answer. William Bromilow believed it took him four years to 'penetrate the mind'⁶² of the Papuan; Henry Newton was far less complacent:

The worst of it is the longer one lives among them the less one seems to know of their customs; you think you know everything in twelve months; you doubt whether you know anything in twelve years....⁶³

Several missionaries of the Anglican Mission, the L.M.S. and the Sacred Heart Mission compared Papuan society favourably with that of the 'civilised' world. Anglican missionary Arthur Chignell put forward a catalogue of ways in which Papuan life, as exemplified at Wanigela, was superior: the Papuans were not overfed or degraded by alcohol, they breathed unpolluted air, had plenty of exercise, their work was 'interesting and sensible labour to supply [their] actual needs', in fact their whole life was 'a glorified picnic.'⁶⁴ Chignell's analysis suggests a Ruskinian, neo-mediaeval attachment to pre-industrial

60 C. Abel, Savage Life in New Guinea, 87.

61 Holmes, Diary (re-typed), 30 June 1895. L.M.S.; Pryce-Jones, Letter Diary, 15 November 1900, and also 19 November 1900, 'Hear what the raw new missionary says. After 20 years he would like to begin over again.'

62 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 85.

63 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 72.

64 A. Chignell, An Outpost..., 190.

society and a corresponding rejection of modern technological culture. There is a nostalgia in his description of Wanigela society, which he declared to be in its 'Golden Age'.⁶⁵

Such sentiments are latent in statements made by other missionaries, who may have shared in that 'colonial vocation' described by Mannoni, which impels its possessors to reject the civilised society in which they have been raised, to seek a more pristine world.⁶⁶

'These savages, as we call them, are perhaps less savage after all than many Europeans', Henri Verjus reflected after living among the Roro for two years.⁶⁷ Archbishop Navarre compared them favourably to the peasants of Berry and assured Pope Leo XIII that they were in their ways 'more pure than those of many cities in civilised countries.'⁶⁸ Father Coltée told French mission supporters that: 'The civilised could come to these blacks of an inferior race...for a lesson in modesty, good taste and morality.'⁶⁹ L.M.S. missionaries Holmes and Butcher, and Anglicans Maclaren and Chignell, also compared Papuan and European morality, to the detriment of the latter.⁷⁰ Lawes noted that Papuan society was free of that 'abject squalor' noticeable in British society.⁷¹ Admiring the artistry of the Massim people, an Anglican missionary, Miss Robertson, mused in 1911, 'indeed they constantly make us feel that there is much in our civilisation which we should be ashamed to have them know of, while there is much we could learn from them'.⁷²

65 Ibid, 29.

66 O. Mannoni, Prospero and Caliban, 108-09. However, the missionaries differed from Mannoni's stereotype in that they did not seek a world devoid of people.

67 Annales, 1887, 187.

68 Navarre to Father Aumeunier, 29 August 1889, Annales, 1890, 28; Navarre to Chevalier, 27 July 1893, Annales, 1893, 2-3.

69 Annales, 1895, 582.

70 Holmes, Diary, 7 March 1898; Butcher, Report 1906, Papua Reports, L.M.S.; Maclaren to Mrs Laidley, 9 September 1891, Maclaren, Letterbook IV, August-December 1891; Chignell, op.cit., 30.

71 King, op.cit., 136.

72 O.P. no.26, April 1911.

Such challenges to a complacent belief in the superiority of their own culture led a few missionaries to question the incursion of the European with his gift of 'civilisation'. 'Sometimes I am half-inclined to think it would have been better if a white man had never become acquainted with these shores', wrote Holmes in 1899.⁷³ When one sees a dying native, wrote Chignell, one 'cries out for civilisation' but then 'one remembers that the gifts of civilisation are of many kinds and that along with what is good and merciful would come much that the natives are better without....'⁷⁴

PARADOXICALLY, though, as anthropology encouraged in the missionaries a greater flexibility towards aspects of Papuan cultures, it also stimulated a greater rigidity in their overall assessments of them. As the doctrines of cultural evolutionism gained popular currency in the early years of the twentieth century, the missionaries' vague metaphors of darkness and degradation gave way to confident pseudo-scientific statements. 'Poor New Guinea, it is awfully low in the scale of mankind', wrote L.M.S. missionary Will Saville in 1902.⁷⁵ Archbishop de Boismenu told the Second Australasian Catholic Congress of 1904 that the Papuan was 'near to the lowest type', while one of his colleagues found him 'incontestably at the lowest level of humanity.'⁷⁶ Most believed him to be 'below' the African negro, the American Indian and the Polynesian; some held him to be 'above' the Australian Aboriginal. As they became familiar with the various peoples of Papua, some of the missionaries were tempted to arrange them on the scale. J.H. Holmes found the people of Maiva 'higher' than those further west; Percy Schlencker believed the 'awful drop' occurred at Orokololo.⁷⁷ In both cases they reflected a

73 Holmes, Diary, 17 June 1899. L.M.S.

74 A. Chignell, An Outpost..., 201.

75 Saville to brother, Alf, 8 October 1902. Saville Papers.

76 A. de Boismenu, 'The Catholic Church in British New Guinea', Second Catholic Congress, Proceedings, 270; Caspar, Missions Catholiques, 1911, 610.

77 Holmes, Diary, 14 July 1898; Schlencker, Report, 1907, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

belief widespread amongst missionaries and consistent with popular opinion, that the 'black' Papuans of the west were inferior to their lighter-skinned neighbours in the east. The only known dissenter from the ubiquitous hierarchical model was the Anglican bishop, Stone-Wigg, who, in a letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, castigated government officers for regarding the Papuan as an 'inferior type of humanity'.⁷⁸

At one with most of their contemporaries in their belief that the Papuans were a degraded people 'low in the scale of humanity', the missionaries were at odds with many of them in their conviction that they could be 'raised' from this lowly position. Their belief was based upon the Christian doctrine of the spiritual unity and equality of all humankind, a source of optimism not necessarily available to non-believers. In cultural terms, this was translated into a firm adherence to the doctrine of monogenism, which asserted the unity of the human race as descendants of Adam. Despite an almost universal acceptance of the alternate theory of polygenism by the end of the nineteenth century, their respect for the scriptures ensured their adherence to the Adamite interpretation.⁷⁹ Believers in the unity of mankind, they were therefore believers in the modifiability of human nature. Racial differences were seen not as

78 Stone-Wigg, Diary II, 169.

79 The monogenists believed that mankind sprang from a single pair of human beings, whose descendants gradually peopled the earth, and became divisible into 'races' owing to changes wrought by climate and other external conditions. The polygenists maintained that mankind belonged to different stock derived from different species, repudiating the Mosaic account of creation. Monogenists found difficulty in explaining the diversity of mankind in the relatively short time span which they reckoned to have passed since Adam, and also in explaining different types in the same climatic conditions. Polygenists had to account for breeding across 'species'. Although there was not a thorough correlation, polygenists tended to be racial determinists, while monogenists, with their belief in the unity and modifiability of mankind, were less prone to this conclusion, although in America monogenism was reconciled with folk racism.

innate - a logical corollary of the polygenist position - but as the result of 'an evolutionary process involving more or less rapid environmental feedback'.⁸⁰

These assumptions are reflected in the comments of even the earliest missionaries to New Guinea. The term almost universally used to describe the condition of the Papuan was 'degradation'. This term implies a decline from a higher to a lower state rather than an innate lowness or inferiority. Moreover the missionaries generally described the Papuans as having been exposed 'for generations' to the corrupting influence of a heathen environment. This qualification again suggests that they did not see their condition as permanent and immutable. Heathenism was seen as an environmental influence, like a disease, to which the people had succumbed and from which they could be retrieved. J.H. Holmes stated explicitly in his preface to In Primitive New Guinea: 'The savage is soul-sick, and we cannot help him satisfactorily till we can diagnose his disease of heathenism.'

The conception of a fall from a higher state may have been loosely related to the biblical doctrine of the Fall, but it seems to have been more directly influenced by theories of degeneracy which, current since the eighteenth century, were given new significance as a concomitant of cultural evolutionism. According to such theories, the unilinear progress of certain groups was arrested at particular points by hostile or difficult environmental factors, often encountered through migration. Under pressure from these influences, the people slipped backwards while other races continued along the path of progress. Although only implicit in most missionary writings, theories of degeneracy were explicitly stated by a few. Samuel MacFarlane believed that the Papuans had 'fallen from a higher civilisation', that their progress was 'downwards' and that they were merely 'remnants of a worn-out race'.⁸¹ William Bromilow saw the dignified dancing of the Dobuans as 'a vestige, probably, of better

80 See M. Harris, Rise of Anthropological Theory, 84, and M. Biddiss, Images of Race, 16.

81 S. MacFarlane, Among the Cannibals..., 96, 98.

days'.⁸² Fr Jullien, M.S.C., glimpsed in the death rites of the Roro and Mekeo 'vestiges of a higher civilisation, of a primitive religion, of which these poor people, across numbers of migrations, have preserved the practice while forgetting the meaning'.⁸³ Fr Hartzler wondered if they were the lost tribe of Israel.

The doctrine of cultural evolution was attractive to the missionaries because it gave a conceptual framework to their belief in the unity of mankind and a 'scientific' imprimatur to their attempt to 'raise' the Papuan. It gave coherence to another of their assumptions: that they had the right and the ability to 'raise' the Papuan. Like most of their contemporaries, many missionaries believed in a triangular hierarchy of races with, in H.A.C. Cairns' words, 'the white race, western civilisation and Christianity' at the apex, then the 'complex but stagnant' cultures of the east and a broad base of the 'non-literate, technologically backward cultures' of Africa, America and the Pacific.⁸⁴ It was with unshaken complacency as to their position at the pinnacle of the racial hierarchy, that many European missionaries reached out to give the Papuan, whom some saw as a 'contemporary ancestor', a 'guiding hand' along the evolutionary path. Seen from the 'giddy heights of modern civilisation', the Papuan may seem 'a sorry type of manhood', wrote Holmes. 'He is nevertheless a man following the trail the rest of mankind has trod.'⁸⁵

With the Papuan firmly fixed on the evolutionary scale, a number of missionaries speculated as to his intelligence and ability. Some saw the intellectual backwardness to be expected amongst a people seen as low even in the scale of savagery. Charles Abel found the children 'bright' but felt that there was a definite limit to their

82 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 93, 114.

83 Jullien, Sermon, Marseilles, 3 December 1898. Annales, 1899, 86.

84 H.A.C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism, 74. For a nineteenth century exposition of this belief, see Farrar, 'Aptitude of Races', reprinted in M. Biddiss, Images of Race, 141-55.

85 Holmes, 'The Schools of Namau', 6. Holmes Papers, L.M.S.

receptivity to learning;⁸⁶ Edwin Pryce-Jones found them 'intellectually lower' than the Malagasy amongst whom he had worked previously.⁸⁷ Holmes found them intelligent only 'so far as intelligence goes with Natives.'⁸⁸ But more commonly the missionaries paid tribute to the Papuans' intelligence. W.G. Lawes asserted that all the Papuans he knew had 'good intellectual capacity' and that some were capable of being 'trained and educated'.⁸⁹ William Bromilow, generally dismissive of Papuan culture, wrote that as to 'the intellectual capacity of the Papuan' he could not agree that he should have 'a low classification'.⁹⁰ Sydney Burrows, who joined the L.M.S. in 1913, was so impressed with the Papuans that he wrote that where education was concerned, he refused 'to set any limits whatever'.⁹¹ Those engaged in education were especially positive in their assessments. Archbishop de Boismenu thought young Papuans 'fairly intelligent, sometimes even quite quick'.⁹² Bishop Sharp told the Anglican children that Papuan boys and girls could learn 'nearly as well' as Australian or English children;⁹³ Archibald Hunt of the L.M.S. wrote that the intelligence of their children compared 'very favourably' with that of Australians,⁹⁴ and Matthew Gilmour of the Methodist Mission stated that he believed the children of Kiriwina to be 'quicker at learning' than white children.⁹⁵ Such assessments were made in the first decade of the twentieth century,

86 Abel to Thompson, 30 April 1891, P.L. L.M.S.

87 Pryce-Jones to Thompson, 3 December 1902, P.L. L.M.S.

88 Holmes, Diary, 18 April 1904. L.M.S.

89 J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 289-90.

90 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 289-90.

91 Burrows to Thompson, 3 September 1913, P.L. L.M.S.

92 De Boismenu, Speech to Second Catholic Congress, Proceedings, 272.

93 The Herald, vol.1, no.2, 1 October 1910. Letter from the Bishop of New Guinea.

94 Interview, S.M.H., 9 April 1902.

95 Hubert Murray, Diary, 28 June 1905, 45.

nearly three decades before the cautious but much publicised statement of Sir Hubert Murray which ventured to suggest that there was 'some overlap' between the 'best Papuan' and the 'worst European', but that in general the European was innately more intelligent than the Papuan.⁹⁶

The capacity of the European missionaries to form a realistic assessment of the Papuan was inhibited by their adherence, in varying degrees, to the prevailing belief in the existence of the 'native character'. According to the stereotype the 'native' was emotional, impulsive and volatile, capable only of superficial affection and transitory grief. It was commonly, though not universally, believed that he was lazy, untruthful and lacking in gratitude.⁹⁷ Herbert Spencer, in his Principles of Sociology (1896), gave a pseudo-scientific authority to these prejudices by his concept of the 'biocultural specialities' of 'inferior' races: natives are lazy; they suffer moral and spiritual ills if educated beyond primary level; they are insensitive to physical discomfort and injury; they hold life less dear than Europeans.⁹⁸

As late as 1902, Charles Abel maintained that the Papuan was 'slow and lazy' and 'seldom thorough'; he was 'guided in his conduct by nothing but his instincts and propensities' and 'governed by unchecked passions'. Latent in his heart was a 'capacity for unspeakable cruelty'. Occasionally when 'unbridled passion' seized and mastered him, he became 'a fiend'. He was incapable of love, even parental love. 'I know of no animal except perhaps the duck, which is more careless in attending its young than the average Papuan mother'.⁹⁹

Few missionaries retained the stereotype image as intact as did Charles Abel. Even those who came with it entrenched in their

96 Papua, A.R., 1937-38, 20-21.

97 See Cairns, op.cit., 81-84; P.L. van den Berghe, Race and Racism..., 32.

98 M. Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory, 134-36.

99 C. Abel, Savage Life..., 42, 45, 128, and Preface.

thoughts found their prejudices modified to a greater or lesser extent by experience. Archbishop Navarre perpetuated the stereotype of the native as 'eminently lazy' as did also, in the next generation, Fr Peeters and Will Saville.¹⁰⁰ But from the first, W.G. Lawes denied their laziness.¹⁰¹ Newton, Stone-Wigg and Chignell in the Anglican Mission, Butcher and Holmes of the L.M.S. and Methodists, Ballantyne and Bromilow, all followed Lawes' lead in denying this pre-eminent 'native' characteristic. 'There has probably never been a more unjust charge', wrote Stone-Wigg.¹⁰²

Abel's conviction that the Papuan was incapable of genuine love or grief was endorsed by Sacred Heart fathers, Guis and Chabot,¹⁰³ but repudiated by a number of missionaries. 'It is very hard to see the grief of the people who love their children', wrote Ben Butcher after only a few months in the country.¹⁰⁴ His colleague Holmes, like Abel, believed initially that grief was feigned, but time convinced him of its genuineness.¹⁰⁵ Anglicans, Stone-Wigg and Newton, Methodist sisters Walker and Billing, and their male colleagues Field, Bardsley and Bromilow, L.M.S. missionaries Lawes and Turner, and Fr Hartzler of the S.H.M. all remarked upon the intensity of domestic affection among the Papuans.¹⁰⁶

Other elements of the 'native character' were less challenged by the observations of the missionaries. Methodist missionary

100 Navarre, B.N.G. A.R. 1887, 25; Peeters, Annales, 1895, 214; Saville, 8 October 1902, Saville Papers.

101 King, op.cit., 338.

102 M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans..., 39; see also, H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 97; A.K. Chignell, An Outpost in Papua, 102.

103 Guis, in Australian Annals, June 1908, 220; Annales, 1904, 402.

104 Butcher, Diary 1905, MS 1881/6, Butcher Papers.

105 Holmes, Diary, 5 May 1894 and 14 November 1897; C. Abel, Savage Life..., 41.

106 See, for instance, M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans..., 36-37; H. Newton, op.cit., 107; E. Walker, Diary, 23 May 1892, 3; Billing to Ladies Foreign Mission Auxiliary S.A., 17 August 1895. Billing Papers, M.O.M. 152; M.R., V, September 1896, 5; Bardsley, Diary, 2 August 1891.

Andrew Ballantyne told the 1906 Royal Commission that the Papuans were 'frightful liars',¹⁰⁷ an opinion almost universally endorsed by the missionaries. Both Archbishop de Boismenu and Bishop Stone-Wigg described them as 'fickle' and various other missionaries commented on their 'avariciousness' and 'lack of gratitude'.¹⁰⁸ But a number of missionaries, especially Anglicans, characterised the Papuans in ways which modified or offset the conventional stereotype. Stone-Wigg commented on their strong sense of justice, and on their generosity, an attribute also praised by Methodist sister, Ethel Prisk and by L.M.S. missionary, Samuel MacFarlane.¹⁰⁹ Newton appreciated their sense of beauty and their good manners, as did also Fr Hartzler.¹¹⁰ Chignell found them 'loyal, fair and faithful', an opinion to be echoed by those of his successors who were to owe their lives to them under Japanese occupation three decades later.¹¹¹ Matthew Gilmour of the Methodist Mission described the Kiriwinans amongst whom he worked as a 'bright, clever, industrious, dear people.' To him they were like the Methodists of Cornwall, 'excitable, brave and revengeful' but 'deeply emotional and loving'.¹¹²

However the missionaries weighed the Papuan in the scale of virtue and vice, there was one characteristic on which they all agreed.

107 Ballantyne's evidence, questions 1610 and 1616, Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the present conditions, including the methods of Government of the Territory of Papua, and the best means for their improvement, 1907. (Hereinafter Royal Commission Report 1907.) Commonwealth of Australia, Notes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives with Printed Papers of both Houses, 1907, 139-463.

108 De Boismenu, address to Second Catholic Congress, Proceedings, 270; M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans..., 30-31; see also Pearse to Thompson, 21 January 1839, P.L. L.M.S.; Holmes, Diary, 3 November 1897; Saville to Alf Saville, 8 October 1902, Saville Papers.

109 M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans..., 40, 36; E. Prisk, About People..., 47; S. MacFarlane, Among the Cannibals..., 104.

110 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 48, 72; Annales, 1892, 507-08.

111 A. Chignell, An Outpost..., 232.

112 A.W.M.M.S. Report 1902, xlvii.

He was a child - albeit a child with the passions of a man. 'Poor things, they are only grown-up children', observed Albert Maclaren when first confronted with the Massim of Bartle Bay.¹¹³ Bromilow and Stone-Wigg both referred to the Papuans as a 'child-race'.¹¹⁴ Bishop Verjus saw them as 'big, badly brought-up children'.¹¹⁵ Even to J.H. Holmes in 1915, after all his years of anthropological study, the Papuan was still 'a child, a precocious child, an indolent child'.¹¹⁶

The child-image had a number of different connotations. In the eyes of the cultural evolutionists the child was he who was taking the first steps along the path towards the manhood of civilisation. The Papuans were the survivors of the childhood days of the human race. Insofar as the missionaries believed in the existence of such immature traits of the 'native character' as fickleness, impressionability, volatility and transitory grief, these also reinforced the analogy of the Papuan as a child. Commonly used in all four missions, the child image was most prevalent in the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions. For the missionaries of these two churches, the concept had an additional theological dimension. As the priest was the 'father', so were his flock his 'children', whether they were white or brown.

The child analogy guided the policy of the missionary towards the Papuan, as did also the doctrine of cultural evolution. Whether the Papuan was a 'child' or a 'contemporary ancestor' or both, most missionaries held an unquestioned belief that it was their duty to 'raise' him. Lawes warned mission-supporters in England in 1879

113 Maclaren to a friend, 9 November 1891. Box 15, file 55, 72-3, A.A.

114 M.J. Stone-Wigg, The Papuans..., 46; W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 83.

115 Verjus, Letter, November 1885. Annales, 1886, 39.

116 Holmes, Answers to questions, 1915, P.L. L.M.S.

that 'these races will never themselves struggle into light, and will never raise themselves, unless help comes to them from without, unless a saving hand is extended.'¹¹⁷ Charles Abel defined the missionary's role as being to lead the Papuan 'onward and upwards' and J.H. Holmes wrote that during their 'climb of the steep ascent' the Papuans would 'need the wise and sympathetic guidance of people of our race.'¹¹⁸ In the Sacred Heart Mission, Archbishop Navarre spoke of the missionary's responsibility to 'raise' the Papuan from 'moral degradation' and in the Methodist Mission, Bromilow believed that cannibalism revealed 'the deeper depths from which these people had to be lifted.'¹¹⁹ Only in the Anglican Mission, where the image of the degraded being low in the scale of humanity had never had much currency, was the concept of raising the Papuan not a common part of the rhetoric.

MISSIONARIES differed in their understanding of what it meant to 'raise' the Papuan. All were committed to some degree of change - a metanoia¹²⁰ - in the lives as well as in the hearts of their converts. All assumed the need to introduce education and medicine; all agreed to oppose such practices as cannibalism, head-hunting, malign sorcery and infanticide - objectives in which they supported and were supported by government policy. Although each of the four missions proclaimed the intention of retaining all native customs compatible with Christianity, the decision as to what was or was not compatible was a unilateral one. In their choice of what to oppose, what to retain and what to introduce, the missionaries most clearly revealed beliefs and underlying values which were a product of their own origins.

117 J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 138.

118 C. Abel, 'The Heroism of the Papuan', Universal Brotherhood, January 1913, no.5, Kwato Mission Papers; Holmes, In Primitive New Guinea, 302.

119 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 97.

120 K. Burridge, 'Other people's religions are absurd' in W.E.A. Van Beek and J.H. Scherer, Explorations in the Anthropology of Religion, 10.

Earlier in the century, missionaries had debated whether they should first civilise or Christianise. Samuel Marsden in the Pacific and the Moravian missionaries in Greenland had chosen the former. By the 1870s Protestant missionaries were inclined to assume that civilisation without Christianity was meaningless; that 'a savage in a shirt is no better than one without.'¹²¹ This axiom reflects what the missionaries meant by civilisation. It was associated in their minds with the externals of western culture, especially the adoption of clothing. Most Protestant missionaries, although sceptical about attempts to civilise before converting, still saw the two as inextricably intertwined. Their goal, as one of them explained, was the 'Christian civilisation of the Papuan people'.¹²² Only a small minority expressed any doubts as to the necessity of their civilising role.

In their efforts to 'civilise' the Papuans, the Protestant missionaries showed a concern for the minutiae of behaviour which was not so characteristic of their Anglican and Sacred Heart counterparts. While all but a few were free of the inhibitions about traditional dress, or the lack of it, associated with their predecessors in the



From 'Savage Life in the South Seas', The Bulletin, 27 February 1886.

121 J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 139.

122 Beharell, Answers to Questions, 1915, P.L. L.M.S.

Pacific,¹²³ they interfered with numerous other aspects of Papuan cultures. Bishop Stone-Wigg, of the Anglican Mission, visiting the Methodist head-station of Dobu in 1901, noted the 'very persistent opposition given by the Mission to many native ways.'¹²⁴ These included the chewing of tobacco, the marking of the face with black gum, use of impure language, the observation of traditional funeral rites, and the beating of the drum on Saturday nights. Strict Sabbath observance was imposed. That other great hall-mark of late Victorian Methodism, teetotalism, was less prominent, because of effective government enforcement of the regulations prohibiting alcohol to Papuans. In the L.M.S. which, consistent with its Congregational tradition, was less unified than the Methodist Mission, there was greater diversity of practice. While some of the staff earned the respect of anthropologists for their tolerance and restraint, others

123 A common feature of the missionary stereotype is his obsession with swathing his converts in ungainly Victorian garments in his attempt to 'civilise' them. By the time that the missionaries reached New Guinea, this obsession was far less apparent than it had been a generation earlier. The old missionary at Kerepunu, Albert Pearse, noting his pleasure at seeing his congregation 'clothed with European garments' revealed the prejudices of an earlier generation, a legacy perhaps of his service in the Pacific. The same explanation can be given of Lawes' lament: 'Civilisation is not advancing. The people wear less clothes than they used.' But influenced by Chalmers, Lawes' attitude broadened. At the end of his career he wondered whether he and Chalmers had erred in discouraging the wearing of clothes and explained, 'We both had a horror of Brummagen or Manchester Christians.' Their fellow-pioneer Samuel MacFarlane also believed that a 'simple girdle of leaves' was more suitable than European clothing. The only two L.M.S. missionaries to complain about their naked flock were the young single men, Beswick and Holmes, their discomfort probably revealing as much about their own psychological state as about any Protestant doctrine as to the virtue of clothing. As time passed Holmes' growth in understanding included a recognition of the need to shed his cultural assumptions about the 'dignity of clothes'. Most of his colleagues joined Chalmers in opposing clothing both on aesthetic grounds and those of health. (See, for example, J. King, *op.cit.*, 336; S. MacFarlane, *Story of the Lifu Mission*, 105; Pearse, Report, 1904, L.M.S.; Beswick, *Diary*, *passim.*; Holmes, *Diary*, 3 September 1893: Cf. G. Pitt-Rivers, *The Clash of Cultures*, 60, on effect of nude women on celibate missionaries.)

124 Stone-Wigg, *Diary II*, 161.

adopted prohibitions comparable to those of the Methodist Mission. The bitter campaign waged by W.G. Lawes and some of his colleagues against the traditional Motu dance, the mavaru, was the most notable example.¹²⁵

The Sacred Heart Mission adopted, in theory, a position close to that of the Protestants. Archbishop Navarre stated, for the benefit of the government, that their object in coming was to 'civilise' as well as 'convert'.¹²⁶ But in practice, for the Sacred Heart missionaries, civilising seems to have been a concomitant of conversion rather than an intrinsic part of a two-pronged objective. Unlike many Protestant missionaries, they encouraged traditional dancing until 1908, when a review of mission policy suggested that it was interfering too severely with church attendance. Their attitude towards other aspects of traditional cultures was tolerant and pragmatic. Early denunciations of sorcery gave way to attempts at understanding and some accommodation, and in Mekeo, opposition to mortuary ceremonies was withdrawn when church attendances plummeted.¹²⁷

The link between Christianity and civilisation was most firmly repudiated by the Anglican missionaries. Bishop Stone-Wigg drew on the tradition, exemplified by Bishop Tozer and his successors in the Universities Mission to Central Africa, and also endorsed by the Melanesian Mission, of divorcing Christianity from its western context and integrating it with village life. Less convinced of the superiority of the European or the degradation of the Papuan, the Anglicans in New Guinea did not want 'a parody of European or Australian civilisation.' Aware of the limits to their understanding and knowledge of Papuan cultures, they remained 'conservative in dealing with native customs' except those universally condemned.¹²⁸

125 Lawes, Report, 1893, 2. Papua Reports; Lawes to Blayney, 14 July 1898 (copy), P.L. L.M.S.

126 Navarre to Douglas, 4 May 1887. Correspondence. R.A.

127 E. Hau'ofa, Mekeo: A Study of Papua New Guinea Society, 17 (Ph.D thesis)

128 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 251-52.

They debated what attitude to adopt towards death feasts until 1929, when they decided they should be opposed. Dancing was encouraged and they looked at the possibility of synthesising initiation ceremonies, usually opposed by their Protestant counterparts, with their own ceremony of confirmation.

But despite their unanimously expressed policy of minimum interference, and their varying degrees of tolerance towards Papuan cultures, there were aspects of traditional social organisation, apart from those also controlled by government regulation, to which all the missionaries remained opposed. Many of these related, not surprisingly, to marriage and sexual mores. Pre-eminent among them, as in all mission fields where it existed, was the issue of polygamy. While recognising that polygamy in Papua was not such a problem as in other places, missionaries, especially those of the S.H.M., defined it as one of the major challenges confronting them. All four missions allowed polygamists to become 'candidates under Christian instruction', or, in Anglican terminology, hearers, but within the Sacred Heart, Anglican and Methodist missions no polygamist could become a catechumen until the polygamous union was renounced.¹²⁹ This involved the banishment of all but one wife, a practice which may have caused other missionaries the disquiet voiced by Methodist, Andrew Ballantyne: 'It seems too hard to put wives and families away.... If we could allow these old marriages to stand, much possible hardship might be avoided....'¹³⁰ In the L.M.S., early workers followed the compassionate lead of James Chalmers in rejecting this requirement. Recalling that some members of the early Christian church had more than one wife, Chalmers claimed that interference in such matters was 'only man's device, a requirement our Lord Jesus had not laid down.'¹³¹

129 Ballantyne in M.R., April 1912, 16; C. King, History of the New Guinea Mission, 26; G. Sharp, Rules...of the Diocese; see also Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, Report, II, 64-74, 322-27; K. Burridge, 'Missionary Occasions', Boutilier, et al., Mission, Church and Sect..., 22.

130 M.R., April 1912, 16.

131 Ross, Tamate, 467. On L.M.S. policy see District Committee Minutes 1914, 29, in P.L. 1914, L.M.S.

The same compassion was present in Holmes' conviction that under existing circumstances, polygamy was a 'necessity' in Namau.¹³² However, while pre-existing polygamous unions were accepted in the L.M.S., it was expected that Christian converts would abstain from such marriages after baptism.

While Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists all debarred polygamists from church membership, the intensity of their general opposition to polygamy varied. The attitude of Anglican missionaries seems to have been fairly relaxed. Copland King wrote, in retrospect: 'Polygamy itself did not...concern us much, although we stopped it when we could.'¹³³ Methodists were more unyielding, opposing it from the early days when Samuel Fellows 'bashed polygamy' with vigour.¹³⁴ Danks assured the uneasy Ballantyne that opposition was 'the shortest way to a reform that is absolutely necessary.'¹³⁵ In the Sacred Heart Mission, opposition was even more thorough-going, Archbishop Navarre threatening polygamists with the fires of hell.¹³⁶ The anthropologist, Pitt-Rivers, admittedly not an impartial witness, alleged three instances in which interference in traditional polygamous marriages extended to the abduction, by priest, teacher or convert, of second wives, and their subsequent remarriage to Christians.¹³⁷ Sir Hubert Murray admitted knowledge of only one of these cases.¹³⁸ After the introduction of Archbishop de Boismenu's new programme in 1908, opposition to polygamy intensified. Christians who had lapsed into polygamy were expelled from the church, a policy that was revoked in 1929 with the realisation that the 'road to repentance' was thus

132 Holmes, Diary, 9 September 1899. L.M.S.

133 C. King. op.cit., 26.

134 Fellows, Diary, 15 November 1891, and see below, 216.

135 Danks to Ballantyne, 1 February 1912, Danks Letterbook 1912. M.O.M.

136 Navarre, Journal 1887, 21, R.A.

137 G. Pitt-Rivers, The Clash of Cultures, 138-40.

138 Murray, letter to Man, 1930, no.14.

cut off.¹³⁹ Archbishop de Boismenu told the Royal Commission of 1906 that the government should discourage polygamy as had Sir William MacGregor.¹⁴⁰ When the Marriage Ordinance was passed in 1912, the Sacred Heart Mission, while generally approving it, regretted that by recognising all native marriages as legal, the government thereby 'protected' polygamy.¹⁴¹

On the general issue of sexual mores, there was more consensus. All missionaries opposed 'licentiousness' in any form, their main concerns being 'fornication' and adultery. In their opposition to the latter they were joined by the government, who made adultery amongst the Papuans a crime punishable by six months' imprisonment. Their attitude towards sexual morality led the missionaries to oppose numbers of traditional customs and ceremonies. Chalmers energetically attacked the Kiwai moguru, which he described as 'abominably filthy' and Butcher opposed the buguru of the delta region.¹⁴² After some hesitation, the Anglican missionaries decided that they must oppose numagwaru, the custom of sleeping together without sexual intercourse.¹⁴³ But opposition was not always, as their opponents liked to think, based solely on a negative and repressive attitude to sexuality. Butcher's anxiety about the promiscuity associated with the buguru was prompted by his observation of the ravages of venereal disease amongst participants.¹⁴⁴ Much of the missionaries' opposition to polygamy was based on their conviction that it exploited women, turning them into 'concubines' or 'slaves'.¹⁴⁵

139 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 369.

140 Royal Commission Report 1906, de Boismenu's evidence, 2739.

141 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 370.

142 Chalmers to Thompson, 31 May 1893, P.L. L.M.S.; Butcher, op.cit., 181ff. It seems that Chalmers may have been mistaken in his belief that the moguru involved ritual sodomy. See Bingham Hely, Journal, 19 April 1893.

143 See Dakers to Stone-Wigg, 7 June 1901, Personal Files, box 20, A.A.; Newton to Stone-Wigg, 6 January 1902 and 31 May 1902, Personal Files, box 22, A.A.

144 Butcher, op.cit., 186.

145 See, for instance, Holmes, Diary, 14 July 1897; Navarre, Journal 1887, 22, R.A. Cf. Burrige, 'Missionary Occasions' in Boutilier et al., Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania, 23.

One of the most persistent elements in the stereotype of the missionary is that he was an iconoclast. Dominated by prudery, ignorance and complacency, he set out to destroy mores and customs which he found offensive, incomprehensible or, in fact, different from his own. In the period after the First World War, the dominance of the functionalist school of anthropology over evolutionism and diffusionism caused increased sensitivity to the inter-dependence of the various parts of a culture and the damage done to the whole fabric by an assault on any part. The prevailing philosophy of cultural relativism deplored the missionaries' espousal of particular value judgements. Anthropologists, formerly the 'intellectual partners' of missionaries, joined popular writers in stereotyping them as dangerously destructive. Pitt-Rivers, for example, alleged that the missionary's influence in Papua had

destroyed the native's tribal life, the prestige of his chiefs, his morality, his pleasures, his beliefs, his hopes, the cement of his society and the very meaning of his life. It has, with clumsy dogmatism, meddled with his sex life, destroyed his tapu system, and freed him only from the old fears which made him loyal to his corporate group. It has left him with new fears...and a helpless incapacity to control his own destiny, while it bids him mimic the culture forms he can never make his own.¹⁴⁶

In assessing the validity of the image of the missionary as 'iconoclast' as it applied in Papua, several points need to be taken into consideration. First, the missionaries were concerned almost exclusively with the behaviour of converts. Prohibitions on dancing, feasting, polygamy and sexual licence were directed towards those within the Christian community, not towards the society at large, though, of course, the whole society was indirectly influenced by the missionary's opposition. Second, missionaries in Papua seem to have been more tolerant not only than most of their forebears - a

¹⁴⁶ G. Pitt-Rivers, letter to Man, November 1930, no.152. See also, E.W. Chinnery, 'Applied Anthropology in New Guinea', in Proceedings of A.N.Z.A.A.S. Congress, 1932, vol.21, 163-75, and Francis X. Hezel, 'Indigenization as a Missionary Goal...', Boutilier, et al., Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania, 251.

product of the growth in anthropological understanding - but also than many of their contemporaries. It seems that the Society of the Divine Word Mission and the Lutheran missions in New Guinea were more destructive of traditional culture than their Catholic and Protestant counterparts in Papua. Even Pitt-Rivers admitted that missionaries in Papua were less guilty of 'wilful destruction of native culture' than those in other parts of the Pacific.¹⁴⁷

J.H. Holmes and his colleagues in the Gulf earned a tribute from the anthropologist F.E. Williams for the 'broad-minded attitude which they adopted towards native institutions.'¹⁴⁸ Remarking that none of the white missionaries adopted any direct measures against the hevehe festival of Elema, Williams went on to say, however, that the same sympathetic, tolerant attitude was not characteristic of native teachers associated with the mission. The third point that can be made in defence of the European missionaries is that much of the destructiveness identified with the missions originated in the zeal of Papuan and Polynesian teachers and of converts from amongst the Papuan people.

Finally it must be recognised that missionary interference was only one of the influences tending towards the disintegration of traditional culture. Their stand on many issues was reinforced by government policy. In more subtle ways, too, colonisation was forcing change. Men who moved from the village in search of wage-employment no longer had the leisure to build majestic eravo, carve elaborate masks or prepare for and participate in cycles of feasting and dancing. Nevertheless, the missionaries cannot be absolved from the charge that they participated in a large-scale destruction of many aspects of traditional culture. Their commitment to effecting change was their raison d'être. Not only through repression of the old ways, but through the conflicting demands imposed upon their converts, they destroyed much of the basis for traditional socio-economic activity.

¹⁴⁷ G. Pitt-Rivers, Letter to Man, November 1930, no.152.

¹⁴⁸ F.E. Williams, Drama of Orokololo, 430-31. See also D. Griffiths, F.E. Williams..., (M.A. thesis), 65-70.

THE influence of the missionary over the convert was exercised through a personal relationship more intimate and directive than those which generally existed between Europeans and Papuans at the time. The child analogy which dominated responses to the Papuans in all four missions acted as a sanction and a rationale for this relationship. 'Poor things, they need a father to guide them', observed Albert Maclaren.¹⁴⁹ This compassionate but arrogant statement, which set the tone for the relationship between the Anglican missionary and his flock, was echoed in the other missions. 'They are children and need much patience, love and leading', wrote Reginald Bartlett from Orokolo.¹⁵⁰ Archbishop Navarre advised his staff: 'The father of a family watches over his children constantly. The Missionary must be like a father even to the old people, for all, young and old, are big children.'¹⁵¹

The type of relationship established was the paternalism that was common amongst well-intentioned colonialists of the period. The dominant group, the missionaries, exercised a benevolent despotism over their subordinates, the Papuans, whom they saw as inferior, childish, immature and irresponsible. Roles and status were 'sharply divided along race lines' and the social distance between the two groups was so unambiguous as to allow 'distant intimacy'.¹⁵² Within this relationship, love for the subordinate group was not impossible so long as they 'stayed in their place'. Amongst the subordinate group, the Papuans, there was 'accommodation to their inferior status'.

149 E. Rogers, A Pioneer of New Guinea, 129.

150 T. Wemyss Reid, A Man Like Bati, 70.

151 L. Navarre, Manual des Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur parmi les Sauvages (hereinafter Missionary Manual), vi-vii.

152 P.L. van den Berghe, Race and Racism..., 26ff. This analysis is based upon his useful model of paternalism.

The paternalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has been much criticised by those of a later age. One of its worst manifestations was a failure to treat those of the subordinate group as fully human, and of equal significance to those of the dominant group. The missionaries were, in some degree, insulated from this temptation by their belief in the spiritual equality of all mankind, but in some of their responses there is a condescension which comes close to a negation of full humanity. Charles Abel dismissed the Massim's belief system with the observation that it took 'great patience to enter into all his little ideas.'¹⁵³ The Anglican missionary, Arthur Kent Chignell, alluded to the Papuans as 'these comical brown fellows.'¹⁵⁴ The Anglican Mission, in fact, seems to have been particularly prone to this form of condescension. The photographer, Frank Hurley, was repelled by the dinner-time conversation at Dogura: 'They seem to regard the native as a pet or prize puppy dog. Mark do this - Peter did this - John is quite rude and such inanities float across the table....'¹⁵⁵

In the missionary literature of the period, Papuans rarely emerge as individuals. In the memoirs of the early missionaries they generally form a shadowy, black background to the exploits of heroic white men; in the writings of later missionaries they become objects of scholarly study. Chignell drew some memorable pen-portraits of the Papuans and Melanesians with whom he had worked, but in each case the portrait was composed to show endearing but inferior characteristics such as laziness or amiable foolishness.¹⁵⁶ One of the few missionary publications to present appreciative portraits of individual Papuans was James Chalmers' Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea (1895), from which the powerful Koapena, the devote Kone, and the exuberant 'Queen' Koloka emerge as distinctive and memorable people.¹⁵⁷

153 C. Abel, Savage Life..., 99.

154 A.K. Chignell, An Outpost..., 212.

155 F. Hurley, Diary, 8, 12 April 1921, 114.

156 A.K. Chignell, An Outpost..., for example, 40-41, 50-51, 55-57, 72-73.

157 J. Chalmers, Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea, 146-86.

But the depersonalising tendency to which the missionaries were prone was probably even more prevalent amongst secular contemporaries. Speaking of the Papuans to a mixed audience in Melbourne, W.G. Lawes pleaded:

I ask you to accept them as fellow-subjects and fellow-men. Don't talk about them as 'niggers' or 'black-fellows' but...let them be treated as men, weak, ignorant and childish, but still members of the human family.¹⁵⁸

A second, and related, aspect of paternalism was the authoritarian control exercised by the missionary over the Papuan. Bishop Verjus, the esteemed Mitsinari of Roro and Mekeo, was, despite his great affection for his 'dear savages', autocratic and sometimes harsh in his dealings with them. 'One has to be savage with savages', he explained.¹⁵⁹ Other much-loved missionaries, such as James Chalmers and Albert Maclaren, were also remembered for the peremptory manner which they adopted at times.¹⁶⁰ J.H. Holmes found himself becoming increasingly authoritarian at the same time as his understanding of the Papuan was growing. 'There is only one way to treat the Papuans', he wrote in 1900, 'and that is to be arbitrary and commanding in all our dealings with them.'¹⁶¹ In these missionaries, authoritarianism was tempered by a genuine love for the people. In the regime of a minority of other missionaries such as the impetuous Wilfred Abbot of Wanigela, the element of fear dominated over that of love.¹⁶² Like a father with his children, the missionary interfered in the lives of the Papuans, watching over their behaviour, controlling their environment so as to remove temptations and dangers, frequently

158 J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 232.

159 L. Rumble, Henry Verjus, 28. See also Verjus, Diary, 5 February 1891, Annales, 1901, 47.

160 See D. Langmore, Tamate - A King, 63; F. Synge, Albert Maclaren, 150.

161 Holmes, Diary, 22 October 1900. L.M.S.

162 Abbot to Stone-Wigg, 27 March 1900, Personal Files, box 20, A.A.; King to Stone-Wigg, 13 February 1900, Personal Files, box 22, A.A.

putting pressure on them to adopt what they saw as the right way of life, and punishing them when they deviated from it.

Missionaries believed that they had a right to punish, as with a wayward child. Punishment could range, according to the heinousness of the offence in the eyes of the missionary, from the cutting of a tobacco allowance to corporal punishment. Missionaries in Papua did not share the convictions as to the virtues of flogging held by their Lutheran brethren in New Guinea, nor did they resort to it as frequently. But there is evidence to show that it was used occasionally in all missions. Caleb Beharell of the L.M.S. threatened to 'thrash' any man who prostituted his daughter and the redoubtable Mrs Bromilow made the same promise to any woman who attempted infanticide.¹⁶³ George Brown, large-hearted secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, was disturbed by reports of the use of force by Samuel Fellows and John Andrews. 'Try to remember that love is the greatest power in the world', he advised the missionaries. 'Let the people feel that you love them and your work will be easy.'¹⁶⁴ In the Anglican Mission a layman, Charlie Sage, inflicted a 'punishment with a rope's end' after a sexual lapse by a convert, and Henry Newton flogged male students for invading the fence of the girls' quarters.¹⁶⁵ Another Anglican, Charles Kennedy, was brought before the government on an assault charge, as was also the domineering L.M.S. missionary, Edward Baxter Riley. Both were reprimanded but acquitted.¹⁶⁶

Aloofness, derived from an unassailable sense of superiority, was a third feature of paternalism, which the missionaries, in varying

163 F. Lenwood, Pastels from the Pacific, 167; Lloyd, Journal V, 13 October 1900. M.O.M.

164 Brown to Williams, 20 December 1898, Letterbook 1898-1900; Brown to Bromilow, 10 March 1896, Letterbook 1895-96. M.O.M.

165 Minutes of meeting held at Taupota, 13 January 1904, King's file, box 15, file 53, A.A.; Newton to Stone-Wigg, 19 April 1908, Personal Files, box 22, A.A.

166 B.N.G. A.R. 1893-94, Appendix B, 5; Murray, Diary, 27 January 1909, 7. Murray Papers. See also Lawrence to Thompson, 9 February 1909, P.L. L.M.S.

degrees, exhibited. Archbishop Navarre warned his staff against the danger of 'a too great familiarity with the natives.'¹⁶⁷ Bishop Sharp advised Anglicans to adopt a middle course between 'familiarity' and the accepted white colonial status of bada, adding however, 'I sometimes think we ought to be "badas" much more than we are.'¹⁶⁸ Methodist missionaries were told that it was 'not wise to fondle natives.'¹⁶⁹ When in 1915 the board of the L.M.S. asked its missionaries to describe their social relations with Papuans, typical responses were 'no social relations with the natives' and 'kept in their place.'¹⁷⁰ Will Saville of the L.M.S. devised a set of laws to regulate his interaction with the Papuans, which form an archetypal statement of the paternalistic relationship. They included:

1. Never play the fool with a native.
2. Never speak to a native for the sake of speaking.
3. Never call a native, send someone for him.
4. Never touch a native, except to shake hands or thrash him.
5. Never let a native see you believe his word right away, he never speaks the truth.
6. Rarely agree with a native, and then only when he is alone.
7. Warn once, afterwards proceed to action.¹⁷¹

In their aloofness, the missionaries only reflected the convention of the time. Indeed, they deviated sufficiently far from the norm to be frequently criticised by secular contemporaries for encouraging a familiarity which lowered the white man's prestige and encouraged indolence and bumptiousness among the natives.¹⁷²

167 L. Navarre, Missionary Manual, 49.

168 G. Sharp, Anniversary Address, 1913, 10-11.

169 Synod Journal, 1911, 443, U.C.A.

170 Answers to questions, 1915, e.g., Riley, Beharell, P.L. L.M.S.

171 Saville to brother, 8 October 1902. Saville Papers.

172 See, for example, Royal Commission...1906, Evidence of English, 3. J. Mackay, Across Papua, 40; Hurley, Diary 8, 30 April 1921, 180.

Besides these negative aspects must be set one positive feature which was as much a part of paternalism as were condescension, domination and aloofness. This was the element of trusteeship which it entailed. Pioneer missionaries, Chalmers and Lawes, set a fine precedent with their lusty battle against exploitation of Papuan lives, land and labour by white settlers. Many of their successors self-consciously adopted the role of 'native protector' and were thus seen, with varying degrees of pleasure, by settlers and traders, government officials and observers, and by the Papuans themselves.¹⁷³ Ben Butcher reported that the people spoke of him as 'their man', different from the trader and the government official.¹⁷⁴

Criticism of paternalism has often obscured the fact that it was a relationship that could be exploited by both sides. From the first, Papuans manipulated the missionaries to obtain such benefits as tobacco and hoop-iron; protection, not only from foreigners but also from inter-tribal enmities; learning; and the status which derived from close association with a white man. The old Roro chief, Raouma, who first welcomed Verjus to New Guinea expressed, at his death, a Papuan perception of the paternalistic relationship: 'He was good to us, he loved us well, he defended us, he gave us tobacco, he scolded us only when we deserved it. And he is dead!'¹⁷⁵

Responses by the European missionaries to the Papuan and his culture ranged along several different spectrums, from condemnation to admiration, from incomprehension to understanding, from intolerance to acceptance and from reticence to aggressive interference. How each missionary responded depended on the interplay of the personal convictions, preconceptions, attitudes and prejudices that he brought to New Guinea and his own individual experience in the field.

The times at which the missionary arrived was an important factor. Those who served in the last years before the Great War came

173 See below, 312-61.

174 Butcher, Letter to S.M.H., 29 March 1912.

175 Quoted by Father Roussel, Annales, 1893, 330.

out with a degree of anthropological awareness that could not have been expected of Lawes, Chalmers and the other pioneers. They came, moreover, to a people who had already experienced up to three decades of the restraining influence of mission and government. Ben Butcher, describing his own interest in Papuan culture, cast his imagination back to the experiences of the pioneers and concluded: 'It is not surprising that early missionaries, coming up against the cruelty and bestiality associated with primitive religion, saw nothing good in it.'¹⁷⁶

Equally important was the place to which the missionaries came. Not all Papuan cultures were equally reprehensible to the eyes of a nineteenth century Christian European. In the cultures of the Motu, the Roro, the Elema or the Mailu there was little to tax the tolerance of the missionary, while those working amongst the Namau, the Kiwai or the Goaribari experienced much greater strains on their capacity for understanding. Ben Butcher's cry of despair that the more he learned the 'more revolting' everything was,¹⁷⁷ reflected not a narrow, uncomprehending bigotry but a struggle to come to terms with a culture which allowed ten year old girls to be 'raped' by elderly men. Different cultures, moreover, taxed the understanding of the missionary in different ways. Those working amongst the Namau, the Goaribari and the Massim were confronted with cannibalism; those working amongst the Roro, the Mekeo, the Elema and the Motu were not. Missionaries who lived amongst the D'Entrecasteaux Islanders and the Elema were distressed at the prevalence of infanticide; Holmes, working amongst the poorly-regarded Namau, found no evidence of it. The relaxed attitude of the Anglicans towards polygamy was partly a reflection of the fact that it was not widely practised among 'their' people. The Kiriwinans, admired for their artistry and industry, were censured for their licentiousness, a feature much less apparent amongst, for instance, the Roro and the Mekeo.

Yet time and place are not sufficient to explain the different

¹⁷⁶ B. Butcher, We Lived with Headhunters, 128.

¹⁷⁷ Butcher, Letter fragment, n.d. [1928] MS 1881/4, Butcher Papers.

responses of the missionaries. The people to whom Charles Abel had referred as 'fiends' were of the same Massim stock as those about whom Gerald Sharp wrote so warmly. The Motu dance which caused W.G. Lawes such anguish was defended equally strongly by some of his colleagues. Even in an identical experience each missionary brought with him attitudes derived from his social background, his religious formation and his own personality, which ensured that his reactions would rarely be identical to those of any other.

The anthropologist, Kennelm Burridge, has hypothesised that missionaries from southern and Mediterranean Europe where 'diverse cultural forms and moralities exist in some profusion' were prepared to allow greater variety of cultural expression than the more mono-cultural countries of northern Europe.¹⁷⁸ This may have been a factor in the tolerance of the French and Italian Sacred Heart fathers, in contrast with, for example, the predominantly British L.M.S. missionaries.

The socio-economic background of the missionaries, including the amount of education they had received, doubtless also moulded their responses.¹⁷⁹ Mostly lower middle class or artisan, the Protestant missionaries in Papua reflected as they had in other places, the mores of that section of society, in their greater preoccupation with dress, decent language and sabbatarianism and their condemnation of secular pleasures like dancing and feasting. In contrast, the priests of the Sacred Heart and Anglican missions, often well-educated members of the upper middle class, exhibited on most issues other than that of sexual licence, a greater broad-mindedness, flexibility and tolerance, which was very likely derived in part from their education and experience. Conversely, the censorious judgements of some of the Sacred Heart brothers, or of the Anglican carpenter, Samuel Tomlinson, suggest an outlook closer to that of some of the Protestant missionaries than to that of the educated

178 K. Burridge, Encountering Aborigines, 205.

179 See Gordon Brown, 'Missions and Cultural Diffusion', American Journal of Sociology, vol.50, 214-19.

leaders of their own missions. Where understanding and tolerance of magic and ritual was required, however, Sacred Heart brothers, many of them products of peasant cultures of Brittany, Berry or Italy, may well have had greater intuitive understanding than their better-educated colleagues or counterparts in the other missions.

Greater acceptance of traditional cultures on the part of Catholic missionaries was closely tied to their Natural Theology which held that while sin had brought about a certain perversion of human nature, by his surviving powers of reason, man could comprehend God through the reality of creation. A partial manifestation of God could be sought and found in all cultures, and thus a greater measure of accommodation and assimilation allowed. By contrast, Protestant missionaries, influenced by the Reformation doctrine of total corruption, which rejected the competence of fallen human reason to engage in Natural Theology, saw a greater need for a total break with heathenism.¹⁸⁰

Differing conceptions of the church also influenced the relationship of the missionary to the Papuan and his culture.¹⁸¹ For both Roman Catholics and Anglo-Catholics, the Church was a universal, divinely-ordained institution which, for centuries, had embraced all manner of people. Its preservation insofar as it rested on human endeavour at all, depended upon the fidelity of its clergy, not upon its members. From the convert was expected assent to a formal theology and a faithful observation of the sacraments. The evangelical Protestant's understanding was totally different. For him the church was not an institution which derived its strength from divine ordination and historical continuity. It was the body of believers. With a lower view of the sacraments and the ministry, and a less formal theology, the Protestant church defined itself

180 For a useful summary of Roman Catholic Natural Law Theology and its implications for missionary adaptation, see L.J. Luzbetak, 'Adaptation, Missionary', in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, I, 120-22.

181 See J. Legge, Britain in Fiji, 148; N.A. Horner, The Cross and the Crucifix, 158; H.A.C. Cairns, op.cit., 220-21; J.W. Burton, Modern Missions in the Pacific, 158.

in terms of its members. Hence it was impelled to a much greater concern for the ethics and morality of each individual convert. Moreover, unlike the Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries who were encouraged to think of their service as that of a lifetime, and of that of their successors as lasting for centuries, Protestant missionaries envisaged shorter careers and an independent church. This may have lent a greater urgency to their attempted reforms.

Differences in social and religious background cannot totally explain the differences in response of the missionaries any more than can the time and place at which they served. The aristocratic, learned and urbane Frenchman, Alain de Boismenu, was capable of as harsh a judgement upon the Papuan as was the most ill-educated Protestant, while the L.M.S. missionary, James Chalmers, or the Methodist carpenter, George Bardsley, both of modest origins, were capable of a spontaneous appreciation as warm as that of any highly-educated Roman Catholic or Anglican.

Some missionaries came to Papua with an innate affection for the Papuan; others did not. Copland King regretted that it was duty that brought him to the Anglican mission field rather than the love which inspired his leader, Albert Maclaren.¹⁸² Another Anglican, Arthur Chignell, at first felt revulsion at the touch of a brown skin but later his warm-hearted, enthusiastic nature guided him to a genuine, albeit paternalistic, affection for the Papuans.¹⁸³ Charles Abel, in contrast, continued to feel 'nausea' in their presence, throughout his long career.¹⁸⁴ James Chalmers, despite his autocratic manner, was motivated by a deep affection for the people which enabled him to fling his arms around their necks as unselfconsciously as he stamped his foot at them. Such an appreciative response was not dependent on any theoretical understanding. Chalmers himself was completely unlettered in anthropology, whilst his colleague,

182 G. White, A Pioneer of Papua, 11.

183 O.P., 44, 3.

184 C. Abel, Savage Life..., 22.

Will Saville, for instance, combined a solid theoretical knowledge with a cold and remote personal style.

While the missionary was unquestionably influenced by his racial and class origins, his education and experience, and the intellectual climate to which he was exposed, at the heart of his response to the Papuan lay the mysteries of his own personality. Fundamental differences in personality ensured that missionary responses ranged through a broad spectrum which makes any stereotyping impossible. While, at one extreme, some missionaries approximated closely to the stereotype of the cold, judgmental and iconoclastic kill-joy, at the other extreme, some manifested a spontaneous affection and a tolerance which outstripped, by a long way, that of most of their contemporaries.

CHAPTER SIX

'PREACHING, TEACHING AND KNOCKING AROUND'

IN a pencilled diary entry written the day before his death, L.M.S. missionary, Oliver Tomkins recalled one of his earliest impressions of mission work. It was 'gathered from a picture of the missionary jumping ashore, with a book, presumably the Bible in his hand, from which the picture leads one to suppose that he is forthwith going to instruct the natives who are to be seen gathering around.'¹ Tomkins' childhood impressions evoke a stereotype of mission work which was probably shared by many of his own and of subsequent generations. Black-coated, the missionary of the imagination stands, Bible in hand, and preaches before a dark-skinned, attentive crowd. Pervasive as this image may have been, it scarcely bore any relation to the experience of most missionaries. Despite the fond illusions of mission-supporters at home, there was no initial demand for the gospel.² A pioneer missionary, wanting to preach, found it necessary to coax, cajole and even bribe to get a congregation. And as has been shown, he was more likely to preach in flannel shirt and cotton trousers than in the sombre black garb beloved of satirists. But more fundamentally, overt evangelism was only a fraction of the work of the missionary; indeed, in the pioneering days of mission activity, it was a negligible part of the daily routine. 'How do we preach the Gospel?' James Chalmers asked an audience at Exeter Hall, and answered, dispelling the illusion which Tomkins had shared, 'No we do not go with a black coat and white neck-tie, standing in the boat with a Bible in our hand. We go as man to man to try to live the Gospel.'³

1 O.F. Tomkins, *Diary*, 7 April 1901. Tomkins Papers.

2 See, for example, Holmes, 'Stories of Namau', 6, Holmes Papers, L.M.S.; Pearse to Thompson, 14 November 1891, P.L. L.M.S.

3 R. Lovett, James Chalmers..., 212.

All missionaries claimed conversion of the heathen as their fundamental objective, but all recognised the three-fold task of winning the confidence of the people, establishing themselves amongst them and learning the language as necessary pre-requisites. Much of the work of the pioneer missionaries, as distinct from those who came to established stations, was devoted to these three objectives.

For a minority of missionaries in New Guinea, mostly of the L.M.S. and S.H.M., this required making contact with peoples previously unvisited by Europeans. W.G. Lawes, the first European to settle on the Papuan mainland, travelled from his base at Port Moresby eastward along the coast and inland, his arrival at villages heralded, as word of him spread, by the cry 'Misi Lao' which, a later observer remarked, became a talisman in that area.⁴ His indefatigable colleague, Chalmers, worked first from the east and along the southern coast, claiming in one expedition alone to have visited ninety previously uncontacted villages, and later pressed into the Papuan Gulf and Delta, and, in the months before his death, to the distant reaches of the vast Fly River.⁵ Sacred Heart missionaries worked first among the Roro who were accustomed to white intruders and the Mekeo who had had less experience of them. But finding themselves constrained by the spheres of influence agreement, they pushed inland, becoming the first Europeans to visit the almost inaccessible mountainous interior.⁶ Anglican and Wesleyan missionaries, arriving three years after the commencement of Sir William MacGregor's energetic administration, had neither the same necessity nor the same opportunity for first contact.

Mission literature is full of accounts of expeditions of

4 For Lawes' explorations, see J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 78-80, 85-89 and W.G. Lawes, Diary, passim.

5 For Chalmers' explorations, see his own accounts in his books, Pioneering in New Guinea and Work and Adventure in New Guinea; also R. Lovett, James Chalmers..., and D. Langmore, Tamate - a King, passim.

6 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 300-20, 325-38.

exploration and contact.⁷ Mission supporters read narratives of perilous voyages in small craft, of landings on palm-fringed beaches, observed by wary villagers, of cautious offerings of gifts and the first tentative gestures of friendship. Although the style of making contact varied to some extent with the individual, most missionaries worked to a similar formula, elements of which distinguished it from the style of traders and even government officials. Unlike their secular contemporaries, most travelled unarmed. Although the pioneer Wesleyans were issued with two rifles, one for bird-shooting and one, should it be needed, 'for nobler game',⁸ most missionaries rejected the use or even display of weapons as incompatible with their intention of gaining the trust of the people. Jane Chalmers boasted to a friend in England that her husband did not possess 'a firearm or fighting weapon of any description.'⁹ Entering a village, the missionaries displayed their empty hands.¹⁰ Unlike government officers who travelled on patrol with contingents of police and carriers, European missionaries travelled in small parties with perhaps a South Sea Islander and several Papuans to act as interpreters, guides, carriers or crew. Like others engaged in first contact expeditions, they made intelligent use of previously contacted people, working through their normal trading relationships with the uncontacted. While government officials camped in tents guarded by native police,

7 See, for example, the literature based on James Chalmers' pioneering expeditions in biographies by A. Small, W. Seton and C. Lennox and children's books such as R. Lovett's Tamate and W.P. Nairne's James Chalmers: Greatheart of Papua.

8 G. Bardsley, Diary, 9 June 1891, 7.

9 Jane Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 18 June 1878. Papua Personal, L.M.S. A claim made by D. Wetherell (J.P.H., XII, 2, 1977, 121) that Chalmers owned a revolver is misleading. It is based on a statement made by Samuel MacFarlane, an unreliable witness, in 1908, i.e., forty years after Chalmers' arrival in New Guinea. Chalmers' wife's contemporary comment is likely to be more accurate. MacFarlane's letter, moreover, goes on to admit that Chalmers sold his revolver.

10 'The Bishop of New Guinea in British New Guinea', Christian World, 29 March 1904, in Stone-Wigg's Newspaper Cuttings Book. A.A.

missionaries sought accommodation from villagers, stoically enduring the mosquito-filled air of coastal houses or the smoke of mountain huts, the grunting of pigs and the cacophony of human sounds, in their efforts to win the acceptance of the people.¹¹

Most first meetings opened with the presentation of gifts - stock trade articles such as axes, hoop-iron, turkey red cloth, knives, tobacco and beads. The recipients were often selective in what they accepted. As soon as initial suspicion was allayed, the missionary tried to explain his presence, either directly or through an interpreter, assuring the people that he was their friend and that he was not a trader or government official. Often the people subjected him to a non-verbal inquisition: prodding and patting him, and minutely examining his clothes and equipment. First meetings were generally brief. 'My plan for a first visit is to arrive, make friends and get away again before the people realise what has happened',¹² wrote James Chalmers, pioneer missionary par excellence, who also developed an impressive repertoire of acts for dealing with situations which he believed to have become menacing.¹³

The response of the Papuan people to the white intruders varied from place to place. There were instances of hostility. The first expedition of de Boismenu and his colleagues to Fuyughe ended in flight as they saw themselves threatened by local carriers who coveted their trade goods.¹⁴ But such incidents occurred more commonly amongst people with previous experience of Europeans than amongst the newly contacted, a fact which led missionaries confronted with inexplicable hostility or threatened violence to conclude that it was retaliation for wrongs committed by earlier European visitors,

11 Ibid and J. Chalmers, Pioneering in New Guinea, passim.

12 C. Abel, Savage Life ..., 160.

13 See J. Chalmers and W. Gill, Work and Adventure in New Guinea, Chapter 2, passim.

14 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 300-21, 325-38; Annales, 1911, 215-26; 1923, 139-41.

frequently traders.¹⁵ This common eurocentric assumption, which credited Papuans with the capacity merely to react to European intrusion rather than initiate action, may have explained some unfriendly encounters, but more often, probably, the answer lay in aspects of the diverse cultures of the Papuans themselves.

Most initial responses were peaceful. Accustomed to intervention in their society by man or spirit, the Papuans accepted the European missionaries on their own terms. Many saw them first as spirits, often those of returned ancestors.¹⁶ When they recognised the newcomers as human beings, the Papuans were quick to see the advantages which acceptance of them would entail. Trade goods were a persuasive argument for tolerance, and glimpses of European technology, even without firearms, impressed them. Reports of the missionaries from earlier contacted neighbours made Papuan communities eager to exploit their presence not only as providers of material goods but as status symbols, as protectors and as allies in the prevalent local warfare. Having decided to accept the missionary, the people often became possessive, and a common feature of a missionary's account of contact was the ostensibly disinterested assurances of those contacted that his life would be imperilled if he ventured among their neighbours, advice that he usually chose to ignore.

Most missionaries were clear-eyed about the reasons for their acceptance. They realised that they were welcome for the material benefits they brought, but remained optimistic that this response could be transformed in time. 'Today's Gospel with the natives is one of tomahawks and tobacco,' wrote Chalmers, 'we are received by them because of these. By that door we enter to preach

15 See, for example, J. Chalmers and W. Gill, *op.cit.*, 83 and Private and confidential memo from A. Musgrave (n.d.) encl. in Newscuttings re B.N.G. Musgrave Papers.

16 M. Stephen, *Continuity and Change in Mekeo society...*, 84, 92n. See also Van Rijswijck, *Bakoidu: resettlement and social change among the Kuni of Papua*, and D. Langmore, *Tamate: a King*, 58, 140 n.44.

the Gospel of Love and I wish it could be done now.¹⁷

Whether or not the people to whom the missionaries came had been previously contacted, the first phase of mission work was always devoted primarily to winning their acceptance.¹⁸ Most pioneer missionaries believed that such a programme required their living amongst the people, so their first task was to acquire land and establish a base. Before the imposition of colonial rule, land was bought by direct negotiation with the people; afterwards, protection of native land being a declared aim of government policy, it was obtained through the government. Payment was in trade goods. Henri Verjus bought land on Yule Island from the Roro 'chief' Raouma, for three singlets, three pocket-knives, three necklaces, two mirrors, two musical boxes and a little tobacco.¹⁹ The Anglican pioneers obtained 260 acres of the grassy Dogura plateau from the villagers of Wedau for ten tomahawks, ten big and ten small knives, twenty-four looking glasses, 112 pounds of tobacco, five shirts, cloth, beads, pipes and matches.²⁰ Panaeati station in the Louisiades was acquired by the Methodists, through the government, for trade goods worth two guineas.²¹ The months which followed the purchase of a site were largely absorbed by the material work of station-building. But, as James Chalmers observed, such work enabled the missionary to establish with the people the relationship which was the foundation for evangelism:

Day after day in duty's routine, not in hymn-singing,
praying or preaching in public, as some imagine that
missionaries spend their days, the work was ever going
on. The Gospel was working its way in bush-clearing,

17 Chalmers to Mullens, 25 August 1880, P.L. L.M.S. Cf. Fr Couppé, Annales, 1888, 131.

18 See, for example, Annales, 1901, 681; C. Abel, Savage Life..., 39.

19 Letter from Verjus, 7 July 1885. Annales, 1885, 322.

20 A. Maclaren to editor of St John's Chronicle, Brisbane, 4 September 1891, Letterbook, A.A.

21 S. Fellows, Diary, 10 November 1891.

fencing, planting, house-building and many other forms of work, through fun, play, feasting, travelling, joking, laughing, and along the ordinary experiences of everyday life.²²

These activities provided the missionary with the opportunity to begin to learn the language. Sacred Heart missionaries were urged by their superiors and by Propaganda to make it their principal occupation: 'A missionary who has good command of their language is all-powerful.'²³ Early methods of acquiring the language were simple - the missionaries questioned, pointed, listened and scribbled the answers in note-books and by a painstaking process of deduction and testing mastered the syntax and idiom. But amongst the pioneers were able linguists such as Lawes, Verjus, King, Tomlinson, Bromilow and Fellows, on whose compilations subsequent linguistic work was based. Later missionaries were tutored by the veterans, those of the Anglican Mission, for instance, learning from King or Tomlinson by the Gouin method.²⁴

Pioneer missionaries also sought to build up trust by involving themselves in the lives of the people. Most went daily to the nearby villages where they tested and improved their limited vocabulary in simple teaching and conversation, and practised basic medicine. Their ability to heal sores and dispel fever was a powerful agency in winning the acceptance of people. 'They always come to us in sickness, and in death send for me to comfort their mourners', noted Albert Maclaren three months after his arrival at Dogura.²⁵ Many won trust by mediating in the inter-tribal warfare which plagued Papuan society, helping to achieve the peace to which they exhorted the people. 'We preach the Gospel in many ways', observed Chalmers,

22 J. Chalmers 'Four Years After' in Chalmers to Mullens, October 1882, P.L. L.M.S.

23 L.A. Navarre, Missionary Manual, 31, see also 23-30.

24 Dogura Log, 30 May 1898, box 65, file 4, A.A.

25 Maclaren to Canon Godby, 9 November 1891; Letterbook, box 15, file 55, A.A.; cf. Annales, 1887, 271.

'one of our best at present is making peace between tribes.'²⁶

Although direct evangelism was recognised as of limited value in such new and tenuous relationships, it was never neglected. As soon as the pioneer missionary had acquired a few stumbling words of the language, he sought to share his faith with his flock. Early sermons were basic, prescriptive and sometimes theologically crude. 'When I reach a village, I get the people together and give them an address', wrote Copland King from the Mamba. 'I tell them they are to be friendly with the white man, and that fighting is to stop. I tell them about the Father in the sky, what his words are to us, and about His Son, Who came to earth.'²⁷ Often the first lesson taught was of the 'one true God' depicted as the Father or the God of Love.²⁸ Shortly after his arrival at Suau, Chalmers preached to the people under a leafy tamano tree. 'We have begun speaking of God's love to the people in very broken language, yet sufficient I hope to make them think a little', he reported.²⁹ Albert Maclaren, fortunate in the presence of an interpreter who had learned English on a Queensland plantation, preached a similar message under the shade trees of Wedau: 'They listened to the singing and I got Abrahama to interpret a few words to them about God the Great Father and his love and care for them.'³⁰ Ben Butcher, on his first visit to the villages of the mud flats of the Bamu River spoke of the 'Good Father', the 'Life Beyond' and the 'Friend of Man', concepts which he described as 'the first letters of the gospel alphabet.'³¹

Methodist and Roman Catholic pioneer missionaries, while

26 R. Lovett, op.cit., 227. Cf. Bromilow, 'Methodism in New Guinea', M.R., May 1909, 6; Fr Caspar in Les Missions Catholiques, 1911, 607.

27 A.K. Chignell, Twenty-one Years...., 123.

28 W.G. Lawes, Diary, 25 June 1876.

29 Chalmers to Mullens, 24 January 1878, P.L. L.M.S.

30 Maclaren to 'my dear friends', 25 August 1891. Letterbook, A.A.

31 Butcher to Mrs Holtumm, 7 October 1909. Unnumbered box, Butcher Papers.

preaching the same doctrine of the God of love, were more likely to be moved to balance it with warnings of the eternal punishment of unbelievers. 'By the terrors of the law we persuade men and it is only from fear of the consequences of...depravity that the love of Christ can be shown',³² wrote a Wesleyan pioneer. Samuel Fellows recorded preaching at Panaeati on the love of God and on his 'dealings with the ungodly' at the Day of Judgement: 'One woman shrieked when I described the thrusting down of sinners into a prison of fire.'³³ Verjus advised his colleagues to preach first the doctrine of hell as 'these poor people cannot initially understand Divine Love.'³⁴

With only a sketchy and sometimes inaccurate knowledge of the language, and mostly without the services of an interpreter, pioneer missionaries found their early attempts at worship greeted with indifference, incomprehension and sometimes derision.³⁵ Congregations were noisy and inattentive, though some courteously imitated the preacher in bowing their heads in prayer. Missionaries were resourceful in exploiting devices to attract the people to their teaching. Samuel Fellows found his harmonium an asset as he landed on the beaches of Panaeati to bring the first words of the gospel.³⁶ Henri Verjus fascinated the villages of Roro with the brightly coloured pictures of heaven and hell, the creation and the fall, in the picture catechism which he had compiled as a student and with the medallions of Mary and the pictures of the Sacred Heart which he distributed among them.³⁷ Most enticing of all were magic lantern shows. Missionaries leavened their representations of biblical subjects

32 Dobu Circuit Report, A.W.M.M.S. Report 1897, lxvi.

33 S. Fellows, Diary, 7 August 1892.

34 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 200.

