USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
ERRATA

p. 83, last line: 'were' should be 'was'.

p. 168, line 21. Sentence should read: 'The mission discouraged marriage, though for economic and practical rather than doctrinal reasons.'

p. 333. Footnotes should be:

1 Middenway was D.O. at Giza, 1924-34. He married Sister F. Jennings, in 1924.

2 There is a tribute to Waddell's work on Choiseul in O.D., September 1942, pp.10-1

3 E.S., Solomon Islands District Synod, 20 November 1912, 8 December 1920, 10 November 1921, M.O.M., Synod Minutes; M.Z.M.T., 23 April 1921, p.12; Wheen to R.C., 2 May 1921, loc. cit.

The following words are spelt incorrectly -

p. 29, line 9 and elsewhere: unforeseen
p. 123, line 3: eclesiological
p. 146, line 9: paralleled
p. 168, line 18: loneliness
p. 215, line 24: Britannica
p. 265, line 8 and elsewhere: forbade
p. 428, line 16: accommodating
p. 449, line 14: Rockefeller
p. 456, note 2, Encyclopedia
PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS
1849 - 1942

SUMMARY

It is the aim of this thesis to examine the origins and growth of Protestant missionary activity in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and to outline its effects upon the lives of the islanders. Four missions are concerned in this study: the Anglican Melanesian Mission, founded by Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand in 1849, the Methodist mission, sent to the group in 1902 by the Methodist Church of Australasia, the South Sea Evangelical Mission, an undenominational society which grew out of mission work among labourers on the Queensland plantations, and the Seventh-day Adventist mission which arrived from Australia in 1914. The period of the investigation is the 90 years between the foundation of the Melanesian Mission and the Japanese invasion of the Solomons in 1942.

The first eight chapters comprise a detailed historical account of the four missions. Three major themes emerge. Most striking is the extent to which mission policy reflected the personality and preoccupations of its local leader; only the Seventh-day Adventist mission was administered as a unit of a world-wide organization. Secondly, each mission was soon involved, if only to a minor extent, in a programme of popular education and medical work. Whereas the former was essentially a closed system, aimed at the propagation of Christian teaching and a continuous supply of
evangelists, the latter, especially in the western Solomons, made a significant contribution to the physical well-being of the islanders. Thirdly, the European missionaries tended - increasingly it seems - to separate themselves from the indigenous society. With rare exceptions, practical policy was governed by the assumption that the missionary was a permanent institution.

In the final chapter the Solomon Islanders' reception of Christianity is analyzed with examples drawn from each mission. The popularity of Christianity, especially in the early years of the twentieth century, owed much to the fact of its European origin. Externally, Solomons Christianity reflected to a considerable degree the practice of its parent churches. On the other hand, in matters of belief most islanders drew heavily on their pagan past, even after several generations of mission influence.

By 1942 Protestant Christianity had an assured place as a major European influence in the Solomons. Critics could point to its suppression of harmless customs, the divisive effects of sectarianism and the lassitude of much church life. At the same time Christianity had acquired a momentum of its own, only partly derived from its European teachers. It had introduced a basis for the breaking down of old barriers. For many islanders it had provided a means of adaptation to a new and often disturbing pattern of life. The ultimate significance of the Protestant missions in the development of the Solomons remains a matter for conjecture.
PROTESTANT MISSIONS
IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS
1849 - 1942

by

D.L. HILLIARD

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Australian National University.

November 1966.
This thesis is based on original research by the author while a Research Scholar in the Department of Pacific History of the Australian National University from 1963 to 1966.

D. L. Hilliard
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Seventh-day Adventist Mission Field, 1914-42.

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following page 6.
following page 106.
following page 235.
following page 347.
following page 410.
'Let us never forget that these islanders can never prosper unless they keep the Sabbath holy.'

Mrs Proudie in **Framley Parsonage**.
PREFACE

THIS study traces the course of Protestant missionary activity in the Solomon Islands from its beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century until the Japanese invasion in the Pacific war, and attempts to estimate its effects upon the religious and social lives of the indigenous peoples.

The introduction of Christianity into the Solomon Islands was an outcome of the missionary movement generated within western Christendom during the closing decades of the eighteenth century. For over two centuries the churches of the Reformation, preoccupied with internal controversies and with stemming the tide of a resurgent Catholicism, were reluctant to acknowledge the existence of a universal missionary obligation. Isolated individuals, influenced by continental pietism, made small and tentative beginnings. In England, however, it was not until the Evangelical revival that the first large-scale attempts were made to extend Christianity to lands and peoples beyond the borders of British territory.

Studies of the nineteenth century expansion of Christianity have tended to concentrate on its origins and subsequent development from the standpoint of its chief agents - the great missionary societies and religious orders. Although the story thus presented is basic to an understanding of the movement as a whole, this emphasis has produced something of a distortion. Correspondingly little attention has been paid to equally important elements: the missionary activity of colonial churches, the rise of undenominational societies and the interaction
of Christianity with the traditional culture of those who received it. Only in a microcosmic study of the progress of Christianity within a defined area is it possible to examine both the movement as a European phenomenon and the evolution of mission policy in response to local conditions, and to undertake some estimate of the practical achievements of the missionaries.

In the period 1849 - 1942 there were four Protestant missions working in the Solomons: the Anglican Melanesian Mission, the South Sea Evangelical Mission, the Methodist and the Seventh-day Adventist. Although the missionaries were without exception English-speaking, their supporting organizations were colonial rather than metropolitan in origin, being founded by churches and individuals in Australia and New Zealand.

Geographically, this investigation is confined to that portion of the Solomons in which all four missions were at work - the present British Solomon Islands Protectorate, excluding the Santa Cruz group and the eastern outer islands. Reference will be made to events outside this area only for the purpose of illustration or comparison.

The missions here examined are described as 'Protestant'. I have used this term in its classical sense to include all those churches which adhere in some measure to the principles of the sixteenth century Reformation. Both the Methodist mission and the South Sea Evangelical Mission were in the mainstream of the English Evangelical tradition; Seventh-day Adventism,
though regarded by many as heretical, arose out of a manifestation of Protestant millennial expectation. On the other hand, the Protestantism of the Melanesian Mission is largely an abstraction. Its founder laid no claim to the title, while its missionaries for the most part stressed the Catholic rather than the Protestant nature of their teachings.

With each mission I have attempted to answer various questions concerning its objectives and methods: the type of Christianity that was propagated, the means by which it was introduced, the factors governing success or failure in any particular area and the European missionaries' response to those problems created by contact with new peoples and strange customs. I have tried to relate the genesis and development of mission policy to the personality and theology of individual missionaries as well as to wider currents of thought.

The concluding chapter comprises an account of the beliefs and practices of Solomon Islands Christians. In such an enquiry the historian finds himself at a serious disadvantage. In the absence of first-hand accounts of the experiences of the earliest converts, his data is limited to those features accompanying the adoption of the new faith and its effects upon the subsequent social life of the islanders which have been recorded by European observers. Moreover, religious belief in general and the process of conversion in particular demand skilled analysis which, in this context, belongs properly to the discipline of anthropology. Under these conditions a definitive study is clearly impossible.
Because of their relative political insignificance the Solomon Islands have hitherto received scant attention from academic historians. Several recent works have dealt with events in the group, but only in illustration of some facet of nineteenth century British policy in the Pacific. Similarly, no study has yet been undertaken of the contribution of the Christian missions to the history of the Solomons. Three of the Protestant missions possess official histories. Of these, two have been written to edify rather than inform; Dr C.E. Fox's *Lord of the Southern Isles*, a scholarly account of the first hundred years of the Melanesian Mission, unfortunately suffers from undue compression.

The scope and quality of unpublished material for this study has been limited by a series of factors: the destruction of mission stations during the Japanese invasion, the universal trend away from the nineteenth century habit of committing personal expressions of opinion to paper in the form of diaries and a voluminous correspondence, and the elusiveness of surviving collections of private papers. Only in the case of the Methodist mission is a near-complete range of archival material available. The South Sea Evangelical Mission has given little attention to the preservation of official correspondence. Many of the records of the Melanesian Mission, kept at its headquarters in the Solomons, survived the war but were later accidentally destroyed. The archives of the Australasian Division of Seventh-day Adventists are not open to historical researchers.
The private papers of individual missionaries, when it has been possible to locate them, have been found useful. The largest collection is the letters and journals of Bishop Patteson, preserved in the archives of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel, London. The most important of these were used faithfully, with only a minimum of editing, by Charlotte Yonge in her copious biography of Patteson; nevertheless, the entire collection remains an invaluable record of one of the great Victorian missionaries.

For an account of secular events within the Solomons, the activities of the British navy during the years immediately preceding the establishment of the protectorate and relations between the missions and the protectorate government I have relied extensively on official sources, in particular the correspondence between the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific and the Colonial Office (C.O. series 225).

Owing to the comparative dearth of unpublished material I have drawn heavily upon published works: contemporary and near-contemporary accounts, biographies, and mission reports and periodicals. Without the latter, primary sources would be meagre indeed. Their value lies not only in their witness to the preoccupations and attitudes of the supporting churches, but also in their preservation of a large quantity of correspondence received from the missionaries in the field. Although the selections printed are necessarily one-sided - expressions of dissatisfaction and facts considered likely to discredit the mission were invariably omitted -
they are in many cases the sole source of information on
the views and day-to-day activities of the missionaries.

These written sources have been supplemented by
interviews and personal correspondence with living
missionaries, and by personal experiences during a field
trip to the Solomons in March-May 1965 when I was able to
fill many lacunae in my knowledge of present-day missions
and past events. The place of 'oral tradition' in a study
of this kind is at least open to question. Although I
have gained a great deal from personal contact with
missionaries, I have purposely refrained from erecting a
large superstructure on evidence obtained in this way
unless supported, at least implicitly, by contemporary
documentary evidence.

So many people have assisted me in carrying out this
research that it would be impossible to acknowledge
adequately my indebtedness to them all. First, I should
like to thank the staffs of those libraries and
institutions where I carried out much of my work: the
Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, the Auckland
Institute and Museum Library, the House of the Epiphany,
Sydney, the Mitchell Library, Sydney, the National Library
of Australia, Canberra, and St John's College, Auckland.

I am grateful to the Rev. M.A. Gribble of Sydney for
allowing me to use the Methodist Overseas Missions
collection in the Mitchell Library, the Rev. S.G. Andrews
of Auckland, who threw open the mission archives of the
Methodist Church of New Zealand, and Mr H.W. Bullen,
General Secretary of the Melanesian Mission, who gave me access to a large quantity of published material stored in his office.

I am also indebted to those retired missionaries or descendants of missionaries with whom I have had either personal contact or correspondence, or who have loaned me original manuscripts in their possession. In particular, I should like to thank Mr N.C. Deck, the Rev. R.P. Fallowes, the Rev. W. Gibbins, Mr K. Griffiths, the Rev. E.C. Leadley, the Rev. J.R. Metcalfe, Pastor H.B.P. Wicks and Canon J.C.L. Wilson.

Special thanks are due to M. Daniel de Coppet, now of Paris, the people of Takataka and the staffs of the various missions in the Solomons for their hospitality during my visit to the group in 1965. Without the aid of the former my field trip would have been much less profitable than it was. Among the latter, the Rev. Dr C.E. Fox was both a delightful host and a mine of information on the early days of the Melanesian Mission.

The staff and scholars of the Department of Pacific History of the Australian National University have contributed a great deal, through advice on source material, discussion and critical comment. Dr Ann Chowning of the Department of Anthropology read an earlier draft of chapter IX and made a number of valuable suggestions. Mr John Heyward drew the maps. Mrs Ann Newsome and her colleagues of the Joint Schools typing pool coped heroically with a most demanding typescript. Fellow research scholars, David Baker and John Caiger, have given generous assistance with proof-reading.
Most of all my thanks are due to Professor J.W. Davidson, who has maintained a personal interest in this study since its inception, and to my supervisor, Dr Niel Gunson, for his guidance, his helpful criticisms and his careful attention to the draft.

Canberra,

November 1966.
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<td>A.R.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. in C.</td>
<td>Commander-in-Chief, Australian Station.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.O.</td>
<td>Colonial Office.</td>
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<td>H.C.</td>
<td>High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.</td>
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<td>I.R.M.</td>
<td>International Review of Missions.</td>
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<td>Methodist Foreign Missionary Society of New Zealand archives, Auckland.</td>
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<td>Q.K.M.</td>
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<td>S.S.E.M.</td>
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NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF PLACE-NAMES

There is no uniformity in the spelling of Solomon Islands place-names. In general, I have followed the conventions of the Naval Intelligence Division's handbook series on the Pacific Islands.
INTRODUCTION

THE Solomon Islands comprise a double chain of seven major islands together with numerous smaller islands and islets extending in a south-easterly direction from New Guinea. The principal islands - Bougainville, Choiseul, New Georgia, Ysabel, Malaita, Guadalcanal and San Cristobal - vary from 50 to 130 miles in length and contain a range of mountains as backbone. On some, notably New Georgia and Malaita, the coastline is indented and protected for considerable distances by coral reefs; elsewhere, much of the coast is open and exposed with few harbours or anchorages. The climate of the region is warm and wet, and the greater part of the land surface is covered with dense tropical forest.¹ Within the present British Solomon Islands Protectorate, population density varies enormously from island to island, from an average of four per square mile on Choiseul, Ysabel and San Cristobal to 25 on Malaita and 184 on Sikaiana.²

With the exception of the inhabitants of the Polynesian outliers (Rennell, Bellona, Sikaiana and Ontong Java), the Solomon Islanders are Melanesian in

¹ For details of physical geography see Naval Intelligence Division, Pacific Islands (London, 1944), vol. III, pp. 607–22.
physical type with brown or black skin and frizzly hair.¹ Everywhere pigs are regarded as wealth, shell ornaments are used in ceremonial exchanges and 'bride price' is paid. There is also root-crop agriculture, hunting and fishing, and a religion centred upon the propitiation of ancestral spirits.² These broad similarities are, however, overshadowed by profound cultural differences, local and regional, characteristic of Melanesia as a whole. This diversity is reflected in the sphere of language. On each large island there are a number of dialects which may be grouped into several distinct languages, perhaps seven on Malaita alone.³

In the pre-European period there was, as elsewhere in Melanesia, a marked distinction between 'bush' and 'salt-water' natives. The latter lived on or near the coast and constructed canoes, whereas the bush natives were confined to the interior of the larger islands and were unskilled in the arts of the sea. Coastal peoples usually enjoyed wider contacts, more varied diets and superior physiques, and regarded the more backward bushmen with some contempt.⁴

¹ The following remarks on Solomon Islands culture apply only to the Melanesian peoples.
³ For details of Solomon Islands languages see A. Capell, A Linguistic Survey of the South-western Pacific (Noumea, 1962), pp.166 ff.
⁴ Oliver, op. cit., p.42.
The size of settlements was regulated by the amount of land available locally for food gardens and also by considerations of defence. Bush folk lived in isolated hamlets, frequently consisting of only two or three houses. Villages in coastal areas, though scattered, were usually larger, containing between one and two hundred inhabitants. On Malaita and New Georgia shore dwellers tended to gather on small islands, artificial and natural, in the coastal lagoons.¹

In common with the rest of Melanesia customary obligation consisted essentially of duty to kin rather than obedience to political authority. Descent groups were either bilateral or unilineal. The former, found in the western Solomons (Choiseul, New Georgia and their adjacent islands) and also on Malaita, comprised descendants of a common ancestor and were usually associated with a particular territorial unit. On the other hand, the people of San Cristobal and the central Solomons (Ysabel, Guadalcanal and the small Nggela group) were divided into dispersed matrilineal clans, members of which believed themselves bound by the possession of common ancestral spirits to some animal or bird species—a totem which they were forbidden to kill or eat.²

¹ Naval Intelligence Division, op. cit., pp.635-6.
Although a system of hereditary chieftainship existed in some areas, notably New Georgia and certain districts of Malaita, political prestige was, as a rule, gained through personal ability. By the accumulation of wealth in the form of vegetable food, pigs and shell discs, and its effective distribution by public gift-exchanges and the holding of great feasts, a man acquired status and came to be acknowledged by the people of his district as a headman or 'manager'. Such leaders could be succeeded at their death or supplanted during their lifetime by younger men who displayed the requisite qualities of ambition, industry and hospitality. Whether local headmen or hereditary chiefs, these political leaders traditionally filled a variety of functions, by arranging feasts and thereby stimulating production, settling disputes, conducting relations with other groups and supplying pigs for religious sacrifice.  

The religion of the Solomon Islanders was based upon a belief in spirits, both 'ghosts' of the dead and

---


supernatural beings who had never led a mortal existence. Associated with this belief was the concept of mana, an impersonal supernatural force with no ultimate source, 'manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation.'\(^1\) The affairs of the living were believed to prosper only by virtue of that mana which the spirits possessed and exerted on their behalf. The mana of spirits of dead persons was in direct proportion to their earthly importance. Consequently, distinguished warriors were widely honoured, sometimes by a whole clan;\(^2\) ordinary men were worshipped only by their immediate descendants.

An individual was able to win the approval of the spirits and obtain their mana for himself by conducting sacrifices, supplemented by the performance of magical rites. Ordinary offerings to ancestral spirits did not require an official intermediary: 'any man had the right to invoke his father's or grandfather's ghost for help and protection, either to ward off sickness or to make him strong.'\(^3\) Major sacrifices, however, were usually conducted at special shrines by hereditary priests to whom the necessary knowledge and techniques had been transmitted. Failure to sacrifice, infringement of taboos and, in some societies, transgression of the customary moral code, were held to incur the active

---

3 Bogesi, op. cit., *Oceania*, vol.XVIII, No.4, p.327.
displeasure of the spirits and withdrawal of their mana, with disastrous results for the individual concerned.\(^1\)

Life in a Solomons village was regulated by a network of reciprocal services, 'regarded as a right by one party and acknowledged as a duty by the other',\(^2\) maintained in force by publicity, ambition and ties of group loyalty and solidarity. On Malaita where the weight of convention and tradition appears to have been strongest it was correspondingly difficult for an individual, unless he be a powerful leader or a recognized 'fighting man', to act on the basis of his own decisions and depart from the accepted order of things.\(^3\) The whole fabric was sustained by an essentially materialistic religion - 'a technology rather than a spiritual force for human salvation'\(^4\) - which reinforced key social relationships, confirmed hopes for the future, assisted in dealing with the perennial problems of death and disease, and, in many places, upheld the accepted code of personal conduct.

\(^1\) E.g., Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, pp.112-6, A Guadalcanal Society, pp.85-90.
\(^3\) Ivens, Island Builders, pp.35-7.
II

THE MELANESIAN MISSION 1849-71

DISCOVERED and named by the Spaniard Alvaro de Mendana in 1568, the Solomon Islands were among the first island groups in the south Pacific known to Europeans. On a second voyage, twenty-seven years later, Mendana failed to locate his 'Islands of Solomon', and for nearly two centuries the archipelago remained unvisited, its position a matter for conjecture. During the later decades of the eighteenth century English and French navigators - Carteret, Bougainville and their successors - rediscovered and finally identified Mendana's 'lost' islands, and by 1838, when the last major piece of exploration was completed, the Solomons were being visited regularly by traders and sperm whalers. ¹ Because of the reputation of the islanders for ferocity and cannibalism no Europeans yet settled permanently on shore, but at certain bays and anchorages on Malaita, New Georgia and San Cristobal, and on several smaller islands, a limited trade in local produce, chiefly coconuts and bêche-de-mer, was springing up.²

² Andrew Cheyne, A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean (London, 1832), pp.52-73; Handbook of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (Suva, 1923), p.13; Naval Intelligence Division, Pacific Islands, vol.III, p.624.
In the meantime, the London Missionary Society and Wesleyan missions in Polynesia were slowly extending their activities westwards into Melanesia, to Fiji and the New Hebrides, and men like John Williams, whose broad vision inspired his contemporaries, looked to the day when all the islands of the western Pacific would be converted to Protestant Christianity.\(^1\) This hope was thwarted by the foundation of Roman Catholic missions in Fiji and New Caledonia in the early forties, and by the creation by the Congregation of the Propaganda in 1844 of a Vicariate Apostolic to embrace the remaining islands of Melanesia and Micronesia. Like the others, this mission was entrusted to a newly founded French religious order, the Society of Mary (Marists), which in turn chose Jean-Baptiste Épalle, a young priest with experience of mission work in New Zealand, as Vicar Apostolic. Épalle selected the Solomon Islands as his initial field on account of their relative proximity to Australia. Supplied with meagre information on the group, he sailed from Sydney in October 1845 accompanied by seven priests and six lay Brothers.\(^2\)

---

1 John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South-Sea Islands* (London, 1837), pp.5-6.
From the outset the venture was beset with disaster. On landing at Thousand Ships Bay on Ysabel the mission party was attacked by the islanders and Épalle mortally wounded. Bereft of their leader, the missionaries returned to San Cristobal, to Makira Bay in Arosi where they had called on the outward journey. Here they erected a house some distance from the nearest village and set about implementing Épalle's original design - that of operating the mission from a strong base where evangelistic work would be interspersed with set periods for prayer and study. Of the priests, some regarded the Arosi people and their customs with notable sympathy and became proficient in their language. However, the semi-monastic life of the missionaries, which allotted less than four hours a day to visiting the neighbouring villages, and their deliberate detachment from the native society erected a barrier which could not easily be broken. Although the islanders were pleased to accept trade goods in exchange for food and permitted their sick children to be baptized, none displayed even slight interest in Christian teaching.

Hopes of ending the inter-village warfare endemic on the island and the prevalence of malaria at Makira Bay soon forced reconsideration of the policy of maintaining only one station. Épalle's coadjutor and successor, Jean-Georges Collomb, who visited the mission briefly in February 1847 before returning to Australia to receive consecration, encouraged dispersal and three missionaries moved to the village of Bia, three miles
distant. Shortly afterwards two priests and a Brother
were killed by enemies of the Bia people while crossing
the island to found a third station on the north coast.

This tragedy marked the end of active mission work.
The missionaries withdrew from Bia, the house at Makira
Bay was attacked and for four months the party, reduced
to seven in number, endured a state of intermittent
siege.¹ In August 1847 Collomb returned and, judging
the survivors to be in imminent danger of massacre,
resolved to abandon the mission. It was a far-reaching
decision: the Marists did not return to the Solomons
for another 50 years.

Inflexibility of organization, imprudence and
misfortune ruined this first attempt to evangelize the
Solomon Islands. For the Arosi people the religious
significance of the venture was negligible. Within a
few years it was remembered solely for its aftermath -
the arrival in Makira Bay in March 1848 of a French
corvette and the despatch of an armed expedition
inland to burn and kill in punishment for the murder
of the three missionaries.²

¹ Of the original mission party (14), four were killed,
three left the mission when opportunity offered and one
was loaned to the New Caledonia mission. A priest and
a Brother arrived in February 1847, but the former
died of tuberculosis within a few months.
² John Webster, The Last Cruise of 'The Wanderer'
(Sydney, n.d.), pp.72-3.
FOLLOWING this dismal failure the Solomon Islands, like New Guinea, might easily have remained untouched by Christian influences for a further generation. That this did not occur was due primarily to the devotion and energy of one man - George Augustus Selwyn, the pioneer Anglican Bishop of New Zealand, whose see was defined in 1841 to include the greater part of the western Pacific. Selwyn, a formidable Christian general, distinguished among his contemporaries by his 'massive Churchmanship' and reverence for constituted authority, was undeterred by the responsibilities thus thrust upon him. Assured by the Colonial Office that no clerical error was involved, he accepted his vast diocese and the implied duty of evangelizing the heathen therein with enthusiasm as a sacred obligation - a conviction reinforced by a farewell Charge from the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley) who exhorted him to regard the New Zealand church as 'a fountain diffusing the streams of salvation over the islands and coasts of the Pacific'.