35 See, for example, MacGregor, Diary, 24 July 1892; A.B.M. Review, 15 April 1910, 7; Pearse to Thompson, 21 January 1889, P.L. L.M.S.

36 S. Fellows, Diary, 1892, passim.

37 Australian Annals, April 1899, 149; Navarre's report 1886, Annales, 1887, 228; Verjus to Chevalier, 15 February 1886, Annales, 1886.

with comic slides which proved universally popular.³⁸ After the first experiences, which occasionally inspired listeners to flight, singing proved an attraction and before long, Papuans of Dobu were learning to sing 'Pull for the shore' and 'What a friend we have in Jesus', while those at Tsiria learned the Pater Noster and 'Hail Mary' and those at Dogura, more mysteriously, 'Home, sweet home.'³⁹

But if the pioneer missionaries had had to judge the first months or even years in terms of the conventional image of their work, they would have had to admit failure. Many would have recognised the experience of Lawes who reported, after fourteen months at Port Moresby, that the Motu were more apathetic and indifferent to his teaching than a year before. The first curiosity had been satisfied, attendances at services were smaller and 'if possible, the spirit of enquiry less.' But, he added, the missionaries had 'won the confidence of the people' who now better understood the object of their coming.⁴⁰

Gaining the acceptance of the people, building a station, learning the language and, for the earliest missionaries, the sheer struggle for survival, absorbed most of the time and energy of the pioneers. Lawes and his wife in their 'poor little shanty' at Port Moresby nursed their large contingent of South Sea Island teachers during recurrent attacks of fever, saw their own baby son die and watched 'hearts sick with hopes deferred' for the boats on which they had to depend for supplies when Port Moresby proved to yield none of the abundance to which they had been accustomed in Polynesia.⁴¹ The pioneering phase of the Sacred Heart Mission was even more precarious. Alain de Boismenu, reflecting on the period, reckoned

38 See, for example, Mamba River Log, 30 August 1900, A.A.; B. Butcher, Diary, 1905, *passim*, and Butcher to Miss Holtumm, 28 November 1905, Butcher Papers.

39 S. Fellows, Diary, 7 August and 11 September 1892; Fr Toublanc to parents, July-November 1887, *Annales*, 1899, 23; Maclaren to 'my dear friends', 25 August 1891, Letterbook, A.A.

40 W.G. Lawes, Diary, 3 February 1876.

41 *Ibid*, 1874-76, *passim*.

that it was more than a decade before the work of evangelism really started. The first ten years were 'heroic times during which a handful of missionaries, exhausted by privation and fever, ruined their strength in the preliminaries of establishing the mission, learning the language and exploring the country.'⁴² The Anglican pioneers, deprived of their leader four months after their arrival by the death of Albert Maclaren, were capable of no more than a holding operation for the next few years, while observers in Australia predicted that the mission would be abandoned.⁴³

Only the carefully-prepared, solidly-staffed and prudently-equipped Methodist pioneer expedition avoided a phase when its very survival was in doubt. But despite their business-like approach, their experience of the initial phase of mission work was similar to that of the other pioneers. Taking stock of his first year at Panaeati, Samuel Fellows wrote:

Just a year ago today...we landed first time at Panaeati. A year of hard work.... Not at all an unhappy year tho' much sickness and first experience of loneliness. Not altogether resultless either tho' not the spiritual fruits I have longed...for. Still there is a great change in the people and in the mission station. After great toil I have got the bush cleared for 350 palms to be planted and a road to be made.... Many days of toil and sweat and tired limbs ...but the worst is now over.⁴⁴

IN all four missions the work of extension and that of consolidation was held in continual, if sometimes uneasy, balance. This meant that rather than pioneering work being replaced in time by that of the settled mission station, the two were undertaken concurrently. For many missionaries their work was a combination of the two; others with strong preferences opted for one or the other insofar as the mission structure would allow. Thus twenty-five years after the establishment of the L.M.S. in Papua, while its founder, Lawes, taught and translated

⁴² Letter of 20 May 1904, published in Annales, 1905, 514.

⁴³ Daily Telegraph, 31 December 1891.

⁴⁴ S. Fellows, Diary, 4 September 1891.

at Vatorata station his pioneering partner, Chalmers, was still tramping beaches and sailing rivers, tasting the 'strangely wonderful charm' of being the first to preach the gospel in a new place.⁴⁵ As late as 1916, J.H. Holmes, another inveterate pioneer, still travelled 866 miles in six months among the people of the delta region.⁴⁶ In the S.H.M., Archbishop Navarre confined his attention to the work of the settled stations of Roro and Mekeo, while young and energetic missionaries de Boismenu, Jullien and Hubert lifted their eyes to the towering blue mountain range which could be seen from Yule Island and, at the turn of the century, led the first expeditions among the Kuni and Fuyughe.⁴⁷

But as the country was explored, the people contacted, stations established and churches and schools built, the opportunities for pioneering work diminished, and more and more missionaries found themselves living the orderly life of a settled station. The daily routine varied from mission to mission and, to some extent, according to the needs and personnel of the particular station, but in most cases, the missionary worked a long and demanding day.⁴⁸

45 R. Lovett, James Chalmers..., 405.

46 J.H. Holmes, Diary, June 1916. L.M.S.

47 See A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 300-20, 325-38.

48 See, for example, B. Butcher, Diary, 1 July 1905. Butcher Papers.

For most missionaries it began with the ringing of the station bell at 6 a.m. and ended with 'lights out' at 9 p.m.⁴⁹ For all, it began in prayer. Sacred Heart missionaries with more elaborate devotional exercises gathered in the chapel at 5.30 a.m. for prayer, meditation and, if sufficient were present, mass. Some Anglican stations, also working to a time-table of 'monastic regularity and precision',⁵⁰ held a morning service at the same time; others said morning prayer at six or 6.30 a.m., a common time also for the Wesleyan prayer meeting and the family prayers or service on L.M.S. stations. After prayers, while the air was still cool, missionaries supervised work sessions in which students and teachers undertook manual work and domestic chores necessary for the efficient running of the station. Some, including the idealistic Anglican bishop, Stone-Wigg, believing in the virtue of manual labour, participated in the digging, planting, fencing and other chores.

Breakfast followed, after which the missionary might put in a busy half hour or so in his dispensary before ringing the station bell for school at about nine o'clock. On many stations, school was only held three or four mornings per week, to allow the students time to participate in the village routine of hunting, fishing and gardening. Midday was dinner-time and if the missionary was lucky he might have time for a rest before resuming school at two o'clock. But frequently other obligations intervened. Anglican missionaries at Dogura attended

49 This generalised description of the missionary routine is a synthesis of specific time-tables. See, for example, Anglican time-tables in O.P., no.16, June 1908; Stone-Wigg, Diary I, 78, 27 June 1899, and H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 61; Methodist time-tables in M.R., November 1897, 8-9, and October 1902, 8-10, and [L. Bromilow] Sister Minnie's Life and Work... Introduction; L.M.S. time-tables: Pryce-Jones, Letter-diary, L.M.S.; Walker, Journal no.3, 27-38, P.J., L.M.S.; Butcher to Mrs Holtumm, 16 August 1914, Butcher Papers, box 3; O.F. Tomkins to parents, 10 October 1900, Tomkins Papers; Will Saville to brother, 18 September 1913, Saville Papers; S.H.M. time-tables: Annales, 1911, 63, and letter of Navarre to M.S.C. novice, 8 April 1897 in Annales, 1897, 500.

50 'The Bishop of New Guinea in British New Guinea', cutting from Christian World, 29 March 1904, in Stone-Wigg's Newspaper Cuttings Book, A.A.

language lessons; some were called upon for consultations with teachers or villagers; others returned to their dispensary. When school ended, missionaries often set out on pastoral visits to nearby villages, after which there might have been time for a game of cricket or a stroll along the beach or around the station before their evening meal.

Evenings were put to equally good use. On L.M.S. stations, night classes were often held, a legacy, perhaps, of Samuel Smiles, and the evening concluded with prayer. Methodist missionaries held class meetings, singing classes and prayer meetings. Sacred Heart missionaries said compline, the last of the offices that regulated their day, and Anglican missionaries held two services, taparoro or 'native' prayers for the unbaptised and evensong for church members, followed on some of the larger stations by compline. Free of their responsibilities, the missionaries enjoyed a brief period of leisure, Protestant missionaries to read, write letters and relax with their families, Sacred Heart missionaries to gather and chat on their verandah amidst a companionable cloud of smoke, and Anglican missionaries to assemble for supper, to discuss and plan, or, during Stone-Wigg's episcopacy, to listen to the bishop giving an account of his travels, 'mimicking, as only he could, those whom he had met, white, brown or black.'⁵¹

Although almost all the missionaries were ardent sabbatarians, Sunday was, for them, no day of rest. Most reproduced, in the moist heat of the Papuan coast, the sabbath routine with which they had grown up in the midlands of England, the west of France or colonial Australia. After an arduous day in the company of James Chalmers, a weary Holmes recorded in his diary: 'Tamate is very happy tonight, he has had a Sabbath...after his own heart - services from day-break to well past sunset.'⁵² It was a routine, he felt, better suited to the highlands of Scotland.⁵³ On most Protestant stations, after early morning

51 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 64.

52 J.H. Holmes, Diary, 3 September 1893. L.M.S.

53 Ibid, 8 October 1899.

prayers for family, staff and boarders, the main service of the day was held in the large station church and attended by people from nearby villages as well as station people. Besides hymns, prayer, bible-readings and a sermon, it generally included a catechism session or other religious instruction, and was commonly followed by Sunday school. In the afternoon the missionary often conducted services at more distant villages, returning in time for supper and evening prayers.

In the Sacred Heart Mission, services were held for large and orderly congregations at Yule Island and other head stations. After the service the priest received in turn the various groups from the congregation: the ill, the children, the chiefs and those seeking baptism or confession. Because many secondary stations were in the care of brothers, sisters or catechists, priests often spent much of Sunday travelling from head-station to out-stations to celebrate mass and sometimes administer baptism.⁵⁴

Outside this common and fairly constant routine, missionaries fulfilled a variety of roles. Some found that translation absorbed an increasing amount of their time; others threw their energy into the upkeep and improvement of station and plant. Methodist missionary J.T. Field estimated, for instance, that in four years he had invested 555 hours on launch maintenance.⁵⁵ All missionaries were called upon from time to time to intervene in village crises: epidemics, deaths, brawls, fights, negotiations with the government or the intrusion of strangers. And even the most settled missionary spent some time visiting the out-stations under his care, checking on their progress and encouraging the teachers, brothers or catechists in whose charge they were. Reflecting on the work of an Anglican missionary, Henry Newton wrote:

To be a butcher and a baker and a cook, carpenter, house-builder, fencer and painter, adviser in moral and legal difficulties, settler of matrimonial disputes..., schoolmaster, housekeeper, referee in

54 See, for example, Fr A. Clauser to Fr Lanctin, n.d., Annales, 1907, 268.

55 M.R., October 1896, 5.

case of sorcery, linguist, pastor, priest, sailor would surely be enough for variety, and then on top of all, doctor and nurse.

The missionary, Newton concluded, had to be 'Jack of all trades' and consequently ended up 'master of none'.⁵⁶

Despite Newton's complaints, medical work never assumed, in the missions of Papua, the prominent place it held in other mission fields. As has already been noted,⁵⁷ apart from the fleeting presence of Ridgley and W.Y. Turner in the L.M.S., there were no doctors in the Papuan mission fields till well after the First World War. In these circumstances, as the missionaries themselves readily admitted, the medicine practised was inevitably amateur. All missionaries learned to apply simple remedies to simple ailments, often picking up 'a little about bandaging and boracic acid, and vaseline and soap and water' from older missionaries.⁵⁸ They dressed ulcers and sores with picric acid or Condy's fluid, treated fever with quinine and dosed minor internal ailments with epsom salts or castor oil.⁵⁹ Arthur Chignell recalled that on his second or third morning at Wanigela, he was invited to 'have a shot at ministering to the sick.'⁶⁰ Perhaps two, perhaps twenty, cases were treated each morning except Sunday. At the dispensary at Dobu one day in 1896, the missionary treated eleven people: one each for dog-bite, neuralgia, teething, ophthalmia and fever; two for burns, two for ulcers and two for unspecified illnesses.⁶¹

Common-sense and experience were generally sufficient to guide the missionary in the dispensary, except when an epidemic swept

56 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 273.

57 See above, 141.

58 H. Newton, op.cit., 273.

59 Ibid and Chignell, ms, 17 September 1907, Evan Gill Collection; J.H. Holmes, 'Seeing Brown', Chapter IX, 3, Holmes Papers, L.M.S.; J. Vaudon, Mgr Henri Verjus, in Australian Annals, February 1899, 81.

60 A. Chignell, An Outpost in Papua, 187.

61 M.R., May 1896, 1.

through the station. Baxter Riley reported treating seventeen cases of dysentery simultaneously at Daru, and Chignell described the anguish of watching helpless as children died of whooping cough.⁶² Several missionaries criticised the lack of medical expertise in their mission.⁶³

Within the broad range of duties listed by Newton, missionaries usually had a clear conception of what were the essential aspects of their work. These James Chalmers defined as 'preaching, teaching and knocking around', a laconic but concise definition of the missionary role.⁶⁴ Lawes saw his work a little differently as to 'teach, preach and translate' and Holmes divided his into church work, school work and industrial work.⁶⁵ What all were agreed upon was the primacy of their role as evangelist and educator.

PREACHING, which had necessarily been played down in the pioneering phase of mission work, assumed a dominant place in the life of the settled missionary. Once the immediate objective of winning the confidence of the people was accomplished, he could devote his energies to his fundamental goal of conversion.

Each of the four missions divided its flock into distinct groups. The largest, most amorphous group were the adherents who attended services but had made no commitment. These were known by Roman Catholic missionaries as neophytes and by Protestants as hearers, a term reserved by the Anglicans, however, for those amongst them who had said that they wished to be baptised. Hearers or neophytes

62 Answers to question 34, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S.; Chignell, *op.cit.*, 188.

63 E.R. Harrison in *M.R.*, July 1912, 18; Dauncey, unidentified newscutting 1909, Tomkins Papers, and Chignell, *op.cit.*, 188.

64 J. Chalmers, 'Four Years After' in Chalmers to Mullens, October 1882, P.L., L.M.S.

65 Holmes to members of the Watchers' Band, Halifax, 5 September 1905. Holmes Papers.

who, having acquired an elementary understanding of the faith, sought church membership, became catechumens. In the catechumenate, they undertook more intensive instruction in preparation for baptism. At the apex of the indigenous Christian hierarchy were the church members.

Much of the work of the established missionary was devoted to leading the people through these stages into the church. This was accomplished by a variety of means, the chief of which were preaching, catechising and story-telling, often with the use of visual aids. Education, although increasingly conceived as a separate obligation, was also essentially an evangelistic device, as was medical work. Although all these modes of evangelism were employed in all missions, the emphasis placed upon them varied.

Consistent with their tradition, Protestant missionaries relied on direct preaching. The rudimentary messages preached by the pioneers were expanded into more comprehensive and subtle religious teaching as the missionary gained mastery of the language and the people gained greater understanding of his cosmology. Early missionaries of the L.M.S. preached from the old testament, making use especially of the decalogue, to discourage fighting, dancing, promiscuity and pagan ceremonial. Lawes found that the Motu readily identified with old testament worthies: 'They know all about Adam and Eve, but it was a New Guinea garden in which the Fall took place.... Themselves hunters and agriculturalists, they make Esau hunt the wallaby and Jacob plant yams and bananas.'⁶⁶ But Lawes' teaching was also strongly Christocentric, as his younger colleagues J.H. Holmes observed with approval.⁶⁷ Holmes himself, of a generation exposed to the immanentist theology of the last decades of the nineteenth century, found himself confining his preaching almost exclusively to the gospels.⁶⁸ His contemporary Ben Butcher also drew his inspiration from the gospels, preaching the ethical teachings of Jesus and the Christian message of

66 'Sketches and Stories of New Guinea' by W.G. Lawes, M.R., June 1892.

67 Holmes, Diary, 17 November 1898. Holmes Papers, L.M.S.

68 Ibid, 17 November 1900.

'enduring and eternal love', a conviction which permeated his being and on which he subsequently wrote.⁶⁹

In their wholehearted presentation of the God of love, the European missionaries of the L.M.S. were often at variance with their Polynesian pastors, whose God was the old testament Jehovah. The anthropologist, A.C. Haddon, quoted the opinion of a boat-builder who worked for the L.M.S., Robert Bruce, that the latter image was more influential:

Really the South Seas teacher knows the kind of God to depict to the natives far better than the white missionary does; his God of love is beyond their comprehension. They look as if they believe in Him, but converse with them and you find the God of wrath is their ideal of what God is.⁷⁰

Holmes lamented the impact of the 'bullying sermons' of the South Sea Islanders as did his colleague Dauncey, who regretted that many Papuans saw God as the 'Big Policeman'.⁷¹

Methodist missionaries threw themselves into their preaching, frequently reporting that they had 'had a good time' with their sermons, although the volatile, red-haired Samuel Fellows habitually took himself to task for too much 'bashing'.⁷² Methodist sermons from the beginning had a strong moral content and often involved a direct attack on local custom and traditions. 'Had a good service and showed picture of Queen', Fellows noted in his diary a few months after his arrival at Panaeati:

Spoke of duties of natives as subjects - honor placed by Britishers on Queen and pleaded for lightening of labours of women.... I then went on to speak of Albert the Good as having only one wife, and bashed polygamy.⁷³

69 B. Butcher, Diary 1905, *passim*, and Butcher to Miss Holtumm, 28 April 1906. Butcher Papers.

70 A.C. Haddon, *Headhunters...*, 80.

71 Holmes, Diary, 13 August 1899, Holmes Papers; Dauncey, Report 1905, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

72. E.g., S. Fellows, Diary, 11 October 1890.

73 *Ibid*, 15 November 1891.

This mode of address became a characteristic Wesleyan style. 'One's utterances to the heathen hearers have sometimes reached a "red-hot" pitch, evidently making an impression on sin-hardened ones', a Methodist missionary told his supporters. 'Plain speaking is our preaching.'⁷⁴ Uninhibited by the doubts about hell which constrained their L.M.S. counterparts, Methodist missionaries continued, at least to the turn of the century, to draw graphic pictures of 'prisons of fire' in their sermons.⁷⁵

The emphasis on rigid moral principles which dominated Wesleyan preaching was characteristic, to a lesser extent, of all mission preaching. Concerned to effect a change in the way of life as well as in the hearts of their hearers, missionaries used their sermons to give clear-cut moral imperatives. Probably only a minority of the later missionaries shared Holmes' repugnance at preaching precepts and prohibitions. 'It is so much easier to tell the old story that Jesus died to save sinners than to drum away at laws and rules of conducts', he confided to his diary in 1900.⁷⁶

Protestant missionaries found that their preaching met with varied responses. Whether they preached the love of God or the terrors of hell, all were attempting to arouse in their hearers a sense of sin from which they could be led, according to the well-tried evangelical formula, through repentance to salvation in Christ. But many were disconcerted to find that they could evoke no sense of sin. 'One did not expect to find among these savages a self-satisfied objection to the evangelical doctrines of the necessity for pardon and a new heart', complained a perplexed William Bromilow.⁷⁷ Many consoled themselves with the belief that the conviction of sin was the work of the Holy

74 M.R., August 1895, 2.

75 G. Bardsley, Diary, 29 November 1891.

76 J.H. Holmes, Diary, 2 December 1900, L.M.S.

77 W. Bromilow, Twenty years..., 84; Edith Lloyd to Mrs Teague, 8 June 1899, Letterbook, M.O.M. Cf. W.N. Lawrence, Report 1910; J.H. Holmes, Report 1910. Papua Reports, L.M.S.

Spirit, their 'co-worker'.⁷⁸ But sometimes the Holy Spirit seemed slow to act. Dispirited L.M.S. workers, especially, continued to report 'indifference' and 'irregular attendance' among their people. 'They were frank with us to the point of cruelty', Holmes wrote of the Namau. 'They told us that if we did not pay them in tobacco to listen to our Message, they did not want us in their villages.'⁷⁹ Holmes explained the resistance of the Namau in cultural terms: their whole approach to life was characterised by a wariness which was not so typical, for example, of the Orokolo, who had been more receptive to his preaching.⁸⁰

Methodist missionaries met with less sustained initial resistance. Scarcely eighteen months after their arrival, nearly six thousand 'heathen hearers' were attending public worship.⁸¹ It was a remarkable response and one which earned the admiration of Sir William MacGregor who, at the end of his term of office in 1898, declared publicly that there was 'perhaps no more successful mission than theirs.'⁸² Non-doctrinal factors clearly contributed to their success,⁸³ but it is tempting to speculate on the influence of their confident hell-fire preaching. One of the early Methodist missionaries, J.T. Field, believed that it was the fear of 'eternal punishment for sin' which prompted 'the majority if not all' to make a commitment.⁸⁴

Missionaries of all persuasions found the Papuans selective in their response to Christian teachings. And just as their acceptance of trade goods had varied from place to place, so did their acceptance of particular doctrines. Gerald Sharp believed the Massim of the

78 A. Pearse, Report 1893, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

79 Holmes to Lenwood, 7 October 1915, Lenwood Deputation Letters, S.S.O., box 10, L.M.S.

80 Holmes, Namau Report 1911, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

81 Report of Second Annual Meeting, B.N.G. District, 7 November 1892. M.R., January 1893, 3.

82 B.N.G. A.R., 1897-98, xxviii.

83 See below, 285.

84 Dobu Circuit Report, A.W.M.M.S. Report 1897, lxvi.

Anglican district to be especially impressed by the doctrine of the Resurrection which, according to Chalmers, the Gulf people found incomprehensible. Sacred Heart missionaries found the Roro and Mekeo particularly susceptible to the story of the Passion, which Sharp thought made little impact on his people. Even within the same mission such disparities occurred, Copland King believing that the people to whom he preached responded well to the doctrine of the atonement, while Gerald Sharp found it ineffective.⁸⁵

Sacred Heart missionaries were advised by Archbishop Navarre not to place too great reliance on preaching as a mode of conversion, it being better suited to those who already had some understanding of the faith. Instead he urged them to evangelise through the use of stories accompanied by picture-charts.⁸⁶ In a small missionary manual, he instructed his community in pedagogical techniques, many of which anticipated the precepts of modern educationists.⁸⁷ Move from the known to the unknown, he advised them, involve the neophytes by questioning them, teach them in short sessions, reinforce by repetition and reward achievement.

With painstaking care, he discussed two of the stories and pictures to be thus employed.⁸⁸ The first dealt with the creation and fall. The missionary was to hang the picture beside him and tell the story which it depicted, introducing his neophytes to the doctrines of the six days of creation, of Adam and Eve, and the Garden of Eden, of the creation of the invisible world of angels, and of rebellion in heaven. They were to be encouraged to identify the protagonists in the picture. The missionary was to conclude his story with some general remarks about the goodness of God, the disobedience of man and the existence of guardian angels, and with the more specific observations

85 Sharp to Archbishop Randall Davidson, 5 July 1912, Randall Davidson Papers; J. Chalmers, Work and Adventure..., 208; A.B.M. Review, 1 September 1912, 115.

86 L. Navarre, Missionary Manual, 57; Navarre's Report, 1886, Annales, 1887, 228.

87 L. Navarre, Missionary Manual, 57.

88 Ibid, 58-74.

that Adam had only one wife and that God did not want them to work on Sundays. The second story, that of Cain and Abel, was to be introduced with the observation that Cain was, like themselves, a cultivator and Abel a shepherd, who minded sheep like the missionaries' flock at Yule Island. From the story and picture the people were to learn that God was present in all things, that He saw all they did, punished those who killed and forgave those who admitted their faults.

After their neophytes had become familiar with the main elements of Christian doctrine and practice, the missionaries could introduce them to the catechism, to be learned in the traditional fashion of question and response. For the children this exercise was part of the daily school routine; the women were instructed by the sisters and the men by a priest or brother. Fr Jullien, while parish priest at Tsiria, walked through the village at about four o'clock, when the men had returned from gardening and fishing, calling them to catechism with the aid of the station bell.⁸⁹

Navarre warned his staff that teaching the catechism to their neophytes was difficult and arid work, and some complained in turn of the difficulty of 'dinning into their perverse brains the elementary notions of our holy faith.'⁹⁰ But, in general, after initial resistance had been overcome, most found their work straight-forward. Comparing the conversion process in 1892 with the struggle of the pioneering days, Fr Hartzler wrote:

In New Guinea the mode of conversion of our savages is not complicated. We tell them first to learn the prayers and the catechism. Then comes the practice - don't steal, etc. - a little more difficult, but they obey. They understand already that the good God sees them and rewards and punishes. They learn to confess and when they have adopted Christian ways, are baptised.⁹¹

Tridentine theology taught Roman Catholics that baptism was the instrument used by God for the justification of infidels.⁹² For the

89 Annales, 1922, 236.

90 Les Missions Catholiques, 1906, 329; Cf. 1911, 149.

91 Annales, 1892, 578.

92 Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church: Baptism.

early Sacred Heart missionaries, with their zeal for souls, it was of supreme importance. Soon after his arrival, Verjus made a census of the people of Yule Island, that none might die unbaptised.⁹³ He and his colleagues baptised dying children, explaining to their parents that baptism prevented their going to hell. If they encountered intransigent opposition, they baptised surreptitiously.⁹⁴ By the end of 1887, fifty Roro, mostly children under five and those in danger of death, had been baptised, each receiving from the priest a little tobacco and cloth.⁹⁵ At the end of 1891, after two or three years' instruction, almost all the people of Yule Island were baptised by Verjus in large groups in a series of Sunday ceremonies.⁹⁶

Such wholesale baptism was rejected by Alain de Boismenu who, on becoming bishop, expressed a 'firm determination to baptise none but the thoroughly disposed.'⁹⁷ He urged his staff repeatedly to caution: 'They are a race so lazy, so fickle, our poor natives, that it would be imprudent to accord them baptism without having tested the seriousness of their desire.'⁹⁸ In a pastoral letter of 1908, devoted to the 'instruction and discipline of infidels', de Boismenu signalled a withdrawal from the old methods of conversion employed by the early missionaries.⁹⁹ The catechumenate was given greater formal recognition as a distinct stage in Christian life,

93 J. Vaudon, Monseigneur Henri Verjus, in Australian Annals, June 1899, 211.

94 Letter of M. Liguori, June 1891, Annales, 1891, 577.

95 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 141; Toublanc to parents, July-November 1887, Annales, 1889, 26; J. Vaudon, op.cit., in Australian Annals, June 1899, 211.

96 Navarre to Chevalier, 6 April 1892, Annales, 1892, 402; A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 218.

97 A. de Boismenu, 'The Catholic Church in British New Guinea', Proceedings of the Second Catholic Congress 1904, 270.

98 Letter of de Boismenu, 20 May 1904, Annales, 1905, 626; interview with de Boismenu, Annales, 1911, 218-20.

99 Pastoral Letter no.5, 1908. See also A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 363-81.

governed by definite rules, according to which any adult in good health could only receive baptism after one year's testing as a catechumen. Previously this requirement had only been characteristic of the newer mountain stations, now it was to be universally applied.

Within the other three missions, the need for caution in baptising was constantly reiterated and the desirability of mass baptism repudiated. In the Anglican Mission, after regular attendance at Sunday services, which included giu (religious instruction), those who sought baptism entered hearers' classes and received instruction for up to two years, often based on Stock's Steps to Truth.¹⁰⁰ After this elementary instruction, they entered the catechuminate and studied Gardner's Gradual Catechism which was translated into Wedau.¹⁰¹ Catechumens received instruction once or twice weekly and, in the weeks preceding baptism, daily.¹⁰² The customary two year catechuminate was later shortened as the people became more familiar with Christian doctrine.¹⁰³ Nevertheless it was an exacting preparation and many dropped out along the way. Anglican policy was always to proceed slowly and a priest showing an inclination to baptise precipitately was admonished.¹⁰⁴ The first baptisms, of two young men, Samuel Aigeri and Pilipo Agabadi, took place at Easter in 1896, five years after the establishment of the mission. Later baptismal services saw larger groups, of thirty or forty, wade into the river and emerge to join the church members on the opposite bank, but these, Gerald Sharp assured the Archbishop of Canterbury, were hardly 'mass movements'.¹⁰⁵ They were the result of a group passing at an even pace through services,

100 Letter from Tomlinson, 18 August 1894, Tomlinson Papers.

101 Gerald [Sharp], Bishop of New Guinea, The Diocese of New Guinea. Its Rules and Methods, 22.

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid.

104 Newton to Stone-Wigg, 1 September 1907. Newton file 2, box 22, A.A.

105 Sharp to Archbishop Randall Davidson, 5 July 1912. Randall Davidson Papers, L.P.

hearers' classes and the catechumenate.

Preparation for baptism was no less thorough in the Protestant missions. In non-chiefly and relatively non-hierarchical societies, it depended on the decision of the individual. Missionaries often expected a public confession of faith from a convert.¹⁰⁶ Preparation required generally twelve months' instruction as catechumens and, for Methodist converts, another twelve months as members on trial. Protestant missionaries were wary about ostensible conversion.¹⁰⁷ Some retained misgivings even after baptising people, recognising the difficulty in gauging a 'change of heart'.¹⁰⁸ The first Papuan to be baptised by the L.M.S., Aruadaera, was not baptised until 1881, nearly a decade after the commencement of the mission, and the first Methodists in 1894, three years after the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries.

For the L.M.S. missionaries the main emphasis in the conversion process was not so much on the sacrament of baptism as on admission into church membership. Their aim was the creation of 'a strong church in every village'.¹⁰⁹ Defining the church in terms of the believers, L.M.S. missionaries devoted much of their working time to the nurture of members, recognising that 'back-sliding' inevitably weakened the church. Sunday schools, church meetings, religious instruction and later such moral agencies as Girls' Improvement Societies, Boys' Brigades and Boy Scouts were all means of attempting to ensure the continuous moral and spiritual development of the people.

In the Methodist Mission, the doctrine of entire sanctification

106 S. Fellows, Diary, 5 September 1897; letter from Mrs Bromilow, 12 April 1895, M.R., October 1895, 4, and Chalmers, Pioneering in New Guinea, 243.

107 M.R., December 1894, 10. Cf. Holmes, Diary, 4 April 1897, Holmes Papers, L.M.S., and Savage, Report 1887, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

108 Pryce-Jones, Report 1905; Hunt, Report 1901, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

109 Dauncey, Answer to question 37, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S.

reinforced concern for the nurture of the community of believers in encouraging the missionary to vigilance about the spiritual and moral well-being of his converts. Sir William MacGregor remarked on the autocratic style of Samuel Fellows, whose methods he found 'in some respects, peculiar'. Questions of conduct were freely discussed in his congregation and offenders were 'had up, interrogated and admonished.'¹¹⁰ The traditional institution of the class meeting was employed for instruction, confession, remonstrance and encouragement and a 'White Flag Society' established to foster 'social purity' through a pledge to daily prayer and abstinence from 'bad words' and impurity of thought and deed.¹¹¹

Anglican missionaries, like their Protestant counterparts, found pastoral care of their converts a major aspect of their work. Besides showing a general concern for religious observance, they showed a particular concern for sexual morality. Ecclesiastical discipline was exercised over those who committed offences against God's law, of which the most common were 'offences against the seventh or eighth commandment'. Those living 'in a state of mortal sin' were severely censured and excluded from all church services and, in the last resort, excommunicated.¹¹²

Although baptism was of central importance to the Sacred Heart missionaries, Archbishop Navarre reminded them that their object was to see the people 'not only baptised, but true Christians'. It was not sufficient to 'preach, teach the catechism and administer the sacraments'; the missionary must watch over 'the spiritual and temporal interests of his flock', giving advice 'in all things and at all times'. He should question the people in their faith, urge them to confess, ensure their attendance at worship and their reception of the sacraments. Men, women, boys and girls should be organised into separate congregations, under

110 B.N.G. A.R., 1893-94, Appendix C, 13.

111 George Brown, Journal 1897, 20.

112 Gerald Sharp, The Diocese of New Guinea. Rules and Regulations, 14-16. See also letters of Newton, King and other priests to the bishop, in which discussion of sexual lapses and the necessity for discipline is frequent. Personal files, boxes 20-23, A.A.

particular patron saints, in which they could meet and receive further instruction.¹¹³

But despite Navarre's pastoral concern, the work of nurture fared poorly in the S.H.M. compared with that of conversion. In 1902 Propaganda questioned the disproportion between the number of Catholics and the number of Easter communicants.¹¹⁴ When Navarre finally relinquished control of the mission in 1908, his successor, de Boismenu, analysed the condition of Papuan Catholicism in a pastoral letter.¹¹⁵ He found it 'puny' and scarcely differentiated from its pagan surroundings. For fear of asking too much of their converts, they had asked too little. 'And this has given us indifferent Christians, slack...and refractory in their Christian duties....' De Boismenu outlined a vigorous and exacting programme to infuse Papuan catholicism with life. Doctrine was to become standardised and accessible to the Papuans through the translation into Roro, and later other languages, of Mgr Leroy's catechism; priests were to ensure that their people received regular and ordered religious instruction; sabbath observance was to be enforced and disciplinary measures taken against dancing and irregular marriages. The importance of village-visiting, which had become sporadic and perfunctory, was reaffirmed. To ensure that intention was translated into action, annual reports were instituted, in which missionaries had to supply statistics for each district and answers to a detailed series of questions on all aspects of apostolic activity.

The effects of de Boismenu's programme were reflected in the statistics, which showed a steady increase in the number of converts and, by 1912, a notable increase in the proportion of Easter communicants:¹¹⁶

113 L.A. Navarre, Missionary Manual, 79-81.

114 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 377.

115 A. de Boismenu, Pastoral Letter, no.5, 1908. See also A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 363-381.

116 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 382.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Catholics</u>	<u>Easter Communicants</u>
1895	1,000	?
1900	3,400	500
1905	4,593	864
1910	5,574	1,188
1912	6,010	1,555
1913	6,390	2,089
1914	6,693	2,431

If evangelistic success could be measured in terms of church membership and attendance, the missionaries had some cause for a sense of achievement by the early years of the twentieth century. All of them could look down each Sunday on large, orderly congregations who listened attentively to the sermon and conformed to the devotional practices.¹¹⁷ In 1914 the Wesleyan mission had over 1,000 members, 600 members on trial, 2,000 catechumens and over 24,000 attending public worship.¹¹⁸ The Anglicans had 2,000 Papuan church members by 1912 and 500 catechumens.¹¹⁹ L.M.S. statistics in Papua are, according to the Society's historian, 'elusive' but by 1920 it had between 2,000 and 3,000 members.¹²⁰ By 1914 members of the three non-Roman Catholic missions could look also to the beginnings of churches indigenous in leadership as well as in membership.¹²¹

117 See, for example, M.R., July 1902, 8.

118 W. Bromilow, 'New Guinea' in J. Colwell (ed.), A Century in the Pacific, 554.

119 Sharp to Archbishop Davidson, 5 July 1912. Randall Davidson Papers, L.P.

120 N. Goodall, A History of the L.M.S....., 435.

121 See below, 306-10, for a discussion of the training of an indigenous clergy.

THE missionaries made no secret of the fact that their prime motivation for education was evangelistic. Education was a technique for the conversion and nurture of the Papuans no less than preaching, a 'valuable ally in the strenuous endeavour to win them to the faith and service of our Lord.'¹²² Its aim was the 'Christianisation' of the people.¹²³ A secondary objective was the training of a Christian elite, from amongst whom pastors, teachers and catechists could be drawn.¹²⁴

Because of their concern for the access of every individual to the scriptures, the Protestant missionaries placed a strong emphasis on literacy. Their immediate objective was to enable the children to read the scriptures, and especially the new testament, in their own tongue.¹²⁵ Anglican missionaries, many of them products of the public school system, while not neglecting literacy, saw education as a 'character-strengthening' exercise, an attitude also shared by some Protestants.¹²⁶ The Sacred Heart missionaries, impelled to undertake secular education partly by a concern not to be outpaced by the other missions, saw it as an extension and enrichment of religious instruction.¹²⁷

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- 122 John G. Wheen, 'Our Mission Schools in Papua', M.R., November 1912; cf. statements in answer to question 19, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S. Stone-Wigg, Tenth Anniversary Address, 8; L.A. Navarre, Missionary Manual, 83-84; de Boismenu, Pastoral Letter no.XIV on 'Christian Education in our Schools', published in Dupeyrat and de la Noë, op.cit., 158-64.
- 123 H.P. Schlencker, answer to question 29, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S. Cf. John G. Wheen, op.cit., 6.
- 124 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 259; Butcher and Saville, answers to question 29, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S.
- 125 Edith Lloyd to Gawler Christian Endeavour, 16 May 1899, Edith Lloyd Letterbook III, M.O.M.; Beharell, Turner, Lawrence, Abel and Clark, answers to question 18, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S.
- 126 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 258; Stone-Wigg, Tenth Anniversary Address, 1901, 8, A.A.
- 127 L.A. Navarre, Missionary Manual, 83; de Boismenu, Pastoral Letter, XIV, 1913.

All were encouraged in their work by their recognition that children, the future generation, were more receptive and malleable than adults. Navarre constantly reminded his staff to concentrate on the children and Stone-Wigg told the Anglican missionaries that they were 'as plastic under our hands and we can mould them at will.'¹²⁸ Though Protestant missionaries were less inclined to make this observation, the same conviction was the basis for the settlement schemes espoused by many of them.

Despite the minor differences in their conception of education, the four missions developed similar structures, procedures and curricula. Each head-station had its school, generally run by a European missionary, and there were besides village or out-station schools, commonly staffed in the Protestant and Anglican missions by South Sea Islands teachers and in the Sacred Heart Mission by sisters or Filipino catechists. Missionaries had no illusions about the quality of education in the village schools. Lawes lamented not only the limited attainments of the Polynesian teachers of the L.M.S., but also their autocratic style: 'The teacher shouts and storms, scolds and whacks the desk with his stick, until the poor little mortals are half-frightened out of their wits.'¹²⁹ If the regime of the Melanesian teacher, Peter, at the Anglican station at Wanigela was more mellow, his learning was even more slender, and the missionary-in-charge, Arthur Chignell, could not help wondering as to the value of his class chanting with him 'four fundle one penny, ten fardles t'ree penny...' ten and twelve times over.¹³⁰ After making a tour of inspection of Anglican schools, Chignell concluded that, while there were exceptions, on the whole, the Melanesian teachers were 'probably as ill-instructed and incapable as any body of men who ever handled a piece of chalk.'¹³¹ His colleague, Henry Newton, agreed

128 L.A. Navarre, *Notes et Journal*, 164; *Notes 1886*, B.A.; L.A. Navarre to Director of Holy Childhood, 9 January 1888, B.A., and Stone-Wigg, Tenth Anniversary Address, 1901, 8, A.A.

129 W.G. Lawes, *Diary*, 23 July 1877.

130 A.K. Chignell, An Outpost in Papua, 57.

131 Ibid, 104.

that 'any educationist would pronounce most of our out-station schools a hopeless failure,' yet, like Chignell, he believed them to be valuable in moral and spiritual formation.¹³²

In the head-station schools, as in the village schools, most emphasis was placed on religious instruction. Protestant and Catholic pupils learned the catechism, bible stories and prayers.¹³³ Apart from the religious emphasis, the curriculum was similar to those of the government schools of the Australian colonies, the 'three R's' being its main component. There was much rote learning of the alphabet, numbers, addition and multiplication tables, currency and weights and measures. Pupils also learned to identify countries on brightly-coloured maps and to sing hymns and choruses. Official visitors to head-stations were impressed by the children's copper-plate handwriting, their obedience and orderliness, the sweetness of their singing and, sometimes, their agility with mental arithmetic.¹³⁴

It was a curriculum without obvious attraction or relevance to Papuan village life. But from the beginning there were missionaries who taught with imagination. Walker and Dauncey at Hanuabada introduced painted alphabet letters, mechanical toys and 'three hearty British cheers' into the classroom and did much of their teaching through 'object lessons', a technique learned from Chalmers.¹³⁵ Convinced of the need to make education 'look more like play', Chalmers devised programmes which, said a visiting government officer, would have 'horrified an English School Board Inspector'. Standing in line, hands on the shoulders of the one in front, the children 'pranced round the room in high glee singing the multiplication table. A little elementary drill followed and a distribution of lollies.'¹³⁶ Anglican missionaries

132 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 258-59.

133 J. Wheen, 'Our Mission Schools in Papua', M.R., November 1912, 5-6; answers to question 18, Deputation Questions 1915, L.M.S.; M.J. Stone-Wigg, Tenth Anniversary Address, 7; A. Chignell, An Outpost in Papua, 106; L.A. Navarre, Missionary Manual, 74-75.

134 B.N.G. A.R., 1890, 18, appendix L, 86; 1893-94 appendix C, 18; 1897-98, xxxi; A.B.M. Review, 15 April 1910, 7.

135 Walker, Journal 3, 1888, 35-36, and Dauncey, Circular Letter, November 1888, 19, P.J., L.M.S.

136 Despatches relating to British New Guinea, 1. H.M. Chester to Colonial Secretary, encl.3 in no.14, 7 April 1883, Q.P.P.

had some success in teaching English by the Gouin method.¹³⁷

Besides the religious instruction given in all mission schools, there was also a strong emphasis on moral teaching. At Kwato, as well as educating his pupils against 'filthy speaking, indecent symbols, and open, unchecked immorality' towards 'cleanliness',¹³⁸ Charles Abel issued them with a catechism of government laws to instruct them in the 'duties of citizenship'.¹³⁹ While Abel's zeal was extreme, most missionaries taught the gospel of 'cleanliness, order and industry'.¹⁴⁰ To this end, missionaries of all persuasions gave a prominent place to drill in their curriculum as a means of teaching 'self-control and obedience'.¹⁴¹ Sir William MacGregor was impressed by the 'admirable order and discipline' at the Dobu school. 'The class rises, sits down, turns, half turns, halts etc. to the words of command.'¹⁴² Frank Lenwood, visiting Mailu station on deputation for the L.M.S., praised the precision of the children's drill but wondered whether the use of toy wooden bayonets was really necessary.¹⁴³ Even the Sacred Heart missionaries, though immune from the contemporary British enthusiasm for drill and 'Swedish' exercises, marched their children in and out of school and stood them at attention to inculcate discipline and obedience.¹⁴⁴

But missionaries were aware that their morality was in constant competition with that of the village, their authority in conflict with

137 B.N.G. A.R., 1897-98, xxxi.

138 C. Abel, 'Education at Kwato', L.M.S. Chronicle, April 1886, 161.

139 W. Crosfield, ms re deputation to the South Seas... 64, South Seas Personal, box 4, L.M.S.; B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, xxxiii.

140 H. Scott, 'Schools and scholars in Murray Island', L.M.S. Chronicle, April 1886, 161.

141 R. Abel, Charles Abel of Kwato, 43. Cf. A.K. Chignell, Diocese of New Guinea. Education - Village Schools Report, 16 August 1909, 11, A.A.

142 B.N.G. A.R., 1893-94, appendix C, 18.

143 Lenwood to Saville, 25 March 1915. Lenwood deputation correspondence, S.S.O., box 10, L.M.S.

144 Navarre, Missionary Manual, 74. On the contemporary enthusiasm for 'Swedish' drill, see F.B. Smith, The People's Health, 184-85.

that of parents. The solution for some was the formation of settlements. All mission compounds were, to some extent, settlements, the product of almost inadvertent growth as converts and students were drawn into the station routine. But beyond this there was, on the part of some missionaries, a deliberate policy of attracting children, and sometimes adults, from the 'dirt and filth and immorality and lamentable ignorance' of the village and influencing them through 'daily living in a Christian atmosphere'.¹⁴⁵ The compound, with its 100 or so inhabitants, was also seen as an object lesson to its heathen environment.¹⁴⁶

Settlements appealed especially to the Sacred Heart missionaries and to evangelical Protestants. Most remarkable was Charles Abel's Christian settlement at Kwato, where children, totally cut off from the 'heathen habits and ugly practices' of their home villages, submitted to a rigid discipline, with Abel and his wife 'directing them in the common affairs of their daily life.'¹⁴⁷ An island settlement, it had elements of a theocracy. Abel's colleague, Percy Schlencker, another ardent evangelical, was converted to the settlement principle by a visit to Kwato, as were Abel's missionary neighbours, Rich and Saville. Holmes, in the gulf and delta, fostered the growth of settlements and, in a more modified form, so did his neighbours Butcher, Pryce-Jones and Dauncey. But within the ranks of the L.M.S., a sturdy band of individualists, there were also those who totally opposed settlements as 'hot-houses', destructive in alienating the people from their culture and unrealistic in the environment which they substituted.¹⁴⁸ Lawes, Turner and Lawrence opposed settlements on these grounds and so, in time, did Rich, Pryce-Jones, Butcher and Dauncey. After the 1915

145 A. Fletcher, Duau Circuit Report, M.M.S.A. Report 1902, xcv; Holmes to Thompson, 5 September 1905, P.L., L.M.S.

146 Abel (quoting Pryce-Jones) to Thompson, 4 April 1905, P.L., L.M.S.; L.M.S. Chronicle, January 1898, 18.

147 C. Abel, The Aims and Scope of the Industrial Branch to the New Guinea Mission, encl. in P.L. 1903, L.M.S.

148 F. Lenwood: Sketch of proposals of deputation for discussion by P.D.C., March 1916. Notebook, S.S.O., box 8, L.M.S.

deputation reported negatively on the policy, it survived only on a reduced scale.¹⁴⁹

Methodist missionaries pursued a settlement policy similar to that of its proponents in the L.M.S., with the most fervent of whom they were neighbours. The aim, as at Kwato, was 'to get some of the young people entirely under the influence of the Mission' rather than that of their parents.¹⁵⁰ To win them from heathenism, 'a settlement is indispensable' declared one Methodist missionary and his colleagues echoed his judgement without any dissenting voices.¹⁵¹ The settlement at Dobu comprised, besides a boarding school, an orphanage and a 'reformatory' for children mandated to Bromilow under a 'Neglected Children's Act' to save them from 'living in awful sin'.¹⁵²

In the Sacred Heart Mission, one of Verjus' earliest works was to establish on Yule Island a new village for Christian converts and their families, to protect them from the temptations of village life.¹⁵³ As stations developed, it became common for priests to have a group of young boys boarding with them. Fr Fastré had a dozen students in his house at Popole and Fr Dubuy of Ononghe had forty students living under his roof.¹⁵⁴ 'These children are the hope of our district', wrote Fr Chabot of Kuni to a benefactor, 'better educated than the others, shielded as far as possible from the superstitious ways of the country,

149 Idem.

150 E. Lloyd to Gawler Christian Endeavour, 16 May 1899. Lloyd Letterbooks III, M.O.M.

151 A. Fletcher, Duau Circuit Report, M.M.S.A. Report, 1902, xcv. See also J.R. Williams, Panaeati Circuit Report (xcix) and F.J. Winn, Panaeati Circuit Report, M.M.S.A., Report 1913, 112.

152 M.R., May 1898, 10.

153 Letter of H. Verjus, 5 May 1886, in Annales, 1886, 52.

154 Annales, 1956, 95-97; F. Hurley, Diary D., 34. See also Navarre to Director of Holy Childhood, 19 December 1890, Annales, 1892, 398 and letter of de Boismenu in Annales, 1903, 637, on settlement policy in the S.H.M.

they will be able to form Christian households.¹⁵⁵ Anglican missionaries, consistent with the Anglo-Catholic orientation of most, saw their stations as 'communities'¹⁵⁶ rather than settlements, and were generally less committed to weaning their converts away from their own culture, but the difference was only one of degree. Like their Methodist neighbours they provided homes for orphaned children and also for mixed-race children mandated to the bishop by the government.

Few missionaries found their schools welcomed by the local people. Papuan children, not surprisingly, preferred the freedom of beach and bush to sitting cross-legged on the floor nursing a slate, and generally their parents saw little reason to encourage their attendance. Many missionaries resorted to a reward of tobacco for attendance and prizes of cloth, knives, toys and mirrors for performance. But most were still frustrated by irregular attendance. Following a proposal made by Charles Abel, Sir William MacGregor introduced in 1897 legislation making attendance compulsory for all children within a two mile radius of any school teaching English.¹⁵⁷ The district committee of the L.M.S., apart from Abel, felt that it was premature and often, in fact, it was ignored by the resident magistrate whose responsibility it was to enforce it.¹⁵⁸

The question of whether to teach in English or the vernacular was one which exercised the minds of the missionaries. Because their initial objective was evangelistic, most saw their prime task as being to make the people literate in their own language. Sceptical outsiders believed that vernacular teaching was also a device for preserving mission hegemony and resisting the influence of other Europeans.¹⁵⁹ Sacred Heart missionaries had an additional incentive

155 Annales, 1904, 401.

156 Stone-Wigg, Tenth Anniversary Address, 9.

157 B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, 49.

158 Dauncey to Thompson, 26 May 1897, P.L., L.M.S.; Chignell, op.cit., 108.

159 For example, cutting from Daily Mail, 29 October 1910; News-cuttings re B.N.G., 1886-1912, Musgrave Papers.

to teach in the vernacular in that until the turn of the century few of them spoke English.¹⁶⁰ When confronted with a diversity of languages each of the missions opted for one to become its literary language. Thus Copland King advocated the use of Wedau, understood for only forty miles of the Anglican Mission's 300 mile coastline,¹⁶¹ and W.G. Lawes provoked one of the most bitter controversies in the L.M.S. by urging the use of Motu for the whole south-east coast.

But as time passed there was a growing acceptance of the need to teach English, at least in the head-station schools. Strenuously encouraged by Sir William MacGregor, who publicly praised those who taught English and admonished those who failed to do so,¹⁶² this change in policy was symptomatic of a general broadening of the missionaries' conception of education. Amongst Protestant and Anglican missionaries in particular there was an increasing conviction that it should be 'for life'. It should 'uplift' as well as 'convert' and enable the Papuan to take his 'proper place in the country' or, as Abel described it, 'his place as a British subject under British rule and in touch with civilization.'¹⁶³ Recognising that the Papuans would not be able to lead their lives untouched by outside influences, missionaries felt a growing sense of responsibility to equip them to communicate with and compete against foreigners, to prepare them, in short, for the 'altered conditions of Papuan life.'¹⁶⁴ The prevailing

160 B.N.G. A.R., 1897-98, xxx.

161 Ninth Anniversary Address, 6-11, A.A.

162 See, for example, B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, xxxiii, 49, 51; 1897-98, xxx, xxxi, 47, 49.

163 Turner, answer to question 19, Abel, answer to question 18, Rich and Saville, answer to question 37, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S. Stone-Wigg, Tenth Anniversary Address, 6, A.A. In his Pastoral Letter XIV, 1913, de Boismenu revealed some of the same concern as the Protestant and Anglican missionaries to provide a relevant education. But his motivation was primarily to retain the influence of the church over the convert and maintain his esteem for it rather than to equip him for secular life.

164 Beharell. answer to question 19, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S.

neo-Darwinian pessimism about the survival of the 'backward races' gave added impetus to their concern to provide them with a corrective to apathy, skills with which to compete in a secular world and training in the 'necessary habits of thrift and industry'.¹⁶⁵

Within the L.M.S. the growth of these convictions coincided with a sensitivity to criticism of proselytization.¹⁶⁶ Conceiving of their schools initially as agents of conversion and for the nurture of the converted, the L.M.S., during the last decades of the nineteenth century, viewed them increasingly as services to the community at large.¹⁶⁷ While they believed education to be the responsibility of the government, those in Papua were forced to recognise that it would continue to depend, for some time, solely on the initiative of the missions.

These changing perceptions led to reappraisals of the type of education offered. One superficial change was the increasing emphasis placed on sport in Protestant and Anglican schools. Abel believed football taught 'tenacity of purpose'; others saw it as banishing apathy in lives deprived by missionary prohibition of many of their traditional activities.¹⁶⁸ A far more profound change, in the Protestant missions especially, was the embracing of the concept of industrial education.

MANUAL training had, from the beginning, formed a modest part of the

165 See, for example, F. Walker, The Problem of the Backward Races (pamphlet); R. Abel, Charles Abel..., 129; R.W. Thompson, Industrial Missions in Theory and Practice, 4.

166 N. Goodall, The London Missionary Society..., 459.

167 Ibid, 458-59.

168 Abel, Report 1890, Papua Reports, L.M.S.; H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 63; Riley, answer to question 33, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S. For discussion of the place of sport in the Anglican and Protestant missions, see D. Wetherell, Reluctant Mission, 205-15.

work of all missions.¹⁶⁹ While W.G. Lawes was instructing the Motu in the first letters of the alphabet, Samuel MacFarlane was training young L.M.S. converts in boat-building and house-construction at Murray Island in the Torres Strait. Two years after the inception of the S.H.M., Navarre spoke of their intention to 'civilise' the Papuans through 'social and industrial training'.¹⁷⁰ Brothers of the mission, originally farmers and artisans themselves, instructed the Roro and Mekeo in new forms of agriculture and elementary manual arts. Even in the Anglican Mission, sometimes depicted as holding itself aloof from such activities, the founder called for 'practical men' to initiate the 'practical training of the natives in as many useful arts as possible'.¹⁷¹ But all these activities were kept in strict subordination to the traditional missionary tasks of preaching and teaching. While the S.H.M. continued with learning of this kind, formalising it into an apprenticeship system just before the First World War, what happened in the Protestant, and to a lesser extent Anglican, missions at the end of the nineteenth century was so far-reaching as to suggest a new vision of mission-work.

Throughout Protestant mission fields of the period there was a strong move towards industrial mission, prompted in part by changing perceptions of the future of the 'backward races' and in part by the 'social gospel' of the period which provided both a model in the carpenter of Nazareth and an imperative in its concern for the whole man, body, mind and spirit.¹⁷² Belief in the 'dignity of work' reinforced their conviction. Advocates of industrial training looked to the Basle Mission in India and Africa which had involved

169 For a comprehensive account of the development of industrial training in the missions see A. Austin, Technical training and development in Papua, 1894-1941.

170 Navarre to Douglas, 5 May 1887, B.N.G. A.R., 1887, 25.

171 A. Maclaren to 'my dear friends', 25 August 1891, Maclaren's Letterbook, A.A.

172 See R.W. Thompson, Industrial Missions in Theory and Practice.

its people in the successful production of tiles and khaki cloth.¹⁷³

The chief evangelist of this new gospel in Papua was Charles Abel, L.M.S. missionary at Kwato. To the arguments usually adduced in favour of industrial missions, Abel added one which he felt to be particularly compelling in Papua: 'the poverty of the material we have to work on in a country like this'. The Papuan was so benighted, he claimed, that a purely spiritual gospel made little impact. Missionaries should re-examine their methods in the light of this knowledge rather than mindlessly applying techniques that had succeeded in Polynesia. Could not the time spent teaching children to 'write copper-plate' be put to better use 'industrially'?¹⁷⁴ Despite periodic opposition from an ambivalent and sometimes hostile district committee, Abel plunged headlong into a programme which took him through copra-plantations, boat-building yards and workshops to, in 1918, rupture with the L.M.S. and the formation of an autonomous Kwato Extension Association.¹⁷⁵

Visitors to Kwato workshops were impressed by the 'whizzing wheels and hissing straps and circular and vertical saws, besides a planing machine and lathe - all this machinery as well as the engine and boiler being conducted by Papuan youths without any help from Europeans.'¹⁷⁶ Abel's neighbour, Charles Rich, was inspired to develop industrial work at Isuleilei and Abel's close colleague, Fred Walker, sharing his enthusiasm, eventually resigned from the L.M.S. and set up another autonomous scheme, a Christian trading company, Papuan Industries Pty Ltd. Among the visitors to Kwato were the Anglican bishop, Stone-Wigg and the Methodist missionary who succeeded Bromilow as chairman, Matthew Gilmour. In both cases,

173 Ibid 3; 'The Problem of the Backward Races, A Modern Solution', The Times, 9 September 1905; E. Hallden, The Culture Policy of the Basle Mission in the Cameroons, 1886-1905, 3-4.

174 C. Abel, The Aims and Scope of an Industrial Branch to the New Guinea Mission, encl. in P.L. 1903, L.M.S.

175 See R. Abel, Charles Abel..., N. Lutton, Larger than Life..., passim.

176 Papua, A.R., 1905-06, 20.

a belief in the value of industrial work was probably reinforced by what they saw. Bishop Stone-Wigg told his staff in 1901 that, their concern being for the souls, minds and bodies of the Papuans, they should divide their work into spiritual, educational and industrial.¹⁷⁷ He recruited a printer, a boat-builder and a layman to care for stock and establish a model plantation at Hioge. For a variety of reasons these schemes did not flourish and in 1913, Bishop Sharp, convinced that the mission had insufficient capital for a viable experiment, signalled, in his address to the mission's annual conference, a withdrawal from industrial activities.¹⁷⁸ The projects initiated in the Methodist Mission under Matthew Gilmour, a practical man with great mechanical ability, fared better. Successful plantations were established and by 1913 students at the workshops of Ubuia had helped Gilmour build two launches, a jetty and several houses and schools.

Some missionaries were converted to industrial mission independently of Kwato's example. Although impressed by what he saw there, J.H. Holmes found his starting point in the unresponsiveness of the Namau to traditional forms of evangelism: 'Our work here has resolved itself into a strictly industrial mission. In brief it has been our business to find out what appeals to our people that they may become amenable to our Message.'¹⁷⁹ Where Holmes' motivation remained wholeheartedly evangelistic, his neighbour at Aird Hill, Ben Butcher, was prompted to industrial work by a concern, similar to Abel's, to 'uplift' the Papuan and provide him with a viable future.¹⁸⁰ Missionaries wearied or discouraged by the problems inherent in direct evangelism found comfort in the tangible results of industrial work.¹⁸¹

177 Stone-Wigg, Tenth Anniversary Address, 6-7, A.A.

178 G. Sharp, Anniversary Address, 1913, 4-7.

179 Holmes to Lenwood, 7 October 1915. Lenwood Deputation Papers, S.S.O., box 10, L.M.S.

180 Butcher, answer to question 29, Deputation Questions 1915, S.S.O., L.M.S. See also Austin, op.cit., 78.

181 See K. Burrige, 'Missionary Occasions' in Boutilier et al., op.cit., 26.

For all those who practised a settlement policy, it had the added attraction of keeping converts within the orbit of the mission's influence by providing them with employment as an alternative to recruitment or reabsorption into the village.

As with the settlement policy, to which it was thus closely allied, industrial work was opposed consistently by individuals within each of the four missions. Most adamant of its opponents in the L.M.S. were those with lower middle class rather than artisan backgrounds: Lawes, R.L. Turner, Lawrence, Riley, Dauncey, Pryce-Jones and Saville. Their argument was simple: industrial work deflected too much time and energy from evangelism and education. 'Workshops obscure the Cross', wrote Lawes.¹⁸² After more than a decade of dissent in the L.M.S. in Papua, a visiting delegation came in 1915 to assess the situation. 'Industrial work has received its death warrant,' wrote Will Saville after reading their report,¹⁸³ though, in fact, it persisted in a modified form as part of L.M.S. mission work.

AS missionaries became absorbed in the administration of large settlements and the supervision of industrial schemes, the black-coated, bible-wielding preacher of Tomkins' imagination receded even further from the reality. While there were exceptions in each mission, the majority of Protestant and Anglican missionaries became increasingly tied to their stations. The Protestant preacher who stood before most Papuan congregations every Sunday was not the European missionary but the South Sea Islands teacher - and, incongruously, in the L.M.S., he did wear a black coat. In the Sacred Heart Mission, the necessity for Mass to be said by a priest ensured his greater involvement in out-station and village worship, and fulfilment of this obligation probably increased rather than diminished with time, as de Boismenu's 1908 reforms were implemented.

182 Lawes to Thompson, 8 August 1913, P.L., L.M.S.; Saville to brother, 1 August 1925, Saville Papers.

183 Saville to brother, 31 March 1916, Saville Papers.

Although Newton had complained that the missionary was a 'jack of all trades', there was increasing scope for role-specialisation as the missions became established. Besides those whose time was largely absorbed by administration, there were some in each mission who came to devote a vast amount of time to translation. Even Holmes, a fervent evangelist, grumbled at being diverted from translating.¹⁸⁴ Beginning first, generally, with St Mark's Gospel, missionary translators set themselves to translate the other gospels, then other books of the new testament, parts of the old testament, hymns and catechisms. W.G. Lawes completed a Motu new testament in 1890, a work which MacGregor described as 'monumental'.¹⁸⁵ Bromilow completed a Dobu new testament in 1908.¹⁸⁶ The work of these two missionaries, as of King, Tomlinson and Cottingham in Wedau, King in Binandere, Fellows in Panaetean and Kavatarian, Holmes in Namau, Butcher in Kerawo and Norin in Fuyughe and other languages of the S.H.M., made a lasting contribution which went far beyond the bounds of the mission field. But it was made at the expense of removing them even further from daily contact with the Papuan people.

Thus at no stage in the development of mission work in Papua was Tomkin's stereotype an accurate reflection of reality. The pioneer missionary was too absorbed in the preliminaries of gaining acceptance, establishing a station and learning the language to have much scope for formal evangelism and that which was attempted was often the least fruitful part of his apostolate. The settled missionary, while giving preaching first place in his work, was also engaged in a myriad of other activities, mostly initially motivated by evangelistic objectives but increasingly prompted by a concern for the total well-being of the Papuan. When the missions became thoroughly established, the growing numbers of missionaries involved in specialised tasks had diminishing contact with their flock,

184 Holmes, Report 1911, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

185 B.N.G. A.R., 1897-98, xxxix.

186 J.W. Dixon, 'The Written Word in Papua', M.R., July 1941. This article is a concise summary of Methodist linguistic work in Papua.

through preaching, or any other activity. And finally, the stereotype takes no account of the work of the missionaries in Papua - more than one third - who were women.

CHAPTER SEVEN

'THE GRACIOUS INFLUENCE OF WISE AND
THOUGHTFUL WOMANHOOD'

OF the 327 missionaries who served in Papua up to 1914, 115 were women. The Sacred Heart Mission, which employed more than half the missionaries during that period, also had the largest number of women: sixty-five sisters served in Papua before 1914. Twenty-eight of the seventy-four Anglican missionaries were women. The Methodist Mission had twenty-two female missionaries; the L.M.S. had none. There were, besides, twenty-nine wives of L.M.S. missionaries and eighteen Methodist wives.

Table 3: European Missionaries, Male and Female

	L.M.S.	S.H.M.	Methodist	Anglican	TOTAL
Male	33	107	26	46	212
Female	0	65	22	28	115
TOTAL	33	172	48	74	327

Missionary literature gives little indication that more than one-third of the missionaries in Papua during this period were women. Absence of comment is justified on the grounds that recognition of the women and their contribution is implicit in all general accounts of mission activity. 'We are asked sometimes why in our books and Annales we speak so little of the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart', noted Father Bachelier, M.S.C. He replied, 'We do speak of them, without naming them. Wherever we are, they are there too.'¹ As the women missionaries participated in the general life and work of the mission, they can, to a large extent, be considered in the context of the mission as a whole. Nevertheless, there were aspects of their experience which were distinctive, or different in some degree from that

1 Annales, 1950, 52.

of the male missionaries. They include their status and role in the mission field; the particular contributions which they, as women, made through their work, and the effects of missionary service upon them.

IN the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a period noted in Britain for its female surplus,² the employment of women became a recognised part of Protestant missionary endeavour, previously thought of largely as a male preserve. Mrs Emma Pitman, in her Heroines of the Mission Field, noted that in 1879 the L.M.S. employed twelve English women, the China Inland Mission, ten, and the Baptist Missionary Society, nine. Other British missionary bodies employed a further 120 women, and about 200 women worked under the auspices of various American societies. And, concluded Mrs Pitman, 'of the success of this new missionary agency, there can be no doubt.'³

The London Missionary Society took pride in being the vanguard of the movement to give women an independent status in the mission field. At a meeting of the directors held in 1875, it was resolved:

That it is desirable that suitable English and native Christian women should be employed...in connection with our missions in India and China ...to promote the educational and spiritual enlightenment of the female population.⁴

By 1895 there were sixty-five women missionaries in the L.M.S.

But none of them was in Papua. The L.M.S. board and the male missionaries in the field were unanimous in their belief that Papua was not a suitable country for a single white woman and it was not until the 1920s that women were first appointed there. William Lawes once went against his convictions to the extent of proposing to his brethren

2 A. Deacon and M. Hill, 'The problem of surplus women in the nineteenth century: secular and religious alternatives', Sociological Year Book of Religion in Britain, no.5, 1972.

3 E. Pitman, Heroines of the Mission Field, 7-8.

4 R. Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895 II, 714.

that they request the appointment of a missionary sister in order to avoid the expensive trips to the colonies necessitated by their wives' frequent confinements, but his proposal was unanimously rejected. So the only European women associated with the L.M.S. in Papua during this period were the missionaries' wives. They had never had separate status in the eyes of the Society. Furthermore, a single woman missionary was required to resign if she married another missionary, intending to share his work. This, wrote the L.M.S. historian, 'does not betoken ingratitude on the part of the Society; ...it registers the fact that the continuing service which she may render is offered by her without any contractual obligation.'⁵

Accordingly, the L.M.S. was circumspect in its expectations of wives. The foreign secretary, Wardlaw Thompson, wrote carefully to the newly-married missionary, Charles Abel:

I do not know whether your wife is one of those who are fitted by nature to take an active part in the general work and life of the station. If she can do this she will...be a constant blessing among the women of the place. But it is not essential that a missionary's wife should be an energetic worker in the general Mission to make her a blessing to all around.⁶

Like most of his contemporaries, Thompson saw the woman's role as that of a 'help-meet' to her husband. Her most fruitful contribution to the missionary cause was 'the gracious influence of wise and thoughtful womanhood'.⁷

Some L.M.S. wives envisaged for themselves a role broader than that of exemplar of domestic propriety. The structure of the L.M.S. helped them achieve it. The male missionary, responsible for both running the head-station and supervising numerous out-stations manned by Polynesian or Papuan pastors, was forced often to leave the maintenance of the home-base to his wife. Most wives taught at the

5 N. Goodall, History of the London Missionary Society 1895-1945, 13.

6 Thompson to Abel, 6 January 1893, W.O.L. L.M.S.

7 Ibid.

station schools and many held clinics, as well as sharing the administration of the station. They saw their special responsibility as being to the women. At women's classes they taught a range of subjects: reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, scripture and domestic skills such as sewing, washing and ironing. Some wives introduced the simple cottage-industries of lace-making and mat-plaiting. Younger wives sometimes travelled widely within their husband's districts, but most concentrated their energies on the people of the settlement: the pastors' and students' wives and the children who lived within the mission compound.

Many wives had the enthusiastic support of their husbands. 'It is our wives who are saving Papua', declared Will Saville, describing his wife's successes with the settlement children.⁸ So appreciative was Lawes that he proposed to his colleagues that wives be admitted as voting members of annual committee meetings. His colleagues opposed the idea, but his strongest opponent was his wife. 'Mrs. Lawes is dead against the whole thing', he reported.⁹

Later wives were less content with the self-effacing role chosen by Mrs Lawes. In 1910, Robert Lister Turner married Edith Calvert, who had served for ten years as a missionary in China. Although, on marrying, she was obliged to renounce her missionary status, she refused to relinquish the responsibilities of a missionary. She threw herself into the work on Vatorata station, making shrewd observations about the weaknesses in the L.M.S. system of organisation and tackling intelligently the task of gaining understanding of a people different from those amongst whom she had previously worked. She apologised for sending much of this information in a report enclosed with her husband's. 'After all, though women missionaries who marry are reported as "retired", I believe you do regard us as missionaries all the same', she concluded.¹⁰ The following year, one of her neighbours, Margaret Beharell, wrote to Thompson describing her husband's work at Hula, and her own. 'A Missionary's

8 Saville to Thompson, 4 January 1909, P.L. L.M.S.

9 Lawes to Thompson, 10 June 1895, P.L. L.M.S.

10 Edith Turner to Thompson, 27 January 1912, P.L. L.M.S.

wife although not accounted for much by the Board at home, still has much to do', she reminded him. Asserting that much of the medical work could be left to the commonsense of the wife, she concluded, however, 'Still it is nice to have a man who does know at one's back.'¹¹ Four years later, disappointed at the scant attention paid to women's work by a visiting deputation, she was stung into writing: 'I should like you to know that a wife and mother can also burn with missionary enthusiasm'.¹²

Meanwhile, the Papuan District Committee of 1915 had resolved that a committee of wives should be set up to consider work amongst women in Papua and the minutes of 1917 reported that such a committee had met, that the district reports had been read and that 'one or two of the ladies...spoke about the work that is being done amongst the women'.¹³ But throughout the period, the role of the L.M.S. wives remained essentially unchanged. They were auxiliaries or 'help-meets', accorded some recognition but no official status.

The first women to come to Papua with formal missionary status were the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, sister order to the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. Their congregation was a new one, founded at Issoudun, France, in 1874 by Jules Chevalier, as a special tribute to the Virgin Mary, for whom he conceived the title, Our Lady of the Sacred Heart.¹⁴ Once the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart committed themselves to foreign mission-work, it was inevitable that the sisters, with the same founder, the same motto and parallel constitutions, should do likewise. In this they were encouraged by their Mother Superior, Marie-Louise Hartzler, a widow whose son, Fernand, was one of the first Sacred Heart missionaries in Papua. Moreover, the anti-clerical laws

11 Margaret Beharell to Thompson, 13 January 1913, P.L. L.M.S.

12 Margaret Beharell to Thompson, 24 January 1917, P.L. L.M.S.

13 P.D.C. Minutes, 1917. P.L. L.M.S.

14 See Sister Mary Venard, The Designs of His Heart; Father J. Cuskelly, M.S.C., Jules Chevalier: Man with a Mission; and Sister Mary Venard, The History of the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart in Papua New Guinea, passim.

of the 1880s, directed especially against teaching orders, had frustrated their original intention of devoting themselves to education within France, and thus the prospect of unfettered missionary work overseas became doubly compelling.