2 The Letters Patent of 14 October 1841 are discussed and defended in A.E. Prebble, 'George Augustus Selwyn, the Apostle of Melanesia' (M.A. thesis, University of New Zealand, 1931), pp.15-3.

For five years Selwyn was fully occupied in New Zealand, and it was not until 1847 that he was able to turn his attention to the northern islands, visiting Samoa, Tonga, the New Hebrides and New Caledonia as chaplain to H.M.S. Dido. Already the greater part of the south Pacific was apportioned between the London Missionary Society and Wesleyan missions, while Presbyterians from Nova Scotia were preparing to enter the southern New Hebrides. Surely, reasoned Selwyn, the remainder of Melanesia, where the Christian gospel had never been preached, was the appointed sphere of mission work for the Church of England.

But as a mission field Melanesia presented unusual difficulties. The hot and unhealthy climate of the region, its immense number of islands and their extraordinary multiplicity of languages, together with the lack of suitable English missionaries, compelled, so Selwyn believed, abandonment of the practice followed elsewhere in the Pacific - that of stationing a European teacher on each major island - and necessitated

1 Tucker, op. cit., vol.1, pp.253-9. See also G.A. Selwyn, A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of New Zealand...on September 23, 1847 (London, 1849), pp.19-20, and his Letters on the Melanesian Mission in 1853 (London, 1855), pp.16-7. Sir George Grey, the Governor of New Zealand, similarly saw the infant colony as the natural political centre of the south Pacific and gave Selwyn's project every support and encouragement: Angus Ross, New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 1964), pp.37-8, 41 ff.
instead reliance on a 'native agency'. Ultimately, he hoped, there would arise in the islands an independent church, 'with its own staff of clergy, its own laws, its own bishop', in communion with the Church of England in New Zealand.  

For this Melanesian Mission Selwyn adapted a scheme which, by the foundation of St John's College in Auckland, he had already endeavoured to implement in New Zealand - one which envisaged church life radiating from a large central institution combining cathedral and collegiate functions. From this, his headquarters, he planned to cruise for some months during each year among the various island groups, opening up friendly relations with as many peoples as possible. These were to be persuaded to entrust to him some of their most promising young men who would be taken for the summer to St John's and there taught English, the arts of civilization and the rudiments of Christianity. At the onset of winter the Melanesian scholars would be returned to their own villages where, ideally, they would begin to disseminate knowledge of the new religion

1 Selwyn believed his method capable of universal application. '...it seems to be a matter of certain faith that what God commands to be done, he gives us the means to do: and it is a simple arithmetical calculation that England cannot furnish Ministers sufficient for the whole world: it follows therefore that a Native Ministry must be the appointed way in which the world is to be evangelised': Selwyn to [the Rev. E. Coleridge], 26 August 1858, Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand and Others, vol.1, p.396.

among their kinsfolk and friends. If they proved to be intelligent and likely to benefit from further education they would be taken away in the following year; if not, others would be obtained in their stead. For each scholar this process would be repeated until he was baptized and sufficiently instructed to return permanently to his home to embark upon the evangelization of his people. The bishop, in his 'floating Mission House', would undertake the overall supervision of the work together with the selection, collection and return of scholars, while a small band of carefully chosen assistants would devote themselves to the education of the youths at the central school.

In 1849 Selwyn made his first missionary voyage, one of 3000 miles in the 21 ton schooner Undine, visiting the southern New Hebrides and the Loyalty group in company with H.M.S. Havannah and returning to Auckland with five Loyalty Islanders. At St Johns there were already about 50 'English' and Maori youths in residence. College life was austere and dominated by the industrial system which Selwyn had introduced to assist the institution towards self-support and to teach useful

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1 Selwyn to his father, 6 December 1849, Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand and Others, vol.I, p.246.
2 The fullest exposition of Selwyn's plans for the Melanesian Mission is in his letters to [Coleridge], 12 August and 21 December 1849, published as Two Letters from Bishop Selwyn (Eton, 1850). Both letters, with only minor omissions, are in Tucker, op. cit., vol.I, pp.286-94, 317-9.
crafts and the dignity of work.¹ The Melanesians lived, worked and worshipped alongside the other students and were instructed by Selwyn himself in English and the basic doctrines of Christianity.²

In the following year the college received its first Solomon Islands scholar — a youth named Didimang or Meste from 'Lidia' (probably Ubuna) at the north-west corner of San Cristobal, who had boarded the Havannah during its cruise through the south-eastern Solomons in September 1850. When he refused to leave the ship he was, with three New Hebrideans, taken to Sydney and handed over to Selwyn who was visiting the city for the first Australasian episcopal synod.

Didimang, described by one naval officer, as 'a fine young fellow, intelligent and hard-working, but very ugly',³ proved to be an apt pupil. Like his fellow islanders he was greatly impressed with Selwyn's commanding personality, and he frequently asserted the bishop's superiority to the French missionaries formerly resident

on San Cristobal. In 1852 he was returned to Ubuna and baptized in the presence of his people. On this occasion, however, no further scholars were obtained, nor were any other islands in the Solomons visited. Meanwhile, in the populous New Hebrides and Loyalty groups the prospects for the mission appeared bright. When Selwyn left for England at the end of 1853 he had landed at more than 50 islands and had received scholars representing ten different languages.

Selwyn's visit to England was occasioned by a variety of official matters, among them the 'permanent consolidation' of the Melanesian Mission and the selection of 'a few coadjutors' for missionary work. For the position of Missionary Chaplain he succeeded in obtaining the services of the Rev. John Coleridge Patteson, a young Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and the eldest son of Sir John Patteson, a retired High Court judge and an old friend of the Selwyn family.

[1] [Lady Martin] to S.P.G., 6 July 1851, loc. cit.
C.J. Abraham, the headmaster of St John's, interpreted the Melanesians' apparent aversion to the French priests as a sign that 'God is opening the door to an effective calling of these races through the Church of England': Extracts from New Zealand Letters during the years 1851-2, pp.31-2.


[4] Patteson was born in London in 1827. His mother, Judge Patteson's second wife, was a niece of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the poet. He was educated at Eton and Balliol, elected to a Fellowship at Merton in 1852 and ordained deacon in the following year. At the time of Selwyn's
From the time of his arrival in New Zealand in 1855 Patteson showed himself, by his unusual linguistic ability and fine seamanship, to be admirably suited for the work of a missionary in Melanesia. Although Selwyn sailed to the islands each year from 1856 to 1859 on the principal exploratory voyage of the new schooner Southern Cross, he soon transferred to his young assistant effective responsibility for the actual conduct of the mission and the annual return of scholars to their homes.

With Patteson a new and humanizing spirit entered the Melanesian Mission, displacing the somewhat impersonal and martial atmosphere which pervaded all Selwyn's enterprises. All his life he remained strongly influenced by his home background, that of a closely-knit and pious High Church family. Introspective and serious-minded, he was also an attractive personality with a marked capacity to inspire affection - a quality which Selwyn lacked - and soon obtained an unusual ascendancy over his Melanesian scholars.

The Solomon Islands were first brought within the mission's regular sphere of operations in 1856 when the Southern Cross visited Mata at the western end of San Cristobal (where Selwyn learned that Didimang had made a visit to England, he was acting as curate of Alfington, a Devonshire village near the Patteson family home at Feniton.

1 Selwyn to [Coleridge], 14 July 1855, Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand and Others, vol.1, p.287.
no attempt to teach his people and had returned to his old ways), the Polynesian islands of Rennell and Bellona, 110 miles to the south, and Marau Sound at the easternmost point of Guadalcanal. Having obtained boys from San Cristobal and Guadalcanal, the vessel proceeded northwards along the western coast of Malaita, sailed east to Sikaliana and returned to New Zealand through the Santa Cruz and Reef Islands. In the following year the contacts at Mata and Marau were renewed and the advantages of Rennell Island as a possible mission centre noted. Landings were also made on Santa Ana and Santa Catalina, two tiny islands to the east of San Cristobal, and at Ulawa, south of Malaita. On the first voyage of 1858 the Marau scholars provided an introduction to their kinsfolk at Oroha on Small Malaita, and on a second visit there later in the year the chief with two

1 There is an account of Didimang's career in S.C.L., June 1898, pp.1-4. After Selwyn's visit to his village in 1856 he relented and, in a bid to reach St John's, shipped away on a visiting trading vessel which instead took him to China. He finally reached Auckland in 1858 and was received again at the college. However, he remained restless and on his return to San Cristobal embarked on another ship. The above account claims that he never returned. On the other hand, there are references to his presence in the district in 1866 and 1875: Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, p.203; R.H. Codrington, Journal of 1875 Voyage, 4 June, Codrington Papers.

2 Mission Voyage, 1856 (n.p., n.d.)

companions was taken to New Zealand.¹ In 1859 lack of progress on San Cristobal led Patteson to sever the mission's connexions with the villages at Mata and turn instead to Wango, a large settlement on the north coast visited frequently by traders and whalers.²

In 1862 the mission extended its activities into the central Solomons, with landings at Bugotu, at the south-western extremity of Ysabel, and in the Nggela group.³

Although Selwyn had envisaged the Melanesian Mission extending far to the north, 'into the unknown regions of New Ireland, New Britain and New Hanover', ⁴ to meet in New Guinea with the anticipated southward expansion of the newly founded Borneo mission, this hope was never realized. Limited by the brief period available each year for the two island cruises and the growing number of commitments in the New Hebrides and Banks Islands, the northern boundary of the mission remained fixed in the central Solomons.

¹ M.M. Report, 1857-8, pp.25, 59-60; Ivens, Melanesians of the South-east Solomon Islands, p.23.
² Yonge, op. cit., vol.I, pp.424-5. The three Marist missionaries were on their way to found a station at Wango when they were killed in 1847.
SELWYN's contemporaries, impressed by his enthusiasm and inclusive vision, readily accepted his contention that the scheme he had devised for the evangelization of Melanesia was 'the only one possible under the circumstances'. Yet it was soon apparent that the plan in its original form had several inherent weaknesses which effectively nullified most of its potential advantages.

Firstly, in order to establish friendly relations with the islanders preparatory to obtaining scholars, the mission was forced to trade and give presents to the leading men of each place - a practice initiated by traders and later followed by the more scrupulous labour recruiters. The material advantages of the visits of the mission ship, as a source of coveted European trade goods - hatchets, fish-hooks, beads and calico (Selwyn refused to give tobacco) - were immediately appreciated by the islanders, while the missionaries' attempts to explain to them the benefits of Christianity, contrasting 'a life of peace and

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3 'It seems unjust to take the food for which the natives have laboured, and to pay them in a slow poison which will gradually unfit them for labour': Selwyn to his father, 6 December 1849, Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand and Others, vol.1, p.236. His successors thought differently.
happiness with their suspicious mode of life, their quarrelling and fighting',¹ went unheeded. Indeed at Mata and Marau Sound the mission became so associated with hatchets, fish-hooks and the opportunity to travel far afield that Patteson felt compelled to speak to the people in strong terms of the real reason for his coming, of the uselessness of his repeated visits unless the pupils he took away cooperated with him, and of the eternal consequences of the acceptance or rejection of the teachings he brought.²

The second flaw in Selwyn's plan was soon evident: that it made premature and excessive demands upon the 'good sense, judgement, and firmness'³ of the Melanesian scholars, with the result that the great majority of those taken away did little or nothing to further the aims of the mission. Patteson perceived that some youths came away because they liked the missionaries personally, 'some, in the first instance, from curiosity; some, because they accumulate in New Zealand certain treasures which, on their return, they exchange for valuable property in their own islands.'⁴

¹ Journal of the Mission Voyage of the Schooner 'Southern Cross' to the Melanesian Islands...May-October, 1866 (Auckland, 1866), p.6.
² Patteson to his father, 12 May 1858, Patteson Papers; M.M. Report, 1857-8, pp.26-8; Mission Voyage, 1866, pp.18-9.
³ Mission Voyage, 1866, p.21.
⁴ Ibid. See also Ivens, op. cit., p.49.
But when after several trips to New Zealand the novelty had worn off and the scholars reached the age to marry and assume full responsibilities in the life of their village these reasons lost their initial force, and only a handful could be persuaded to leave their homes again for a long and uncomfortable journey to a strange country.¹

In addition, the scheme was ill-adapted to Melanesian village society where for a young man to depart from the religion accepted by his kinsfolk, let alone actively attempt to subvert the traditional system of beliefs and behaviour, was almost unthinkable. To minimize this very real difficulty Patteson aimed at obtaining young men of rank who would exert some influence among their own people.² In practice, however, this was seldom possible and he was forced to select his scholars from those who were willing to join him, usually boys or young men of no status.

Painfully conscious of his position at the fountainhead of Melanesian Christianity, when 'any error on our part may give a wrong direction to the early faith of thousands',³ Patteson devoted enormous care to his work of teaching. With each pupil he spent many weeks explaining 'with exact accuracy' the basic themes and concepts of Christianity, and in class the significance

² Patteson to his father, 28 April 1859, Patteson Papers.
and interrelationship of each doctrine and scriptural miracle were thoroughly examined.\(^1\) In these early years he often expressed delight at the intelligence, apprehension and docile behaviour of his Solomon Islands pupils in particular.\(^2\) However, the religion thus imparted was so closely identified with the personalities of its European teachers and the ordered life of the central school with its regular chapel services that its capacity to survive in the islands, deprived of these supports and under vastly different conditions, was doubtful. Returning to their homes after only a few months continuous instruction, the mission's scholars found it virtually impossible to withstand the overwhelming collective pressure of their friends and elders and, it was sadly noted, were soon 'swept away once more by the torrent of heathenism'.\(^3\)

Nowhere was the extent of the mission's failure more apparent than in the Solomon Islands. Between


\(^3\) M.M. Report, 1861, p. 9.
1856 and 1860 40 youths were brought to Auckland from San Cristobal, Guadalcanal, Ulawa and Malaita—some for two or even three seasons. Several of these were baptized, but none embarked upon the instruction of their fellows. Consequently, the mission achieved nothing apart from establishing friendly relations with the inhabitants of five or six districts and gaining a smattering of their respective languages.

THROUGHOUT the Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century the place of the episcopate in relation to missionary work was a subject of warm debate. Evangelicals, led by the Church Missionary Society, tended to separate the roles of missionary and pastor: a bishop, so they argued, was superfluous in the early days of a mission, for until converts had been gathered and the episcopal functions of confirmation and ordination required he would have little to do. On the other hand, the idea which originated among American Episcopalians in the 1830s that all missions from their inception should be led by a bishop, as symbolic of the church 'in its integrity', was fast gaining ground among High Churchmen and those influenced by the Oxford Movement, and indeed was largely responsible for the foundation in 1841 of the Colonial

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1 Ibid., p.13.
Bishoprics Fund. From the first Selwyn had an instinctive sympathy with this view, which saw missionary enterprise as an activity of the whole church rather than pious individuals or societies within it. Acrimonious relations with the independent-minded agents of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand confirmed his dislike of the latter method, and he organized his Melanesian Mission accordingly. ¹

The first step was taken in 1850 when, in conference with the bishops of Australia, he was instrumental in founding the Australasian Board of Missions as the official missionary agency of the Church of England in Australia and New Zealand, charged with the 'conversion and civilisation' of the Melanesian islanders and the Aboriginals of Australia. ² The Melanesian Mission would thus be an integral part of the Australasian church, firmly under episcopal control, rather than the fief of a semi-independent society based on London. However, the Australian church, preoccupied with its own problems, displayed little interest in external missionary work, the Board soon lapsed and the conduct of the Melanesian Mission reverted to Selwyn alone. ³

³ Bishop Tyrrell of Newcastle, who had been designated as one of the Board's two Missionary Bishops, sailed with Selwyn on only one occasion, to the New Hebrides in 1851.
Undeterred by this failure, Selwyn proceeded with the second stage of his design - the constitution of a missionary bishopric for the islands of the western Pacific. Because of the indissoluble link supposed to exist between the Church of England and British territory the scheme was hedged with legal difficulties. To circumvent these he proposed initially to base the Melanesian see on the colony of Norfolk Island, which would enable the bishop to exercise jurisdiction over the surrounding area as did the Bishops of Labuan and Hong Kong supervise missionary work in North Borneo and China respectively. This ingenious solution was abandoned when the Colonial Office, jealous of the rights of the Pitcairn settlers to preserve their island home free of disturbing outside influences, declined to permit the mission to purchase land there.¹

The current legal orthodoxy was first challenged by Bishop Gray of Capetown who was determined to despatch a bishop at the head of a mission to the tribes of the Zambezi. Pressed by Selwyn, the Colonial Office again gave way and reluctantly conceded the right of the bishops of New Zealand to exercise their 'inherent power' of consecrating a missionary bishop for the Melanesian islands.² Patteson, who was now virtually

¹ Patteson to his father, 2 July 1856, letter-journal, 10 August 1857 (entry, 18 November), Patteson Papers.
² 'Correspondence relating to the consecration of bishops by colonial bishops', G.A. Selwyn, Miscellaneous Papers; Records and Documents relating to the Consecration of a Missionary Bishop for the Western Islands of the South Pacific Ocean (Auckland, 1861), pp.3-4.
in sole charge of the mission, was clearly marked out for the position. Despite sincere if overscrupulous protestations of unworthiness he bowed to the inevitable and was consecrated in Auckland on 24 February 1861 by Selwyn and the Bishops of Wellington and Nelson. To those who viewed the episcopal office in terms of its temporalities Patteson's new status was an empty honour. He possessed neither official residence nor cathedral; nor for several months was there even one clergyman on his staff - 'Ergo', he observed, 'no Chaplain'. The boundaries of his see were undefined: strictly speaking, therefore, his field of work comprised not only Melanesia but 'every where not included in the Jurisdiction of another Bp. [Bishop] of the Church.' Like Selwyn, the new bishop was a High Churchman in the tradition of the seventeenth century divines, with its emphasis on the sacraments, loyalty to the Book

1 For several years Patteson entertained a vague hope that Selwyn would eventually relinquish New Zealand for Melanesia. Even in 1859 when Selwyn plainly stated his plans for the Melanesian see he was reluctant to accept them as final: Patteson to his sister, 9 July 1857, and to his father, 23 February 1859, 28 April 1859, 18 January 1860, 11 February 1860, Patteson Papers; Yonge, op. cit., vol.I, pp.395-6.


3 Patteson to his father, 4 April 1861, Patteson Papers. At this stage the staff of the mission comprised two laymen, B.T. Dudley and T. Kerr. The Rev. Lonsdale Pritt joined the mission later in 1861.

4 Ibid.
of Common Prayer and humble submission to the dogmatic teaching of the primitive church. Until his death he remained conservative and somewhat insular in his religious outlook. 'He had no sympathy with Romanism, Ritualism, or Dissent', recalled one Auckland acquaintance. 'He looked upon the Church of England as the best of all possible Churches in constitution and doctrine, and seemed surprised that there could be any difference of opinion on this point.'¹ In common with others of his school of thought he was reluctant to acknowledge the church status of non-episcopal bodies, though within the mission field he gracefully accepted the fact of their existence, maintained courteous relations with their missionaries and, when Selwyn's dispute with the London Missionary Society over the Loyalty Islands fell to him to resolve, recognized the moral force of 'priority of occupation'.²

¹ Yonge, op. cit., vol.I, p.559. On numerous occasions Patteson privately expressed serious misgivings about many features of the contemporary religious ferment, the eucharistic theology of the Oxford Movement in particular. '...I confess that not a little of the language of this new school - including some of Dr Pusey's and Mr Keble's - seems to me to have the sickly fragrance of an exotic rather than the fresh sweetness of an English native flower': Patteson to his sister, 10 December 1869, Patteson Papers. The letter, with this sentence omitted, is in Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, pp.406-11.

² Selwyn's correspondence with the London Missionary Society concerning the occupation of the Loyalty Islands is in G.A. Selwyn, Miscellaneous Papers. For Patteson's side of the affair see his letter-journal, 10 August 1857, and letters to his father, 8 August 1857, 14 March 1858, 12 May 1858, 26 March 1859, 28 April 1859, Patteson Papers.
BECAUSE Patteson shared Selwyn's basic assumptions - that the whole of northern Melanesia was the rightful sphere for a mission of the Church of England, and that this demanded an inclusive plan of evangelization - he accepted without question, indeed with genuine admiration, the method of work which Selwyn had originated. Nevertheless, it fell to him to implement the plan in its details, and in meeting new conditions and unforeseen problems he did not hesitate to make considerable modifications to the framework he had inherited.

It was soon evident that the first scholars from a new island could not be expected to evangelize their own people, and that the practice hitherto followed of taking large parties of youths from each place was unnecessary as well as wasteful and expensive. In these early years of contact only one or two boys were needed, primarily in order to give an introduction to the local language and to ensure the safety of the missionaries on subsequent visits. It was only after the residence in the district of either a European missionary or a native teacher from a more advanced island, who could operate a school and observe the behaviour of its pupils in their own homes, that the best boys could be selected for more advanced training in New Zealand.

1 E.g., Patteson, Address on the Melanesian Mission, p. 24.
2 Patteson, letter fragment, 25 August [1860], Patteson Papers.
The field of the Melanesian Mission divided itself geographically into four distinct groups - the northern New Hebrides, the Banks Islands, the Santa Cruz group and the Solomons. To each archipelago Patteson proposed to allot at least one or two missionaries who would have responsibility for its scholars at the central school (thereby gaining a knowledge of the principal languages) and would live there for several months each year, 'visiting in their boat the adjacent islands, training up teachers, and keeping school in the different villages, winning the confidence of the people, and by their example recommending the Gospel of Peace to the heathen'.

Mota in the Banks group was the first island chosen for this experiment, and each year from 1860 onwards Patteson or some other missionary lived there during the cooler months. Although a great deal was accomplished on these lengthy visits, it was soon apparent that effective supervision of the work in the islands demanded the continuous residence of a missionary for 'periods of 1, 2 & 3 years...in some few well chosen central places'. That this plan was never carried out was due solely to the lack of European missionaries to staff regional schools in the islands as well as the central school; indeed it was only the

1 *Isles of the Pacific; Account of the Melanesian Mission...With a letter from the Missionary Bishop* (Melbourne, 1861), p.23.

2 Patteson to his family, 2 July 1865, *Patteson Papers*. 
necessity of supervising the latter institution that prevented Patteson himself from taking to the islands, as he said, 'for a good spell'.

As early as 1857 Patteson had looked forward to prolonged, even permanent residence in the Solomons, but it was not until 1866 when he lived for ten days at Wango on San Cristobal that this second stage in the mission's plan was implemented. In the following year Charles Brooke, an exuberant young Irishman who had recently joined the mission staff, spent three days ashore at Mboli in the Nggela group - the first European to do so. Everywhere in the Solomons the residence of a European, even for only a few days, was a novelty which was exploited to the full by his local protector. Many years later Brooke remembered how one of the Mboli chiefs had marched him from village to village laying a heavy entertainment tax of dogs' teeth upon their inhabitants for the privilege of beholding a white man:

I was the Island's New Toy, and It could think of nothing else. If I went to bathe, then It went to bathe. If I went inshore, then It went inshore. If I sat down, It sat down.