The pioneer group left in 1884, accompanied by Father Henri Verjus, who shortly afterwards made his first quixotic attempt to carry the Catholic faith to the mainland of New Guinea. Arriving in Sydney, the sisters opened schools in the parishes of Botany Bay and Randwick, entrusted to the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart by Cardinal Moran. The following year several moved to Thursday Island where the order had established a pied-à-terre and on 1 August 1887 the first sisters arrived at Yule Island where Father Verjus, three other priests and two brothers were precariously settled.

The conditions under which the sisters came were governed by their constitution. All had completed the novitiate before their arrival and had made at least their temporary vows: the three simple vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Some made their final vows during their missionary service. Overseas service was voluntary, but for a time an optional fourth vow was allowed to those making their profession: to give one's life to the missions at the will of the superiors. The 1881 constitution explained:

The third degree is composed of those...sisters who, after perpetual profession may be disposed in a generous contempt of even life itself, to make for love of the Heart of Jesus, the vow to go to the foreign missions at the command of the Superiors of the Congregation and that notwithstanding the perils, sacrifices of all kinds and even death itself which may await them.¹⁵

As religious, they received no remuneration for their service, which was expected to be for life. They wore a distinctive habit, which the novelist Beatrice Grimshaw described as 'a dark blue cotton robe, forget-me-not coloured veil streaming out under a huge convent hat [and] strong-nailed miners' boots.'¹⁶

15 Sister M. Venard, The Designs of His Heart, 160.

16 B. Grimshaw, Adventures in Papua with the Catholic Mission, 13.

Although the congregation was a new one, it could draw on centuries of experience amongst Roman Catholic orders. There was no ambiguity or uncertainty in the prescribed role of these early missionary sisters. It had three main aspects. The first was devotional. They were 'to render through Our Lady of the Sacred Heart devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus...[and] to make reparation for the outrages of which the Divine Heart is the object by reason of the ingratitude of man.'¹⁷ The second was to provide for the spiritual and physical needs of women and children. And the third was to be responsible for the mission's material needs, an all-encompassing objective which saw them serving as cooks, laundresses, seamstresses, cowhands, farmers, gardeners and keepers of the sacristy.

Despite their independent status and their clearly defined role, the sisters were seen as auxiliaries in the mission field, no less than the L.M.S. wives. Theirs were to be the tasks which were too humble for the priest, who was preoccupied with the larger claims of evangelism. In terms which echo those used by Thompson to describe the contribution of the L.M.S. wives, Bishop Navarre wrote in his first pastoral letter:

It is the sisters who give the stamp of sweetness, order and good management to newly-converted families.... The care given to the ill is more assiduous, more tender.... The Missionary cannot take responsibility for everything. The Sisters, besides instructing the young girls, take care of the church, the chapel, the linen and altar ornaments...all things that the numerous occupations of the Missionary do not allow him to do.¹⁸

The second group of women missionaries to arrive in Papua were the Methodist missionary sisters. For the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society this was an innovation, largely the inspiration of their general secretary, George Brown, who first raised the possibility of employing women in 1890. The following year, the missionaries of the newly-established New Guinea field approved the idea, recognising the influential position of women in the Massim society which confronted them.

17 Sister M. Venard, The Designs of His Heart, 87.

18 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 144.

Lily Bromilow, wife of the chairman of the mission, pressed for the appointments to be made. 'There is nothing here to shock any right-minded woman', she assured the board.¹⁹ In April 1892, the first two sisters of the A.W.M.M.S., Eleanor Walker and Jeannie Tinney, sailed for New Guinea.

Most of the rules and regulations affecting the status and role of the Methodist sisters were drawn up in the field. The Australasian Conference of the Church stipulated only that they were to work under the direction of the superintendent of their circuit, and that they were to be members of the circuit meetings. Like male lay-missionaries they were to have one year's probation. The New Guinea district meeting resolved that the work of the sisters was to be solely among the women and girls; that they were to plan and report on their work at weekly meetings; that each sister was to be left free to carry on the work in her section, as approved by the weekly meeting; that they should train girls from the boarding school in housework and that a 'Lady Superintendent' of sisters could be appointed by district synod if necessary.²⁰

At the instigation of Mrs Bromilow, the sisters adopted a uniform: 'a blue-grey zephyr dress, collars and cuffs, black coat and black bonnet.'²¹ Their salary was £50 p.a., increased in 1908 to £70 p.a. In addition they received an outfit allowance of £10 at the beginning of their service. Ladies' Auxiliaries, which sprang up in Australia and New Zealand to support the new venture, supplied much of the furnishings and equipment needed, and paid for the Sisters' Home at Kiriwina.

The first task of the Methodist sisters was, as for all missionaries, to learn the language, and several reported preaching in faltering Dobuan within weeks of their arrival. That accomplished,

19 M.R., July 1952, 1-2.

20 Brown's Letterbook, 1903-04. Letter entitled Missionary Sisters. M.O.M.

21 By-laws affecting the Sisters' Work. District Synod (roneoed) Billing Papers. M.O.M.

their permanent work fell into three parts: school-work, village-visiting and the training of girls in the home.²² In the schools, the sisters taught reading, arithmetic, writing, dictation, geography, scripture, and - most popular of all - sewing.²³ Village-visiting included holding services, giving religious instruction and providing simple medical and welfare services. Domestic training had the dual purpose of providing the sisters with household help and initiating the settlement girls into the skills of European housewifery. In addition to these specifically womanly tasks, on Sundays they participated with the male missionaries in all the obligations of that day: preaching, leading prayers, playing the organ and conducting Sunday schools and village services.

The sisters made use of the authority given them to plan thorough programmes of work. Jeannie Tinney noted in her diary the time-table drawn up by the two sisters at Kiriwina in April 1898.²⁴ School was to be conducted by both at Kavataria on Tuesdays and Thursdays, 9.30 - 10.30 and 3.30 - 4.30, by Sister Emily at Gumilababa on Fridays, 10.30 - 12.00 and 2.00 - 3.00, and by Sister Jeannie at Tukauka on Wednesdays at the same times. Settlement girls were to be taught sewing on Wednesday and Friday mornings; Sunday schools were to be held at Kavataria, Tukauka and Gumilababa. Village-visiting was to take Sister Emily to Kavataria on Wednesdays and Sister Jeannie on Fridays. The other villages would be visited when school was held. A Workers' Meeting would be held on Sunday evenings. Sunday was no day of rest. Sister Eleanor described a typical Sabbath in her diary: 'Sun mg. prayer-meeting 7am. Morning service 10am. Sunday School 2pm to nearly 3 then Miss T. and I went in a canoe to Piasia, Tai-iai, and Taroborena to hold services, getting home about 20 to 7.'²⁵ Rendering account of the week's activities, she noted: 'This week I have made 36 visits to villages; school 5 times; teachers' meeting 1;

22 A.W.M.M.S. Report 1897, 1, xix.

23 M.R., XIX, no.12, 13.

24 Tinney, Notebook II, 5 April 1898.

25 Walker, Diary, 14 December 1892.

class meeting 1; Dobuan lesson 1; Sunday School 1 and 2 services.²⁶

Bromilow testified to the contribution of the sisters in terms reminiscent of those used about the L.M.S. wives and the Sacred Heart sisters:

They create an atmosphere of grace incomprehensible to the Dobuan mind, yet permeating it and making possible the culture of better things; while the personal knowledge of Jesus Christ is ever the end they have in view, whatever they teach - simple domestic arts, household hygiene, child nurture, sewing or school-work.²⁷

Working in close partnership with the sisters were the Methodist wives. Like those of the L.M.S. they had no independent status, and the four Methodist sisters who married fellow-missionaries had to resign, although their work was scarcely interrupted by marriage. As in the L.M.S., the home was seen as the principal domain of the wives, but strong women such as Lily Bromilow and Norah Gilmour carved out for themselves careers which extended far beyond its confines. A special contribution of these two childless women²⁸ was the establishment and maintenance of a home for motherless Dobuan babies, many of whom would otherwise have been buried alive bound to the bodies of their dead mothers. Some of the sisters and single women in the other missions also found an outlet for their maternal instincts in lavishing affection on orphaned Papuan children.

The final group of women to serve as missionaries in Papua were the Anglicans, who came under the auspices of the Australian Board of Missions. Although Albert Maclaren abandoned his scheme to establish a celibate community, which was to include a sisterhood, twenty-six single women joined the Anglican Mission before 1914. Only two married women were recruited, and four of the single women subsequently married male colleagues. Unlike the wives of the L.M.S. and Methodist missionaries, married women in the Anglican Mission came with, and retained, the same independent status as the male missionaries or the single women.

26 Ibid, 9 December 1892.

27 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years among Primitive Papuans, 213.

28 Mrs Bromilow had one adopted daughter, Ruve, who spent most of her childhood at school in Sydney.

In the Anglican Mission, women did not form a separate order as in the Sacred Heart Mission, nor a separate branch, as did the Methodist sisters. Their status was much less clearly differentiated from that of their male colleagues; they were recruited as individuals rather than as women, and they took their place, with the male missionaries, in the closely-knit Anglican community. After a discussion with an Anglican woman missionary, a Methodist sister noted with some surprise that 'the Bishop, clergymen and Sisters all live in the one home.'²⁹

The 'paper of conditions to those who desire to join the mission' was directed at all prospective missionaries, male and female. It appealed especially to 'clergymen, medical men, certificated school teachers [and] ex-pupil teachers.'³⁰ The only specific qualification required of a woman was that she be at least twenty-five years old. The same conditions of service were offered to all. Like the male missionaries, they were encouraged to see their vocation as a life service, for which, like priests and laymen, they would receive an allowance of £20 p.a., should they need it.

The role of the Anglican women was similarly less strictly differentiated. Like the Methodists, many were engaged in teaching, but, observed a Methodist sister, they 'teach the boys as well as the girls whilst here we have simply nothing to do with them.'³¹ Annie Ker made her main contribution to the mission through translation work, a task generally assumed by male missionaries. A few Anglican women took charge of stations, which involved an exercise of authority over men and boys as well as women and girls. Apart from the differences dependent on clerical or lay status, what role differentiation there was in the Anglican Mission depended on the particular skills of individuals rather than on their sex.

By the end of the nineteenth century there were then in Papua four separate groups of missionary women, each with distinctive

29 Lloyd, Journal II, 10 July 1899, M.O.M.

30 Personal files, box 20, A.A.

31 Lloyd, Journal II, 10 July 1899, M.O.M.

status: the blue-robed Roman Catholic sisters, confident in their vocation and their identity; the Methodist sisters, self-conscious in their new grey uniforms and their newly-created organisation; the Anglican women, with a status akin to that of their male counterparts, their identity absorbed into that of the general Anglican community; and the L.M.S. and Methodist wives, given no independent status but often achieving independent identity through the force of personality and conviction. Despite these differences in status, it is clear that there were basic similarities in the roles of all the missionary women in Papua. All were, to quote Sir William MacGregor, 'occupied in the duties of their own sphere',³² a phrase which fell readily from the lips of male contemporaries.

APART from the obvious contributions that the women missionaries made through their teaching and nursing, their village visiting and welfare work, there were other less direct benefits of their work amongst the women and children. Perhaps the most important was the improvement in the status of women. This was a concern that a number of male missionaries shared, but it was the women who were in a position to translate concern into action. Mrs Beharell of the L.M.S. lamented the plight of the Hula woman:

heathen, without ambition, merely the slave of men,
the drudge made to carry his loads of food, firewood,
etc..... The married woman's head shorn and made to
look ugly.... The girl was neglected as an infant,
later tattooed in order to enhance her market value
and then given whilst still a child to the highest
bidder....³³

She rejoiced when the Hula women, emboldened by her encouragement ceased shaving their heads at marriage.³⁴ Similarly, Mrs Bromilow, at the outset of her service in New Guinea, recalled the time in Fiji when women had been 'mere beasts of burden' and resolved to wage war on this

32 B.N.G. A.R., 1897-98, xxxii.

33 Margaret Beharell to Thompson, 24 January 1917, P.L., L.M.S.

34 Ibid, 13 January 1913, P.L., L.M.S.

custom in New Guinea as she had in Fiji.³⁵

Different customs loomed large according to the different cultures which confronted the women. On Dobu, where strong able-bodied women had considerable status, it was the plight of the widow which touched Sister Minnie Billing. Seeing one such woman in prolonged seclusion, dirty, unkempt and neglected, she wrote in her diary: 'Her face is before me all the time. It would be worthwhile coming to New Guinea if only to make the people more comfortable.'³⁶

The destiny which the women missionaries saw for the Papuan women was a modest one. They were to become clean and godly wives for the men who had become part of the Christian community: 'clean and helpful wives for our boys', as one L.M.S. wife put it.³⁷ A few saw their work amongst the women as having broader significance. Moved by a contemporary debate on depopulation, Methodist sisters, Corfield and Gibb, reported in 1912: 'Feeling that the saving of the race depended largely on our women, we have added to our curriculum...a series of talks on Physiology and Hygiene.'³⁸

In their work among the Papuans, the women often established relationships of greater intimacy than those contracted by male missionaries. Social convention forbade the male missionary any close contact with the Papuan women, and generally made him self-conscious about any intimacy with men. A few extraverts like James Chalmers submitted cheerfully to nose-rubbing and hugging, but for most male missionaries, physical distance was commensurate with assumed social distance. Amongst some of the younger women especially, there was not the same aloofness. The diaries of the Methodist sisters record their walking hand in hand with the women, putting their arms round the girls as they read to them, or dancing a Scottish reel with them from sheer exuberance when the oppressive presence of the

35 M.R., June 1891, 6.

36 Billing, Diary I, 96. M.O.M.

37 Carrie Rich to Thompson, 4 May 1902, P.L., L.M.S.

38 M.M.S.A., Report, 1912, 111.

Bromilows was removed.³⁹ Many of the sisters had village mothers who adopted them. The sisters of the Sacred Heart Mission describe women and children clinging to their hands, their robes and their veils, kissing them and rubbing noses with them.⁴⁰ After hugging a tall youth whom she had known since infancy, Sister Kostka, an aristocratic French woman, explained with a gesture of her hand: 'To me, he is still that high'.⁴¹

But it was essentially the nature of their work that brought the women into closer touch with the people. While the male Methodist missionaries preached, taught, translated and administered at the head-stations, the missionary sisters went out two by two, grafting their activities onto the normal routine of village life. Some, finding their daily expeditions inadequate, had small bush-houses built, enabling them to stay in the village from Monday to Friday.⁴² Sisters in the Sacred Heart Mission lived in simple houses among the people, sometimes remaining in one village for decades, absorbed in its dramas of life and death. The more resourceful of them learned much about the culture of the people. 'I begin to find my work in the villages more interesting as the language becomes more familiar and [I] can understand more of what the people tell me of their customs', wrote Methodist sister, Edith Lloyd.⁴³ Annie Ker of the Anglican Mission used some of the information thus gleaned to publish the first collection of Papuan fairytales.⁴⁴ Especially as mission work became more routinised, many male missionaries found few opportunities for such prolonged and intimate contact with the people.

The relationship of the women with the people, moreover,

39 See, for instance, J. Tinney, *Diary*, 12 May 1892, 4 August 1892 and 28 September 1892, and E. Walker, *Diary*, 20 July 1892, M.O.M.

40 E.g., Letter of Sr Agnes, Annales, 1896, 152.

41 Personal communication, Sr Martha, Kensington, N.S.W., 9 February 1979.

42 A.W.M.M.S. Report 1898, lxxi.

43 Lloyd, *Diary* V, 25 September 1899, M.O.M.

44 A. Ker, Papuan Fairy Tales.

was not so obviously one of domination as that of the male missionary. The Papuans saw them in a serving role: they dressed their sores, nurtured their children, nursed their sick and comforted their dying. 'They became the humble servants of those whom others regard as the dregs of humanity' was the fulsome opinion of one visitor to the Sacred Heart Mission.⁴⁵ While some of the same authority was vested in them simply by virtue of their being white, their status as auxiliaries within the mission structure was apparent: 'they just "try it on" as the boys say...as we are women, to see how far they can go', complained Sister Eleanor.⁴⁶

In their responses to the Papuan and his culture, the women missionaries showed the same range of attitudes as their male colleagues. Sister Agnès admired the 'ability and good taste' of the people as she watched them dance,⁴⁷ and Sister Madeline, observing the gentle features of recently contacted mountain people, asked herself 'why we call them savages. They are as susceptible to civilisation as certain people who were far from possessing it formerly, and who today are proud of it.'⁴⁸ But amongst some of the women of all missions, there is evidence of the same ignorance, prejudice and sense of superiority as amongst the men.

It was not through any more enlightened attitude that the relationship of the women to the people was different from that of the men, but simply through the opportunity for more physical contact and a more profound involvement in the mundane and personal aspects of their lives. Some women never availed themselves of this opportunity, others responded to it magnificently. At the death of Sister Gabriel, a short, stout French woman who had spent sixty-two of her eighty-nine years in Mekeo, her body was drummed to the grave with all the honours usually only accorded to the great men of

45 Father Eugene Meyer, M.S.C. Quoted in A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 346.

46 Walker, Diary, 5 August 1892.

47 Letter of Sr Agnès, Annales, 1897, 322.

48 Letter of Sr Madeline, Annales, 1901, 396.

the village. The chief who gave the funeral oration spoke of her as 'Sister Gabriel, beloved woman, Mekeo woman'.⁴⁹ On her grave was a wreath from the people of Veifa'a, inscribed 'Mother of the Mekeos'.⁵⁰

THE lives of the women missionaries, especially those of the Sacred Heart Mission, were demanding and filled with physical activity. The hob-nailed boots were as much a part of the sisters' working dress as their forget-me-not blue veils. There is some truth behind the hyperbole of Beatrice Grimshaw's account of their lives: 'A Sister of the Mission when she is not praying, or tending native babies rescued from murderous cannibal parents, or making clothes, or cooking, or mending fences or carpentering, or milking cows, is usually engaged in some form of athletic exercise' such as swimming across rivers, walking ten to twenty miles a day, or riding precipitous bridle tracks.⁵¹

Father Eugene Meyer, M.S.C., who knew the backgrounds from which they came, marvelled to see the life led by the sisters in the field:

For these are women, often young girls, who have been raised in the middle of the care and tender attentiveness with which Christian families surround their children; who have grown up with the comfort and abundance with which our civilisation provides us...and here they are, all of a sudden transported to a torrid zone, devoured by mosquitoes, periodically visited by malaria, sheltered in rough huts, sleeping on board, if not on the bare ground, ...condemned often to solitude, ...forced to walk through high grass, ... to cross creeks, rivers and marshes, and on top of all that perform all the ordinary ministries of a nun.⁵²

The sisters shared fully in the general austerity which characterised

49 Personal communication, Sr Martha, Kensington, 9 February 1979.

50 Sr Gabriel, (ts), Y.I.A.

51 B. Grimshaw, op.cit., 13.

52 Letter of Father Meyer, 20 May 1902, Annales, 1904, 501-02.

the Sacred Heart Mission, especially in its early days. Reflecting on Navarre's first call for sisters to join the hungry, debilitated community at Yule Island in 1887, a later Sacred Heart missionary insisted: 'It was inconceivably imprudent, pure madness, contrary to good sense and reason.'⁵³ On six separate occasions in the first decade the mission was reduced to total dependence on local food, the supply of which was uncertain because the dry, impoverished soil of Yule Island could scarcely provide the needs of its indigenous population. In 1890, Archbishop Navarre gave first the sisters and then the priests and brothers the option of withdrawing temporarily to Sydney, or dispersing amongst the villages to live off the land. All chose the latter.⁵⁴

Accommodation for the sisters was no less primitive than that of the other Sacred Heart missionaries. Sister Madeline described their first convent at Yule Island:

All the walls are leaves bound with vines...the flooring is wood but all the planks are convex and retain the shape of a tree trunk split in two;... the roof is also of leaves, the external doors are made of wood and the windows are only bamboo shutters through which we can see out. For furniture, a table, a what-not, three wooden stools and one chair for receiving visitors.⁵⁵

Their sleeping quarters were often simply a palliasse tucked away in a convenient corner. At Veifa'a, Sister Antoinette's room was also the dispensary and library, while Sister Ange shared her room with tins of meat and fish, hands of bananas and bags of rice.⁵⁶

Beatrice Grimshaw captured the almost medieval atmosphere of the sisters' house at Inawi, with its 'tall, arched doorway, ...the rough bare table with benches set beside, the brown walls and floor, the amber glow of evening, stabbed with high colour where the red clay water jar stood on the table.'⁵⁷

53 Father Bachelier, Annales, 1950, 52.

54 Navarre, Diary, 26-27. B.A.

55 Annales, 1887, 593.

56 Letter of Sr Agnes to Mother General, n.d., Annales, 1896, 153-54.

57 B. Grimshaw, op.cit., 27.

How different this was from the Adelaide Sisters' Home at Kiriwina, a replica of a comfortably furnished suburban house, donated to the Methodist sisters by the South Australian Ladies' Auxiliary. 'We have a nice little home here and when we get our nick-nacks etc. out, we will be able to make it pretty as well', noted Sister Jeannie. 'We have such a pretty Vienna suite for the dining-room.... There are 6 chairs, 1 armchair, a most comfortable rocker and a settee, a dining and a side table and enough Chinese matting to cover the floor. We each have our own bedroom furniture.'⁵⁸

Life generally was probably less arduous for the Protestant and Anglican women than for the Roman Catholic sisters, but it was only a matter of degree. In none of the missions were they regarded as delicate creatures to be cosseted and protected. In a brisk letter to Bishop Stone-Wigg, Ellen Combley described a week's work on the Mamba gold-field which included, besides the constant nursing of dysentery patients, two operations, one the opening of a child's abdominal wall, the other, amputation of a gangrenous hand.⁵⁹ Her colleague, Maud Nowland, a partially-trained nurse, wrote of a nine-mile journey, the last part of it made on all fours up a mountain-side, to see a youth with an infected leg:

He was lying in a small room with only a hole... for the door.... I crawled in and my first impulse was to crawl out again, the smell was so bad. His leg was in a dreadful state, the matter running down his feet from a dreadful sore.... I was able to clean and dress it.⁶⁰

One L.M.S. missionary, Reginald Bartlett, watching the hevehe festival of the Papuan Gulf, thought of his English fiancée, shortly to join him: 'Poor Alice! Whatever will she think of such "shows" when she comes out here?' but concluded comfortably, 'She's

58 Tinney, Notebook II, 7, 31 December 1897. M.O.M.

59 Combley to Stone-Wigg, Mambare, 2 September 1903. Personal files, box 20, A.A.

60 Maud Nowland to her sister Laura, 10 August 1902. Old correspondence file. A.A.

a sensible sort and will see the reason for such things better and quicker than most.'⁶¹ There is little evidence of attempts to shield the missionary women from the harsher realities of Papuan life. Some wives may have been insulated by their preoccupation with home and family, but Mrs Bromilow, for one, with the Methodist sisters, encountered cannibalism, the digging up and eating of corpses, and the burying alive of infants with dead mothers, and in the last case was responsible for bringing it to an end on Dobu. Never was there any hint of that fear of sexual assault which was to become a hysteria amongst the white women of Papua thirty or forty years later. L.M.S. wives remained on stations for six or eight weeks at a time while their husbands were absent; because of chronic shortages caused by illness and death, Roman Catholic sisters often found themselves alone in recently-contacted villages; and in the Anglican Mission, Ellen Combley's and Maud Nowland's hospital on the Mamba gold-field was hundreds of miles from the head-station at Dogura.

Despite the genteel, cultured backgrounds of some of the women missionaries, the image of the frail, languid and over-refined Victorian 'lady' does not fit well with the reality in Papua. Many of the women seem to have been closer in type to the robust, resourceful and resilient pioneer women who were their contemporaries in the Australian outback.

NEVERTHELESS there were among the women many who failed to survive the stress of missionary service. Many died, and many others retired, their health and morale, and occasionally their sanity, shattered. Contemporaries believed them less able to withstand the rigours of missionary life than their male colleagues, a conviction which reflected contemporary opinion as to the susceptibility of women to nervous conditions. A woman, observed Dr Corlette, medical adviser to the Anglican Mission, was commonly regarded as 'a uterus surrounded

61 T. Wemyss Reid, A Man like Bati, 34.

by protoplasm.⁶² Thus hysteria, believed to be due to uterine problems, was seen as an exclusively female complaint.⁶³ During the 'nineties, a newly-named disease, neurasthenia (nervous exhaustion), became fashionable.⁶⁴ Although it was conceded that both men and women were vulnerable to it, in the mission field it was invoked much more frequently in relation to women. Yet, whether or not women were in fact more susceptible to such conditions, an examination of their records of service suggests that their stamina was little different from that of their male counterparts.

In the Methodist Mission, where the average length of service for all missionaries was shorter than in the other missions, the mean service of the women missionaries was appreciably shorter than that of the men: 4.7 as against 7.7 years. Although this difference was partly a reflection of the fact that missionary sisters were required to resign on marriage although remaining in the field, the careers of many Methodist women were exceptionally brief. The first two mission sisters each gave over ten years' service but only two others managed a decade of work. By the turn of the century, George Brown was brooding on whether his idea had failed.⁶⁵ If he was thinking of abandoning the idea, he was restrained by the knowledge that the vigorous Ladies' Auxiliaries would divert their zeal to other missions, such as the China Inland Mission, if thwarted in their recruiting for the Methodist fields.⁶⁶

Amongst the reasons given for the resignations of the missionary sisters, ill-health was the most frequent, ten women resigning on these grounds. There were cases of acute distress. All suffered more or less severely from malaria. Sister Minnie Billing survived

62 Corlette to Stone-Wigg, 23 August 1903. Personal files: Taylor, box 22, A.A.

63 T. Zeldin, *op.cit.*, II, 782.

64 *Ibid*, 840-43.

65 Brown to Bromilow, 9 May 1900, Letterbook 1900-02. .M.O.M.

66 Brown to Field, 3 August 1893, Letterbook, 1893-94. M.O.M.

typhoid and the early stages of tuberculosis before withdrawing to the milder climate of Fiji, and finally to Melbourne, to die. At least one other sister retired with tuberculosis. Eight Methodist sisters resigned for 'domestic reasons', of which the most socially acceptable was marriage. Other domestic reasons given were the need to care for ill or aged parents, or to return home when one parent was left alone.

Ill-health and family pressure were two socially acceptable explanations which sometimes masked other reasons for resignation such as emotional, psychological or mental stress. 'Nerves' were as common an ailment amongst the Methodist sisters as amongst the married women. Malaria was frequently blamed for their distress. Nurse Speers was refused permission to return to New Guinea because of what were delicately referred to as 'head symptoms' consequent upon malaria,⁶⁷ and when Sister Julia threatened suicide in 1913, the missionary in charge attributed her overwrought condition to fever.⁶⁸ The saddest case was that of Maisie Lill, a lively sister from New Zealand who, three months after her marriage to fellow-missionary, Ernest Harrison, collapsed with what was believed to be gastritis and was carried by her husband aboard a trader's small boat, to be taken to the doctor at Samarai, 180 miles away. After a week's abortive tossing on stormy seas, they found themselves back at their starting-point. She was subsequently taken by steamer to Sydney, from where, after a period in hospital, she returned to her family in New Zealand. For the rest of her life she was as 'helpless as a child', unable to recognise her husband or recall her life in Papua. What part marriage, pregnancy, illness or the hazardous boat-trip played in her mental collapse is not clear. Her family ascribed it to cerebral malaria.⁶⁹

67 Brown to Speers, 29 April 1896, Letterbook, 1895-96. M.O.M.

68 Avery to Danks, 8 April 1913, Letters 1913. M.O.M.

69 Information about Maisie Lill is taken from Lill family letters and papers in the possession of the Rev. George Carter of New Zealand, to whom I am grateful for copies.

The depressive effects of malaria, fatigue, isolation and the climate undoubtedly affected the psychological health of the Methodist women as that of the men. But in an outburst to the General Secretary written at the time of her alleged suicidal tendencies, Julia Benjamin testified to another source of stress, peculiar to the women:

Your question concerning our Synod gatherings shows that you consider that a Missionary Sister's voice should be heard there. Unfortunately I have proved that in Papua a Sister's opinion has no more weight than the opinion of a Papuan....

Describing constant curtailment of the sisters' authority, she concluded:

Sir, are you surprised that though I love my Papuans with all my heart, yet it would be a relief if for health reasons I could resign?... This may enable you to see why so many Sisters remain only a short time.⁷⁰

Instead of being directly responsible to the chairman, the sisters found that their only access to him was through his wife, who had been appointed lady superintendent. Instead of the autonomy promised them in the planning of their programmes, they found that Mrs Bromilow, with all the authority of a married woman over single, supervised them like recalcitrant schoolgirls. A dominating woman, immensely aware of her own status (she once upbraided Brown for publishing a sister's letter ahead of hers in the Missionary Review)⁷¹ she would tolerate no opposition to her wishes. Other sisters resented Mrs Bromilow's 'iron hand covered with a velvet glove'.⁷² One, Miss Thomas, stayed long enough only to assess the situation, abuse the Bromilows and catch the next boat back to Australia where she told George Brown that she 'objected to the position they occupied'.⁷³ Eleanor Walker, despite her ten years of loyal service, left a diary which was a record of constant conflict with Mrs Bromilow. Like Julia

70 Benjamin to Danks, 7 August 1913, Letters 1913. M.O.M.

71 Brown to Field, 14 April 1893, Letterbook, 1893-94. M.O.M.

72 Walker, Diary, 9 July 1892. M.O.M.

73 Brown to Bromilow, 23 February 1903, Letterbook, 1902-03. M.O.M.

Benjamin, she was a woman of thirty, and she resented being peremptorily cut off in the middle of a sermon, or scolded for holding a divergent opinion.⁷⁴ An orphan craving affection, she was particularly vulnerable to Mrs Bromilow's harshness. Samuel Fellows, a dispassionate observer, concluded that there was 'too much dignity and not enough milk of human kindness' on the Bromilows' part.⁷⁵

The real status of the Methodist sisters, as distinct from the theoretical status outlined by the regulations, was then a widespread cause of frustration and resentment among the sisters and perhaps, as Julia Benjamin alleged, a major cause of their premature resignations. It was at least a hidden factor which should be set beside ostensible reasons such as ill-health and domestic pressure.

In marked contrast to the Methodist sisters, many of the Sacred Heart sisters served until their missionary career was terminated by death. Of the sixteen who served for ten years or less, fourteen had their careers cut short by death. Excluding all those who died prematurely (arbitrarily designated as under forty-five years), of the remaining forty-six sisters, twenty-seven served for more than twenty years, fifteen of them for over forty years, of whom eight celebrated their Golden Jubilee in the mission. The longest serving of all the missionaries to come to Papua before the First World War was Sister Clothilde, who arrived in 1900 and remained till her death, at the age of ninety, in 1966. The average length of service for the Daughters of our Lady of the Sacred Heart was 23.9 years, while that of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart was 17.4 years.

74 See, for instance, Walker, Diary, 9 July 1892 and 22 November 1892.

75 Fellows, Diary, 7 September 1892.

Table 4: Length of service of women missionaries, 1874-1914

<u>Length of Service</u>	<u>S.H.M.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Anglican</u>
Less than 1 year	1	3	2
Less than 3, more than 1 year	2	6	4
3-5 years	2	6	8
6-10 years	13	6	3
11-20 years	11	1	6
21-40 years	12	0	4
More than 40 years	15	0	1
	56	22	28

The most obvious explanation of these extraordinarily long careers is that they were a life service. Especially in the early days, those who sailed from Marseilles to distant Oceania did not expect to see their homelands again. Father Meyer, M.S.C., wrote a moving description of one such departure. 'You remember that beautiful evening of May 1900', he recalled to a friend,

when standing on the platform of the station of Issoudun we witnessed, astonished, the departure of seven Sisters: all were Bretons: around them pressed old women and young girls whose sobs shook their white coifs like sea-gulls wings; it was their mothers and sisters come from Brittany to say good-bye: they, on the contrary, laughed and joyfully promised a meeting in heaven.⁷⁶

It is tempting to ask whether these joyful young sisters became trapped in a commitment of which they could have had little prior understanding, despite their dedicated preparation by Mother Marie Louise. Undoubtedly, the pressure for them to remain at their post was stronger than for the Methodist sisters who had not made the same total commitment. When Sister Claire begged in 1888 to be sent to Sydney after three months' constant illness, Father Couppé, acting head of the mission, advised her that she should 'resign herself to staying at Yule'.⁷⁷ Nevertheless many sisters did leave

⁷⁶ Quoted, A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 345.

⁷⁷ Couppé to Navarre, 12 February 1888, Correspondence file, B.A.

freely over the years, most of them transferring to other mission fields, the convent at Kensington, or other houses of the congregation.

Letters written by members of the mission and by visitors do not give evidence of disillusionment or depression amongst the sisters. On the contrary there is continual and ample testimony to their 'gaiety'. Complaining to Navarre of the low morale of the coadjutor brothers, Father Couppé added: 'The Sisters show a good spirit. They suffer more than us but are always gay, in good humour, and work well with a great spirit of faith.'⁷⁸ At about the same time Sister Madeline, writing to Mother Marie Louise of the exhaustion of their provisions, reassured her: 'despite these trials, do not believe that we are sad. Thank God, fever attacks only the body, the soul is free. If you listen carefully from Issoudun, you will hear us laughing.'⁷⁹ Father Meyer, visiting the mission in 1902, was relieved to find that 'the joy which radiated on their faces at their departure from France is not veiled in a cloud of sadness; the disillusionment which we suspected has not come.'⁸⁰

The Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart found strength and security not only in their faith, but in their total commitment to the congregation. 'All the earth being the Lord's, I am everywhere at east', wrote one in 1887,

I have in my Superior a mother, and in my companions, sisters. My rule guides me. Our fathers sustain me.... Who could be happier than a Daughter of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart?⁸¹

For a time their identity was threatened by interference from some of the younger priests who, in their immature zeal, exceeded their authority in relation to the sisters. 'The poor sisters, above

78 Ibid, 23 April 1889.

79 Annales, 1889, 25-26.

80 Letter of Father Eugene Meyer, 2 May 1902, Annales, 1904, 503.

81 Unnamed Sister (F.D.N.S.C.) in corporate letter to Navarre, 30 October 1881. B.A.

all, Sister Joachim, have suffered too much from this régime', wrote Navarre, implying that Sister Joachim's death was at least partly the result of the impossible demands placed upon her by the authoritarian young Fr Vitale.⁸² To put an end to the constant conflict, Navarre resolved in 1899 to sever the close working relationship which, since the beginning, had existed between the priests and sisters, and to make a 'complete separation according to canonical law.'⁸³ Henceforth the sisters were to have the status of religious in a French parish, responsible to their own Mother Superior, and through her to the Vicar-Apostolic. They were to live further away from the priests and order their own economy. They were not to be held responsible for the daily care of the priests though they could, and did, continue voluntarily to cook and launder for them.⁸⁴ Such service was not incompatible with the sisters' view of their own status and role in the mission field.

Other stresses occurred as in any community. Sometimes there was conflict amongst the women themselves. Mother Paul had herself removed to a mainland station after conflict with Mother Liguori.⁸⁵ But the organisation of the S.H.M. seems to have been flexible enough to contain these stresses and strains. Perhaps their total commitment gave the sisters a freedom which transcended the privations and irritations which were a necessary part of everyday mission life, and which their Protestant colleagues, for whom every day in the mission was effectively a new decision, did not have. 'To live away from the mission is to live like a fish out of water', observed Sister Madeline, sympathising with Sister Agnès, exiled through illness.⁸⁶

82 Navarre, Journal 1894, 116. B.A.

83 Navarre, Journal 1899, 145. B.A.

84 Rules concerning the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart in New Guinea, 8 December 1889. R.A.

85 Navarre, Journal, 12-14 May 1892. B.A.

86 Letter of Sr Madeline, Annales, 1901, 398.

The Anglican Mission was distinguished by both the very long and very short careers of its staff, male and female. Several of the women were outstanding for their length of service. Mrs Tomlinson, who had arrived with Maclaren's pioneering party in 1891, died at Mukawa after forty-eight years in the country; Alice Cottingham, Maud Nowland and Laura Oliver died in the mission after thirty-seven, thirty-three and twenty-five years respectively. But the Anglican Mission, like the Methodist Mission, was also dogged by the problem of women missionaries who came and stayed scarcely long enough to justify the expense of their fare. Six of the twenty-eight served less than the required three years and another six just saw three years' service. Bishop Stone-Wigg felt something of the same despondency about his women-workers as did George Brown. He wrote of 'the risk of friends dragging them away, of their getting engaged to be married, of their lack of vocation to a life-long work' and contemplated, as had his predecessor, Maclaren, the possibility of introducing an Anglican sisterhood to the mission.⁸⁷

The reasons given for the resignations of the Anglican women missionaries were similar to those of the Methodists. Six left because of ill-health, two to marry outside the mission, four because, having married male colleagues, their departure was determined by their husbands' careers and two left for family reasons. As in the Methodist Mission, resignations for ill-health or for family reasons were sometimes pretexts masking more basic causes. Dr Corlette wrote to Stone-Wigg of the 'nervous troubles that have disabled so many of the Mission ladies.'⁸⁸ Florence Thomson left the mission fearing that she was 'going out of her mind';⁸⁹ Ellen Combley withdrew from her exhausting work on the Mamba gold-field with hysterical paralysis,⁹⁰ and Harriette Murray, after living alone for some years

87 Stone-Wigg to Bishop Montgomery, Bartle Bay, 7 May 1904, Stone-Wigg Papers.

88 Corlette to Stone-Wigg, Sydney, 13 April 1904. Personal files, box 20. A.A.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.

at Wamira, was reduced to a nervous condition in which she 'could not stand the sight of a Wamira man.'⁹¹ All three left the mission but subsequently, their health restored, begged to be taken back. 'All I desire is to return to live and if it please God, to die in his service there', Florence Thomson pleaded with Stone-Wigg.⁹² Harriette Murray and Ellen Combley returned, but Florence Thomson remained in Sydney, to die two years later.

Debilitated by malaria, over-worked and poorly-nourished, the women, as in any community, experienced conflict amongst themselves. The resident magistrate, C.A.W. Monckton, recollected analysing Stone-Wigg's problems for him: 'Your second worry is that you have half a dozen or more spinster ladies,...and in their spare time they quarrel like hell among themselves and keep on appealing to you to settle their differences, which you find an impossible thing to do.'⁹³ The fact that the bishop was a handsome and extremely eligible bachelor may have aggravated the tension.⁹⁴

As in the other missions, threats to their status and identity added to the stresses experienced by the women. These, as in the S.H.M., came especially from the young celibate men. Eric Giblin, dismissing the women missionaries as 'a necessary source of trouble',⁹⁵ proposed that the mission be staffed by a brotherhood.⁹⁶ Copland King complained of the behaviour of another young bachelor who did not 'understand how to allow the ladies to have due authority

91 Newton to Stone-Wigg, 1 February , 4 March, 20 April, 1902. Personal files, box 22. A.A.

92 Thompson to Stone-Wigg, 20 March 1906. Personal files, box 23, A.A. See also Combley to Stone-Wigg, 22 June 1904. Personal files, box 20, A.A.

93 C.A.W. Monckton, New Guinea Recollections, 90.

94 See letters to Stone-Wigg from Miss Adams, 8 February 1904; Mrs Newton, 9 June 1900, and Nurse Combley, 21 April 1902 and 24 August 1902. Personal files, box 20, A.A.

95 King to Stone-Wigg, 7 August 1903. Personal files, box 21, A.A.

96 Giblin to Stone-Wigg, 1 January 1906. Personal files, box 21, A.A.

over the girls.... He interfered unnecessarily.... The ladies had also to submit to...personal rudeness.⁹⁷ Other male missionaries simply refused to cooperate with the women. Lacking Archbishop Navarre's option of making a total separation between the status and roles of men and those of women, the bishop could only mediate in each case.

Although Stone-Wigg was particularly aware of the failures amongst women workers, their pattern of service reflected that of the mission as a whole. Of the total Anglican personnel, one-third (twenty-four) failed to complete the required three years. And the male missionaries were worse offenders than the female: 39 per cent of Anglican males as against 32.5 per cent of Anglican women left without completing the minimum three years' service. The average length of service for Anglican males was nine years, while for women it was eleven.

It is clear that beside the normal stresses of missionary service, the women missionaries had to contend with pressures to which their male colleagues were immune. They had no share in the exalted status which was accorded male missionaries by admiring contemporaries in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and to a lesser extent, up to the Great War. Their work received less recognition both from colleagues and from the world at large. Whilst most acquiesced in the designated role of auxiliary, it was bound to create tensions, especially when the ascribed role was threatened by the expectations of superiors or colleagues. The Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, with their clearly-defined identity and mutually supportive community, probably suffered least from these threats, especially after Archbishop Navarre acted to reduce their occurrence. The L.M.S. and Methodist wives, though lacking formal missionary status, had the clearly-defined and publicly recognised role of missionary wife to provide a context for their activity. But both the Methodist sisters and the Anglican women were very vulnerable to encroachments on their more tenuous status and less clearly defined role.

97 King to Stone-Wigg, 17 May 1907. Personal files, box 21, A.A.

Nevertheless, despite the convictions of male contemporaries, the length of service of the women missionaries was comparable to that of the men. Methodist women gave slightly shorter, Anglican women slightly longer periods of service while the sisters of the S.H.M. outdistanced all other missionaries in the field, including even their own long-serving male colleagues. In each mission there was a dedicated body of women who served quietly, and for the most part unspectacularly, in careers which spanned several decades. In 1913, after thirty-two years service, Fanny Lawes, the first white woman to settle in Papua, was still mothering lonely young missionaries as they passed through Sydney and visited her in her one-room lodgings crammed with Papuan mementoes. On the north coast of Papua, Elizabeth Tomlinson outlived her husband by two years to die, in 1939, the longest serving Anglican missionary. At the Methodist Mission, Lily Bromilow and Norah Gilmour served beside their chairman husbands for twenty-one and thirty-two years respectively, and no-one doubted the influence of those two formidable women. At Yule Island a growing number of sisters, having spent their whole working lives in Papua, retired to await death and burial in the mission graveyard. Sister Madeline, one of the first group to arrive, in 1887, remained at Yule Island till she died, frail and blind, in 1927; Sister Marthe, another pioneer, died in 1931 after forty-four years' service, and Sister Claire, whose life was feared for in 1888, died in 1930, aged seventy-three years. The 'gracious influence of wise and thoughtful womanhood' had proved more durable and more pervasive than many contemporaries would have dared to hope.

CHAPTER EIGHT

'BROTHERS IN THE FAITH'*

ALL the missionaries who worked in Papua before the First World War were members of one of four missions, each of which was, in turn, associated with a larger organisation - a society or church. There were fundamental differences in the nature of the metropolitan organisations, the types of relationship which existed between home and field, and the internal structures of the missions themselves. The life and work of the missionaries must be seen within the context of the organisations to which they belonged, for their successes and failures depended not only upon their own individual strengths and weaknesses, but equally upon the distinctive structures which supported them, constrained them and, to some extent, moulded them.¹

The London Missionary Society, first to commence work on the mainland of New Guinea, was also the oldest of the missionary organisations to work there. Established in 1795 with the 'sole object' of 'spreading the knowledge of Christ among heathen and unenlightened nations', its 'fundamental principle' asserted its non-denominational character.² Although the fundamental principle continued to be upheld, by the time the L.M.S. reached New Guinea, the predominant influence within it was Congregationalism, with its individualistic conception of Christianity and its emphasis on local autonomy.

By the 1870s, when L.M.S. missionaries reached New Guinea on the last wave of the great westward expansion which had taken them through the Pacific, the Society was an experienced and

* Colossians I, 2.

1 For a general discussion of the polity of this period see World Missionary Conference, 1910, II The Church in the Mission Field.

2 L.M.S. Constitution, By Laws and General Regulations 1892, L.M.S.

successful missionary organisation. Free of institutional links with any church, it was controlled by a board of up to 300 directors chosen from its membership (subscribers of one guinea or more, or representatives of congregations donating #5 or more). Clerical and lay representation was kept in balance and women could, and did, become directors. Besides controlling the finances of the Society, the directors were empowered to

select and manage Mission Stations, to appoint and send forth and fittingly sustain Missionaries,... to make, alter and amend by-laws for the general conduct of business, and otherwise to carry out... the object of the Society.³

The chief link between the missionaries in the field and the directors, to whom they were responsible, was the Society's foreign secretary, who had charge of 'all matters connected with the Society's mission in foreign countries and the same matters requiring attention at home.' The missionaries who came to New Guinea before 1914 were fortunate that, for most, their ministry coincided with the term of office of the most enlightened of the Society's foreign secretaries, Ralph Wardlaw Thompson. For their first five years in the field, the New Guinea pioneers were subject to the domineering administration of Thompson's predecessor, Joseph Mullens, who had responded to the rapid growth and diversification of the mission fields by the imposition of autocratic control and rigid organisation. Thompson, described by contemporaries as a man of spirituality, sympathy and statesmanlike vision, ushered in a new era with his appointment in 1880, following Mullens' death.⁴

Resolving to be the friend and champion of missionaries in the field, he wrote them frequent letters which were, in the words of one missionary, 'full of inspiration and help and personal

3 Plan and Constitution of the London Missionary Society, established in 1795. R. Lovett, History of the London Missionary Society, II, appendix 2, 747-49.

4 For a succinct comparison of the styles of administration of Mullens and Thompson, see B. Matthews, Dr Ralph Wardlaw Thompson, 43-50.

interest.'⁵ With great empathy and tact, he sympathised with their frustrations and loneliness, encouraged their efforts, praised their achievements and, when necessary, rebuked their waywardness. 'The lapse of years has never turned you into a purely official leader,' wrote the missionaries from Papua upon his retirement, 'and we have found pleasure and strength in the personal and friendly ...relations which have existed between us.'⁶ A closer link was established through deputations. Thompson visited New Guinea in 1897, and his successor, Frank Lenwood, in 1916.

Thompson, while still asserting the directors' control over the general lines of development within the L.M.S., gave increased freedom of action in the field, to be exercised through its chief executive authority, the district committee. Composed of all the missionaries, it had 'joint charge and control over the whole range of labours carried on by its individual members'.⁷ Each missionary was responsible to the whole committee, which was expected to meet annually for business and devotions. Finances were controlled by the district committee, which provided the directors annually with an estimate of probable income and expenditure for each station and received in return a warrant authorising the outlay.

Contact between the board and the field was maintained through the foreign secretary, and through the annual reports and letters which missionaries were required to send. The board urged them in their letters to detail 'their personal and family experience, the progress of their labours and the difficulties which they meet' since 'all things which affect the happiness and usefulness of the missionaries are to the Directors matters of interest.'⁸ In their

5 Saville to A. Saville, n.d. (probably 1 March 1924). Saville Papers.

6 Resolution on retirement of R. Wardlaw Thompson, P.D.C. Minutes 1915, P.L. L.M.S.

7 General Regulations for the Guidance of English Missionaries..., section 2, 4-6. L.M.S.

8 Ibid, section 6, 17.

reports they were to be 'honest and candid', not exaggerating the good, nor concealing the bad. Closer periodic contact was ensured through a system of regular furloughs, which also enabled the directors to put the missionary before their wider constituency and the general public, through an energetic programme of deputation work.

The advantages of the organisation of the L.M.S. to the missionary are apparent. He had behind him the support of a large and powerful mission society, while at the same time having almost unfettered freedom in the field. He had the foreign secretary as champion and counsellor, and his colleagues in the district committee for consultation and support.

At the same time, however, some of the greatest tensions, conflicts and failures were caused or exacerbated by defects in its structure and organisation. Relationships between the missionaries and the board were frequently clouded by misunderstandings, sometimes unavoidable because of the vast distances that separated them and the consequent delays in communication. Despite the great measure of autonomy accorded to the district committee, the directors retained some powers which provoked conflict. One was their right to send missionaries 'ticketed and labelled' to a specific part of the field.⁹ Missionaries believed that the directors in London, ignorant of the nature of the field and the sometimes rapid changes in needs and personnel, were incapable of such a decision. 'You can't know the South Cape from the South Pole', Lawes rebuked Thompson.¹⁰ Finances were often a source of conflict, missionaries in New Guinea believing that the directors refused to recognise the peculiar nature of their field with its heavy reliance on imported goods, and the directors for their part finding the missionaries careless and cavalier in their production of estimates.¹¹ The serious financial crisis which the Society experienced in the

9 Lawes to Thompson, 29 April 1887, P.L. L.M.S.

10 Idem.

11 See, for example, Thompson to Lawes, 15 February 1888, Thompson to Abel, 20 October 1893, W.O.L.; Johnson ms Diary of deputation ..., 66; Turner to Thompson, 4 December 1912, P.L. L.M.S.

'eighties and most of the 'nineties aggravated this tension.

Occasionally the missionaries felt themselves misjudged by the board. Dependent upon the reports which they received from the field, the directors at times put too much faith in those who presented a glowing picture, while censuring those who attempted a more sober estimate. The first decade of the mission's existence was dogged by a misconception of this kind as the directors allowed themselves to be duped by the rosy reports written by Samuel MacFarlane of his work in the 'Western Branch' of the mission from his base in Torres Strait, with which he, and they, compared unfavourably Chalmers' and Lawes' work in the east.¹² They were disconcerted to find after MacFarlane's retirement from the mission in 1886 that the Western Branch was in 'total collapse', while the Eastern Branch, about which Lawes and Chalmers had written more judiciously, was well-established.¹³ The same misunderstanding blighted the board's relationship with MacFarlane's successor in the west, Edwin Savage, ultimately resulting in his resignation.¹⁴ A young and inexperienced missionary, he failed to cope with the chaos which was MacFarlane's legacy to the mission, and was censured by the directors for his failure. When an officious young missionary, Archibald Hunt, joined him in the west and reported adversely on Savage, the directors accepted Hunt's assessment unquestioningly. Stung by their criticisms, Savage resigned. 'If I had written...glowing reports you would have thought better of me', he remarked.¹⁵ With his departure, Harry Dauncey told Thompson, the mission lost 'a thoroughly good man.'¹⁶

Aware of the ambiguities and the possibilities for deception in report-writing, many missionaries shared Dauncey's 'rooted

12 MacFarlane to Mullens, 27 March 1875, Chalmers to Whitehouse, 11 December 1880, P.L. L.M.S.

13 Thompson to Dauncey, 30 July 1890, W.O.L. L.M.S.

14 Hunt to Thompson, 4 March 1889, 20 July 1889; Savage to Thompson, 29 July 1889, 3 April 1891, P.L. L.M.S.

15 Savage to Thompson, 9 April 1891, P.L. L.M.S.

16 Dauncey to Thompson, 7 May 1891, P.L. L.M.S.

objection' to it.¹⁷ Commencing his report from Moru in 1898, Holmes asked, 'Shall I simply give statistics of Church and school work? or on the other hand: Shall I speak out forcibly...suppress nothing?'¹⁸ Holmes decided on the latter course, but amongst the missionaries there were those who, like MacFarlane, were known to put on 'rose-coloured glasses' when assessing their work for the directors.¹⁹ It was a problem common to all fields. Lawes was sickened by the stale triumphalism of mission reports: 'Thirty years ago we were told that Hindooism was shaking to its foundations. I see it is reported to be shaking still. But would it not have fallen long ago if the Church, instead of shouting victory, had marshalled her strength for the seige?'²⁰

A further source of tension between the board and the missionaries in New Guinea derived from furlough and deputation work. The missionaries argued that the trying climate, the prevalence of malaria and their frequent enforced separation from their families necessitated furloughs more often than every ten, later eight, years as was customary.²¹ They resented too that such furloughs as they had were largely committed to deputation work. 'Rest is not for a missionary at home', complained Holmes from Exeter. 'I seem to have had no time for myself...but just had to run about all over England and God knows where it will be next.'²² Some made fine platform speakers, but many shared Chalmers' distaste for the 'grand speeches, lying reports and salted statistics' which the work demanded.²³

17 Dauncey to Thompson, 29 January 1905, P.L. L.M.S.

18 Holmes, Report 1898. Papua Reports. L.M.S.

19 Lawes to Misses Burgess, 11 June 1876, Papua Personal, L.M.S.

20 J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 254.

21 See General Regulations for the Guidance of English Missionaries, section 12, 91-96, and section 14, 106. See also Abel to Thompson, 3 March 1906, Dauncey to Thompson, 26 March 1912 and 3 January 1914, P.L., L.M.S.

22 Holmes to Dauncey, 27 November 1901. Holmes Papers, (M.L.).

23 Chalmers to Hutchin, 25 April 1884, Papua Personal, L.M.S.

'Hearing myself talk was simply rushing me into a lunatic asylum', he complained.²⁴ For a missionary's wife, alone in rented lodging in a country where she was no longer at home, the prospect was little more inviting, as Lawes pointed out to the board.

Thompson was able to smoothe over many of the tensions between the board and the missionaries, but his ability to do so depended upon his own exceptional personal skills. The brusque manner of his predecessor, Mullens, and the more forbidding personality of his successor, Frank Lenwood,²⁵ at times further alienated the missionaries from the home base. 'The new Foreign Secretary...is a man out of sympathetic touch altogether with the methods which have produced the finest results in Papua', wrote Will Saville after Lenwood's 1916 deputation.²⁶

The problems provoked by misunderstandings and conflicts between home and the field were nothing compared with the deficiencies of the Society's organisation in the field. All missionaries of the L.M.S. were appointed on a basis of absolute equality.²⁷ While there were obvious virtues in such an arrangement, the mission suffered from a lack of leadership. There was no one with pastoral responsibility for young and inexperienced missionaries, no one to arbitrate and conciliate in disputes and no one to encourage cooperation among the collection of headstrong individuals who comprised the mission's staff. Holmes, at his lonely and difficult station in the Gulf, complained to Thompson of the 'isolation and lack of sympathy' from his colleagues, while at Port Moresby, where Dauncey struggled alone to cope with the head-station of the mission, MacGregor noted a 'complete breakdown of discipline'.²⁸ Observing the difficulties of South Sea Island missionaries at the East End, MacGregor reported:

24 Chalmers to Thompson, 10 February 1885, P.L., L.M.S.

25 Lenwood succeeded Thompson as foreign secretary in 1914.

26 Saville to A. Saville, 31 March 1916. Saville Papers.

27 R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor..., 43.

28 S. Fellows, Diary, 30 January 1892.

'The truth is that their organization is defective. There is a great want of proper supervision and inspection.'²⁹

Personal antipathies, exacerbated by proximity, isolation and the strains imposed by heat and malaria, might have been defused by the intervention of a wise counsellor and confessor. When the partnership in the west between Hunt and Savage drifted from mistrust into hostility, the situation could have been redeemed by judicious arbitration. It was 'six of one and half a dozen of another', Lawes reported.³⁰ In fact Lawes, the recognised 'patriarch' of the mission, did assume an achieved leadership role, as did the veteran missionary William Lawrence after him, but their leadership carried no authority except that derived from their own personalities. 'In a young church like this...a Bishop is needed,' wrote Schlencker from Orokolo in 1915. 'In fact taking our Mission as a whole in Papua there seems a sad lack in the fact that we have no head.'³¹

Jealous of their own autonomy and equality, missionaries looked askance at any suggested cooperation which seemed to threaten them. The refusal of Chalmers, Lawes and William Turner to cooperate with MacFarlane was based partly on his assumption of the role of senior partner. 'The MacFarlanes are simply unbearable', wrote the outspoken Fanny Lawes. 'Mcfarlane [sic] assumes a most over-bearing manner and treats George and Dr Turner as if they were his inferiors and subordinates.'³² Much of Savage's distrust of Hunt sprang from his suspicion that Hunt had come to 'lord it over' him.³³ At times assertions of independence were allied to sensitivity about social status. Looking around the 1915 district meeting at his lower middle

29 MacGregor to Griffith, 21 December 1888, Griffith Papers. Quoted in R. Joyce, Sir William MacGregor, 169-70.

30 Lawes to Thompson, 20 May 1890, P.L., L.M.S.

31 Schlencker, answer to question 8. Deputation Questions 1915, P.L., L.M.S.

32 Fanny Lawes to the Misses Burgess, 12 November 1876, Papua Personal, L.M.S.

33 Hunt to Thompson, 4 March 1889, P.L., L.M.S.

class colleagues who opposed his industrial schemes, Abel, the ex-trader, burst out: 'Our Society has no use for a man of my class. It's because I've been of a different class.'³⁴

A serious failure in cooperation was the establishment of the Vatorata Training College for the preparation of teachers and pastors, which foundered and was almost wrecked on the individualism of the missionaries.³⁵ While some felt genuine misgivings about Lawes' insistence that it should educate in Motu, spoken along only a fraction of the Papuan coastline, their reluctance to support it was closely tied to their wish to train their own pastors and retain them exclusively for the use of their own district. Although the college was established in 1894, it was crippled by only token support from some of the missionaries up to the First World War. Reporting on its problems in 1915, Robert Lister Turner, Lawes' successor as principal, observed that 'an individualistic spirit...has been, and still is, the bane of our mission in Papua.'³⁶

Many of these problems could have been overcome had the district committee fulfilled the role ascribed to it by the Society. But, in Papua, the district committee was ineffectual. For the first decade, Chalmers and Lawes believing that the differences between themselves and MacFarlane - evangelising from amongst the people rather than from a 'city of refuge' in the Torres Strait; the use of tobacco as currency; and, in Chalmers' case, the consumption of alcohol - were so great that a district committee was 'useless',

34 Lenwood, Deputation Notebook, 19 March 1916, S.S.O. box 8, L.M.S.

35 See, for example, Pearse to Thompson, 20 July 1892; Lawes to Thompson, 1 June 1894, P.L., L.M.S.

36 Turner to Lenwood, 10 July 1915. Deputation Papers, S.S.O. box 8, L.M.S.

and it scarcely ever met, despite constant rebukes from Thompson.³⁷
 'The fact is our present method of working our Missions depends for its continuance upon the fidelity with which the Missionaries carry out such arrangements as this,' he warned Lawes in 1886:

The Board are very unwilling to attempt any individual control of the Missions direct from England such as is exercised by other Societies....
 If however the rules of the Society relating to meetings of District Com^{ee}s are disregarded by the missionaries, it will be necessary for the Board to make some fresh arrangements.³⁸

Despite his admonishments, meetings, though held annually, continued to be poorly attended, some missionaries - and particularly Charles Abel - being notorious for ignoring them completely. 'We are in danger of falling to pieces for want of cohesion', lamented Lawes in 1892, contrasting their weakness due to an excess of 'Independency' with the strength of the Wesleyan mission.³⁹ Our committee is 'little but a farce', reported the secretary in 1911.⁴⁰ The following year the missionaries 'heartily and willingly' resolved to 'submit to the ruling of the Committee with reference to its control over the whole range of labours carried on by its individual members',⁴¹ but the mission remained, nevertheless, essentially a 'chain of isolated almost independent units'.⁴²

Because the district committee failed to provide 'that

37 Chalmers to Thompson, 1 December 1884. The bitter feud between Lawes and Chalmers and MacFarlane can be followed in their correspondence with the foreign secretary, e.g., MacFarlane, 27 March 1875, 13 August 1877, 13 May 1882, 16 June 1882, 8 April 1883, 21 September 1884; Chalmers, 11 December 1880, 20 April 1881, 22 October 1881, 14 February 1883 and Lawes, 16 June 1882, P.L., L.M.S.

38 Thompson to Lawes, 19 March 1886, W.O.L., L.M.S.

39 Lawes to Thompson, 15 June 1892, P.L., L.M.S.

40 Letter accompanying P.D.C. Minutes, 6-11 April 1911, P.L., L.M.S.

41 Resolution 12, P.D.C. Minutes, 16-22 March 1912, P.L., L.M.S.

42 Burrows to Lenwood, 28 October 1914, P.L., L.M.S.

measure of mutual supervision and control' for which it was intended, missionaries had almost absolute power in their own districts. The most notable case was that of Charles Abel who infringed regulations, ignored requests and made special demands upon the Society in his energetic and ambitious attempt to build up his industrial mission at Kwato and on nearby plantations. "'The New Guinea and Kwato Mission" would be a good new title', commented Lawes bitterly in 1903, foreshadowing by fifteen years the rupture between the two.⁴³ But although Abel's theocracy was an extreme, there were elements of the same situation in all the other mission districts, where the missionary was ruler not only over his Papuan flock but also over the South Sea Islanders under his supervision. While their personal relationships with the Polynesian pastors varied in the same ways as those which they established with Papuans, their official relationship to them was inevitably authoritarian and their power absolute. Asked by the board in 1915 to define their status in their district, most compared it to that of a bishop. It is 'like episcopal government', Clark explained. 'All power is vested in the missionary.'⁴⁴

THE L.M.S. was the only mission in Papua organised through a missionary society independent of any church. Nearest to it in structure was the Methodist Mission which was also administered by a society, the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society which, following the independence of the Australasian Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church from the British church, was established as the organising body of the missions for which the new church took responsibility:

The object of the Society is to excite and combine the exertions of the Methodist Churches and Congregations...in the support and enlargement of that branch of the Foreign Missions...which is now carried on under the direction of the General

43 Lawes to Thompson, 17 June 1903, P.L., L.M.S.

44 Clark, answer to question 12, Deputation Questions 1915, P.L., L.M.S. See also answers of Abel, Saville, Rich, Lawrence, Turner and Beharell.

Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia.⁴⁵

New Guinea was added to the existing fields - Fiji (1835), Samoa (1835) and New Britain (1875) - in response to a request from Sir William MacGregor. Seeking some special way of commemorating the centenary of Wesley's death, Australian Wesleyans saw the call to this difficult and relatively untouched field as the call of God.⁴⁶

Unlike the L.M.S., the A.W.M.M.S. was integrally tied to its parent church, the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Australasia (after union in 1902, the Australasian Methodist Church). Its mission board was made up of the president and secretary of the General Conference of the Australian church, to which it was responsible; the president and secretary of the New South Wales Conference (under whose supervision it remained in the intervals between General Conferences) and representatives from the other conferences of Australia and New Zealand, and from the mission districts.⁴⁷

The main contact of the Methodist missionaries in the field with the home administration, like that of their L.M.S. counterparts, was through the secretary of the board. And like the L.M.S. missionaries, they were fortunate in the man who filled the role of general secretary for most of the period before the First World War, the former missionary, George Brown. Brown was for the Methodist missionaries, as Thompson was for those of the L.M.S., a father, a counsellor, and often a friend who spoke to them as 'the old Missionary who had known the joys and sorrows of Missionary life.'⁴⁸ His successor, Benjamin Danks, appointed in 1907, was more official and formal in his relations with the missionaries. Andrew Ballantyne wrote in 1910 to tell him of the 'feeling of a lack of sympathy on the part of the Mission Office' amongst the missionaries in the New Guinea field. 'There has been a feeling of separateness which has

⁴⁵ M.R., May 1891, 2; Gilmour, M.R., July 1914, 4.

⁴⁶ Methodist Church of Australasia, Laws and Regulations, 72, section 335.

⁴⁷ W. Fitchett, What Methodism Stands For, 87.

⁴⁸ G. Brown, Notebook 2, 1897 (n.p.). Notebooks of George Brown.

been fatal to any attempt at unity. If the Field and Office are one then you will be greatly helped.'⁴⁹

In other ways too, the contact between the Methodist missionaries and the home administration was similar to that of their L.M.S. counterparts. They received the district's annual financial grant from the A.W.M.M.S.; they sent home, as requested, 'copious extracts'⁵⁰ from the journals they were required to keep, some of which were edited and published in the monthly Australasian Methodist Missionary Review, just as the letters and reports of the L.M.S. missionaries appeared, edited, in the Chronicle. Like their L.M.S. colleagues, they argued the 'peculiarly trying nature of the New Guinea climate' to persuade the board to reduce the period between furloughs from ten to six and, finally, three years.⁵¹ As in the L.M.S. much of furlough was taken up with deputation work: 'doing the dancing bear business' in George Brown's eloquent phrase.⁵² Throughout their missionary service they were subject to the agreement which each missionary signed with the A.W.M.M.S. and to its 'Instructions to Missionaries'.⁵³

The great difference between the L.M.S. and the Methodist Mission, as Lawes was aware, was their government in the field. The Wesleyans imported into New Guinea, as into their other fields, the whole complex, hierarchical organisation which characterised Wesleyan Methodism. New Guinea was, accordingly, administered as one district of the Methodist Church, over which presided a chairman. His position was analagous to that of a bishop, although his authority

49 Ballantyne to Danks, 25 October 1910. Letters received 1909-10. M.O.M.

50 Instructions to Missionaries, Methodist Church of Australasia, Laws and Regulations, 130.

51 Minutes of Synod, B.N.G. District 1903, appendix: resolution 21; see also 1905, appendix: resolution 10; 1911, appendix: resolution 10. U.C.A.

52 Brown to Lawes, 17 November 1893, Brown, Letterbook 1893-94, M.O.M.

53 Methodist Church of Australasia, Laws and Regulations, 77, 128-30.

was more limited, being subject to the sanction of synod, the annual meeting of the mission district.⁵⁴ Within the New Guinea district five circuits were established, each in the charge of a superintendent. The circuit was composed of a series of churches mostly run by South Sea Island teachers, within which operated the traditional local organisation of society meetings, class meetings, prayer meetings and services.

In marked contrast to the almost anarchic individualism of the L.M.S. was the tightly-controlled, unified and cohesive polity of Methodism. The Wesleyans entered New Guinea as an invading army, a disciplined, united cadre of Christianity. That they saw themselves thus is apparent in their rhetoric, which rings with battle imagery. Their impressive initial landing was 'an attack in force'; extensions into heathen villages were incursions into 'the enemy's camp'.⁵⁵ Reports sent home to be published in the Missionary Review were headed 'News from the Front', while a missionary on deputation could delight his listeners with first-hand news 'from the seat of war'.⁵⁶ It was this self-confident, aggressive onslaught which won the admiration of Sir William MacGregor.

Methodist missionaries derived comfort, support and inspiration from the mission's structure. But, like the very different organisation of the L.M.S., it was, at times, a source of conflict. Its greatest inherent danger was the temptation of those at the head of circuits and district to arrogate powers not legally theirs. In the circuits, where even the chairman was not permitted to intervene except through persuasion, a superintendent could assume almost unbridled power. 'You will do well to give Mr Fellows a little good advice', George Brown told Bromilow. 'I am afraid he is in danger of being too over-bearing with the natives.... He is a very energetic man and certainly magnifies his office.'⁵⁷ As in the L.M.S., authoritarian control was

54 A. Grubb, A Popular Handbook of Methodist Law and Usage, 67.

55 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 62; A.W.M.M.S. Report 1896, xxi.

56 M.R., May 1903, 3; M.R., February 1897, 1.

57 Brown to Bromilow, 2 May 1894. Brown, Letterbook 1893-94, M.O.M.

exerted not only over the Papuans of the circuit but also over its South Sea Island teachers: 'Right royal devotion do we get from most of the teachers', reported the missionary at Bunama, James Osborne. 'The travels of a white missionary here are like the visitations of a colonial governor, so enthusiastically is he received.'⁵⁸

But while the superintendent ruled supreme within his circuit, it was the position of chairman which was potentially most powerful within the district. William Bromilow was a strong and authoritarian chairman in the New Guinea district, as were his contemporaries Langham in Fiji and Goldie in the Solomon Islands. 'Bromilow seems to be autocratic and to be doing things of all kinds without consulting his colleagues', observed MacGregor.⁵⁹ Those who suffered most from Bromilow's regime were members of the two new orders introduced through New Guinea into the missionary structure of Australasian Methodism, the missionary sisters and the lay missionaries. Although accorded full missionary status after the customary year's probation, they found that, in fact, they were forced to occupy an inferior position in the hierarchy of the mission. This led to the resignation of the first lay missionary, George Bardsley, and of several of the missionary sisters, whose status was probably further diminished by virtue of their being women.⁶⁰

Among the Papuans, Bromilow's authority was absolute. 'Who rules over us?', he interrogated a class of children at Dobu. 'You', they replied in unison.⁶¹ The effect upon them of the concentration of power in Bromilow's hands was apparent after his retirement in 1908. 'Very deeply do we feel the loss of Mr and Mrs Bromilow', wrote his successor, Matthew Gilmour, likening their departure to 'the taking away of training poles from young plants.'⁶²

58 M.R., May 1905, 4.

59 MacGregor, Diary IV, 25 July 1892. Cf. A.W. Thornley, *Fijian Methodism 1874-1945* (Ph.D thesis), 27.

60 See Bardsley, Diary 1891-92 for record of constant conflict with Mr and Mrs Bromilow. See above, 263-64, for discussion of the conflict between missionary sisters and Bromilow.

61 M.R., August 1908, 136.

62 M.M.S.A. Report 1908, 136.

Their departure coincided with a time of crisis within Australian Methodism. The generous contributions inspired by the Wesleyan Centenary Fund, which had launched the mission, had not been maintained and by 1909, the Society had a deficit of £10,000. In 1914 the allocation for Papua was reduced by over one thousand pounds to £7,640 instead of being increased by two thousand pounds as was anticipated.⁶³ At the same time, the supply of teachers was diminishing rapidly, and it was becoming apparent that the policy of employing a small white staff augmented by a large support staff of South Sea Islanders was inoperable.⁶⁴ By 1914 there were few echoes of the brash and energetic self-confidence with which the Methodists had invaded New Guinea.