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1 Patteson to his sister, 10 August 1868, Patteson Papers.
2 Patteson, letter-journal, 10 August 1857 (entry, 18 November), Patteson Papers. The wish was expressed again in his letter-journal, 4 June 1860 (entry, 5 June), and to his sister, 1 May 1861, Patteson Papers.
3 M.M. Report, 1867, p.4. Brooke was ordained deacon later in 1867 and priest in 1869.
4 S.C.L.(E), May 1924, p.73.
Not only did the presence of a missionary give his hosts considerable prestige in the eyes of their neighbours; the resulting visits of the Southern Cross two or three times a year also afforded a welcome opportunity to trade. ¹

By 1871 there were, apart from Patteson, three itinerant missionaries who lived in the islands for several months each year. Of these, two were stationed in the Solomons - Brooke, who had special responsibility for scholars from the central district, at Mboli and the Rev. Joseph Atkin, the son of an Auckland settler, at Wango with oversight of the south-eastern islands. ² Both men lived in extreme simplicity among the islanders and in native-style dwellings.

A missionary bishop having been consecrated for Melanesia without reference to British territory, it seemed that the need of a site for the mission on Norfolk Island had lapsed and that its base would remain permanently in New Zealand. However, as a headquarters Auckland presented several serious disadvantages. Even with the removal of the mission school from St John's College on its windswept hilltop to Kohimarama, a sheltered bay on the shores of Auckland harbour, the climate, even in summer, was uncomfortably cold for the

² Atkin lived at Wango for the first time in 1869 - a stay of 19 days. He was ordained deacon with Brooke in 1867 and was raised to the priesthood in 1869.
young Melanesians. Moreover, the distance from the islands made frequent trips impossible - thus limiting the size of the school - while for the Solomon Islanders in particular the annual six weeks voyage, the latter part through cold and stormy seas, was an unrelieved misery. On the other hand, Patteson observed, Auckland offered 'a tolerably settled state of society' and the 'opportunities of showing the Melanesians the working of an English system'. In 1865 he was seriously considering opening a branch school on Curtis Island off the coast of Queensland, which possessed both a tropical climate and proximity to the islands, when Sir John Young, the Governor of New South Wales, reopened the Norfolk Island question and offered a grant of land to the mission. Largely because of the opportunity afforded to assist and 'improve' the Pitcairners Norfolk Island was chosen in preference to Queensland, and in 1867 the entire mission establishment was transferred to its new location. Patteson welcomed the departure from Auckland with its distractions and

1 Yonge, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 290-1; Patteson, letter fragment [August 1864?], Patteson Papers.
3 Ibid., vol. II, pp. 90-1, 132-3; Patteson to his sister, 27 August 1865, Patteson Papers. It took 10 days for the Southern Cross to sail from Ysabel, the northernmost island in the mission's field, to Curtis Island, compared with a voyage of 30 days to New Zealand.
constant outside demands on his time. Selwyn, however, who had come to cherish the physical link between the Melanesian Mission and New Zealand, disliked the move, while for the younger members of the mission staff the isolation of their new headquarters was a severe hardship.

The internal organization of the central school underwent several major developments in this decade. In 1861 the Rev. Lonsdale Pritt was appointed headmaster of St Andrew's College, as the Kohimarama school was called, and proceeded to order the infant institution on lines which influenced to some degree all later schools in the mission. Schooling was aimed chiefly at inculcating the habits of industry, discipline and responsibility. Accordingly, special emphasis was laid on manual work, scholars devoting three hours daily to gardening, household chores and the operation of a flourishing 30 acre farm which supplied dairy produce to the Auckland market. Pritt, though an efficient organizer and a competent teacher, was querulous and

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1 Patteson to his sisters, 15 July 1863 (continuation, 20 July), Patteson Papers; Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, p.139.
2 Patteson to his sisters, 27 March 1867, 21 October 1867, Patteson Papers. In 1868 Selwyn returned to England to become Bishop of Lichfield. He died in 1878.
3 Codrington to his aunt, 18 April 1867, Codrington Papers.
4 M.M. Report, 1864, pp.2-3, 1867, pp.4-5; Patteson to his sisters, 6 June 1866, Patteson Papers; Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, pp.182-3.
harsh, disliked by his European colleagues and feared by the Melanesians.\(^1\) He resigned from the mission in 1867 and was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Henry Codrington, a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, who had come to New Zealand six years previously as chaplain to the Bishop of Nelson.\(^2\)

During his 20 years in the mission Codrington became something of a legend. A caustic observer of the foibles of his fellows, an understanding and gifted teacher, and a careful scholar,\(^3\) he used his unique position as head of the polyglot Norfolk Island school to collect a vast quantity of information on Melanesian languages and customs. His book *The Melanesians*, the culmination of his investigations, ranks as a classic of anthropology.\(^4\)

Although Selwyn's plan had centred upon the 'constant interchange of scholars between the college and their own homes',\(^5\) the excessive losses when immature youths were

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1. On Pritt's personality and achievements see Patteson to his father, 29 April 1861, 24 July 1861, and to his sister, 21 July 1865, 27 August 1866 (continuation, 11 October), *Patteson Papers*.
2. Codrington made a voyage with Patteson on the *Southern Cross* in 1863. At that time he was believed to be a likely candidate for the proposed see of Dunedin: Patteson to his sister, 8 May 1863, *Patteson Papers*.
returned to their villages after only a few months of instruction necessitated some modification of the original scheme, and from 1864 the school was developed into a permanent institution.\(^1\) From this time on only the first scholars from a new island or those who displayed little ability were kept for one season as formerly; the others remained initially for 18 months and later for much longer periods - up to six or eight years - before finally being sent out as mission teachers. Whereas previously the number of scholars had been limited by the capacity of the Southern Cross, the size of the school was now regulated solely by the mission's income.\(^2\) From an average of 35 at Kohimarama the roll rose to 70 in 1867 and to 134 in 1869. Included in the total were a small number of girls, seldom more than ten, who were brought to the school to be trained as 'Christian wives' for the young teachers.\(^3\)

A further development was the abandonment of English as the mission's teaching language. Selwyn had insisted

\(^1\) Patteson to his sister(s), 25 December 1863, (continuation, 1 January 1864), 6 February 1864, Patteson Papers.

\(^2\) M.M. Report, 1868, p.5.

\(^3\) The training of selected girls at the central school was begun by Mrs Pritt in 1861. The girls were initially 'bought' by Patteson on behalf of his scholars, and were taught 'washing, making clothes, baking etc!'. When the Pritts left the mission Mrs J. Palmer took charge of the work: Patteson to his sister(s), 27 August 1859 (continuation, 6 November), 22 September 1861 (continuation, 28 September), 6 February 1864, Patteson Papers; E.S. Armstrong, The History of the Melanesian Mission (London, 1900), pp.107-8.
that his New Zealand clergy learn Maori. In Melanesia, on the other hand, where there was no single vernacular, he chose English as a lingua franca in the hope that it would some day occupy in the islands a position analogous to that of Latin in medieval Europe.¹ Patteson soon saw that this attempt to use English as the medium of instruction at the central school was mistaken. For not only was it unlike any Melanesian language in construction; it also presented unusual difficulties in spelling and pronunciation and, in fact, none of the island scholars learned to speak it with ease.² His own ability to acquire new languages, catching precise sounds and memorising words, was, Codrington recalled, 'altogether wonderful and very rarely equalled.'³ Accordingly, he set to learn the six or seven principal languages represented in the school, reduced them to writing, translated the Creed, short catechisms and selected prayers, and gave his scholars religious instruction in their own tongue.⁴

² Patteson to his father, 14 March 1858, Patteson Papers; Yonge, op. cit., vol.I, pp.351, 439.
³ Ibid., vol.II, p.415. According to Codrington, Patteson was fluent in at least four Melanesian languages - Mota, Bauro (Arosi), Mahaga (Ysabel) and Nengone; 'some others no doubt quite readily when among the people who spoke them; and very many only with a small vocabulary which was every instant being enlarged'.
⁴ Patteson to his sister, 20 January 1860, Patteson Papers; Yonge, op. cit., vol.I, pp.323. For a list of grammars etc. printed at the mission press in these years see Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, pp.589-90.
In obedience to Selwyn's wishes English continued to be taught until the early sixties when a combination of circumstances - the numerical predominance and position of leadership in the school of older youths from the Banks Islands, and Pritt's inability to master more than one Melanesian language - led to the spread of the language of Mota throughout the school. By the time the institution moved to Norfolk Island English had fallen into disuse and Mota substituted as the official mission language - 'not that we made it so', wrote Patteson, 'or wished it rather than any other to be so...but so it is.' The advantages of Mota were considerable:

...any Melanesian soon acquires another Melanesian language, however different the vocabulary may be. Their ideas and thoughts and many of their customs are similar, the mode of life is similar, and their mode of expressing themselves similar. They think in the same way, and therefore speak in the same way.

The principal drawback of a Melanesian language as a medium of instruction was that it limited the islanders' education to the study of religious texts - translations of Scripture and the Prayer Book. 1

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2 Ibid.
3 By 1868 there were printed Mota translations of St Luke and Acts, with St John and the greater part of the Prayer Book in preparation. A catechism, an Old Testament abstract and other miscellaneous works existed in manuscript form: Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, p.335. For Patteson's policy on translations see Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, p.593.
often wish for plenty of good useful little books on other subjects', lamented Patteson after six years of Mota, 'and I don't see my way to this. Our own press is always at work printing translations, &c. It is not easy to write the proper kind of book in these languages, and how are they to be printed? We haven't time to print them here, and who is to correct the press elsewhere?'¹ Nevertheless, he did make one attempt to provide the nucleus of a Mota literature by translating a section of one of his favourite theological works, Richard Hooker's Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, which, he recorded with pleasure, was 'readily taken in' by several of his pupils.²

Associated with the question of a teaching language was the problem of the training of Melanesian clergy. Throughout the nineteenth century missionaries responded in varying ways to the perennial problem of self-government in the young churches they brought into existence and the standards to be demanded of an indigenous ministry. Some related effective leadership within the native church to the local context, stressing the importance of Christian character rather than a high level of learning. Others, more cautious, were reluctant to ordain converts until they were several generations removed from paganism and, to avoid instituting a special 'native ministry' of inferior status, insisted on a theological education comparable

¹ Ibid., vol.II, p.491.
² Ibid., vol.II, p.531.
Selwyn, at least in New Zealand, inclined towards the second view. Patteson upheld the first and aimed at providing the Melanesian Christians with their own deacons and priests as early as possible:

...we must consider the qualifications of one's native clergy in relation to the work that they have to do. They have not to teach theology to educated Christians, but to make known the elements of Gospel truth to ignorant heathen people. If they can state clearly and forcibly the very primary leading fundamental truths of the Gospel, and live as simple-minded humble Christians, that is enough indeed.

The first Melanesian deacon, George Sarawia of Mota, was ordained in 1869, a mere ten years after Patteson had first visited his island. In the Solomons, however, scholars with the requisite faith and stability of character were singularly lacking, the only potential candidate being Stephen Taroaniara, an amiable but weak natured youth of high rank from Tawatana on San Cristobal. He was first taken away to Auckland in 1856, lapsed and took a wife (who later deserted him), but was persuaded to return to school in 1865 and again in

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2 Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, p.494. That Patteson's views on this subject were well known in English church circles is indicated by the references in Mission Life, March 1868, pp.253-4, April 1868, p.317.
1867. On the latter occasion he underwent a religious crisis and was baptized. In the following year he was confirmed, thus becoming the first Solomon Islander to be admitted to Holy Communion, and returned to San Cristobal to assist Atkin.  

PATTESON imbied from Selwyn not only a method of mission organization but also an approach and attitude towards the Melanesians. Selwyn's robust Christianity had little in common with the attitude of those who spoke in disparaging terms of the 'poor heathen'. Similarly, against those who dwelled upon the inherent inferiority of all dark skinned heathen peoples Patteson asserted passionately their full humanity and capacity for being brought to what he called 'a state of purity, and knowledge, and holiness.' This principle was already implicit in the mission's expressed aim of evangelizing Melanesia by means of an indigenous ministry; it was also demonstrated by the careful avoidance of any distinction between white and black, staff and scholars, at the central school. In Patteson

1 There is an account of his life S.C.L., July 1898, pp.1-5. See also Codrington to his aunt, 16 December 1867, Codrington Papers; Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, pp. 326-7, 330-1, 363.


4 Ibid., pp.24-5, 37-8; Patteson to his sisters, 13 November, 1870, Patteson Papers.
the islanders encountered that unusual being - a European who spoke their language fluently and treated them as equals. Clement Marau, a native of Merelava in the Banks Islands, described the bishop as 'a wonderful character':

Every single boy of us he loved entirely; he took the hand of one and another, and snapped fingers to say good morning, as if he thought himself no greater than the boys, and he was full of kindness.¹

And Edward Wogale, another Banks Islander, recalled:

The Bishop was good indeed; he did not live apart from us, but he was always friends with us, and we lived always in his house with him. And he did not despise at all anyone amongst us, but kept us thoroughly with him.²

Patteson's conviction that the Melanesians could absorb Christianity within their own cultural framework was shown most notably in his method of teaching. He saw it would be a simple matter to teach his scholars to utter vague words and expressions of belief, but these would be meaningless because unanchored to anything within their own experience. His practice was to devote considerable time to his pupils individually, carefully drawing out and enlarging concepts already present in their minds and assigning deeper or technical meanings to the most suitable native words to express Christian doctrines and ideas. Only rarely were English

¹ Marau, op. cit., p.29.
² S.C.L., May 1904, p.12.
words introduced in the absence of adequate Melanesian equivalents.¹

In contrast, his view of Melanesian religion appears naive and unsympathetic. He never doubted the essential idolatry, superstition and even satanic inspiration of the religious rites he witnessed in the islands. On first hearing of the worship of a snake spirit by the people of Marau Sound he wrote:

What a strange awful fact, that the Serpent should be the object of adoration! Does it not explain many mysterious allusions to the power of the Evil One scattered throughout Holy Scripture - As if the heathen world in a special manner were subject to a wild Fearful Power.²

Nevertheless, all was not darkness. There was, he believed, an 'element of faith' present in the pagan religion which should be preserved:

...we must fasten on that, and not rudely destroy the superstition, lest with it we destroy the principle of faith in things and beings unseen.³

¹ Patteson, Address on the Melanesian Mission, pp.32-4; Patteson to his sister, 5 April 1864, Patteson Papers; Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, p.145. One of the mission's introduction was the word 'God': Codrington, The Melanesians, pp.121-2n.
² Patteson to his sister, 8 September 1856 (continuation, 17 October), Patteson Papers. See also letter-journal, 4 June 1860 (entry, 14 June), journal fragment, 8 June [1860], Patteson Papers. Part of the latter is in Yonge, op. cit., vol.I, pp.463-5.
This belief, together with his vision of Christianity as a 'universal religion' which met the deepest needs of all men, capable of assimilating all that was 'capable of regeneration and sanctification anywhere', led him to distinguish between its fundamental and therefore immutable dogmas and its secondary human elements, such as those features which distinguished English Christianity, which should be adapted to each culture and society. To force an 'English type of Christianity' upon a primitive people was, he asserted, 'a great mistake':

We seek to denationalise these races, as far as I can see; whereas we ought surely to change as little as possible - only what is clearly incompatible with the simplest form of Christian teaching and practice. I don't mean that we are to compromise truth, but to study the native character, and not present the truth in an unnecessarily unattractive form.

But like others who have held these and similar views Patteson found it easier to expound the principle than to distinguish the unchangeable essence of Christianity from its human and local accretions. Moreover, he was influenced more than he realized by the common assumption of nineteenth century English-

1 Ibid., vol.II, p.354; Patteson, letter-journal, 19 May 1867 (entry, 30 May), Patteson Papers.
speaking Christians that Christianity and civilization went hand in hand, and also by Selwyn's version of practical Christianity, summed up in the motto he gave to St John's College - 'Religio, Doctrina, Diligentia'.

Indeed, the religious conversion of a people was only the first stage of a missionary's work. The second, more difficult task was the formation of a new community which would display the truths and moral consequences of the Christian religion in its corporate life.

The practical and mechanical arts acquired by the mission's scholars during their sojourn at Norfolk Island also implied the adoption of civilized customs in the islands:

People who can read and write, and cut out and sew clothes, must have light in their houses. This involves a change of the shape and structure of the hut. They can't sit in clean clothes on a dirty floor, and they can't write, or eat out of plates and use cups, &c., without tables or benches, and as they don't want to spend ten hours in sleep or idle talk, they must have lamps for cocoa-nut and almond oil.

Patteson initially proposed to extend the practical application of Christian doctrine to cover all social activities, from 'washing, scrubbing, sweeping' to 'just

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notions of exchange, barter, trade, management of criminals, division of labour. However, experience of life on Mota persuaded him that such changes could come about only very slowly, and that apart from 'decency and propriety' in the arrangement of houses and in dress most things would go on as before. The rules for the new life, including the wearing of European clothes and the reverent observance of Sunday, were not to be enforced by the missionaries; rather, Patteson hoped, they would follow freely from the acceptance and true understanding of Christian doctrine. For not only should European missionaries, and native teachers, properly refrain from arrogating to themselves the functions of government which belonged properly to a chief - a tendency which he detected among the agents of the London Missionary Society in the Loyalty Islands; it was also evident from the example of the Presbyterian mission in the New Hebrides that insistence on external conformity to the Decalogue before its significance and spirit were understood was liable to generate formalism and hypocrisy.

3 M.M. Report, 1857-8, pp.42-5; Patteson to Selwyn [December 1858], 14 January 1859 (Originals in library of St John's College, Auckland).
4 Patteson to his sisters, 23 September 1869 (Patteson Papers), part of which is in Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, pp.370-5. For the policy of the Presbyterian mission on 'Sabbath' observance see John Inglis, In the New Hebrides (London, 1887), pp.63-73.
In all this the character, intelligence and 'religious common sense' of the pioneer missionary was of cardinal importance. 1 Colonial youths Patteson considered 'very backward', 2 while men of humble background and poor education, whom he saw working as missionaries elsewhere in Melanesia and in New Zealand, would never accept the egalitarian spirit of the Melanesian Mission; such men, unaccustomed to a position of authority, would be 'great dons, keeping the natives at a distance, assuming that they could have little in common, &c...'. 3 It was both a longing for kindred spirits, men similar to himself in background and interests, and an unshakeable conviction that 'men of education and gentlemen' made the best missionaries that caused him to look to the scions of the English upper class to assist him in Melanesia. 'Oh! for good Eton fellows to pull together with me on the Pacific, as on the Thames', 4 he exclaimed wistfully soon after his elevation to the leadership of the mission. But in the absence of official representatives and influential committees in England to place the needs

2 Patteson to his sisters, 26 April 1871, Patteson Papers.
3 Yonge, op. cit., vol.I, p.405. Similar views are expressed in Patteson to Selwyn, 10 February 1859 (Original in library of St John's College, Auckland); Letter-journal, 22 July 1866, Patteson Papers; Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, pp.66-7.
4 Patteson to his father, 4 June 1861, Patteson Papers.
of the mission before prospective volunteers at Oxford and Cambridge this hope remained unfulfilled. 1

Paradoxically, one of the consequences of Selwyn's attempt to constitute the Melanesian Mission as an agency of the Australasian church was to force it into the position of a semi-independent organization on the lines of a conventional missionary society. Throughout the sixties only a portion of the mission's income derived from individuals and parishes in Australia and New Zealand. 2 The greater part comprised revenue from the see's endowment fund (invested in English securities and in land near Auckland), an annual grant of £300 from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, moneys paid on Patteson's private account and the generous subscriptions of a small band of wealthy English supporters, personal friends of Selwyn and Patteson, who met at Eton each year on St Barnabas Day. 3 The quasi-proprietary character thus assumed by the mission was reinforced by Patteson's extreme


2 In the 18 months July 1862 - December 1863 the income of the mission amounted to £3245, of which £1055 was derived from New Zealand and £206 from Australia. Following a tour of the principal Australian colonies by Patteson in 1864 interest revived, subscriptions rose and a number of city parishes undertook the support of individual Melanesian scholars: M.M. Report, 1864, p. 1; 1872, p. 16. For New Zealand connexions with the Melanesian Mission during these years see Ross, op. cit., pp. 60-3.

3 M.M. Report, 1861, p. 7, 1861-2, pp. 5-6.
reluctance to publicize his work - partly out of dislike of dramatizing the private lives and personalities of his converts, partly for fear of pressure from enthusiastic supporters anxious to see rapid results. It was, he maintained, better for the incipient mission to 'be able to go on quietly and without exciting any attention, and so be freed from the temptation to act impatiently and prematurely.'

Likewise, staff for the Melanesian Mission was obtained neither by campaigns of recruitment nor through the bishops of supporting dioceses, as Selwyn had hoped, but by personal and family contact. With the sole exception of Codrington, Patteson had to be content with the assistance of middle-class Englishmen of varied backgrounds and only average education, together with a handful of recruits from New Zealand and Norfolk Island. Despite his forbodings some of these, Atkin and Brooke among them, readily adapted themselves to life in the islands and proved to be fluent linguists and able teachers.

FROM the time he left England Patteson had thrown himself without reserve into the task assigned to him in Melanesia. Eventually his stubborn refusal to take leave from the mission, and the physical strain of living in the islands for months on end almost entirely

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2 Patteson to his sister, 11 May 1864, Patteson Papers.
on a native diet undermined his health. The tragedy of 1864, when two favourite Norfolk Island assistants, Fisher Young and Edwin Nobbs, died of tetanus after receiving arrow wounds in an attack on the mission boat at Santa Cruz, removed the last traces of his youth and buoyancy.

Totally absorbed in his work, he consistently rejected his sisters' pleas that he return to England to rest and regain his strength. For the same reason he refused to consider marriage: 'the great majority of women that are supposed to be invaluable matrons etc. are not of a kind to be of any use to us here', he claimed when tackled on this point. 'And it is true that most of the work here can be much better done by men than by women.' Increasingly conscious of the disparity in age and interests which cut him off from the company of the younger missionaries, he withdrew into a world of his own, devoting himself while at Norfolk Island to theological study, translations and teaching. A severe illness at the

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1 Yonge, op. cit., vol.I, pp.412, 483. See also Patteson to his sister, 9 July 1857, Patteson Papers.
2 Yonge, op. cit., vol.II, pp.99-109. From this time on there are occasional references in his family letters to new physical weaknesses: e.g., Patteson to his sister(s), 8 July 1867, 23 November 1867, 9 December 1869, Patteson Papers.
3 Patteson to his sisters, 13 November 1870 (continuation, 28 November), Patteson Papers.
4 Patteson to his sister, 16 November 1867, letter fragment, 8 March [1868?], Patteson Papers.
beginning of 1870 necessitated medical treatment and convalescence in Auckland, and the sight of the invalid bishop, beard and hair streaked with grey and his frame 'bowed like an old man's', shocked those who had last seen him three years previously. 1

Despite the slackening pace of the mission, an inevitable consequence of its leader's failing energies, prospects for the expansion of Christianity in the Solomon Islands steadily improved. In 1866 the Southern Cross made a major exploratory voyage through the group contacting for the first time the important district of Sa'a near the southernmost point of Small Malaita, the island of Savo in the central Solomons and the Marovo Lagoon in New Georgia to the west of Ysabel. Visits to Marau Sound were discontinued about this time, owing to the distractions of inter-village fighting and continued lack of success in persuading scholars to return for a longer period of instruction. 2

Yet this loss was more than compensated by the new openings at Sa'a and Savo, and the growing friendliness of the chiefs and people of Nggela where Brooke spent three months in 1870 and again in 1871. Defying the attempts of Takua, the chief of Mboli, to monopolize him and his trade, he travelled extensively about the group and collected scholars from several new districts. 3

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2 Mission Voyage, 1866, pp.12 ff.
Savo, where there was a large colony of Ysabel people

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driven from their home by continued attacks of enemies,
appeared to open the door to the evangelization of a

wide area. Accordingly, in 1871 Patteson founded a
school there under Mano Wadroka, an early mission
convert from the Loyalty Islands, with a party of
baptized Ysabel scholars.1

On San Cristobal, where mission contacts were
still restricted to a handful of villages in Arosi, the
islanders remained indifferent to Christian teaching.
Nevertheless, Atkin, a 'very sterling character', 2
was rapidly gaining their confidence and goodwill, and with
the aid of Taroaniara had already acquired a
considerable following among the young men. 3

This 'hopeful position' did not last long. With
the advent of the labour traffic, which by 1870 was
extending northwards from the New Hebrides and Banks
Islands, the mission encountered a new and serious
obstacle to its progress. 4 In view of the mission's

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1 M.M. Report, 1871, p.7, 1872, p.22; Yonge, op. cit.;
2 Codrington to his aunt, 16 December 1867, Codrington
Papers.
3 M.M. Report, 1870, pp.9-12, 1871, pp.7-8. See also
Patteson to his sisters, 17 September 1870, Patteson
Papers.
4 Patteson made his first reference to the labour trade
recorded case of 'kidnapping' in the Solomons occurred
at Ulawa in 1870: M.M. Report, 1870, p.12; Ivens,
op. cit., p.50.
established method of work, and his own experience of
the fact that curiosity and the spirit of adventure
would always induce some islanders to leave their
homes when occasion offered, Patteson advocated not
the total suppression of the trade but its stringent
regulation by Imperial legislation, the licensing of
recruiting vessels and constant patrolling of the
islands by men-of-war. Of the flagrant abuses to which
the unregulated trade gave rise he was an unsparing
though sober critic, effectively countering the
extravagant claims of its apologists that fair contracts
could be made by Europeans who were unable to speak
half a dozen words in any one dialect or that the
labourers benefited from their experience of
plantation civilization. Furthermore, the violence
and total lack of scruples displayed by many recruiters
in their efforts to obtain labour had destroyed the
confidence of the islanders in visiting vessels and were
giving rise to retaliatory attacks:

In many islands where we were already on most
intimate terms with the people, we are now
obliged to be very cautious. Unless we are
so well known as to be thoroughly trusted,
we have to begin again to some extent
the task of disabusing their minds.

1 The fullest expression of Patteson's views on the
labour traffic is his 'Memorandum to the General
Synod of New Zealand', in M.M. Report, 1871, pp.16-9,
text is given in Appendix I. See also Yonge, op. cit.,
vol.II, pp.438-44.
of the natural suspicion and distrust which these 'nefarious practices' excite.¹

Adding to the gloom of the scene was the personal sorrow of knowing that some recruiters were using his good name as an easy method of enticing islanders on board their vessels.

During 1871 the exploits of labour recruiters in the Solomons reached a peak of brutality. Both Atkin and Brooke collected evidence of acts of kidnapping and murder, some of which was later laid before the British parliament.² In the same year, on 20 September, Patteson was clubbed to death soon after landing at Nukapu in the Reef Islands - a Polynesian atoll which he had visited on three previous occasions. A few moments later some of the islanders launched an arrow attack on the waiting ship's boat, and Atkin and Taroaniara received wounds from which they later died.³ Contemporaries did not doubt that the labour trade was

¹ Patteson, 'Memorandum to the General Synod of New Zealand'. loc. cit.; cf. the position nine years previously: Mrs Smythe, Ten Months in the Fiji Islands (Oxford, 1864), p.265.


in some way responsible for Patteson's murder.\textsuperscript{1} Investigations in 1876, renewed on numerous occasions during the next 30 years, confirmed that it was, in fact, an act of retaliation for the abduction of five Nukapu men by a recruiter a short time before, and that the assassin was a relative of one of those taken.\textsuperscript{2}

ALTHOUGH Patteson had spent much of his active life in relative obscurity his death was widely reported and had far-reaching consequences. More than any other single event it aroused public opinion in Australia and New Zealand against the labour trade as then carried on,\textsuperscript{3} and it shocked the British government into passing an Act to regulate the recruiting and employment of Pacific island labour—legislation which

\textsuperscript{1} E.g., The Times, 30 November 1871, 1 December 1871; Letter of Lorimer Fison, 10 November 1871, P.P., 1872, vol.LXIII [C.496], pp.28-31.


\textsuperscript{3} Ross, op. cit., pp.80-4. Reports of public meetings, resolutions etc. are in P.P., 1872, vol.LXIII [C.496], pp.40-9.
had been under intermittent consideration for nearly a decade.¹

Within the Church of England Patteson's 'martydom', as his death was inaccurately called, gave enormous impetus to the cause of foreign missions. In spite of a notable increase in Anglican missionary activity in the years after 1830 missions were still regarded in many quarters with suspicion, as an enterprise for fanatics or hypocrites. That a man of Patteson's background and talents should renounce the promise of a comfortable career in England, labour ceaselessly for 16 years among savage islanders and then die a lonely and violent death as a result of the misdeeds of unscrupulous fellow-countrymen, stirred the imaginations of Victorian churchmen and encouraged many to look more favourably upon the work to which he had devoted his life. The new mood was fostered by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which, with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, immediately designated the Eve of St Andrew's Day each year as a special day of intercession for missions.²

The Melanesian Mission had lost a tired and worn leader; it gained a martyr-hero, a symbol of sacrifice

to inspire future bishops, missionaries and their converts. The dead bishop's memory was perpetuated formally by the memorial chapel of St Barnabas, erected at Norfolk Island with funds subscribed for the purpose in England, and by an annual festival commemoration of his life and death on 20 September, observed first at the central school and later throughout the diocese.¹

Patteson's direct and personal contribution to the mission was twofold. In the first place, he adapted Selwyn's plan to meet new conditions: indeed Codrington gave him the credit for making it work at all.² Two of his modifications, the introduction of Mota as the mission's teaching language and the removal of its headquarters to Norfolk Island, remained in force for half a century. Secondly, there was his pioneer work in laying foundations - the opening of friendly relations with villages and entire islands from the New Hebrides northwards to Ysabel, the obtaining of a succession of scholars from many places (eight in the Solomons); and the careful training of those who appeared fitted to evangelize their own people. That after 16 years of regular mission voyaging so little outwardly had been accomplished was due more to

¹ There are references to the observance in S.C.L., November 1906, p.62, S.C.L. (E) June 1927, p.92. For the significance of the Norfolk Island chapel, consecrated in 1880, see below, p.80.
² Codrington to his aunt, 1 October 1872, Codrington Papers.
conditions within the islands and weaknesses inherent in the mission's methods of work than to the manner in which these were implemented.

Patteson's indirect influence on the mission was even more striking. From him the later Melanesian Mission inherited its self-conscious 'Church' or 'Establishment' aura in relation to other Protestant bodies, its link, more sentimental than real, with Eton and the ancient universities, and its reputation as an aristocratic mission. With the passing of years the policies of the 'martyr bishop' assumed an almost sacred quality, defence of which against the advocates of change became a hallmark of loyalty to the mission.

Then there was the effect of his writings and ideals upon successive European missionaries and the island church they brought into existence - a spirit of equality and friendly inclusiveness between the races, a high regard for the capacity of the Melanesians and a respect for their customs and languages. It was these characteristics which gave the Melanesian Mission the unique position it for long occupied among Christian missions in the Pacific.
III

THE MELANESIAN MISSION 1871–94

SINCE its inception the Melanesian Mission had been operating under severe difficulties, and the death of its leader at this early stage came as a crushing blow. For not only had Patteson been responsible for the overall administration of the mission; he had also been the 'general interpreter' and was known by the islanders at each place visited by the Southern Cross. Indeed, so completely was the mission identified with him that many of the scholars on board the ship at the time of his death took for granted that its work was at an end, and that they could only return to their villages and revert to their former way of life.

The immediate problems were soon overcome. Captain Tilly, a former master of the Southern Cross, returned to assist in navigation through the islands, and two young clergymen from the Lichfield diocese, John Selwyn the New Zealand-born son of the mission's founder, and John Still, his curate, were moved by the news of Patteson's death to volunteer as missionaries. Codrington the senior priest, became acting-head of the mission, but

1 M.M. Report, 1872, p. 4. Patteson and Atkin alone had 'a complete and general knowledge' of the people and places visited.
2 S.C.L. (E), September 1921, p. 114.
3 Codrington to his aunt, 12 April 1872, Codrington Papers.
because of his poor seamanship and aversion to long voyages he declined nomination to the vacant bishopric. The absence of alternative candidates among the mission clergy, and the powerful attraction of continuity and 'ties of association', led in 1874 to their recommending Selwyn as Patteson's successor. However, in view of his youth and inexperience the New Zealand General Synod refused to ratify the decision immediately, and the consecration was delayed until February 1877.

Selwyn was aged 32 when he acceded to the headship of the mission. Although he lacked his father's intellectual ability and powers of organization, he inherited his courage, physical strength and despotic tendencies. He was also impulsive and quick tempered, and at times, to the despair of his colleagues, downright cantankerous. The real affection in which he came to be held by the Melanesians rested more on his somewhat boisterous heartiness and his evident fortitude and strong sense of duty than upon the warmer personal qualities and linguistic gifts which made Patteson a legend. Throughout his episcopate he was conscious

2 Ibid., p.151.
3 Frances Awdry, In the Isles of the Sea (London, 1911), pp.32-4; F.D. How, Bishop John Selwyn: a Memoir (London 1899), pp.49, 174-5, 249-51. See also Codrington to his aunt, 10 November 1876, Codrington Papers; C. Bice to R.S. Jackson, 16 March, 1874, 14 December 1875, Jackson Papers; Diary of A. Penny, 12 August 1884, 20 September 1884, 24 January 1885.
of being overshadowed by his predecessor - 'I confess', he lamented on one occasion, 'I do not care for these people as Bishop Patteson used to care for them. They often irk me, and I get tired and weary' - and he showed his own reverence for his fellow-Etonian by altering as little as possible the methods of work he had laid down.\footnote{1}

Of all the districts in the mission's field the south-eastern Solomons, San Cristobal in particular, suffered most by the tragedy of 1871 with the loss of the three men who alone were familiar with the area.\footnote{2} In spite of the vigorous efforts of John Still, who had charge of the district for four years until 1878,\footnote{3} and of his successor, the Rev. Richard Comins, Christian influence on San Cristobal remained confined to Wango and two neighbouring villages.

Taki, the chief of Wango, a head-hunter and warrior whose reputation extended over a wide area, was friendly to the missionaries, as to all Europeans,\footnote{4} but neither

\footnote{1} How, op. cit., pp.84-5; J.R. Selwyn, \textit{Bishop Patteson} (Cambridge, 1895), pp.3-4.
\footnote{2} \textit{M.M. Report}, 1872, pp.10-1.
\footnote{3} There is a full account of Still's work and influence in his obituary: \textit{S.C.L., November 1914}, pp.421-3.
\footnote{4} Guppy, \textit{The Solomon Islands and their Natives}, p.15. Taki's son was taken to Norfolk Island and there baptized. However, on returning to his home he lapsed from Christianity and sailed on at least one marauding expedition before being killed by a shark: \textit{Moore to Erskine, 7 November 1883}, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 28 January 1884 - C.O., 225/16.
he nor his people displayed more than token interest in the teaching they brought. Local warfare absorbed much time and energy, while with traders, whalers and labour vessels calling regularly the Southern Cross represented only one, and the least lucrative, of the available avenues of European contact. Comins, a robust, irascible little man, never achieved a mastery of the two local languages and was held in respect rather than affection. Moreover, the teachers at Wango were slack and inefficient, and the few Christian converts adhered loosely to their new faith. In 1885 Comins reported that during his absence at Norfolk Island candidates for baptism had been making sacrifices to the spirits in order to ensure a good yam crop. Accordingly, in the following year he and his teachers destroyed the village 'ghost-house' where the ancestral skulls were preserved. Although the faith of the Wango people in the power of their spirits was said to be 'somewhat shaken', the Christian school continued to languish.

At Saia on Small Malaita the mission's hopes rested on Joseph Wate, a youth of considerable intelligence and

2 Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.157-8. Comin's character is also revealed in his copious annual reports.
3 M.M. Report, 1885, p.13.
4 I.V., 1886, pp.30-1. The first baptisms at Wango were held in 1886.
one of Atkin's former scholars. The school he commenced there in 1877 underwent a series of vicissitudes in the next decade and a half, notably his own bigamous marriage and temporary suspension from office in 1880 and its closure in 1886 following a ban pronounced by the powerful chief, Dorawewe, supported by a curse by the leading priest. The school was then moved to Aulu, a few miles distant, and in 1889 another was opened at Port Adam, further north, but the mission was not permitted to return to Sa'a until after Dorawewe's death in 1890.

The small, relatively populous island of Ulawa, south of Malaita, was first visited by Patteson in 1857 and again on several occasions during the next 14 years. A succession of youths was taken away, but none proved suitable for the mission's purposes and it was not until 1880 that a school was begun at Madoa by Walter Waaro. In the following year he was joined by Clement Marau, a Norfolk Island schoolfriend from Merelava.

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1 M.M. English Committee Report, 1872, p.19; Watë's life story is recounted in S.C.L., November 1903, pp.8-10.
3 M.M. Report, 1889, pp.11-2. Scholars were first taken from Port Adam in 1885.
4 M.M. Report, 1890, p.1. It was reported that Dorawewe declared with his dying breath that he wanted the school to be reopened.
5 For an account of his life see S.C.L., November 1898, pp.6-9; December 1898, pp.3-5.
in the Banks group. Under Marau's leadership the school grew, and in 1885 the first nine converts were baptized.  
For several years there was considerable ill-feeling between the Christian and pagan islanders. The former, a tiny minority, demonstrated the superior 'power' of the new religion by destroying, without harm to themselves, various sacred emblems and shrines. The latter insulted their rivals, killed their pigs and, on one occasion, attempted unsuccessfully to starve them out. 

It was in the Nggela group that Christianity first made appreciable headway. Receptiveness to outside influences was there assisted by the existence of one common language and a strong political system in which six men, three of them brothers, had achieved by their fighting powers a position of dominance over the other chiefs (vunagi). For some time the mission was hindered by internal unrest. The peoples of Mboli and Honggo engaged in a long-standing feud, there were several

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1 M.M. Report, 1885, p.13.
2 Marau's own account of these years is in his (translated) autobiography, Story of a Melanesian Deacon. See also L.V., 1886, pp.31-2; M.M. Report, 1887, pp.9-10.
3 Codrington, The Melanesians, p.51 ff; Cecil Wilson, The Wake of the Southern Cross (London 1932), p.168. The six powerful vunagi were Dikeya, Sauvui, Takua (brothers), Kalekona, Lipa and Tambukoro.
4 In 1873 Mboli and Honggo came to terms - the first peace on the island for ten years. For Brooke's account of his first visit to Honggo see 'The Last Cruise of the Second "Southern Cross"', Mission Life (N.S.), vol.V, pp.191-6, 256-8.
notorious cases of kidnapping by labour recruiters,\(^1\) and in 1872 Patteson's first Nggela scholar planned and led the massacre of seven of the crew of a bêche-de-mer vessel Lavinia.\(^2\) Finally, in 1873 a permanent school was commenced at Mboli under the protection of Takua.\(^3\) Brooke, who had been in charge of the Nggela scholars since 1867, was an enthusiastic, if somewhat effervescent pioneer missionary and the news of his enforced resignation in 1874, occasioned by charges of homosexual misconduct at Norfolk Island, was ill-received by the Mboli people.\(^4\)

He was succeeded in 1876 by the Rev. Alfred Penny, an able priest who took a deep interest in Nggela life and customs. To the youthful Clementiarau he appeared 'an eloquent man' and 'very bountiful'.\(^5\) In 1877 a

\(^1\) See above, p.54.


\(^3\) M.M. Report, 1873, p.22. Codrington doubted whether Nggela was yet 'fit' for a school: Codrington, letter fragment [May 1873], Codrington Papers.

\(^4\) Dice to Jackson, 11 October 1875, Jackson Papers. Brooke subsequently wrote Percy Pomö (London [1881]), a sympathetic though somewhat melodramatic 'autobiography' of a Nggela boy which embodied many of his own experiences in the islands.

\(^5\) Mariu, op. cit., p.48. See also Fox, op. cit., p.180; Codrington to his aunt, 28 October 1875, and to his sister, 7 October 1880, Codrington Papers.
school was founded at Gaeta under Charles Sapibuana, a locally-born teacher of exceptional character. While the school at Mboli declined, owing to the slackness and misbehaviour of its leaders and Takau's growing scepticism concerning the practical and moral value of Christian teaching, that at Gaeta flourished. The baptism in 1878 of the first adult converts, members of Sapibuana's immediate family, set off a wave of conversions and led to the formation of a separate village at Langgo.

The small band of Christians underwent their first testing in October 1880 when Kalekona, the chief of Gaeta, angered by a series of domestic disturbances, called for a human head, as Penny said, 'to restore him to his accustomed equanimity.' His son, with four companions, accordingly attacked and murdered Lieutenant Bower and three sailors from the boat of the man-of-war schooner Sandfly who were surveying the Nggela coastline. Both Sapibuana and Penny were at Norfolk Island at the time; the latter being about to depart for leave in England. When the news of the tragedy arrived he and Selwyn favoured returning immediately to Nggela in the warship which was to be

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1 L.V., 1877, p.36, 1879, pp.79, 81; Diary of A. Penny, 7-8 July 1877.
2 Alfred Penny, Ten Years in Melanesia (London, 1888), pp.184–5; Codrington, Island Voyage, 1881, Codrington Papers.
3 Penny, Ten Years, pp.154–64.
despatched from Sydney to punish the murderers. In the event, they were overruled by Codrington and Sapibuana who urged them to wait until the next scheduled voyage of the Southern Cross and thus avoid identifying the mission with naval punitive action.¹

When H.M.S. Emerald visited Nggela at the end of the year a landing party destroyed and burned canoes, houses and gardens throughout Gaeta but spared Langgo which was distinguished by its schoolhouse and a cross over a grave.² However, public opinion in Australia and England was not satisfied and in 1881 H.M.S. Cormorant was sent to the group. Selwyn, who arrived on the Southern Cross at the same time, offered to mediate between the naval officers and the leading men of Gaeta and, in an effort to prevent punishment of innocent islanders by indiscriminate bombardment, endeavoured to effect the surrender of the actual murderers. After prolonged negotiation, in which Selwyn 'put great pressure on the chiefs all round', it was agreed that Kalekona, the instigator of the crime, should be spared and his son held as hostage until the other

¹ M.M. Report, 1880, p.5; Diary of A. Penny, 6 December 1880; S.C.L. (E) October 1922, pp.121-2. On first receiving news of the murder Penny was inclined to blame the heathen Honggo people. Kalekona, though not a Christian, had always defended and upheld the work of Sapibuana at Langgo and had been taken on the Southern Cross to visit Norfolk Island.
² Maxwell to Wilson, 31 January 1881, encl, in Admiralty to C.O., 31 March 1881 - C.O., 225/8; Penny, Ten Years, pp.165-7.
murderers were given up. Of these, three were brought in and duly executed; the fourth hid and successfully evaded capture. ¹

Selwyn had intervened only after considerable hesitation, but he concluded later that his action was justified by its results: it had 'saved the whole people from war' and had given them and all the islands around 'a very salutary lesson'. ² Although aware that the islanders would connect him 'a little too much with the power of the man-of-war', he believed they saw the 'justice' of the settlement reached and appreciated his efforts to help them. ³

The naval action had lasting effects upon the internal politics of Nggela. Intermittent warfare and indiscriminate killing ceased, and there was a new freedom of movement. Moreover, the infliction of a definite punishment by a formidable external authority succeeded in weakening the power of the pagan chiefs. ⁴

That the mission benefited by its active association with this firm and humane, if not entirely just

¹ There are several different accounts of the incident: L.V., 1881, pp.6-9; Penny, Ten Years, pp.167-71; How, op. cit., pp.190-3; Admiral Sir Reginald Tupper, Reminiscences (London, [1930]), pp.50-3; Report of Commander Bruce, 20 July 1881, encl. in Gordon to C.O., 2 December 1881 - C.O., 225/7.
² How, op. cit., p.191; M.M. Report, 1881, p.5.
³ L.V., 1881, p.7.
⁴ L.V., 1882, p.40; 1890, p.54.
manifestation of British power is indicated by the remarkable popularity it soon attained, first at Gaeta and later in other districts. In 1882 Sapibuana was rewarded for his wise leadership of the Christian community by being made a deacon - the first Solomon Islander to be ordained. In the following year the movement in favour of Christianity which had begun in 1878 culminated in the renunciation and destruction by Kalekona and some of his people of the emblems and relics of their tindalo or ancestral spirits. The news of Kalekona's dramatic defiance of the tindalo spread throughout Nggela and observers confidently prophesied that the apostates would be punished by sickness or death. When nothing unusual happened they concluded that the 'power' of Christianity was indeed superior but localized at Gaeta. The subsequent destruction by Kalekona and his followers of tindalo emblems belonging to a neighbouring chief, without disaster befalling, dealt a mortal blow to the traditional religion on Nggela, and in the easternmost island of the group its downfall was rapid and spectacular. Penny described the events of these months:

Ground once held to be sacred was fearlessly trodden upon: certain places along the beach, where only the initiated dare walk or land from canoes without payment of a fine, became public property: sacrifices were dropped, because the priests were either under the

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1 Penny, Ten Years: p.187.
2 I.Y.: 1883, p.92.
influence of Christian teaching and refused to perform their functions, or because the people no longer troubled about that which was found to be of no avail...1

From 1883 onwards 200 or more were baptized annually.2 At Belaga which bordered on Gaeta the Matambala, a secret society similar to the Tamate of the Banks Islands, came to an end when its priests accepted Christianity.3 Honggo received a school, underwent a religious upheaval, and in 1886 its chief, Tambukoro, was baptized together with 56 of his people. Tambukoro was the first of the great vunagi formally to embrace Christianity.4 Of the others Takua, whose early goodwill had cooled, and Dikea and Lipa from the western island of Olevuga remained firmly opposed to the spread of the mission's teaching.6

At Gaeta Sapibuiana achieved through his personal ability and evident integrity a position of considerable

1 Penny, Ten Years, p.192.
2 Ibid., p.212.
4 M.M., Report, 1885, p.16; Penny, Ten Years, p.223-4.
5 Until his death in 1902 he was regarded as the leading Christian chief on Nggela: L.V., and Report, 1902, pp.26-7.
influence, equivalent to that of a *vunagl*, and it was largely due to his efforts that unity was maintained and a crisis averted when Kalekona died in 1884.\(^1\) His own death in the following year at Norfolk Island, where he had been taken to prepare for ordination to the priesthood, was mourned deeply by his own people. It also left a gap in the leadership of the Nggela church which no other convert was yet capable of filling.\(^2\) Indeed, the irresponsible conduct of some of the Nggela village teachers was to prove a constant source of embarrassment for the mission. Accusations of immorality, misuse of authority and neglect of duties were frequent; in 1885 the second Nggela deacon, Alfred Lombu, gave vent to hurt pride by deserting his post within six weeks of his ordination.\(^3\)

When Penny retired from the mission at the end of 1885 the number of village schools had increased from seven in 1882 to 16, located in every major district. A total of 2600 islanders, over half the population, were under Christian instruction and 65\(\frac{1}{4}\) were listed as attending school daily.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) *L.V., 1885*, pp.49-50; Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p.54n.