ADDRESSING the annual anniversary conference of the Anglican Mission in 1902, Henry Newton told his colleagues that 'it is almost impossible to get the official mind and that of the public to realise that we Anglicans are not members of a Mission Society, but are an integral part, one diocese, of the Anglican Church,' whose task happened to be preaching the gospel to the heathen. 'There is no Anglican mission society and there never has been one in New Guinea', he added.⁶⁵

The Anglican Mission in New Guinea had its origins in the catholic conviction that mission work was the duty 'not of societies within the Church, but of the Church itself - of the Church as a whole.'⁶⁶ It was this belief which had inspired the Anglican bishops of Australia and New Zealand to establish in 1850 the Australasian Board of Missions as the sole missionary agency of the colonial church. Its object was 'the Propagation of the Gospel among the heathen races in the provinces of Australasia, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands,

63 M.R., March 1914, 16.

64 M.R., January 1913. Synod Report.

65 Newton, Address to Conference 1902, 3.

66 Ibid, 2. See also articles of Bishop H.H. Montgomery, 'Missionary Church or Missionary Societies', reprinted from East and West in A.B.M. Review, June 1912, 50-51 and July 1912, 64-66.

New Hanover, New Ireland and the other islands in the Western Pacific' amongst which, by implication, was New Guinea.⁶⁷ It was, in fact, its successor the Australian Board of Missions, established in 1872 by the newly constituted General Synod of the Dioceses in Australia and Tasmania and consisting of 'the Bishops forming the House of Bishops in the General Synod', which launched the Anglican Mission to New Guinea in 1891. Constituted as a missionary diocese of the Anglican Church, after 1904 it was attached to the newly-reorganised province of Queensland.

Although the first leader of the mission, Albert Maclaren, was only a priest, there was a strong conviction amongst the majority of the prelates who comprised the A.B.M. that 'a Bishop is the Church's natural leader of a great missionary enterprise.'⁶⁸ Their attempts to establish a bishopric were for a time, however, thwarted by the primate, Archbishop Saumarez Smith, president of the A.B.M. who, in the words of Bishop Webber, was 'dead against the whole thing.'⁶⁹ A rigid Evangelical, he opposed the High Church enthusiasm for an episcopal mission as unbiblical and sought to resist the increase of Tractarianism which a missionary bishopric would encourage. But despite the primate's opposition, the movement for the establishment of a see in New Guinea gathered momentum, encouraged by receipt of a despatch from Sir William MacGregor which, while paying tribute to Copland King's 'gallant struggle' to maintain the mission after Maclaren's death, stressed the 'imperative urgency for the sending as soon as possible of a strong Bishop to take charge of the Mission.'⁷⁰ Two courses were open to them, Bishop Webber of Brisbane told the bishops of Australia and Tasmania. Either they must advise MacGregor

67 Australasian Board of Missions, Report of Proceedings...Tuesday October 29th convened for the purpose of establishing an Australasian Board of Missions.

68 Bishop of Brisbane to Primate, 25 June 1896. Temple Papers, vol.8, no.76, L.P. For a discussion of Anglican attitudes to episcopal missions, see D. Hilliard, God's Gentlemen, 23-26.

69 Bishop of Brisbane to Ellison, Vicar of Windsor, 15 October 1896, Temple Papers, vol.8, no.70. L.P.

70 Lieutenant-Governor's despatch 54, encl. in Bishop of Brisbane to Primate, 25 June 1896, Temple Papers, vol.8, no.76. L.P.

that they were 'too impotent a body to be entrusted with a work requiring so much missionary zeal' or they must appoint 'the Church's natural leader - a bishop' as head of the mission.⁷¹ In October 1896 he reported triumphantly the resolution of the Australian Church to appoint 'forthwith' a bishop to New Guinea despite, he added, 'the wet blanket with which our well-meaning but disastrous Primate has endeavoured to smother the movement.'⁷² At the same time he put forward his own candidate, Montagu John Stone-Wigg, canon of the Brisbane cathedral, to the Vicar of Windsor, to whom, in consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the selection was entrusted.

After Stone-Wigg's consecration in 1898, the nature of the Anglican Mission changed. Not only did the establishment of the see give spiritual and psychological encouragement to the handful of missionaries who had struggled to keep the mission alive, but in Stone-Wigg they found a leader who assumed almost total control of the mission. The A.B.M. had never emulated the Protestant mission societies in their fund-raising and supportive role, and Maclaren had exhausted himself in the months before his departure for New Guinea travelling the Australian colonies in search of money and men.⁷³ But after Stone-Wigg's consecration, the A.B.M. formally transferred to him the whole responsibility for raising funds, recruiting staff and even finding his own stipend. A group of businessmen promised him an annual grant of £450 for five years but he never drew on it, living and to some extent financing the mission from his own private means. Before taking up his appointment, Stone-Wigg spent eight months touring Australia, lecturing and fund-raising, and reduced the diocesan debt of £1,400 by £600.⁷⁴

71 Bishop of Brisbane to bishops of Australia and Tasmania and the primate, 7 April 1896, encl. in Temple Papers, vol.8, no.71. L.P.

72 Bishop of Brisbane to Vicar of Windsor, 15 October 1896, Temple Papers, vol.8, no.70. L.P.

73 J.W. Tomlin, Awakening, 73.

74 A.K. Chignell, Twenty-one Years..., 73.

With episcopal authority, complete organisational and financial control and the self-confidence derived from a gentleman's birth and education, Stone-Wigg became the pivot of the Anglican Mission. Like the bishops of the U.M.C.A., which provided a model for the New Guinea mission, he was supreme in his diocese.⁷⁵

All but one of the missionaries who came to New Guinea during his episcopacy were recruited by him personally and all signed a paper of conditions which declared them to be 'in the service of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of New Guinea.'⁷⁶ Many felt strongly that their allegiance was to him: 'It has been my affection and admiration for yourself more than the work which has kept me', confessed a turbulent young laymen, Robert Dakers, as he contemplated resignation.⁷⁷

A staunch Anglo-Catholic with a high conception of the spiritual and pastoral role of the bishop as father-in-God, Stone-Wigg kept a close personal watch over his staff, visiting all his diocese once every three months. 'The Bishop, who is the centre of unity, should also act as the cement which makes the unity of the Staff a real thing', he believed.⁷⁸ His wistful attachment to the ideal of community frustrated by the sprawling nature of his diocese, he nevertheless strove to inculcate in his staff the spiritual discipline and order characteristic of a community. 'I think they regard me as very exacting, but they very loyally carry out what I put before them', he wrote.⁷⁹ By the end of his episcopacy, he could report: 'We seem to have got rid of, or absorbed, our undisciplined elements and to have such a loyal set of workers.'⁸⁰

75 R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor..., 12. Cf. D. Hilliard, op.cit., 54.

76 See Paper of Conditions, personal files, boxes 20-23, A.A.

77 Dakers to Stone-Wigg, 27 March 1905. Personal files, box 20, A.A.

78 Report of the New Guinea Mission, year ending 31 March 1899, 7.

79 Stone-Wigg to Bishop (of Brisbane?), 22 December 1898, Stone-Wigg Papers.

80 Stone-Wigg to Bishop (Montgomery?), 6 November 1907, Stone-Wigg Papers.

Criticised by some for his failure to make allowances for frailer mortals,⁸¹ Stone-Wigg always demanded more of himself than of his staff. Copland King, a man of very different theological outlook and temperament, wrote to him: 'I can only repeat what we have all said before, that your example has been the greatest help to us in our efforts to live the life of self-denial and devotion.'⁸²

But despite his intense pastoral concern, much of Stone-Wigg's episcopacy was necessarily spent in the organisational tasks of recruiting and fund-raising. By 1908, when he was forced to retire through ill-health, the see was endowed, a fund for clergy established and one for lay-workers' pensions begun.⁸³ After an interregnum of two years when the see was administered by the metropolitan of Queensland, Archbishop Donaldson, Gerald Sharp was consecrated as the second bishop of New Guinea in 1912. His relationship to his see was different from that of Stone-Wigg. Although his episcopal authority was completely supported by his predominantly Anglo-Catholic staff, he was an unassuming man who encouraged a more participatory form of government than was characteristic of either his predecessor or his successor, Bishop Henry Newton. The A.B.M. had taken over the finances of the mission after Stone-Wigg's retirement, leaving Sharp free of that area of responsibility and control and thus able to devote more time to his pastoral role.

Henry Newton pointed out to the Anglican staff the advantages of mission being the responsibility of the whole church. 'It means that we do not represent - and therefore, are not hindered by the opinions of a sector, no matter how worthy.... We are catholic, not sectional.'⁸⁴ This meant that the mission could look to the whole

81 E.g., Gilbert White, Bishop of Willochra, Obituary, Church Standard, 25 October 1918; Obituary, The Carpentarian, 1 January 1919. Stone-Wigg Papers.

82 Copland King to Stone-Wigg, 5 January 1909, Stone-Wigg Papers.

83 H. Newton, The Anglican Mission to New Guinea (Papua), 26-27.

84 Newton, Address to Conference, 1902, 3.

Anglican church in Australia for support and for recruits. It was, to a large extent, successful in encompassing both Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics, it being the boast of the A.B.M. that 'no man had been refused work on party grounds.'⁸⁵

The Anglican Mission's freedom from the control of an established society enabled it to enter New Guinea with fewer preconceptions as to the nature of mission work than the Protestant societies. Both the L.M.S. and the Methodist missionaries came to New Guinea influenced by the heritage of their societies' work in other parts of the Pacific and amongst the veterans who had themselves served in other Pacific fields - Lawes, MacFarlane, Chalmers, Pearse and Bromilow - as well as amongst those in the home administration, this encouraged some rigidity of outlook and a failure to see the peculiar characteristics of the New Guinea field. The Anglican Mission, on the other hand, was cheerfully pragmatic:

It is doubtful whether the Anglican Mission to New Guinea had any definite theory as to how mission-work should be carried on.... We have been content to do just what seemed the obvious duty, clinging to certain Catholic principles of truth and order.... The absence of any theory lays us open to the charge of being rather higger-mugger in our work, but at least it means we were open to conviction as to what was best to be done....⁸⁶

This advantage was, however, partly offset by the lack of experience of the Anglican missionaries compared with the Protestants.

There were disadvantages though in the Anglican Mission's attachment to the church rather than a society. While a mission of the whole church was free of the taint of sectarianism, it inherited the tensions and conflicts of that church. Although Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical Anglicans generally worked harmoniously in the field, the mission was handicapped, and at times paralysed, by the division

85 King to Primate, 18 April 1898. King's Correspondence, box 15 file 53, A.A. Only two missionaries in New Guinea, Reynolds, an Anglo-Catholic, and Hoare, an Evangelical, claimed party dissension as the cause of their resignation.

86 H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 250.

within the church which nominally supported it. Albert Maclaren, seeking support for the proposed mission, was so 'worried and anxious' about his reception in New South Wales that he contemplated resignation.⁸⁷ The delay over the appointment of his successor and the establishment of the see was, as has been shown, prompted by the same conflict, and even when the bishops were seeking a replacement for Stone-Wigg, they were constrained by the same considerations. 'He must be a High Churchman but not a ritualist. He must remember what New South Wales and Sydney are and he ought to get more aid there than in the past.'⁸⁸ The Australian Church wanted 'a less extreme man than Stone-Wigg', Montgomery advised the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom they had entrusted the selection in their effort to secure an 'unexceptionable appointment'.⁸⁹ In more minor ways, too, the mission was irritated by the 'carping criticism' of the Low Church Anglicans of the Sydney diocese, who objected to the use of the term 'altar' in the mission, attacked the appointment of a Tractarian bishop and implied a lack of spirituality in Stone-Wigg's report of the mission's activities.⁹⁰ Ironically it was the mission's leading Evangelical, Copland King, who leapt to the defence of his bishop.⁹¹

The absence of an administrative machine to mobilise a church which was not only divided, but also largely apathetic and characterised by diocesanism, meant that an enormous burden was placed

87 Maclaren to Bishop of Brisbane, 2 June 1891. Letterbook 1891. Box 14, file 33, A.A.

88 Memorandum from Bishop Montgomery to Archbishop Randall Davidson, 28 August 1909. Davidson Papers, 1910. L.P.

89 Bishop Montgomery to Archbishop Randall Davidson, 22 September 1909, Davidson Papers 1910. L.P.

90 The debate took place in the Australian Churchman: article, 'Our Mission Efforts', 1 August 1903; letter from C. King, 14 November 1903; editorial and letters, 21 November 1903; F. Elder, letter 28 November 1903. Collected in Stone-Wigg's Newscutting Book.

91 Idem.

upon Bishop Stone-Wigg. The task of persuading bishops to release clergy from their own dioceses and of encouraging the laity to support a mission which was competing for funds with the better-known Melanesian Mission⁹² was an onerous one for a man in indifferent health. Bishop Montgomery recalled that at the 1901 general synod, Stone-Wigg's 'spare and wasted frame was one of the most notable memories for Churchmen.'⁹³ After his trying fund-raising campaign in England, Stone-Wigg complained to his staff:

it is an experience that a Missionary Bishop may well be spared.... He has to beat up relatives, hunt up school and college friends, make personal calls...on leading incumbents and use every device possible to...make known the needs of his Diocese.... Should it be left to the personal influence or the importunity of the individual Bishop to rescue an unendowed see from extinction? Is not the whole Church committed to its preservation?⁹⁴

Stone-Wigg's unease was increased by the knowledge that such activities deprived his staff of 'his leadership his sympathy and his presence.'⁹⁵ The effects of this were particularly acute because of the concentration of authority in Stone-Wigg's hands. 'I do so hate going away, for so much seems to go queer in my absence', he wrote.⁹⁶ During his periods away from the mission, he was bombarded with letters from his staff, chronicling their problems and lamenting his absence. 'I cannot tell you how much we miss you - there is a void...which none but yourself can fill', Dakers wrote to him in 1902.⁹⁷ Eric Giblin wrote to him in 1906, 'I do wish it

92 Giblin to Stone-Wigg, 25 June 1906. Personal files, box 21, A.A. See also Stone-Wigg to Bishop Montgomery, 10 August 1906 and 16 April 1907. Stone-Wigg Papers.

93 H.H. Montgomery, 'Bishop Stone-Wigg: Obituary', Church Times, 1 November 1918.

94 Stone-Wigg, Address to Conference 1903, 4-5.

95 Idem.

96 Stone-Wigg, fragment of letter, n.d. (probably early 1905), Stone-Wigg Papers.

97 Dakers to Stone-Wigg, 20 May 1902. Personal files, box 20 A.A.

had not been necessary for you to go; in your absence skeins tangle at once...'⁹⁸

The intensely personal style of administration which Stone-Wigg adopted gave the missionaries the leadership and support, the lack of which had been regretted by their colleagues in the L.M.S. Resigning from the mission, the layman, Eric Giblin, thanked Stone-Wigg for his 'kindness and sympathy' for which he had never, during his six years' service, 'asked in vain.'⁹⁹ But apart from the problem of dependence which it created, it also exposed the mission to the danger of personality conflict. When the impetuous Wilfred Abbot was rebuked by the bishop for over-spending, he reacted with personal animosity, flinging at Stone-Wigg as he resigned: 'I have quite lost any feeling of respect for you as a man, much less as a Bishop....'¹⁰⁰ Stone-Wigg's strong leadership was probably suitable for a mission struggling for survival. Through his 'devotion and statesmanship' he raised the New Guinea mission from 'insignificance to one of the foremost places in the church', wrote Bishop Montgomery.¹⁰¹ The more democratic style of leadership which his successor introduced in 1912 may have been better suited to a mission which was, by then, well-established. Both would have been better served had they been able to draw more effectively on their constituency, the Anglican Church.

THE Missionaries of the Sacred Heart came to New Guinea, like the Anglicans, as a mission of the church rather than of a missionary society.

98 Giblin to Stone-Wigg, 18 February 1906. Personal files, box 21, A.A.

99 Giblin to Stone-Wigg, 1 January 1906. Personal files, box 21, A.A.

100 Abbot to Stone-Wigg, 9 July 1899. Personal files, box 20, A.A.

101 Bishop Montgomery to Archbishop Randall Davidson, Memorandum on See, 28 August 1909. Davidson Papers 1910. L.P.

But unlike the Anglicans who had to rely on desultory and haphazard support from the Church of England, the M.S.C. came as part of the powerful and experienced missionary structure of the Roman Catholic Church. Like all its overseas missionary orders and congregations, they come under the direction of the Sacra Congregation de Propaganda Fide (Propaganda), established by Gregory XV in 1622 and directly responsible to the Pope.¹⁰²

In 1881, Fr Jules Chevalier, founder and Superior-General of the congregation of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, received a letter from Cardinal Simeoni, prefect of Propaganda, written in the name of Leo XIII and drawing his attention to the Vicariate of Melanesia and Micronesia, established in 1844 and vacant since the withdrawal of the Marists and the Milan Foreign Mission in the 1850s.¹⁰³ Renewal of interest in Melanesia by the Holy See had been stimulated by the establishment of the Marquis de Rays' free Catholic colony of Nouvelle France at Port Breton on the southern tip of New Ireland in 1880. Not knowing what a fiasco that expedition had become, Simeoni had acquiesced in the Marquis' request for missionaries while, at the same time, ensuring that the Vicariate of Melanesia and Micronesia was not too closely identified with the colony.¹⁰⁴

Founded at Issoudun in 1854, the congregation of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart had been conceived not for foreign mission work but for the revitalisation of the faith, through dedication to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in Issoudun and throughout France.

102 For a succinct account of the foundation and operations of Propaganda, see New Catholic Encyclopaedia, XI, 840-45.

103 Translation from Latin to French of letter from Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda, to Chevalier, 29 March 1881. R.A.

104 The supposed identification of the Congregation with the Marquis de Rays' expedition, which the Marquis strove to foster, caused it some embarrassment. The archives of the M.S.C. include a vast amount of documentation on the subject. Fr Jouet, M.S.C., in Rome was eager to support the Marquis, while Chevalier, the Superior-General, was more cautious. Simeoni stressed that New France was to be but one of many of the Congregation's responsibilities in Oceania. (Simeoni to Chevalier, 14 May 1881, R.A.)

In 1881 it had only sixty members, most of them exiled by the anti-clerical Ferry Laws. Nevertheless Chevalier recognised the aptness of his motto, 'May the Sacred Heart of Jesus be everywhere loved', to foreign mission work.¹⁰⁵

Navarre, who was named Superior in the first mission party after the breakdown in health and morale of its designated leader, Fr Durin, established stations on New Britain and Thursday Island and, in response to requests from Archbishop Moran of Sydney to Propaganda, ordered his young priest Henri Verjus to establish a station on New Guinea.¹⁰⁶ In May 1887, Navarre was named Vicar-Apostolic of Melanesia and administrator of Micronesia (except the Carolines), and titular bishop of Pentacomia. The following year he was designated titular archbishop of Cyr and his vast vicariate-apostolic was divided into the first two of seven ecclesiastical districts of Melanesia and Micronesia: the vicariates of New Guinea and New Britain. German New Guinea, which was originally attached to Navarre's vicariate of New Guinea, was in 1890 transferred to New Britain, leaving Navarre's vicariate co-terminous with the boundaries of British New Guinea. Henri Verjus was first named vicar-apostolic of New Britain but, acquiescing to pressure from the ailing Archbishop Navarre, Propaganda appointed instead Fr Louis Couppé, retaining Verjus in New Guinea as Navarre's coadjutor bishop. Following Verjus' death in 1892, ecclesiastical authority rested with Archbishop Navarre alone, until 1900, when Alain de Boismenu was raised to the episcopacy. As titular bishop of Gabala, de Boismenu served as coadjutor till Navarre's retirement in 1908, after which he was named vicar apostolic.

Parallel with the ecclesiastical hierarchy which passed from the Pope through Propaganda to the vicar-apostolic and his coadjutor bishop, was the hierarchy of the congregation to which

105 The origins and objectives of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart are described in A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 32-35; Jouet, Notes sur la Mission..., R.A.; Annales, 1955, 1-21; Australian Annals, 1889, 7-9, 1890, 56-59.

106 For the influence of Archbishop Moran, see Jouet to Chevalier, 9 August 1881 and 21 August 1884; Simeoni to Chevalier, 7 August 1884; Correspondence, R.A.

all belonged. As religious who had made the three ordinary vows for perpetuity, they were bound in obedience to their superior-general in Europe and to his representative in the field, the religious superior of the mission. Under his jurisdiction were all matters affecting the religious life of both the priests and the brothers of the congregation. Navarre and then Verjus fulfilled this role in the pioneer years of the mission. In 1894, the mission received as superior the scholarly and ascetic Fr Jean Genocchi. He was succeeded in 1896 by Fr André Jullien who, except during his absences from the mission, served as superior until 1909, when Fr Chabot took over from him.

The Missionaries of the Sacred Heart in New Guinea gained spiritual and moral support from their direct attachment to the church. The early missionaries were sustained through their many adversities by the knowledge that they were emissaries of the Pope. Receiving the pioneers before their departure from Europe, Leo XIII had blessed their banner saying: 'Fear nothing! It is the Church which sends you.'¹⁰⁷ During an audience with Bishop Verjus in 1892 he ordered that thirty more missionaries be sent to the mission, which was then struggling for survival.¹⁰⁸ Convulsed by internal dissension at the time, the M.S.C. nevertheless fulfilled his command, sending for the first time scholastics, young men who had completed their novitiate but not their theological studies.¹⁰⁹

While the Sacred Heart Mission could draw strength from the church, it obtained from it only a fraction of the financial aid which the Protestant missionaries drew from their supporting societies. Apart from donations from individual benefactors, the small annual allocations which it received from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and from the Holy Childhood were its only income. In 1887, the mission received twenty thousand francs (₣800) from the

107 Jouet, *Notes sur la Mission...*, n.p. R.A.

108 Account of interview from Moniteur de Rome, 20 October 1892, reprinted in Annales, 1892, 664-68.

109 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 234-36.

former and six hundred francs (£240) from the latter. Donations brought their income for the year to the equivalent of £1,300 of which £800 was spent upon the fares of missionaries to the field.¹¹⁰ The £500 which remained to feed and clothe the twenty-five missionaries of New Guinea and New Britain was the equivalent of the salaries of two Protestant missionaries. Like his Protestant counterparts, Verjus argued the 'peculiar difficulties' of New Guinea - the loss in real value of the franc when converted to the English pound, the high cost of provisions (ordinary mass wine £5 per bottle instead of fifty centimes as in France), formidable transport costs and double customs duties - in appealing for a special allocation.¹¹¹ By 1908 their income had increased to F58,000 (£2,320),¹¹² but the mission remained painfully impoverished and, especially when poor transport and communications caused delays in the arrival of funds, embarrassed by debt.

The organisational links between the metropolitan authorities and those in the field were more tenuous than their spiritual links. Poverty, distance, poor transport and a commitment to life service meant that personal contact with the home administrations was less frequent than for the Protestant missionaries. The vicar apostolic sent annual reports to Propaganda and to his benefactors, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Holy Childhood, but because these organisations directed or supported all Roman Catholic mission activity, their involvement with any one mission was necessarily perfunctory. Sacred Heart missionaries corresponded with members of their congregation, their letters reaching the wider circle of the Archconfraternity through publication in the monthly Annales de Nôtre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur.

The organisation of the M.S.C. in the field was based upon the fundamental principle of the obedience of the religious to their superiors. 'A missionary does not calculate. For him the orders of

110 Navarre to Directors of Society for Propagation of the Faith, 1887, Annales, 1887, 327; Navarre to Douglas, B.N.G. A.R. 1887, appendix E, 26.

111 Verjus to Directors of Society for Propagation of the Faith in Annales, 1893, 85.

112 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 364-65.

his superiors are divine', wrote Brother Lainé to his supporters in Brittany.¹¹³ Priests and brothers were subject to the vicar apostolic and his coadjutor in ecclesiastical affairs and the ordering of the mission, and to their superior in all matters affecting their religious life.¹¹⁴ Although the vicar apostolic was subject to Propaganda and the superior to his superior general, their authority was absolute in the field. Much of the experience of the Sacred Heart missionaries is therefore illuminated by an understanding of the interplay between these roles and the men who filled them.

Two men more different than the first two leaders of the Sacred Heart Mission would be difficult to imagine. Navarre was cautious, shrewd and pragmatic, Verjus impetuous, ardent and romantic. Verjus chafed at his archbishop's slowness to take initiatives, his refusal to cooperate with government officers or other missionaries and his reluctance to extend the mission.¹¹⁵ In 1891 Sir William MacGregor observed that Verjus found Navarre 'a nuisance and a hindrance'.¹¹⁶ Yet his vow of obedience required submission to Navarre's will. After one difference between them, he recorded in his diary 'I was wrong to tell His Grace this morning that he had no experience on the subject in question', and begged Navarre's forgiveness.¹¹⁷

Navarre's chronic ill-health, lapses of memory and frequent absences from the field meant, however, that Verjus was the effective leader of the mission. His passionate zeal for the salvation of souls and his obsessive desire for martyrdom left their mark on all missionaries who came to the field before his death in 1892. Navarre depended upon him increasingly and was desolated when Verjus was named

113 Brother Lainé to Director of Petit Messager Nantais, February 1902, re-printed in Annales, 1903, 30.

114 V. Ceresi, The Life of Father Genocchi, M.S.C., 271-73.

115 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 196-97; J. Vaudon, Monseigneur Henri Verjus, in Australian Annals, December 1898, 17-18.

116 MacGregor, Diary, 19 September 1891.

117 Verjus, Journal, 6 August 1891, in Annales, 1903, 523.

vicar apostolic of New Britain in 1891. 'It is the death of the Mission', he warned his superiors in Europe. 'I could disappear without the Mission suffering much but the departure of Verjus...is ruin.'¹¹⁸ He was relieved when Verjus, his 'right arm',¹¹⁹ was named his coadjutor bishop instead, but shattered by his death little more than a year later. Oppressed by anxiety and perhaps paranoiac in his illness, he sailed for Europe, intending to resign, leaving in New Guinea three exhausted priests and a small group of brothers and sisters whose numbers were steadily reduced by the extraordinarily high death rate of the mission.

The mission was revitalised in 1893 and 1894 by the arrival of the thirty missionaries commanded by the Pope, and by the appointment of Fr Genocchi as superior of the mission. Finding the mission in disorder, chaotic in its religious observances and subject to the sometimes arbitrary authority of the vicar apostolic, Genocchi imposed a firm discipline upon its members.¹²⁰ But constant conflict with Archbishop Navarre impeded him. He was opposed to Navarre's old-fashioned catechetical approach to conversion, preferring to incorporate the teaching of the catechism into a broader programme.¹²¹ Navarre, supported by most of the older missionaries, resisted Genocchi's exacting religious regime, believing it unsuitable for a tropical climate.¹²² The problem was intensified by Navarre's illness, which Genocchi described to his Superior General in Europe: 'He forgets, he takes shadows for realities, he dreams and fabricates facts which have never existed.'¹²³

Conflicts of personality and style were entangled with a larger conflict between the roles of vicar apostolic and superior.

118 Navarre to Chevalier, 1 June 1889. Correspondence, B.A.

119 Navarre to Director of Holy Childhood, Annales, 1892, 336.

120 V. Ceresi, ...Father Genocchi, M.S.C., 276.

121 Ibid, 273.

122 Ibid, 273-74.

123 Genocchi to Chevalier, 31 December 1895, B.A.

Areas of overlap of authority, such as that of the well-being of a missionary (who was also a religious), required tactful negotiation and often compromise. Navarre, who had been raised from missionary priest to vicar apostolic in the field, ignorant of canonical procedure, acted as if his authority was absolute in all spheres.¹²⁴ The conflict between the two rival authorities polarised the mission.¹²⁵ In 1896 Genocchi resigned. Before departing he prepared statutes concerning the exercise of supreme ecclesiastical authority and that of the congregation as it affected subjects, the superior and the vicar apostolic.¹²⁶ Conflict between the two roles was reduced but not vanquished by their definition. Bishop de Boismenu, who was appointed superior during Fr Jullien's absence, resigned from the latter position because he found the two incompatible.¹²⁷

From 1900, authority in the field rested with Navarre as vicar apostolic, de Boismenu as coadjutor bishop and Jullien as superior. Navarre, 'old and broken' declared that he wished to 'leave everything' to his coadjutor.¹²⁸ But in fact the two younger men, de Boismenu and Jullien, found their plans frustrated by their vicar apostolic's conservatism, as had Verjus and Genocchi. The main point at issue was the organisation of the mission field. De Boismenu opposed Navarre's impossible dream, inspired by rural France, of a parish priest in every village, favouring instead Fr Jullien's proposal to place missionaries in communities at centres from which their influence could radiate out into the surrounding countryside.¹²⁹ This would facilitate the expansion into the mountains of which the two

124 Ceresi, op.cit., 276.

125 Ibid, 273-74.

126 Ibid, 276.

127 De Boismenu to Chevalier, n.d. Correspondence 1889-1922, 279. R.A.

128 De Boismenu to sisters, 29 May 1898; de Boismenu to godmother, 25 August 1889, A. Dupeyrat and F. de la Noë, Sainteté au Naturel..., 52, 53.

129 Ibid, 54; A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 250-51; B. de Vaultx, Histoires des Missions Catholiques Françaises, 510; Annales, 1923, 171.

men, barred from further coastal expansion, dreamed. The Europe-bound vision of Navarre, a man of the Berry plains, could not accommodate the vast, sparsely-settled and almost inaccessible interior.¹³⁰

Navarre's retirement in 1908, after years of virtual incapacity and frequent absence, gave de Boismenu greater freedom of action. In that same year he set out in his pastoral letters the elaborate and thorough programme which was to give the mission a new sense of direction and a renewed commitment.¹³¹ In January 1912 Navarre died. De Boismenu wrote gracefully of him. Archbishop Navarre, former soldier of France was the perfect 'soldier of the Church', proud of his mission, utterly dedicated and faithful at his post to death. He had remained, despite ill-health, a 'reminder of the mission's harsh beginnings', a symbol of continuity amidst insecurity and change.¹³² The three decades which followed his death were characterised by the leadership of Alain de Boismenu.

DESPITE such significant differences in structure and organisation among the four missions, there were aspects of their administrative experience which were common to all. Two of the most significant were first, the 'routinisation' of mission administration and, second, the preliminary steps towards indigenisation of mission structures.

The first generation of missionaries in Papua shared some of the characteristics of Weber's 'charismatic' leader in their

130 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 313.

131 See above, 221-22, 225.

132 De Boismenu, Pastoral Letter 10, B.A.

relations with the Papuans.¹³³ They were 'men set apart from ordinary men'. The Papuans saw them as 'endowed with supernatural, superhuman or...exceptional powers or qualities'. Their white skins, often associated with the spirit world, the paraphernalia of western technology which accompanied them and, not least, the fact that the pioneers Lawes, Chalmers, Maclaren, Stone-Wigg, Bromilow, Navarre and Verjus were all tall men of imposing appearance, encouraged their belief. The missionaries were 'outside the realm of everyday routine', into which they broke with new demands and new obligations, setting up their authority against that of the established order. Their authority was derived from their person not their status. There was at first little structure in the missionaries' interaction with the Papuans, reward was by booty (to use Weber's phrase); roles and activities were fluid and ever-changing.

Charismatic authority, according to Weber, exists only in the 'process of originating'.¹³⁴ Its survival depends upon its 'routinisation', that is, its transformation into rational-legal leadership whose authority is vested not in the person but in the position.¹³⁵ Such a process occurred in all the missions. The early missionaries were accepted and obeyed because they were perceived as extraordinary beings. Those who followed them were accepted because of their status, that is, because they were missionaries. Their individual attributes mattered less.

133 Weber defined charisma as 'a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at best specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin, and on the basis of them, the individual concerned is treated as a leader.' (M. Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, 329.) The following analysis draws upon Weber's definition and his elaboration of the characteristics of charismatic authority (330-33).

134 M. Weber, op.cit., 334.

135 Ibid, 334-40.

The transition from charismatic to rational-legal authority caused problems in the mission field, as elsewhere. The distancing of the missionary leader from the people has already been noted.¹³⁶ A second difficulty was the creation of false expectations amongst the missionaries themselves. Nurtured on the writings of the pioneers, the second generation came eager for the life of the charismatic leader. Instead they found well-established routines, complex administrative structures and, often, several layers of personnel between themselves and the village Papuans. This caused some disillusionment. Sister Edith Lloyd wrote from the Methodist field in 1899: 'The path is already opened up and the routine of work arranged for me.... How seldom reality is rightly pictured by imagination.'¹³⁷ Her colleague Gordon Burgess wrote similarly from Bunama: 'The days of romance have gone from this Circuit.... It is a time now of steady plodding.'¹³⁸ The more humble missionaries were inclined to deprecate their own role when contrasting it with that of the pioneers. Reading of the early missionaries of the L.M.S., J.H. Holmes reflected that 'they were giants in those days. We of the present day are a puny, weak-kneed, colourless lot when compared with them.'¹³⁹ Young missionaries found it difficult to take the place of the pioneers. William Avery, who followed Bromilow at Dobu, gave vent to his frustration: 'The people think there is only one right way to do things and that is the way in which "Saragigi" used to do them'; Oliver Tomkins, Chalmers' colleague, declared that it was 'impossible for anyone to take Tamate's place.'¹⁴⁰

136 See above, 239-41.

137 M.R., May 1899, 1.

138 M.R., December 1912, 22.

139 Holmes, Diary, 16 November 1908, L.M.S.

140 M.R., July 1911, 16; Tomkins to parents, 13 August 1900, enclosure. Tomkins Papers. 'Saragigi' (the one who removes his teeth) was the name given by the Dobuans to Bromilow; 'Tamate' was a Rarotongan interpretation of Chalmers' name.

In the years before the First World War, there was little evidence of a place for Papuans in the structures of the churches which the mission bodies had come to establish. Although all acknowledged the indigenisation of the church as a long-term objective, by 1914 only the first steps had been taken towards this goal.

Most explicit in their articulation of this objective and most energetic in its prosecution was the L.M.S. From the outset its missionaries in Papua, as in its other fields, looked to the creation of a 'self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church.'¹⁴¹ It was to be a thoroughly indigenous institution. Practical difficulties reinforced conviction in their determination to replace the Polynesian pastors as quickly as possible with Papuans. From the first years of the mission's existence, missionaries trained the most promising of their students as pastor-teachers, and in 1884 the first Papuan, Rarua, was ordained to that position.¹⁴² In 1894, despite opposition from some of his colleagues, Lawes established Vatorata Training College as a central institution for the preparation of a Papuan pastorate.¹⁴³ Taking students who had received a preliminary education in their own districts, it gave them a modest training in reading, writing and simple arithmetic as well as in theological subjects. Sir William MacGregor, visiting the college, found its education 'so suitable...to the character and condition of the natives' that he could suggest no improvement.¹⁴⁴ Students, many of whom were married, grew their own food, while their wives were instructed in domestic skills by Fanny Lawes. They emerged prepared to fulfill the dual role of pastor-teacher, and, after a satisfactory probation, were ordained. By 1920 there were fifty ordained pastors in the L.M.S.

141 See N. Goodall, A History of the London Missionary Society..., 7-9, for origins of the phrase and 439-41 for its application in Papua.

142 Lawes to Thompson, 30 October 1884, P.L., L.M.S. See also N.D. Oram, 'The London Missionary Society Pastorate and the Emergence of an Elite in Papua', J.P.H., VI, 1971, 115-32.

143 Lawes to Thompson, 9 April 1892, 20 November 1893, P.L., L.M.S.

144 Sir William MacGregor's Report of Visit of Inspection to Vatorata College, The Chronicle, October 1898, ii.

At the village level, then, the churches of the L.M.S. were, by the time of the First World War, to some extent, indigenous institutions. Many were run by Papuan pastors or teachers, assisted by a Papuan diaconate. After 1915 church councils were set up in most districts.¹⁴⁵ But all remained subject to the authority of the white missionary and the district committee. The Papuan ministry remained dependent on grants from the L.M.S., although by 1920, more than one-third of the sum required for this purpose was raised by local contributions.¹⁴⁶

The Methodist missionaries, while acknowledging the same objective as the L.M.S.,¹⁴⁷ were much slower in implementing it. The first chairman, Bromilow, made only tentative gestures towards the raising of a native elite at Dobu, believing that Papuans lacked the necessary authority to become pastors. His successor, Matthew Gilmour, supervised the establishment in 1906 of a central training institution at Ubuia, which provided further education for a small minority who had passed successfully through the village and circuit schools. Its curriculum included reading, geography, arithmetic, writing, scripture, history, general knowledge and mechanical work.¹⁴⁸ But unlike Lawes' college at Vatorata, the institution did not equip its graduates for ordination. They were appointed, unordained, to the position of teacher. By 1914 there were sixty Papuan teachers who, like the L.M.S. pastors, combined the supervision of village worship with school-teaching.¹⁴⁹ In the same period, fifty-five Papuans had been licensed as local preachers.¹⁵⁰ But as late as the beginning of the Second World War, not a single Papuan had been ordained to the native ministry, itself a sub-section of the Australian Methodist ministry.¹⁵¹

145 N. Goodall, op.cit., 441.

146 Idem.

147 J.W. Burton, Modern Missions in the South Pacific, 105-12.

148 J.G. Wheen, 'Our Mission Schools', M.R., November 1912, 6.

149 W. Bromilow, 'New Guinea' in J. Colwell, A Century in the Pacific, 554.

150 Idem.

151 D. Wetherell, Reluctant Mission, 316. Cf. D. Hilliard, Protestant Missions in the Solomons Islands, 1849-1942, 338-41 (Ph.D thesis).

In the Anglican Mission, Bishop Stone-Wigg, at his consecration in 1898, stated his intention of working towards a 'Native Church manned by a native ministry and self-supporting.'¹⁵² In 1903 St Aidan's training college was established at Dogura with Henry Newton as principal. It gave a three-to-five year training in the Bible, prayer-book, sermon preparation and delivery, teaching, preparation of candidates for the sacraments, devotional life, English and the three Rs.¹⁵³ Despite this ambitious programme, the Anglican Mission proceeded cautiously towards its objective. In 1914 Peter Rautamara and Edwin Nuagoro were ordained as deacons. Three other Papuans, Francis Tutuana, John Regita and Aidan Vivedo were admitted to Holy Orders before the end of Sharp's episcopate in 1921. As a further step towards indigenising the church Bishop Sharp introduced, in 1913, village councils to encourage a sense of independence and responsibility.¹⁵⁴ But the mission came nowhere near Stone-Wigg's objective of self-supporting local churches. Disliking the commercialism and competitiveness which characterised the fund-raising campaigns of the Protestants amongst their converts, the Anglican Mission remained reluctant to exact contributions from its local congregations, and, to the end of Sharp's episcopate, relied heavily on funds raised from overseas.¹⁵⁵

The Sacred Heart missionaries, almost from the beginning, sought to use Papuans within the church in the lay role of catechist. Plans made in 1889 for the foundation of a school for catechists came into effect in 1896 at Thursday Island, where young Papuans were instructed by Fr Guis.¹⁵⁶ The school failed, as did its successor on the mainland at Maea'era, which closed in 1902.¹⁵⁷ For the

152 Stone-Wigg, Address to Conference, 1900. A.A.

153 Stone-Wigg, encl. in letter from Newton to Stone-Wigg, 24 February 1904. Box 22, A.A.

154 Sharp, Address to Conference, 1913. A.A.

155 D. Wetherell, Reluctant Mission, 276-77.

156 Navarre, Notes et Journal, 6 January 1896, 29 October 1902, B.A.

157 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 435.

following period, missionaries trained their own catechists in their districts and by 1915 they numbered twenty-two. The next decade saw a great increase in their numbers as missionaries, urged by a series of de Boismenu's pastoral letters, looked to their parish schools as seminaries for catechists.¹⁵⁸ By 1928 there were more than 100, and those in the mountain districts especially played a key role in the processes of conversion and nurture.

Progress towards an indigenous priesthood was, predictably, slower. The year 1914 which saw the first ordination to the Anglican priesthood, also saw the first vocation in the S.H.M. Joseph Taurino, a fourteen-year-old student of St Patrick's school, Yule Island, expressing a wish to become a priest, was entrusted to Fr Norin for preliminary training.¹⁵⁹ In 1918 he was sent to study at the congregation's apostolic school in Switzerland, but died in France. Three years later another young Papuan, Louis Vangeke, offered for the priesthood. Ordained priest in 1937, he lived to become a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church of Papua New Guinea.

There were several reasons for the absence of Papuans in all but the lowest positions in the structures of the Methodist, Anglican and Sacred Heart missions before the First World War. First, while the L.M.S. by 1914 had been established in New Guinea for forty years, the Sacred Heart Mission was less than thirty years old and the Anglican and Methodist only twenty-three. As has already been shown, during this period most energy was expended on the preliminary tasks of conversion and the nurture of the new Christian community as a whole, rather than the creation of an elite. Second, for the Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries, with their high view of the priesthood, and, in the case of the Roman Catholics, the extremely rigorous training it required, there was doubt as to the ability of these recently christianised people to meet its demands.

158 Ibid. 436-41; de Boismenu, Pastoral Letter on Christian Education, 1913, and Pastoral Letter on Catechists of the Mission, 19 March 1916.

159 See A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 452-54, for biography of Joseph Taurino.

The Sacred Heart missionaries were cautioned by the notable failures of missionaries in other parts of Oceania to establish an indigenous priesthood,¹⁶⁰ and by the performance of the Protestant pastors, of whom they were scathingly critical.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, although Rome, and Propaganda especially, had held firm to the apostolic commitment to a local priesthood, the concept had declined in favour throughout the church since the sixteenth century. It was only Benedict XV's encyclical of 1919 Maximum Illud and more particularly Pius XI's Rerum Ecclesiae of 1926 which restored the idea of an indigenous clergy as one of the prime objectives of mission.¹⁶² The Methodists' failure to create a native ministry was probably partly due to the fact that, unlike the Catholic missions, they did not need a large clergy for the regular administration of the sacraments. Most of the daily and weekly tasks of the Methodist Mission could as easily be accomplished by the lay village teacher.

It seems, however, that the slowness of the missions to create indigenous churches must be attributed at least in part to the racial prejudice which fettered their vision as much as that of their secular contemporaries. Their low estimation of Papuan character and culture gave them little faith in Papuan ability. Their essentially western conception of the church seemed to demand a leadership with western skills to run it. And the whole conception of devolution of even limited authority to Papuans was quite foreign to the colonial atmosphere of the era before the First World War. It was another twenty-three years before Hubert Murray was to venture to suggest that Papuans could conceivably 'be educated to the standard of an ordinary professional career', an insight stimulated by the ordination of the first Roman Catholic priest.¹⁶³

160 Attempts to establish seminaries in New Caledonia (1891) and Fiji (1912) both failed, as had also earlier seminaries of the Picpus fathers in Hawaii (1842) and Gambier (1850) and Marist seminaries on Futuna (1845) and in Sydney.

161 See below, 350.

162 See Clergy, Indigenous, New Catholic Encyclopaedia IX, 925.

163 Papua, A.R., 1937-38, 20-21.

FOR the Europeans who dominated the structures of the missions and the emerging churches until well beyond 1914, being a missionary was an experience which varied according to the organisation to which they belonged. The L.M.S. missionaries had the satisfaction of a large degree of autonomy, supported, at a convenient distance, by a powerful society. But they faced the pressures of working in isolation without the support and cooperation of their colleagues. The Methodist missionaries had the self-confidence derived from a recognised status and role within a closely-knit, cohesive organisation, but they ran the risk, if high in the hierarchy, of augmenting that status unwarrantedly or, if low, of suffering from the over-inflated status of others. The Anglican missionaries derived security from a sense of community and strong pastoral leadership, but suffered the frustration of weak support from an apathetic and divided church. In the Sacred Heart Mission, the religious found strength in their papal commission, their congregation and their vow of obedience, but their apostolate was, at times, circumscribed or misdirected because of the poverty of the mission and the limitations of their all-powerful superiors.

CHAPTER NINE

'THE SINISTER TRIO'

FROM time to time, the affairs of the larger world broke in upon the missionaries' small, enclosed domains. The frequency with which this happened depended upon the degree of isolation of the mission station. Asked, for instance, to describe their interaction with government officers of Papua in 1915, L.M.S. missionaries gave varied responses. Lawrence at Port Moresby and Saville at Mailu claimed frequent and cordial contact, while Rich at Isuleilei saw no officials except 'when a passing ship anchors in the Bay for a few hours' and Schlencker at Orokololo saw them 'once in a blue moon.'¹ However remote their stations, though, all missionaries were involved in a complex and delicately-balanced set of inter-relationships with government officers, with missionaries of other persuasions, and with the motley collection of settlers, traders and miners who comprised the remainder of the expatriate population of Papua. These intricate relationships of missionary, trader and official, fostered the image of the missionary as one of the 'sinister trio of capitalist imperialism.'²

In the years following Lawes' settlement at Port Moresby, there was a steady incursion of traders into south eastern New Guinea. Some, such as Lawes' neighbour at Port Moresby, the naturalist and trader, Andrew Goldie, settled peacefully; others, Lawes and Chalmers saw as a grave threat to the precarious peace which they had encouraged among the coastal Papuans. A gold rush to the Laloki River, inland from Port Moresby, caused them particular concern. Their fears were ill-founded. The rush was small, and the diggers' presence brief. But subsequent violent encounters between traders and villagers led Chalmers and Lawes to define for themselves the

1 Answers to deputation questions 1915, P.L., L.M.S.

2 James McAuley, 'Christian Missions', South Pacific, VIII (7), August 1955, 138. See above, Introduction.

role commonly adopted by missionaries confronted with a perceived threat to their flock: that of protector. 'The natives have from the beginning looked upon us as their friends and defenders and...we shall never give them occasion to doubt it.'³

Visits to the East End from the 'man-stealers' of the labour trade in 1883 and 1884, and the Kabadi land swindle of 1883,⁴ prompted Lawes and Chalmers into vigorous campaigns against the exploitation of Papuan labour and land. Recognising that there was no indigenous government capable of controlling threats to Papuan life, labour and land, they reluctantly acknowledged the need for 'foreign jurisdiction'.⁵ L.M.S. missionaries had traditionally adopted an isolationist, anti-imperialist stance and Lawes and Chalmers, consistent with this tradition, insisted that they 'would much rather not be annexed by anybody'.⁶ But once they realised that intervention of some kind was inevitable, as both a means of protection for the Papuan people and a response to the clamours of the Australian annexationists, they threw themselves into a campaign in favour of control by their own country, Britain, rather than Queensland.⁷ 'Nowhere in the world', wrote Lawes to the L.M.S. foreign secretary, 'have aborigines been so basely and cruelly treated as in Queensland -

3 Chalmers to Thompson, 11 February 1884, P.L., L.M.S. Cf. K. Burrige, 'Missionary Occasions', 25, and C. Forman, 'Missionaries in the Twentieth Century', 46-47 in Boutilier *et al.*, Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania.

4 See D. Langmore, Tamate - a King, 41-43 and R. Lovett, James Chalmers..., 240-43. See also P. Corris, 'Blackbirding in New Guinea Waters', J.P.H., III, 1968, 85-106, and B.N.G. Special Commissioner: Notes of Conversation with Mr Lawes..., G43/1 C.A.O. 27.

5 Lawes to Sir Arthur Gordon, 20 January 1878, quoted in J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 166.

6 E.g., Lawes to Whitehouse, 7 April 1883, and Lawes to Thompson, 8 May 1885, P.L., L.M.S.; J. King, op.cit., 211. On L.M.S. attitudes, see W.N. Gunson, 'Missionary interest in British expansion...', J.R.H., III, (4), December 1965, 307.

7 Lawes to Thompson, 12 September 1884, P.L., L.M.S.; Lawes to Sir Arthur Gordon, 20 January 1878, quoted in J. King, op.cit., 211.

the half has never been told, and are the natives of New Guinea to be handed over to their tender mercies?'⁸

Lawes and Chalmers were disconcerted when, in April 1883, Henry Chester, police magistrate at Thursday Island, arrived in Port Moresby to annexe south-eastern New Guinea for the Queensland government. After examining his instructions they had no course but to cooperate, their readiness to act as interpreters strengthened by their concern to give the Papuans an understanding of what was taking place. But Lawes despised himself for 'the meanness of the whole transaction.'⁹ Privately he confided to the L.M.S. secretary his unease at the annexation of 'the largest island in the world' by 'a Police Magistrate...in a little tub of a cutter' and his relief when the annexation was disallowed.¹⁰

Lawes envisaged that British jurisdiction might be imposed through a protectorate, or simply through extension of the powers of the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific so as to provide a deputy or British Resident in New Guinea.¹¹ When the protectorate was announced, he was cautiously optimistic, seeing it as embodying the concept of trusteeship which was a long-standing element of L.M.S. policy.

8 Lawes to Whitehouse, 7 April 1883, P.L., L.M.S.

9 Lawes, Diary, 3 April 1883. A suggestion by M. Turvey, ('Missionaries and Imperialism: Opponents or Progenitors of Empire - the New Guinea Case', *J.R.A.H.S.*, 65 (2), September 1979, 89) that the missionaries welcomed Queensland's attempt at annexation and that its disallowance was 'a great blow to them' is contradicted by the evidence. See also below, n.11. A statement in the same article that the missionaries sought annexation for 'the preservation of the Mission' (97) is equally unfounded. By 1884, after a decade's existence without government support, the mission's only enemy was the anopheles mosquito, against which imperial governments were also powerless.

10 Lawes to Whitehouse, 7 April 1883 and 21 September 1883, P.L., L.M.S.

11 Lawes to Thompson, 21 September 1883, P.L., L.M.S.

Much will depend on the character of the man who may be chosen as Resident Commissioner. Almost anything, however, will be better than leaving the people and their lands at the mercy of lawless and mad adventurers. We must welcome the Protectorate as a good and hope that it will protect the weak and defenceless.¹²

Renowned for their influence over the coastal peoples and their mastery of the local languages, Lawes and Chalmers were widely involved in the series of flag-raising ceremonies which proclaimed the extension of Queen Victoria's protection to the peoples of south-eastern New Guinea. In an effort to disarm the disapproval of the L.M.S. directors and other potential critics, Lawes stressed that their 'prominent position in the ceremonies' was 'owing simply to the fact that we alone were able to act as interpreters, and make the people understand the meaning of the proclamation.'¹³ The directors were mollified by the fulsome tributes paid to their missionaries by the eminent men associated with the proceedings.¹⁴

The close co-operation between mission and government was maintained by the Acting Special Commissioner, Hugh Hastings Romilly, who lived with Chalmers and found him 'a capital fellow...utterly unlike a missionary',¹⁵ and by General Sir Peter Scratchley, when he arrived as Special Commissioner in August 1885. 'No better fortune could be desired for a Special Commissioner than to have Mr Chalmers as his "Prime Minister"', Captain Cyprian Bridge assured Scratchley.¹⁶ 'I feel that without him I could do nothing', Scratchley confided

12 Lawes to Thompson, 20 October 1884, P.L., L.M.S. See also C. Northcott, 'White Rule in Papua', Manchester Guardian, 18 June 1936.

13 S.M.H., 1 December 1884.

14 See for example the opinion of Captain Henderson in discussion on J. Chalmers, 'New Guinea, Past, present and future', R.C.I. Proceedings, 18, 1886-87.

15 H.H. Romilly, Letters from the Western Pacific..., 317.

16 Private letter of Captain Cyprian Bridge to Major-General Scratchley, 11 February 1885. New Guinea (Papua) Original Correspondence, C.O.422/1.

to his wife.¹⁷ A proposal that Chalmers should be offered a government appointment was considered seriously at the Colonial Office.¹⁸

Relations between the traders and the missionaries were further estranged by the identification of the latter with the government. A correspondent to the Townsville Bulletin warned its readers that 'Mr Chalmers has, I understand, been admitted to the position of confidential adviser to His Excellency, so we can form a pretty fair estimation of what the ruling principles of His Excellency's policy will be.'¹⁹ Traders in New Guinea muttered of 'mission rule'.²⁰ In their hostility they had the support of the government secretary, Anthony Musgrave, who disagreed with the missionaries' belief that the proclamation precluded the acquisition of land for settlement, resented their interference in government affairs and suspected their general orientation to the future of the country.²¹ Musgrave reported after conversation with Chalmers that his views were 'utterly one-sided' and that it would be useless to expect from him 'any sympathy with the objects of the white man.'²² After Scratchley's death in December 1885, the greater independence of his successor, John Douglas, and the continuing opposition of Musgrave, whose attitude to the mission, according to Lawes, was best characterised by 'a big sneer',²³ led to a decrease in mission influence for the remainder of the protectorate period.

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- 17 C. Kinloch Cooke, Australia's Defences and New Guinea, 315.
- 18 See New Guinea (Papua) Original Correspondence, C.O.422/3/9760.
- 19 Townsville Bulletin, November 1885. Miscellaneous Cuttings. Musgrave Papers.
- 20 E.g., T. Bevan, Toil, Travel and Discovery in British New Guinea, 135.
- 21 B.N.G. A.R., 1886-87, 29. See also Lawes to Hon. John Douglas, 7 July 1886, Item 4, G16, CAO27.
- 22 Private and confidential memo from A. Musgrave, n.d., Musgrave Papers.
- 23 Lawes to Thompson, 20 November 1886, P.L., L.M.S.

A persistent element in the stereotype of the nineteenth century missionary has been his close association with imperialism. Writers of an earlier generation paid tribute to the contribution of missionaries to empire, acknowledging especially their 'civilising role'. C. Brunson Fletcher, writing at the time of the First World War, included Chalmers in his list of great imperialists in the Pacific in the late nineteenth century.²⁴ Critics of empire have, since Hobson's pioneering study of 1902, attacked missionaries for their association with 'aggressive imperialism'.²⁵ Most trenchant has been the criticism of Marxist historians who see missionaries as an intrinsic part of colonial exploitation and mission activity as 'an inseparable part of imperialist politics.'²⁶ The remarkably close identification of Lawes and Chalmers with the establishment of imperial rule in New Guinea should be examined in the light of this stereotype.

In a general sense, the missionaries' introduction of western civilisation foreshadowed the coming of British rule, in New Guinea, as elsewhere.²⁷ And there is no doubt that once Lawes and Chalmers became convinced of the necessity for foreign intervention, they lobbied energetically and effectively to have Britain assume the responsibility. Both believed their representations to have had

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- 24 C. Brunson Fletcher, The New Pacific, 108. Cf. Ogilvie, Our Empire's Debt to the Missions, Chapter VIII, and K.L.P. Martin, Missionaries and Annexations in the Pacific, 99.
- 25 J.A. Hobson, Imperialism, A Study, 196-98 and 200 and e.g., K.M. Panikkar, Asia and Western Dominance, 297.
- 26 Article on missions translated from the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, XXVII, 590-91, by Donald A. Lowrie, quoted by W.N. Gunson, 'The Theology of Imperialism and the Missionary History of the Pacific', J.R.H., V, 1968-69, 255-65.
- 27 See A.A. Koskinen, Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific, 16. See also R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa; E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on East Africa; A. Temu, British Protestant Missions, and W.N. Gunson, op.cit., and 'Missionary Interest in British Expansion in the South Pacific in the Nineteenth Century', J.R.H., III (4), December 1965, 296-309.



THE NEW GUINEA PROTECTORATE

(Bulletin 1884, from J. King, The Other Side of the Coin, 67)

influence at the Colonial Office.²⁸ Moreover, if the role of imperial adviser was thrust upon them rather than sought, there is no evidence that they tried to avoid it. On the contrary, they used it to full

²⁸ Lawes to Thompson, 12 September 1884, P.L., L.M.S.

effect to ensure that the policies which they advocated were embodied in government policy.²⁹

The influence of Chalmers and Lawes in bringing about colonial rule and moulding its character cannot, then, be denied. Where they differed from the jingoistic imperialist was in their lack of enthusiasm for imperial rule as an end in itself. They accepted a measure of it, finally, as the only alternative to inter-racial anarchy and the exploitation of the Papuan people. Their attitudes to the declaration of the protectorate were ambivalent, those of the ebullient Chalmers expressing greater extremes than the cautious statements of Lawes. Recalling the ceremony in the mission compound at Port Moresby, he wrote: 'We felt that we were citizens of the greatest Empire the world had ever seen.'³⁰ But as he watched the pomp and ceremony of one flag-raising after another, he reflected sardonically: 'Some Britons think the world was made for the Anglo-Saxon.'³¹ Because his concern was for the protection of the Papuans and not the expansion of empire, he opposed the transformation of the protectorate into a colony: 'Annexation would, I fear, render just treatment almost impossible; ...the young, pushing, daring Anglo-Saxon colonist would look upon the "nigger" as something to be got rid of.'³² Chalmers and Lawes, while approving some degree of imperial control, did not see it as synonymous with colonisation. In his early days in New Guinea, Chalmers had dashed off letters and reports extolling the virtues of the country, with the impetuous enthusiasm that characterised all his undertakings. But as they grew to fear the havoc wrought by the incursion of Europeans, both missionaries wrote to discourage white settlement, publicising the short comings of the climate and the lack of resources.³³

29 See, for example, J. Chalmers, 'New Guinea, Past, present and future', R.C.I. Proceedings 18, 1886-87.

30 Centenary of L.M.S. Proceedings of Founders' Week Convention. L.M.S.

31 J. Chalmers, Pioneering in New Guinea, 196.

32 J. Chalmers, 'New Guinea, Past, present and future', loc.cit.

33 Ibid; Lawes, letter to The Times, 1 June 1887; Brisbane Courier, editorial, 28 June 1888. See also lecture by S. MacFarlane, Brisbane Courier, 30 January 1886, encl. in item 4, G16, CA027.

The community of interests between mission and government, Professor Roland Oliver has written of East Africa, was never regarded by either as more than 'a happy accident'.³⁴ Neither side deviated from their own natural course in order to form a more powerful combination. The same could be said of the coming of British rule to New Guinea. The missionaries in their self-styled role of protector, used the imperial authorities to achieve their stated aim, the protection of the Papuan people. The government officials used the missionaries to ensure the Papuans' acceptance of imperial rule.

THE Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, who reached New Guinea in the year following the proclamation of the protectorate, experienced a very different relationship with the government from that enjoyed by the L.M.S. Inaugurated amidst political controversy because of its association with the Marquis de Rays' expedition, the mission's first years in New Guinea were marked by continual conflict with officials and the Protestant mission.

From the time the Sacred Heart missionaries planned to embark for New Guinea from their base on Thursday Island, their efforts were frustrated by government policy. Although Navarre had visited Scratchley in February 1885 and received, he said, spoken assurances that his mission would be welcome in New Guinea, Henry Chester, police magistrate at Thursday Island, refused in the absence of official papers, to sanction their entry, invoking a recently-passed law which forbade all shipping to New Guinea. Navarre, with some justification believing Chester to be a 'fanatical friend' of the L.M.S., interpreted his intransigence as part of a Protestant plot to exclude them.³⁵ It was this embargo which prompted Verjus and his colleagues to make their illegal first voyage to New Guinea

34 R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, 179.

35 Navarre to Chevalier, 19 December 1884, R.A. For an account of the settlement of the S.H.M. in New Guinea, see Navarre, Notes sur sa Vie, and Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 67-115.

on the lugger of a sympathetic trader.

Before their departure, Navarre had also talked with Samuel MacFarlane, whom he understood to be the 'chief missionary' of the L.M.S.³⁶ Despite MacFarlane's history of anti-Catholicism, which had resulted in his removal from Lifu for the alleged desecration of a chapel,³⁷ the meeting was harmonious. Although Navarre refused to consider MacFarlane's suggestion that they settle on the north-east coast, he assured him that their intention was not to go where the L.M.S. was already established and agreed, specifically, not to settle at Port Moresby, as Propaganda had suggested.

Navarre decided, accordingly, to send his missionaries to Yule Island. But his concession did not avert conflict.³⁸ After three months' precarious existence, Verjus and his companions were visited by the government secretary, Musgrave, empowered by Scratchley to negotiate on their settlement in New Guinea. Following Verjus' refusal to take any decision without consulting Navarre, the missionaries were taken in the L.M.S. boat Ellangowan to await Scratchley at Thursday Island - an episode subsequently known within the congregation as 'the expulsion'. Interpreting, probably rightly, Scratchley's changed attitude as due to pressure from the L.M.S., who claimed Yule Island, Navarre refused his written proposal that they should move to the north-east coast or the Louisiades, but agreed to an interview with him on 8 December. After Scratchley's death on 2 December, Navarre believed himself free to send his missionaries back to New Guinea.

Verjus' return to Yule Island and the subsequent arrival of Navarre brought to a head the conflict with the L.M.S. over rights

36 Navarre, *Voyage to Thursday Island and foundation of station*, Journal, 40-47, R.A.; Verjus to Chevalier, 22 April 1885, published in Annales, 1886, 16, and Navarre to Chevalier, 19 December 1884, R.A.

37 K.R. Howe, The Loyalty Islands, 63. See also J.M. Douglas, *The Loyalty Islands and MacFarlane 1859-69* (B.A.(hons) thesis).

38 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 91-99, 101-02, 113-14; Major-General Scratchley to Navarre, 3 September 1885, B.A.; letter of Verjus, November 1885, in Annales, 1886, 85-89.

to the island. Verjus found that during his absence, Lawes had placed a teacher at Yule, a station which they had previously occupied but abandoned. Lawes and Navarre bombarded the government with memoranda arguing their claims.³⁹ Verjus, whose conciliatory spirit was far removed from the intransigent ultramontaniam of his superior, sought an interview with Lawes at Port Moresby, which gained him little but the disapproval of Navarre, who saw it as a 'compromise'.⁴⁰ Lawes finally conceded defeat and removed the teacher. During Douglas' term of office, Scratchley's fear of sectarian rivalry and his belief in the 'prescriptive right of the L.M.S. to certain districts' was replaced by a policy of 'a fair field and no favour shown'.⁴¹

The arrival of Sir William MacGregor in 1888 as first administrator of the new colony introduced an era when the 'happy accident' of community of interest between government and the three non-Roman Catholic missions was exploited to the utmost. After his retirement MacGregor reflected that the two best institutions that he had left behind him were the missions and the native constabulary.⁴² It was no accident that he linked the two. In MacGregor's eyes the missions were, like the police force, an auxiliary, a 'necessary adjunct to the work of government',⁴³ devoted to the same ends, the imposition of peace and the promotion of the well-being of the Papuan peoples. The missionaries were under no illusions about being thus used. After an interview with MacGregor, the visiting L.M.S. director, William Crosfield, reported: 'He makes no mystery about his object being to have influential

39 Lawes to Musgrave, 2 September 1885, B.A.; Navarre to Douglas, 4 May 1887, R.A.; B.N.G. A.R. 1886, appendix G, 46 and B.N.G. A.R. 1887, appendix E, 25. See also items 101/86 and 105/86, G9, CAO27.

40 Verjus to Chevalier, 9 August 1886, B.A.

41 B.N.G. A.R., 1888, 7.

42 MacGregor, Introduction to J.H.P. Murray, Papua or British New Guinea, 27.

43 The Board of Missions, Conference with Sir William MacGregor, M.R., 1898, 7.

helpers of the civil power...'.⁴⁴ Fr Dupeyrat condemned that 'narrowness of spirit which considers religion as a kind of police force';⁴⁵ William Bromilow more charitably attributed his patronage not only to statesmanship but to the convictions of 'a Christian believer'.⁴⁶

MacGregor spared no effort to facilitate the missions' operations. After inviting in the Wesleyans, who had so impressed him in Fiji, and conducting their secretary George Brown and the Anglican founder, Albert Maclaren, on a tour of inspection, he encouraged a meeting held at Port Moresby on 17 June 1890 at which Brown, Maclaren and the L.M.S. representatives, Lawes, Chalmers, Dauncey and Walker, agreed to the partitioning of the colony into 'spheres of influence' within each of which one of the three missions would work exclusively.⁴⁷ MacGregor praised the 'generous spirit' of the agreement and the 'remarkable group of men' who were its authors, the 'scholarly, accomplished, devoted and experienced' Lawes, the 'courageous, indefatigable' Chalmers, the 'large-hearted, brave veteran', Brown and the 'tactful and courteous' Maclaren.⁴⁸ He ensured

44 W. Crosfield, *Voyage to the South Seas* (ms), 72. South Seas Personal, box 4, L.M.S.

45 A. Dupeyrat, *Papouasie...*, 256.

46 W. Bromilow, *Twenty Years...*, 274.

47 The whole south-east coast except for a small stretch opposite Yule Island was to remain the sphere of the L.M.S., while the north-east coast from Cape Ducie to Mitre Rock at the German border was entrusted to the Anglicans and all the islands at the eastern end of Papua (except two to which the L.M.S. had a prior claim) were allotted to the Methodists, who were also given a small strip of the mainland from East Cape to Cape Ducie. Although MacGregor subsequently disclaimed responsibility for the agreement, Lawes' report shows that the initiative was his. 'The Merrie England came in and with her...the Rev. A.A. Maclaren. We waited on Sir Wm. He disclaimed any wish to dictate etc. But he is in a little fix because both Mr Maclaren and the Wesleyans are coming for the same field.' Lawes to Thompson, 20 May 1890, P.L., L.M.S.

48 W. MacGregor, introduction to F. Synge, *Albert Maclaren*, xiii-xiv.

its implementation by the simple device of granting land to only one mission in any one village, a policy subsequently approved by the Secretary of State for Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, and published in the government gazette.⁴⁹ So scrupulously was it observed that many, including some of MacGregor's field officers, assumed it to have the authority of law.

MacGregor's attention to the missions was constant and vigilant. He visited stations, inspected schools, praised translation work and other achievements, prodded missions into further expansion and rebuked their tardiness, advised them on station-sites and warned newly-contacted villagers that any disrespect to the mission was tantamount to disrespect to him. With a number of missionaries, especially the Wesleyans, for whom he never lost his high esteem, he had a warm paternal relationship, casting a fatherly eye over the new mission sisters and sending to Samuel Fellow's daughter, 'the forget-me-not-baby', a bottle of Mamba gold.⁵⁰ He used his medical skills to advise fever-stricken missionaries of all persuasions, comforting some with gifts of champagne and food, and carrying others off in the Merrie England, to convalescence in Australia.⁵¹

In return the missionaries were to continue their work of peace-making, evangelising and 'civilising', paying particular attention to the inculcation of loyalty to the imperial government. MacGregor praised those missionaries whose efforts made the Queen's name a 'household word' throughout British New Guinea.⁵² Missionaries who shared

49 See C.O. 442/11/4215. Also C.O. 422/10/25985 and B.N.G. Government Gazette, 1897, no.9.

50 Fellows, Diary, 30 June 1898.

51 See, for example, Navarre to Director of Holy Childhood, 19 December 1890, Annales, 1892, 337; Genocchi to confrères, 21 September 1894, Annales, 1895, 158; Bruce to Thompson, 5 March 1894, P.L., L.M.S.; B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, appendix L, 58.

52 The Methodist, 26 February 1892, 10; MacGregor to the missionaries of the Australian Wesleyan Methodist Church in B.N.G., 22 August 1892 in M.R., November 1898, 2; B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, xxvii, and 1892-93, 36.

MacGregor's passion for exploration accompanied him on patrol, Verjus, for instance, introducing him to the fertile and populous Mekeo plain and Chalmers joining him in expeditions in search of the Tugeri head-hunters.

MacGregor was, declared Bishop Stone-Wigg, 'the best friend the Papuan ever had'.⁵³ Because they saw in him one who shared their concern for the well-being of the Papuans, the Anglican and Protestant missionaries co-operated readily with his policies. It was a close partnership, but one of a different nature from that of the early protectorate period. Then, inexperienced and uncertain officers had deferred constantly to the authority and experience of the missionaries, who thus exerted considerable influence on government policy. During MacGregor's period, missionaries were consulted on aspects of policy within their province, such as regulations on marriage and education, but they were discouraged from playing politics. MacGregor rebuked missionaries who intervened on behalf of their charges against prosecution and, after his retirement, praised them for their general abstention from politics.⁵⁴

Declaring his readiness to 'take his chance under any creed',⁵⁵ MacGregor asserted as his policy that 'all Christian churches are exactly alike and that which does the best work will be most appreciated.'⁵⁶ But despite his pragmatic approach, he harboured some of the prejudices of a Protestant sectarian. He admired Albert Maclaren, of whom he wrote, 'I have known few more lovable men',⁵⁷ but retained a distaste for the ritualism of Anglicanism - 'Dang it all, it's bob up and bob

53 O.P., 21 January 1910, 2; Cf. Lawes to Thompson, 24 September 1888, P.L., L.M.S. and W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 266 and 274.

54 C.A.W. Monckton, Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate, 90; B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, appendix L, 58; extracts from lecture delivered by Sir W. MacGregor at Sheffield, 1919. L.M.S.

55 The Methodist, 26 February 1898, 10.

56 MacGregor to Norman, 25 March 1890 in Norman to C.O., 21 June 1890. C.O. 422/5/15117.

57 Introduction to F. Synge, Albert Maclaren, ix.

down etc. etc.,' he confided to Samuel Fellows⁵⁸ - and resisted Maclaren's attempt to have the Church of England recognised as a national church.⁵⁹ His private observations on the Sacred Heart Mission, with its 'bloodless brothers' and their quarters which had 'the musty smell...almost peculiar to lunatic asylums'⁶⁰ also betrayed the prejudices of a son of John Knox.

The close coalition of interest between MacGregor and the three non-Roman Catholic missions was not reflected in his relationship with the S.H.M. Although MacGregor assured Navarre, as he had the other missionaries, that which mission taught the catechism was 'a matter of complete indifference'⁶¹ to him, the archbishop persisted in his belief that the outlook of MacGregor, a 'Presbyterian Scot and a free-mason' prejudiced his treatment of the Roman Catholic mission.⁶²

At the heart of the tension between the lieutenant-governor and the Sacred Heart missionaries was his endorsement of the 'spheres of influence' policy. The S.H.M., with the approval of Propaganda, refused to be party to the agreement, seeing such a 'compromise' as 'a denial of her claim to be the only true church of God.'⁶³ The expansion of the S.H.M. through Roro and Mekeo caused no conflict as these districts were tacitly accepted as being their domain, but in 1896 and 1897 the Roman Catholic mission issued a direct challenge to the spheres by establishing themselves in the Pokao village of Vanamai, claimed by the L.M.S., and at Waima, where L.M.S. teachers

58 Fellows, Diary n.d. (Note facing 29 July 1892).

59 Idem.

60 MacGregor, Diary, 8 September 1891.

61 MacGregor to Navarre, 6 February 1897, B.A.

62 Navarre, Notes 1889, B.A. The experience of the S.H.M. supports the hypothesis of T.O. Beidelman (Africa, 44, 1974, 238) that mission-government antagonism was more likely when the two groups were of differing nationality.