\(^2\) Codrington to Brooke, 29 July 1886, 10 February 1887, *Codrington Papers; M.M. Occasional Paper, February 1893*, p.4.

\(^3\) Examples occur in almost every mission report and 'Island Voyage' of these years. On Lombu's disgrace see *M.M. Report, 1885*, p.15, *Diary of A. Penny, 27 and 30 April 1885*.

\(^4\) *M.M. Report, 1885*, p.16; Penny, *Ten Years*, p.213.
Norfolk Island for two years, he was on his return given no opportunity to teach. When the mission renewed its connexion with Alite 12 years later he was found to have died— an event attributed by his people to the mysterious book-learning he had acquired during his absence. The island dwellers were still opposed to Christianity for themselves on the ground that it would entail giving up fighting and thus leave them defenceless against attack, but they urged it as a means of pacifying their enemies on the mainland opposite.  

Patteson's hopes for Savo never materialized. The fiery Mano Wadrokal ruled the colony of Ysabel Christians there with an iron hand and soon succeeded in alienating the Savo people by his officious interference with certain of their customs. Brooke described his report as consisting chiefly of 'repetitions at short intervals of two words "Vus" and "Gol", meaning respectively "Beat" and "Scold".' In 1874 the settlement was disbanded and the refugees, accompanied by their indefatigable teacher, returned to their own island.  

1 M.M. Report and I.V., 1891, pp.89-90, 1893, pp.xxxvi-vii. It was consistent with this fear of books and writing that the Alite people refused to handle the text of the proclamation of the protectorate in 1893; Special Report of Proceedings, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 6 October 1893 - C.O. 225/43.  

The natives of Savo, described by one traveller as 'friendly to Europeans', were in frequent contact with traders and labour recruiters. They were also accomplished fighters who, armed with rifles, terrorized the adjacent coast of Guadalcanal.¹ Their energies thus absorbed, they expressed scant interest in the mission or its teachings. Two attempts to found a school among them were given up when charges of immorality were laid against the teachers,² and even the residence of a European missionary, the Rev. David Ruddock, for four seasons (1880-3) achieved nothing of significance.

At Vaturanga in the north-west of Guadalcanal the establishment of a school in 1883 by Ruddock and Hugo Ngorovaka, a locally-born convert, was thwarted by an unfriendly Savo chief.³ Further eastwards at Ruavatu and Tasimboko, where the inhabitants were related to the Nggela people, the mission was equally unsuccessful in gaining a foothold. Although the Southern Cross called several times after 1876, boys were not forthcoming and no missionary could be spared to live among the people to win their confidence.⁴

² l.V., 1883, p.61; Diary of A. Penny, 21 May 1882.
³ There is a full account of the venture in l.V., 1883, pp.61-9; Diary of A. Penny, 3-4 August 1883.
⁴ M.M. Report, 1875, p.16. 1876, p.6, 1878, p.21; l.V., 1876, pp.20-1. 1877, pp.11, 28-9.
On Ysabel persistent raids by head-hunters from New Georgia had desolated the coastline and forced a concentration of most of the population in the Bugotu district in the south-western extremity of the island. The greatest problem here faced by the mission was not outright opposition, but the insecurity and demoralization of the people. The first school, founded by Wadrokal at Nuro in 1874, was soon moved to Mahaga in Bugotu to be under the protection of Bera, a powerful warrior chief. Bera tolerated the mission and was friendly to its European agents, but he stood aloof from their teachings. Nevertheless, the influence of Christianity was demonstrated in 1884 when, on his deathbed, he requested that the customary funeral observances, which entailed destruction of food and property and the obtaining of a human head, be discontinued.

Of his two successors, Vou and Soga, the former was already married to a Christian and was himself

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1 On New Georgia head-hunting see below, pp. 236-7.
2 1.IY., 1875, p. 37, 1876, pp. 19-20; 1886, p. 15.
3 Wadrokal was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Auckland in 1875. In 1878 he became involved in a quarrel with Bera (when two Loyalty Islands companions shot two of Bera's followers) and was removed from the island: M.M. Report, 1878, p. 19; Bogesi, 'Sanra Isabel, Solomon Islands', p. 211.
4 Codrington, Island Voyage, 1881, Codrington Papers: M.M. Report, 1884, p. 5. On hearing the news of Bera's death Penny wrote 'it seems too good to be true': Diary of A. Penny, 16 May 1884.
baptized shortly afterwards; Soga, the stronger personality, was less favourably disposed. At first he refused a teacher for his own followers and, in a bid for additional prestige, led a head-hunting expedition to the north of Ysabel. However, the mission won his goodwill and trust when, in 1886, Selwyn's mixture of brandy and quinine cured him of a serious bout of influenza. He subsequently accepted a school in his village and displayed his adherence to Christian precepts by refusing to sell heads to acquisitive visitors from New Georgia and attempting to mediate in a savage war between Savo and Vaturanga. In 1889, after sending away all except one of his wives, he was baptized Monilaws Soga along with 70 of his people. The Rev. Charles Bice from the New Hebrides who conducted the baptism was jubilant:

A more important and encouraging event has perhaps never occurred in Melanesia, and it is hoped, and much to be prayed for, that by God's grace and continued blessing Monilaws Soga may hereafter become a second Ethelbert to his people at Ysabel.

It was no vain hope. After his baptism Soga became a fervent supporter of the mission and in obedience to his expressed wish hundreds of his people embraced Christianity.

1 I.V., 1886, pp.9-12.
3 M.M. Report, 1889, p.5.
THE generous tribute paid in 1887 by the explorer-scientist H.B. Guppy to the 'quiet heroism' of the members of the Melanesian Mission in the Solomon Islands was not undeserved.\(^1\) It was, nevertheless, also true that the influence of the mission in the group as a whole was but slight, and that its advances during these years were scarcely commensurate with the efforts involved. For this, internal factors were at least partially responsible. First among these was the small size of the European staff. Throughout the two decades following Patteson's death there were never more than three missionaries in the Solomons, each with three or four widely separated islands to visit and only a whaleboat for transport. In thus straining its meagre physical resources the mission undoubtedly lessened its effectiveness in any one area.

A second weakness was the brief period spent by the missionaries in the islands each year - seldom more than four months between the two annual voyages of the Southern Cross. For the missionaries themselves the return to Norfolk Island each year was not devoid of benefit. Not only did removal to a cooler climate and easier living conditions enable them to regain full health; it also meant a change of work and the welcome companionship of European colleagues. Penny, however, soon perceived that the progress made on Nggela while he was present was not maintained in his absence and

\(^1\) Guppy, op. cit., p.271.
proposed to remain in the group for an entire year;\textsuperscript{1} in 1879 Comins recommended the establishment of a central station in the Solomons with a 'regular staff of European and native teachers all the year round.'\textsuperscript{2} Nor was Selwyn oblivious to the problems created by the mission's practice of intermittent residence and consequent heavy reliance on native teachers. Throughout his episcopate he entertained hopes for a small vessel of his own which would enable him to remain in the islands visiting and encouraging the schools when the Southern Cross had returned south.\textsuperscript{3} At first he sympathized with Penny's plan, but later he refused to grant permission on the ground that the Norfolk Island school, the pivot of the mission, required the island missionaries in attendance for at least part of the year to assist in the teaching.\textsuperscript{4}

Principally owing to the wise leadership of Charles Sapibuana and the strong foothold he gained at Gaeta, Christianity was able to spread rapidly throughout Nggela without the continuous oversight of a European missionary. In the south-eastern Solomons where conditions were less favourable and teachers of Sapibuana's ability were lacking, the small progress made by the

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{I.V.}, 1877, pp.38-9; Diary of A. Penny, 23 September 1877, 8 December 1877.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{I.V.}, 1879, pp.29-30.
\textsuperscript{3} How, op. cit., pp.89-91.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{I.V.}, 1879, p.96.
mission only underlined the inefficiency and inadequacy of its traditional method of operation.

Under Codrington, who remained headmaster until his retirement in 1887, the school at Norfolk Island expanded and developed a distinctive character: a Mota-speaking blend of Anglican piety and Public School emphasis on corporate spirit, individual responsibility and organized competition. Teaching, based on the Mota Bible and Prayer Book, was aimed at producing mature comprehension rather than mere intellectual assent. Visitors marvelled at the close relationship existing between staff and scholars, the absence of 'menial offices', and at this apparently successful application of 'our English Public School system to the wild South Sea Islanders'.

The number of pupils averaged 180 and occasionally exceeded 200. Of these, about one third were Solomon Islanders, including ten or a dozen girls who were taught literacy and trained in domestic duties by the

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1 There is a full account of the Norfolk Island school as it was in 1892 in H.H. Montgomery, The Light of Melanesia (London, 1896), pp.11-21. See also Awdry, op. cit., p.31; Florence Coombe, School-days in Norfolk Island (London, 1909), passim; C.E. Fox, Kakamora (London, 1962), pp.9-18; Wilson, op. cit., pp.16-26.

2 In this I dissent from the judgement of C. Hartley Grattan, The Southwest Pacific to 1900 (Ann Arbor, 1963), p.456.

3 [W.G. Cowie], Notes of a Visit to Norfolk Island in November 1872 (Auckland, 1873), passim; Melanesian Mission, Consecration of Memorial Chapel (Sydney, 1881), p.3.
wives of the missionaries. Many scholars arrived unbaptized and untaught, though an increasing proportion were drawn from the various island schools. Those who were unable to learn were returned to their homes after one or two seasons. The remainder normally stayed at the school for eight to ten years, interspersed with one lengthy holiday, before being sent out as teachers.¹

For all comers, European and Melanesian, life at Norfolk Island was spartan and strictly ordered. In addition to school work - three or four hours daily - scholars assisted in the kitchen and in the mission's farm and printing shop. The afternoons were mostly free for recreation, and on one evening each week there was school singing in which English songs and operatic pieces were sung to Mota words.² Everything revolved around the chapel of St Barnabas, consecrated in 1880 as a memorial to Patteson. With its lofty and richly ornamented interior, pipe organ and magnificent stained glass windows, the chapel made an enormous impression on the Melanesians who worshipped in it twice daily, and some of the more enterprising later attempted to build something like it in their own islands.³

¹ M.M. Report, 1880, p.15, 1885, p.19, 1887, p.18. There were 14 classes: the first seven comprised baptized scholars, the eighth were 'catechumens' and the remainder were unbaptized.

² Penny introduced some of these, including the 'Anvil Chorus', the 'Keel Row' and selections from Patience and Iolanthe, into Nggela: Ten Years, p.211.

³ Drummond, John Coleridge Patteson, p.43.
Throughout Selwyn's episcopate the total number of missionaries was never large (between six and ten) and over the summer months all were resident at the central school, engaged in teaching and the preparation of translations. For amusement and relaxation they made the most of the scanty facilities available - played cricket and tennis, held picnic and supper parties, and mixed with the leaders of the Norfolk Island community.

ALTHOUGH isolated beachcombers and castaways managed to survive in the Solomons for varying periods from the 1830s onwards, few Europeans were prepared to risk living on shore for any length of time until about 1870. During the next decade the first permanent trading stations were established and traders multiplied. Some of these - for example, Captain Fergusson (killed in 1880 when his steamer Ripple was attacked by natives of Bougainville), Captain Macdonald at Santa Ana, Captain Svensen at Marau Sound and Lars Nielsen - flourished and maintained copra-collecting stations at a number of points. The majority, however, often deserted seamen, eked out a meagre and precarious existence dependent upon the goodwill of the islanders among whom they lived.  

1 Allan, Customary Land Tenure in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, p.32; H. E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', J.P.S., vol.73, No.3, p.263. There are referenced to traders and other Europeans in the Solomons in L.V., 1877: pp.7, 8, 11, 15, 25, 1879, p.91. Stations were established on every major island except Choiseul and Malaita.
In general, the missionaries of the Melanesian Mission were enthusiastic advocates of a partnership between Christianity and civilization. Selwyn believed that the mission should 'raise the people by giving them something to work for as well as by showing them something to live for in the world to come', and even toyed with the idea of a mission trading company. Penny declared his cordial support for trading when fairly carried on - 'good value in useful things for their island produce' - and rejoiced in the resulting adoption of European dress on Sundays by his converts on Kggela and Ysabel:

The men are then clad in shirts and trousers, some even with the addition of a straw hat. The women modestly dressed in petticoats and jackets, neatly made by themselves from fancy prints of unaesthetic shades. That this is a step in the right direction all will admit.

With the exception of substantial businessmen like Captain Fergusson, Penny had a low opinion of the traders he encountered. They were, he maintained, 'generally idle fellows, who have tried and failed at almost everything requiring industry or energy', and

1 Selwyn to Jackson, 30 June 1875, Jackson Papers.
2 L.V., 1876, p.20; M.M. Report, 1883, p.16; How, op. cit., p.90.
3 The words are those of the missionary hero in Penny's colourful and improbable adventure story The Headhunters of Christabel (London, n.d.), p.284. See also Diary of A. Penny, 5 June 1878.
4 Penny, Ten Years, p.143.
they constituted 'a source of bodily and spiritual
danger.' The example set the islanders by their
fellow Europeans weighed heavily upon the missionaries
and their ire was aroused by those traders who supplied
liquor or firearms to their clients or who, by
cohabiting with local women, undermined the moral
standards taught by the mission.

It is doubtful whether the religious indifference
of the traders can be held responsible for the mission's
lack of success in these years. Nevertheless, it is
significant that the two seldom flourished together.
In those places where traders were in residence one
of the chief reasons for accepting a school - regular
visits from the Southern Cross, with presents for the
scholars and leading men and the opportunity to trade -
were removed. Moreover, the hostility to Christianity

1 Ibid., pp.142-3; Diary of A. Penny, 4-5 October 1880 -
Fergusson's death was a 'very sad loss'.
2 M.M. Report, 1874, p.20; Selwyn to Jackson, 23 July
1877, Jackson Papers; Diary of A. Penny, 3 September
1878, 20 May 1879, 29 May 1879, 3 October 1879. For
the case of Charles Horsman, a Nggela trader accused
by the mission of being dangerous to 'peace and good
order' and suspected of selling arms to the natives,
see Castle to G. in C., 19 September 1890, encl. in
Admiralty to C.O., 6 June 1891 - C.O. 225/37.
3 I.V., 1876, p.19, 1877, p.18; Codrington, Island
Voyage, 1881, Codrington Papers; Diary of A. Penny, 13
June 1877, 31 August 1877. Those who assisted in the
building of Penny's house at Mbol in 1877 received
wages of hatchets, pipes, tobacco, beads and calico.
displayed by the natives of Savo and Ugi was certainly due largely to their profitable contact with Europeans and prior acquaintance with the more exciting ways of the white man's world. ¹

In cultural impact the Solomons traders were exceeded only by labour recruiters. Faced in the Banks Islands with numerous cases of fraudulent engagement, the introduction of firearms and widespread depopulation, apparently resulting directly from recruiting, Codrington exceeded Patteson in his denunciation of the labour trade. He instructed the mission's teachers to dissuade their people from recruiting and dismissed the Fiji and Queensland attempts at regulation as incapable of protecting the Melanesians 'from wrong or from the danger of extermination.'² Selwyn, on the other hand, was from the first reluctant to condemn the trade in absolute terms as an unmitigated evil. Although opposed to recruiting as actually carried on and convinced that the manifold disadvantages of the trade outweighed its benefits, he conceded that many labourers returned to their homes with 'a better idea of work' than formerly, as well as having 'some notion of law founded on a policeman.'³

¹ I.V., 1888, pp. 45-6; M.M., Report and I.V., 1891, pp. 77-8, 1895, p. xli; Montgomery, op. cit., p. 196. For a fuller exposition of this point see below, pp. 468-70
² M.M. Report, 1872, pp. 12-3, 1873, p. 23; 1874, pp. 18, 20; Codrington to his aunt, 15 May 1873, Codrington Papers.
³ Selwyn to Jackson, 7 August 1874, 30 June 1875, 23 July 1877, Jackson Papers.
By the late seventies the British government, through the newly established Western Pacific High Commission, was actively engaged in the supervision and regulation of the Melanesian labour trade, and the Colonial Office was meeting the mission's generalized complaints of irregularities with stiff requests for more precise information.\(^1\) As the more glaring abuses were checked and conditions on the plantations improved, the Melanesian Mission modified its early opposition. Although Penny, Comins and their colleagues continued to deplore the overall effects of the trade on the island society, they accepted it as a legitimate commercial enterprise and a convenient outlet for adventurous spirits anxious to see the world. In addition, they were often on friendly terms with the captains of visiting recruiting ships.\(^2\)

In his later years Selwyn defied much vocal missionary opinion elsewhere in the Pacific, by coming out openly in support of the regulated trade. It was he correctly observed, the islanders themselves who kept the traffic in existence: in the vast majority of cases those who recruited went of their own accord.

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\(^1\) E.g., M.M. Report, 1879, p.13; C.O. to W. Selwyn, 13 August 1880 (draft), C.O. to Gordon, 5 September 1880 (draft) - C.O. 225/6; Selwyn to Gordon, 7 September 1881, encl. in Gordon to C.O., 26 March 1881 - C.O. 225/7.

\(^2\) L.V., 1888, p.56, 1890, pp.53-4; M.M. Report and L.V., 1893, p.xxxv; Penny, Ten Years, pp.121-39. On at least one occasion Penny was transported between Nggela and Ysabel by a friendly labour recruiter.
attracted by stories of Queensland and the prospect of returning with a box of trade goods. Serious abuses such as the threat of total depopulation on some islands, the recruiting of women, the bad character of many returned labourers and the introduction of firearms persisted. Nevertheless, he declared, with one of his rare flashes of insight:

Do what we will we cannot keep those islands wrapped up in cotton-wool. There is evil in the world, and in some form or other they will come in contact with it. Our duty is to try and strengthen them morally and physically, that they may be able to resist it.1

The principle behind the trade, that a young man could leave his 'narrow island home', learn to work steadily and use his labour to obtain what he wanted, was, Selwyn believed, no bad thing. By transferring the business of recruiting from private to government hands, limiting the numbers taken away each year, and increasing efforts to educate and Christianize the labourers during their terms on the plantations, the principal abuses could be eliminated and the trade transformed into a positive benefit to the islands as well as to Queensland.2

A high proportion of Solomon Islands labourers were obtained from Malaita and other islands where

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1 Letter of Selwyn, 4 May 1892, P.P., 1892, vol.LVI [C.6686], p.8.
mission influence was slight or non-existent. Only on Nggela, which became a favourite recruiting ground during the eighties, did the labour trade present a serious obstacle to its work. By 1890 370 Nggela men (out of a total population of 5000) were away in Queensland, and five years later the number absent had risen to 500.¹ This 'migration' led in turn to a depletion in numbers in the upper classes of village schools, and in some places to the virtual disappearance of able-bodied young men.² 'The population did not grow', recalled one observer, and when the labourers did return 'they were no joy to look at, and their pidgin-English and extraordinary swear words were not a joy to hear.'³ Finally, in 1896 six Christian chiefs signed a letter drawn up by two native deacons, probably at the instigation of the mission, petitioning the British government to close Nggela to recruiting:

Because we beget children and when they are grown big the ships that trade in men carry them all off to Queensland and other places, and not many of them come back here, and many of them die, and many too stay there for ever.

¹ M.M. Report, 1890, p.5; Wilson, op. cit., p.173.
³ Wilson, op. cit., p.173.
⁴ Petition encl. in Wilson to Woodford, 8 December 1896, encl. in Berkeley to C.O., 1 February 1897 – C.O. 225/52.
But the Colonial Office saw 'no special reason for making an exception in the case of this island' and declined to accede to the request.

Patteson had not been blind to the possibilities of mission work among those labourers removed from Christian schools in their homes, and at the time of his death he was planning to visit Fiji, which was believed to fall within his jurisdiction. Following a tour of the Queensland plantations in 1872, Codrington concluded that the dispersion of the islanders throughout the colony and the variety of languages represented among them made it impracticable to send Melanesian teachers there. In any case, he argued, the 'primary natural field' of the Melanesian Mission lay in the islands, where its resources were already strained: mission work on the plantations was the responsibility of the churches of Queensland. In an eloquent Memorial to the Synod of the Diocese of Brisbane he urged that white catechists be appointed to conduct English schools for the labourers. Bishop Tuffnell, however, showed no interest in the proposal and the scheme was shelved.

2 M.M. Report, 1872, pp. 13-4; 1874, pp. 18-9; Codrington to his aunt, 15 May 1873, loc. cit.
3 The text of the Memorial is in Yonge, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 594-7. See also Codrington to his aunt, 22 February 1872, Codrington Papers.
The position in Fiji was slightly better. In addition to the pervasive influence of the Wesleyan mission, which indirectly penetrated to the plantations, the Anglican clergyman at Levuka, the Rev. William Floyd, commenced Sunday classes for the labourers in his district. In 1875 a Banks Islands deacon, Edward Wogale, was sent to assist him, and in 1880 Selwyn paid a fleeting visit to conduct confirmations. He rejected the proposal that native teachers be sent to the Fiji plantations, owing to inability to supply them in worthwhile numbers and his belief that their work would be wasted on a polyglot and transitory population.¹

In thus failing to turn to advantage the social dislocation caused by the labour trade, the Melanesian Mission missed a unique opportunity to evangelize much of Melanesia. With regular mission work on the plantations, coordinated with that in the islands, returned labourers could have been a vehicle for the spread of Christianity to many districts and villages beyond the reach of the Southern Cross.² Instead, many labourers actively hindered the mission, as did one on San Cristobal who caused a school to disperse by telling its members that 'they did not do such things as go to Church and pray in Queensland' and that therefore they need not do so.³

² An Ulawa man who returned from Samoa in 1886 is the first recorded example of a Solomon Islander being converted to Christianity during his term on a plantation. L.V., 1886, p.47.
REGULAR cruises through the Melanesian islands by men-of-war of the Australian Station, and the establishment in 1877 of the Western Pacific High Commission with jurisdiction over all British subjects in the unannexed islands of the region brought the missionaries in the Solomons within reach of British law and protection.

At no stage did the Melanesian Mission regard itself as a precursor of empire. Like his father and Patteson before him, Selwyn saw the role of Britain in the islands as policeman rather than ruler - checking head-hunting, 'hearing and, if possible, redressing complaints', settling land disputes, enforcing the Kidnapping Acts, and punishing outrages wrought by the natives upon British subjects. With the exception of the strident expansionist sentiments privately voiced by Brooke, these views appear to have been shared by his staff. Annexation, by either Britain or France, was opposed as contrary to the interests of the islanders whose wishes had a right to be considered. With reference to the New Hebrides, the mission report for 1886 stated:

1 Selwyn to his father, 15 April 1850, Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand and Others, vol.I, p.461; Smythe, Ten Months in the Fiji Islands, p.6; Patteson, letter fragment, 10 August [1857?], Patteson Papers.
2 J.V., 1874, p.19; M.M. Report, 1881, p.6, 1883, p.15.
3 Brooke to Jackson, 7 May 1874, Jackson Papers.
There is an uneasy feeling abroad among all the islands, that the white man will come in and oust them from their lands. It is very vague and ill-defined, but it is none the less real. High-handed action must lead in many cases to strife and misery, very probably to extermination.  

A protectorate, however, 'which the natives could feel was exercised for their benefit, as well as for that of the white man', would be welcomed throughout the islands and would 'probably lead to the people spontaneously wishing for annexation'.  