63 De Boismenu, Address to Second Catholic Congress, Melbourne, Proceedings, 274.

were actually at work.⁶⁴ Navarre justified their actions on the grounds that they were in response to repeated requests from the people for popi missionaries, asserting their right and responsibility to go wherever they were called.⁶⁵ The S.H.M. earned a public censure from MacGregor,⁶⁶ who reiterated his determination to grant no land to any mission in a village where another mission was already at work, or had signified its intention to work by applying for land, implied that Navarre had tacitly accepted the spheres by agreeing not to go to Port Moresby, criticised the S.H.M. for making no formal application before entering Vanamai and Waima and pointed out that much of Roro and Mekeo was still unevangelised.⁶⁷

Navarre made a spirited defence of his mission's actions.⁶⁸ Denying that he had ever accepted the spheres of influence policy, he argued that it unfairly excluded the S.H.M. from most of the colony, that its rigid enforcement along the lines proposed by MacGregor would incite jealousy and lead to a scramble for occupation, that it forced them into the position of having to disobey either the government or their ecclesiastical superiors and that the natives should have freedom of choice in religion. He concluded with a plea for religious liberty: 'Give us the consolation in the midst of our work of enjoying that full freedom which missionaries have always had under the English flag.'⁶⁹

The confrontation between MacGregor and Navarre over incursions into Protestant territory was the culmination of a series

64 See A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 254-78; letter of A. Jullien, 21 May 1896, published in Annales, 1896, 561; Navarre to MacGregor, 27 June 1896, 9 February 1897 and 31 July 1897, B.A.; B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, appendix L, 59-61; letter of Navarre, 8 April 1897, Annales, 1897, 501.

65 Navarre to MacGregor, 9 February and 31 July 1897, B.A.

66 B.N.G. A.R., 1897-98, xvi. For the continuation of MacGregor's policy, see Barton to Lord Northcote, Governor-General, 22 July 1904 and Barton to Premier of the Commonwealth, 2 February 1906; Confidential Despatches, item 1, G35, C.A.O.27.

67 Musgrave to Navarre enclosing Minute from MacGregor, 6 February 1897, B.A.

68 Navarre to MacGregor, 27 June 1896, B.A.

69 Idem.

of conflicts based on mutual mistrust. MacGregor had been angered to discover that Navarre had by-passed him and appealed to the Queensland government for favourable terms in the retrospective recognition of their rights to land on Yule Island. 'I am now firmly convinced these Roman Catholic dignitaries lie', he wrote in his diary after an interview at Yule Island.⁷⁰ He was further incensed to discover that Navarre had accused him of being the perpetrator of a conspiracy to have them expelled from the island, a charge which MacGregor denounced as 'utterly fictitious', challenging Navarre to produce evidence and unsuccessfully demanding a retraction.⁷¹ Navarre, likening MacGregor to a crocodile,⁷² continued to find evidence of discrimination against his mission, interpreting the colony's customs regulations thus despite the fact that the duties were equally burdensome to the L.M.S., who had invited him to join in protest against them.⁷³ When Navarre's allegations of discrimination were embodied, at Propaganda's instigation, in a formal complaint from Cardinal Vaughan of Westminster to the Colonial Office, MacGregor's reply was uncompromising:

Physically he is totally unfit for this climate.... He has remained a foreigner, with only a slight acquaintance with our language, and he in no degree understands our institutions. It is perfectly natural therefore that he should be querulous and suspicious: but it is greatly to be regretted that he should think that there is any field in this administration for the intrigues of Protestant ministers.⁷⁴

70 MacGregor, Diary, 26 April 1892, see also 7 December 1890 and 17 April 1892; MacGregor to Chamberlain (?), 9 September 1890, C.O. 422/6/3891 and 30 July 1897, C.O. 422/11/24125.

71 Letter of Navarre published in Les Missions Catholiques, reprinted in Annales, 1891, 441; Navarre to Musgrave, 24 April 1893, MacGregor to Navarre, 22 November 1893 and 4 February 1897, MacGregor to Government Secretary, 20 July 1897, B.A.

72 MacGregor, Diary, 9 September 1892.

73 Lawes to brethren of M.S.C., 20 September 1888, B.A. See also Musgrave to Navarre, 6 November 1888 and 29 July 1888, Navarre to MacGregor, 10 February 1889, B.A.

74 MacGregor to Chamberlain (?), 30 July 1897, C.O. 422/11/24125.

MacGregor's unease about Navarre, 'a French man of the ultra anti-English type',⁷⁵ were heightened by the prospect of a visit of a French warship to Yule Island, which he successfully opposed.⁷⁶

In the struggles which marked MacGregor's relationship with the S.H.M., it seems that despite his prejudices he generally acted with fairness and consistency. Their conflicting attitudes to the spheres of influence were based on premises so fundamentally different as to allow of no accommodation. In this situation, the uncompromising, old-fashioned ultramontanist and anglophobia of Navarre exacerbated the tension. Delusions induced by illness, which Genocchi had noted, may also have impaired his judgment. Henri Verjus fretted when he failed to see the evil designs which Navarre perceived: 'The Governor has been charming and yet Mgr. Navarre told me to be mistrustful. I am very foolish that I see only what is in front of me.'⁷⁷ Later both Verjus and Hartzler intimated to MacGregor their embarrassment at the stance taken by their archbishop.⁷⁸ MacGregor, for his part, praised Verjus as 'a broad-minded man free from bigotry or sectarianism in any form.'⁷⁹ The same mutual esteem existed between MacGregor and Fr Genocchi, during the latter's brief period in the mission field. After MacGregor had transported him, delirious with blackwater fever, to Thursday Island, he wrote:

As for Sir William MacGregor...he certainly cannot have the hatred of the Catholic religion typical of malevolent people. He does his duty, heedless of fatigue...consecrating his life to the good of the savages. He...admits readily that the missionary is his best auxiliary, and in his reports, he speaks of us with almost too much praise.⁸⁰

75 MacGregor to Bridge, 12 July and 13 September 1897. Quoted in R. Joyce, Sir William MacGregor, 178.

76 Ibid, 177.

77 Verjus, Diary, 3 and 4 April 1891, published in Annales, 1902, 113.

78 MacGregor, Diary, 19 September 1891 and 5 October 1892.

79 B.N.G. A.R., 1890, 82.

80 Letter of J. Genocchi, 30 August 1894, published in Annales, 1895, 334.

A letter which Navarre received from Propaganda in 1889, urging him to end his struggle with MacGregor, suggests some concern in Rome about his policies.⁸¹

In Sir George Le Hunte, appointed lieutenant-governor in 1898, the Protestant missionaries believed New Guinea had a 'worthy successor'⁸² to MacGregor. William Bromilow, who prided himself on being on 'intimate terms' with Le Hunte, believed that he like MacGregor, exemplified the 'highest qualities of British rule'.⁸³ The missionaries saw him as one who, unlike the down-to-earth and frequently dusty and dishevelled MacGregor, 'upheld the dignity of his office',⁸⁴ but they found in him the same sympathy and readiness to co-operate for common goals. Like his predecessor, he held that 'one Mission body is the same as another - absolutely' and asserted it to be the 'duty and privilege' of the government to give them all possible assistance.⁸⁵

Unfortunately, though, the missionaries could not always expect the same sympathy and community of interest among Le Hunte's field officers. 'The Governor has not a single officer like minded with himself', observed Lawes in 1901. 'The magistrates and administrative officers are for the most part uneducated men from the same class as those who are bound to be hostile to the natives and the mission.'⁸⁶ MacGregor had kept his small band of officers under close supervision, even persuading Musgrave to restrain his hostility to the L.M.S.,⁸⁷ yet even under that vigilant and energetic administrator, officers had from time to time strained mission-government relations. It seems likely, for instance, that the tensions between

81 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 269.

82 Lawes to Thompson, 31 March 1899, P.L., L.M.S.

83 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 266 and 279.

84 Lizzie Chalmers to Harrie Hill, 27 March 1900. Papua Personal, L.M.S.

85 Church Work in the Diocese of New Guinea, 23. A.A.

86 Lawes to Thompson, 21 November 1901, P.L., L.M.S.

87 R. Joyce, Sir William MacGregor, 192.

the Sacred Heart Mission and MacGregor were aggravated by the hostility of the resident magistrate for the central division, Frank Lawes, son of W.G. Lawes, who fomented anti-Catholic feeling among the Papuans, provoked the mission by tearing down the flag from the marea at Vanamai and probably spread the rumour which fed Navarre's fears of expulsion.⁸⁸

When the missionaries believed the interests or well-being of the Papuans threatened by the actions of field-officers, they abandoned their customary alliance with the government. They protested at violence, pillage and rape committed by native policemen and at coercion and exploitation by government officers.⁸⁹ In 1901, for instance, Henry Newton was responsible for forcing the resignation of Yaldwyn, a young assistant resident magistrate, after the magistrate C.A.W. Monckton had acquitted him of the rape of a Papuan girl.⁹⁰ The same year Abel and Walker uncovered complicity between magistrates and miners in a series of incidents which included the murder of three Papuans and one European storekeeper.⁹¹ Hostility towards Abel from the expatriate community was so intense that, for a time, he could only travel unmolested with an armed Papuan escort. To the distress of the missionaries, Judge Winter, chief judicial officer, acquitted the miners of murder on the remarkable grounds that 'racial feeling

88 Navarre, Journal, 13 and 19-20 April 1892, B.A.; A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 227-28, 260; Navarre to Musgrave, 24 April 1893. B.A.

89 See, for example, Butcher, Letter diary to Mrs Holtum, 13 June 1914, Butcher Papers 1881/3; P.I.M., April 1939, 26; Pryce Jones to Lenwood, 8 February 1920, Walker to Thompson, 22 January 1902, P.L., L.M.S.; Stone-Wigg, Diary III, 2 September 1903, 98; B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, appendices C, 9, and L, 58; B.N.G. A.R., 1900-01, appendix J, 49; letter from Acting Administrator C.S. Robinson, 15 December 1903, in Notes and News from Mission Staff 1904-06 (roneoed), box 15, file 8 A.A.; Fr Fillodeau, Evidence to Royal Commission, Report 1907, para. 2572. Commonwealth of Australia, Notes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives, 1907; Le Hunte to Stone-Wigg, 5 December 1901, Lieutenant-Governor, Outward Letterbook, Miscellaneous, 1899-1907, item 1, G50 C.A.O.27; Ballantine to A.E. Hunt, 1 May 1900, Government Secretary Letterbook 1900-05, item 1, G36 C.A.O.27.

90 I. Stuart, Montagu Stone-Wigg (ts) 6-7; Stone-Wigg, Diary, 4 and 6 December 1901. A.A.

91 Abel to Thompson, 23 November 1901 and 17 March 1902, P.L., L.M.S.

was so general and so strong' that he could not consider them morally culpable.⁹² The missionaries' fears that Winter's judgment augured ill for the future of the Papuans seemed justified soon after when another miner boasted publicly that he had 'done for another of the d...d niggers.'⁹³ They were jubilant when Le Hunte intervened, and the two magistrates Moreton and Symons were demoted, while Judge Winter resigned. Commenting on the sordid episode, Will Saville of Mailu reflected that pure heathenism was like 'an oasis in a desert' compared with the corrupting influence of some officials.⁹⁴

Relations between missionaries and field-officers were often strained by rivalry. They were two competing sources of authority and influence in village life. Government officers, obliged to use missionaries as interpreters, guides and mediators, were aware that the people frequently deferred to their missionary before responding to government regulations. As was common in mission fields, opposition or hostility from officials was interpreted as jealousy.⁹⁵

Occasionally genuine differences in policy occurred. District officers in Roro and Mekeo became exasperated at the refusal of the Sacred Heart missionaries to oppose burials within the village.⁹⁶ Missionaries at times objected to the greater permissiveness of government officers on questions of morality. Anglican missionary, Ernest Taylor, noting the laxity of the resident magistrate of the northern division towards marriage and divorce, reflected: 'What are we coming to when the British Empire gives us representatives who cannot behave with the common decency of gentlemen' and wondered what

92 See condemnation of Winter's decision in resolution 18, P.D.C. minutes, 20 March 1902. P.L., L.M.S.

93 Walker to Thompson, 22 January 1902, P.L., L.M.S.

94 Saville to Thompson, 10 September 1902, P.L., L.M.S.

95 See, for example, Walker to Thompson, 5 February 1895. Cf. Holmes to Thompson, 9 February 1899, P.L., L.M.S. See also M. Stephen, *Continuity and change...*, 78-79, 99-100, and Kowald, *Monthly Reports*, July and August 1895, Kairuku, Mekeo District - General, item 287, G91 C.A.O.27.

96 Kowald to MacGregor, 24 September 1892, B.A.; B.N.G. A.R., 1892-93, xiv and 1895-96, xxiv.

benefit the Union Jack had conferred upon the people of New Guinea.⁹⁷ In 1898 the encouragement given by Dr Joseph Blayney, resident magistrate for the central division, to the revival of traditional dancing provoked the opposition of the L.M.S. 'It is an entirely new departure for our Government Officer to defend what we condemn...as immoral and thus put himself in the eyes of the people in direct opposition to the Mission', Lawes admonished Blayney.⁹⁸ Relations between the L.M.S. and the government remained strained over this issue, particularly after the revival received the encouragement of the administrator, Captain Barton. Lawes had always seen the relationship between the missions and the government as 'a form of contract, under which we...work in New Guinea for the benefit of the natives.'⁹⁹ Now, he believed, the contract was dishonoured. Missionaries of all persuasions deplored the gratuitous violence of government officers who accompanied the acting-administrator, Christopher Stansfeld Robinson, on his ill-conceived voyage to Goaribari in 1904.¹⁰⁰

But such friction and occasional confrontations took place within a generally harmonious relationship. Most mission stations enjoyed visits from government officers; '"Government" has been here twice lately. It was very nice having them', reported an Anglican missionary in 1916.¹⁰¹ Missionaries nursed government officers when they were injured or ill; officials carried supplies to hungry missionaries. Both co-operated to reduce the loneliness and isolation of a mission or government station by transporting personnel and mail. Each went to the help of the other in shipwrecks or other crises. Missionaries accompanied officials on patrol in areas with which they

97 Taylor to Stone-Wigg, 5 January 1903, Personal files, box 23, A.A.

98 Lawes to Blayney, 14 July 1898, copy in P.L., L.M.S.

99 Lawes to Atlee Hunt, 11 August 1905, P.L., L.M.S.; see also Barton to Dauncey, 4 May 1906, Lieutenant-Governor, Outward Letterbook, 1899-1907, item 1 G50 C.A.O.27.

100 For an account of this expedition, see D. Langmore, 'Goaribari 1904', J.P.N.G.S., 1972, VI (2), 53-78.

101 A.B.M. Review, December 1916, 183.

were familiar and joined them in exploration.¹⁰² Magistrates and missionaries commonly joined to impose peace, identify sorcery and suppress cannibalism.¹⁰³ Senior missionaries for a time acted as recruiting officers for the government and two L.M.S. missionaries in the Torres Strait served as justices of the peace until it was recognised that such an appointment contravened the Society's instructions.¹⁰⁴

THE close co-operation which had characterised the relationship of the government with the Anglican and Protestant missions throughout most of the period of British rule in New Guinea was weakened in the years marking the assumption of Australian power, shattered by the report of the royal commission appointed in 1906 to inquire into the affairs of the colony, and only painstakingly restored by the long-serving lieutenant-governor, J.H.P. Murray.

Lawes, whose poor opinion of Australian rule had led him to campaign for a British protectorate in the 1880s, viewed with equal apprehension the prospect of Australian rule in the 1900s. Fearing for the treatment of the Papuans, he, with the full support of the Papuan district committee, called for the appointment of a 'Protector of the natives'. He explained: 'We are their only friends. I am afraid there are not half a dozen men in all New Guinea outside the Mission who care anything about the natives except as they can be utilised to promote British interests'.¹⁰⁵ Lawes was also concerned that the 'non-religious character' of the Australian Commonwealth might

102 For example, Anglican missionary Percy Money accompanied C.A.W. Monckton on an expedition during which he named a peak Mt Stone-Wigg (O.P. 11, October 1906, 2).

103 See, for example, B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, appendix C, 6; 1899-1900, appendix B, 9-10; 1900-01, appendix M, 62; Commandant Wriford to Verjus, 15 November 1891, Kowald to Navarre, 11 October 1897, B.A.

104 B.N.G. A.R., 1906-07, 121; J. Beckett, 'Religious Commitment in the Torres Strait' in Boutilier et al., Mission, Church and Sect in Oceania, 217.

105 P.D.C. Minutes 1903, P.L., L.M.S.

prevent their incorporating into the Papua Act any equivalent to clause xxxi in the Royal Instructions, which required the administrator 'to the utmost of his power to promote religion and education among the native inhabitants of the Possession'.¹⁰⁶

The first trial of strength between the missionaries and the federal government was over an issue whose connection with the protection of the Papuans was not immediately apparent. Nor was it consistent with the 'wowsers' image of the nineteenth century missionary. In 1903 Stone-Wigg and Abel were in the vanguard of the widespread opposition of the European residents of Papua to a proposed prohibition clause in the Papua Bill.¹⁰⁷ Their stand was supported by the Anglican and Sacred Heart missions, by the district committee of the L.M.S. and even by the traditional crusaders for prohibition, the Methodists,¹⁰⁸ amongst whom doubts as to its effectiveness had been sown by an influential book, Temperance Problems and Social Reform.¹⁰⁹ A circular sent to all individual missionaries, as to other expatriates, showed them almost unanimously to share the conviction that prohibition was undesirable.¹¹⁰ The missionaries may be suspected of a degree of self-interest in their opposition to prohibition, but in fact the two chief protagonists, Abel and Stone-Wigg, were teetotallers as indeed were their strongest supporters, Lawes, Schlencker, Cullen and Saville. The Anglicans admitted that they were concerned about the availability of wine for sacramental purposes and as a remedy for fever, but their main contention, like that of their Protestant counterparts, was that prohibition in Papua 'would not be for the good... of the native population'.¹¹¹ Most believed that it was 'unworkable',

106 Lawes to Atlee Hunt, 11 August 1905, 14 September 1905, P.L., L.M.S.

107 Stone-Wigg, Diary III, 5 September 1903, 99; Abel, Circular letter to L.M.S. missionaries, Sydney, 20 October 1903, P.L., L.M.S.; Daily Telegraph, 21 September 1903.

108 Resolution 2, P.D.C. Minutes 1903, and Abel, Circular letter, 20 October 1903, P.L., L.M.S.; Journal of Synod 1903, 286, U.C.A.

109 R. Howe, The Wesleyan Church in Victoria..., 83-84.

110 The Commonwealth Problem - Australia and New Guinea, Times Weekly Edition, 1 September 1905, Stone-Wigg's Newscutting Book, A.A.

111 Resolution 2, P.D.C. Minutes 1903, P.L., L.M.S.

'impracticable', and that the Papuans, hitherto protected by the laws of the colony from access to alcohol, would be at the mercy of illicit traders.¹¹² Despite the opprobrium of the temperance movement in Australia,¹¹³ Abel and Stone-Wigg persisted in their campaign, writing and speaking to the press and interviewing politicians. The Act was passed without the prohibition clause.

In the closing months of 1906, the commissioners appointed to inquire into the government of the colony¹¹⁴ travelled through Papua collecting evidence. Six missionaries appeared before them: Charles Abel and E. Baxter Riley (L.M.S.) Andrew Ballantyne (Methodist), Copland King (Anglican) and Alain de Boismenu and Alexander Fillodeau (S.H.M.). Consistent with their self-image as 'native protectors' they spoke most on issues concerning the Papuans: recruiting, cultivation, education, justice in the law courts and the conduct of the police. As well as hearing evidence from the mission representatives, the commissioners visited briefly several mission stations.

When the missionaries read the commissioners' report, many believed their fears about the changeover to Australian rule confirmed. It marked, reported Stone-Wigg, a complete change of attitude. 'It is thoroughly "Australian". The country must be made to pay, the natives must not obstruct the white man, the Missions will be tolerated if they make as their chief objective the teaching of English (the Gospel is evidently to be a very poor second).'¹¹⁵ Like Stone-Wigg, many missionaries objected to the report on the grounds that it was 'anti-native' and 'anti-missionary'.¹¹⁶ Some objected too that it was unfairly anti-Barton, seeing the attacks on the administrator,

112 Lawes to Thompson, 10 October 1903, P.L., L.M.S.; resolution 2, P.D.C. minutes 1903, P.L., L.M.S.; Australian Churchman, February 1904, Stone-Wigg's Newscutting Book.

113 See the Australian Temperance World, October 1903.

114 See Royal Commission Report, 1907.

115 Stone-Wigg to Bishop [Montgomery], 18 March 1907. Stone-Wigg Papers.

116 E.g., Dauncey to Thompson, 27 March 1907, Abel to Thompson, 4 September 1907, P.L., L.M.S.

an Englishman, as an assertion of 'Australia for the Australians' and a rejection of his policy of protection of the Papuans in favour of one of exploitation.¹¹⁷ Several Anglican and Protestant missionaries shared the widespread criticism of Judge Hubert Murray's role in the proceedings; he 'practically impeached Barton', reported Stone-Wigg.¹¹⁸

The recommendations of the commissioners regarding missions provoked strong opposition on a number of grounds.¹¹⁹ Many missionaries were aggrieved that no credit was given for their work, especially as much of it was supportive of government policy. Others, like Stone-Wigg, objected to the utilitarian emphasis on the teaching of English. Some, proud of their pioneering record, resented the implication that missions were dependent on government for their safety. Copland King believed that the commissioners' survey of missions had been too perfunctory and, in any case, beyond their brief. Protestant and Anglican missionaries, above all, feared for the future of the spheres of influence agreement, which the report described as a 'purely private arrangement'.¹²⁰

Entangled with the missionaries' objections to the 'anti-missionary' recommendations of the report was their opposition to its 'anti-native' tone. Recognising that the report advocated the commercial exploitation of Papua, they feared its effect upon the Papuans. Of particular concern was a proposal for compulsory purchase by the government of 'such of the native's land as is not reasonably required by him.'¹²¹ Will Saville expressed a typical missionary

117 Abel to Thompson, 4 September 1907, Dauncey to Thompson, 28 June 1907, P.L., L.M.S.; Saville to Alf Saville, 6 April 1907, Saville Papers.

118 Stone-Wigg to Bishop [Montgomery], 18 March 1907, Stone-Wigg Papers.

119 Saville to Alf Saville, 6 April 1907; Hobart Church News, 1 July 1907, Stone-Wigg's Newscutting Book, A.A.; Report of the New Guinea Mission for the Year Ending 31 March 1907, 15-17; Abel to Thompson, 4 September 1907, P.L., L.M.S.

120 Royal Commission Report 1907, XL. See also XXXVII-XXXIX for the commissioners' assessment of missions.

121 Joint letter of Stone-Wigg, Abel and Bromilow to S.M.H., 11 June 1907.

reaction to this proposal:

Papua has always been governed for the natives; it has always been considered the Papuan's country and its lands were held sacred.... Australia says no, land must be compulsorily sold to us.... I really believe Australia would not mind smudging another page of its history by shooting the natives off....¹²²

Confronted with such a threat, missionaries of the L.M.S., Anglican and Methodist missions fought their most concerted battle as protectors of the Papuans. 'Of course we loyally recognise that we are under Commonwealth Government', wrote Dauncey, 'but we recognise also that we must not stand by and see the native helped out of existence as he has been in Australia'.¹²³ Abel, Bromilow and Stone-Wigg, deputed by their respective missions, strove to influence press, politicians and public opinion in Australia. Their joint letter of protest, juxtaposing Erskine's promise of 1884, 'Your lands will be secured to you', with the compulsory purchase clause, drew sympathetic editorials and articles from most of the leading daily papers to which it was sent.¹²⁴ Bromilow mobilised opinion through the missionary board, which entreated Methodists throughout the commonwealth to 'use their influence to prevent any injustice being done to the natives of Papua'.¹²⁵ Abel worked through the Society's influential agent, Joseph King, and through that pioneer protector of the Papuans, W.G. Lawes, who had recently retired to Sydney.¹²⁶ The missionaries counted it a personal victory when they received an assurance from the Acting Prime Minister, Sir John Forrest, that the

122 Saville to Alf Saville, 6 April 1907. Saville Papers.

123 Dauncey to Thompson, 27 March 1907, P.L., L.M.S.

124 Brisbane Telegraph, 21 June 1907; S.M.H., 11 June 1907; Brisbane Courier, 10 June 1907; Argus, 14 June 1907; Age, 12 June 1907.

125 Report of meeting of Board of Missions, 20 June 1907; M.R., July 1907, 1.

126 Resolution 17, P.D.C. Minutes, 27 March 1907 and Dauncey to Thompson, 27 March 1907, P.L., L.M.S.; Stone-Wigg to Bishop [?Montgomery], 26 June 1907, Stone-Wigg Papers.

Papuans' land would not be taken.¹²⁷

The hostility of the Protestant missionaries towards the Royal Commission was strengthened by their suspicion of Roman Catholic influence, especially that of Cardinal Moran, which they believed to have been exercised through the Australian Natives' Association.¹²⁸ They interpreted the appointment of J.H.P. Murray, a Roman Catholic, as lieutenant-governor in the same light. 'The hand making the changes may be the hand of Esau (Labor Party) but the voice directing the changes is the voice of Jacob (Cardinal Moran) and there are dark days ahead of us', predicted Harry Dauncey.¹²⁹

Other Protestant missionaries shared Dauncey's misgivings. Even the Methodist secretary, Benjamin Danks, referred to Murray, with unbecoming bigotry, as a person to whom 'one would scarcely look for a criterion of Christian character'.¹³⁰ Anglican wariness of Murray dated from 1904 when he, as Chief Judicial Officer, acceded to a request from the S.H.M. that it be known as 'The Catholic Mission'. Bishop Stone-Wigg responded: 'As there are four Missions working in the Possession, and at least two claim to be Catholic missions...may I ask you...to which of the four Missions reference is made?'¹³¹ After protracted correspondence between the Anglican bishop and the government

- 127 Stone-Wigg to Bishop [?Montgomery], 26 June 1907. Stone-Wigg Papers. The Commonwealth Government subsequently tried to suggest that the missionaries' concern was unfounded, but it seems that a compulsory purchase clause had already been passed in Port Moresby before being suppressed in Melbourne in the face of the agitation. (See Abel to Thompson, 4 September 1907, P.L., L.M.S.)
- 128 Abel to Thompson, 4 September 1907, cf. Dauncey to Thompson, 28 June 1907, P.L., L.M.S.
- 129 Dauncey to Thompson, 28 June 1907, P.L., L.M.S.
- 130 Danks to Ballantyne, 19 April 1912, Letterbook, M.O.M. 60. Danks was rebuked by the Methodist missionary, Andrew Ballantyne, for his remark. (Ballantyne to Danks, 18 June 1912, Correspondence, 1912, M.O.M. 119.)
- 131 Stone-Wigg to Musgrave, 18 February 1905. File: Catholic Church in Papua, A.A.

secretary, it was agreed in 1908 that the S.H.M. be designated the 'Roman Catholic Mission'.¹³²

But the dominant source of mistrust between the three non-Roman Catholic missions and the new Australian regime was their fear that, owing to Roman Catholic influence, the mission spheres would be dismantled. Representatives, Stone-Wigg, Bromilow and Abel, wrote to the Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, in December 1907, protesting at the opinion of the commissioners and arguing for the maintenance of the spheres.¹³³ Their letter was sent, in January 1908, to the new lieutenant-governor, Murray, who, with his executive council, sought the opinion of the Sacred Heart Mission.

In the years since the departure of MacGregor, the S.H.M. had gained, in the person of Alain de Boismenu, an impressive champion. More conciliatory than Navarre and more political than Verjus, he had campaigned consistently against the spheres, 'a wretched piece of political Erastianism',¹³⁴ which he saw as a fundamental violation of religious liberty. At the Second Australasian Catholic Congress held in Melbourne in 1904 he condemned the agreement as 'intolerable', 'pernicious' and 'alien to the British sense of "fair play"'.¹³⁵ Although some of the intensity of the conflict between the S.H.M. and the government had been defused, after the turn of the century, by the redirecting of much of the mission's expansion towards the mountains, and by their removal, in Waima, to land obtained from European traders and thus exempt from the need for government ratification, the Sacred Heart missionaries remained uncompromising in their determination to win freedom of movement. Invited by Hubert Murray to state their case, de Boismenu launched a cogent, ironic and

132 Stone-Wigg to Musgrave, 22 June 1905; Musgrave to Stone-Wigg, 19 April, 6 July, 29 July 1905. File: Catholic Church in Papua, A.A. See also file on Catholic Mission, box 40, A.B.M.

133 Bromilow, Stone-Wigg and Abel to Alfred Deakin, Prime Minister, 27 December 1907. Copy in government file, U.C.A.

134 De Boismenu, Introduction to B. Grimshaw, The New New Guinea, v. See also Lieutenant-Governor, Correspondence and Papers, 1888-1906. Item 77, G121 C.A.O.27.

135 De Boismenu, Address to Second Catholic Congress, Proceedings, 273-74.

persuasive attack on the spheres.¹³⁶ The executive council of Papua referred the issue back to the federal government which, without pronouncing on the policy in general, contented itself with upholding the practice of having only one mission in each village.

Although their challenge to the spheres had not succeeded, the Sacred Heart missionaries received from Murray more personal sympathy than they had experienced from his non-Roman Catholic predecessors. They found in the Australian government, wrote de Boismenu in 1911, 'a benevolent fairness that our missionaries do not always find in our French colonies'.¹³⁷ Anglican opposition to Murray was softened by the influence of Henry Newton, an old school friend who, after his enthronement in 1921, insisted on total co-operation with the government. Protestant missionaries were slower to shed their anti-Catholic suspicions. But as the years passed, growing recognition of Murray's impartiality and his support, and, above all, the realisation that protection of the Papuans was as much a cornerstone of his policy as of their own, encouraged increasing respect.¹³⁸ Missions and government worked together, wrote Murray in 1907, 'towards a common end- that end being the amelioration of the native races of Papua'.¹³⁹ Murray actively courted the missionaries' support as he became embroiled in a struggle, culminating in the 'twenties, against settler interests, which he saw as incompatible with the interests of the Papuans.¹⁴⁰

Of course, there was occasional friction. Ben Butcher became an adversary of government in 1919 through his condemnation of an

136 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 283-86.

137 Interview with de Boismenu, published in Annales, 1911, 221.

138 The co-operation was formally recognised by the appointment, in 1924, of a non-official member, elected from among all the missionaries, to the Legislative Council. L.M.S. missionaries Dauncey, Clark and Turner filled this post before World War II.

139 B.N.G. A.R., 1906-07, 24.

140 See F. West, Hubert Murray, 177-203.

unnecessarily violent government raid on the village of Kumukumu.¹⁴¹ L.M.S. and Methodist missionaries fought against laxness in the recruiting system and the proposed introduction of 'coolie labour'.¹⁴² Methodist missionaries maintained for decades a running debate with Murray on the extent of depopulation.¹⁴³ But in general Murray's policy and his ability, like MacGregor's, to impose it on his field-officers, won increasing approval from the missionaries in the inter-war years. The period of co-operation was heralded in 1914 when representatives of the non-Roman Catholic missions waited on Murray in Melbourne to express their approval of his 'native policy'.¹⁴⁴

It is an over-simplification, then, to see the British missionaries in New Guinea as manipulated by 'selfish forces' of imperialism who took 'protective colour' from their idealism,¹⁴⁵ or to see them simply as one of the 'sinister trio of capitalism imperialism', in league with the trader and the official.¹⁴⁶ Missionaries saw themselves as distinct from government officers and to a large extent - and in the case of the Protestant missionaries, on the instructions of their societies - held themselves aloof from politics. The absence of a hereditary chieftainship or any form of strong, centralised, indigenous government removed the temptation of becoming 'éminences grises' to which some missionaries had succumbed in Polynesia.¹⁴⁷ Insofar as

141 Butcher to Mrs Holtum, 18 August 1914, MS 1881/3; Ena Butcher to Mr and Mrs Davidson, 31 July 1914, MS 1881/5, Butcher Papers.

142 E.g., resolution 64, P.D.C. Minutes 1913, resolution 25, P.D.C. Minutes 1911, P.L., L.M.S.; resolution 27, Papua Synod 1911, Synod Journal, 441, U.C.A.; Danks to Ballantyne, 11 January 1912 and 19 April 1912, Danks to Gilmour, 4 May 1912, Danks Letterbook, M.O.M. 60; Papua A.R. 1908, 94.

143 Review of the debate on depopulation in Papua Missions: Report by missionaries re decline in population, d'Entrecasteaux 1941-42, A518, N831/1 C.A.O.

144 F. West, Hubert Murray, 146.

145 J.A. Hobson, Imperialism..., 197.

146 James McAuley, 'Christian Missions' in South Pacific, VIII, no.7, August 1955, 138. Cf. A. Temu, British Protestant Missions, 132.

147 S. Neill, Colonialism and Christian Missions, 239. But see also W.N. Gunson, 'The theology of imperialism and the missionary history of the South Pacific', J.R.H. V, 1968-69, 263.

missionaries did enter the political arena, it was most commonly in their role as 'the native's watchdog', a role recognised as theirs by government officials.¹⁴⁸ This did not make them inevitable allies of government. When they saw Papuan interests advanced by official policy, they co-operated with the government; when they saw it threatened, they opposed it. And because of the influence they exerted upon both the local peoples and public opinion in Britain and Australia, they negotiated from a position of strength. They were not puppets nor tools of government; their co-operation was always conditional upon their objectives being fulfilled. That they lent support to the call for foreign intervention in New Guinea and that they were such close allies for much of the period before the First World War, was due to the 'happy accident' of perceived community of interest.

Yet if it is fallacious to see the missionaries simply in their stereotyped image as one of the sinister trio, it is equally misleading to view their involvement with imperialism solely in terms of their self-promoted image as champions of native rights. While they strove, consistently and conscientiously, to curb the exploitation inherent in imperial rule, they were, nevertheless, fundamentally implicated in the whole process. Most held the common assumption of European superiority and supported its corollary of 'the white man's burden', the civilising mission to the 'backward races'.¹⁴⁹ Methodist and Anglican missionaries especially, many of British stock, shared to a greater or lesser extent

148 The phrase was coined by Judge Herbert, Chief Judicial Officer. (Copy of letter from Ballantyne to E.J. Cato in Burgess to Wheen, 25 November 1913, Correspondence 1912-13, M.O.M. 119.) For missionary perceptions of this role see, for example, A.K. Chignell, An Outpost in Papua, 25; W.G. Lawes, introduction to P.D.C. Minutes 1903, P.L., L.M.S.; Chalmers to Thompson, 11 February 1884, P.L., L.M.S.; Turner, History of the L.M.S., lecture IV, 8 (unpublished), Turner Papers; Navarre to Administrator, 18 December 1903, B.A. Cf. C.P. Groves, 'Missionary and humanitarian aspects of imperialism, from 1870-1914', Gann and Duignan, Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, I, 475.

149 This was as much an article of faith amongst the French as amongst the British. See T. Zeldin, France 1848-1945, II, 6-17. For some missionary doubts as to European superiority, see above, 167-69.

their contemporaries' enthusiasm for British imperial rule. They celebrated the Queen's birthdays and jubilees, mourned her death, commemorated the coronation of her son and in turn mourned his passing. 'We are doing our best out here to keep loyal feelings alive and I think we shall get quite enthusiastically British Empire', Bishop Stone-Wigg wrote to his mother in the Jubilee Year of 1897.¹⁵⁰ Few would have disclaimed their association with empire. 'I suppose the missionaries of all denominations are considerable factors in spreading the Imperial idea?' a journalist asked Stone-Wigg. 'Undoubtedly', replied the bishop. 'Of course the natives don't understand Imperialism as we understand it....'¹⁵¹ For advocates of industrial mission, who supported the nexus between Christianity, colonialism, civilisation and commerce expounded by Livingstone, the bonds were particularly close. As to most of their contemporaries, imperial rule was, to them, of unquestioned value.

In a country where they were surrounded by largely unknown peoples of a different race, the similarities between missionaries and officials inevitably appeared greater than the differences. Despite their protests of independence, some missionaries were comforted by the security of imperial rule. Some, of humble birth, were flattered by their association with senior officials, while others, more highly born and frequently of similar social origins, felt affinity with them.¹⁵²

150 11 June 1897, Stone-Wigg Papers. See also Dogura Log, 24 May 1899, box 65, file 4, A.A.; King to Stone-Wigg 10 February 1901 and Ker to Stone-Wigg, 22 June 1902. Personal Files, box 21, A.A.; H. Newton, In Far New Guinea, 242; Edith Lloyd, Journal, 10 February 1901, M.O.M.; Jeannie Tinney, Diary II, 134, 14 March 1900; sermon on 60th year of the Queen's reign, 29 August 1897, Billing Papers, M.O.M. On Queen Victoria as an imperial symbol, see K.S. Inglis, The Australian Colonists, 67.

151 Daily Telegraph, 23 March 1903, Stone-Wigg's Newscutting Book.

152 See, for example, comments of Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 266 and 274 and Gill, Diary, 2 November 1919. Stone-Wigg for instance, travelled to New Guinea with Lord Lamington and Sir Henry Nelson and, on his arrival, he stayed at Government House. He was friendly with successive administrators, especially Sir George Le Hunte, an Anglican lay-reader. Although critical of aspects of the policy of Le Hunte's successor, Christopher Stansfeld Robinson, son of an archdeacon of Christchurch, he maintained friendly social relations with him.

Such association, while not nullifying their protector role, embroiled them more deeply, at least in the eyes of others, in the processes of imperialism.

The great irony of the missionaries' role in New Guinea, as in other colonial situations, was that the distinction between missionary and official, which they strove so carefully to maintain, was not always perceived by the people. While Papuans often successfully exploited the differences between missionaries and government officers, using the former as mediators or intercessors with the latter, or playing one off against the other, at other times, in their eyes, the distinction became blurred. Even the Sacred Heart missionaries, who by virtue of their non-British origins were less intimately associated with the imperial government, found that the Papuans were prone to confuse the two. 'We have told the natives we have nothing in common with the government; they only half believe it', observed Navarre.¹⁵³ The Motu who identified the gun-boats in Moresby Harbour at the declaration of the protectorate as 'Tamate's canoes' or the Massim who watched the Merrie England tow the pioneer Methodist party ashore, or the Kiriwinans marched to church by the commandant of the native constabulary, could not be blamed for failing to distinguish between missionaries and officials.

Missionaries were compromised in other ways. Their attitude to punishment was ambivalent and at times inconsistent. Most deplored punitive expeditions. Before his expedition to Goaribari the L.M.S. begged Le Hunt not to seek vengeance for the death of Chalmers and his companions, and the S.H.M. pleaded similarly for the Fuyughe after their attack on de Boismenu and his party in 1900.¹⁵⁴ 'Our system of revenge is thoroughly savage', Chalmers had reflected early in his career,¹⁵⁵ yet that great champion of the Papuans had himself

153 Navarre, Journal 1899, 149, B.A.

154 Hunt to Thompson, 3 June 1901, P.L., L.M.S.; A. Dupeyrat, Festive Papua, 74; Fr Jullien to Government Agent, 24 June 1899; Kairuku, Mekeo District, General. Item 291C, G91, C.A.O.27.

155 Chalmers, Report 1887, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

taken part in a punitive expedition in 1881 after the people of Kalo had killed several Polynesian teachers and their families.¹⁵⁶

That he did so reluctantly, and only to prevent unnecessary bloodshed was unlikely to have been apparent to those whose village was shelled. On other occasions missionaries kept strangely silent in the face of violence by officials.

The Roro, threatened by Verjus for the theft of an axe with the words: 'Don't you know that I have only to say a word and the man-of-war at Port Moresby will come to punish you?',¹⁵⁷ or the Mekeo, to whom Verjus introduced MacGregor as 'the big chief',¹⁵⁸ might well have failed to see much difference between mission and government. For the Mekeo of Inawaia, subjugated by MacGregor after Verjus' representations to him and reconciled to the government through Verjus' mediations, the difference between missionary and official must have been especially elusive.¹⁵⁹ Sir William MacGregor, not one to be indecisive when action was required, reported when urged by Copland King to take reprisals for cannibalism that he did not always 'concur with King's use of violence'.¹⁶⁰ Papuans, like government officers, may have been confused by the tendency of some missionaries to report misdemeanours but not to press charges.¹⁶¹ Such collusion between missionaries and officials, while generally consistent with

156 See Lawes, Diary, 21 August 1881. Eminent missionaries in other fields had been similarly implicated in punitive expeditions. See, for example, R. Adams, *Culture Contact History of Tanna to 1865* (Ph.D thesis), viii and 254 ff. on Paton and the Curagoa affair, and George Brown, Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer, 252-61.

157 Verjus to Chevalier, 26 June 1889, Annales, 1889, 563. Cf. S. Tomlinson, Diary, 14 November 1891, box 40, A.B.M.

158 M. Stephen, *Continuity and change...*, 68-69.

159 Ibid, 72-74; B.N.G. A.R., 1892-93, appendix D, 15-19, appendix E, 21; Kowald to Musgrave, 30 November 1891, General Report of Proceedings, Kairuku, Mekeo District. Item 282A, G91, C.A.O.27; Annales, 1896, 217.

160 B.N.G. A.R., 1895-96, appendix C, 6.

161 E.g., Wriford to MacGregor, 13 September 1892; Kowald to Winter, September 1892. Copies in B.A.

the missionaries' paternalistic understanding of the Papuans' best interests, in the eyes of the people compromised them in their role of protector. The Papuans could be pardoned for believing, like the Nigerians under colonial rule, that missionary and official were 'birds of a feather'.¹⁶²

OFFICIAL relations between the three non-Roman Catholic missions remained generally harmonious before the First World War. The highest possible standards for co-operation had been established at their first meeting in 1890. There was a natural sympathy between the two Protestant bodies and Albert Maclaren, of an era and a tradition not known for its ecumenism, had won their esteem for his flexibility, 'large-heartedness' and 'broad sympathies'.¹⁶³ Had he only come earlier, wrote Lawes, 'I might have joined him and become the first bishop of New Guinea!'¹⁶⁴ Despite a private distaste for Protestant worship, which he found 'too flippant' and 'not dignified enough',¹⁶⁵ Maclaren joined L.M.S. missionaries in family prayers and in a service to open the new 'European' church at Port Moresby, and received communion from the hands of the Protestant missionaries.¹⁶⁶ 'Am I not right?' he reflected. 'Surely in a heathen country we don't want to shock the poor natives with our unhappy divisions.... I trust I am none the less a Catholic in its deepest meaning'.¹⁶⁷ Missionaries of all persuasions mourned his death.¹⁶⁸

162 E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, xvii; cf. A. Temu, British Protestant Missions, 2. For a useful discussion of the interpretation of mission-government relations in African historiography, see R. Strayer, 'Mission history in Africa', African Studies Review, XIX (1), 1976, 8-11.

163 Lawes to Thompson, 17 June 1890, P.L., Dauncey, Diary, 10 May 1890, P.J., L.M.S.

164 Lawes to Thompson, 17 June 1890, P.L., L.M.S.

165 Maclaren, Diary, 15 June and 6 July 1890.

166 Dauncey, Diary, 10 May 1890, Papua Personal, L.M.S.; Maclaren, Diary, 18 May 1890; J. King, W.G. Lawes..., 267.

167 Maclaren, Diary, 4 May 1890.

168 Walker, Report 1891, Papua Reports, L.M.S.; M.R., January 1892, 2.

The Evangelical, Copland King, leader of the Anglican Mission after Maclaren, found no difficulty in co-operating with his Protestant colleagues. In 1893 a second meeting of representatives of the three missions discussed, at the government's request, 'native marriage' and, for their own benefit, the definition of the sabbath and the adaptation of biblical names to local languages.¹⁶⁹

Bishop Stone-Wigg's uncompromising Anglo-Catholicism placed some strain on relations with the Protestant missions. The Anglicans' tendency to style themselves 'The New Guinea Mission' was, wrote Lawes, 'a piece of cool sacerdotal cheek'.¹⁷⁰ L.M.S. and Methodist missionaries resented the building of an Anglican church at Samarai, regarded as within the L.M.S. district of Charles Abel.¹⁷¹ It was, remarked George Brown to Bromilow, 'a monstrous piece of sacerdotalism'.¹⁷² Stone-Wigg's refusal to give communion to Protestants or to allow into his pulpit any nonconformists save, as a special concession, Charles Abel, provoked further indignation.¹⁷³

But despite the friction caused by Stone-Wigg's activities at Samarai, personal relations remained civil and co-operative. The representatives of the L.M.S. and Anglican missions at Samarai, Charles Abel and Frederick Ramsay, both muscular Christians, met harmoniously; Stone-Wigg visited Kwato and Dobu, two Anglican women missionaries also visited Dobu to discuss their work with the Methodist sisters, and a Methodist Fijian taught mat-making at Dogura.¹⁷⁴

169 W. Bromilow 'New Guinea' in J. Colwell, A Century in the Pacific, 541; M.R., August 1893, 2.

170 Lawes to Thompson, 20 June 1904, P.L., L.M.S.

171 Abel to Thompson, 3 January 1899, P.L., L.M.S.; Bromilow to Brown, 14 November 1899, Letters received, M.O.M. 167.

172 Brown to Bromilow, 1 January 1900, Brown's Letterbook 1898-1900, M.O.M.

173 Ibid. When in 1915 the Kikuyu controversy split the ranks of Anglican clergy over the issue of admission of nonconformists to pulpit and sacrament, Bishop Sharp affirmed his commitment to the policy of Stone-Wigg (Sharp to London vicars, 18 November 1915). Personal file, box 23, A.A.

174 Stone-Wigg, fragment of letter, n.d. [?1905], Stone-Wigg Papers; Stone-Wigg Diary 1897 and 1901, passim.; Edith Lloyd, Journal II, 10 July 1899, M.O.M.

Doctrinal differences were put aside for joint protests against government policy and practice.¹⁷⁵

It is not surprising that Archbishop Navarre suspected a powerful coalition of Protestant (in which he included Anglican) interests. Albert Maclaren had established friendly relations with the S.H.M. by visiting Verjus when he was ill, drinking wine with him and worshipping in the Yule Island chapel.¹⁷⁶ Later Verjus remarked to MacGregor that Maclaren was said to be 'more Catholic than him'.¹⁷⁷ De Boismenu was impressed by Stone-Wigg, whom he found 'admirably cultured, well-raised and sincere'. After meeting him, he lamented: 'They are so close, so close to us!'¹⁷⁸ But the Anglicans shared their Protestant colleagues' suspicions of the intentions of the S.H.M. and Stone-Wigg, seeing the church of Rome as 'the implacable enemy of all other forms of Christian endeavour', pressed into the Mamba district for fear of encroachments.¹⁷⁹ The Anglican Mission was, however, distant from the S.H.M. and the sole encounter of any substance between the two was over the right to the title 'The Catholic Mission'.

The only major conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Papua was the struggle between the L.M.S. and the S.H.M. over the disputed territory of Waima. Although it avoided the violence of similar encounters in other colonies, it was a form of sectarian warfare, perhaps exacerbated by but not caused by the spheres of influence. As was common in that period, each side acted in profound ignorance of the other, relying upon the stereotyped prejudices of their own religious sub-culture. Navarre embellished his image of the Protestant

175 Besides those discussed above, the missions also co-operated to oppose Sunday labour and to request a reduction in the age of majority. (Board Minutes 1910-13, 13 July 1910 and 8 August 1910, M.O.M.)

176 Maclaren, Diary, 4 June 1890.

177 MacGregor, Diary III, 6 January 1892.

178 A. Dupeyrat and F. de la Noë, Sainteté au Naturel..., 64.

179 Stone-Wigg, Address to Conference, Thirteenth Anniversary 1904, 2; A.K. Chignell, Twenty-one years..., 114.

missionaries with the allegations of the trader, Edward Guise, that Lawes was a drunkard and that Chalmers had two native mistresses at Port Moresby.¹⁸⁰ There was more basis for his criticism of the Polynesian teachers of the L.M.S., but scarcely sufficient to justify the contempt with which he and his priests wrote of them.¹⁸¹ On the other side, Lawes manifested an uncompromising anti-catholicism, an attitude in which he was encouraged by the Society. 'Roman Catholic missions may be better than nothing', Thompson told him, 'but I have little hesitation in trying to keep them out'.¹⁸² The subsequent scramble to fill in the gaps in their coastline, while the S.H.M. extended itself, beyond its resources, through Roro and Mekeo, was motivated primarily by the desire of each to exclude the other.¹⁸³

Although the Sacred Heart missionaries' decision to move into Protestant territory was based upon their 'duty' to distribute the 'good bread of God' among the 'false doctrines' of Protestantism,¹⁸⁴ their manner of taking occupation was undeniably provocative. The missionaries galloped into Waima like conquerors, their horses' bridles garlanded with plumes and flowers,¹⁸⁵ and when the priests and brothers gathered there to rejoice at 'the splendid rout inflicted upon the Protestants', it was a victory celebration.¹⁸⁶

That the confrontation was not more violent was due, in part, to the forbearance of some of the main antagonists and the personal relationships which developed amongst them. Chalmers, despite

180 Navarre, *Journal of Voyage from Thursday Island to Yule Island*, n.p., R.A.

181 E.g., letter of A. Jullien, 21 May 1896 published in *Annales*, 1896, 561.

182 Thompson to Chalmers, 1 July 1881, W.O.L.

183 Chalmers to Thompson, 20 April 1881, Lawes to Thompson, 27 April 1881, P.L., L.M.S.; Navarre to Director of Holy Childhood, 19 December 1890, *Annales*, 1892, 395.

184 'Father Jullien', *Annales*, 1923, 171.

185 A. Dupeyrat, *Papouasie...*, 267.

186 Letter of de Boismenu, 11 January 1892, *Annales*, 1899, 427.

his Scottish Presbyterian heritage, extended his large sympathy to the Roman Catholic missionaries. 'If any of the New Guineans are benefitted and blessed, and Jesus glorified, I don't care who may be the instruments', he wrote in 1893.¹⁸⁷ Brother Alexis Henkelmann, after receiving from Chalmers 'saxon hospitality in all its splendour', regretted that 'a strength such as his was not Catholic'.¹⁸⁸ Pryce-Jones won similar respect from Fr Clauser for the 'free and cordial' welcome he offered at Iokea.¹⁸⁹ But above all others, Harry Dauncey, L.M.S. missionary at Delena, strove to keep the peace between the two missions. In the face of criticism from some of his colleagues, he withdrew the L.M.S. claim to Vanamai and, despite Navarre's conviction that 'sooner or later there must come a crash' sought to make their joint occupation of Waima as free of conflict as possible.¹⁹⁰ Fr Genocchi, superior of the S.H.M. when the crisis began, described Dauncey to his confrères in Europe as 'a perfect gentleman full of good faith' who 'would not for all the world give pain to us Catholic missionaries, whom he loves and esteems sincerely'.¹⁹¹ The Sacred Heart missionaries were fortunate to have as neighbours the more liberal and tolerant members of the L.M.S. rather than the Methodists whose traditional anti-poperly, judging from the violence of their protests at Cardinal Moran's perspective on missions,¹⁹² had not mellowed with time.

But despite the conciliatory attitude of men such as Dauncey and Genocchi, relations between the two missions deteriorated following the S.H.M.'s incursion into Waima. Conflict at village level became common as Samoan pastors competed with European priests and brothers

187 Chalmers, Report 1893. Papua Reports, L.M.S.

188 A. Henkelman, En bourlingant sur la mer de corail, 49.

189 Annales, 1914, 161.

190 Dauncey to Thompson, 13 June 1896, P.L., L.M.S.

191 Letter of Genocchi, 22 November 1894. Annales, 1895, 448.

192 'Cardinal Moran on Protestant Missions', M.R., July 1895, 2-5; 'Cardinal Moran's Charges', M.R., August 1899, 1-4.

for the allegiance of the people.¹⁹³ L.M.S. missionaries resented the enticements offered by the S.H.M. in the form of material rewards for attendance and the imposition of only a 'continental sabbath'.¹⁹⁴ Each side made slanderous allegations about the other.¹⁹⁵ By 1911 there were occasional skirmishes between priests and the headstrong Samoan pastors. 'Striking, kicking, biting and any amount of strong language', reported Dauncey after one such incident.¹⁹⁶ 'It is now an open fight', he told the L.M.S. directors.¹⁹⁷ Hostility and sporadic violence continued to blight the relationship of the two missions throughout the inter-war years.¹⁹⁸

Because of the operation of the spheres of influence policy, contact between the personnel of the various missions was limited except at the frontier. When it occurred, missionaries were, despite official tensions, generally courteous and co-operative, offering those of all other persuasions hospitality, transport, resources, medical aid and even comfort in bereavement.¹⁹⁹ Faced with the challenges of a strange and sometimes hostile land, the differences between them appeared fewer than the bonds which united them. Besides their common commitment to Christ, they shared their commitment to the protection of the Papuans, which threw them together, sometimes with, sometimes against the government, and almost invariably in opposition to the third major expatriate group in the colony, the traders, miners and planters.

193 Dauncey to Thompson, 27 January, 31 May 1911, P.L., L.M.S.

194 Pryce-Jones to Thompson, 3 February 1903, P.L., L.M.S.; Holmes, Diary, 13 September 1897, L.M.S.; Dauncey Reports, 1897 and 1904, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

195 Holmes, Diary, 13 September 1897, Dauncey to Thompson, 31 May 1911, P.L., L.M.S.

196 Dauncey to Thompson, 31 May 1911, P.L., L.M.S.

197 Dauncey to Thompson, 27 January 1911, P.L., L.M.S.

198 E.g., R.L. Turner, *An Extraordinary Week*, 4 May 1932. Turner Papers, 143.

199 See, for example, *Annales*, 1895, 221; Navarre, Notes, June 1892, B.A.; *M.R.*, October 1899, 3, and October 1913, 19; J. Tinney, Diary II, 51, 28 June 1899; Minutes of Synod, 1893, 248, U.C.A.; *M.R.*, August 1904, 4.

THROUGHOUT the years before the First World War, the commercial population of Papua outnumbered the missionaries and government employees. In 1907-08, for instance, miners alone comprised 27 per cent of the working European population, while planters, traders, store-keepers and hotel-keepers accounted for 21 per cent, government officials and employees, 15 per cent and missionaries 14.5 per cent (Table 5). The commercial community consisted of a small solid core and a large floating population of traders and diggers who shifted according to gold strikes and the commercial prospects of a particular area. Throughout the period the number of traders decreased and the number of planters increased, although the change was partly one of definition as settlers with small land-holdings and trade-stores chose to identify themselves by the more prestigious title. None fitted the image of the large-scale, wealthy tropical planter.

The general antipathy between missionaries and traders was, in Papua as elsewhere, mutual. Each was prone to a false stereotype of the other, observed their contemporary, C.A.W. Monckton. The traders saw the missionary as 'a measly, psalm-singing hypocrite'; the missionary regarded traders as 'drunken, debauched, pyjama-clad ruffians'.²⁰⁰ Most missionaries continued to make the simple equation that had motivated Chalmers' and Lawes' attack on the early traders: commercial exploitation of the country was synonymous with the exploitation of the Papuan. In their self-appointed role of protector, they opposed the exploitation of Papuan resources, labour and women.²⁰¹

Their attitude to sexual exploitation by the traders was based not only upon its disruptive effect on Papuan society but also

200 C.A.W. Monckton, Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate, 43.

201 Savage to Thompson, 7 September 1888, P.L., L.M.S.; Maclaren, Diary, 5 August 1890; Mamba River Log, 10 November 1900, A.A.; Report on Stone-Wigg, North Queensland Register, 3 September 1900; E.S. Davis (trader) to Stone-Wigg, 10 February 1906, Tomlinson file, box 22, A.A.; 'A Brown New Guinea', in Review of Reviews for Australia, 10 February 1906, 140-41, box 8, A.A.; Margaret Beharell to Thompson, 13 January 1913, P.L., L.M.S.; Holmes, Report 1904, Papua Reports, L.M.S.; Stone-Wigg to Bishop [?Montgomery], 18 March 1907, Stone-Wigg Papers.

Table 5: Census of European Work Force - Year Ended 30 June 1908

(Adapted from Papua Annual Report 1907-08, 25)

Occupation or profession	Central Division	Eastern Division	Western Division	Gulf Division	N.E. Division	Northern Division	S.E. Division	Total for Papua
Government officials and employees	55	10	2	1	2	5	3	78
Missionaries	47	16	1	3	4	1	3	75
Planters	23	6	1	3			8	41
Store-keepers	1	18	4			7	4	34
Traders	4	10	1	3	1	2	11	32
Mariners	23	3				1		27
Hotel-keepers	1	3						4
Miners	15	4				77	41	137
Native labour recruiters		10					3	13
Carpenters, ship- builders, and boat-builders	3	14					4	21
Other occupations	19	18	1			1	15	54
TOTAL	191	112	10	10	7	94	92	516

upon the affront which it presented to their own strict morality, which anathematised 'loose living'.²⁰² Cohabitation or casual liaisons became a symbol, especially to the Anglican missionaries, of the immorality which the traders represented.²⁰³ Stone-Wigg was gleeful when the report of the Royal Commission recommended deportation for any Europeans suffering from venereal disease or 'interfering with immoral purpose' with native women. 'This is the great fight I have waged for nine years', he wrote, 'But I am out-Heroded by the Commissioners for I have never gone so far as to suggest deportation...'²⁰⁴

Opposition to the presence of the traders was reinforced by the awareness that they represented a rival, and at times more attractive, influence upon village life. The impotent fury of James Chalmers when the traders Guise and Currie enticed the people of Hula away from his services with lavish payments of tobacco and lessons in rifle-shooting and swearing,²⁰⁵ or the frustration of Samuel Fellows when Nicholas the Greek arranged a conch-shell blowing demonstration to compete with his first service on Kiriwina,²⁰⁶ were not entirely disinterested.

While the missionaries lamented the immorality of the traders, the traders mocked the self-righteous wowsersism of the missionaries. But their antagonism was often based on more than a false image of them. The missionaries' unofficial but always vigilant protection of Papuan interests frustrated the sharper practices of some of the traders. Some felt that the missionaries betrayed their colour by identifying with the interests of the 'native' against those of the 'white man'. Intransigent mission opposition to Sunday trading was a constant source of irritation. And from the protectorate period

202 Stone-Wigg, Anniversary Address, 1901, 9.

203 Dogura Log, 13 January 1892, A.A.; E.J. Davis to Stone-Wigg, 10 February 1906, Tomlinson file, box 22, A.A.

204 Stone-Wigg to Bishop [?Montgomery], 18 March 1907, Stone-Wigg Papers.

205 Chalmers, Report 1884, Papua Reports, L.M.S.

206 Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 191-92.

on, traders suspected mission influence on government policy.²⁰⁷

But the greatest source of resentment was over the question of trading. Traders objected to missionaries who set up trade stores on their stations, and undercut their prices. Although mission societies forbade their members to engage in trade, all missions owned plantations on a modest scale. The tensions caused by such practices became more acute at the turn of the century when the concept of industrial mission lent respectability to a measure of trading. The arch-exponent of industrial mission, Charles Abel, argued that rather than hold themselves aloof from the world of commerce, the missionaries should compete with the traders, thereby providing the Papuans with the option of a Christian commercial activity. Such a philosophy, and his energetic and successful prosecution of it, earned him, and to a lesser extent, other missionaries, the intense hostility of the traders whose interests were threatened.²⁰⁸ Abel's personal attitude towards the traders, of whom he wrote to the L.M.S. directors, 'I'll sweep the Bay clean of these blackguards in three years',²⁰⁹ did nothing to reduce the conflict. In him the traders saw an embodiment of all they loathed in the missionary: the puritanical opponent of their way of life, the aggressive protector of the Papuans against all exploitation, and, above all, the successful competitor.

207 Stone-Wigg analyses the reasons for trader hostility in his Anniversary Address 1901, 13-14. See also T. Bevan, Toil, travel and discovery..., 135.

208 See R. Abel, Charles Abel..., 89; N. Lutton, Larger than Life... (M.A. thesis). The hostility of a competing trader is embodied in a pamphlet: Merchant Missionaries. Trading teachers in New Guinea. The Minister and the Milk Can. Parson's Perquisites. (anon). See also E.W. Harrison, 'The traders and the missionaries', P.I.M., 17 May 1934, 37.

209 Abel to Thompson, 7 February 1903, P.L., L.M.S.



Bulletin, 14 August 1886, 22

From the time of the Laloki gold-rush, missionaries had feared the influence of miners. Stone-Wigg incurred their anger by statements allegedly made by him and reported in the North Queensland Register, denouncing their drunkenness, their 'vicious traffic with native women', the introduction of venereal disease and their 'disastrous counteracting influence to the civilizing...influence of

missionaries and Government officials'.²¹⁰ Perhaps contrite at the offence which his comments gave, Stone-Wigg visited the diggers and although unable to agree on questions of morality - the diggers answering his charges with the assertion that the missionaries' celibacy was unnatural - they parted amicably.²¹¹ Later Stone-Wigg confessed himself 'an admirer of the digger, with all his faults' and reminded his staff that although 'the profanity, the drunkenness, the immorality, the coarseness' disgusted them, 'just as much wickedness' could exist under a quiet exterior.²¹²

Attitudes to settlers were more diverse. Most missionaries shared the fears of the pioneers that settlement would lead to the dispossession of the Papuans, and perhaps genocide. But while some missionaries expressed total opposition to white settlement, others supported controlled colonisation. Both Copland King and Charles Abel declared themselves before the Royal Commission in favour of some European settlement²¹³ and Stone-Wigg reflected the prejudices of his class in advocating 'settlement on a big scale'.²¹⁴ Believing that the 'small man' was the 'mean man', he urged controlled immigration to ensure the presence of a 'good class of men'.²¹⁵

Whatever their personal prejudices, missionaries of all bodies working in Papua recognised a responsibility to its white, as well as its black, population. For those placed near concentrations of white people, as at Port Moresby and Samarai, it became a substantial part of their work.²¹⁶ But the two missions most broadly affected

210 North Queensland Register, 3 September 1900.

211 I. Stuart, Montagu Stone-Wigg, 12 (ts).

212 Stone-Wigg, Anniversary Address, 1901, A.A.

213 Evidence to Royal Commission, 1906, answers to questions 1206 and 1648.

214 'New Guinea. A Liberal Policy Wanted', Sydney Daily Telegraph, 9 January 1902.

215 'New Guinea, Papuan Commission', Brisbane Telegraph, 21 June 1907.

216 Abel to Thompson, 3 January 1899, P.L., L.M.S.; Abel, Report 1897, Papua Reports L.M.S.

by the presence of Europeans were the Anglican and Methodist missions, in whose spheres much of the mining and other commercial activity of the colony occurred. Both missions took their responsibilities seriously. Stone-Wigg built a church and school for the white residents of Samarai, and the mission station on the Mamba, established by Ernest Hines in 1899 and taken over by King, ministered to the large population of diggers in that district. When quartz-mining brought a large incursion of miners to Murua, the Methodists stationed a series of missionaries on the island, each of whose careers was cut short by illness or death.²¹⁷

Such personal contact between the missionaries and the traders, miners and settlers went some way to modify the attitudes of each to the other. W.H. Gors, manager of Burns, Philp and Co. and a friend of Stone-Wigg and other missionaries, paid public tribute to their work and influence.²¹⁸ Some missionaries won admiration even from the traders. One, attending the memorial service for Chalmers and Tomkins, remarked that although not a church-goer, he 'would walk one hundred miles to church to do honour to the memory of Tamate'.²¹⁹ Another, recalling kindness from Tomkins, observed, 'they never made anybody nearer a saint'.²²⁰ Samuel Fellows, subjected to continual harrassment by the traders on his arrival at Kiriwina, won their affection by his good-natured readiness to offer assistance.²²¹ Copland King earned respect though not affection for his dedicated service on the Mamba,²²² while his colleague Frederick Ramsay, a 'real

217 Gregory Gatland, Edward Glew (died), Ernest Harrison, James Walsh.

218 Sydney Daily Telegraph, 6 November 1902. Stone-Wigg's Newscutting Book.

219 Hunt to Pratt, 14 June 1901, Hunt Papers 1356/17 M.L.

220 Report by Dauncey to L.M.S./Baptist Mission Society, Norwich 1909, O.F. Tomkins Papers.

221 W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 193. See also Fellows, Diary, 30 August 1894 and Fellows to Sallie Fellows, 15 October 1899. P.M.B.

222 'New Guinea Letter', Brisbane Church Chronicle, 1 August 1903, Stone-Wigg's Newscutting Book; Stone-Wigg to Bishop [?], 18 April 1905, Stone-Wigg Papers.

man' with a 'dirty left' was universally esteemed on the Mamba and in Samarai.²²³ In 1903 the Yodda diggers collected £31 as a testimonial to the nurses Cottingham and Nowland, insisting, however, that the money go to the women and not to the Anglican Mission.²²⁴ Throughout Papua, settlers, miners and traders remembered care received from missionaries or their wives in illness, injury or other crises.²²⁵ Many missionaries, for their part, probably discovered, as did A.K. Chignell, that such people were 'just ordinary men - like the missionaries themselves'.²²⁶

Nevertheless, relations between the missionaries and the Europeans with commercial interests in New Guinea remained at best, distant and at worst, hostile. In the triangular relationship between the missionary, settler and official, the distance between the missionary and settler was always greater than that between missionary and official. Missionary objectives were always distinct from, and frequently at odds with, those of the planter, digger and trader. These objectives were an intricate mixture of the philanthropic and the self-interested, but, as in their relations with the government, a significant element was their commitment to the protection of the Papuan people.

Yet, despite fundamental differences in outlook and objective, the missionary and the trader were, to a degree, unwitting collaborators. The economic activity of the missionaries of this period was miniscule. But the acculturation process which their arrival initiated had economic as well as social implications. For some Papuans living close to

223 P.I.M., June 1939, 4; J.A. Mackay, Across Papua, 52.

224 King to Stone-Wigg, 31 August 1903. Personal file, box 20, A.A.

225 See, for example, Edith Turner to Nora, 18 September 1938, Turner Papers; Lawes, Diary, 28 March 1876, 3 April 1876, 8 October 1876; Lambert Loria to Thompson, 15 July 1896, P.L., L.M.S.; F. Walker, Diary, 16 and 18 December 1888, P.J., L.M.S.; MacFarlane to Mullens, 22 July 1878, P.L., L.M.S.; Jack Maclaren, My Odyssey, 84; W.Y. Turner to Whitehouse, 9 September 1876, P.L., L.M.S.

226 A.K. Chignell, Twenty-one Years..., 251.

mission stations, their first experience of working for European employers was not in the labour lines of plantations nor in the compulsory village labour exacted by government officers, but in the mission compound. Contact with the mission station introduced Papuans - if not to the cash economy (for payment was commonly by stick tobacco or other trade goods) - to the consumption of western goods through the agency of the mission store. And, more fundamentally, the demands imposed on villagers by missionaries, as well as by traders and officials, and the opportunities which their world provided, conflicted with and radically altered the old socio-economic order.

Through their role as champion of Papuan rights, the missionaries sought to prevent their economic exploitation. But their effect was to soften the impact of the introduction of a capitalist system rather than to challenge its foundations. While many missionaries opposed white settlement and the recruitment of Papuan labour, others sought only to regulate the process and curb abuses. Despite their concern for the Papuan people, most were as culturally bound in their conception of social and economic organisation as the majority of their contemporaries. Neither the stereotype of the missionary as one of the sinister trio, nor as champion of native rights allows for the inevitable ambiguities of the position of mediator between two cultures.

CHAPTER TEN

'A PECULIAR PEOPLE'

ON 24 August 1914, Ben Butcher, at his Gulf station, Aird Hill, heard rumours of a war between the European powers. 'It is too dreadful to contemplate what it may mean for the world', he wrote. 'We shall all suffer and no country will be better off at the end of it all.'¹ Then followed an anxious fortnight while he awaited confirmation. On 8 September, he heard definite news of the war and by 16 September, had received 'one ragged paper' bearing reports.² For other missionaries the experience was similar, the delay being greater or less according to the state of communication with their stations.³

The months that followed were marked by suspense as the missionaries 'read and re-read' papers that were invariably a month old. 'We feel that all the news is on your side of the world', Butcher wrote to a confidant in England. 'On this side we just live from day to day looking for the next boat and trying to get along with our duties, though all the time wondering what is happening in the great struggle.'⁵ Butcher could not recall a year when he had felt 'such strain.'⁶ The installation of wireless at Port Moresby enabled the government to circulate items from cables in Australian newspapers,

1 Butcher to Mrs Holtumm, 24 August 1914, MS 1881/3, Butcher Papers.

2 Letters to Mrs Holtumm, 8 and 16 September 1914, MS 1881/3, Butcher Papers.

3 Sacred Heart missionaries at mountain stations heard of the war on 14 and 16 August, and by 11 December they had caught up with the news to 5 November.

4 Saville to Alf Saville, 23 June 1915, Saville Papers.

5 Butcher to Mrs Holtumm, 29 October 1915, MS 1881 (unnumbered box), Butcher Papers.

6 Idem.

which meant that missionaries close to shipping routes could receive news that was only four or five days old. But, lamented one, it was 'woefully tantalising' in its brevity.⁷

Few missionaries spoke against the war. Charles Abel did so as a pacifist and Ben Butcher denounced as 'wickedly insane' the recourse of 'civilised nations' to arms.⁸ But as the war progressed, perhaps influenced by the patriotic press, Butcher's faith in divine providence and his hope that war might lead to disarmament, reconciled him to it and, while on furlough, he served as a chaplain in France. Some missionaries responded to the war with the same patriotic fervour as many of their compatriots. Will Saville exulted in the 'oneness of Empire'.⁹ A few manifested in their enthusiasm a jingoistic excess scarcely compatible with Christian charity. L.M.S. missionary, Charles Rich, urged that the 'wily Hun' be completely crushed, while his colleague Saville advocated that German soldiers be killed, as 'prisoners live to fight another day.'¹⁰

Several left the mission field for the battlefield. Norman Fettell left the Anglican Mission to fight for 'liberty, freedom and indirectly the spread of the Gospel',¹¹ as did another Anglican, Ernest Owen Davies, who died in the trenches in 1918. Their colleague, A.K. Chignell, leaving the Papuan field for an administrative post with the mission in London, regretted that he too could not take part in the 'dreadful, splendid things' that were going to be 'the re-making of England and the next generation of Englishmen.'¹² Thirteen French Missionaries of the Sacred Heart presented themselves for enlistment but, worn and debilitated by chronic malaria, all were

7 Saville to Alf Saville, 23 June 1915, Saville Papers.

8 N. Lutton, *Larger than Life...*, 176; Butcher to Mrs Holtum, 16 September 1914, MS 1881/3, Butcher Papers.

9 Saville to Alf Saville, 29 September 1914, Saville Papers.

10 Rich to Lenwood, 3 February 1919, P.L., L.M.S.; Saville to Alf Saville, 29 August 1916. Saville Papers.

11 Fettell to Sharp, 11 September 1918. Personal files, box 20, A.A.

judged unfit for service. Two M.S.C. from Papua, recruited elsewhere, served as chaplains, one of them, Fr van Neck, winning high military honours, amongst them the Croix de Guerre. Methodist missionary, F.J. Winn, who served with the Australian Expeditionary Forces, was at first advised by the missionary board that he would 'do better service both for the British Empire and the Greater Empire' through his mission work.¹³ A similar conviction may have influenced other eligible missionaries, who believed themselves to be fighting a battle greater than the temporal.