The missionaries welcomed the annual visits of the men-of-war both for their punitive and peace-keeping functions, and also for the opportunity they afforded for contact with English gentlemen - 'particularly welcome', affirmed Penny, 'when such an event is so exceptional to the rule of our lives.' On a number of occasions the missionaries provided interpreters and guides or themselves acted as mediators between the naval commanders and the islanders, though they were careful to dissociate themselves from the actual exercise of British power. Comins, who assisted in many naval investigations in the south-eastern Solomons during the eighties and early nineties, outlined his own practice:

I made it a rule to offer my services to the authorities when any negotiations or investigations

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1 M.M. Report, 1886, p.6.  
2 M.M. Report, 1883, p.15.  
3 Penny, Ten Years, p.151.
were being made, but when warlike operations were commenced I obtained permission to retire and keep out of them.1

The efforts of the missionaries varied in effectiveness. For his successful mediation in the aftermath of the Sandfly murders Selwyn received the grateful thanks of the Admiralty.2 However, on another occasion, in an enquiry into the murder of Thomas Dabelle on Yanuta Island off San Cristobal, the Rev. J.H. Plant misinterpreted a pidgin-English 'confession' - an error which led to the wrongful imprisonment of the alleged murderer.3

Occasionally, the assistance rendered by the mission had unforeseen and embarrassing consequences. In the naval investigation into the murder of a trader, Fred Howard, at Ugi in 1891 Comins obtained the services of some Christians from Sa'a to guide the punitive expedition to Laosu'u, the village of the murderers in the Maramasike Passage. When the warship departed, having destroyed houses and canoes, these descended upon Sa'a and commenced an intermittent armed

1 M.M. Report and I.V., 1891, p.95. For an example of Comins's 'detachment' see I.V., 1886, pp.35-6 and Douglas Rannie, My Adventures among South Sea Cannibals (London, 1912), pp.196-7.
siegé which came to a climax in 1893 when two Christians were killed. Joseph Wate and Comins each appealed to the naval authorities either for protection for the Sa'a Christians or for weapons to enable them to protect themselves, but without success.\(^1\) Finally, Selwyn, in retirement in England, took up their cause and made indignant representations to the First Lord of the Admiralty:

The Melanesian Mission does not ask and never has asked for the protection of... 'the inevitable gun boat'. We were and are quite content to take the risks incident to our Missionary life. It is not we who employ the men of war, but it is the men of war who employ us,... I ask for no protection for these clergy or teachers because they are Missionaries, but I do ask, that when they have aided the forces of the Crown, and have trusted

\(^1\) For a discussion of the Howard murder see Scarr, op. cit., p.27. Accounts of the naval punitive expedition and its aftermath are in Davis to C. in C., 6 August 1891, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 24 June 1892 - C.O. 225/40; Floyd to C. in C., 5 September 1893, 5 November 1893, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 7 July 1894 - C.O. 225/46. According to Captain Davis of H.M.S. Royalist the Lalosu'u people were 'the pirates of the Maramasiki Passage, and a terror to all the tribes for miles around.' The mission's version of the affair is in M.M. Report and L.V., 1893, pp.xxxiii-iv; M.M. Occasional Paper, March 1894, pp.22, 27-9; Letter of T.C. Cullwick, 30 April 1894, encl. in Thurston to C.O., 22 December 1894 - C.O. 225/45. For Wate's account of the persecution see C.E. Fox, 'History of the Melanesian Mission', The South-east Solomons, pp.40-1.
in the honour of England, they may not find that they have trusted in vain.¹

The authorities were not convinced. After contacting the beleaguered Christians at Sala and their persecutors, the Commander of H.M.S. Royalist concluded that Wate 'somewhat magnifies his troubles' and that special action was unnecessary.² This report confirmed the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Sir John Thurston, in his resolve to avoid in future accepting assistance from missions, with their unjustified claims to 'particular and special' protection.³

In the absence of an alternative authority the Melanesian Mission was obliged to assume responsibility for maintaining order in those places where the adoption of Christianity had led to erosion of the traditional moral sanctions and system of leadership. The problem arose first on Nggela where, Codrington recorded, the power of the *vunagi* was based upon their special relationship with the *tindalo* and their possession of 'that *mana* whereby they [were] able to bring the power of the *tindalo* to bear.'⁴ Consequently, when a *vunagi*

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¹ Selwyn to Spence, 10 January 1894, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 16 January 1894 - C.O. 225/46. See also Selwyn, 'The Islands of the Western Pacific', pp.604-5, and Thurston's comments: Thurston to C.O., 28 February 1895 - C.O. 225/47.

² Goodrich to Bowden-Smith, 5 June 1894, encl. in Thurston to C.O., 22 December 1894 - C.O. 225/45.

³ Thurston to C.O., 22 December 1894, loc. cit.

publicly renounced his tindalo his authority was undermined, and many of his followers were unwilling to recognize his customary power to levy fines in punishment for offences. Penny's enterprising successor, the Rev. J.H. Plant, was not prepared to stand idly by while the group collapsed into chaos. In 1887 he inaugurated an annual conference or Vaukolu, attended by Christian chiefs, native clergy and senior teachers, and one out of ten of the 'respectable' male population of each Christian village.¹

This 'parliament', which substituted 'the will of the people...in place of the nearly arbitrary will of the petty chiefs',² was intended as a supreme authority, to fix new penalties for adultery and other crimes formerly punishable by death, as well as a forum for the discussion of matters of common concern. At the second Vaukolu, held in 1888, three laws were passed - two relating to breaches of the seventh Commandment, the third to do with the trespassing of pigs - and a common grievance against the labour trade, the recruiting of young boys without their family's consent, was discussed.³ Much to Plant's disappointment the

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¹ There is a fictional but accurate account of the origin, composition and work of the Vaukolu in Penny, The Headhunters of Christabel, pp.221-3.
³ I.V., 1888, pp.7-8.
Vaukolu soon became an occasion for festivities and feasting rather than a solemn deliberation of affairs of state. Nevertheless, it was sufficiently embedded in the life of the group to continue in existence after his death in 1891, and it was later strengthened by the formation of a 'supreme council' of chiefs and teachers to guide proceedings and judge disputes. Matters were referred to the missionaries for decision only in the case of major crimes such as murder on which public feeling ran high.

On Ysabel the situation was markedly different. Because of his powerful personality and his initiative in the conversion movement, Soga's paramount authority remained undiminished. The Rev. Henry Welchman, who had oversight of the island from 1890 onwards, acted accordingly. Mission teachers were called together to discuss religious matters, but all changes in custom and punishment necessitated by the adoption of Christianity were decided and decreed by Soga himself, whose word was 'the only law'.

The predominance of British missionary and trading activities in the central and eastern Solomons was recognized by the Anglo-German agreement of 1886;

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which divided New Guinea and its adjacent islands into two spheres of influence. In the absence from the Solomons of French planting interests and political designs, the formal establishment of a protectorate never became a pressing issue for the missionaries. Nevertheless, they tended to regard it as the inevitable culmination of Imperial policy, and by speaking of the Queen, the beneficial effects of British rule and related matters they prepared their converts for the event.  

The proclamation of the protectorate in 1893, prompted partly by humanitarian concern for full control over the labour trade, partly by fear of possible French intervention, was welcomed by the missionaries as relieving them of 'the very inappropriate functions of rulers and judges', and in the hope that 'under the civilizing influences of British rule the social and moral character of the people may be raised and their spiritual interests advanced.'

Comins, who was by

1 For details of the 1886 agreement see W.P. Morrell, *Britain in the Pacific Islands* (Oxford, 1960), pp.259-62. See also J.R. Selwyn, 'Letters from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Melanesia', *The Australasian Month*, vol.I, No.6, p.347; *I.V.*, 1887, pp.55-5. At the Nggela Yankolu in 1887, which was held to coincide with Queen Victoria's Jubilee Day, Plant spoke to the people 'about our dear Queen and the meaning of a protectorate and other matters on which they wanted information.'

2 On the establishment of the protectorate see Morrell, *op. cit.*, pp.343-5; *M.M. Report and I.V.*, 1893, pp.iv, xxxvi, xi.
this time well known to visiting naval commanders, again offered his assistance and accompanied H.M.S. Curacao through the islands from Nggela to Ugi, advising on the best spots to hoist the flag and explaining to the islanders the significance of the act. On his recommendation the proclamation was made in both pagan and Christian districts of Nggela, lest it be supposed that the protectorate was associated in some way with the mission and its schools. ¹

SELWYN'S passion for physical exertion and his stubborn refusal to take reasonable care of himself during his sojourns in the islands led finally to a complete breakdown in health. After a painful illness he returned to England in 1891 and resigned his see. ² For three years, until a successor was appointed, the mission was administered by the senior missionary, the Rev. John Palmer, assisted by Codrington, who returned to take charge of the Norfolk Island school during the interregnum. In 1892 Bishop Montgomery of Tasmania toured the diocese in the Southern Cross to administer confirmations and in his book The Light of Melanesia reported fully on the extent and nature of the mission's work.

¹ Gibson to Bowden-Smith, 13 July 1893, and Special Report of Proceedings, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 6 October 1893 - C.O. 225/43.
² In 1893 he became first Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, which had been founded in memory of his father. He died in 1898, aged 53.
On San Cristobal there were at this stage, after 40 years of mission contact, only five small schools concentrated within a few miles of the north coast. At Wango Christian influence was now sufficiently strong to prevent Taki from sacrificing a human head at the inauguration of a new canoe, and for a teacher to accompany the initial gift-collecting voyage in order to lead morning and evening prayers. Yet despite this encouraging sign and the apparent recession of infanticide and cannibalism, it was not possible, the visitor sadly recorded, to 'boast...of the effect produced upon this island by the Mission.'

Ulawa, by contrast, with three schools and 110 scholars - one tenth of the population - was a 'bright spot'. Clement Marau, who had been ordained deacon in 1890, already occupied a position of some influence on the island.

Apart from three struggling schools at Sa'a and Port Adam, Malaita's 60,000 inhabitants were completely unreached by the mission. There were several reasons


2 Montgomery, op. cit., p.164.

3 Ibid., p.198. See also M.M. Report and L.V., 1891, pp.100-1 - an account of Marau's church timetable. Captain Gibson of H.M.S. Curacoa reported that Marau seemed to be 'one of the leading men of the island': Gibson to Bowden-Smith, 13 July 1893, loc. cit.
for this neglect of the largest and most populous island in the Solomons. In the first place, with the exception of three or four districts of Small Malaita, the Lau artificial islands and the Langalanga and Uhu Lagoons the people of Malaita lived inland, often some distance from the sea, whereas the mission's method of work presupposed coastal dwellers within easy reach of a visiting ship. Labour recruiters surmounted this obstacle by remaining at each anchorage for several days until word passed round and the bush dwellers came down to the coast. But in comparison with a labour vessel a voyage on the Southern Cross offered few material attractions, and in any case its two annual cruises were increasingly dominated by routine pastoral work - visits to the young Christian communities, inspecting, advising and administering baptism, confirmation and Holy Communion - which left little time for a leisurely exploratory voyage along the coast of Malaita. Nor at Alite or in Small Malaita were the islanders' reactions to the prospect of Christian teaching such as to encourage the mission to multiply its efforts to gain a foothold. This refusal to accept schools Comins characteristically attributed to moral weakness rather than social forces:

> It is not very easy to spread the gospel net to catch such wary characters as these Malaita people. Their own self-interest seems to be the leading motive of all their actions, and

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1 Ivens, op. cit., p.27.
any doctrine like self-denial and self-sacrifice would undoubtedly fail to commend itself to them.¹

Finally, at no stage was the Melanesian Mission impelled by any marked sense of urgency. Ultimate salvation, it was openly asserted, was independent of earthly faith: 'I hope and believe', wrote Selwyn, 'that God presents Himself in another life to those who have rejected Him here'.² God would open the door to Malaita 'in His own time and way'; meanwhile, there was ample work waiting elsewhere.

In the central Solomons the mission was flourishing. With 25 schools, over 2000 baptized converts and three quarters of the population attending Christian services, Nggela was, Montgomery declared, the mission's 'most signal triumph of late years'.³ On Ysabel there were ten schools and nearly 700 baptized, and with Welchman and Soga working in harmonious cooperation the conversion of the entire Bugotu people, numbering 2000, appeared to be only a matter of time.⁴

Guadalcanal Montgomery described gloomily as 'the great failure of the Melanesian Mission'.⁵ Outwardly,

¹ M.M. Report and T.V., 1891, p.90.
² Selwyn, 'Letters from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Melanesia', p.346. According to the Rev. Dr C.E. Fox this view was widely held among the mission staff.
³ Montgomery, op. cit., p.203.
⁴ Ibid., p.227.
⁵ Ibid., p.189.
it presented fewer practical difficulties than Malaita or even San Cristobal. At least twice a year the Southern Cross sailed along its northern coastline, several white traders were able to live there in comparative safety, 1 some districts were in close contact with Christian Nggela and a few natives who had come under mission influence while away from their homes had been baptized. Nevertheless, the attempt in 1883 to establish a school at Vaturanga, a more sustained effort in the Ruavatu district between 1887 and 1889, and another at Aola in 1892 failed dismally. 2 The islanders had seen the new religion and wanted none of it: it might, they admitted, be good for Nggela, but it would not do on Guadalcanal. 3

Montgomery, an acute observer, 4 perceived that the mission's limited success was due at least in part to outmoded methods, inefficient deployment of resources and reluctance to experiment. He listed the problems which demanded attention: the establishment of permanent

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1 C.M. Woodford lived for some months at Aola in 1887: A Naturalist among the Head-Hunters, passim.
2 M.M. Report, 1887, p. 9, 1888, p. 11, 1889, p. 8: M.M. Report and I.V., 1892, pp. iv-v. Montgomery (op. cit., p. 196) attributed the failure at Aola in 1892 to the fact that 'this village drew a large income from aiding the traders' station not far off in the indulgence of profligacy'.
3 M.M. Report and I.V., 1892, p. iv.
4 He later became General Secretary for the Society for Propagation of the Gospel and was widely respected as a 'missionary statesman'. 
stations in the islands, with division of the mission staff into teachers stationed at Norfolk Island and district missionaries; the employment of women missionaries; extension of the mission to the Melanesian labourers in Fiji and Queensland; the future of Motu as the mission's sole lingua franca; and possible revision of the mission's tolerant attitude towards native customs.¹

During the 23 years which followed Patteson's death the number of Solomons converts grew steadily from a scattered handful, all baptized in New Zealand or at Norfolk Island, to 4500, mostly on Nggela and Ysabel. In 1895 there were 50 schools in the group, with 144 teachers and four native deacons.² This represented the fruit of considerable labour, much courage and devotion, but after three or even four decades of continuous missionary effort it could scarcely rank as triumph. Thurston, who visited the new protectorate in 1894, commented caustically:

The situation is doubtless beset with difficulties, and although some twenty five years [sic] have elapsed since the Mission first established its station in this group, it would be a delicate, as well as a really difficult task, to offer any positive opinions upon the results attained. I found the native mind, everywhere possessed with a very strong

¹ Montgomery, op. cit., pp.251-4.
² Ibid., p.247. The four deacons were Reuben Bula (Nggela), Hugo Ngorovaka (Ysabel), Alfred Lombu (Nggela) and Clement Marau (Ulawa).
feeling against the Mission, and in many places the natives, upon my expressing surprise and regret, very frankly gave their reasons.... I merely observe that judging from appearances the Mission has done very little.¹

The nature of the islanders' objections can only be surmised. On San Cristobal and Nggela it is likely that they were concerned chiefly with the high-handed and irresponsible actions of individual mission teachers and the apparent prevalence of dissensions and scandals within Christian villages,² while on Small Malaita there was still a good deal of resentment at the assistance rendered by the Sa'a Christians to the naval punitive expedition three years previously.

Certainly, the weakness of the mission at this point was due in part to institutional and personal failures - the faithlessness of teachers and their converts, the constant shortage of European staff and the great distance which separated the Solomons from Norfolk Island, with all its attendant disadvantages. For this, much of the responsibility must lie with Selwyn: for his reluctance in the face of altered conditions to depart from the methods of work bequeathed him by Patteson, for his failure to grasp the evangelistic opportunities inherent in the labour trade and for the overall lack of impetus which caused

¹ Thurston to C.O., 22 December 1894 - C.O. 225/45.
² E.g., M.M. Report and I.V., 1893, p.xxxix. See also below, pp.110-1.
the mission to acquiesce passively in its rebuffs on Malaita, San Cristobal and Guadalcanal and make no effort to expand to new islands further westward.

Yet even if these factors had not been operative it may be doubted whether the position of the mission in the Solomons would have been substantially different. For the basic reasons for the small advances made by Christianity in these years were social rather than organizational in nature. Apart from the introduction and dissemination of European weapons and trade goods, the fabric of Solomon Island society was until the last decade of the nineteenth century essentially intact, confident of its traditions and suspicious of change. That Melanesian religion lacked a concept of universality constituted a further obstacle. To the islanders, the white man with his amazing wealth and skills seemed to belong to another order over which their spirits had no control; that he should have his own God possessing many marvellous attributes was not surprising. Consequently, when whole communities for one reason or another adopted Christianity their neighbours freely admitted the local validity of the new religion - even its moral superiority - without feeling bound to accept it for themselves.

'They have seen much of the white man, and do not want his religion', wrote one missionary of the

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1 *I.V., 1883*, p.84.
2 Examples of this attitude are recorded in *M.M. Report and I.V., 1891*, pp.88-9, *1893*, pp.iv, v, xxxvii.
inhabitants of the north coast of San Cristobal; and the same was true of coastal dwellers in other parts of the group. It was not until the turn of the century, when the impact of a new social and political order and the ravages of introduced diseases shattered many of the traditional bonds of Solomon Islands society, that Christianity was able to expand.

1 M.M. Report, 1879, p.10.
LACKING a suitable candidate among themselves, the mission clergy delegated their right of nomination to the vacant see to Codrington, Selwyn and Archbishop Benson of Canterbury. On the recommendation of a trusted friend of Selwyn these nominated the Rev. Cecil Wilson, vicar of a Bournemouth parish, who was then formally elected by the bishops of New Zealand and consecrated in Auckland in June 1894.  

In contrast to the strong and assertive personalities among his staff the new bishop was a gentle, unassuming man, 'even boyish in his agility and vigour', who was content to win his way by tact and diplomacy. Unlike his predecessor he came to his new position with an open mind, unfettered by personal loyalties and feelings of inadequacy to an uncritical maintenance of the existing order.  

Faced with a mission thinly spread over a vast area, impoverished and understaffed, he embarked immediately on a vigorous campaign to extend its work to those islands in its field which were still unreached and to strengthen its existing links with the church in Australia and New Zealand. During 1895 six new missionaries (three

2 Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.40-2. There is an obituary of Wilson in The Times, 29 January 1941.
priests and three laymen) joined the staff, and vigorous efforts were made to widen the circle of supporters, notably by the foundation of the monthly journal The Southern Cross Log, published first in Auckland and later in a separate English edition.\(^1\)

In the Solomons the first years of the new episcopate saw several important developments. With the increase in staff it became possible to divide the unwieldy and difficult south-eastern district, and the Rev. W.G. Ivens, a graduate of the University of New Zealand, was placed in charge of the schools on Ulawa and Small Malaita.

A major innovation was the establishment of the first permanent mission station in the group. Although Comins had urged the foundation of a mission centre on Nggela as early as 1879,\(^2\) it was not until 1893, after Selwyn's retirement, that he was able to put his plan into effect and purchase land at Siota, near Mboli. By this time the importance of 'island centres' to supplement the educational work at Norfolk Island -

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\(^1\) Also by the extension of the St Barnabas Association, members of which were bound to pray for the mission, publicize its work and pay a small annual subscription, and by the inauguration of the 'Melanesian Mission Island Scheme' by which groups of supporters, each led by a 'chief', raised £10 p.a. for a particular island or station: see M.M. Report and I.Y., 1893, pp.i-iii, xii-iii.

\(^2\) See above, p.78. Plant had also favoured the establishment of a permanent European station on Nggela, but he died before anything could be done.
which even at its maximum size barely produced sufficient teachers to maintain the existing village schools - was generally recognized. In 1895, therefore, Comins opened a school at Siota where boys from Nggela and neighbouring islands could be prepared for advanced instruction at the mission's headquarters.\footnote{M.M. Report and I.V. 1895, pp.xi-ii; S.C.L., June 1896, pp.4-5, July 1896, pp.4-6, August 1896, pp.10-1, September 1896, pp.8-9.} With the Rev. C.W. Browning, the Nggela district missionary, he supervised the school during the dry season, while Welchman, who was now permanently resident in the islands, took charge during their absence at Norfolk Island. Although the institution flourished for a time, the site proved to be malarial and unhealthy. Welchman's young wife died there in January 1897 and in the following year eleven boys succumbed in an epidemic of dysentery. More sickness followed and in 1900, to Comins's lasting disappointment, the school was closed.\footnote{The school opened with 22 boys; by 1897 there were 50 in residence. M.M. Occasional Paper, Christmas 1897, p.4; S.C.L., January 1900, p.10, February 1900, p.33; I.V. and Report 1900, pp.11-2.}

On his first visit to the Solomons in 1894 Wilson envisaged Nggela as a 'fountain of life', displaying the 'arts of civilisation' and maintaining its pristine fervour in the faith by sending missionaries to the unevangelized islands around.\footnote{S.C.L., January 1896, pp.2-3; Wilson, op. cit., p.167.} Closer inspection revealed a less idyllic state of affairs. In 1895
Browning reported that the Nggela church was suffering from the pace of its conversion in the previous decade:

Christianity was much more extensively adopted in outward profession than in principle, and now people, having all the while retained their old ideas and motives have come to a standstill, and are becoming indifferent. I sometimes think it would be much easier if one could deal with a considerable part of them as heathens, and evangelise them over again. The great difficulty is that they think they know already as much about Christianity as they want to know.¹

The root of the trouble the mission attributed to the Nggela natives' overwhelming 'love [of] money rather than Christ', indicated by the high bride price demanded in the group. Accordingly, at the 1901 Vaukolu the missionaries made the first of a series of attempts to reduce the customary payment to a nominal sum.²

Because of its central position and peaceful condition Nggela was admirably suited to become the seat of government for the Solomon Islands Protectorate, and in 1896 C.M. Woodford, the newly appointed Resident Commissioner, set up his headquarters on the small island of Tulagi, near Nielsen's trading station at Gavutu. Intending to lay the foundations of a district administration, Woodford was annoyed to find an embryonic but unruly theocracy already in existence.

² I.V., and Report, 1901, p.8. The mission's policy concerning bride price is discussed in chapter IX.
Native teachers and clergy, conscious of their position as 'chiefs' of the new teaching and hitherto unsupervised for over half the year by the European missionaries, had gradually arrogated certain secular functions such as the collection of fines, while some, by their irresponsible actions, were causing dissension and bringing the mission into disrepute. Already, a village and its gardens had been destroyed at the instigation of the Rev. Alfred Lombu because of its inhabitants' stubborn refusal to accept a school, and in 1896 two teachers were found guilty of writing anonymous threatening letters. Moreover, of the five members elected by the Vaukolu to the Supreme Council, a teacher had been placed at the head of the Olevuga district where the chief Lipa was still vehemently opposed to Christianity, and a deacon, the Rev. Reuben Bula, 'governed' Mboli.¹

These happenings Woodford interpreted as a mission plan 'to gradually make chiefs of their teachers.' Comins, in defence, attributed Lombu's action to a 'mistaken sense of duty' and pointed out that it had been repudiated at the time by Selwyn. He also emphasized the positive achievements of the system of government erected by the mission - the Vaukolu rules were 'better than nothing' and accustomed the people to obedience.

¹ Woodford to Thurston, 7 September 1896, encl. in Thurston to C.O., 6 November 1896 - C.O. 225/50; Woodford to Berkeley, 12 July 1897, encl. in O'Brien to C.O., 7 September 1897 - C.O. 225/52.
to law - and indicated the mission's readiness to hand over the Supreme Council and the disposal of fines.¹

In 1898 Woodford inaugurated local administration from which mission teachers and clergy were carefully excluded. At a gathering of chiefs and people at Tulagi the Nggela group was divided into five districts, each governed by a principal chief directly responsible to the Resident Commissioner, and with Browning's assistance a new code of laws was drawn up.² Thus deprived of its legislative functions the Vaukolu became a mission convention, 'with plenty of feasting and plenty of fun', affording an opportunity for the missionaries to address their converts on matters of importance and for the discussion of questions of church discipline and practice. In 1908 it was replaced by a smaller gathering with attendance restricted to teachers and chiefs, the proceedings extending over three days instead of a few hours as previously.³

Until his retirement in 1915 Woodford's relations with the Melanesian Mission were characterized by formal

¹ Comins to Woodford, 29 June 1897, encl. in Woodford to Berkeley, 12 July 1897, loc. cit.
cooperation, cemented by his personal friendship with Wilson - both had attended the same Public School\textsuperscript{1} - and his admiration for the character and work of Welchman on Ysabel. He was, as his obituary in The Southern Cross Log claimed, a real though not uncritical friend of missionary work.\textsuperscript{2} The extension of Christianity in the islands under his rule he supported as a 'civiliser and keeper of the peace', preparatory to the inauguration of a regular district administration.\textsuperscript{3}

At the same time, mindful of Thurston's advice that the 'Administration should protect and aid all Missions to the utmost of its possibilities, but lay itself under obligations to none',\textsuperscript{4} he was careful to maintain the independence of the government from sectarian objectives. Although he recommended mission schools as 'a good thing' and provided assistance and protection for those missionaries and teachers who were threatened with violence for their beliefs, he was quick to reassure anxious islanders that they would not be compelled to receive a school against their will, and he vigorously countered any attempt by native teachers to use the authority of the government for their own ends.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1} Tonbridge School, Kent. Wilson, Extracts from letters to wife, 7 August 1903; S.C.L., May 1906, p.4.
\textsuperscript{2} S.C.L.(E), November 1927, p.176.
\textsuperscript{3} Awdry, In the Isles of the Sea, p.56.
\textsuperscript{4} Thurston to C.O., 28 February 1895 - C.O. 225/47.
\textsuperscript{5} E.g., Woodford to O'Brien, 27 January 1898, encl. in O'Brien to C.O., 2 March 1898 - C.O. 225/55.
For a few more years Guadalcanal and Savo remained close to Christian influences. A further attempt to found a school on Guadalcanal was made in 1894 by George Basilei, a Bugotu mission teacher who volunteered to return to his birthplace at Vaturanga. Violent opposition from Kukuru, the local chief, and Sulukavo, a powerful bush chief (who, according to a later missionary, saw in the new teaching the prospect of a serious decrease in their power), caused the venture to be abandoned, but it was resumed in 1896 with the assistance of the Guadalcanal deacon, Hugo Ngorovaka. After three years contending against persecution initiated by Sulukavo and the fear of raids by New Georgia head-hunters, the two teachers gathered a handful of converts and formed a small Christian village on the coast at Maravovo.¹

Finally, in 1900 the mission adopted militant tactics for the first time and sent the Rev. P.T. Williams, a New Zealand descendant of the great Henry Williams and a former Cambridge Rugby 'Blue', with a band of 12 teachers to force an entrance into the stubborn island. Although Sulukavo threatened violence and did all in his power to eject the intruders, the mission party, armed and assured of government support,

¹ M.M. Report and I.V., 1894, p.xliv, 1895, pp.xxxiii-iv, xl; M.M. Occasional Paper, August 1896, p.10, March 1897, p.5; S.C.L., November 1900, p.81; Wilson, Wake of the Southern Cross, pp.208-12; J.R. Newbolt (ed.), John Steward's Memories (Chester, 1939), pp.61-6. As children Basilei and Ngorovaka had been captured by New Georgia head-hunters and sold as slaves to a Bugotu man. From there they were taken by the mission to Norfolk Island.
stood its ground. At length, the chief, convinced that the missionaries possessed a 'secret protecting power' against which his sorcery and charms were useless, admitted defeat and made overtures of friendship. From then on the mission encountered little overt resistance. Christianity grew in popularity, and from Maravovo a chain of schools was extended along the west coast of the island. In 1902 a group of Nggela teachers obtained a foothold on the north coast among the Nggela-speaking people of the Tasimboko district. Teachers were also placed among the influential but unfriendly Savoans.

This initial success of the Melanesian Mission coincided with the resumption of Roman Catholic mission work by French priests of the Society of Mary. These arrived in 1898 and were directed by Woodford to Guadalcanal where they worked initially through a school at their headquarters on the islet of Rua Sura.

1 I.V. and Report, 1900, pp.12-5; S.C.L. June 1900, pp.13-4, December 1900, p.85, December 1901, pp.139-41, July 1901, pp.75-7, January 1902, p.166; Woodford to O'Brien, 21 September 1900, encl. in O'Brien to C.O., 12 November 1900 - C.O. 225/59.
3 S.C.L, October 1902, p.61, August 1903, pp.44-5, February 1905, p.4.
4 Two teachers were placed on Savo in November 1900 but were driven out a few months later. They returned at the close of 1901 and, with Woodford's support, founded a school. Six Nggela teachers were sent to the island in 1903: S.C.L., July 1901, pp.75-7, January 1902, p.166; I.V. and Report 1902, pp.6-7.
near Aola and later through mission stations on the mainland. The western portion of the island soon became a scene of intense religious rivalry, as each mission raced the other to place teachers and secure the allegiance of uncommitted villages.

For such a struggle the Melanesian Mission was ill-prepared. Until 1903 it had only one missionary on Guadalcanal, to supervise schools scattered along 60 miles of coastline. In addition, its traditional abhorrence of competing Christian creeds as 'unwise and unsettling to the heathen' and the sense of security engendered by five decades of undisputed occupation of the Solomons made it slow to adjust its tactics to the new conditions. The French priests, on the other hand, were numerous and devoted, eager to draw heretics as well as pagans into Christ's True Church. The English mission was viewed in Counter-Reformation terms as a rival to be blocked at every turn and dislodged from its strongholds whenever possible.

Before long there were complaints of unscrupulous tactics, and charges that Roman Catholic teachers were being placed adjacent to Anglican villages to draw away malcontents. 'They have spoken against our faith and our workers', wrote one aggrieved missionary,

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1For the early history of the Roman Catholic mission on Guadalcanal see L.M. Raucaz, In the Savage South Solomons (n.p., 1928), pp.80-190. Stations were established at Avuavu (1899), Tangarar (1900), Visale (1904), Marau (1904-15), Aola (1905 only), Savo 1909-11), Ruavatu (1920).

2There are numerous examples of this attitude in Raucaz, op. cit.
'have harrassed our people, and in one case at least have tried to pervert a teacher, telling him that we purposely neglected him and had taught him what we knew to be lies.'\textsuperscript{1} The apparent concentration of the Roman Catholic forces in districts where Melanesian Mission schools were already established also provoked bitter comment:

> When it is considered that vast tracts of land are still absolutely heathen and quite unreached by any denomination in this Island, it seems hardly an ideal method of advancing Christianity to introduce an element of discord amongst people already instructed by the Anglican branch of the Holy Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{2}

For each mission it was an unashamed struggle for ascendancy: with their superior numbers the newcomers were from the outset in a position of advantage.

On Ysabel the mission prospered under specially favourable conditions. Soga remained a staunch supporter and took seriously his new responsibilities as a great Christian chief - dispenser of justice, protector of the schools and peacemaker between warring neighbours.\textsuperscript{3} Following his death in 1898 it was to Welchman that the people turned for some kind of stable rule. A recent widower, he gave himself


\textsuperscript{2} S.C.L., April 1905, p.22.

\textsuperscript{3} Wilson, Wake of the Southern Cross, pp.228-31.
without stint to his work and under his stern but sympathetic leadership, augmented by his medical skill, the mission achieved a position of dominance in the island society. Many bush villages accepted Christianity and in 1903 a school was commenced at Kia, at the far north of the island. The expansion of the mission was assisted by the government's suppression of New Georgia head-hunting in 1900, an event which brought new peace and security to Bugotu. The mission had also welcomed the transfer of Ysabel from German to British protection in 1899, both as an end to a number of unavoidable hindrances to its freedom of action and in anticipation of the 'actual assistance that will now be afforded us in the peaceful prosecution of our work.'

In his methods of mission work Welchman stood alone. From the first he set his face against the civilization of the Melanesians. He also discouraged bush dwellers from leaving their hill villages, 'which are the most healthy places for them to live in', for coastal sites.

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1 S.C.L., November 1899, p.4; I.V. and Report, 1903, p.7.
2 On head-hunting raids on Ysabel in the 1890s see Woodford to H.C., 27 August 1898, encl. in O'Brien to C.O., 11 October 1898 - C.O. 223/55; Wilson, Wake of the Southern Cross, pp.232-4.
3 I.V., and Report, 1900, p.24. By the Anglo-German agreement of 1886 Ysabel, Choiseul, the Shortland Islands and Ontong Java were left within the German sphere of influence. They were ceded to Britain under the Samoa Convention of 1899.
For himself, he refused to accept a European-style house. 'I believe', he is reported to have said, 'the steps up form a barrier between the white man and the people. I like a native house with a mud floor, where the men can come and sit about and feel at home.' He placed great importance on the efficiency of his village teachers, supplied them with rules of guidance and gathered them together at his headquarters at Maranatambu every few months for special courses of instruction. A 'strong Churchman', he stressed the dogmatic element in Christian belief and enforced a strict standard of church discipline.

Welchman's death in 1908, the result of prolonged illness and overwork, was mourned not only by the people of Ysabel but by many outside the mission. Woodford paid an eloquent and moving tribute to his life and work; Mahaffy, the Assistant High Commissioner, wrote at length on the 'irreparable loss' of a 'really good man'; and the traders and planters of the Solomons, many of whom he had tended in sickness or injury, erected a memorial at Tulagi.

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3 Interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox (Taroaniara). During a visit to Ysabel in 1901, while Welchman was on leave, Wilson restored 27 excommunicates to the church: S.C.L., January 1902, p.168.
4 Wilson, Dr Welchman, p.115-7; Mahaffy to H.C., 21 December 1908, encl. in Major to C.O., 11 February 1909 - CD.225/85. See also S.C.L., January 1909, p.111-4.
Through trade and head-hunting Ysabel was brought into frequent contact with the people of New Georgia and its adjacent islands. Welchman, an enthusiastic evangelist, was eager to extend the mission into this neglected and turbulent region, and in 1893 he led the Southern Cross on its first voyage to the Russell Islands and Simbo. Soga, who accompanied the expedition, pleaded eloquently with the chiefs at each place to renounce head-hunting and receive a school, but without success. A second voyage to the west in 1895, to Simbo, Bilua and the Roviana Lagoon, was equally unrewarding - principally, it seems, due to adverse reports of missionary work spread by some of the Roviana traders.

Despite the loan of a vocabulary of the Roviana language and other assistance from the captain and officers of H.M.S. Penguin, which was surveying the New Georgia coastline, these contacts were not followed up, the Southern Cross being unable to sail the extra distance to the western islands on top of its extensive and increasing commitments in the remainder of the

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1 Patteson had visited the Marovo Lagoon in 1866, but this contact was never followed up. In 1877 John Selwyn had noted the possibility of extending the mission to New Georgia: I.V., 1877, pp.19-20.


group. However, Wilson hoped that a new and faster ship and twenty additional missionaries (for which he issued an appeal in 1899) would enable the mission to begin work there at an early date. To prepare the way he therefore sailed in 1900 to Choiseul and the Shortland Islands, accompanied by three Ysabel interpreters. In view of the foundation of a Roman Catholic mission in the Shortlands in the previous year, the government disallowed Wilson's purchase of land there for a station, but a beginning was made on Choiseul where two boys were taken from Mbambatana, a populous district on the west coast. These learned little during their stay at Norfolk Island and when returned to their home in the following year no others could be obtained.

The consistent failure of the Melanesian Mission to cover the area it claimed as its own eventually undermined the moral basis of its monopoly and made the exclusion of other religious bodies an impossibility. In 1901 the Methodist Church of Australasia announced its intention of commencing a mission in the Solomons, and, in preference to a rival mission on either

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1 S.C.L., December 1899, pp.6-7; Wilson, Extracts from letters to wife, 4 June 1900.
2 S.C.L., January 1901, pp.98-9; January 1902, pp.166-7; Wilson, Wake of the Southern Cross, pp.238-41. According to Wilson two boys were also taken from Mono (Treasury Island), but these are not mentioned in the account of the voyage in The Southern Cross Log.
Guadalcanal or Malaita, Wilson agreed reluctantly to 'cede' the New Georgia group. The subsequent Methodist expansion to Choiseul he regarded as an unwarranted invasion of Melanesian Mission territory. Welchman, who had recently acquired a small schooner for missionary voyages further afield, retaliated by placing Ysabel teachers at Doveli and Java on Vella Lavella and on Choiseul at Tambatamba, alongside a Fijian Methodist catechist. In 1906 the teacher on Choiseul was withdrawn, but the work on Vella Lavella was strengthened by the arrival of G.H. Andrews, a lay missionary. Before long, however, the growing demand for teachers for the thousands of pagans remaining in the eastern Solomons forced reconsideration of this policy of maintaining an ill-supplied mission in the sparsely-peopled western islands in direct competition with the Methodists, and in 1907 Wilson recalled Andrews and his assistants - an action which Welchman regarded as a monstrous betrayal of work he had come to regard as his own particular responsibility.

1 T.V., and Report, 1902, pp.12-4. See also H.H. Montgomery, 'The Anglican Church in the South Pacific', The East and the West, vol.1, No.4, pp.404 ff., and Awdry, op. cit., p.xlv. For a full account of the foundation of the Methodist mission and its subsequent relations with the Melanesian Mission see chapter VI.


3 M.M. Report, 1907, p.5; Wilson, Dr Welchman, pp.102-3.
These disputes with the Methodists and the wranglings with the Roman Catholics on Guadalcanal well exemplify the 'ecclesiological motive' in the expansion of the Melanesian Mission. Indeed, in the mission report for 1902 this was explicitly stated:

A church which believes herself to be purer in doctrine than others, in that she not only 'adheres to the doctrine of the Cross, but also stands apart from Papal and Puritan innovations', would surely come under the greater condemnation if, having the best, she allowed the world to have what she considers to be the less good.¹

This was not an earnest evangelical desire to save the heathen from eternal perdition; rather, the emphasis was on the propagation of a particular system of doctrine and church order. Ideally, this motive was born of a 'sincere conviction...that the very form of the Church is part of the Church's Gospel.'² In practice, there were overtones of a narrow 'denominational imperialism', a product of the principles inherited from the elder Selwyn: that the Church of England should, by right, be represented in the mission field in strength, and that the Melanesian Mission was 'God's instrument' for the evangelization of northern Melanesia.³

¹ I.T.V. and Report, 1902, p.10. See also M.M. Report, 1907, p.10.
³ This phrase was in use as late as the 1920s: Hand-Book of the Melanesian Mission (Auckland, 1926).
IN spite of mission prophecies to the contrary the Melanesian labour trade flourished rather than declined; indeed, by the 1890s an average of 500 Solomon Islanders were being imported into Queensland each year, in addition to the hundred or so recruited annually for Fiji. During the eighties regular mission work was inaugurated on the Queensland plantations by the undenominational Queensland Kanaka Mission (Q.K.M.) and the Presbyterians, while the opportunities presented by the trade as a means of 'civilising and Christianising' the Melanesian islanders were increasingly recognized.

One of Wilson's first official acts after his consecration was to send the Rev. A. Brittain, an experienced missionary from the northern New Hebrides, to Queensland to enquire into conditions on the plantations. Individual Anglican clergy and lay people had already begun schools at Bundaberg and Mackay, but these efforts were uncoordinated, suffered from chronic shortage of funds and reached only a small proportion of the colony's 8000 labourers. Brittain therefore urged .

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1 Writing in the 1870s and 80s Bice, Penny and Selwyn described the trade as dying a 'natural death': Penny, Ten Years in Melanesia, p.138; Bice to Jackson, 11 October 1875, and Selwyn to Jackson, 23 July 1877, Jackson Papers.

2 Bowden-Smith to Admiralty, 13 March 1894, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 3 May 1894 – C.O. 225/46; Montgomery, Light of Melanesia, pp.249-51; S.C.L., December 1895, p.5. For details of the work of the Q.K.M. see chapter VII.
the foundation of a Queensland branch of the Melanesian Mission, which would evangelize pagan islanders as well as minister to the growing number of mission adherents among those recruited.¹

In the following year, at the invitation of the Bishops of Brisbane, Rockhampton and North Queensland, Wilson himself visited Queensland to examine the prospects for such a mission. Like Selwyn he was not opposed to the trade in principle, provided Queensland assumed the functions of a 'good boarding-school' for the islanders. Persuaded during his visit that the colony was, in fact, a 'bad school' - mortality was high and the labourers were, he maintained, treated like 'useful animals' - he urged the establishment, with government assistance, of three central colleges on the pattern of the Norfolk Island school at Bundaberg, Mackay and the Burdekin where time-expired labourers could be educated and prepared for work as teachers on their own islands.² Later, owing to insufficient staff, the distance of Queensland from the

¹ M.M. Occasional Paper, Christmas 1894, pp.5-8.
² The fullest expression of Wilson's views is his 'Memorandum upon the Queensland Labour Traffic' and Letter to the Premier of Queensland, 23 May 1895, P.P., 1895, vol.LXX [C,7912], pp.308-10. See also M.M. Occasional Paper, Christmas 1894, pp.4-5, August 1895, p.5, August 1896, p.3; S.C.L., October 1895, pp.3-4. The mortality rate on the Queensland plantations in 1895 was 35.99 per 1000: for details see Parnaby, Britain and the Labour Trade in the Southwest Pacific, p.203.
mission's island field and the difficulty of communication with its headquarters at Norfolk Island, he rejected the scheme as impracticable. In the meantime, the mission inaugurated a system of annual grants to the existing Anglican mission schools, and in 1896 Williams was sent to take charge of the mission at Bundaberg which became known as the 'Melanesian Mission in Queensland', a separate and self-supporting branch of the work in the islands. After his departure in 1898 the chief centre of Anglican work was at Mackay where an evening school, operated by Mrs Robinson, was attended by several hundred labourers.

The Fiji labourers were almost totally ignored. In 1894 Comins visited the colony and selected six Malaita Christians from an Anglican school at Suva for training at Norfolk Island. After two years teaching

1 M.M. Report and I.V., 1895, p. ii; M.M. Occasional Paper, August 1896, pp. 3-4; S.C.L., January 1897, p. 1, September 1897, pp. 1-3, December 1897, p. 2, April 1898, pp. 8-10. From 1898 onwards the mission's schools received a small grant from the Queensland government. The average weekly attendance at all Anglican services and classes held in the Bundaberg district was 577 in 1897, 690 in 1898.

2 By this stage most of the mission work on the Queensland plantations was in the hands of the Q.K.M. In 1900 the 'Selwyn Mission' at Mackay was attended by 100 labourers; in 1906 by 500: S.C.L., February 1900, p. 8; Report of the Queensland Sugar Industry Labour Commission, p. 169, in Commonwealth of Australia, House of Representatives, Miscellaneous Papers 1906.
their fellow labourers in Fiji these returned to Malaita accompanied by some of their converts and formed two small Christian villages - one at Fiu, north of Langalanga, the other on the east coast near Ata'a Cove. They were not the first Christian settlements in north Malaita. There was already a small band of Christians at Malu'u at the north-western extremity of the island, gathered and taught by Peter Ambuofa, a convert of the Q.K.M. In 1899 another 'school' was begun on the east coast at Kwai by Amasia, who had been converted in Fiji by the Wesleyans.

Since the 1870s, when the castaway John Renton lived for eight years with the people of Sulu Vou, the inhabitants of the artificial islands in the Lau Lagoon of north-east Malaita had been in close and friendly contact with European traders and labour recruiters. To preserve their profitable business from outside interference these had warned the islanders against fraternizing with either men-of-war or mission ships. Consequently, when the Southern Cross made its first visits to the area in 1893, 1895 and 1899, it was unsuccessful in obtaining boys for training. At

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2 See below, pp.357-8.
3 Renton lived on Sulu Vou, the most populous of the artificial islands, between 1868 and 1875: Ivens, The Island Builders of the Pacific, pp.71-3.
the beginning of 1900 Ivens sailed by whaleboat up the east coast, visiting Amasia who was facing strong opposition at Kwai and the Christian labourers settled near Ata'a. Later in the same year the Southern Cross circumnavigated the entire island for the first time. In the artificial islands the suspicion encountered on earlier visits was fast disappearing and four boys were taken away.

Woodford, convinced that north Malaita was now 'ripe for Christianity', urged Wilson to station a European missionary there immediately; indeed, if the opportunity was not taken he threatened to invite the Australian Methodists who were currently seeking a mission field in the Solomons. Such an ultimatum could not be ignored and in 1902 the Rev. Arthur Hopkins, a young English priest, was sent to Ngore Fou, a small peninsula on the mainland opposite the artificial islet of Fera Subua. Here, Amasia, who had been driven out of Kwai in the previous year, had gathered together a few Christian labourers; he

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1 S.C.L., June 1900, pp.18-20, July 1900, pp.25-7; I.V. and Report, 1900, p.20.
2 S.C.L., August 1900, pp.40-2. One scholar, from Kwai, was 'bought' for an axe, three boxes of hooks, four lines, 12 clay pipes and 40 sticks of tobacco: Wilson, Extracts from letters to wife, 16 May 1900.
himself was murdered, in settlement of an old score, shortly before Hopkins's arrival. 1

The traditional hostility between the island dwellers and the bushmen on the mainland, aggravated by the widespread possession of firearms (smuggled in by returning labourers), made mission work in the area both difficult and dangerous. Murders were frequent: 'It was', Hopkins recalled, 'locally then taken for granted that every cartridge fired meant a man killed.' 2 Despite the friendship and protection offered by Maeau, the senior chief of Fera Subua, and Lainao, a nwane ramo or professional fighting-man, the fortified Christian village at Ngore Fou was constantly in fear of attack from hostile bushmen. 3 Hopkins, however, lacked neither energy nor courage. A small frail-looking man, he was described by Woodford as 'very hard working and estimable' and by an admiring contemporary within the mission, as 'probably the bravest man who ever came to Melanesia'. 4 To the consternation

1 Mahaffy to Woodford, 1 October 1902, encl. in Jackson to C.O., 8 January 1903 - C.O. 225/65; Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 27-9. The village at Ngore Fou had also been raided and robbed by Kwaisulea, a powerful 'chief' of Ada Gege, an artificial island near Sulu Fou, who wanted the labourers near him and under his protection.