The leaders of the Methodist, Anglican and Sacred Heart missions were moved to address their staffs on the war. Matthew Gilmour simply urged the Methodists to greater sacrifice.¹⁴ Bishop Sharp explored the attitude of Christianity towards war and assured the Anglicans that it was necessary as a way of settling disputes between nations. 'It is this judicial character of war as a mode of obtaining justice that gives it its morality', he concluded.¹⁵ Bishop de Boismenu, addressing his scattered staff through an episcopal letter, described the war as the 'great school of the supernatural.'¹⁶ Faith enabled the Christian to see beyond the explosion of human hatred and ambition to an omnipotent God who could 'turn even these excesses to his own good and merciful ends.' For believers, the war provided an opportunity for sacrifice, suffering and expiation. For unbelievers, it was a 'call to order.' Confident of its 'eminent place in the divine plan', the missionary could pass through it, 'not without suffering but without mistrust.'

Although remote, the war did engender considerable suffering amongst the missionaries. In material terms it meant disruption of shipping, shortage of provisions, inflated prices and reduction in personnel. But for most, these privations were probably negligible

13 When to Gilmour, 21 August 1914, box 16, file 5. U.C.A.

14 Synod Report (New Guinea) 1914, M.R., December 1914.

15 The Bishop's Address to Conference, 1914, 1-3.

16 A. de Boismenu, Pastoral Letter, 11 February 1915.

compared with the emotional dislocation which it caused. Missionaries suffered the frustration of lack of involvement, the anguish of wondering whether they had made the right decision, and the demoralisation of doubt as to the significance and usefulness of their work. Sacred Heart missionaries, whose emotional and organisational ties with Europe were strongest, suffered intensely.

No previous event which occurred beyond the shores of New Guinea had affected the missionaries so profoundly or so universally. British and Australian missionaries had followed the progress of the Boer War, their various reactions to it reflecting those of their compatriots.¹⁷ Many felt a personal loss in the death of Queen Victoria, which they saw as the end of an era.¹⁸ L.M.S. missionaries mourned their colleagues who were victims of the Boxer Rebellion, and French Catholic missionaries grieved at the rupture of the concordat and the persecution of their congregations and other religious in the France of the Third Republic.¹⁹ But generally the missionaries' sense of involvement in world affairs was slight.

Absorbed in the routine and occasional drama of mission life, isolated from all information save that gleaned from out-of-date papers, letters and periodicals, and encouraged, moreover, in an a-political stance, missionaries commented little on current issues. Some nonconformists followed the education struggle which dominated British politics at the beginning of the twentieth century, and rejoiced in the Liberal victory of 1906,²⁰ but declaration of party allegiance is rare in the missionaries' writings. Where political comment is ventured, it is generally conservative, that of the French Catholic

17 See, for example, Papua Letters 1900 and 1901, L.M.S., passim.

18 Chalmers, Journal, 26 January 1901, L.M.S.; E. Lloyd, Journal VI, 10 February 1901; J. Tinney, Diary, 14 March and 4 April 1901; King to Stone-Wigg, 10 February 1901, Personal files, box 21, A.A.

19 O.F. Tomkins to parents, 24 November 1900, Tomkins Papers; Letter of Fr Meyer, 17 April 1903, Annales, 1904, 397; Letter of Sr André, 22 June 1906, Annales, 1906, 691; Letter of Fr Chabot to a benefactor, 9 June 1906, Annales, 1907, 200.

20 Butcher to Holtumm, 21 January 1906, MS 1881, Butcher Papers; Saville to Alf Saville, 21 September 1906, Saville Papers.

missionaries, a nostalgia for royalist France, and on the part of British and Australian Protestants, an approval of the status quo. William Bromilow infuriated one of the few politically committed Methodist missionaries, the Christian Socialist carpenter, George Bardsley, by his complacent belief that poverty was a necessity intended by God, a reflection of an attitude then still prevalent in colonial Methodism.²¹ Will Saville of the L.M.S. hated and feared the growth of socialism and trade unionism in Britain. 'It is not drink, Alfred, that is going to ruin our land, it is Trade Unionism', he warned his brother.²² He expressed a similar hostility to the 'low-down rabble' of the suffragette movement.²³ But such comment is scant in missionary writings. It took an event as cataclysmic as the First World War, and, perhaps, the sense of immediacy fostered by the introduction of wireless, to jolt the missionaries out of their 'isolation' and 'out-of-the worldness' and into vicarious participation in the events of 'the outside world'.²⁴

But, as with most of their fellow-mortals, the crises which impinged most upon the missionaries were not the great and distant events, but the smaller personal, domestic and professional crises of their own life and work. These determined the balance for each missionary between hope and despair, faith and doubt and, in some cases, life and death.

One of the most pervasive crises of the mission field was ill-health. Missionaries who suffered from not only the endemic diseases such as malaria and gastro-enteritis, but also from the nagging discomfort of decayed teeth, ear infections, and skin complaints, or the 'New Guinea tiredness' due to poor nutrition and a trying climate, rightly attributed their depression or low morale in part

21 Bardsley, Diary, 27 June 1891. Cf. R. Howe, *The Wesleyan Church in Victoria...*, 96-97.

22 Saville to Alf Saville, 29 September 1915, Saville Papers.

23 Saville to Alf Saville, 28 July 1914, Saville Papers.

24 Saville to Alf Saville, 9 June and 14 September 1914, Saville Papers.

to their physical condition. In many cases, men and women alike traced 'a nervous breakdown' or 'nervous derangement' to chronic ill health.²⁵

For some missionaries, bereavement caused a crisis of faith or morale. Many who stoically accepted the death of a child or spouse were, at the death of a colleague, mystified that God should allow reduction in the ranks of his sorely-needed workers. W.G. Lawes, who had fretted at the high death-rate of his Polynesian staff, reacted in 'silent bewilderment' to the death of a promising young missionary, Watson Sharpe, shortly after his arrival in New Guinea. 'I cannot tell you how depressed and sad we feel', he wrote to Wardlaw Thompson.

All our hopes are dashed. It seems as if we were never to have any help. I can't ask you to send any more young men now. I can't take any responsibility for bringing out young men to die here....²⁶

Personal conflict between missionaries, or stresses provoked by the structure of the mission, caused considerable suffering for some. Hostilities or antipathies, often exacerbated by poor health, low morale and unavoidable propinquity, were endemic in all missions. Domination of subordinates by superiors, of women by men and of lay by ordained, led to demoralisation amongst those thus treated. This was a source of particular stress in the Anglican Mission where, because of an exalted view of the priesthood, lay workers perceived themselves as relegated to a markedly inferior position. A young layman, Robert Dakers, wondered whether it was 'the layman's fault that the average years of his missionary life are so short.' The lay worker came to the field with 'as much enthusiasm and earnestness' as the priest, he told Stone-Wigg. 'A priest's dignity, authority and peculiarities must be upheld...even at the expense of the layman.'²⁷

25 See, for example, Osborne to Danks, 23 February 1910, M.O.M. 114; Stone-Wigg to staff of New Guinea Mission, 23 August 1908, A.A.; Rich to Lenwood, 20 February 1914, Turner to Lenwood, 6 March 1914 and Lawrence to Lenwood, 22 December 1916, P.L., L.M.S.

26 Lawes to Thompson, 5 April 1886, P.L., L.M.S.

27 Dakers to Stone-Wigg, 27 March 1905 and 21 April 1906. Personal files, box 20, A.A.

Periodic demoralisation among the brothers of the S.H.M. can be similarly explained.²⁸

Loneliness was a constant trial to some missionaries, especially Protestants, who lacked the comfort of community. Particularly vulnerable were single, young missionaries or men separated from their wives. 'Eh man!' wrote Will Saville to his brother, 'did you but know the battles one has to fight here and that all alone, none to encourage you, none to advise you, none to whom you can speak, waiting and waiting and waiting for mails.'²⁹ For such isolated, embattled missionaries, visits from sympathetic colleagues were 'red-letter days',³⁰ dispelling for a time the loneliness which, confessed one, was so intense as to be 'almost unbearable.'³¹ Homesickness struck even seasoned missionaries, especially on the festival days of their own society. 'Separation from a home such as mine at this time is more than I can bear to think about', wrote Fred Walker on Christmas Day, 1888.³² Beyond their personal loneliness was a 'cultural and racial loneliness',³³ derived from being isolated representatives of European culture in an alien society. It was this which encouraged missionaries to reproduce features of their own society and to attach sentimental significance to minor aspects of their own culture.

- 28 Navarre, Notes 1892, 12, B.A.; Couppé to Navarre, 24 October 1887, Correspondence, B.A.; Memo of de Boismenu: Questions to submit to General Council, R.A.
- 29 Saville to Alf Saville, 2 December 1901, Saville Papers. Cf. Fellows, Diary, 25 May 1892; Maclaren to friends at S. Ninian's, 9 September 1891; Letterbook, box 15, file 55. A.A.
- 30 See, for example, Holmes, Diary, 21 November 1907 and 24 June 1908, L.M.S.
- 31 M.A. Newton to Stone-Wigg, n.d. Personal files, box 22, A.A.
- 32 Walker, Journal, 25 December 1888, P.J., L.M.S. Cf. Lawes, Diary, 1 July 1877; Fellows, Diary, 25 December 1892; Butcher, Circular Letter, Good Friday 1905, MS 1881, Butcher Papers.
- 33 H.A.C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism, 65.

One of the crises of isolation for young bachelors, or even for married men deprived for long periods of the company of their wives, was sexual temptation. All four missions placed great emphasis on sexual purity, the Anglican Mission favouring the chastity of celibacy practised by their Roman Catholic brethren or, as a poor second, the restriction of sex to marriage enjoined upon their Protestant colleagues. All would have supported the stand taken by Stone-Wigg who, urged by the administrator, C.S. Robinson, to allow his staff 'liaisons with native women', insisted that sexual purity was as much a plank of Christian life as were the Incarnation or Atonement of Christian belief.³⁴ 'Immorality', which invariably meant, in mission parlance, falling short of the approved sexual standards, was one of the most heinous sins of which a missionary could be guilty.

Celibacy posed problems in the Anglican Mission especially, where it lacked the supportive institutional framework which was provided in the Roman Catholic church. It caused particular stress in young laymen who had neither priestly status nor religious vows to constrain them. Percy Money, a dedicated layman, confessed to his bishop the 'wicked, lustful thoughts' which often filled his mind.³⁵ Stone-Wigg eventually acquiesced in his marriage, as he did also in that of Frederick Ramsay, whose behaviour with the Samarai barmaids had caused scandal.³⁶ But two laymen were forced to leave the mission after casual sexual encounters with Papuan women and rumours of the immorality of three others probably reinforced Stone-Wigg's

34 Stone-Wigg, Diary II, 4 August 1903, 321-22.

35 Money to Stone-Wigg, 5 April 1907. Personal files, box 22, A.A.

36 Newton to Stone-Wigg, 27 April 1903. Personal files, box 22; Giblin to Stone-Wigg, 1 January 1906. Personal files, Box 21, A.A.

willingness to let them go.³⁷ 'Single missionaries in New Guinea are a dead failure', declared one as he departed.³⁸ The only priest about whom allegations of immorality were made was Copland King, whom the diggers accused of fathering a child in a Mamba village.³⁹ Subsequent investigation by Monckton showed the baby to be an 'ordinary native child', whose mother, a 'most unmitigated whore', admitted a native policeman to be the father.⁴⁰ But even the devoted King had apparently felt some of the pressures of celibacy. He admitted to Stone-Wigg that he had once 'erred grievously, morally'.⁴¹

Within the other three missions, there was less evidence of immorality. The Sacred Heart fathers, protected by both their priestly status and their vows, seem to have resisted whatever temptations beset them, but two lay-brothers, who had made only temporary vows, were required to leave the congregation and marry after being discovered in liaisons with Papuan girls.⁴² One became a planter and loyal supporter of the mission. Most Protestant missionaries had the double protection of ordination and marriage, although the frequent and long absences of so many wives weakened the efficacy of the latter.

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- 37 Smithson was dismissed after 'an indecent assault'. (Newton to Stone-Wigg, 25 June 1900, box 22, A.A.) Dodds, 'little more than a boy' was sent home to Australia after confessing to three times inviting a girl onto the mission launch with the intention of sexual intercourse. Newton, who may have been consoled by Dodd's statement that he 'failed to do anything to her', dealt kindly with him, allowing him three months' leave, from which he did not return. On the alleged associations of Ford, Dakers and Giblin with Papuan women, see Newton to Stone-Wigg, 1 February and 9 June 1902, personal files, box 22, A.A. and King to Stone-Wigg, 15 January 1904, box 20, A.A.
- 38 Dakers to Stone-Wigg, 24 September 1907. Personal files, box 20, A.A.
- 39 B. Malinowski, A Diary in the Strict Sense..., 182.
- 40 Monckton to Stone-Wigg, 25 April 1901. Personal files, box 22, A.A.
- 41 Bishop Montgomery to Archbishop Randall Davidson, 5 August 1909, Davidson Papers, 1910, L.P.
- 42 Sr Madeline to Mother Superior General, 29 May 1892, Annales, 1892, 627-28; Navarre, Notes 1892, 12-13, B.A.; C.A.W. Monckton, Some Experiences..., 60.

Writing to his absent wife of his loneliness, Ben Butcher confessed: 'I doubt if I should have kept straight had I not been a missionary.'⁴³ Against only one Protestant missionary, J.R. Osborne, ordained but alone in the field, were charges of a relationship with a Papuan woman substantiated.⁴⁴

Sexual lapses amongst the missionaries in Papua were considerably fewer than amongst, for instance, the pioneer missionaries to the South Seas.⁴⁵ This may be explained by the higher self-esteem of missionaries of the later period and perhaps, to some extent too, by their generally low estimation of the Papuan people. But for some, especially those who lacked the support of marriage, ordination or religious vows, 'the climate and the passions excited by seeing women near naked'⁴⁶ were the cause of considerable stress.

While most of the missionaries avoided the stigma of moral failure, many felt a deep sense of failure in their work. 'It would break my heart to give up the work, though it is often broken in the attempt to execute it', wrote Will Saville.⁴⁷ Evidence of progress was often scant and back-sliding was common. At times their very presence was openly resented or, at best, treated with stolid indifference. 'The people don't want us', admitted Saville. 'We have

43 Butcher to Ena Butcher, 27 February 1920, MS 1881/1, Butcher Papers.

44 Burgess to Wheen, 25 November 1913, and enclosure (copy of letter from Ballantyne to E.J. Cato) M.O.M. 119. Similar allegations were made at times against Anglicans, Tomlinson and Kennedy, and L.M.S. missionaries, Holmes and Baxter Riley. Hubert Murray recorded in his diary (18 February 1913), for instance, that there was a suspicion that Riley had 'seduced two of his girls and finding them to be pregnant, murdered them before his wife's return.' The other allegations, though less fanciful, were equally unsubstantiated and almost certainly false.

45 See, for example, W.N. Gunson, Messengers of Grace, 153-59.

46 Evelyn Snodgrass (Vicar of St Mark's, Fitzroy) to Stone-Wigg, 24 December 1904, defending Dodds' moral lapse.

47 Saville to Alf Saville, 15 February 1906, Saville Papers.

constantly to overlook this or be lost in despair.'⁴⁸ L.M.S. missionaries, upon whom fell the responsibility of organising their own programmes, were plagued by fundamental doubts as to whether their work was on the right lines. 'What if my work is not sound?' Holmes asked himself, confessing 'a desperate leaning to the blues.'⁴⁹

It is difficult to gauge what happened to the beliefs of the missionaries during the course of their careers. Their faith was so bound up with their identity that any doubts or loss of faith could not be lightly admitted. For only two lay missionaries, both Anglicans, it is clear that loss of faith was the final crisis endured in the mission field. Eric Giblin, a gifted linguist whom Stone-Wigg had encouraged to seek ordination, confessed to the bishop his 'doubts and disbelievings' on the 'vital issues' of the cross, the atonement and the hereafter, and declared himself a 'semi-agnostic'. His loss of faith was accompanied by a period of emotional turmoil during which he was rebuked for drinking, taking 'indecent' photographs of naked girls and alleged relationships with Papuan women.⁵⁰ George Morris labelled himself a rationalist. The main stumbling blocks to his belief were the virgin birth and the resurrection. Embroiled in conflict with a number of his fellow-missionaries, he saw himself as the 'black sheep' of the mission.⁵¹

Missionaries were largely insulated from the turmoil of theological debate. This, it has been suggested,⁵² was one of the attractions of the mission field. Exposed to little but devotional literature and religious periodicals, most probably retained intact

48 Idem.

49 Holmes, Diary, 18 March 1899 and 23 October 1900, L.M.S.

50 Giblin to Stone-Wigg, 17 August and 21 September 1904, 1 January 1906; King to Stone-Wigg, 23 January 1906 and memo (n.d.) enclosing letter of Giblin, 16 February [?1906]. Personal files, box 20, A.A.

51 Morris to Stone-Wigg, 3 December 1905 and 4 January 1906. Personal files, box 22, A.A.

52 See, for example, C.P. Williams, *The Recruitment and Training of Overseas Missionaries in England between 1850 and 1900*, 182.

the beliefs which they had brought with them, or else assimilated new concepts so gradually that they caused no stress. Only in two intellectually lively missionaries is a marked evolution of belief discernible. Ben Butcher, whose initial theology had disturbed the L.M.S. directors, jettisoned many of his beliefs 'in the light of modern knowledge', rejecting especially the virgin birth and the atonement. In old age, he found his faith reduced to 'one essential', belief in God as the spirit of love.⁵³ Fr Jean Genocchi was influenced by the liberalising of theology in late nineteenth century Rome and, on his retirement from the mission, threw himself into biblical criticism and the reconciliation of science and religion, thereby becoming identified with the cause of the modernists whose beliefs were attacked by Pope Pius X in the encyclical Pascendi and the decree Lamentabili san Exitu of 1907.⁵⁴

For many missionaries, if there was no loss of faith, there was a steady process of attrition whereby things of the spirit were increasingly crowded out by the temporal demands of missionary life. 'Too much work and too little prayer' was Ben Butcher's assessment of 1905.⁵⁵ The diaries of new missionaries, especially Roman Catholics or Methodists on the path to sanctification, were often filled with spiritual self-examination and prayerful aspirations. In 1891, soon after his arrival, Samuel Fellows wrote in his diary of 'much searching of the heart' and declared his constant need for 'the atoning-cleansing blood' of his saviour.⁵⁶ In the diaries of all but such ardent souls as Henri Verjus, spiritual introspection usually became less frequent with time.⁵⁷

53 B.T. Butcher, Many faiths, one essential, 26, 61, 77, 89-90.

54 V. Ceresi, The Life of Father Genocchi, 424-32. For the attack on the modernists, see Dansette, Religious History of Modern France, II, Chapter 7.

55 Butcher, Diary, 31 December 1905, MS 1881/6, Butcher Papers.

56 S. Fellows, Diary IV, 31 December 1891. Cf. 1 January and 25 March 1892.

57 See, for example, diaries of Bardsley, Holmes, Beswick, Butcher and Walker, passim.

In their self-examinations, many missionaries confessed a tendency to spiritual coldness. The chief temptations, wrote Archibald Hunt, 'are negative. Our prayers lack vitality and our words lack enthusiasm.'⁵⁸ They had no doubt what caused their loss of ardour. They were 'beset by the low and sensual and degraded'.⁵⁹ 'One breathes a loathesome atmosphere the whole time', Saville observed.⁶⁰ 'One needs so much more help to live ~~the~~ near the Cross out here', concluded Anglican missionary, Mary Newton.⁶¹ Protestant missionaries especially lamented that at the same time as they were exposed to the contaminating influences of heathenism, they were deprived of the 'means of grace through mutual encouragement.'⁶² Those whose faith had been stirred in Keswick conventions or suburban churches or chapels found their ardour cooling when dependent on their own resources. Oliver Tomkins advised his brother, who was preparing for the mission field, to cultivate spiritual discipline 'independent of outside aids', for the temptations were 'many and strong.'⁶³ Missionaries deprived of a Christian community for long periods felt themselves depleted and spiritually arid. Ben Butcher in 1914 confessed his relief at the prospect of furlough: 'I've reached the limit and want to get among my own people and... Christian surroundings.'⁶⁴ Even Catholic missionaries, who found renewal in community and sacraments, suffered from the 'solitude of the soul'⁶⁵ in a 'heathen' land.

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- 58 Hunt to Thompson, 3 April 1889, P.L., L.M.S. See also Hunt, Report 1899, 4, Papua Reports, L.M.S.; Butcher to Ena Butcher, 21 October 1920, MS 1881/1, Butcher Papers; Letter of Fr J. Genocchi, 22 November 1894, Annales, 1895, 446; address of Fr Fillodeau, Annales, 1903, 689.
- 59 Butcher to Miss Holtumm, 16 February 1906, MS 1881, Butcher Papers.
- 60 Saville to Alf Saville, 20 July 1902, Saville Papers. Cf. Fr Fastré, Annales, 1956, 125.
- 61 M.A. Newton to Stone-Wigg, n.d., Personal files, box 22, A.A.
- 62 Pryce-Jones, Report 1904, Papua Reports, L.M.S.
- 63 Tomkins to Leo Tomkins, 11 February 1901, Tomkins Papers. Cf. Hunt, Report 1899, Papua Reports, L.M.S.
- 64 Butcher to Mrs Holtumm, 30 July 1914, MS 1881/3, Butcher Papers. Cf. Lawes to Thompson, 15 January 1901, P.L., L.M.S.
- 65 'Fr Jullien', Annales, 1923, 107.

Ill-health, bereavement, inter-personal conflict, loneliness, a sense of failure and the cooling of spiritual ardour - and frequently the interaction of two or more of these factors - together with the privations of a harsh climate and poor nutrition, caused frequent depression among missionaries, and sometimes despair. A few sought solace in alcohol;⁶⁶ some pleaded their health or 'shattered nerves' as a reason for resignation, but the majority plodded on, clinging to the explanations which their faith provided for the sufferings they endured.

The comforts which the missionaries found in their faith varied little from mission to mission, although the rhetoric was sometimes different. The over-riding solace for all was the belief that they were there at God's command. Missionaries of all persuasions spoke of the 'privilege' of being 'co-workers', 'partners' or 'collaborators' with God, or more modestly, 'messengers' or 'servants' of the King.⁶⁷ There was 'no happier calling than that of a foreign missionary', proclaimed one.⁶⁸ Those confronted with failure consoled themselves with the conviction of ultimate triumph. With God all things were possible and it was the convicting power of the Holy Spirit not they, who were merely its 'instruments', which would bring about 'the victory of truth and righteousness.'⁶⁹

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- 66 See D. Langmore, Tamate - a King, 119, for Chalmers' drinking when old and depressed; see also n.100 below for the likelihood that Maclaren was drinking in the months preceding his death; Giblin to Stone-Wigg, 1 January 1906, for Giblin's 'drinking episode' and Abbot to Stone-Wigg, 7 July 1899, personal files, box 20, A.A.
- 67 Bardsley, Diary, 30 June 1891; E. Walker, Diary, 14 December 1892; M.R., January 1892, 6; Walker to Thompson, 12 January 1893 and Clark to Thompson, 9 December 1912, P.L., L.M.S.; Holmes, Diary, 14 August 1893, L.M.S.; A.K. Chignell, Twenty-one Years..., 110; Navarre, circular letter, Annales, 1889, 452; A. Fletcher, M.R., August 1895, 2.
- 68 Turner to Thompson, 19 May 1909, P.L., L.M.S.
- 69 J. Tinney, M.R., January 1892, 5 and September 1895, 8; Edith Lloyd, Journal VI, 30 June 1901, M.O.M.; Saville to Alf Saville, 2 December 1901, Saville Papers; Pearse Report 1903, Papua Reports, L.M.S.; Holmes to Lenwood, 1 January 1915, P.L., L.M.S.

A very real belief in the presence of Christ animated the lives of many. For evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics alike, a literal belief in divine providence cast out fear. There was 'no danger to God's servant', asserted Samuel Fellows.⁷⁰ As Protestant theology became more liberal, however, faith in divine intervention became less common. 'Is the old-fashioned belief that if we trust in God He will protect us...a delusion?' Lawes wondered, as he reported the resignation of a new missionary after a bout of fever.⁷¹ In the Sacred Heart Mission, the unquenchable belief that God would 'supply' their 'insufficiency' underlay the 'imprudence' of starvation, exhaustion, illness and death which marked its early years.⁷²

From the missionaries' faith in the presence and intervention of God sprang a belief in the efficacy of prayer and the sacraments. Missionaries of all persuasions valued the opportunity for private and corporate prayer, and some isolated Protestant missionaries found a growing appreciation of Holy Communion as they gathered with their colleagues.⁷³ Many drew comfort and strength from the support given through prayer by families, communities and, for those of Catholic belief, their intercessors in paradise.⁷⁴

Missionaries answered their own sufferings with the faith that the universe was purposive, that although God's ways were

70 Fellows, Diary, 11 February 1892. See also Bardsley, Diary, 16 January 1892; Holmes, Diary, 14 March 1897, L.M.S.; Verjus, Annales, 1888, 319; Navarre, Annales, 1889, 450; Brother Peeters to parents, Annales, 1895, 221; W. Bromilow, Twenty Years..., 81; Butcher to Ena Butcher, 30 March 1920, Butcher Papers.

71 Lawes to Thompson, 1 January 1898, P.L., L.M.S.

72 E.g., Navarre, Circular Letter, 1892, Annales, 1893, 403 and Bachelier, Annales, 1950, 52.

73 Bardsley, Diary, 12 August 1891; E. Newell, M.R., July 1897, 9; Butcher to Mrs Holtum, 2 August and 1 November 1914, MS 1881/3, Butcher Papers.

74 See, for example, letters between S.R.M. Gill and family, e.g., Mrs Gill to Romney Gill, 14 January 1922, Letters of S.R.M. Gill. On the Anglicans 'four intercessors in Paradise' see Stone-Wigg, Address to Conference 1899, 2; cf. Annales, 1893, 452-53 and 1894, 632.

inscrutable, all that happened was part of the divine plan. The resident magistrate, C.A.W. Monckton, confessed himself moved by Sacred Heart missionaries who faced adversity with the affirmation: 'Courage, my friend, it is the will of the good God.'⁷⁵ Some suggested that their sufferings were God's way of testing and tempering them. God was 'putting them through the mill', straightening 'a crooked stick' or wielding 'the pruning knife', as part of their spiritual growth.⁷⁶ Others saw their suffering as designed to make them more dependent upon God.⁷⁷

Some found comfort in the belief that they were sharing the sufferings of Christ.⁷⁸ A solace to missionaries of all persuasions, this belief became a central motif of service in the Sacred Heart Mission. While Protestant missionaries tried to explain away their suffering, Roman Catholics embraced it as an integral part of their apostolate. In their suffering, they believed, they not only shared the suffering of Christ, they became co-redemptors with Him. Henri Verjus, a living embodiment of this belief, explained his conviction to a French priest:

It seems to me that for the redemption of...souls, ...we must continue the work of Our Lord Jesus Christ across the centuries and that the best way...is to become ourselves another Jesus...and to go right to the end.... Without shedding of blood, no pardon, no redemption.⁷⁹

In this belief, Verjus found a rationalisation for the desire for suffering which had obsessed him since his seminarian years. He declared it to be especially important for missionaries to imitate 'the last part of Our Saviour's life: the Passion', which had particular significance for him. 'The thought of the passion of the Lord transports

75 C.A.W. Monckton, Some Experiences..., 140.

76 Dauncey to Thompson, 29 January 1905; Schlencker to Thompson, 29 January 1914, P.L.; Holmes, Diary, 22 April 1898, L.M.S.; Bardsley, Diary, 16 January 1892.

77 Holmes, Diary, 14 March 1897, L.M.S.; Navarre, Journal, 8 August 1888, 2, R.A.

78 E.g., Butcher, Diary, 28 May 1905, MS 1881/6, Butcher Papers; Thompson to Pearse, 30 December 1887, W.O.L., L.M.S.

79 Verjus to priest in Orleans, 8 April 1891, quoted by Vaudon, Annales, 1893, 17.

me', he confided to his spiritual diary. 'Good Jesus.... Oh! how I love you broken under the whips and nailed on your Cross.'⁸⁰

His conviction that the redemption of New Guinea would be won through the suffering of its missionaries inspired not only his own incessant pleas for suffering and martyrdom, but the foundation in 1891 of a Society of Victims, which drew to itself a select group of fathers, brothers and sisters who wished to immolate themselves for the salvation of New Guinea. They were to be victims, who were to continue the work of reparation begun on the Cross. Their supreme objective was martyrdom but short of that they were to suffer, and to suffer cheerfully. Hunger, thirst, heat, danger, poverty, fever and mosquitoes - all the normal privations of mission life - were to be joyfully accepted as part of the redemptive process. For those ardent souls for whom this was not sufficient, there were self-imposed disciplines and programmes of mortification. 'It is a pleasure to see how all these dear souls rejoice to imitate Jesus in the flagellation and crown of thorns', recorded Verjus, who inflicted sufferings upon himself with a whip, spiked iron chains for arms and legs and an iron belt fashioned for him by Mother Liguori.⁸¹ Other mortificatory exercises, which Verjus himself described as 'holy follies',⁸² included sculpting with a knife a way of the cross into his flesh, stretching himself on a spiked iron cross and rubbing vinegar and salt into his wounds.

For a time suffering became the raison d'être of the S.H.M. 'Tell them that it is to suffer that one comes here', Verjus instructed a Belgian novice-master.⁸³ The letters of Fathers Chabot and Hubert,

80 Verjus, Journal, 1 October 1891, quoted in Annales, 1905, 644.

81 Annales, 1906, 400. The only non-Roman Catholic missionary known to have engaged in flagellation was Romney Gill of the Anglican Mission, who required his Papuan secretary to cane him for his transgressions. (John Waiko, Oro! Oro! Oro Dara: A Binandere Response to Imperialism (B.A.(hons) thesis), Appendix B, Narrative by Seth Dada of Manau village, 137.)

82 Verjus, Journal, 29 and 30 September 1891, quoted in Annales, 1905, 643-44; see also Annales, 1951, 143-44; T. Cadoux, L'Apôtre des Papous, 6.

83 Annales, 1890, 380.

both of whom had a variety of instruments of penance, as well as those of Jullien, Genocchi, Vedère and several of the sisters, show a conviction similar to that of Verjus. 'It is by suffering more than all other means that we will procure the glory of God and the salvation of souls', wrote Fr Hubert to the Superior General.⁸⁴ 'To suffer is nothing; to love souls and save them, that is happiness', affirmed one of the sisters.⁸⁵ Verjus' society was suppressed in 1893 by the more earth-bound Archbishop Navarre, who feared that the 'exuberance of sacrifices'⁸⁶ might deflect the missionaries from the more orthodox methods of the apostolate. But the influence of Verjus outlasted his death in 1892 and suffering remained a significant, though probably diminishing part of the apostolate. 'I admire those who love suffering', mused Archbishop de Boismenu on his death-bed in 1953. 'It is not for poor men like us.'⁸⁷

THE length of service of missionaries who came to Papua up to 1914 varied considerably. The longest serving missionary was, as has already been noted, Sister Clothilde, F.D.N.S.C., who spent sixty-six years in the country.⁸⁸ The briefest career was that of Dr Ridgley, who gave the L.M.S. six weeks' service. The average missionary career was, in the S.H.M., 19.8 years, in the L.M.S. 10.1 years, in the Anglican Mission ten years and in the Methodist Mission 6.2 years.

There were also notable variations in the pattern of service within the four missions. In the S.H.M., despite the constant loss of dedicated missionaries through premature death, almost half the total gave more than twenty years' service. In the L.M.S., which lost fewer missionaries through death, almost 40 per cent gave over twenty years' service. In contrast, only 17.5 per cent of Anglicans,

84 Hubert to Chevalier, 8 December 1892, Annales, 1893, 209.

85 Annales, 1890, 380.

86 G. Goyau, Le Christ chez les Papous, 79.

87 A. Dupeyrat and F. de la Noë, Sainteté au Naturel, 45.

88 See above, 264.

and in even more marked contrast, only 4 per cent of Methodist missionaries remained for more than twenty years.

Table 6: Length of Service

Length of Service	L.M.S.	Methodist	Anglican	S.H.M.
Less than 3 years	8	12	24	16
3-5 years	4	18	16	23
6-10 years	3	10	12	31
11-20 years	5	6	9	36
21-40 years	13	2	9	36
More than 40 years	-	-	4	27
TOTAL:	33	48	74	169 (+3 unknown)

These variations were not simply a reflection of the tenacity of the members of the various missions, nor of the effectiveness of their rationale for mission service. Their patterns of service were, to some extent, moulded by the differing expectations of the missionary bodies with which they served.

Members of the S.H.M. came to the mission, as has already been noted, not expecting to return home. Although there was no inflexible rule, poverty, the remoteness of their homeland, and the expectations of their congregations ensured that many who might otherwise have returned to European or Australian houses of the congregation to convalesce, or grow old and die, did so in the mission which, anyway, had been home for many for several decades.

The L.M.S. which, like the S.H.M., had invested a considerable amount in preparing the missionaries, expected a good term of service from them in return. Unlike the S.H.M., however, it required its staff to retire and return home in old age, and for some of its workers, the last crisis of missionary service was accepting the need to give up their life's work and return to a land where they no longer felt

at home.⁸⁹ Apart from the 24 per cent who failed to give three years' service (see Table 6), most L.M.S. workers conformed to the Society's expectations.

The markedly shorter service of the Methodist missionaries was, in part, a reflection of the Wesleyan ideal of itinerancy. Methodist missionaries saw their service as one posting in Wesley's 'world parish', from which they were expected to move on to another. But even such an interpretation of mission service could not justify the extremely brief careers of a vast number of Methodist missionaries, whose premature departures were constantly lamented at the mission office.⁹⁰

Members of the Anglican Mission, which espoused the Catholic ideal of life-service, failed most signally to live up to the expectations of the organisation. A small minority of men and women lived and died within the mission, but most fell far short of life-service. Both Maclaren and Stone-Wigg suspected that individuals whose commitment was based solely on an agreement with their leader were less likely to see a lifetime's service than those under vows. Yet a number of L.M.S. missionaries gave virtually a lifetime's service without religious vows to sustain them. It seems likely that the higher proportion of medium and long careers in the L.M.S. was due to the Society's more professional selection and preparation procedures.

Despite the differing expectations of the missionary bodies, it is clear that in all missions there were a number of workers who failed to fulfil the hopes of the organisations which put them into

89 See, for example, letter of Edith Turner, 19 April 1937, Turner Papers, on the reluctance of Charles Rich to retire. Anglican missionaries Stone-Wigg and Copland King, driven away not by compulsory retirement but by ill-health, felt similar regret. (Stone-Wigg to Archbishop Davidson, 9 February 1907, R.T. Davidson, Official Letters, 1907, vol.133, L.P.; King to Stone-Wigg, N.S.W., 24 September 1918, Stone-Wigg Papers.)

90 See Waterhouse to Danks, 31 January 1913, Correspondence 1913; Brown to Bromilow, 1 December 1900. Letterbook, M.O.M. 46.

the field. Their decision to resign was a personal choice which their employers opposed, or acceded to only reluctantly. Most notable was the large group of Anglican and Protestant missionaries who failed to survive three years.

All missions deplored the investment of effort and money in staff who stayed in the field for only a short period. The Anglican Mission set a minimum of three years for initial service, after which a missionary could leave without dishonour, but assumed that its members would stay unless there were pressing reasons for doing otherwise. The other three missions had higher expectations. Yet almost one-quarter of the Protestant missionaries and one-third of Anglican missionaries failed to give three years' service. If five years is regarded as a reasonable period for a missionary to learn the language, gain some familiarity with local people and cultures, and master the manifold skills of mission work, 62.5 per cent of Methodists and 54 per cent of Anglicans failed to survive their apprenticeship.

To gauge the reasons for the resignations of missionaries is no easier than to judge human motivation in any event. Unsuccessful missionaries often slipped off the pages of mission records, their departure scarcely acknowledged. When an official reason for resignation was given, it can only be treated as the explanation which the mission wished to present to the world. Consideration for the individuals involved and concern for the effect of failure on the mission-supporting public ensured that a discreet silence was often maintained, or a euphemism employed to disarm suspicion. Bishop Stone-Wigg, for instance, protected some of his most spectacular failures with the explanation that they were 'quite unequal to the climate'.⁹¹ Ill-health was a convenient and acceptable explanation which masked, at times, disillusionment, depression, conflict, mental disturbance and, occasionally, moral failure. Sometimes, though probably not often, missionaries managed to conceal their basic motives for resignation from the mission authorities and perhaps, at times,

91 Stone-Wigg, Anniversary Address, 1899, 2. A.A.

even from themselves.

Recognising the problems inherent in deducing motivation, the following analysis offers the probable reasons for resignations, drawing upon stated and implied explanations and indications inferred from personal records. Where a multiple explanation for resignation has been given it tries to select the essential from the ephemeral, or the sufficient from the necessary conditions.

Amongst the forty-four Anglican and Protestant missionaries who survived less than three years were six whose careers were terminated by death. Of the remainder, the greatest number (thirteen) gave breakdown of health as the reason for their premature departure. Five resigned because of dissatisfaction with the work, disillusionment, or generally low morale and six were deemed unsuitable by the missions, being unable to adjust to life in the field. For a further six, conflict with other members of the mission was the key factor in their decision to resign. Of the remainder, two were dismissed; one claimed family pressures, one loss of faith and one his wife's ill-health; two women resigned at marriage; one was a temporary appointment and one left for reasons unknown.

The factors prompting the resignations of missionaries who served for less than three years were similar to those of missionaries who stayed for a longer period (see Table 7). For the missionaries as a whole, apart from those whose careers ended in death (who will be considered separately), ill-health was the chief cause of departure, 18 per cent resigning on these grounds. It is impossible to judge how much illness was psychosomatic, illusory or invented. Some malingering was suspected in all missions. But records testify that for at least some, retirement was probably the only alternative to the early death experienced by many of the Sacred Heart missionaries. As well as Methodist sister, Maisie Lill, whose case has already been described,⁹² five men and four women left the field because they feared insanity, or others feared it for them. At least two of them

92 See above, 262.

died in psychiatric hospitals.⁹³

Table 7: Reasons for Termination of Career

Reasons for termination of career	L.M.S.	Methodist	Anglican	S.H.M.	TOTAL
Ill-Health	6	16	16	21	59
Ill-health of spouse or child	7	7	1		15
Maladjustment or demoralisation	1	4	7	16	28
Loss of faith			2		2
Inter-personal conflict	4	4	6	1	15
Marriage or spouse's departure		5	8	2	15
Family pressure		3	2		5
Transfer to other duties			1	26	27
Dismissal		1	2		3
Old age	10	2			12
Death	5	4	16	99	124
Other			2		2
Unknown		2	11	7	20
	33	48	74	172	327

Breakdown of morale, which accounted for 8 per cent of resignations, was of various kinds and it is not always possible to detect from surviving records its underlying causes. It frequently accompanied physical ill-health, particularly the depressive effects of malaria. For some it was associated with the recognition of a

93 Brother Lambert Fehrmann and Sr Paule (death certificates). Others whose mental stability was feared for were Frs Burke and Fillodeau, Br Luis Kuypers, Leonard Drury, Florence Thomson, Julia Benjamin and Nurse Speers.

mistaken vocation, for others, with conviction of failure. Several attributed it to false expectations of the nature of the work; for others it resulted from inability to cope with the challenges which mission life presented. In three cases it was a reaction to the constant presence of 'black faces', though in each case this repugnance seems to have been a symptom of a more deep-seated nervous problem.⁹⁴ Those who experienced demoralisation also included a small number of M.S.C. who, deciding before taking final vows that they had no religious vocation, left both mission and congregation.

Transfers to other duties accounted for the largest number of departures from the S.H.M. Sometimes these were arranged on compassionate grounds: ailing sisters were sent to Kensington, N.S.W., while a number of priests were repatriated to enjoy the benign climate of Provence. Some were transferred to other missions fields of the M.S.C., especially Port Darwin and the Gilbert Islands. Four priests were raised to the episcopacy in other fields - Louis Couppé in New Britain, François-Xavier Gsell in Port Darwin, Joseph Bach in the Gilberts and Edouard van Goethem in the Belgian Congo - and several priests and sisters were called away to senior administrative positions within their congregations.

For the Protestant missionaries various domestic pressures were the other substantial cause of resignation. The ill-health of wife or child prompted the departure of 4.6 per cent while a further 4.6 per cent - all women - resigned to marry or left because their missionary-husbands were leaving the field. A small proportion claimed the needs of parents or other dependent relatives as the reason for departure.

The largest single factor terminating missionary careers in Papua before the First World War was death (see Table 7). Of the 327

94 Navarre to Chevalier, n.d. [1895], R.A. reports Fr Hartzler's dislike of 'always seeing black faces and no civilisation' and Navarre, Journal, April 1902, 152, Fr Fillodeau's detestation of 'the savages'. Harriet Murray's nervous condition is described by Newton to Stone-Wigg, 1 February and 4 March 1902, box 22, A.A.

missionaries who served in this period, 124 (38 per cent) died during their missionary service. Ninety-nine of them (80 per cent) died in the S.H.M. The extraordinarily high death rate in this mission can be explained, in part, by the deaths in old age of a number of Roman Catholic missionaries. But a large number of those who died in the Sacred Heart Mission died of causes other than old age (Table 8).

Table 8: Deaths in the Missions

	L.M.S.	Methodist	Anglican	S.H.M.
Aged 45 or younger	3	4	5	43
Aged over 45	2	-	11	56
	5	4	16	99

A final flourish of the missionary stereotype, especially as perpetuated in cartoon and music-hall comedy, suggested that the hapless missionary ended his days in the cannibal's cooking pot.⁹⁵ But parody was forgotten when, in April 1901, news was received in Britain and Australia that the veteran L.M.S. missionary, James Chalmers, with his young colleague, Oliver Tomkins, and eleven Papuans, had been killed by cannibals in the Papuan Gulf.⁹⁶ Provoked by the taunt of a government officer that he was dependent on government

95 C. Binfield (So down to Prayers, 225-26 and 279-80, n.41) notes that at the commissioning of Tomkins for the mission field, less than two years before he was killed and eaten at Goaribari, cannibal jokes were enjoyed.

96 See D. Langmore, Tamate - a King, 105-27, for an account of the death of Chalmers and Tomkins, and reactions to it. Despite Papua's reputation for savagery, the safety record of European missionaries and officials was surprisingly good. Three government officers were killed by Papuans in the same period. Missionaries fared worse in neighbouring German New Guinea, where ten Sacred Heart missionaries were killed in one attack.

FAITHFUL BEYOND DEATH.—THE STORY OF A MISSIONARY. IN THREE CHAPTERS.



The Missionary.



The Reception Committee.



VOICE FROM WITHIN: "My friend, you forgot to say grace."

Bulletin, 6 March 1886, 6

protection, the pioneer missionary had met the challenge by taking his party to one of the few remaining parts of the south-east coast with only limited experience of Europeans, and that unfavourable. They had been invited ashore at Dopima village on Goaribari Island, led into the ravi and clubbed to death. Their bodies were cooked, mixed with sago and eaten. A public much wider than that of normal mission-supporters mourned the death of Chalmers, to many, the archetypal missionary, and of Tomkins, a twenty-eight year old of much promise.

No other European missionary in Papua died at the hands of its people. Indeed, death by misadventure of any kind was rare. Only amongst the Sacred Heart missionaries, with their more rugged way of life, were there any deaths as the result of accident. Fr Bouellat died after a fall from his horse and Brother Joseph Caron after an accident with a horse and cart. Fr Dubuy died from a fractured skull after being hit by a flying rock. The deaths of Brothers Stanislas and Edmond followed boating mishaps and Brother Nicholas died of pneumonia after being rescued from drowning. For all but these few, premature death was the result of illness.

The two outstanding aspects of deaths from causes other than old age in the Papuan mission field were the low death rate within the Protestant missions and the high mortality rate of the Sacred Heart missionaries (Table 8). Some of the physical factors contributing to these mortality rates have already been considered.⁹⁷ Protestant missionaries lived in solid, well-equipped houses, generally with ample provisions and medication. Most used quinine prophylactically and heeded the scientific discoveries as to the cause of malaria. All lived near the coast and a missionary falling ill was readily evacuated in mission shipping. Especially in the early years, Sacred Heart missionaries, in contrast, lived in primitive bush material housing. Their lives were arduous, and their diet poor. Many of the sisters and brothers of the mission, amongst whom the death-rate was highest, were little-educated peasants with small understanding of the dangers of contaminated water or the importance of quinine. Some of their stations were five or six days' walk from the coast, and the ill were more likely to be cared for at their own stations or, if necessary, at Yule Island, rather than being sent to Australia.

Commenting on the extraordinarily high mortality rate of the Sacred Heart sisters, Sir William MacGregor remarked that he could see no 'physical cause' for its being so different from that of the other missionary women in Papua.⁹⁸ His observation raises

97 See above, Chapters 3 and 4.

98 B.N.G. A.R., 1897-98, xxxii.

the possibility of a non-physical explanation of the higher death rate in the S.H.M. Markedly different attitudes towards death may have had some bearing.

For L.M.S. missionaries, there was no romance in death. When a colleague died, they consoled themselves with the belief that he was with Christ, but lamented the wastage of man-power.⁹⁹ In the Methodist Mission, the bleak fact of death was masked by a euphemistic and sentimental rhetoric. Those who died were visited by 'Death's angel' or 'the reaping angel'. In death, they were 'promoted', they 'exchanged earth for heaven' or went 'home'. A pious death was important, missionaries having great satisfaction in reporting that the deceased 'died well'.¹⁰⁰ But despite the rhetoric, Methodist missionaries did not glory in death. Pioneer Wesleyan J.T. Field probably expressed a typical attitude when he maintained that he was 'no advocate of the heroic business' in mission work.¹⁰¹ As with their L.M.S. colleagues, prudence was encouraged by consideration of their families, a factor of which celibate Catholics did not have to take account. Towards death, as towards other aspects of mission experience, the Methodists maintained a hard-headed realism.

Anglican missionaries, whose death-rate was higher than that of their Protestant counterparts though much lower than that of the S.H.M., shared not only the spartan life-style of the Roman Catholic missionaries but also something of their orientation towards death. 'These damned churchmen are like the papists', grumbled the resident magistrate, H.G. Moreton. 'Plenty of them willing to be martyrs.'¹⁰² Anglican missionary A.K. Chignell guessed that the mission's founder, Albert Maclaren, died as he would have wished,

99 E.g., Holmes, Diary, 25 July 1898 and 21 March 1915; Lawes to Thompson, 5 April 1886, P.L. See also Thompson to Lawes, 4 June 1886, W.O.L., L.M.S.

100 See M.R., August 1895, 1; October 1895, 8; April 1899, 7; May 1904, 6 and M.M.S.A. Report 1912.

101 Danks to Field, 26 December 1898, M.O.M. 119.

102 C.A.W. Monckton, New Guinea Recollections, 75.

'a martyr in all but the strictly technical sense.'¹⁰³ Sir William MacGregor, a seasoned practitioner in tropical medicine, was puzzled by Maclaren's death, as the malaria which preceded it did not seem unduly severe. According to Maclaren's biographer, MacGregor thought that 'he seemed to give into the fever and made no effort to struggle against it.'¹⁰⁴ Similar comments had been made, on other occasions, about Polynesian pastors who, white observers believed, succumbed to malaria simply because they did not have the will to fight it. Maclaren had been lonely and depressed during his four months at Dogura. He may have been drinking 'inordinate quantities of brandy.'¹⁰⁵ His last sermon was on the subject of death.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that the attraction of 'martyrdom' reduced his will to fight for life, which, in any case, was proving burdensome. Other Anglicans felt the lure of 'martyrdom'. Charles Cribb, of the L.M.S., reported travelling to New Guinea with a young Anglican who bought only a single ticket because he intended to die in the mission.¹⁰⁷ Annie Ker envied Mary Newton the 'glorious end to her life' when she died at Dogura at the age of thirty-five.¹⁰⁸

But the Anglicans did not emulate the single-minded enthusiasm

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- 103 A.K. Chignell, Twenty-one Years in New Guinea, xi. The term 'martyr' was used loosely in the mission field. Originally applied only to those who died rather than renounce their faith, it was extended to all those who died by violent means in the course of evangelism. In the S.H.M. it was used even more loosely to embrace all those who died during their apostolate, the victims of fever as much as the victims of 'savages'.
- 104 F. Synge, Albert Maclaren, 161. Maclaren's colleagues were also much surprised at his death, having regarded him as a particularly strong man. (Tomlinson, Diary, 5 January 1892, A.B.M.)
- 105 King to Primate, 14 March and 19 April 1892; King to Archbishop of Brisbane, 26 March 1892, King Letters, box 15, file 53. A.A.
- 106 Tomlinson, Diary, 13 December 1891, A.B.M.
- 107 Cribb to Thompson, 25 May 1899, P.L., L.M.S.
- 108 Ker to Stone-Wigg, 25 May 1914. Personal files, box 20, A.A. Cf. Giblin to Stone-Wigg, 11 July 1903, box 22, A.A.

for 'martyrdom' of their Roman Catholic counterparts. On this as on other issues, they pursued a via media avoiding both the practicality of the Protestants and the mystical romanticism of the Roman Catholics. Henry Newton revealed the ambivalent attitude of the mission when he reminded the staff both that life was a precious gift from God and that 'he who loseth his life for Christ's sake shall find it.'¹⁰⁹

Only in the Sacred Heart Mission did 'martyrdom' become the supreme form of mission service. A philosophy of work built around the concept of suffering found its ultimate manifestation in death. Verjus, who had craved martyrdom since his student days, if not since childhood, cultivated the desire for it amongst his missionaries, as both the crowning achievement in the search for holiness and the means of winning the salvation of New Guinea. Observers remarked that they embraced death joyfully, offering their sufferings for their 'dear savages' in an effort to win the conversion of New Guinea. 'How could we be sad near her?' wrote Sister Madeline of the dying Sister Berchmans, 'She burned with a desire for death.'¹¹⁰ How and to what degree such a predisposition could influence the mortality rate is impossible to assess. Much was clearly attributable to poor living standards and arduous work. Yet it is significant that no workers died in the mission in the pioneering phase, when accommodation was poor, provisions unprocurable, labour exhausting and the missionaries unacclimatised. The first death occurred after the mission had been established six years, in 1891,¹¹¹ the year of the foundation of the Society of Victims. In the following three years, twelve missionaries died, their average age thirty-five years. By 1905, Bishop de Boismenu reported, the mission had seen the death

109 H. Newton, Anniversary Address, 1903, A.A.

110 Letter of Sr Madeline, Annales, 1892, 632. Cf. account of deaths of Bonaventure and Allera, Annales, 1894, 692; A. Henkelmann, En bourlingant..., 61; V. Ceresi, The Life of Father Genocchi, 208-09; account of death of De Rycke, Annales, 1899, 427 and of Roussel, Annales, 1893, 450.

111 Fr Louis Janet died 15 April 1891, after three months in the mission.

of twenty-eight 'victims' - one-third of the total workforce - all but three under forty years of age.¹¹² In the same period the average age at death for Roman Catholic missionaries in Africa was forty-eight years and in Asia, fifty-four.¹¹³

Missionaries who avoided premature death often lived to a good age. In each mission were some who retired to administrative positions within the home organisation. L.M.S. missionaries generally returned to Britain, either to service within the Congregational Church, or to retirement. A few settled in Australia or New Zealand, with which they had become familiar during their service. Ordained Methodists were absorbed by the various conferences of Australia and New Zealand, to which many gave long post-missionary service. Anglican priests who did not die in the field mostly returned to parishes in England or Australia. Lay missionaries commonly took up work for which their pre-missionary experience had fitted them, although some, especially women, retained close voluntary links with the missionary organisations.

Several missionaries were granted secular recognition for their work. Five were awarded honorary doctorates, Lawes, Bromilow, Stone-Wigg and Sharp in divinity and MacFarlane in law. Three long-serving missionaries, Alice Cottingham, Robert Turner and Matthew Gilmour, received coronation medals in 1937. Archbishop de Boismenu was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour in 1950, as was also Bishop Gsell in 1951, after half a century each of service in the mission fields of Papua and Australia.

Few of the missionaries who had struggled to make a home in the mission field had the satisfaction of seeing their children follow them into the work. Charles Abel's sons took up his work after his accidental death in 1930 and Kwato, independent of the L.M.S. since 1917, remained a family concern until the 'sixties.¹¹⁴ Harold Schlencker followed his father into service with the L.M.S.

112 Letter of de Boismenu, Annales, 1905, 514.

113 A. Dupeyrat, Papouasie..., 241(n).

114 See N. Lutton, Larger than Life..., passim.

in Papua for a short period and two of MacFarlane's sons became missionaries in China. But the other children of missionaries chose different careers, a number of them turning to medicine, perhaps as a secular channel for the same concern as had motivated their fathers. Some felt bitterness at the price they had paid for their parents' service¹¹⁵ and at least a few showed evidence of what might have been the results of parental deprivation. Ben Butcher's children cost him constant anxiety.¹¹⁶ Pryce-Jones' children grieved him by becoming Roman Catholic and Anglican.¹¹⁷ W.G. Lawes suffered the pain of seeing his son, Frank, become a scandal for his sexual promiscuity and alcoholism before his early death.¹¹⁸ But Lawes' other sons, like most of the sons and daughters of missionaries, settled into middle class society in Australasia or Britain and, while not maintaining particularly close links with the missionary movement, continued to worship in the church which the parents had served, and to retain a justifiable pride in their parents' work.

A study of the missionaries who lived and worked in Papua up to 1914 reveals those differences amongst them which were shaped by ethnic and social origin, by the denominational influences under which they grew up and worked, by the passage of time and above all, by the vagaries of individual personality and experience. It also reveals some common features which transcend those variables.

The ethnic and social origins of the missionaries were diverse, the majority being drawn, however, from the lower though

115 Personal communication, J. Beharell, Canberra, 8 November 1978.

116 Butcher Papers, MS 1881/1, passim, e.g., Butcher to Ena Butcher, 14 November 1937.

117 Butcher to Ena Butcher, 12 March 1920, Butcher Papers, MS 1881/1.

118 Hely to F.E. Lawes, 6 April 1888 and F.E. Lawes to Musgrave, 7 April 1888, item 45 G11, C.A.O.27; Musgrave, Diary, 8 April 1888, Musgrave Papers; Letters of John Green to family, 15 June, 17 July 1894. Letters of John Green (P.M.B.).

not the lowest) ranks of European, British and colonial society. Despite their social diversity, many experienced strong and consistent religious influences from childhood, often mediated through the mother. Their decisions to become missionaries, in most cases prompted by a genuine sense of vocation, were often reinforced by secular considerations which either repelled them from western society or lured them to the mission field. Their religious formation varied in nature and scope, its one common feature being its failure to prepare them for much of what lay ahead. The liberalising of theology, and especially the growth of the social gospel, led to changing conceptions of the missionary's role.

In their style of living the missionaries reproduced features of their own society. Protestants built their lives round middle class ideals of the nuclear family and bourgeois domesticity; Roman Catholic missionaries recreated in New Guinea the communities of Europe. Anglicans strove for the latter, but, to some extent, acquiesced in the former. In other ways, similarities of lifestyle were determined by the constraints of a common social and physical environment.

Missionary perceptions of Papuan cultures revealed much of the complacent superiority, arrogance and eurocentrism of those who believed themselves to be at the pinnacle of the racial hierarchy. Unlike many of their secular contemporaries, however, the monogenist missionaries believed that the Papuan, equal in the eyes of God, could be 'raised' from his lowly position. Acquaintance with Papuan cultures and, for some, exposure to the new science of anthropology, led to growing appreciation. While some continued to fit the stereotype of the bigoted, uncomprehending 'wowser', many achieved a knowledge and understanding more profound than that of all but a few of their contemporaries. The extent to which missionaries attacked traditional cultures depended, however, not only upon their degree of appreciation but also upon assumptions shaped by their own cultural and theological background.

The missionary's perception of his or her work was also moulded by social origin, theological outlook and perceptions of Papuan cultures. Few fitted the stereotype of the black-coated, bible-wielding preacher, or manifested the narrow obsession with the salvation of souls attributed to them. As theological outlooks broadened,

so did their conception of their work, concern for the well-being of the whole person replacing a simple preoccupation with salvation. Education and welfare work became increasingly important, and the Protestant enthusiasm for industrial mission developed in the same context.

The performance of all missionaries was both supported and constrained by the distinctive structure and organisation to which they belonged. The experience of the isolated L.M.S. missionary with sole responsibility for his sprawling district was very different from that of his counterpart in the tightly-controlled, hierarchical Methodist force. The experience of each differed from that of the Roman Catholic working in community in total obedience to his superiors, or from the Anglican working in personal allegiance to the bishop. For one group however the experience was comparable across mission boundaries. Despite their special contributions to mission service, women in all four organisations were regarded as second-class citizens, auxiliaries in the male-dominated structures.

Although inevitable accomplices in the processes of imperialism, the missionaries defined for themselves a distinctive role, that of protector of the Papuan people. At times compromised by their association with the imperial powers, they nevertheless succeeded, through this role, in ameliorating some of the more exploitative aspects of colonial rule.

The reality in the Papuan mission field was much richer and more multi-faceted than any stereotype could capture. The predominant impression that emerges from a study of the 327 missionaries is of a host of individuals, many of them complex, strong and memorable personalities. Yet amidst such diversity it is possible to discern 'ideal types' to which reality approximated. These are not personality types, nor do they correlate with denominational allegiance or socio-economic factors. Transcending these and other variables which produced such diversity, they relate most closely to the individual's basic orientation to mission work. The four types may be called the mystic, the administrator, the humanitarian and the romantic.

For the mystic, the central fact of his or her career was a personal relationship with God. He or she came to the mission field to

seek fuller communion with God and to bring his or her soul into more perfect harmony with His will. The S.H.M. was the most congenial home for this type of missionary and Henri Verjus or Mother Liguori its archetypes. Protestant examples are less apparent, although an evangelical like Samuel Fellows, with his craving for sanctification, was a close approximation.

The administrator was a rational, practical person. His attention was directed towards organisation and structure. He brought to the mission field talents which might otherwise have been used in shop, office, or counting-house. Although probably a person of strong faith, his attraction was to the status and role of the missionary. Bromilow, categorised by MacGregor as a man of exceptional organisational ability, was a good example of the administrator-missionary. Less admirable was Samuel MacFarlane, whose shrewd opportunism could have been deployed in commerce had not his humble origins precluded it. A more impressive example was Charles Abel, whose main preoccupation was the skilful creation and nurture of a personal missionary empire. If any women missionaries shared this orientation, they found little scope for expressing it in the male-dominated structures of the missions.

For the humanitarian, the chief focus of mission work was not one's relationship with God, nor the organisation of the mission, but concern for humankind. This concern was often accompanied by love of God, just as the mystic's love of God could overflow into love for humanity. Often touched by the social gospel, humanitarian missionaries concentrated their energies on teaching, healing and welfare work, and on translation and the study of culture insofar as they facilitated fuller communication with the people. A large number of the women missionaries had a predominantly humanitarian outlook. Amongst the male missionaries, an archetypal humanitarian was Ben Butcher. Others included Holmes and Riley of the L.M.S., Anglicans, Gill and Chignell, and Methodist, Matthew Gilmour.

The fourth type of missionary, the romantic, was drawn to the mission field by the attraction of the unknown, the magic of the exotic, a quest for adventure. A missionary career provided the opportunity to shake off the fetters of a confined life and enter a world of infinite possibilities. The characteristic activities of

the romantic missionary were the pioneer ones: exploration and first contact, the building of remote stations, collection of artefacts and study of traditional cultures. James Chalmers, attacked by contemporaries for his passion for exploration and his inability to tolerate routine, was the romantic missionary, par excellence.

These types were to some extent determined by the structure of the missions. Women found it difficult to be administrators but easy to fulfil the serving role of the humanitarian. Mysticism was encouraged by the spiritual atmosphere of the S.H.M. Nevertheless in all missions there was some scope for role specialisation, and in each there was evidence of individuals who found their *métier* within the structures, and equally of those who chafed under the burden of administration because they wanted to explore, or shrank from exploration because their inclination was to prayer or administration. If in part moulded by circumstances, the missionaries' style was also the outcome of their conception of mission work, of whether their primary focus was God or their fellow man, the fabric of the mission or the unknown horizons of the land in which they served.

HOW representative the missionaries in Papua were of the Christian missionaries who were their predecessors or their contemporaries elsewhere could only be determined by a series of further case studies for, as has already been noted,¹¹⁹ serious study of missionaries as a social group has been slight. Certain inferences can be drawn, however, from existing scholarship.

Compared with their counterparts of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,¹²⁰ the Protestant missionaries of a century later appeared as moderate and respectable men and women. Most were better educated and many of higher social status. An equally significant difference was that they were nurtured Christians,

119 See above, Introduction.

120 See W.N. Gunson, Messengers of Grace, passim.

not converts. By the mid-nineteenth century, evangelical religion had been institutionalised in British society, and the passion of the Revival had cooled.¹²¹ A second Evangelical Revival stirred some British souls in 1859 - prompting, for instance, the conversion of James Chalmers - but most of the Protestant missionaries who came to Papua had grown up taking their religion for granted. If the ardour of a nurtured Christian is less than that of a convert, this tendency was reinforced by the disappearance of the 'perishing heathen' motive and the consequent reduction in the sense of urgency of the missionary task.¹²² Some found their zeal further curbed by the routinisation of an established mode of work. Animated by the same faith as their predecessors, their expression of it in the field was more temperate and restrained.

The Sacred Heart missionaries, on the other hand, were stamped with more fervour than had been characteristic of their co-religionists a century earlier. A reflection of the warmer piety which marked the revival of French Catholicism in the nineteenth century, it was fanned to white heat in the New Guinea field by the driven passion of Henri Verjus. In their romantic and mystical piety the Sacred Heart missionaries were closer to their mediaeval forebears than to those of the Enlightenment.

The social origins of the missionaries in Papua, though higher than a century earlier, seem to have been more modest than was typical by the end of the nineteenth century. At a time when Protestant missions were recruiting increasingly from the greater middle class, workers in Papua continued to be drawn from that traditional recruiting ground, the borderland between the working classes and the lower middle class. The Anglican Mission, despite its articulate upper middle class leadership, failed to draw on that section of society to the same extent as its mentor, the U.M.C.A., or even its neighbour, the Melanesian Mission. While some French Catholic congregations attracted members primarily from the aristocracy

121 G.M. Young, Portrait of an Age, 4-5.

122 See above, 57-59.

and upper middle class, the S.H.M. was staffed preponderantly by the children of peasants and artisans, it being one of the objectives of the M.S.C. to facilitate the vocations of the godly but poor.

A further difference, in part a corollary, was that the missionaries in Papua were, as a group, less highly educated than most missionaries of the period. It was said of the C.M.S. that candidates with a First at Oxford or Cambridge were sent to the East, while those with an Al life at Lloyds went to Africa.¹²³ What was true of Africa was more true of New Guinea. Even in Africa, 17 per cent of males in the C.M.S. East Africa mission had university degrees, mostly from Oxford or Cambridge.¹²⁴ The proportion for the U.M.C.A. was, predictably, higher - 25 per cent.¹²⁵ In Papua, 11 per cent of Anglican and Protestant male missionaries had degrees. Priests of the M.S.C., while undergoing the mandatory tertiary training for the priesthood, found their place in the spectrum of Roman Catholic congregations and orders, not amongst those renowned for intellectual achievement such as the Jesuits, but amongst those distinguished by dedication and apostolic zeal. The relatively lower standard of education is reflected in the level of scholarship in the Papuan field. While Holmes, Saville, Stone-Wigg and Field published creditably in anthropology, and King, Lawes, Fellows, Guis and others made substantial contributions to linguistic knowledge, none produced a study of the quality of those, for instance, of Maurice Leenhardt or R.H. Codrington.

Visitors to Papua commented that its missionaries were of a distinctive kind.¹²⁶ They were strong, practical men and women, who dressed ruggedly and used their hands. Their style was in part moulded by environment - Papua was one of the few remaining pioneer fields - but it was also a reflection of the fact that mission societies sent their more scholarly recruits to work among literate peoples with

123 R. Strayer, The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa, 6.

124 Ibid, 5.

125 D. Hilliard, God's Gentlemen, 125.

126 E.g., F. Hurley, Pearls and Savages, 63. 'The missionaries as a body are superior to most others I have met.... They are more of a pioneering breed.' Cf. W. Geil, Ocean and Isle, 219.

more 'sophisticated' cultures. As with the missionaries sent to Africa, the qualities required in candidates for Papua were strength, stamina and resourcefulness.

If the missionaries in Papua differed considerably from those in Asia and even, to some degree, from those in Africa, they resembled more closely their contemporaries in the Pacific, many of whom were recruited by the same or similar organisations. L.M.S. missionaries who served in Samoa, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Niue, the Loyalties and other small island groups, were recruited and trained in the same fashion as their colleagues in Papua. The A.W.M.M.S. sent workers to Fiji, German New Guinea and the Solomons, as well as Papua. In both these societies there was some movement of personnel between fields as there was also amongst the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart whose other fields included German New Guinea, northern Australia and the Gilberts. In style and orientation, the M.S.C. were similar to the Marists, at work in the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides and Fiji. The Anglican missionaries, although of more modest origins, were not dissimilar in outlook from their counterparts in the Melanesian Mission.

What difference there was between missionaries in Papua and those elsewhere in the Pacific was not related so much to differences of origin, attainment or orientation, but rather to the nature of the country in which they served. One notable feature of missionary service throughout the Pacific was the establishment of missionary dynasties.¹²⁷ Missionaries came to regard the land in which they served as their home. They settled there, sometimes buying land and engaging in commercial activity, raised their children and often retired and died there while a second generation took up the work. In Papua, a country then still regarded as inhospitable to white settlement, few missionaries made a permanent home. They were sojourners in a strange land and home was somewhere else, across the sea. Even for many of the dedicated, long-serving Sacred Heart

127 Some of the most notable were the Patons (Presbyterian), the Waterhouses (Methodist), the Gills and Turners (L.M.S.).

missionaries, home was the provincial town of Issoudun on the misty Berry plains, or the small villages of rural France or the Low Countries, and they died in exile.

Nevertheless, missionaries in Papua before the Great War were to a large extent representative of the genre. The four missions covered the broad theological spectrum - Roman Catholic, Anglo-Catholic, liberal Protestant and Evangelical - of mission activity in that period. In the careers of the missionaries were reflected the major shifts of theological emphasis, the new anthropological insights and the changing conceptions of mission work which shaped missionary service during that period. Above all, in their self-image, they were representative of their kind in the 'golden age of mission'. Missionaries of that period enjoyed an exalted social status. But more important to many than the esteem of contemporaries was the belief that they had been called by God for 'the most sublime of all works'.¹²⁸ In the words of the first missionary, Paul, they were a 'peculiar people' chosen to 'show forth the praises' of the God who had chosen them.¹²⁹ This self-image encouraged their dedication and endurance - and at times their complacency and arrogance - and gave impetus and meaning to the lives and deaths of missionaries of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in Papua, as elsewhere.

128 Navarre, Journal I, 73, B.A.

129 I Peter 2, 9. (Authorised Version).

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY OF MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN PAPUA 1874-1914

- 1871 June-July: Murray and MacFarlane located teachers on Torres Strait islands for the L.M.S., and visited Redscar Bay
- 1872 14 September: Murray and Gill sailed from Lifu with second contingent of teachers
November: teachers stationed in Torres Strait, and on mainland at Katau, Tureture and Manumanu
December: Cape York chosen as headquarters for L.M.S. mission to New Guinea
- 1873 March: teachers murdered at Bampton Island, deaths among teachers at Manumanu
November: surviving teachers from Manumanu transferred to Port Moresby
- 1874 21 November: W.G. Lawes and family settled at Port Moresby
- 1876 April: Lawes and MacFarlane explored south-east coast to China Strait
- 1877 August-September: Lawes' first inland expedition to Koiari
21 October: arrival of James and Jane Chalmers
13 December: departure of Lawes for England
- 1878 Chalmers' exploration of south-east coast from Suau
- 1879 29 February: death of Mrs Chalmers
November: Chalmers' exploration of Papuan Gulf
- 1881 7 March: Kalo massacre
25 March: Vicariates of Melanesia and Micronesia offered to M.S.C.
12 April: return of William and Fanny Lawes
1 September: embarkation of first M.S.C. contingent for Oceania
First L.M.S. baptism, Aruadaera of Port Moresby
- 1882 5 June: Fr Navarre named Superior, M.S.C., after breakdown of Fr Durin
29 September: arrival of M.S.C. at Matupi, New Britain
- 1884 Ordination of first Papuan pastor, Rarua, for L.M.S.
24 October: arrival of M.S.C. at Thursday Island
6 November: declaration of Protectorate, B.N.G.
- 1885 1 July: Verjus and two brothers reached Yule Island after illegal entry
September: M.S.C. pioneers forced to return to Thursday Island to await Sir Peter Scratchley
3 December: death of Sir Peter Scratchley

- 1886 9 February: return of Verjus to Yule Island
16 April: arrival at Yule Island of Navarre and two brothers
October: resolution of Anglican General Synod to take up responsibility for New Guinea
- 1887 May: exploration of Mekeo by Frs Verjus and Couppé
4 August: arrival of first Sisters (F.D.N.S.C.) at Yule Island
30 September: consecration of Navarre as titular Bishop of Pentacomie
- 1888 17 August: Navarre named titular Archbishop of Cyr
4 September: annexation of B.N.G.
- 1889 7 April: pontifical decree dividing Vicariate of Melanesia into Vicariate of New Guinea and Vicariate of New Britain
- 1890 February: Verjus retained as coadjutor bishop to Navarre and Couppé named Vicar-Apostolic of New Britain
May-August: visits of Albert Maclaren and George Brown
17 June: 'gentleman's agreement' between L.M.S., Methodists and Anglicans to define missions' spheres of influence
- 1891 27 May: departure from Sydney of pioneer Methodist party, led by William Bromilow
19 June: arrival of Methodists at Dobu
10 August: arrival of Maclaren and King at Bartle Bay
3 November: departure of Verjus for consecration in Europe
10 November: King left Anglican mission, ill, for Sydney
24 December: Maclaren transported, ill, in government yacht, from Samarai to Cooktown
27 December: Death of Maclaren, off Cooktown
- 1892 March: return of King as head of Anglican mission
April: arrival in New Guinea of first missionary sisters to be employed by A.W.M.M.S.
13 November: death of Verjus at Oleggio, Italy; departure of Navarre for Europe
- 1893 8 May: combined missionary conference: L.M.S., Methodists and Anglicans at Kwato
24 June: arrival at Yule Island of large contingent of M.S.C. and F.D.N.S.C.
- 1894 22 July: baptism of first eight Methodist converts
- 1896 April: first Anglican baptisms: Samuela Aigeri and Pilipo Agabadi
- 1898 25 January: consecration of Montagu Stone-Wigg, first Anglican bishop
- 1899 M.S.C. explorations of mountainous interior: Kuni and Mafulu
- 1900 March: de Boismenu consecrated titular Bishop of Gabala, coadjutor to Navarre

- 1901 8 April: death of Chalmers, Tomkins and eleven Papuans at Goaribari
- 1906 29 March: retirement of W.G. Lawes
- 1907 21 December: retirement of Archbishop Navarre; succeeded as Vicar-Apostolic by de Boismenu
- 1908 Retirement of Bishop Stone-Wigg; retirement of William Bromilow (succeeded by Matthew Gilmour as Chairman of N.G. District)
- 1910 25 April: consecration of Gerald Sharp as second Anglican bishop of New Guinea
- 1912 16 January: death of Archbishop Navarre
- 1914 Papuan candidate, Joseph Taurino, commenced studies for Roman Catholic priesthood
20 September: Peter Rautamara and Edwin Nuagoro ordained Anglican deacons

APPENDIX II

EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES IN PAPUA 1874-1915

NOTE: For biographical information, see Biographical Register.
Number in last column indicates number of individual in register.

I. LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

(All L.M.S. missionaries were ordained)	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in</u> ¹ <u>mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
1. Samuel MacFarlane	1871	1885		19
2. William George Lawes	1874	1906		17
3. William Young Turner	1876	1876		32
4. James Chalmers	1877		1901	7
5. Thomas Beswick	1879		1883	4
6. J. Tait Scott	1880	1882		29
7. Thomas Ridgley	1882	1882		22
8. Harry Scott	1883	1886		28
9. Edwin B. Savage	1885	1891		24
10. Watson Sharpe	1885		1886	27
11. Archibald Ernest Hunt	1887) 1895)	1889) 1902)		14
12. Albert Pearse	1887	1907		20
13. Henry Moore Dauncey	1888	1928		11
14. Frederick W. Walker	1888) 1902) 1924)	1896) 1905)	1926	33
15. Charles Abel	1890		1930	1
16. John Henry Holmes	1893	1919		13
17. Thomas W. Ingram	1894	1895		15
18. H. Percy Schlencker	1895	1927		26
19. Charles J. Cribb	1896	1899		9
20. Edwin Pryce-Jones	1899	1926		16
21. E. Baxter Riley	1900	1929		23

1 Includes those who died on furlough or sick leave while still attached to mission, and those who died in retirement within the mission.

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
22. Oliver Fellows Tomkins	1900		1901	30
23. Charles F. Rich	1900	1939		21
24. William J.V. Saville	1900	1935		25
25. James H. Cullen	1902	1903		10
26. Robert Lister Turner	1902	1939		31
27. Benjamin T. Butcher	1904	1938		6
28. Reginald Bartlett	1905	1912		2
29. William N. Lawrence	1906	1917		18
30. Caleb Beharell	1906	1919		3
31. James B. Clark	1907	1931		8
32. Thomas O. Harries	1912	1915		12
33. Sydney Burrows	1913	1916		5

II. METHODIST MISSION

(Note: M-Methodist minister)

1. William Bromilow (M)	1891) 1920)	1907) 1925)		42
2. John T. Field (M)	1891	1900		50
3. Samuel Benjamin Fellows (M)	1891	1901		48
4. James Watson (M)	1891	1893		79
5. George Bardsley	1891	1892		37
6. Jeannie Tinney	1892	1902		73
7. Eleanor Walker	1892	1901		76
8. Ambrose Fletcher (M)	1893) 1920)	1903) 1923)		51
9. John Andrews	1893	1897		34
10. Nurse E.E. Speers	1894	1895		70
11. Minnie Mabel Billing	1895	1898		41
12. Emily A. Newell	1896	1898		66
13. Julia Benjamin	1898	1907		40
14. James R. Williams (M)	1898	1913		80
15. Edith Lloyd	1898	1903		64
16. Annie Colebatch	1898	1900		45
17. Edward James Glew	1899		1904	56
18. Matthew Kerr Gilmour (M)	1901	1933		55

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
19. James A. Walsh (M)	1901	1904		77
20. Sister Thomas	1902	1903		71
21. Gregory A. Gatland	1903	1908		53
22. Laura Griffiths	1903	1913		57
23. Lise Truscott	1903		1908	74
24. James R. Osborne (M)	1904	1910		67
25. Andrew Ballantyne (M)	1904		1915	36
26. William Charles Francis	1904	1909		52
27. Sarah Elizabeth Corfield	1904	1913		46
28. May Jenness	1905	1906		61
29. Janet Vosper	1906	1909		75
30. Florence Thompson	1907	1909		72
31. George Robert Holland (M)	1908	1912		59
32. Rose Mary Lill	1908	1910		63
33. Ernest William Harrison	1909	1913		58
34. William Wesley Avery (M)	1910	1913		35
35. Gordon Angelo Burgess (M)	1910	1915		43
36. Ethel Prisk	1910	1916		68
37. Janett Catherine Gibb	1909	1918		54
38. Ernest Samuel Johns (M)	1911	1917		62
39. Margaret Jamieson	1911	1915		60
40. Percy M. Waterhouse (M)	1912	1913		78
41. Frederick J. Winn (M)	1912	1925		81
42. Sister McIntyre	1912	1912		65
43. Walter J. Enticott (M)	1913	1917		47
44. Doris Pearl Bembrick	1913	1917		39
45. Hilda Ferguson	1914	1914		49

III. ANGLICAN MISSION

(B-bishop, P-priest, D-deacon)

1. Albert Alexander Maclaren(P)	1891		1891	120
2. Copland King (P)	1891	1918		119
3. Samuel Tomlinson (P)	1891		1937	154
4. Elizabeth Tomlinson	1891		1939	153
5. C.E. Kennedy	1891	1894		117

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
6. Cyril Elwin	1893	1895		102
7. William Henry Murray (P)	1895	1896		126
8. Harriette Alice Murray	1895) 1912)	1903) 1914)		125
9. Sophia McLaughlin	1896	1907		121
10. Samuel Hoare	1896	1897		114
11. Joseph Auburn Reynolds (P)	1896	1897		137
12. Florence Agnes Thomson	1896	1904		152
13. Edward Henry Clark	1896		1899	93
14. Montagu John Stone-Wigg(B)	1898	1908		147
15. Wilfred Henry Abbot (P)	1898	1900		82
16. Sarah Sully (Mrs H. Newton)	1898	1915		148
17. Robert Hardy Dakers	1898	1907		96
18. Walter Bayley	1898	1898		87
19. Charles Sage	1898	1904		141
20. Arthur Patrick Foott	1898	1900		106
21. Frederick Ambrose	1899	1899		84
22. Ernest William Mayman Hines (P)	1899	1900		113
23. Annie Caroline Ker (Mrs P. Money)	1899	1910		118
24. Henry Newton (B)	1899) 1922)	1915	1947	127
25. Francis de Sales Buchanan	1899		1921	89
26. Laura Oliver	1899		1924	130
27. Frederick William Ramsay (P)	1900	1919		135
28. Felix Albert Ferneau (D)	1900	1900		104
29. Eric Louis Giblin	1900	1906		108
30. Frederick Smithson	1900	1900		145
31. James Baird Stirrat	1900		1903	146
32. Isobel Boyes Bartlemann	1900	1900		85
33. Ella Florence Challman	1900	1903		91
34. Frances Mary Syngé	1900	1903		149
35. Ellen Combley	1900		1912	94
36. Sydney Frederick Ford	1900	1903		107
37. William McMullan	1900	1902		122
38. Percy John Money	1900	1910		123
39. Percy Charles Shaw (P)	1900	1921		144

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
40. Ernest Wesley Taylor (P)	1901		1903	150
41. Maud Nowland	1901		1934	129
42. Mary Alicia Newton	1902		1904	128
43. Elizabeth Margaret Scarth	1903	1906		142
44. Norman Dodds	1903	1904		98
45. Miss Adams	1903	1904		83
46. Alice Maud Cottingham	1903		1940	95
47. T.A. Burnett	1904	1905		90
48. George William Morris	1905	1906		124
49. John Hunt (P)	1905) 1911)	1910	1928	116
50. Annie Ramsay	1906	1919		134
51. Maude Griffiths (Mrs P.C. Shaw)	1906	1921		111
52. George Edward Downton	1906	1909		99
53. Norman Atkins Fettell	1906	1915		102
54. Leonard Bertram Drury	1907	1908		100
55. Maria Johanna Peut	1907	1912		133
56. Joshua Pearce	1907	1910		132
57. Arthur Kent Chignell (P)	1907	1914		92
58. Stephen Romney Maurice Gill (P)	1908	1952		109
59. Isobel Robertson	1909	1912		138
60. Ernest Owen Davies	1909	1915		97
61. Honor Etta Winterbottom	1910	1918		155
62. Henry Holland (P)	1910		1942	115
63. Gerald Sharp (B)	1910	1921		143
64. Albert James Batchelor	1912	1914		86
65. Edyth Parrish	1912	1915		131
66. Beatrice M. Henry	1912	1914		112
67. Gertrude Robson	1913		1917	139
68. Elizabeth Rattigan (Mrs A.K. Chignell)	1912	1914		136
69. Kate Grasby	1913	1915		110
70. Louise Robson	1913	1916		140
71. Joseph Taylor	1913	1918		151
72. Frank Raymond Elder (P)	1914	1934		101

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
73. James Edward John Fisher (P)	1914	1922		105
74. Margaret Bechervaise	1914) 1920) 1948)	1915) 1941) 1950)		88

IV. SACRED HEART MISSION

Priests (M.S.C.) (A-Archbishop, B-Bishop)

1. Louis-André Navarre (A)	1884		1912	198
2. Fernand Hartzer	1884	1894		188
3. Henri Verjus (B)	1885		1892	214
4. Athanase Toublanc	1886	1892		209
5. Edward Kutter	1886	1888		194
6. Fernand François Durin	1886	1888		177
7. Louis Couppé	1885	1885		169
8. Eugene Thomas	1888	1889		208
9. Joseph Vitale	1888		1947	215
10. Gilbert Buisson	1888	1905		162
11. Theophile Magloire Cramaille	1889		1896	170
12. Louis Hubert	1891		1909	189
13. Louis-Emmanuel Janet	1891		1891	190
14. Joseph Karseleers	1893	1903		193
15. Eugene Roussel	1893		1893	206
16. Jean Genocchi	1893	1896		183
17. Paul Bouellat	1893		1902	160
18. Jean Gabriel Coltée	1893	1902		168
19. Louis Cochard	1893	1904		167
20. Claudius Allera	1893		1893	156
21. André Jullien	1894	1911		192
22. Gustave Marie	1894		1900	197
23. Joseph Leon Guis	1894	1906		187
24. Victor de Rijcke	1894		1899	173
25. Ernest Guilbaud	1894		1937	186
26. Gustave Peeters	1894	1908		201
27. Archibald Shaw	1894	1897		207
28. Alexandre-Marie Fillodeau	1896) 1905)	1902) 1909)		182

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
29. Armand Pagès	1897		1916	200
31. Alain Guynot de Boismenu(A)	1898		1953	172
32. Joseph Poupeney	1898		1918	203
33. François-Xavier Gsell	1900	1906		185
34. Joseph Chabot	1900		1940	165
35. Vincenzo Egidi	1901	1911		178
36. Jean-Pierre Vedère	1901	1905		213
37. Joseph Bach	1900	1927		157
38. Louis Cros	1902	1910		171
39. Jean-Pierre Lang	1902		1951	195
40. Alphonse Marie Clauser	1902	1919		166
41. Edmund Joindreau	1902	1913		191
42. Bernard van Riel	1903	1904		212
43. Edouard van Goethem	1903	1925		210
44. Henri van Neck	1902	1929		211
45. Joseph Caspar	1902	1910		164
46. Maximilian Branger	1903		1935	161
47. Paul Fastré	1904	1939		181
48. Henri Eschlimann	1906	1946		180
49. Gustav Desnoës	1906	1927		174
50. Theophile Dontenwill	1906	1933		175
51. Joseph Rossier	1907		1966	205
52. François-Xavier Riegler	1907		1945	204
53. René Bodet	1909	1932		159
54. André Pineau	1911		1965	202
55. Généreux Norin	1911		1945	199
56. Leonard MacCarthy	1912	1913		196
57. Edward Albert Bailey	1912	1917		158
58. Denis Patrick Elliott	1912		1914	179
59. Jules Dubuy	1913		1952	176
60. Joseph Gonzalez	1913	1923		184
<u>Coadjutor Brothers (M.S.C.)</u>				
1. Joseph de Santis	1884	1887		223
2. Mariano Travaglini	1886	1901		249
3. Nikolas Marconi	1885		1893	240

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
4. Salvatore Gasbara	1885		1945	227
5. Henri Adan	1887		1931	216
6. Georges Brunner	1887		1898	220
7. Conrad Weber	1887	1888		259
8. Stanislas van Roy	1888		1917	255
9. Rintz Bosma	1888		1892	219
10. Simon Wagemans	1888		1902	258
11. Jean Oberleuter	1888	1893		243
12. Gabriel Veryken	1891		1911	257
13. Constant van Cam	1891		1903	251
14. Joseph Moorees	1891	1896		242
15. Edmond Zwarthoed	1893		1898	262
16. Joseph Moreux	1893		1906	242
17. Andreas Karls	1893		1903	233
18. Theodore van Spyk	1894		1908	256
19. Domenico Grippa	1894		1898	228
20. Phillippe van Erven	1894		1918	253
21. Louis Joseph Antoine	1894	1919		217
22. Bonaventure Steyeart	1894		1894	247
23. Alexis Henkelmann	1894		1952	230
24. Louis Herault	1896		1897	231
25. Aloisius Poijer	1897		1922	244
26. Stanislas van Horenbeck	1897		1902	254
27. Arnoldus Zwarthoed	1897		1908	261
28. Modeste van der Eijken	1899		1917	252
29. Louis Kuypers	1899	1916		237
30. Adrian Priem	1899		1930	245
31. Adrien Kocks	1900	1910		234
32. Augustus Lainé	1899		1952	239
33. George Wright	1900	1901		260
34. Lambert Fehrmann	1900	1915		224
35. Felix Jules Lacasse	1900	1904		238
36. Germain Aloysius Hesse	1903	1914		232
37. Theodore van Breughel	1904		1905	250
38. Cornelius Hansen	1904		1911	229
39. François Somers	1906	1916		246

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
40. Ferdinand Arnould	1906	1910		218
41. Jean Koweide	1906		1942	235
42. Pierre de Moor	1906		1932	222
43. Jean Kuypers	1806	1924		236
44. Jules Fridez	1907		1935	226
45. Camille Fridez	1908		1964	225
46. Paul Studler	1909		1963	248
47. Joseph Caron	1912		1929	221

Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (F.D.N.S.C.)

(When religious name differs from Christian name, it is given in brackets. All F.D.N.S.C. added the name Mary.)

1. Pauline Perdrix (Paule)	1886	1926		317
2. Albertine Louise Masselin (Madeline)	1886		1927	311
3. Claire Desailly	1887		1930	285
4. Marthe Douillard	1887		1931	286
5. Natalie Debroux (Mother Liguori)	1887) 1915)	1908) 1921)		280
6. Margaret Sweeney (Mother Margaret Mary)	1887		1896	326
7. Josephine Poiron	1887		1905	318
8. Virginie Ode (Ange)	1887		1895	314
9. Clothilde Anne (Joachim)	1887		1894	265
10. Yvonne le Roux	1887		1893	308
11. Bernadette Marie Brizaid	1887		1895	274
12. Charlotte Schutte (Berchmans)	1888		1892	322
13. Jeanne Marie Caillaud	1888		1913	275
14. Marie Maire (Agnès)	1888		1901	310
15. Rosalie Baluçon (Mother Rosalie)	1892		1946	267
16. Mary Ryan (Marie Xavier)	1894	1900		321
17. Ada Roarty (Lucy)	1893	?		320
18. Mary Lenehan (Hyacinth)	1893	1909		307
19. Celestine Josephine Fouillet	1893		1900	289
20. Marie Rose Constance Bonnard	1893	1909		270
21. Marie Melanie Chatellier	1893		1943	277
22. Francine Suramy (Raphael)	1893		1947	325

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
23. Antoinette Belarbre (Mother Antoinette)	1894	1907		269
24. Marie Dugast (Anastasie)	1894		1902	288
25. H�el�ene Jannot	1894		1901	300
26. Sebastienne Marie Pastant	1897		1924	316
27. Camille Jean Hullin	1897	1923		299
28. Henriette Allera	1897		1935	263
29. Fran�oise Bouffort (Leontine)	1897		1902	271
30. Claudine Batard	1897		1942	268
31. Philom�ene Leclair (Eulalie)	1897		1935	306
32. Hanna Darcy (Veronica)	1900	1919		279
33. Brigid Fox	1899	1903		291
34. Therese Jean	1900	1908		301
35. Margaret McSweeny (Loyola)	1900	1914		309
36. Andr�e ?	1900	1907		264
37. Katie Carroll (Clothilde)	1900		1966	276
38. Ang�ele Septvants (St Roch)	1900		1916	323
39. Philom�ene Hervouet (Alexis)	1900		1919	297
40. Augustine Deniaud (Euphrasie)	1900		1912	282
41. Marie Dedierjean (Eusebia)	1900		1950	281
42. Margaret Gleeson (Kevin)	1900		1932	294
43. Sarah Gallagher (Patrick)	1900		1913	293
44. Agnes Maxwell (Ursula)	1902	1925		312
45. Clothilde Merlet (Gonzague)	1902		1909	313
46. Bernadette Koopman	1902	1923		305
47. Julie Paret (Marguerite II)	1902		1945	315
48. Honora Heffernan (Aloisius)	1904		1923	296
49. Mary Jones (Patricius)	1904		1930	302
50. Imelda Brady (de Pazzi)	1904		1909	272
51. Mary Margaret Fox (Finbar)	1905	1935		292
52. Elizabeth Mary Daniels (Apolline)	1909	1912		278
53. Monica Fourter (Zita)	1909		1955	290
54. H�el�ene Duflot (Mother Kostka)	1909		1955	287
55. Marie Thomas (Octavie)	1909	1936		327

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Resigned</u>	<u>Died in mission</u>	<u>Register No.</u>
56. Florence Derroz (Adrienne)	1909		1909	284
57. Mary Keogh (Thecla)	1910	1929		304
58. Marie Houdmont (Gabrielle)	1912		1974	298
59. Leontine Renaud	1912		1967	319
60. Theodorine Valentine Bachelier	1912		1943	266
61. Maria Kelly (Boniface)	1913	?		303
62. Honora Breen (Leonard)	1914	?		273
63. Jeanne Simon (Albertine)	1914		1930	324
64. Marie Deniaud (Julitte)	1914		1973	283
65. Clementine Guillet (Joachim II)	1914		1915	295

APPENDIX III

L.M.S. AND METHODIST WIVES IN THE PAPUAN
MISSION FIELD 1874-1914

(NOTE: b-born; m-married; d-died; ch.m-church member;
C.Ch-Congregational Church; /-died in missionary service.)

L.M.S.

1. Elizabeth MacFarlane (née Joyce), b.1840, daughter of John Joyce, gentleman; ch.m.: Bedford C.Ch.; m.Samuel MacFarlane, 13 October 1872. Sister of Alfred Joyce, L.M.S.; d.28 October 1916
2. Fanny Lawes (née Wickham), b.1840; ch.m.: Canberbury C.Ch.; m.W.G. Lawes, 1860, d.Sydney, 27 January 1913
3. Mary Amelia Turner (née Colville), m.W.Y. Turner, 19 August 1875; d.New Guinea, 1876/
4. Jane Chalmers (née Hercus), school teacher, m. James Chalmers, 17 October 1865; d.Sydney, 20 February 1879/
5. Sarah Eliza (Lizzie) Chalmers (née Large, formerly Harrison), m.James Chalmers, 6 October 1888; d.New Guinea, 25 October 1900/
6. Clara Beswick (née Coombs), m.Thomas Beswick, 1881, who died in 1883
7. Eliza Jessie Scott (née Mitchell), ch.m.: Montrose C.Ch.; received 'a first-class education'; m.J. Tait Scott, 6 July 1880
8. Mary Scott (née Todhunter), daughter of Professor Todhunter of Cheshunt, L.M.S. director; m.Harry Scott 1883
9. Harriet Rebecca Hunt (née Tizard), m.A.E. Hunt, 26 July 1887; d.Wellington, N.Z.
10. Susan Pearse (née Jefferies), ch.m.: Wrington C.Ch., Somerset; m.A. Pearse, 12 October 1869
11. Mary Ellen (Polly) Dauncey (née Hinton), ch.m.: Wesley Ch. Walsall; m.H.M. Dauncey, 16 August 1894; d.23 March 1921
12. Rosalie Caroline Walker (née Wilson), ch.m.: Nether C.Ch.; sister of L.M.S. director, Talbot Wilson; m.F.W. Walker, 27 June 1903
13. Elizabeth Beatrice Abel (née Moxon), b.28 March 1869, daughter of brewer. Evangelical Anglican; m.Charles Abel, 22 June 1892
14. Alice Holmes (née Middleton), ch.m.: Sherwell C.Ch.; m.J.H. Holmes, 4 July 1901
15. Louisa Ingram (née Gunn), ch.m.: Southend C.Ch.; m.T.W. Ingram, 17 July 1894

16. Mary Elizabeth Schlencker (née Cribb), ch.m.: Milton C.Ch., Queensland; m.H.P. Schlencker, 1 February 1905
17. Elizabeth Cribb (née McNab), daughter of coach-builder; ch.m.: Milton C.Ch., Queensland; m.C.J. Cribb, 20 July 1898
18. Minnie Pryce-Jones (née Page), dressmaker; m.E. Pryce-Jones, 30 March 1893
19. Jessie Marian Riley (née Maclean), daughter of John Maclean (civil servant); teacher; m.E. Baxter Riley, 10 January 1906
20. Caroline Rich (née Bryant), teacher; ch.m.: Percy C.Ch.; m.C.F. Rich, 5 May 1900
21. Frances Saville (née Lawes), daughter of F.E. Lawes and niece of W.G. Lawes (missionaries, L.M.S.); nurse; ch.m.: Point Piper Rd C.Ch., Sydney; m. W.J.V. Saville, 6 June 1903
22. Mattie Burr Cullen (née Simmons), ch.m.: Robertson St C.Ch., Hastings; m.J.H. Cullen, 30 June 1890
23. Edith Emma Turner (née Calvert), B.A.(University of Wales); nurse; missionary, Wuchang medical mission, China; m.R.L. Turner, 28 July 1910
24. Lucy Georgina (Ena) Butcher (née Davidson), daughter of J.M. Davidson (bank manager); ch.m.: South Brisbane C.Ch.; m.B.T. Butcher, 28 December 1912; d.1955
25. Alice Mary Bartlett (née Bennett), daughter of farmer; evangelical Anglican; school teacher; m.R. Bartlett, 1 January 1907
26. Jessie Lawrence (née Leslie), ch.m.: Edinburgh; m. W.N. Lawrence, 22 November 1883
27. Margaret James Beharell (née Patterson), school teacher; ch.m.: Park Gate C.Ch.; m.C. Beharell, 20 December 1910
28. Annie Clark (née Muir), daughter of farmer; nurse; ch.m.: Penrith Pres.Ch.; m.J.B. Clark, 19 December 1906
29. Edith Lillian Harries (née Gayton), school teacher; ch.m.: Castle Gate C.Ch., Nottingham; m.T.O. Harries, 7 March 1911
30. Charlotte Christine Burrows (née Robertson), daughter of Peter Robinson (marine engineer); milliner; ch.m.: West Hawthorn Pres.Ch., Vic.; m.S. Burrows, 25 February 1913

METHODIST MISSION

1. Lily Bromilow (née Thompson), daughter of railway inspector; m.W.E. Bromilow, April 1879
2. Frances Mary Field (née Harding), b.1861, daughter of William Harding (grazier); m.J.T. Field, May 1892
3. Sara (Sallie) Hanna Fellows, m.S. Fellows 1894; d.1930
4. Jessie Maud Fletcher (née Bavin), daughter of Rev. Rainsford Bavin (Methodist - N.Z. and Aust.), brother of C. Bavin, missionary, Fiji; m.A. Fletcher, 13 April 1894
5. ? Andrews, wife of A.J. Andrews

6. Bertha Williams (née Begelhole), m.J.R. Williams, Dobu, 23 June 1899; d.8 November 1904~~4~~
7. Charlotte June Williams (née Mason), m.J.R. Williams, 3 August 1910. After husband's death (1913) became Methodist missionary sister, Fiji
8. Fairleigh Lillie Glew (née Newell), daughter of Henry Vernon Newell (clerk); milliner; m.E.J. Glew, 11 June 1901
9. Nora Lilian Gilmour (née Francis); school teacher; m.M.K. Gilmour; d.August 1948
10. ? Walsh, wife of J.A. Walsh
11. ? Gatland (née Vipond), wife of G. Gatland
12. Nellie Osborne, wife of J.R. Osborne
13. May Ballantyne (née Jenness), b.1875, Wellington, N.Z., daughter of George Lewis Jenness (jeweller); matriculated; became Methodist missionary sister, Papua, 1905-06 (register, no.61), resigned to marry A. Ballantyne 1906; d.1953
14. Annie Elizabeth Francis (née Fathers), daughter of Thomas Fathers (footwear business); partial nurse training; m.W.C. Francis
15. Anne Holland, wife of G.R. Holland
16. Rose Mary (Maisie) Harrison (née Lill), daughter of William Thomas Lill (farmer, Willowby, N.Z.); draper's assistant; local preacher; Methodist missionary sister, Papua, 1908-10 (register, no.63), resigned to marry E.W. Harrison; d.1972
17. Elizabeth Avery (née Belton), b.24 September 1880, N.Z.; local preacher; m.W.W. Avery, 14 April 1910
18. Minnie Burgess (née Chambers), m.G.A. Burgess, 18 March 1910
19. Elsie Berenice Johns (née Buchanan), b.1892, Vic.; daughter of John Carslow Buchanan (station owner); tailoress; m.E.S. Johns, 1 June 1912
20. Doris Pearl Enticott (née Bembrick), b.5 September 1898, N.S.W.; daughter of Thomas Bembrick (merchant); teacher; Methodist missionary sister, Papua 1913-17 (register, no.39), resigned to marry W.J. Enticott, 7 February 1917; d.1944
21. Margaret Scrivin (née Jamieson), b.13 June 1883, daughter of Lawrence Jamieson (farmer, N.Z.); school teacher; Methodist missionary sister, Papua, 1911-15 (register, no.60), resigned to marry A.H. Scrivin; d.1921
22. ? Barnes, wife of F.J. Barnes

APPENDIX IV

BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER

The register contains short biographical entries on the 327 European missionaries who served in Papua from 1874 to 1914. Entries are arranged alphabetically, mission by mission. The number of an entry can be found in the chronological list of missionaries (Appendix II).

The following abbreviations have been used:

B - born

O - occupation

M - married

R - retired or resigned

D - died

ed - education

GS - grammar school

HS - high school

coll - college

M.S.C.- Missionaire du Sacré-Coeur

F.D.N.S.C.- Fille de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur

ch.m - church member

Cong.Ch. - Congregational Church

Pres.Ch. - Presbyterian Church

ord - ordained

Arr - arrived

stn(s) - station(s)

ch - children (note: includes only those born before termination of parents' service)

d - deceased (i.e., during parents' missionary service)

I. LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

1. ABEL, Charles W., B.25 September 1862, London. Father: cashier at Mudie's Library. 'Surrounded by Christian influences' and impressed by Moody and Sankey at 11 years of age. O. clerk. Migrated to New Zealand as cadet farmer, finally becoming a trader to the Maoris. Applied to L.M.S. after seeing 'deplorable condition' of Maoris and success of his work amongst them. Trained: Cheshunt; ord. 23 July 1890. Arr. N.G. 1890, stn Kwato. M. Elizabeth Beatrice Emma Moxon, 22 November 1892, Sydney, ch.5 (1d). D. 10 April 1936, Surrey, England (result of accident).
2. BARTLETT, Reginald, B.21 March 1878, Newcastle-on-Tyne, son of Charles Henry Bartlett, managing director, firm of scale-makers and shop-fitters. Ed. Winchester House School. Devout Congregational family; ch.m. Redland Park Church, Bristol. One sister, Edith Murray, missionary in China. Lifelong desire to be missionary, supported by parents. Challenged by appeal of Chalmers. Trained: Western Coll.; ord. 30 April 1905. Arr. Papua 1905, stn. Orokololo. M. Alice Mary Burnett, 1 January 1907, Sydney; ch.1. R. 1912, ill-health. Cong. Ch., Painswick; District Secretary, L.M.S. 1919; Samoa 1929-31; home missionary 1931-38; Samoa 1939-41. D. July 1948, England
3. BEHARELL, Caleb, B.1 June 1881, Ilford, Essex. Father: owner of paint factory. Ed. Stepney G.S.; evening classes. Congregational family. Dedicated to mission work by parents. O: worked in paint factory, 5 years. Trained, Harley and Livingstone; ord. 25 July 1906. Arr. Papua 1906, stns Kerepunu and Hula. M. Margaret James Patterson, 20 December 1910; ch.3. R. 1919, ill-health; transferred to Niue. D. 1952
4. BESWICK, Thomas, B. 29 September 1850, Manchester, son of Thomas Beswick. Ch.m. Rusholme Rd, Manchester. Trained, Western Coll., ord. 23 September 1878. Arr. N.G. 22 November 1879, stn. Hula. R. 1881, when directors refused to sanction marriage to Clara Coombs, because of her ill-health. Married, re-appointed but died returning to N.G. at Townsville, 12 August 1883
5. BURROWS, Sydney, B. 9 December 1881, Richmond, Vic., son of John George Burrows, journalist, and Hannah (Favel). Ed. private school, Working Men's College, Melb.University (B.A., Dip.Ed.), Ch.m. Lennox St Cong.Ch. O. in business. Ord. 1907. Influenced by Mission Study Movement, applied to L.M.S. M. Charlotte Robertson, 25 February 1913, ch.1. Arr. Papua 1913, stn. Port Moresby. R. 1916, child ill
6. BUTCHER, Benjamin Thomas, B. 13 July 1877, New Cross, London, son of Thomas Butcher, fish wholesaler, and Mary (Robbins). Ed. Aske's School. O. worked Billingsgate Fish Market. Ch.m. Hanover Cong.Ch., Peckham. Missionary interest since childhood. Applied to L.M.S. following Chalmers' death. Trained, Cheshunt and Livingstone; ord. 1 November 1904. Arr. Papua 1904,

stns. Torres Strait, Aird Hill. M. Lucy Georgina Davidson, 28 December 1912, ch. 4 (1 d.) R. 1938, family pressure. President: Cong. Union of Aust. 1948-50. D. 29 July 1973, N.S.W.

7. CHALMERS, James, B. 4 August 1841, Ardrishaig, Argyllshire. Father, stone-mason. Ed. parish school and Inveraray G.S. to age 14. O. lawyer's apprentice. Ch.m. United Pres.Ch., 'conversion' 1859. Influenced by missionary from Samoa, applied to L.M.S. Trained, Cheshunt and Highgate; ord. 19 October 1865. M. Jane Robertson Hercus, 17 October 1865. Served Rarotonga 1866-76. Arr. N.G. 1877, stns. Suau, Port Moresby, Toaripi, Saguane. Wife d. 1879. M. Sarah Eliza Harrison (née Large), 6 October 1888, (d.1900), ch.O. Killed Goaribari, N.G., 8 April 1901
8. CLARK, James Birkett, B. 13 September 1881, Cockermouth, Cumberland. Ed. Board School, private sch., science sch., Edinburgh University. O. apprentice draper. Ch.m. Cockermouth Cong. Ch. Applied to L.M.S. after reading pamphlet at Y.M.C.A. Trained, Cong. Theological Hall and Edinburgh University; ord. 21 December 1906. M. Annie Muir, 19 December 1906. Arr. Papua 1907, stns, Buhutu, Boku, Port Moresby. R. 1931, ill-health
9. CRIBB, Charles James, B. 19 January 1866, Milton, Q'land, son of John George Cribb, accountant and Lucy (Foote). Ed. Brisbane G.S. O. bookseller and stationer. Prominent Cong. family; ch.m. Milton Cong.Ch. Childhood desire to be missionary quickened by contact with W.G. Lawes. Trained, Hackney; ord. 1896. Arr. N.G. 1896, stn, Mailu. M. Elizabeth McNab, 20 July 1898, ch.O. R. 1899, ill-health. D. 28 July 1932, Sydney
10. CULLEN, James H., B. 20 November 1864, Nottingham. Ed. Moravian boarding school, Nottingham H.S. O. able-bodied seaman and architects' apprentice. Childhood desire to be missionary rekindled by Chalmers' appeal at Hastings. Trained, Cheshunt; ord. 3 June 1891. M. Mattie Burr Simmons, 30 June 1890, ch.O. Arr. Papua 1902, stn. Port Moresby. R. 1903, ill-health. Missionary, South Africa, Niue. D. 14 September 1919, England
11. DAUNCEY, Henry Moore, B. 3 January 1863, Walsall, Staffordshire, son of Henry Dauncey, newspaper reporter and Elizabeth (Moore). O. 4 years in Justice's Clerk's Office, then reporter. Ch.m., Wednesbury Rd Cong.Ch. Lifelong desire to be missionary strengthened by watching ordination of two missionaries. Trained Cheshunt; ord. 2 July 1888. Arr. N.G. 1888, stns Port Moresby, Delena. M. Mary Ellen Hinton, 16 August 1894, ch.3 (1 d.) R. 1928, ill-health. D. December 1931, England
12. HARRIES, Thomas Oliver, B. 25 August 1879, Walwyn's Castle, Pembrokeshire. Father, farmer. Ed. Board School and Cong. Institute, Nottingham. O. worker 9 yrs in ship-building trade. Ch.m. Hindpool Cong.Ch., Barrow-in-Furness. Trained, Paton Cong. Coll. M. Edith Lillian Gayton, 7 March 1911, ch.1. Arr. Papua 1912, stn, Torres Strait. R. 1915, ill-health of wife. Minister, Stourbridge Cong.Ch., 1916.

13. HOLMES, John Henry, B. 19 June 1861, Habertonford, Devon. Father, farmer. Ed. to 11 years. O. decorative painter. Ch.m. Sherwell Cong.Ch., Plymouth. Longed to be missionary since, aged 10, saw lantern lecture on India. Trained, Western Coll.; ord. 7 June 1863. Arr. N.G. 1893; stns Iokea, Moru, Orokolo, Urika. M. Alice Middleton, 4 July 1910, ch.O. R. 1919, ill-health of wife. D. 19 April 1934, England
14. HUNT, Archibald Ernest, B. 24 September 1861, St Helen's, Jersey. Father, minister. Orphaned. Ed. modest. O. draper's assistant. Ch.m. Trevor Cong.Ch., Brompton, London. Influenced towards ministry by fiancée. Trained, Hackney; ord. 21 April 1887. M. Harriet Rebecca Tizard, 26 May 1887, ch.3. Arr. N.G. 1887, stn., Murray I. Transferred, Samoa 1889, returned N.G. 1895, stn. Port Moresby. R. 1902, ill-health of wife. Minister, Timaru and Wellington Cong.Ch., N.Z.
15. INGRAM, Thomas William, B. 17 March 1866, Southend, England. O. mechanical engineer. Ch.m. Southend Cong.Ch. Trained, Cheshunt; ord. 12 June 1894. M. Louisa Gunn, 17 May 1894, ch.O. Arr. N.G. 1894, stn. Port Moresby. R. 1895, ill-health of wife. Minister, Broadstairs Vale, Farham, Clacton-on-Sea. D. 26 March 1914, England
16. JONES, Edwin Pryce, B. 1 June 1864, Aberdare, South Wales. Ed. a 'fair classical education'. O. chemist and druggist. Christian family. Ch.m. Park Cong.Ch., Camden Town. Boyhood wish to be missionary. Trained, Hackney; ord. 15 March 1893. M. Minnie Ellis Page, 30 March 1893, ch.5. Served Madagascar 1893-98. Arr. N.G. 1899, stn. Iokea. R. 1926, old age. D. 27 July 1928
17. LAWES, William George, B. 1 July 1839, Aldermaston, Berkshire, son of Richard Lawes, tailor, and Mary (Pickover). Ed. elementary, at village school. O. draper. Devout parents. Ch.m. Mortimer West Cong.Ch. 1858 heard William Gill of Rarotonga preach. Applied to L.M.S., trained, Bedford Coll; ord. 8 November 1860. M. Fanny Wickham, 1860, ch.6 (3 d.). Served Niue, 1861-72. Arr. N.G. 1874, stns Port Moresby, Vatorata. D.D. (honoris causa) Glasgow 1895. F.R.G.S. R. 1906, old age. D. 6 August 1907
18. LAWRENCE, William Nicol, B. 21 May 1859, Leaside nr Aberdeen. Ed. parish sch. O. cardmaker. Ch.m. Woodside, nr Aberdeen. Trained, Airedale Coll.; ord. 15 June 1883. M. Jessie Lesley, 22 November 1883, ch.O. Served Aitutaki 1884-1905. Arr. Papua 1906, stn. Port Moresby. R. 1917, old age
19. MACFARLANE, Samuel, B. 18 February 1837, Johnstone, Scotland. son of William MacFarlane, engineer. O. mechanic. 'Conversion', Sabbath School, Manchester. Ch.m. Oldham Rd Cong.Ch., Manchester. Interest in missions aroused at missionary meeting. Trained, Bedford Coll.; ord. 11 November 1858, Oldham Rd Ch. M. Elizabeth Joyce 1858, ch.5 (1 d.) Served Loyalty Islands, 1859-70. Arr. N.G. 1871, stns Somerset, Murray I. Ll.d. (honoris causa) St Andrew's 1877. F.R.G.S. R. 1886, family pressures, officer of L.M.S., 1886-94. D. 27 January 1911, England

20. PEARSE, Albert, B. 26 April 1841, Bishop's Hull, Somerset.
O. printer. Pious parents. Ch.m. Bishop's Hull. Desired from childhood to be missionary, as had his father. Trained, Bristol Institution for Home Missionaries and Western Coll.; ord. 18 October 1869. M. Susan Jefferies, 1869, ch.6. Served Borabora 1870-74, Raiatea 1874-87. Arr. N.G. 1887, stn. Kerepunu. R. 1907, old age. D. 20 January 1911
21. RICH, Charles Fry, B. 22 November 1872, Bath. Ed. elementary.
O. shoemaker. Ch.m. Percy Ch., Bath. 'Claimed as a lad for mission work.' Trained, Western Coll.; ord. 27 June 1900. M. Caroline Bryant, 5 May 1900, ch.6 (1 d.) Arr. Papua 1900, stn. Isuleilei. R. 1939, old age. D. 1949
22. RIDGLEY, Thomas, B. 21 August 1853, Huntingdon. Ed. Cowper's School House, Edinburgh University (M.B. 1881). O. chemist and druggist. Ch.m. Wycliffe Ch., Warrington; trained, Edinburgh University. Arr. N.G. 1882, stn. Hula. R. 1882, dissatisfaction
23. RILEY, Edward Baxter, B. 6 May 1868, Burnley, Lancashire, son of John Riley, manufacturer, and Sarah (Binns). Ed. elementary sch., evening classes, Queen's Coll. to Intermediate. O. clerk, weaver. Missionary interest awakened by reading Livingstone etc. Trained, Lancashire Coll.; ord. 19 December 1899. Arr. N.G. 1900, stns Vatorata, Fly R. M. Jessie Marian Maclean, 10 January 1906, ch.3 (2 d.), D. 1929, Papua
24. SAVAGE, Edwin Bentley, B. 14 November 1854, Ringwood, Hampshire. Father, boot and shoe-maker. O. assistant in boot and shoe industry. Ch.m. Ringwood Cong.Ch. Trained, Hackney; ord. 8 July 1885. Arr. N.G. 1891, stns Murray I, Toaripi. R. 1891, criticised by L.M.S.
25. SAVILLE, William James Viritahitemauvai, B. 21 January 1873, son of A.T. Saville, missionary and E.A. (Marston). Ed. Catherham Cong.Sch. O. draper's assistant. Ch.m. Rye Cong.Ch., childhood desire to be missionary intensified. Trained, Western Coll.; ord. 19 June 1900. Arr. Papua 1900, stns Mailu, Milport Harbour, M. Frances Lawes, 6 June 1903, ch.1. R. 1935, old age. D. 7 February 1948, England
26. SCHLENCKER, Henry Percy, B. 21 September 1866, Balmain, N.S.W., son of William Happell Schlencker, writing clerk and Mary Ann (Gard). O. hardware warehouseman. Ch.m. Grey St Cong.Ch., Brisbane; called by God in prayer-meeting. Trained, Hackney. Arr. N.G. 1895, stns Isuleilei, Kalaigolo, Orokolo. M. Mary Elizabeth Sarah Cribb, 1 February 1905, ch.3. R. 1927
27. SHARPE, Watson, B. 30 November 1858, Halifax. O. employed in woollen shipping house. Ch.m. Horton Lane Cong.Ch., Bradford. Trained, Rotherham College; ord. 27 May 1885. Arr. N.G. 1885, stn, Port Moresby. D. 20 March 1886, New Guinea
28. SCOTT, Harry, B. 14 July 1858, Walsall, Staffordshire. O. clerk. Christian parents, Ch.m. Wednesbury Rd Cong.Ch. Interest kindled by missionary appeal. Trained, Cheshunt; ord. 1883. M. Mary Todhunter 1883, ch.2. Arr. N.G. 1883, stn. Murray I. R. 1886, ill-health. Pastor, Countess of Huntingdon's Church, Hereford, and served with B. & F. Bible Society. D. 1939, England

29. SCOTT, James Tait, B. 5 November 1852, Inverleithen, Scot.
Ed. Elementary. Ch.m. St Paul's, Aberdeen. Trained, Lancashire Coll; ord. 4 July 1880. M. Eliza Jessie Mitchell, 6 July 1880, ch. 1 (d.). Arr. N.G. 1880, stn. Port Moresby. R. 1882, conflict and ill-health. Pastor, Lymington Cong.Ch. Hants. D. 1894, England
30. TOMKINS, Oliver Fellows, B. 5 March 1873, Great Yarmouth, son of Daniel Tomkins, private schoolmaster and Caroline Kate(Fellows) (schoolmistress). Ed. Yarmouth Coll. (1st class Cambridge Junior) and Switzerland. O. clerk. Leading Cong. family, Ch.m. Princes St, Norwich. Influenced to become missionary by mission-minded church and Keswick Conventions. Trained, Harley Coll; ord. 6 December 1899. Arr. N.G. 1900, stn. Torres Strait. Killed at Goaribari, 8 April 1901
31. TURNER, Robert Lister, B. 4 February 1875, Apia, Samoa, son of George Alexander Turner, M.D., missionary and Isabella (Nelson). Ed. Glasgow H.S., Glasgow University, (M.A.). O. student and tutor. Ch.m. Kelvingrove United Pres.Ch., Glasgow. Lifelong wish to be missionary. Trained, United Pres. Theological Coll, ord. November 1901. Arr. Papua 1902, stns Vatorata, Delena. M. Edith Emma Calvert, 28 July 1910, ch.O. 1937 - Coronation Medal. F.R.G.S., member of Legislative Council, Papua. R. 1931, old age. D. 5 February 1949, England
32. TURNER, William Young, B. 14 August 1851, Upolu, Samoa, son of Dr George Turner, missionary, and Mary Ann (Dunn). O. student. Ch.m. Anderson United Pres.Ch., Glasgow. Trained, Glasgow University (M.D.); ord. 3 September 1874. M. Mary Amelia Colville, 19 August 1875 (d. 1876), ch.1. Arr. N.G. 1876, stn, Murray I. R. 1876, after death of wife and conflict with MacFarlane. Medical missionary, West Indies
33. WALKER, Frederick William, B. 27 December 1860, Hull. Father, lighter shipbuilder. O. deck-hand, iron-monger's apprentice, cashier and book-keeper, carpenter. Ch.m. Hope St Cong.Ch., Hull. Influenced by reading Livingstone and hearing Chalmers. Trained, Cheshunt; ord. 22 June 1888. Arr. N.G. 1888, stns, Kwato, Torres Strait. R. 1896, conflict with L.M.S. Managing-director, Papuan Industries. Further service with L.M.S. 1902-05 and with Kwato, 1925-26. Died 1926, Papua

II. METHODIST MISSION

34. ANDREWS, A. John, B. Scotland. O. carpenter. Arr. N.G. 1 October 1893, stn. Vakuta. M., ch.2 (1 d.). R. 1897, ill-health of wife
35. AVERY, William Wesley, B. 12 November 1877, Fairhall, Blenheim, N.Z. Father, farmer. Ed. primary sch., Marlborough H.S. as adult. O. farm-worker. Staunch six-generation Methodist family. Probationer 1906, Huntly; ord. February 1910. Lifelong wish to be missionary. Trained, Prince Albert Coll, Auckland. M. Lizzie Belton, 14 April 1910, ch.2. Arr. Papua 1910, stn. Dobu. R. 1913, ill-health of self and wife. N.Z. ministry until 1946. D. 15 March 1954, New Zealand
36. BALLANTYNE, Andrew, B. 1875, Buckingham, England, son of Andrew Ballantyne, coal-miner and Ellen Elizabeth (Shepherd). Migrated to Tasmania 1882. O. blacksmith's assistant. Private, Boer War. Methodist family, father, lay-preacher. Trained, Queen's College Melbourne (1 year); ord. 1903. Arr. Papua 1904, stns, Dobu, Bwaidoga. M. May Jenness, 9 October 1906, ch.4 (2d.), D. 7 June 1915, Papua
37. BARDSLEY, George Harry, B. 1864, Cheshire, England, son of Isaac Bardsley, cashier and Alice Ann (Ives). Ed. primary to age of eight. O. carpenter. Family, Anglican. Lay preacher. Arr. N.G. 1891, stn. Dobu. R. 1892, conflict with Bromilow. D. 1929, Brisbane
38. BARNES, Frederick James, B. 1881, Launceston; 1909, candidate for ministry. S.A. ministry 1909-14. M. Arr. Papua 1914, stn Panaeati. R. 1918, ill-health. S.A. ministry 1919-51. D. 25 February 1967, S.A.
39. BEMBRICK, Doris Pearl, B. 5 September 1888, Grenfell, N.S.W., daughter of Thomas Bembrick, merchant and Emma (Fowler). Ed. Grenfell Public Sch., Sydney Girls H.S., Sydney Training Coll. O. teacher. Staunch Methodist family, father local preacher, sister missionary in Fiji. Arr. Papua 1913, stn Ubuia. R. 1917, to marry W.J. Enticott (no.43)
40. BENJAMIN, Julia, B. Geelong, Vic. Applied to A.W.M.M.S. 'in obedience to unmistakable call of God'. Arr. N.G. 1898, stn. Dobu. R. 1907, became missionary sister to Maoris. Returned Papua 1910. R. 1913, mental instability
41. BILLING, Minnie Mabel, B. 27 November 1869, N. Adelaide, daughter of James Brooks Billing, warehouseman, and Adelina Tardiff (Harris). Orphaned 1880, brought up by aunt, Elizabeth Nicholls, president W.C.T.U. (S.A.), Ed. Glenelg Educational Establishment, completed secondary ed. O. teacher. Methodist family, two cousins missionaries. Arr. N.G. 1895, stn. Dobu. R. 1898, ill-health, missionary sister, Fiji 1900-01. D. 15 April 1901, Adelaide
42. BROMILOW, William E., B. 15 January 1857, Geelong, Vic., son of Thomas Bromilow, brick-layer and Jane (Owen). Ed. Grenville Coll, Ballarat. O. teacher. Strong Methodist family, ord. 1879.

- Dedicated to mission work by mother before birth; responded to call for missionaries at Methodist Conference. M. Lily Thomson, April 1879, ch.1 (adopted). Served Fiji 1879-89. Arr. N.G. 1891, chairman of N.G. Mission, stn. Dobu. R. 1907, ill-health of wife. D.D. (honoris causa), Aberdeen 1910, for translation of Bible into Dobu. Chairman, N.S.W. Conference 1911. Returned Papua 1920-25. D. 24 June 1929, Sydney
43. BURGESS, Gordon Angelo, B. 4 June 1882, Tasmania, son of Arthur Francis Burgess, contractor and builder, and Hannah (Lloyd). O. builder. Accepted for ministry 1909. M. Minnie Chambers, 18 March 1910, ch.2. Arr. Papua 1910, stn. Bunama. R. 1915, wife's ill-health. Appointed to Aboriginal mission, N.T. D. 20 March 1919
44. CHAPMAN, Harold Keith, B. N.S.W., son of B.H. Chapman. Ed. Hawkesbury Agricultural Coll. O. agricultural officer, N.S.W. Arr. Papua 1914, stn. Ubuia (plantation manager). R. 1917, ill-health
45. COLEBATCH, Annie, B. 1 April 1869, Herefordshire, Eng., daughter of George Pateshall Colebatch, chemist, and Georgina (Gardiner). Migrated to S.A. 1878. O. nurse. Arr. N.G. 1898, stns, Dobu, Kiriwina. R. 1900, ill-health. M. Robert Vincent Butler, civil servant, 25 April 1905. D. 8 March 1958, S.A.
46. CORFIELD, Bessie, B. Bury, Eng., daughter of William Corfield, bootmaker and Alice (Bridge). Migrated to N.S.W. Arr. Papua 1904, stns, Kiriwina, Dobu. R. 1913 to marry Percy Waterhouse (no.78), 11 April 1914
47. ENTICOTT, Walter, B. 10 February 1880, Lewisham, Eng., son of George Enticott, coach-builder. Ed. primary. O. coach-builder. Father, C of E, mother R.C. Confirmed C of E, 'converted' in mission, London. Lay-missionary, South Africa and N.Z.; ord. N.Z., 2 June 1913. Arr. Papua 1913, stns, Panaeati and Rossel I. M. (i) Doris Bembrick (no.39), 7 February 1917 (d.1944), ch.O. R. 1917, ill-health and disagreement with the church. N.Z. ministry until 1948. M. (ii) Esther Rickard, 1950. D. 23 June 1969, N.Z.
48. FELLOWS, Samuel Benjamin, B. 26 October 1858, Codnor Park, Derbyshire, son of Samuel and Mary Fellows. Ed. National Sch., Codnor Park. O. employed in rolling-mills. Strong Methodist family; father, local preacher. Migrated to N.Z., nominated for ministry, Dunedin, ord. 1888. Invited by George Brown to become missionary. Arr. Papua 1891, stns, Dobu, Panaeati, Kiriwina. M. Sarah Hanna, 1894, ch.4. R. 1901, wife's ill-health. Methodist ministry, Q'land, W.A. President of W.A. Conference 1912. D. 21 October 1933, W.A.
49. FERGUSON, Hilda, B. Perth, W.A. Arr. Papua 1914, stn. Ubuia. R. 1914, inability to adjust
50. FIELD, John Thompson, B. 1861, Geelong, Vic., son of William Field, custom-house agent, and Marian (Gillingham). O. architect,

- builder and cabinet-maker. Arr. N.G. 1891, stns, Dobu, Tubetube, Duau. M. (i) Frances Mary Harding, May 1892, ch.2. R. 1900, ill-health. Methodist ministry, Vic. and Tas. Returned to Papua 1913, stn. Ubuia. M. (ii) Grace Lillburn. D. 20 October 1938, Victoria
51. FLETCHER, Ambrose, B. 3 July 1864, Auckland, N.Z., son of John Fletcher, school-master and Eliza (Bale), ord. 1890. Methodist ministry, N.S.W. Arr. N.G. 1893, stns, Panaeati, Bwaidoga, Dobu, Duau. M. Jessie Bavin, 13 April 1894, ch.3 (1 d.). R. 1903, wife's ill-health. N.S.W. ministry. Returned to Papua 1922, Rabaul 1925-27. D. 24 November 1957, N.S.W.
52. FRANCIS, William Charles, B. 6 March 1867, Dunedin, N.Z., son of Robert Francis, music shop manager. Ed. primary. O. wood-carver. M. Annie Elizabeth Fathers, ch.2. Arr. Papua 1904, stns, Dobu, Bwaidoga. R. 1908, wife's ill-health
53. GATLAND, Gregory A., B. N.S.W. Arr. Papua 1903, stn, Murua. M. Miss Vipond, ch.2 (1 d.). R. 1908, ill-health of wife
54. GIBB, Jannett Catherine, B. Sydney, 1879, daughter of W.T. Gibb, auctioneer and Isabella (Baumann). Arr. Papua 1909, stn. Ubuia. R. 1918, family pressure. Member of Board of Missions, 12 years. D. 6 July 1957, N.S.W.
55. GILMOUR, Matthew Kerr, B. 1872, Inveraray, Argyllshire, Scotland, son of Hugh Kerr Gilmour, brush-manufacturer and Eliza (Templeton). Migrated to N.Z., settled Howick, ord. 23 April 1901. M. Nora Lilian Francis, ch.O. Arr. Papua 1901, stns Kiriwina, Dobu, Ubuia, Salamo. Chairman, N.G. district, 1909-19, 1923-33. R. 1933, old age. N.S.W. ministry 1933-42. President of Conference, 1935. Coronation medal 1937. D. 22 July 1962, N.S.W.
56. GLEW, Edward James, B. December 1874, Brunswick, Vic., son of Edward Paterson Glew, merchant, and Jane (Cornelius). Arr. N.G. 1899, stns Bwaidoga, Murua. M. Fairleigh Lillie Newell, 11 June 1901, ch.1. D. 25 June 1904, Samarai, Papua
57. GRIFFITHS, Laura, B. Geelong, Vic. O. nurse. Trained, Blackwell's Missionary Training Home, Vic. Arr. Papua 1903, stns Kiriwina, Dobu. R. 1913, ill-health
58. HARRISON, Ernest William, B. 1883, Harnsfield, Nottinghamshire, Eng., son of George Henry Harrison, farmer, and Harriet (Cook). Bugler in Boer War, 2 years in India with British forces. Migrated to N.Z., home missionary. Arr. Papua 1909, stn. Murua. M. Maisie Lill (no.63), 8 October 1910. R. 1913, after physical and mental collapse of wife, returned to Papua alone, settled as trader and planter Fergusson I. Served with A.I.F., World War I and A.N.G.A.U., World War II. D. 1961, Papua
59. HOLLAND, George Robert, B. 6 September 1883, Tyagong Creek, nr Grenfell, N.S.W., son of Edward Holland, farmer, and Anne (McGrath). Ed. public school (primary). Methodist upbringing,

- 'conversion' at eighteen. Trained Newington Coll., ord. 1907. M. Anne (?), ch.2. Arr. Papua 1908, stn, Kiriwina. R. 1912, nervous breakdown and ill-health. N.S.W. ministry 1912-49
60. JAMIESON, Margaret. B. 13 June 1883, Palmerston N., N.Z., daughter of Lawrence Jamieson, farmer, and Annie (Reid). Ed. State sch. to grade 6. O. teacher. Strong Methodist family. Arr. Papua 1911, stn, Kiriwina. R. 1915 to marry A.H. Scrivin (no.69), D. 1921, N.Z.
61. JENNESS, May, B. 1875, Wellington, N.Z., daughter of George Lewis Jenness, watch repairer and jeweller, and Hannah (Heaynes). Ed. Wellington Girls' Coll. and home studies to matriculation. Loyal Methodist family. Arr. Papua 1905, stn. Dobu. R. 1906 to marry A. Ballantyne (no.36), 9 October 1906. Returned to N.Z. 1916, after death of husband. D. 1953, N.Z.
62. JOHNS, Ernest Samuel, B. 1881, Clunes, Vic., son of John Johns (miner) and Emmeline (Radford). Accepted for ministry 1911. Arr. Papua 1911, stns, Dobu, Kiriwina. M. Elsie Buchanan 1 June 1912, ch.1. R. 1917, ill-health. Methodist ministry, W.A. D. 5 May 1920, W.A.
63. LILL, Rose Mary (Maisie), B. 31 January 1884, Newlands, Canterbury, N.Z., daughter of William Thomas Lill, farmer, and Clara (Taylor). O. worked in draper's shop, Christchurch. Primitive Methodist family, local preacher at age 17. Arr. Papua 1908, stn. Kiriwina. R. 1910, to marry E.W. Harrison (no.58), 8 October 1910. Returned to N.Z. after physical and mental collapse. D. 1972
64. LLOYD, Edith, Father, miner, Burra, S.A. Arr. N.G. 1898, stn, Dobu, R. 1903, ill-health
65. McINTYRE, Sister, From Strathfield, N.S.W. Arr. Papua 1912, stn, Ubuia. R. 1912, inability to adjust
66. NEWELL, Emily A., B. Ballarat, Vic. O. teacher. Arr. N.G. 1896, stns, Kiriwina, Dobu. R. 1898, ill-health
67. OSBORNE, James R., From Victoria, M. Nellie (?), ch.1 (Australia). Ordained. Arr. Papua 1904, stn, Bunama. R. 1910, trading interests and alleged immorality. Became trader, Papua
68. PRISK, Ethel, From Adelaide. Arr. Papua 1910, stns, Ubuia, Kiriwina. R. 1916, domestic pressures
69. SCRIVIN, Arthur Henry, B. London, 1 February 1883, son of John Scrivin, police sergeant and Frances (Langdale). Ed. elementary, adult matriculation. O. apprentice pattern-maker, Woolwich Arsenal. 1907, migrated to N.Z., 1909 ministerial candidate, trained Prince Albert College, Auckland; ord. 1912. Arr. Papua 1914, stns, Dobu, Ubuia. M. (i) Margaret Jamieson (no.60), 1915 (d.1921), ch.2; (ii) Elsie Warner, missionary sister, 1926, ch.2. R. 1932, old age and retrenchment due to the depression. N.Z. ministry, 1945 President of Conference. D. 13 July 1969, N.Z.

70. SPEERS, Nurse E.E., From Melbourne. O. nurse. Arr. N.G. 1894, stn, Dobu. R. 1895, mental instability
71. THOMAS, Sister, From S.A. Arr. Papua 1902, stn, Dobu. R. February 1903, conflict with Bromilows
72. THOMPSON, Florence, B. Stratford, Taraniki, N.Z. Ed. Stratford H.S., matriculated 1899. O. teacher. Staunch Methodist family. Called to mission by sermon of Rev. S.T. Thomas of Dannevirke. Arr. Papua 1907, stn, Ubuia. R. 1909, mother's illness
73. TINNEY, Jeannie, B. 30 June 1867, Ballarat, Vic., daughter of James Tinney, carter and Annie (Landon). Arr. N.G. 1892, stn, Dobu. R. 1902, ill-health and shattered nerves. Mission work with Aborigines, N.T.
74. TRUSCOTT, Lise, B. 1874, N.S.W., daughter of J. Truscott. Arr. Papua 1903, stn, Dobu. D. 4 November 1908, Dobu, Papua
75. VOSPER, Janet, B. Waitara, N.Z. Orphan. Arr. Papua 1906, stn, Dobu. R. 1909, nervous breakdown
76. WALKER, Eleanor, B. 1862, Harrowgate, Yorkshire, Eng., daughter of Thomas Walker, draper. Historic Methodist family. Orphaned, migrated to Sydney. Applied to George Brown after fiancé died. Arr. N.G. 1892, stn, Dobu. R. 1901. Mission work with Aborigines, N.S.W. D. 29 April 1940, N.S.W.
77. WALSH, James A., B. 6 June 1870, Berrima, N.S.W, son of James Alexander Walsh, farmer, and Jane (Wallace). Methodist family; father, local preacher; ord. 23 April 1901. M. Arr. Papua 1901, stn, Murua. R. 1904, disagreement with mission board
78. WATERHOUSE, Percy M., B. 1878, Glenelg, S.A., son of William Towers Waterhouse, accountant, and Mary Ann (Padman). Ed. to matriculation. Eminent Methodist family. Missionary teacher, Fiji, 1905; ord. 1909. Arr. Papua 1912; stn, Rossel I. R. 1913, ill-suited to work. M. Bessie Corfield (no.46), 11 April 1914. N.S.W. ministry 1913-18; Fiji 1918-23. D. 1 May 1958
79. WATSON, James, B. 1865, Bendigo, Vic., son of James Watson, engineer and Margaret (Ryan). O. engineer and blacksmith. Ministerial candidate 1890. Arr. Papua 1891; stn, Panaeati. R. 1893, ill-health. M. Isabella Duncan Fraser, 21 July 1896. N.S.W. ministry and Aboriginal mission, Goulburn I, N.T. D. 27 September 1946
80. WILLIAMS, James R., B. 1869, California Gully, Bendigo, son of Joseph Webb Williams and Mary Anne (Roberts). M. (i) Annie Worrall 1896 (d.). Responded to Bromilow's appeal for recruits 1898. Arr. N.G. 1898, stn, Panaeati. M. (ii) Bertha Begelhole 1899 (d. 1904), ch.2. M. (iii) Charlotte June Mason, 3 August 1910; ord. 1910. D. 1 October 1913, on sick leave
81. WINN, Frederick J., B. 2 October 1887, Lincoln, England. O. in business. Methodist upbringing, 'converted' at 16 years. Called by missionary study class and address of George Brown; ord. 2 May 1912. Arr. Papua 1912, stns, Ubuia, Guasopi. R. 1915, to join Expeditionary Forces. Returned to Australia 1919

III. ANGLICAN MISSION

82. ABBOT, Wilfred Henry, B. 7 June 1867, Dublin, son of Frederick James Abbott, priest. Ed., matriculated 1888, M.A. 1897 Oxford, Keble College. Trained, Ely Theological Coll; ord. deacon, 18 December 1892, priest, 21 December 1894. Minor canon, Brisbane pro-Cathedral, 1897. Arr. N.G. 1898, stn, Wanigela. R. 1901, conflict with Stone-Wigg and debts. C of E priesthood, England, and Transvaal, Chaplain 1914-19 (Military Cross 1915). D. 16 April 1941, England
83. ADAMS, Miss, From Sydney. Ed. to matriculation. O. teacher. Ten-year wish to be missionary. Arr. Papua 1903, stn, Dogura. R. 1903, unable to adjust
84. AMBROSE, Frederick, From Sydney. O. sailor, packer. Arr. N.G. 1899. R. 1899, ill-health
85. BARTLEMANN, Isobel Boyes, From Sydney. O. nurse and governess (N.Z.). Arr. Papua 1900. R. 1900, inability to cope
86. BATCHELOR, Albert James, B. 18 February 1882, Reigate, Eng., son of Charles Barnard Batchelor, butcher, and Jane (Robinson). Migrated to Melbourne 1908. Ch.m., St Peter's Eastern Hill. Arr. Papua 1912, stn, Dogura. R. 1914, ill-health. Worked Defence Dept and A.B.M. M. Florence Ethel Jenkins, 1928. D. 5 July 1949, Melbourne, Vic.
87. BAYLEY, Walter, B. Bendigo, Vic. Father, R.C., Mother, Cong. Arr. N.G. 1898, stn, Dogura. R. 1898, after mission's discovery of criminal past
88. BECHERVAISE, Margaret, B. Melbourne, O. teacher. Ch.m., St Peter's Eastern Hill. Arr. Papua 1914, stn, Dogura. R. 1915, family pressures. Returned to Papua 1920-41, 1948-50
89. BUCHANAN, Francis de Sales, B. 1 September 1854, U.S.A. Father, property owner. Grandson of 15th president of U.S.A. R.C. Ed. Jesuits. O. clerk. Became Benedictine novice, Newbank, U.S.A., remained oblate. 1894 came to Sydney, left R.C. Ch. over teachings on miracles, became Anglican. Home missionary. Arr. N.G. 1899, stns, Boianai, Uga. D. 16 October 1921, Papua
90. BURNETT, T.A., From Sydney. O. carpenter. Arr. Papua 1904, handyman. R. 1905, dissatisfaction and financial anxiety
91. CHALLMAN, Ella Florence, From Victoria. Ed. to matriculation. O. teacher. Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Samarai. R. 1903, to marry R.S. Bunting, store-keeper, Samarai
92. CHIGNELL, Arthur Kent, B. 9 March 1870, Bedfordshire, Eng. Migrated to S.A. 1889. B.A., University of Adelaide, 1900. Trained, St Barnabas Coll, Adelaide, 1893-94; ord. deacon 27 December 1894, priest 22 December 1895. Anglican ministry, Adelaide and Sydney. Arr. Papua 1907, stn, Wanigela. M. Elizabeth Rattigan (no.136) 1914. R. 1914 for administrative post with A.B.M. Master Charterhouse, Hall 1919, curate, Sculcoates, Yorkshire, 1920-26

93. CLARKE, Edward Henry, B. 1854. Arr. N.G. 1896, stn, Taupota.
D. 12 May 1899, Papua
94. COMBLEY, Ellen, B. 7 April 1867, Erchfont, Wiltshire, Eng.,
daughter of James Edward Combley, yeoman, and Jane (Page).
O. nurse. Migrated to Perth, nursed on gold-fields. Arr. Papua
1900, stns, Dogura, Mamba, Lakekamu. D. 1912, Papua
95. COTTINGHAM, Alice Maud, B. 21 June 1861, Dauningworth, Suffolk,
Eng., daughter of Edward Cottingham, farmer and Sarah (Ling).
O. teacher. Recruited W.A. Arr. Papua 1903, stns, Dogura,
Mukawa. Coronation Medal 1937. D. 20 February 1940, Papua
96. DAKERS, Robert Hardy, B. 1865, Byer's Green, Durham, Eng., son
of Robert Dakers, mining overseer and Margaret Maria (Hardy).
O. in business. Longstanding desire for mission. Arr. N.G.
1898, stns, Mukawa, Wanigela, Taupota, Hioge. R. 1907, discontent.
Worked on B.P.'s coconut plantation, Solomons. D. 23 June
1920, Brisbane
97. DAVIES, Ernest Owen, B. 21 May 1876, Kensington, London, son of
Gomer Davies, physician, and Elizabeth Susan (Cropley).
Trained St Augustine's, but failed to gain ordination. Arr.
Papua 1909, stn, Hioge. M. Louise Robson (no.140). R. 1916,
to enlist. Killed in action 1918
98. DODDS, Norman. B. 1882 (?), Collingwood, Vic. O. engineer.
Ch.m. St Mark's Fitzroy. Applied to mission after hearing
Stone-Wigg preach. Arr. 1903, launch-driver. R. 1904, immorality
99. DOWNTON, George Edward, B. 1885, Koroit, Vic., son of George
H. Downton. Ed, Ballarat G.S. to matriculation. Arr. Papua
1906, stn, Dogura. R. 1909, family reasons. D. 31 May 1927
100. DRURY, Leonard Bertram, B. 1872, Ballarat, Vic., son of Captain
Arthur Drury, police magistrate. Ed. elementary. O. banking,
prospector (W.A.), policeman, school-attendance officer.
Applied to mission as result of Stone-Wigg's appeal. Arr.
1907. R. 1908, mental instability
101. ELDER, Frank Raymond, B. 5 February 1888, Castle Hill, N.S.W.,
son of Rev. Francis Rowling Elder (C of E) and Aphrasia Catherine
(King). Ed. Sydney H.S. O. clerk. Trained, St John's College,
Armidale (Th.L.), ord. 1912. Arr. Papua 1914, stn, Eroro.
M. Julie Mary Cakebread, 12 June 1928, ch.4. R. 1934. C of E
ministry, Sydney and Newcastle. D. 29 April 1962, N.S.W.
102. ELWIN, Cyril, Arr. N.G. 1893, stn, Taupota, Boianai. R. 1893,
ill-health. Served Yarrabah Mission 1893-95. Returned N.G.
1895. R. 1895, ill-health, returned to Yarrabah Mission
103. FETTELL, Norman Atkins, B. 8 October 1884, Lincoln nr Wellington,
N.S.W., son of Robert George Fettel, farmer, and Isabella
(Hayes). O. baker's assistant. Arr. Papua 1906, stn, Hioge.
1913, began training for Holy Orders, St Francis, Brisbane.
R. 1915, to enlist

104. FERNEAU, Felix Albert, Deacon. Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Dogura.
R. 1900, ill-health and inability to cope
105. FISHER, James Edward John, From Southwark, England. Trained,
Burgh Missionary College, Durham University (Th.L. 1911).
Arr. Papua 1914, stn. Wanigela. M. Edith (?) 1916, ch.2.
R. 1922, ill-health of ch. C of E ministry, London and Oxford
106. FOOTT, Arthur Patrick, From Brisbane. Arr. N.G. 1898, stns,
Taupota, Mamba. R. 1900, demoralised
107. FORD, Sydney Frederick, B. February 1882, Sydney, son of Daniel
Seazer Ford, compositor, and Jane Francis (Cooke). O. printer.
Joined mission after quarrel with brother. Arr. Papua 1900,
stn, Dogura. R. 1903, mistaken vocation. D. 17 June 1943,
Sydney
108. GIBLIN, Eric Louis, B. 30 April 1880, Hobart, Tas., son of Louis
Vincent Giblin, surveyor, and Elizabeth Eleanor (Sharpe).
G.S., Hobart to matriculation. O. mining and farm-work. Applied
to mission in response to address by Bishop Montgomery. Arr.
Papua 1900, stn. Hioge. R. 1906, moral and spiritual crisis
109. GILL, Stephen Romney Maurice, B. 1886, Brighton, Eng., son of
Rev. Arthur Tidman Gill (Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion -
C of E). Childhood desire to be missionary. Arr. Papua 1908,
stns, Boianai, Duvira, Dewade; ord. deacon 25 July 1909, priest
14 August 1910. Archdeacon 1939, canon 1947. M. Olive Buckley,
November 1949. R. 1952, ill-health. D. 26 March 1954, England
110. GRASBY, Kate, From Tasmania. O. nurse. Arr. Papua 1913.
R. 1915
111. GRIFFITHS, Maud (Mrs Percy Shaw), B. 26 April 1881, Faversham,
Eng., daughter of George Griffiths, engineer, and Sarah Jane
(Bobby). Recruited N.S.W. Arr. Papua 1906, stn, Samarai.
M. Percy Shaw (no.164), 20 November 1912, ch.1. R. 1921, with
husband
112. HENRY, Beatrice M., From Queensland. O. teacher. Arr. Papua
1912, stn, Samarai. R. 1914, temporary appointment
113. HINES, Ernest William Mayman, B. 19 September 1868, England,
ord. deacon 1896, priest 1897, Grafton and Armidale. Arr. N.G.
1899, stn, Mamba. R. 1900, ill-health. Anglican ministry,
S.A. M. Lucy Harriet Emily ?. D. 8 November 1927, S.A.
114. HOARE, Samuel, From N.S.W. Arr. N.G. 1896. R. 1897, conflict
with High Church ethos of mission
115. HOLLAND, Henry, B. Tyagong Creek, N.S.W., son of Edward Holland,
farmer, and Anne (McGrath). Methodist family, brother of G.R.
Holland (no.59). Arr. Papua 1910, stns, Ambasi, Isivita;
ord. priest 1938. Killed by Japanese, August 1942, Papua

116. HUNT, John, B. 17 February 1861, N. Collingham, Nottinghamshire, Eng., son of Richard and Mary Hunt. Ed. Collingham Wesleyan Sch. O. solicitor's clerk. Wesleyan baptism, 1887, conditional C of E baptism. Trained, Burgh and St Augustine's. Migrated to Queensland, ord. deacon 7 September 1884, priest 20 June 1886, Brisbane. Queensland ministry 1884-1904. Arr. Papua 1905, stn. Menapi. D. 7 September 1928, Papua
117. KENNEDY, Charles E., From England. Recruited from Christchurch St Laurence, Sydney. Arr. N.G. 1891, stns, Dogura, Taupota. R. 1894 to become manager of clerical club, London, and planter, Mozambique
118. KER, Annie Caroline (Mrs P. Money), B. 1874, Richmond, Vic. daughter of Charles Ker, mine-manager and Katherine (Cavanagh). O. nurse. Ch.m. St Peter's, Eastern Hill. Arr. N.G. 1899, stn, Wanigela. M. Percy Money (no.123), 22 April 1909. R. 1910, with husband. D. 27 April 1945
119. KING, Copland, B. 24 June 1863, Parramatta, N.S.W., son of Rev. Robert Lethbridge King (C of E). Ed. Sydney G.S. and Sydney University (M.A.), ord. 1887, Sydney ministry. Persuaded by Maclaren to join mission. Arr. N.G. 1891, stns, Dogura, Ave, Ambasi. Fellow of Theology, Australian College of Theology, 1914. D. 1918, Sydney
120. MACLAREN, Albert Alexander, B. 14 February 1853, Cowes, Eng. Father, stone-mason. Ed. to age 14, later night school, St Ebbs, and Wrexham G.S. O. clerk in Ordnance Survey. Parents Presbyterian, confirmed by Bishop of Winchester 1885. Trained, St Augustine's, Canterbury, priest, Maitland, and Mackay, Queensland. Durham University (B.A.). Chosen to lead pioneer expedition to N.G. Arr. 10 August 1891, stn, Dogura. D. 27 December 1891, at sea, off Cooktown
121. McLAUGHLIN, Sophia, From Sydney, N.S.W. O. teacher. Arr. N.G. 1896, stn, Dogura. R. 1907, doctrinal conflict
122. McMULLAN, William, B. 1878 (?), Tiaro, Queensland. Father, postmaster. O. worked on mother's farm. Applied to mission 'to better social position'. Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Hioge. R. 1902, mistaken vocation
123. MONEY, Percy John, B. 1877 (?), N.S.W. (?). O. architect. Ch.m. Enfield C of E. Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Wanigela. M. Annie Ker (No.118), 23 April 1909. R. 1910
124. MORRIS, George William, B. 1872, Britain. O. soldier. Recruited Brisbane. Arr. Papua 1905, stn, Buna. R. 1906, crisis of faith and inter-personal conflict
125. MURRAY, Harriet Alice, B. Ballarat, Vic., daughter of Patrick John Murray, commission agent and Harriet (?). Sister of W.H. Murray (no.126). Arr. N.G. 1895, stn, Wamira. R. 1903, ill-health. Returned to Papua, 1912-14

126. MURRAY, William Henry, B. 28 October 1869, Ballarat, Vic., son of Patrick John Murray, commission agent and Harriet (?). O. Clerk. Wesleyan baptism. Trained Moore Theological College, ord. deacon 11 June 1893, priest 19 March 1895. Curate, St John's Camden 1893-95. Arr. N.G. 1895, stn, Dogura. R. 1896, ill-health. Priest-in-charge, Cressy, Tas. D. 16 February 1902, Tasmania
127. NEWTON, Henry, B. 1866, The Bucklands, Vic., Henry Wilkinson, son of Thomas Wilkinson, engineer, and Annie (Magnay). Adopted by John Frederick Newton, scholar and later priest. Ed. B.A. Oxford (Merton College). Curate, St John's, Hackney. Arr. N.G. 1898 after invitation from Stone-Wigg, stn, Dogura. M. Sarah Sully (no.148), 29 May 1901. R. 1915, to become Bishop of Carpentaria. Returned Papua 1922, to become Bishop of New Guinea. D. 25 September 1947, Papua.
128. NEWTON, Mary Alice, B. 1869 (?). O. nurse (Prince Alfred, Sydney). Childhood desire to be missionary rekindled by missionary meeting. Arr. Papua 1902; stn, Ganuganuana. D. 23 April 1904, Papua
129. NOWLAND, Maud, B. 1871 (?) England (?). O. nurse. Recruited Rockhampton, influenced by George Halford, head of Bush Brotherhood. Arr. Papua 1901, stns, Dogura, Mamba, Boianai, Hioge, Ganuganuana. D. 28 January 1934, Papua
130. OLIVER, Laura, B. 1855, England. Migrated to W.A. Arr. N.G. 1899, stns, Mukawa, Samarai, Watutu, Taupota. D. 25 July 1924, Papua
131. PARRISH, Edyth, B. Brisbane, ed. St John's Day School, Brisbane. O. teacher (C.E.G.S. Brisbane). Desire since schooldays to be missionary. Arr. Papua 1912, stn. Ganuganuana. R. 1915
132. PEARCE, Joshua, From Brisbane. O. carpenter. Sunday School Superintendent. Arr. Papua 1907, stn. Dogura. R. 1910
133. PEUT, Maria Johanna, B. 23 September 1881, The Springs, Queensland, daughter of Henry Peut, carrier, and Annie (Peters). O. teacher. Arr. Papua 1907, stn, Ganuganuana. R. 1912, home pressures
134. RAMSAY, Ann Ada (née Armitage), B. 29 November 1877, Melbourne, daughter of Giles Armitage, cab-owner, and Eliza (Wilsmore). O. nurse (part-training). M. F.W. Ramsay (no.135), 1906, ch.3 (1.d). Arr. Papua 1906, stn, Samarai. R. 1919, with husband
135. RAMSAY, Frederick William, Arr. Papua 1900, stn. Samarai. Trained Brisbane Theological College, 1903, ord. deacon 1904, priest 1906. M. Annie Armitage (no.134), 1906, ch.3 (1 d.), R. 1909, C of E ministry, Ballarat, 1925-36
136. RATTIGAN, Elizabeth (Mrs A.K. Chignell), From Melbourne. O. nurse (Royal Melbourne Hospital). Ch.m. St Peter's, Eastern Hill, one sister missionary in China. Arr. Papua 1912, stn, Wanigela. M. Arthur Kent Chignell (no.92). R. 1914, with husband

137. REYNOLDS, Joseph Auburn, B. 15 June 1871, Goulburn, son of Joseph Reynolds, dealer, and Jane Martha (Brightmore). Trained, Moore Theological Coll. 1893-94, ord. deacon, 8 March 1895, priest 22 December 1895. Arr. N.G. 1896, stn, Dogura. R. 1897, ill-health, served in C of E ministry, N.S.W., S.A., England and Queensland. Chaplain, Boer War. D. 24 October 1946
138. ROBERTSON, Isobel, From New Zealand. Ed. M.A. (N.Z.), O. teacher (Girls' School, Nelson). Arr. Papua 1909, stn, Dogura. R. 1912
139. ROBSON, Gertrude, B. 1865, Monkwearmouth, Durham, daughter of John Shield Robson, ship-builder and Caroline (Iliff). Sister of Louise Robson (no.140). O. teacher (Principal of Sydney Boys' Preparatory School). Applied to mission after appeal from Gilbert White, Bishop of Carpentaria. Previous missionary experience: Thursday I, Moa and Mitchell R. (3 years). Arr. Papua 1913, stn, Wanigela. D. 9 July 1917, Papua
140. ROBSON, Louise, B. 1876, London, daughter of John Shield Robson, ship-builder, and Caroline (Iliff). Sister of Gertrude Robson (no.139). O. nurse (Queen Charlotte's Hospital, London, and Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children). Arr. Papua 1913, stn, Dogura. M. Ernest Owen Davies (no.97). R. 1916, with husband, D. 1954
141. SAGE, Charles, B. 1876, England, son of H.E. Sage, proprietor of carriage-factory. O. blacksmith. Ch.m. St Mark's Fitzroy. Offered for service at consecration of Stone-Wigg. Arr. N.G. 1898, stn, Samarai. R. 1904, dissatisfaction with lay status. Joined Melanesian Mission, ordained. Drowned 1913, Solomon Islands
142. SCARTH, Elsie, B. England, daughter of Canon Scarth of Bearsted, Kent. Arr. Papua 1903, stn, Dogura. R. 1906, family pressure and ill-health. Secretary to N.G. Assocn. (Britain). D. 24 December 1917, England
143. SHARP, Gerald, B. 27 October 1865, Lowfields, Childer Thornton, Eng., son of Thomas Beatt Sharp, gentleman, and Mary Anne (Lillie). Ed. Manchester G.S., St John's, Cambridge (B.A. 1886). Trained, Lincoln Theological Coll., ord. deacon 1889, priest 1890. Curate, Rowbarton, Leeds, 1889-93, Holy Innocents, Hammersmith, 1893-98, vicar, Whitkirk, nr Leeds 1898. Consecrated Bishop of N.G., 25 April 1910, Brisbane. Arr. Papua 1910, stns, Dogura, Samarai. D.D. (honoris causa), 1 May 1914. R. 1921 to become Archbishop of Brisbane and Metropolitan for Queensland. D. 30 August 1933, Brisbane
144. SHAW, Percy Charles, B. 1880, Pymont, Sydney, son of Charles Shaw, engineer, and Christina (Peck). Arr. Papua 1900, stns, Ambasi, Samarai, Taupota, Dogura. Trained St John's Coll., Melbourne (Th.L.), 1908; ord. priest 1910. M. Maud Griffiths (No.111), 20 November 1912, ch.l. R. 1921, C of E ministry, Brisbane, 1922-23. D. 26 October 1943

145. SMITHSON, Frederick, Arr. Papua 1900. O. printer. R. 1900, dismissed for immorality
146. STIRRAT, James Baird, B. 1853, Glasgow. Migrated to N.S.W. 1882. O. carpenter, joiner and shipwright. Presbyterian origin. Ch.m. Christchurch St Laurence. Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Dogura. D. 10 July 1903, Papua
147. STONE-WIGG, Montagu John, B. 4 October 1862, Hungershill Park, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, son of John Stone-Wigg, gentleman, and ? Clements. Ed. private school; Winchester 1875-80, Oxford (University College), B.A. (1883), M.A. (1887). Confirmed, Winchester Chapel 1877. Trained, Ely Theological Coll, ord. deacon 1885, priest 1887. Curate, St Andrews, Well St., Holy Innocents, Hammersmith, 1889, St John's pro-cathedral, Brisbane, canon 1891. Consecrated Bishop of New Guinea, January 1898. Arr. N.G. 1898, stn, Dogura. M. Elsie M. Mort, 21 August 1907. R. 1908, ill-health. D.D. (honoris causa). Edited Church Standard, N.S.W. 1908-18. D. 1918, Sydney
148. SULLY, Sarah, B. 1864, Brisbane, daughter of John Alfred Sully, master-mariner and Lucy Ann (North). Arr. N.G. 1898, stn, Dogura. M. Henry Newton (no.127), 29 May 1901. R. 1915, with husband. D. 14 July 1919
149. SYNGE, Frances Mary, B. 1867, Tabulam, Bullen, N.S.W., daughter of Richard Synge, gentleman, and Mary Jane (McElroy). Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Dogura. R. 1903. ill-health. M. George Cecil Benson, 29 February 1908, Brisbane
150. TAYLOR, Ernest Wesley, B. December 1871, N. Halsham, Norfolk, son of Alfred Taylor, Wesleyan minister and Caroline Esther (Fox). Ed. Oxford, B.A. (1st class honours in Theology), M.A., ord. deacon 1896, priest 1897. Responded to bishop's appeal for staff in mission report. Arr. 1901, stn, Dogura. D. 23 June 1903, Papua
151. TAYLOR, Joseh, From Gayndah, Queensland. O. carpenter. Ch. warden and Sunday School superintendent, Gayndah. Arr. Papua 1913, stn, Dogura. R. 1918
152. THOMSON, Florence Augusta, B. 1867, Bega, N.S.W., daughter of William Thomson and Rose (Chila). O. nurse. Arr. N.G. 1896, stn, Dogura. R. 1904, mental instability and ill-health. D. 26 May 1907, N.S.W.
153. TOMLINSON, Elizabeth, B. 14 January 1860, Manchester, Eng., daughter of John Wilkinson Paker, and Sarah (Hackney). M. Samuel Tomlinson (no.154), migrated to Melbourne, 1884. Ch.m. St Mark's Fitzroy. Arr. N.G. 1891, stns, Dogura, Mukawa. D. 17 September 1939, Papua
154. TOMLINSON, Samuel, B. 25 September 1857, Manchester, son of James Tomlinson, foreman pattern-maker and Amy (Poole). Ed. elementary school. M. Elizabeth Paker (no.153), migrated to Melbourne 1884. O. carpenter. Ch.m. St Mark's Fitzroy. Volunteered for pioneer mission party after hearing Maclaren

preach. Arr. N.G. 1891, stn, Dogura, Mukawa; ord. deacon 1903, priest 1904. Canon of St Peter and St Paul's, Dogura 1927. Fellow, Australian College of Theology. D. 26 April 1937, Papua

155. WINTERBOTTOM, Honor Etta, From Hay, N.S.W. O. teacher. Arr. Papua 1910, stn, Wanigela. R. 1918 to marry Liston Blyth (resident magistrate, Kokoda), 13 August 1918

IV. SACRED HEART MISSION

Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (M.S.C.)

(i) Priests

156. ALLERA, Claudius, B. 1871, Annecy, Savoy, France, son of Pierre Allera and Marie (Siegle). Ed. Minor Seminary, Issoudun. Devout family. M.S.C. 1889. Arr. N.G. 1893, as scholastic, stn, Yule I. D. 24 July 1893, Papua
157. BACH, Joseph, B. 2 September 1872, Urmatt, Alsace, son of Wendelin Bach and Marie Anne (Wick). Ed. Minor Seminary, Issoudun, theological studies, Rome (doctorate of theology). M.S.C. 1892, ord. priest 1896. Impressed by missionary zeal of Verjus. Arr. Papua 1900, stns, Thursday I, Dilava. R. 1927 to be Vicar-Apostolic of Gilbert Islands (Titular Bishop of Eriza). R. 1934 to Bowral. D. 22 May 1943, N.S.W.
158. BAILEY, Edward Albert, B. 23 January 1880, Auckland, N.Z., son of Edward Bailey, sea-captain, and Elizabeth Mary (Conway). M.S.C. 1904, ord. priest 1912. Arr. Papua 1912. R. 1917. D. 27 February 1943, Sydney
159. BODET, René, B. 2 October 1882, Boissière-du-Doré, Brittany, France. 'Honourable Christian family', nephew of Fr Guilband (no.186). Ed. minor and major seminaries, Nantes, ord. priest, 29 June 1906, M.S.C. 1908. Attracted to Papua by letters of uncle. Arr. Papua 1909, stns, Waima, Oba-Oba, Inawaia. R. 1932, ill-health. M.S.C. France. D. 11 November 1961, France
160. BOUELLAT, Paul, B. 2 October 1869, Coeuve, Basle, Switzerland, son of Simon Bouellat, machinist, and Louise (Ribeaud). One brother, M.S.C. M.S.C. 1888. Arr. N.G. 1893 as scholastic, ord. priest, 24 February 1894, stn, Veifa'a. D. 21 February 1902, Papua
161. BRANGER, Maximilian, B. 17 October 1876, Tours, France, son of Eugene Branger, tile-maker and machinist, and Madeleine (Proust). Selected by parish priest. Ed. minor seminary, M.S.C., theological studies, France and Spain. M.S.C. 1896, ord. priest 1903. Arr. Papua 1903, stns, Inawai and Inawaia. D. 18 July 1935, Papua
162. BUISSON, Gilbert, B. 31 July 1862, Moulins, France, son of Gilbert Buisson and Marie (Gaçon), M.S.C. 1880, ord. priest 1885. Arr. N.G. 1885, stn, Thursday I. R. 1905, ill-health. D. 31 December 1927, Camden, N.S.W.
163. BURKE, William, B. 4 March 1872, Leeds, England, son of Edward Burke, iron-moulder and Mary (Coogan). M.S.C. 1892, ord. priest 1897. Arr. N.G. 1897, stn, Mou. R. 1900, mental instability. D. 1924
164. CASPAR, Joseph, B. 28 April 1875, Bernardswiller, Alsace. Father, gardener; M.S.C., ord. priest 1902. Arr. Papua 1902, stn, Dilava. R. 1910, ex-M.S.C. 1911, incardinated in diocese of Strasburg, parish priest Sièges

165. CHABOT, Joseph, B. 12 July 1873, Lésigny, Poitiers, France. Father, steward of castle. Pious parents. Ed. priests' college to baccalaureate, major seminary, Poitiers, ord. priest 1896; M.S.C. 1900. Inspired as a child by life of martyr, Theophane Venard. Arr. Papua 1900, stns, Dilava, Oba-Oba. Superior 1909. D. 6 March 1940, Papua
166. CLAUSER, Alphonse Marie, B. 15 July 1877, Heidwiller, Strasburg, Alsace, son of Louis Clauser, splint-man, and Josephine (Meyer). Deeply religious family. Influenced as a child by Verjus. Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun; theological studies, Australia; ord. priest, 6 January 1904. Arr. Papua 1902, stns, Mekeo, Mafulu. Furlough 1919, stayed to help in Alsace, D. 18 November 1921
167. COCHARD, Louis, B. November 1870, Nantes, France, son of Jean Cochard and Anne (Pireaud); one brother, M.S.C. Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun. Military service. M.S.C. 1890. Arr. N.G. 1893, as scholastic; ord. priest 1895; stns, Mou, Bereina. R. 1904, ill-health. Novice-master, Australia. D. 20 July 1933
168. COLTEE, Jean-Gabriel, B. 27 June 1867, Honfleur, Normandy, France, son of Leon Coltée and Eugénie (Coreul). M.S.C. 1888. Arr. N.G. 1893, as scholastic; ord. priest, 1894; stn, Jesu-Baibua, Inawaia. R. 1902, bursar, M.S.C. Kensington. D. 1945, France
169. COUPPE, Louis, B. 26 August 1850, Romorantin, France, son of Charles Couppé, locksmith and Adrienne (Cougnet), dress-maker. 'Honourable Christian family'. Ed. Jesuits, minor and major seminary, Blois; ord. priest 1874, influenced by Fr Chevalier to join M.S.C. Met Verjus, Rome. M.S.C. 1884. Arr. N.G. 1886, stn. Yule I. R. 1890 to be Vicar-Apostolic of New Britain (Titular Bishop of Léro). 1925, Titular Archbishop of Hieropolis. D. 20 July 1926, Sydney
170. CRAMAILLE, Théophile Magloire, B. 18 October 1843, Villeneuve-la-Grande, Troyes, France. O. shepherd. Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun. M.S.C. 1871; ord. priest 1875. Served New Britain 1883-89. Arr. N.G. 1889, stns, Yule I., Bereina. D. 22 September 1896, on sick-leave
171. CROS, Louis, B. 23 March 1871, Aveyron, France, son of Jean Louis Cros and Marie (Mazars). Taught for 3 years in M.S.C. Scholasticate. Arr. Papua 1902, stn. Yule I. R. 1910, transferred to Port Darwin. Ex-M.S.C. 1921. Incardinated in diocese of Versailles, 1931
172. DE BOISMENU, Alain Guynot, B. 27 December 1870, Saint Malo, Brittany, son of François Guynot de Boismenu, shipowner, and Augustine Marie (Desessarts). Ed. St Malo and Antwerp. Teacher in minor seminary and scholasticate, M.S.C. M.S.C. 1888, ord. priest, 10 February 1895. Arr. N.G. 1899, stn, Yule I. 1900, consecrated Titular Bishop of Gabala, coadjutor-bishop to Navarre. 1908 Vicar-Apostolic. 1946 Titular Archbishop of Claudiopolis. Chevalier of Legion of Honour 1950. D. 5 November 1953, Kubuna, Papua

173. DE RIJCKE, Victor, B. 23 March 1871, Ghent, Belgium. Arr. N.G. 1894 as scholastic, ord. priest, 21 December 1891, stn. Vanamai. D. 5 January 1899, Yule I., Papua
174. DESNOËS, Gustav, B. 28 June 1878, Angevin, France, son of Julien Desnoës, oilman and Marie (Lemongeau). M.S.C. 1896, ord. priest 1903. Arr. Papua 1906, stn, Yule I. R. 1927, ill-health. D. 1953, Provence, France
175. DONTENWILL, Théophile, B. 1879, St Marie-aux-Mines, Alsace, son of Nicholas Dontenwill, agriculturalist, and Marie (Reyss). Pious family, one brother M.S.C., one sister F.D.N.S.C. Childhood wish to be missionary. Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun and Chezal-Benoît. M.S.C. 1899, ord. priest, 17 June 1905. Arr. Papua 1906, stn, Mafulu. R. 1933, ill-health. Chaplain at Girls' School, Lutterbach, then M.S.C. house Strasburg. D. 11 December 1967, Provence, France
176. DUBUY, Jules, B. 10 April 1887, Coublanc, Autun, France. M.S.C. 1905, ord. priest 1912. Arr. Papua 1913, stn. Ononghe. D. 6 August 1952, Ononghe, Papua
177. DURIN, Fernand François, B. 1836, Montmarault, Moulins, France, son of Jacques Durin and Rose Ann (Mezier). Ed. major seminary, Moulins, ord. priest 1859, M.S.C. 1865. Led pioneer expedition but returned to France after breakdown of health and morale. Arr. N.G. 1886, stn. Thursday I. R. 1888, ill-health. M.S.C., U.S.A. D. 1897, Indiana
178. EGIDI, Vincenzo, B. 2 March 1875, Viterbo, Italy, son of Salvatore Egidi, pontifical gendarme officer and civil servant, and Eurosia (Giovannini). Arr. Papua 1901, stns, Inawa, Dilava. R. 1911, left M.S.C. 1916, probably with dispensation from vows. Married
179. ELLIOTT, Denis Patrick (Note: secular priest trained and ordained by M.S.C.), B. 17 February 1880, Carisbrooke, Vic., father, cobbler who became miner. Ed. M.S.C. Kensington. Temporary vows 1907, ex-M.S.C. 1910. Arr. Papua 1912, accepted as scholastic, ord. 25 March 1914, stn, Port Moresby. D. 11 September 1914, Port Moresby
180. ESCHLIMANN, Henri, B. 27 September 1881, Rosheim, Alsace, father house-painter. Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun. M.S.C. 30 September 1901, ord. priest, 15 June 1906. Arr. Papua 1906, stns, Oba-Oba, Kuni. R. 1946, ill-health. D. 5 January 1966, Provence, France
181. FASTRE, Paul, B. 30 November 1880, Pradinas, Aveyron, France, son of Pierre Fastré, grocer, and Rosalie (Delmas). Ed. Christian Brothers, Pradinas and minor seminary, Issoudun. M.S.C. 1898. Theological studies, Algeria, Rome, Spain; ord. priest, 1904. Arr. Papua 1914, stns, Oba-Oba, Dilava. R. 1939, became procurator, M.S.C., Marseilles. D. 3 July 1955, Provence, France

182. FILLODEAU, Alexandre-Marie, B. 18 April 1868, Marans, Vendée, France, son of François Fillodeau, landowner, and Josephine (Coudrin). Arr. N.G. 1896. R. 1902, demoralised and fearing insanity. Returned to Papua 1905. R. 1909. Dispensed from vows, ex-M.S.C. D. 28 October 1936, Sydney
183. GENOCCHI, Jean, B. 30 July 1860, Ravenna, Italy, son of Frederico Genocchi, small business-man, and Celeste (Gori). Ed. minor seminary, Ravenna, Seminario Pio, Rome. Decided aged 12 to become priest, contact with M.S.C. students, Rome, directed him to M.S.C., ord. priest 1883; M.S.C. 1886. Arr. N.G. 1894, stn, Yule I. R. 1896, conflict with Navarre. M.S.C. teacher, Chezal-Benoît, worked with Holy See. D. 1926. Rome
184. GONZALEZ, Joseph Velasco, B. 24 April 1883, Llanzones, Oviedo, ord. 25 May 1907. Arr. Papua 1913, stn, Mekeo. R. 1923, left M.S.C., became secular priest, Brazil
185. GSELL, François-Xavier, B. 30 October 1872, Benfeld, nr Strasburg, Alsace, son of Laurent Gsell and Josephine (Jehl). O. apprentice in cotton factory. Noticed by M.S.C. priest. Ed. minor seminary Issoudun and Saint Appollinaire University, Rome (doctorate of theology). M.S.C. 1892; ord. priest 1896. Professor theology, Kensington, N.S.W., 1897-1900. Arr. Papua 1900, stns, Tsiria, Mou, Inawi. R. 1906. Apostolic Administrator, Darwin. Bathurst I. 1911-38. Bishop of Darwin (Titular Bishop of Paros) 1938. O.B.E. 1936, Chevalier of Legion of Honour, 1951
186. GUILBAUD, Ernest, B. 19 June 1870, Mouzillon, Nantes, France. Ed. major seminary, Nantes and M.S.C. M.S.C. 1893. Arr. N.G. 1894, as scholastic, ord. priest, 29 June 1896, stns, Tsiria, Maia-Era, Waima, Aropokina. D. 15 March 1937, Yule I., Papua
187. GUIS, Joseph Leon, B. 13 December 1869, Marseilles, France, son of Joseph Leon Guis and Clémence Marie (Aubert). O. soldier. M.S.C. 1887. Arr. N.G. 1894, as scholastic, ord. priest 1895, stn, Thursday I. R. 1906, to become procurator of mission, Sydney. D. 14 September 1913, Sydney, N.S.W.
188. HARTZER, Fernand, B. 24 November 1858, Ensisheim, Alsace, son of Victor Hartzler, public servant and Marie-Louise (Mestmann) who became Mother Marie-Louise, F.D.N.S.C. after death of husband. Only brother - M.S.C. Ed. Ornans, Chezal-Benoît and Rome (doctorate of theology). M.S.C. 1877, ord. priest 1881. Teacher at apostolic school, Watertown, U.S.A. Arr. N.G. 1884, stn, Mou, Thursday I. R. 1894, Superior, Glastonbury, Eng., D. 28 November 1932, Issoudun, France
189. HUBERT, Louis, B. 25 February 1866, Bourges, France, son of Paul Hubert and Isabelle (Desmarquais). Ed. major seminary, Bourges. Influenced by Verjus. M.S.C. 1889; ord. priest 1891. Arr. N.G. 1891, stns, Inawabui, Bereina, Mou, Dilava. D. 26 December 1909, Bereina, Papua

190. JANET, Louis-Emmanuel, B. 27 July 1861, Cezarches, Savoy, France, son of Maurice Janet and Marie Jeanne (Milliex). Ed. minor and major seminary, Moutiers. Curate, Chapelles. Arr. N.G. 1891, stn, Mou. D. 15 April 1891, Yule I., Papua
191. JOINDREAU, Edmund, B. 8 September 1882, Mont-sur-Guesnes, Poitiers, France, son of Jean Joindreau, blacksmith, and Elizabeth (Laverdin). Arr. Papua 1902. R. 1913, ex-M.S.C. 1922. Secular priest, Bordeaux, France
192. JULLIEN, André, B. 20 Septmeber 1861, Marseilles, son of Laurent François Jullien and Léonie Philomène. Ed. day scholar, Petit Sacré-Coeur (Marseilles) and free school of M. Barnave; seminary, University of Rome (doctorate of theology 1887). M.S.C. 1882; ord. priest, 24 April 1886. Taught rhetoric, minor seminary, Issoudun. Arr. N.G. 1894, stn, Tsiria, Yule I. Superior 1896-1909. R. 1911, to be Assistant to Superior-General, M.S.C. D. 19 December 1920, Provence, France
193. KARSELEERS, Joseph, B. 23 March 1866, nr Antwerp, Belgium, son of Pierre-Jean Karseleers and Thérèse (Nagels). M.S.C. 1888; ord. priest, 1891. Arr. N.G. 1893, stn, Mou. R. 1903, transferred to Europe. D. 5 March 1924, Borgerhout, Belgium
194. KUTTER, Edward, B. 12 February 1862, Rosheim, Alsace, son of Joseph Kutter and Thérèse (Eckert). M.S.C., ord. Arr. N.G. 1886, stn, Yule I. R. 1888, demoralised. Ex-M.S.C. 1893, parish priest, Switzerland
195. LANG, Jean-Pierre, B. 5 November 1879, nr Strasburg, Alsace, son of Alois Lang, vine-grower and Thérèse Mosser. Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun, M.S.C. 1899. Arr. Papua 1902, as scholastic; ord. priest 1904, stn, Tsiria, Waima. D. 1951, Papua
196. MacCARTHY, Leonard, B. 25 March 1884, Zeehan, Tasmania, son of Daniel MacCarthy, store-keeper, and Sarah Ann (Gory). M.S.C. 1904. Arr. Papua 1912, as scholastic; ord. priest 1912. R. 1913. D. 23 August 1950, Sydney
197. MARIE, Gustave, B. 29 July 1862, Cherbourg, France, son of Gustave Nicolas Marie and Zélie (Levast). M.S.C. 1890. Arr. N.G. 1894, as scholastic; ord. priest 1895. Stns, Oriropetana, Mou. D. 5 July 1900, Yule I.
198. NAVARRÉ, Louis-André, B. 2 February 1836, Bourgogne, France; father, vine-grower. Ed. elementary. O. vine-grower, art-student, soldier, teacher. Trained, Bourges seminary 1867, ord. priest, 29 June 1872. Influenced by Chevalier, M.S.C. 1878. Chosen for pioneering expedition to Melanesia, became leader after withdrawal of Durin. Served New Britain 1882-84. Established base, Thursday I. 1884. Arr. N.G. 1886, stn, Yule I. Consecrated bishop (Titular Bishop of Pentacomie) and made Vicar-Apostolic of Melanesia 1887 (Titular Archbishop of Cyr). R. 1908, remained in Papua. D. 16 January 1912, Townsville

199. NORIN, G n reux, B. 2 February 1887, Le Blanc, Indre, France; father, peasant farmer. Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun; Spain. M.S.C. 1904, ord. priest 1911. Arr. Papua 1911, stns, Mafulu, Yule I., Popole, Fane. D. 3 April 1945, Port Moresby, Papua
200. PAGES, Armand, B. 10 June 1872, Loz re, France, son of Jean Pierre and Sophie Pag s. Very devout family, brothers and sisters in religious congregations. M.S.C. 1892, ord. priest 1897. Arr. N.G. 1897, stns, Rarai, Madiou. D. 19 August 1916, Papua
201. PEETERS, Gustave, B. 12 August 1867, Borgerhout, Belgium, son of David Louis Peeters and Marie Ann (van den Bergh). M.S.C. 1892. Arr. N.G. 1894, as scholastic, ord. 1897; stns, Tsiria, Maia-Era. R. 1908, ill-health. D. 3 August 1930, Belgium
202. PINEAU, Andr , B. 2 December 1886, St Hilaire-de-Clisson, Brittany. Devout family including several religious. Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun, Barcelona and Fribourg. M.S.C. 1904, ord. priest 1911. Arr. Papua 1911, stn, Waima. D. 22 March 1965, Papua
203. POUPENEY, Joseph, B. 1870, Besan on, Franche-Comt . Father, mayor of village. M.S.C. 1894, ord. priest 1898. Arr. N.G. 1899, stns, Bioto, Inawabui. D. 17 January 1918, Papua
204. RIEGLER, Fran ois-Xavier, B. 24 November 1882, Strasburg, Alsace. M.S.C. 1892, ord. priest 1907. Arr. Papua 1907, stns, Yule I., Kivori. D. 12 June 1945, Papua
205. ROSSIER, Joseph, B. 9 October 1881, Fribourg, Switzerland, father, peasant farmer. Ed. Jesuits, La Louvesc, Ard che. Called to priesthood by recruiter of vocations; chose M.S.C. because they 'worked in savage countries'. Scholasticate: Spain and Switzerland. M.S.C. 1902; ord. priest, 25 July 1907. Arr. Papua 1907, stns, Oba-Oba, Toaripi. D. 17 March 1966, Papua
206. ROUSSEL, Eug ne, B. 28 February 1859, Fremesnil, Meurthe-et-Moselle, France, son of Auguste Roussel and Marie Elsa (Chatton). Ed. minor seminary, Pont- -Mousson; major seminary, Nancy; scholasticate Rome. M.S.C. 1880. Taught at seminaries Tilbourg and Issoudun, 1883-87; ord. priest 1885. Taught at Guayanaquil, Equator. Arr. N.G. 1893, stn, Yule I. D. 11 April 1893, Yule I., Papua
207. SHAW, Archibald, B. 16 December 1872, Adelong, N.S.W., son of Charles Shaw, publican, and Catherine (Scanlan). Father, Presbyterian, mother, Irish Catholic. O. telegraphist in Post Office. M.S.C. 1894 (Brother Placide). Arr. N.G., 1894. R. 1897 to study for priesthood, ord. priest 1900; procurator for island missions, Sydney. D. 26 August 1916, after involvement in political bribery scandal
208. THOMAS, Eug ne, B. 7 October 1854, Tence, France, son of Etienne Jules Thomas and Ad le (Adibert). Arr. N.G. 1888, stns, Yule I., Mou. R. 1889, demoralised. Ex-M.S.C. 1891

209. TOUBLANC, Athanase, B. 21 March 1855, Nantes, France, son of Sebastien Toublanc and Madeleine (Graizeau). O. soldier. Garrisoned at Bourges, met M.S.C. priests. Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun, 1880-85; M.S.C. 1883, ord. priest 1886. Arr. N.G. 1886, stns, Tsiria, Mou. R. 1892, ill-health, transferred to Gilberts. D. 15 February 1917, France
210. VAN GOETHEM, Edouard, B. 10 May 1873, Ghent, Belgium. M.S.C. 1894, ord. priest 1899. Arr. Papua 1903, stns, Rarai, Veifa'a. R. 1925, transferred to Belgian Congo. Vicar-Apostolic to Congo 1932; Titular Bishop of Coronea 1933. D. 26 May 1949, Borgerhout, Belgium
211. VAN NECK, Henri, B. 6 December 1874, Tournai, Belgium, son of Auguste van Neck, boatman, and Marie (Lambaerts), one brother: secular priest. Ed. M.S.C. Borgerhout, Belgium. M.S.C. 1895; ord. priest 1901. Arr. Papua 1902, stns, Vanamai, Pokao, Yule I. Chaplain, World War I, Croix de Guerre, Order of Crown with palm, Croix de l'Yser. D. 18 June 1929, Antwerp, Belgium
212. VAN RIEL, Bernard, B. 6 November 1877, Tilburg, son of Pierre van Riel, master-builder and Maria (Pynenburg). M.S.C. 1898, ord. priest 1903. Arr. Papua 1903, stn, Waima. R. 1904, transferred to Manila. D. 1921, Manila
213. VEDERE, Jean-Pierre, B. 19 September 1859, Azereix, France, son of Jean Vedere and Jeanne (Gobert). Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun, and Rome. M.S.C. 1878, ord. priest, 22 December 1883. Director of M.S.C. minor seminary, Rome. Arr. Papua 1901, stn, Inawaia. R. 1905, ill-health. D. 28 August 1924, Rome
214. VERJUS, Henri, B. 26 May 1868, Oleggio, Piedmont, Italy, son of Philippe Verjus, soldier, and Laura (Massara). Ed. minor seminary, Issoudun and Pontifical Seminary of the Apollinare, Rome. Desire for missions since childhood. M.S.C. 1878; ord. priest 1883. Teacher at Issoudun, chaplain to M.S.C., Rome. Arr. N.G. 1885, stn, Yule I. 1889 consecrated Titular Bishop of Limyre, coadjutor to Navarre. D. 12 November 1892, Oleggio, Italy, while on episcopal visit
215. VITALE, Joseph, B. 8 March 1866, Benevento, Italy, son of Jean and Benedetta Vitale. M.S.C. 1886, ord. priest 1888. Arr. N.G. 1888, stns, Tsiria, Veifa'a, Inawai. D. 9 October 1947, Papua
- (ii) brothers
216. ADAN, Henri, B. 30 August 1859, Breda, Holland. O. carpenter and cabinet-maker. M.S.C. 1883. Arr. N.G. 1887, stn, Yule I. D. 7 November 1931, Papua
217. ANTOINE, Louis-Joseph, B. 27 March 1867, St Croix-au-Mines, Alsace. Devout family, one brother, M.S.C. O. printer. M.S.C. 1889. Arr. N.G. 1894, stns, Eboa, Oba-Oba, Yule I.
218. ARNOULD, Ferdinand, B. 3 August 1879, Jessains, Troyes, France. M.S.C. 1897, came to N.S.W. 1899, secretary to Fr Tréand. Arr. Papua 1906, stn, Yule I. R. 1910, ex-M.S.C. 1912. Settled King Island, Tasmania, and probably married

219. BOSMA, Rintz, B. 11 February 1858, Utrecht, Holland. O. farmer. M.S.C. 1885. Arr. N.G. 1888, stn, Yule I. D. 18 June 1892, N.G.
220. BRUNNER, George, B. 1885, Nandlstadt, Bavaria, Germany. M.S.C. 1885. Arr. N.G. 1887; stns, Abiara, Bereina, Babiko, Pinupaka. D. 28 September 1898, Yule I., N.G.
221. CARON, Joseph, B. 16 February 1887, St Ferréol, Quebec, Canada. M.S.C. 1906. Arr. Papua 1912; stn, Kubuna. D. 14 February 1929, Papua
222. DE MOOR, Pierre, B. 31 January 1869, Breda, Holland. M.S.C. 1894. Arr. Papua 1906; stn, Yule I. D. 1932, Papua
223. DE SANTIS, Joseph, B. 19 November 1858, Italy. Influenced by Fr Verjus. M.S.C. 1883. Arr. N.G. 1885; stn, Yule I. R. 1889, demoralised. Ex-M.S.C. 1894
224. FEHRMANN, Lambert, B. 18 December 1859, Austria. U.S. citizen. Arr. Papua 1900. R. 1915, transferred to Port Darwin. D. 2 July 1920, Sydney
225. FRIDEZ, Camille, B. 21 November 1879, Boron, Franche-Comté, migrated to Switzerland. 'Profoundly Christian family', one brother, M.S.C. (no.226). O. clock-maker. Arr. Papua 1908; stn, Oba-Oba. D. 1964, Papua
226. FRIDEZ, Jules, B. 23 February 1878, Boron, Franche-Comté, migrated to Switzerland. 'Profoundly Christian family', one brother, M.S.C. (no.225). O. clock-maker. Novitiate, Glastonbury, England 1902. M.S.C. 1903. Arr. Papua 1907; stn, Dilava. D. 24 June 1935, Port Moresby, Papua
227. GASBARA, Salvatore, B. 1864, Ferentino, nr Rome, Italy. M.S.C. 1885. Arr. N.G. 1885, stns, Yule I., Oriropetana, Oba-Oba. D. 4 June 1945, Papua
228. GRIPPA, Domenico, B 1865/66 Calabria, Italy. M.S.C. 1889. Arr. N.G. 1894, stn, Yule I. D. 13 August 1898, N.G.
229. HANSEN, Cornelius, B. 30 March 1878, Volendam, Holland. O. sailor. M.S.C. 1899. Arr. Papua 1904, stn, Yule I. D. 16 June 1911, Yule I., Papua
230. HENKELMANN, Jean-Baptiste (Alexis), B. 17 July 1869, Bois-le-Duc, Holland. Ed. elementary. O. pastry-maker. Family, deeply religious. Met M.S.C. fathers, Tilburg. M.S.C. 1890. Arr. N.G. 1894, stns, Yule I., Mou, Thursday I., captain of mission fleet. D. 1972, Papua
231. HERAULT, Louis, B. 15 June 1875, Treillères, Brittany, France, son of Louis Herault and Jean (Langlois). M.S.C. 1895. Arr.N.G. 1896, stn, Yule I. D. 12 October 1897, Yule I. N.G.

232. HESSE, Aloysius (Germain), B. 24 February 1861, Eeklo, Belgium. M.S.C. 1894. Arr. Papua 1903. R. 1914, ill-health. M.S.C. Europe. D. 5 April 1941, Borgerhout, Belgium
233. KARL, André, B. 1866, Aix-le-Chappelle, Germany. M.S.C. 1885. Arr. N.G. 1893, stns, Aipeana, Pinupaka, Inawabui, Eboa, Veifa'a. D. December 1903, Papua
234. KOCKS, Adrien, B. 13 May 1872, Oudenbosch, Holland, son of Cornelius Kocks and Regina (van Hock). Arr. Papua 1900. R. 1911, ex-M.S.C. 1914
235. KOWEIDE, Jean, B. 27 March 1875, Gorsel, Utrecht, Holland. Arr. Papua 1906; stn, Kubuna. D. 13 March 1942, Papua
236. KUYPERS, Jean, B. Bois-le-Duc, Holland. Arr. Papua 1906, stn, Maia-era. R. 1924, ill-health. D. 1924, Europe
237. KUYPERS, Louis, B. 10 September 1866, Bois-le-Duc, Holland. O. sailor. Arr. 1898, stns, Yule I., Thursday I. R. 1916, mental illness. D. 1925, Grimbergen
238. LACASSE, Jules (Felix), B. 12 November 1868, Alton, Moselle, France. Served New Britain, 1891-98. Arr. Papua 1900. R. 1904. Issoudun 1906-08. Ex-M.S.C. 1908, married, Sydney
239. LAINE, Augustus, B. 1 October 1875, Le Cellier, nr Nantes. Father, peasant farmer. O. clog-maker. Heard sermon on needs of pagans. M.S.C. 1897. Arr. N.G. 1899, stns, Oba-Oba, Yule I. D. 30 March 1952, Oba-Oba, Papua
240. MARCONI, Nicolas, B. 18 March 1866, Sabina, Rome. Influenced by Verjus, M.S.C. 5 April 1885. Arr. N.G. 1885, stns, Mou, Bereina, Jesu-Baibua. D. 20 November 1893, Inawaia, N.G.
241. MOOREES, Joseph, B. 1866, Antwerp, Belgium. Arr. N.G. 1891, stn, Abiara. R. 1896, recalled for insubordination following liaison with Papuan women. Ex-M.S.C., married
242. MOREUX, Joseph, B. 22 June 1867, Bourges, France, son of Pierre Moreux and Solange Milleriaux (Gardiner). O. farm labourer. M.S.C. 1893. Arr. N.G. 1893, stns, Yule I., Oba-Oba, Dilava. D. 16 June 1906, Dilava, Papua
243. OBERLEUTER, Jean, B. Eichstatt, Germany. Arr. N.G. 1888; stn, Pinupaka. R. 1893, after liaison with Papuan woman. Married, remained in Papua as planter. D. 1926
244. POLJER, Aloysius, B. 5 November 1869, Volendam, Holland. O. sailor. Recruited by visiting M.S.C., Fr Peeters. M.S.C. 1891. Arr. N.G., 1897, stns, Veifa'a, Amo-Amo, Rarai, Maia-era, Yule I. D. December 1922, Yule I., Papua
245. PRIEM, Adrien, B. 17 March 1872, Heinkerszand, nr Volendam, Holland. O. sailor. M.S.C. 1897, Arr. N.G. 1899, stn, Yule I. D. 1930, Papua

246. SOMERS, Francois, B. 15 November 1860, Mechelen, Belgium.
 Father, farmer. O. milkman. Influenced by sermon on
 St Francis-Xavier and by singing in M.S.C. house. M.S.C. 1895.
 Arr. Papua 1906, stn, Maia-Era. R. 1916, ill-health, became
 gardener M.S.C., Marseilles. D. 4 September 1936, Marseilles,
 France
247. STEYEART, Bonaventure, B. 1866, Melsele, Belgium. O. baker.
 M.S.C. 1890. Arr. N.G. 1894; stn, Yule I. D. 1894, Yule I.,
 N.G.
248. STUDLER, Paul, B. 28 June 1886, Schlettstadt, Strasburg,
 Germany. Father, artisan. Orphaned, raised by nun and then
 by Fr Eugene Meyer, M.S.C. Wished to be priest, but advised
 to be brother. M.S.C. 1904. Arr. Papua 1909, stn, Ononghe.
 D. 11 June 1963, Port Moresby, Papua
249. TRAVAGLINI, Mariano, B. 16 May 1863, Rome, Italy. M.S.C. 1885.
 Arr. N.G. 1886, stn, Thursday I. R. 1901, demoralised. D. 1943,
 Florence
250. VAN BREUGEL, Theodore, B. 23 September 1876, Bois-le-Duc,
 Holland. M.S.C. 1900. Arr. Papua 1904, stn, Yule I. D.
 27 April 1905, Papua
251. VAN CAM, Constant, B. 1 July 1858, Antwerp, Belgium. M.S.C.
 1890. Arr. N.G. 1891; stns, Mou, Bereina, Yule I. D. September
 1903, Yule I., Papua
252. VAN DER EIJKEN, Modeste, B. 25 January 1873, Bois-le-Duc,
 Holland. O. sailor. M.S.C. 1893. Arr. N.G. 1899, stns,
 Maia-Era, Oba-Oba. D. 31 July 1917, Papua
253. VAN ERVEN, Phillippe, B. 29 August 1866, Tilburg, Holland. O.
 blacksmith and carpenter. M.S.C. 1889. Arr. N.G. 1894; stn,
 Yule I. D. 13 March 1918, Papua
254. VAN HORENBECK, Stanislas, B. 23 November 1858, Antwerp, Belgium,
 M.S.C. 1896. Arr. N.G. 1897, stn, Yule I. R. 1902, ill-
 health. D. 13 December 1902, Sydney
255. VAN ROOIJ, Stanislas, B. 1863, Bois-le-Duc, Holland. O. roof-
 thatcher, butcher, baker. Novitiate: Tilburg, M.S.C. 1886.
 Arr. N.G. 1888, stns, Babiko, Pinupaka, Maia-Era, Bereina.
 D. 24 April 1917, Papua
256. VAN SPYK, Theodore, B. 1 January 1865, Bois-le-Duc, Holland.
 O. Blacksmith. M.S.C. 1885. Arr. N.G. 1894, boat-maker for
 mission. D. 21 March 1918, Yule I., Papua
257. VERYKEN, Gabriel, B. 16 November 1860, Hertogensbosch, nr Tilburg,
 Holland. M.S.C. 1889. Arr. N.G. 1891, stns, Mou, Jesu-Baibua.
 D. 20 August 1911, Papua
258. WAGEMANS, Simon, B. 8 July 1862 (or 9 July 1861), Breda, Holland,
 son of Simon Wagemans, brewer. O. blacksmith. Novitiate,
 Tilburg, M.S.C. Arr. N.G. 1888, stn, Yule I. D. 3 July 1902, Sydney

259. WEBER, Conrad, B. 5 November 1862, Grendelbruch, Alsace. O. spinner and wood-cutter. Novitiate, Tilburg, M.S.C. 1886. Arr. N.G. 1887, stn, Yule I. R. 1887, ill-health, transferred to Gilbert Islands. D. 18 June 1955, Apaiang, Gilberts
260. WRIGHT, George, From Australia. Wanted to be priest but because of educational standard, advised to be brother. M.S.C. 1900. Arr. Papua 1900. R. 1900, ex-M.S.C. Became priest in N.Z. D. 16 May 1955
261. ZWARTHOED, Arnold, B. 25 March 1869, Volendam, Holland, cousin of Edmond Zwarthoed (no.262). O. sailor. M.S.C. 1893, stn, Yule I. D. 11 October 1908, Yule I., Papua
262. ZWARTHOED, Edmond, B. 1 November 1861, Volendam, Holland, cousin of Arnold Zwarthoed (no.261). O. fisherman. Called by Fr Peeters, M.S.C. Novitiate, Antwerp, M.S.C. 1891. Arr. N.G. 1893, stn, Yule I. D. 9 July 1898, Yule I, N.G.
- Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (F.D.N.S.C.)
263. ALLERA, Henriette, B. 1869, Thônes, Savoy, France, daughter of Pierre Allera and Marie (Siegle). Devout family, friends of Verjus. One brother M.S.C. (no.156). Arr. N.G. 1897, stn, Tsiria. D. 30 August 1935, Tsiria, Yule I., Papua
264. Sr André, From Brittany, France. Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Inawi. R. 1907, transferred to Sydney
265. ANNE, Clothilde (Joachim), B. 1865 (or 1866), Verrebroek, Belgium. Arr. N.G. 1887, stns, Mou, Inawi. D. 11 April 1894, Inawi, Papua
266. BACHELIER, Théodorine Valentine, B. 1888, Le Bignon, Brittany, France, daughter of Benjamin Bachelier, farmer, and Léocadie (Guilbaud). Arr. N.G. 1912, stns, Popole, Yule I. D. 5 April 1943, Aropokina, Papua
267. BALUÇON, Rosalie, B. 1867, Poilly, Ile-et-Vilaine, France, daughter of Ambroise Baluçon, farmer, and Jeanne (Laize). Final vows, 1896. Arr. N.G. 1893, stns, Inawaia, Yule I. New Britain 1922-24. D. 10 February 1946, Yule I. Papua
268. BATARD, Claudine, B. 1869, St. Hilaire-du-Bois, Brittany, France, daughter of Alfred Batard, peasant farmer, and Marie (Boudaud). Arr. N.G. 1897, stns, Veifa'a, Yule I. D. 11 December 1942, Veifa'a, Papua
269. BELARBRE, Antoinette, B. 1863, Monteux, France. Arr. N.G. 1894, stns, Inawi, Veifa'a. R. 1907, transferred to Sydney. D. 23 October 1953, France
270. BONNARD, Mary Rose Constance (Rose), B. 1863, Nantes, France. Arr. N.G. 1893, stn, Tsiria. R. 1909 to Sydney. D. 3 March 1919

271. BOUFFORT, Françoise, (Léontine). B. 1874, Lecousse, Fougères, France, daughter of Jean Marie Bouffort, land-owner, and Françoise (Lepaurre). Arr. N.G. 1892, stns, Waima, Inawaia. D. 10 September 1902, Inawaia, Papua
272. BRADY, Imelda (de Pazzi), B. Australia. Arr. Papua 1904, stn, Thursday I. D. 1909, Thursday I.
273. BREEN, Honora (Leonard), B. 1880, Australia. Arr. Papua 1914. R. ?, ex-F.D.N.S.C.
274. BRIZARD, Bernadette, B. 1864, Bonoron, Brittany, France. Arr. N.G. 1887, stns, Yule I., Inawi. D. 17 September 1895, Inawi, Papua
275. CAILLAUD, Jeanne Marie, B. 1866, St Hilaire-du-Bois, Brittany, France, daughter of Jean Caillaud, farmer. Arr. N.G. 1888, stns, Mou, Inawaia. D. 4 August 1913, Papua
276. CARROLL, Katie (Clothilde), B. 1876, Kiltteely, Ireland, daughter of William Carroll, farmer, and Ellen (Hayes). Novitiate, Belgium. Arr. Papua 1900, stns, Ivea, Yule I. D. 12 March 1966, Yule I., Papua
277. CHATELLIER, Marie Melanie Valentine (Melanie), B. 1871, St Hilaire-du-Bois, Brittany, France; father, farmer. One sister - F.D.N.S.C. Arr. N.G. 1893, stns, Popole, Fane. D. 5 April 1943, Papua
278. DANIELS, Elizabeth Marie (Apolline), B. 7 March 1883, St Helen's, Tas., daughter of Walter Daniels, miner, and Margaret (O'Keefe). Arr. Papua 1909, stn, Yule I. R. 1919. D. 1932, Brisbane
279. DARCY, Hanna, B. 1868, Newcastle, Australia, daughter of Patrick Darcy, labourer, and Johanna (Butler). Arr. N.G. 1900, stn, Thursday I., R. 1919. D. 1932, Brisbane
280. DEBROUX, Natalie (Mother Liguori), B. 1862, Overijse, Brabant, Belgium. Father, proprietor, grocery and drapery business. Well-educated. O. worked in father's business. Solidly Catholic family, early recognition of vocation. F.D.N.S.C. 1885. Arr. N.G. 1887, stns, Inawi, Yule I. R. 1908, became first Superior, Port Darwin. Returned Papua 1915. R. 1921, for administration, F.D.N.S.C., Europe. D. 18 December 1945, Rumst, Belgium
281. DEDIERJEAN, Marie (Eusebia), B. 1871, Orberg, Alsace, daughter of Sebastien Dedierjean, peasant farmer, and Rosalie (Batot). Promised to become a religious if cured at Lourdes. Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Waima. D. 10 February 1950, Yule I, Papua
282. DENIAUD, Augustine (Euphrasie). B. 1876, Montbert, nr Nantes, France, daughter of Joseph [? Augustin], Deniaud, farmer, and Mélanie [? Jeannel] (Hervouet). Family prominent in church activities, one sister, F.D.N.S.C. (no.283). Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Maiva. D. 8 May 1912, Maiva, Papua

283. DENIAUD, Marie (Julitte), B. 1881, Montbert, nr Nantes, France, daughter of Joseph [? Augustin] Deniaud, farmer, and Mélanie [? Jeanne] (Hervouet). Novitiate 1911, first vows 1913, final vows 1918. Arr. Papua 1914, stns, Veifa'a, Waima, Yule I. D. 31 July 1973, Yule I. Papua
284. DERROZ, Florence (Adrienne), B. 1881, Cornesse, Belgium. F.D.N.S.C. 1905. Arr. Papua 1909, stn, Thursday I. D. 22 December 1909, Thursday I.
285. DESSAILLY, Claire, B. 18 January 1853, Larbret, Pas de Calais, France, daughter of Philogene Dessailly, farmer, and Adelaide (Palt). Entered Sisters of Holy Name of Jesus, Paris 1873, transferred to F.D.N.S.C., Issoudun, 1884. Arr. N.G. 1887, stn, Yule I. (cook). D. 14 March 1930, Yule I., Papua
286. DOUILLARD, Marthe, B. 1 November 1852, St Jean-de-Boiseau, Brittany, France, daughter of Louis Douillard, farmer, and Marie (Her). Devout family, one sister, F.D.N.S.C. Novitiate, Issoudun. Arr. N.G. 1887, stn, Yule I., Thursday I. D. 20 January 1931, Yule I., Papua
287. DUFLOT, Hélène (Kostka), B. 1880, Montmartre, Paris, France, daughter of Jean Baptist Duflôt and Mary Anne (Cousin). Aristocratic family. Well-educated. Arr. Papua 1909, stn, Popole. D. 10 August 1955, Yule I. Papua
288. DUGAST, Marie (Anastasie), B. 1869, Trinité-de-Clisson, Brittany, daughter of Ferdinand Dugast, farmer, and Marie (Barre). Arr. N.G. 1894, stn, Inawi. D. 31 August 1902, Inawi, Papua
289. FOUILLET, Celestine Josephine, B. 1869, Combré, Maine-et-Loire, France, daughter of Pierre Fouillet, farmer. Arr. N.G. 1893, stn, Yule I., Inawi, Inawaia. D. 21 August 1900, Yule I, Papua
290. FOURTER, Monica (Zita), B. 1883, Germany. Migrated to Eden, N.S.W. Arr. Papua 1909, stns, Inawaia, Bomana. D. 4 October 1955, Yule I., Papua
291. FOX, Brigid, B. 1861, Ashfield, N.S.W., daughter of James Fox, prospector, and Sarah (Cahalan). Arr. N.G. 1899. R. 1903, transferred to Sydney. D. 24 April 1943, Bowral, N.S.W.
292. FOX, Mary Margaret (Finbar), B. 8 May 1881, Sydney, daughter of George Fox, labourer and Annie (Sullivan). Arr. Papua 1905, stns, Yule I., Samarai, Trobriands. R. Sydney 1939. D. 1 January 1963, Sydney
293. GALLAGHER, Sarah (Patrick), B. 1863 (? 1861), Roskil, Ireland, daughter of Hugh Gallagher, farmer, and Hannah (MacFadden). Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Yule I. D. 2 February 1913, Yule I., Papua
294. GLEESON, Margaret (Kevin), B. 1875, Cashel, Ireland, daughter of Timothy Gleeson, farmer, and Mary (Tooby). Sister of Bishop Gleeson, CSSR, Maitland, Australia. Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Yule I. D. 18 July 1932, Yule I., Papua

295. GUILLET, Clementine (Joachim II), B. 1887, Poire-sur-Vie, Vendée, France. Arr. N.G. 1914, stn, Yule I. D. 26 November 1915, Yule I., Papua
296. HEFFERNAN, Honora (Aloisius), B. 11 September 1878, Wannan, Vic., daughter of Denis Heffernan, farmer, and Johanna (Fitzgerald). Arr. Papua 1904. D. 10 May 1923, Yule I., Papua
297. HERVOUET, Philomène (Alexis), B. 1878, St Hilaire-du-Bois. Peasant family, related to Sisters Julitte and Euphrasie (nos 282 & 283). Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Aipeana. D. 21 November 1919, Papua
298. HOUDMONT, Marie (Gabrielle), B. 17 January 1885, Renazé, France. Baptised by Fr Barbette, who saw Virgin Mary at Pontmain, 1871. First vows, 21 October 1907. Arr. Papua 1912; stns, Pinupaka, Veifa'a. D. 1974, Yule I., buried with full Mekeo ceremonial, Veifa'a, Papua
299. HULLIN, Camille Jean, B. 1874, Clamecy, France. Arr. N.G. 1897, stn, Maia-Era. R. 1923. D. 9 October 1946, Brazil
300. JANNOT, Héléne, B. 1867, St Hilaire-du-Bois, Brittany, France. Arr. N.G. 1894, stn, Mou. D. 17 July 1901, Sydney
301. JEAN, Thérèse, B. 1863, Au Puy, Haute Loire, France. Father, solicitor. Came to Sydney 1886, established F.D.N.S.C. house. Arr. N.G. 1900, stn, Thursday I. R. 1908, returned to Europe to serve on general administration, F.D.N.S.C. D. 1945, France
302. JONES, Mary (Patricius), B. 1875 (? 1876), Bendigo, Vic. Arr. Papua 1904, stn, Yule I. D. November 1930, Yule I., Papua
303. KELLY, Maria (Boniface), From Australia. Arr. Papua 1913. R. 1924, ex-F.D.N.S.C.
304. KEOGH, Mary (Thecla), B. 1878, Balmain, N.S.W. Taught in F.D.N.S.C. schools, Australia. Arr. Papua 1910, stn, Thursday I. R. 1929, to Sydney
305. KOOPMAN, Bernadette, B. 1877, Nevershoof, Holland. Arr. Papua 1902, stn, Inawaia, Kubuna. R. 1923, recalled to Europe to serve on general administration, F.D.N.S.C.
306. LECLAIR, Philomène (Eulalie), B. 1873, St Hilaire, Brittany, France, daughter of François Leclair, farmer, and Marie (Poiroy). Arr. N.G. 1897, stn, Inawaia, Waima. D. 4 September 1935, Yule I., Papua
307. LENEHAN, Maria (Hyacinth), B. 15 April 1862, Sydney, daughter of Patrick Lenehan, farmer, and Mary (Atkins). Arr. N.G. 1893. R. 1909, transferred to Port Darwin. D. 16 November 1909, Port Darwin
308. LE ROUX, Yvonne, B. 1863, Plomeur, Brittany, France. Arr. N.G. 1887, stn, Thursday I. D. 10 January 1893, Thursday I.

309. McSWEENEY, Margaret (Loyola), B. 1866, Wood's Point, Vic., daughter of Morgan McSweeney, miner, and Hannah (Russell). R. 1914. D. 23 June 1953, Sydney
310. MAIRE, Marie (Agnès), B. 1866, Semur, Côte d'Or. Arr. N.G. 1888, stns, Thursday I., Inawi, Tsiria. D. 1 February 1901
311. MASSELIN, Albertine Louise (Madeline), B. 18 March 1844, Bayeux, Normandy, France, daughter of Etienne Masselin, farmer, and Esther (?). Raised by Sisters of Providence. Worked in shop, Paris. Joined Sisters of Holy Name of Jesus, Paris; transferred to F.D.N.S.C., Issoudun. Arr. N.G. 1886, stn, Yule I. D. 21 July 1927, Yule I, Papua.
312. MAXWELL, Agnes (Ursula), B. 1872, Balmain, Sydney. Arr. N.G. 1902. R. 1925
313. MERLET, Clothilde (Gonzague), B. 1878, St Colombin, Brittany, France, daughter of Benjamin Merlet, blacksmith, and Françoise (Pichet). F.D.N.S.C. 1898. Arr. Papua 1902, stn, Toaripi, Popole. D. 15 December 1909, Yule I., Papua
314. ODE, Virginie (Ange), B. 1860, Valence, Drôme or Mantauban, Brittany. Peasant family. Arr. N.G. 1887, stns, Inawi, Veifa'a, Inawui. D. 15 September 1895, Inawui, Papua
315. PARET, Julie (Marguerite II), B. 1875, Houthem, Belgium, daughter of Pierre Paret and Adele (Sesmedt). Arr. N.G. 1902, stn, Oba-Oba. D. 22 May 1945, Yule I., Papua
316. PASTANT, Sebastienne Marie, B. 1873, Beuzange, Lorraine, France. Arr. N.G. 1897, stn, Tsiria. D. March 1924, Papua
317. PERDRIX, Pauline (Paule), B. 22 June 1864, Haguenau, Alsace, daughter of George Perdrix and Barbe (Keth). Middle-class family. Arr. N.G. 1887, stns, Thursday I., Yule I., Mou, Waima. R. 1926, ill-health. Teacher. F.D.N.S.C., Sydney. D. 21 July 1931, Sydney
318. POIRON, Josephine, B. 1864, St. Hilaire-du-Bois, Brittany, France, daughter of Joseph Jean Poirion, farmer, and Josephine (Raffegean). Arr. N.G. 1887, stns, Inawui, Inawaia. D. 20 October 1905, Inawaia, Papua
319. RENAUD, Léontine, B. 1886 (? 1884), La Marne, Brittany, France, daughter of August Renaud, farmer, and Jean (Templier). Arr. Papua 1912, stn, Waima. D. 12 September 1967, Yule I., Papua
320. ROARTY, Ada (Lucy), B. 18 January 1867, Sydney, daughter of John Roarty, photographic artist, and Margaret (Woods). Arr. N.G. 1893. R. ? , transferred to Sydney and Port Darwin
321. RYAN, Mary (Xavier), B. 1853 (? 1856), Tipperary, Ireland, daughter of Michael Ryan, farrier, and Bridget (Ryan). Brought up by Brigidine Nuns, met Fr Tierney, M.S.C. in Ireland.

- Arr. Sydney 1887, established St Bernard's School. Arr. N.G. 1894, stn, Thursday I. (Mother Superior). R. 1900, transferred to Kensington and Mascot (Mother Superior). D. 23 December 1933, Sydney
322. SCHUTTE, Charlotte (Berchmans), B. 1856, Lildeshausen, Bavaria. Arr. N.G. 1888, stn, Inawui. D. 28 June 1892, Yule I., N.G.
323. SEPTVANTS, Angèle (St Roch), B. 7 July 1874 (or 1876), Calvados, France, daughter of François Septvants, army-captain, and Desirée (Lacauve). Arr. Papua 1900, stn, Mekeo. D. 13 November 1916, Yule I., Papua
324. SIMON, Jeanne (Albertine), B. 1887, Ile-et-Vilaine, Brittany, France, daughter of Jean Simon, farmer, and Marie Rose (Negris). Arr. N.G. 1914. D. 14 February 1930, Yule I., Papua
325. SURAMY, Francine (Raphaël), B. 3 May 1868, Souvigny, Auvergne, France, daughter of Claude Suramy, gardener, and Marie (Nor). O. seamstress in workshop. Recognised vocation at age of 21 and despite mother's opposition, joined F.D.N.S.C. 1892. Arr. N.G. 1893, stns, Inawi, Maia-Era, Waima, Pinupaka, Inawaia, Yule I. D. 18 June 1947, Yule I., Papua
326. SWEENY, Margaret (Margaret Mary), B. 5 March 1866, Ryde, Sydney, daughter of Daniel Sweeny, labourer, and Annie (Harkin). Helped Marists at Villa Maria, met M.S.C. on their arrival in Sydney. Arr. N.G. 1887, stns, Tsiria, Bioto. D. 1 April 1896, Tsiria, Papua
327. THOMAS, Marie (Octavie), B. 1884, La Marne, Brittany, France. Arr. Papua 1909, stn, Oba-Oba. R. 1936, ill-health. D. 23 August 1873, France

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NOTE ON SOURCES

The main sources for this thesis have been the papers of the missionaries themselves. Some are in private hands, others in individual collections, and many in mission archives. The largest and most complete collection are the papers of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), now lodged at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and mostly available on microfilm through the Joint Copying Project. There are additional L.M.S. collections at the Mitchell Library and in the United Church Archives (U.C.A.), New Guinea Collection, University of Papua New Guinea. The bulk of Methodist missionary archival material is located in the Department of Overseas Mission (M.O.M.) Papers, Mitchell Library. It is an uneven collection with some useful manuscripts but many gaps. Other Methodist collections are the United Church Archives (U.C.A.), U.P.N.G., the Methodist Church Papers (M.C.P.), Mitchell Library and the archives of the Methodist Church of Australasia, N.S.W. at the Uniting Church Records and Historical Society (U.C.R.), Sydney. The Anglican Archives (A.A.) at U.P.N.G. provide the largest source for material on the Anglican Mission; especially valuable for this study were the Personal Files of missionaries (boxes 20-23). The Australian Board of Missions (A.B.M.) Sydney and the Lambeth Palace Library (L.P.) also hold relevant manuscripts. Unrestricted access to all these archives provided a wealth of material.

The archives of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart in Rome (R.A.) are not open to those outside the Congregation, however most of the material relating to the Pacific has been microfilmed by the Pacific Manuscripts' Bureau (P.M.B.) and other information was supplied to me on request by the archivist, Fr Bertolini, M.S.C. Fr John McMahon, M.S.C., allowed me to use material from the Congregation's archives at Bereina, P.N.G. (B.A.). The same restriction applied to archival material of the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, but Sr Mary Venard provided me with information from Rome and Sr Margaret Mary with material from the Yule Island archives (Y.I.A.).

Birth, death and marriage certificates are an essential tool for a group-biography. One hundred and thirty certificates have been used, obtained from St Catherine's House, London; the Registrar-General's Office, P.N.G., and the various registrars-general's offices of the Australian states. Because of the extreme decentralisation of registry offices in France, it was difficult to trace birth certificates of the French missionaries, and the requests which were made were not successful.

Besides the manuscript and published sources listed below in the Bibliography, the thesis draws on information provided in letters to the writer from missionary descendants, and also upon the following interviews:

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 Fr J. McMahon, M.S.C., 15 July 1978, Canberra
 Mrs Marjorie Butcher, 2 September 1978, Wentworth Falls
 Dr Charles Lawes, 3 September 1978, Leura
 Mr James Beharell, 8 November 1978, Canberra
 Mr Cecil Abel, 29 December 1978, Alotau
 Canon J. Bodger, 5 January 1979, Alotau
 Sr Margaret Mary, F.D.N.S.C., 16 January 1979, Yule Island
 Sr Martha, F.D.N.S.C., 9 February 1979, Kensington, N.S.W.
 Sr Mary Venard, F.D.N.S.C., 18 December 1979, Rome
 Fr Walter Black, M.S.C., 20 December 1979, Rome
 Sr Paule-Marie, F.D.N.S.C., 23 December 1979, Issoudun
 Bishop Oliver Tomkins, 3 January 1980, Worcester
 Sister Constance Fairhall, 10 February 1981, Canberra

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