2 Hopkins, op. cit., p.31.


4 Woodford to C.O., 28 November 1911 - C.O. 225/99; Fox, op. cit., p.171.
of his protectors he walked unarmed among neighbouring bush settlements and, on several occasions, narrowly escaped death at the hands of *nwane ramo* who had been deputed to take a white man's life.1

Until 1909, when a District Magistrate with a party of native police was stationed at Auki near Fiu, the work of the mission was severely hampered by the disturbed state of the island. Throughout this early period the majority of Hopkins's converts comprised returned labourers and their relatives. Those few bushmen who decided to accept Christianity joined the existing colonies of labourers, first at Ngore Fou and later elsewhere along the coast, where they were within easy reach of the mission ship. The island dwellers, although well-disposed and proud of having a white man resident among them, were strongly attached to their traditions and consistently refused to accept teachers.2

It was evident that those courageous evangelistic ventures initiated by converted labourers could succeed in penetrating the solid wall of Malaita belief and custom only if given constant support and encouragement. Accordingly, Hopkins regularly journeyed by whaleboat to the Christian villages at Fiu and Malu'u in the hope of incorporating them into the mission organization. This was successfully accomplished at Fiu where Anglican

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2 Ibid., pp.61, 129; S.C.L.(E), June 1908, p.274.
influences had been present from an early date. At Malu'u, however, the pidgin-English Fundamentalism taught by Peter Ambuofa had little outward affinity with the Melanesian Mission's liturgical Christianity and Hopkins's efforts to assist were received with suspicion. At length, in 1904, in response to Ambuofa's appeals for help, missionaries of the Q.K.M. arrived from Australia and the tenuous links which had bound the Malu'u Christians to the Melanesian Mission were broken.

To the Melanesian Mission, the new Solomon Islands branch of the Q.K.M. represented an unwelcome intrusion, both as a source of religious division in an island 'where in a short time all would have been of one faith', and as a dissenting body bereft of any church status. Hopkins remained on friendly terms with its missionaries and paid tribute to their zeal and enterprise - 'so often outstripping mine' - but he was

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1 Two Banks Islands teachers had been placed at Fiu in 1901, and during 1902-3 the village was the headquarters of Thomas Williams, a popular lay missionary. He was, it is claimed, the first European to walk across Malaita. There is an account of his work in Mahaffy to Woodford, 1 October 1902, loc. cit. Arthur Ako, the leader of the Fiu Christians, was shot by a party of bushmen in 1904: Hopkins, op. cit., pp.122-3.

2 For Hopkins's connexions with the Christian village at Malu'u and the arrival of the Q.K.M. see below, pp.359 ff.

3 S.C.L., January 1901, p.110. The reference here is to C.B. Pillans, a free-lance Evangelical missionary who came from Australia in 1900 to assist Ambuofa.
critical of their apparent inability to appreciate or understand the Melanesian Mission's 'Church methods' and their initial refusal to enter into any kind of territorial agreement.¹

The termination of the Queensland labour trade by an Act of the new Commonwealth government was greeted by the missionaries with unqualified satisfaction. Wilson reflected the prevailing mood when he wrote:

Some tried to bring good out of the evil, or to turn the evil into good, but the numbers of those really benefitted [sic] by the traffic were infinitesimal compared with those who, in the islands or Queensland, suffered irremediably by it. This trade in the souls of men had hung like a curse on the islands for fifty years and has now been cleared away, I trust, never to return. . . . We can see the Hand of God in this.²

Nevertheless, there were misgivings about certain features of the proposed repatriation of labourers and their families, and in 1906 Hopkins was sent to Australia to lay the mission's views before the Federal authorities. His evidence concerning conditions on Malaita was placed before the Prime Minister (Deakin), the Governor General and the Admiral of the Australian Station, though it was not used directly by the Royal Commission set up to enquire into the repatriation. The

¹ Hopkins, op. cit., pp.114-5.
² S.C.L., April 1907, p.129. Hopkins described the end of the labour traffic as 'a cause for joy': S.C.L.(E), April 1908, p.243.
Commission's recommendations were responsible for the Pacific Island Labourers Act of 1906, by which those islanders for whom deportation was likely to involve danger or undue hardship were permitted to remain in Australia, and regulations were framed to ensure that the actual process was as humane and free from confusion as possible.\(^1\) During the repatriation, which took place in the last months of 1906 and the beginning of 1907, some 5200 Melanesians were shipped back to their homes. Of these, an estimated 3000 were from the Solomons, principally from Malaita.\(^2\)

In the final years of the labour trade a high proportion of the Pacific islanders in Queensland had come under the influence of the Q.K.M. and their repatriation led to a considerable increase in the Christian population of Malaita. With its former converts as a nucleus, the Q.K.M., after 1907 known as the South Sea Evangelical Mission (S.S.E.M.), extended its activities to all parts of the island and soon surpassed the Melanesian Mission in the number of its

\(^1\) The Act is No.22 of 1906. Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 155-7; Myra Willard, History of the White Australia Policy (Melbourne, 1923), pp.182-5. See also the Report of the Queensland Sugar Industry Labour Commission (loc. cit.), containing evidence taken from C.C. Sage, 'Church of England Missioner to the Melanesians in Mackay', and Miss Florence Young, Superintendent of the Q.K.M.

\(^2\) In the absence of reliable statistics I have used the figures given in Parnaby, op. cit., pp.203, 206, as the basis of an estimate.
schools. Not only was the older mission's lack of enterprise and foresight in refusing to include the plantations within its sphere of work now apparent; it also failed to use to advantage the converts of the Anglican mission school at Mackay, the majority of whom dispersed before arrangements were made to transfer them as a body to Malaita to build up a strong Christian centre at Fiu.

For the Melanesian Mission the 'return' was of mixed significance. Everywhere the old prestige of its Mota-speaking teachers was undermined by the influx of former labourers who spoke pidgin-English, wore European clothes and boasted of their superior knowledge of the white man's civilization. Among the teachers on Nggela and Ulawa there arose a strong current of dissatisfaction with the mission's prevailing rates of pay - £2 or £3 a year, as against the £6 or £8 previously available in Queensland. New problems were also created by the presence, side by side, of rival versions of Christianity. Members of one mission placed under church discipline for some sexual offence not infrequently evaded it by joining the other. At Fiu there was dissension when a band of Q.K.M. converts

1 M.M. Report, 1907, p.5.
2 Ibid., pp.8, 33; S.C.L., March 1907, pp.113-4, April 1907, p.128; Hopkins, op. cit., pp.142-3, 158.
4 M.M. Report, 1911, p.7.
insisted upon extempore prayer and refused to worship in the vernacular according to the Book of Common Prayer.¹

Despite these difficulties, the position of the mission on Malaita steadily improved. From those labourers who had been taught in Anglican schools in Queensland Hopkins gained nearly 20 new teachers. The most notable among these was Jack Talofuila, a native of Sulu Vou and a nephew of Kwaisulea, the influential 'chief' of Ada Gege, who in 1904 began a school at Fouia on the shore opposite his home.² In addition, it was evident that Malaita was now more receptive to Christian influences than ever before. The returned labourers were, as a class, Hopkins observed, 'fond of things English'; many were fervent advocates of England's God. Within a few years it was possible to circumnavigate the island by whaleboat spending each night at a Christian school, either Melanesian Mission or S.S.E.M.³

Because relatively few labourers had been recruited for Queensland from Small Malaita, that island saw little of the social disruption and

¹ M.M. Report, 1907, pp.38-9, 1913, p.22.
² M.M. Report, 1910, p.47. Of the 27 teachers working in north Malaita, 19 had been wholly or partly trained in Queensland or Fiji. On Jack Talofuila see Hopkins's biography, From Heathen Boy to Christian Priest (London, 1930).
religious controversy which accompanied the repatriation in the north.¹ Long association with the Melanesian Mission gave its older school a distinctive character, an admiration for English customs and a deference to visiting missionaries, which 'recalled Bishop Patteson's days and ways.'² Following the first baptisms at Sa'a in 1896,³ schools spread outwards along both the east and west coasts. This progress was due chiefly to the efforts of Luke Masura'a, a 'small, tough, fiery fellow', leader of the flourishing church at Port Adam,⁴ and Ivens, who had oversight of Small Malaita for 14 years until his retirement from the mission in 1909. A 'born missionary', Wilson described him, 'full of life and fun', he was revered by the local people for his deep knowledge of their languages and customs.⁵

¹ No figures are available. However, from contemporary accounts and isolated references it is plain that the majority of Malaita natives recruited for Queensland or Fiji were drawn from the populous north of the island. The Q.K.M. founded its first schools on Small Malaita in 1907.

² Hopkins, op. cit., p.171.

³ S.C.L., February 1897, p.31.

⁴ Fox, op. cit., p.169. He was ordained deacon in 1906 and died in 1917. There is an account of his life in S.C.L.(E), September 1918, pp.106-8.

⁵ Wilson, Extracts from letters to wife, 9 July 1900, 4 September 1903; Fox, op. cit., p.165. He died in 1940: obituary in Oceania, vol.XI, No.2, p.205.
On Ulawa Clement Marau, ordained priest in 1903, was at the peak of his influence. Years later, after his death, he was described as 'masterful, very tender-hearted and emotional', and 'uncompromising in his attack on heathenism'. A man of exceptional intelligence - 'probably the ablest Melanesian to work in the Mission' - he was also a natural orator whose skill in the illustration of Christian doctrine by native metaphor and idiom was unsurpassed. One example has survived:

On a hot day you see the heat rising, and getting hotter and hotter until you expect soon to see flame; so the Presence of God in the Old Testament grew hotter and hotter, until at last it became visible in Christ.

His prestige as leader of the growing Christian community was further enhanced by the honoured position accorded him by Woodford during his visit to the island in 1899, and by the construction at Madoa of a large, stone, iron-roofed church with an apsidal end to resemble the chapel at Norfolk Island - the first building of its kind in the Solomons.

The mission's successes on Small Malaita and Ulawa were not paralleled on San Cristobal, described by

1 S.C.L. (E), February 1927, p.25.
2 Fox, op. cit., p.163.
3 L.V. and Report 1902, p.7.
4 S.C.L., September 1899, pp.10-1; S.C.L. (E), September 1908, pp.318-23. The church was consecrated in 1901.
Wilson as late as 1901 as 'one of the most heartbreaking and disappointing islands that the Mission works in.'\(^1\)

In 1895, shortly before Comins's departure from the district, high hopes were aroused by the baptism of the influential chief Taki, who for some years had been hovering between acceptance and rejection of Christianity.\(^2\) Although he proved to be an ardent propagandist for the mission, the church at Wango, poorly led by unstable teachers, remained in a moribund condition. Nevertheless, the internal peace enjoyed by the cluster of school villages on the north coast, in marked contrast to the warfare and head-hunting still prevalent elsewhere on the island, aroused the envy of their pagan neighbours. Comins's successor, the Rev. Robert Wilson, was able to take advantage of this new favourable climate by placing teachers in several new places, including the island of Ugi.\(^3\)

At Santa Ana, a small but populous island at the eastern end of San Cristobal, long association with European traders and whalers had not diminished the vigour of the traditional religion and customs; despite the

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1 S.C.L., January 1902, p.162.
3 S.C.L., January 1898, pp.33-4, January 1901, p.106; I.V. and Report, 1901, p.25. The first school on the south coast of the island was commenced in 1901.
cooperation of Tom Butler, the resident trader, an attempt in 1903 to begin a school there was sharply rebuffed.\footnote{L.V. and Report, 1903, p.4; S.C.L., April 1905, pp.50-1.}

Wilson was a conscientious but uninspiring missionary; humourless and, his bishop observed, 'quick to see wrong or faulty doing.'\footnote{Wilson, Extracts from letters to wife, 9 September 1903. See also Fox, op. cit., pp.228-9.} To combat the inefficiency of the village teachers, the major weakness of the San Cristobal church, he itinerated constantly and, like Welchman, gathered them together each year at his new headquarters at Pamua for religious exercises and further instruction.\footnote{L.V. and Report 1902, p.24; C.E. Fox, 'A Missionary in Melanesia', p.110, Durrad Papers.}

THE first decade of Wilson's episcopate saw a major change in the internal organization of the mission. During the 1890s Welchman, Robert Wilson and a few others began permanent residence in the islands, but most missionaries still clung to the traditional practice and withdrew to Norfolk Island each year at the onset of the wet season. Abandonment of this time-honoured custom was forced on the mission by external developments in the Solomons - the steady increase in the European population of the protectorate in the years after 1896 and, in particular, the arrival
of the Roman Catholic mission in 1898. Although the Melanesian teachers were, it was agreed, effective enough among their own people, they could not hold their own against the 'clever French priests'; in any case, Wilson observed, it was 'natural' to expect that some islanders would follow the teaching of those Europeans who were always on the spot. To outsiders, the move to permanent occupation was long overdue. Nevertheless, it was made at an opportune time, for the introduction of tinned foods and mosquito nets during these years solved many of the problems previously associated with prolonged residence in a tropical and malarial climate.

The immediate consequences of the change were twofold. Because the district missionaries no longer resided at Norfolk Island for half the year it became necessary to station a permanent staff of teachers at

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1 S.C.L., September 1903, p.59. The European population of the Solomons numbered about 50 in 1893, 110 in 1905. With the development of plantations on Guadalcanal and the Russell Islands the next few years saw a considerable influx of settlers; by 1911 Europeans totalled 500.


3 S.C.L., June 1899, p.2.

4 Woodford had long been critical of the mission's traditional method of work: Woodford to Thurston, 7 September 1896, encl. in Thurston to C.O., 6 November 1896 - C.O. 225/50.

5 S.C.L.(E), December 1908, p.371; Interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox.
the central school, while in the islands the mission assumed a new institutional character as the missionaries' native-style dwellings were gradually replaced by prefabricated wooden houses.¹

In order to conserve territory already won against the depredations of rival missions, as well as to hasten the evangelization of large and difficult islands like Malaita and San Cristobal, Wilson made several well publicized appeals in Australia and England for additional staff — priests and laymen.² Like Patteson, he preferred colleagues with a background similar to his own. The linguistic studies and translations undertaken by the mission demanded well-trained minds: therefore, he declaimed at a meeting at Oxford in 1908, 'we must have men of education; we must have University men; we must have public school men'.³ Although none of the appeals met with the desired response, the total European staff of the mission increased threefold between 1894 and 1904, from nine to 27. Of these, two were appointed Organizing Secretaries in England and Australia respectively, while some remained permanently at Norfolk Island.

¹ S.C.L., February 1906, p.4; S.C.L.(E), January 1908, p.188. By 1908 wooden mission houses had been erected at Ngore Pou, Ulawa, Pamua, and on Nggela at Honggo and Siota.
² S.C.L., December 1899, pp.6-8; T.V. and Report, 1902, pp.6-7; S.C.L., April 1907, pp.126-7; M.M. Report, 1908, pp.3-4.
³ S.C.L.(E), December 1908, p.371.
Within the Solomons the number of district missionaries rose in the same period from three to nine. ¹

In the staffing of the mission the most striking departure from past practice was the introduction of women missionaries. In the days of Patteson and Selwyn rough and dangerous conditions in the islands and the mission's peripatetic method of work necessitated the exclusion of even the wives of missionaries from occasional residence in the field. These lived permanently at Norfolk Island and, with a few women helpers, undertook the training of those girls who were taken there betrothed to the older scholars. ²

The position traditionally occupied by women in the island society fascinated and depressed European missionary observers. To the majority, Melanesian women seemed to lead a life of unmitigated drudgery and fear; Wilson's assertion that women were regarded as 'little better than the pigs' and were treated accordingly, reflected a widely-held opinion. ³ Such

² For a description of the training given to Melanesian girls at Norfolk Island see S.C.L., May 1895, pp.6-7, June 1895, pp.5-6, July 1895, pp.7-8, May 1904, pp.16-8.
³ Cecil Wilson, Women of Melanesia (Sydney, n.d.) - the reprint of an article which first appeared in S.C.L., October 1904, pp.6-10.
a judgement was superficial, based on an inadequate understanding of the significance of much traditional behaviour. Nevertheless, the customary exclusion of women from certain religious and social activities and the fact that all the teachers of Christianity were men effectively ensured that the women inhabitants of mission villages were, as a class, much less affected than the men by the new teaching. At religious services it was not uncommon for one side of the church to be filled with 40 or 50 men, while on the opposite side there were but four or five women who 'stood during the service, with their faces turned towards the wall, from shame at being in a house with men.'1

Influenced by the example of the Wesleyan missions in Papua and New Britain and the New Guinea Anglican mission, which had recently begun to employ single women for teaching and nursing duties among women and children in the villages, Wilson resolved to send women missionaries to islands with a large Christian population where their lives would be in no danger.2

The plan was strongly opposed by some of the older mission clergy, who clung to the notion that the island work was a masculine preserve, and it was further delayed by the lack of suitable accommodation on the

1 Ibid.

Southern Cross. The foundation of a small training centre at Norfolk Island, and the arrival in 1903 of a new specially-designed mission ship (Southern Cross Y) enabled two women to be sent to Raga in the northern New Hebrides, and in 1905 a second women's station was opened on Ngatia. Its first occupants were pious, idealistic and resourceful, but limited in their outlook by the conventions of the day. Little attempt was made to relate the activities of the station to the daily life of women in the villages. A great deal of time was devoted to religious instruction and the teaching of needlework - an exotic exercise which drew the full blast of Welchman's sarcasm - while the fundamental problems of village hygiene, mothercraft and scientific food-gardening were ignored or given only token attention.3

The multiplication of European mission staff and their permanent residence in the islands necessarily

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1 S.C.L., July 1901, p.63, February 1903, p.108. The women's training home was in existence for less than five years.
2 S.C.L., August 1905, p.2. The station was located first at Siota, then at Mungo. There were two, later three women in residence.
3 S.C.L., June 1906, pp.6-7; cf. a trader's admiring tribute (later reprinted by the mission in pamphlet form): Dickinson, op. cit., pp.38-9. The aim of the sewing class was 'to get the women to realise that they are members of a living working community, and that it is their duty and privilege to do something, however small, to help on the work': A Lady Member of the Melanesian Mission [Ellen Wilson], The Isles that Wait (London, 1912), p.125. See also S.C.L.(E), April 1916, pp.25-6.
diminished the position of independence and responsibility hitherto enjoyed by the Melanesian clergy and teachers. Although Wilson was sensitive to the dangers of paternalism—a parasitic and demoralizing dependence on the European missionary—he believed that teachers worked better when their 'white father' was close at hand to advise and encourage them; indeed, he doubted that they would ever attain to 'that complete independence for which Bishop Selwyn, our founder, used to hope.' He was not alone in his views. Archdeacon W.A. Uthwatt, head of the mission in the Solomons from 1910 to 1915, regarded the withdrawal of the missionaries and the establishment of an indigenous, self-governing church as 'impossible now and...impracticable for many years.' If this was so, the creation of a large native ministry could safely wait until other, more urgent tasks had been accomplished. Reasons of utility, convenience and economy supplanted theological principle as its chief justification.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the mission followed a cautious policy in admitting teachers to the diaconate and ordaining deacons to the priesthood, lest they proved unequal to the responsibility

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2 Uthwatt, op. cit., p.238.
laid on them and abused their new authority. This fear was reinforced by several cases of adultery among the Melanesian clergy, the most notorious being that of Clement Marau who, in 1910, was suspended from his office and excommunicated.  

This waning confidence in the capacity of the Melanesians to assimilate Christianity to such a degree that they could safely be entrusted with positions of leadership within the island church was paralleled, and to some extent influenced, by the prevailing lack of faith in the future of the Melanesian people as a whole. With increasing outside contact, the growth of commercial and planting interests, and the inauguration of a regular shipping service from Sydney came European diseases. Epidemics of dysentery and influenza, formerly spasmodic, swept through the Solomons each year with disastrous consequences. On some islands, such as Nggela, the population level appeared to remain constant; elsewhere, on New Georgia and San Cristobal in particular, it visibly declined. To the British officials it seemed that the native population was doomed. In 1909 Woodford declared:

My opinion is that nothing in the way of the most paternal legislation or fostering

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1 Uthwatt, op. cit., p.238. During his episcopate Wilson ordained seven Solomon Islands teachers to the diaconate and raised two deacons, Alfred Lombu and Clement Marau, to the priesthood.

2 For the local consequences of Marau's 'fall' see below, p.159.

3 S.C.L., April 1905, pp.5-6; Fox, The Threshold of the Pacific, p.7.
care, carried out at any expense whatever, can prevent the eventual extinction of the Melanesian race in the Pacific. This I look upon as a fundamental fact and as certain as the rising and setting of the sun.¹

The mission did not dispute this verdict. Wilson likened its work to that of a doctor treating a sick child:

They have but a short time to live, and all that can be done is done for them, that their short lives may be brightened....We are placed then by God in His infirmary, to work amongst a dying race; but a race which will certainly die a Christian death.²

Pessimism did not, in fact, lead to passive acquiescence. In its attitude to the bodily ills of its converts the Melanesian Mission had inherited the view expounded by Selwyn and Patteson, that acceptance of Christianity had physical and social as well as moral implications. For years each missionary had been supplied with a copious medicine chest containing the common all-purpose remedies of Castor Oil, Epsom Salts and the magical 'Pain-Killer'.³ This, together

¹ Woodford to im Thurn, 26 December 1909, encl. in im Thurn to C.O., 24 January 1910 - C.O. 225/90. See also Mahaffy to H.C., 21 December 1908, encl. in Major to C.O., 11 February 1909 - C.O. 225/85.
³ Selwyn, Pastoral Work in the Colonies and the Mission Field, pp.130-1; Artless, op. cit., pp.65-6. Of the early missionaries only Comins and Welchman had more than an elementary knowledge of medicine.
with the dearth of government medical facilities and the example of the Presbyterian mission hospital on Ambrym in the New Hebrides, encouraged Wilson to consider the establishment of a fully-equipped medical mission in the Solomons to serve both the islanders and the European settlers. For lack of money and inability to obtain the services of a doctor the project was delayed for a decade. Eventually sufficient funds were collected for a Welchman Memorial Hospital, and in 1911 Dr Russell Marshall joined the mission. In the absence of a suitable site on Nggela, the hospital buildings were erected at Hautambu on the extensive mission estate at Maravovo. The 24-bed institution was opened in 1913, a few months after the establishment by the government of a small native hospital at Tulagi. During its four years of

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1 I.V. and Report 1901, p.8; S.C.L., March 1901, p.167; S.C.L.(E), May 1908, p.247. J.W. Williams, a qualified doctor, joined the mission in 1895 but resigned in 1898 on the ground that there was 'little or nothing to do': M.M. Occasional Paper, Christmas 1897, p.5. As late as 1907 it was possible for an experienced missionary like Ivens to write that medical missions as such had 'no place' in Melanesia; the most a missionary could do was 'to make up certain medicines and to leave them with the patient': Hints to Missionaries to Melanesia (London, 1907), p.31.

2 A Medical Officer had been appointed to the protectorate in 1910, but there was no hospital at Tulagi for several years. R.V. Vernon, a Colonial Office official who visited the Solomons in 1912, was critical of the government's inadequate provision for medical work (Vernon to C.O., 24 December 1912 - C.O. 225/113). Woodford later confessed he had resented the establishment of a European hospital by the mission: S.C.L.(E), December 1916, p.184.
existence the Welchman Hospital treated a small but growing number of Melanesian and European patients. However, the disadvantages of the Hautambu site - its isolation from the chief centres of population and the lack of a convenient anchorage - were clearly evident and in 1917, following Marshall's departure for war service and the marriage of the two nurses, the hospital was closed.

COMMERCIAL and political developments in the islands, the arrival of other religious bodies and the steady northward movement of the mission's centre of gravity made the location of its headquarters and training school at Norfolk Island, a thousand miles to the south of the Solomons, an anachronism. In 1909, when the subject became a matter of open debate, the majority of district missionaries, supported by Bishop Montgomery (now General Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) urged removal from Norfolk Island on the grounds that the bishop should reside among his staff and that the mission's educational work would best be undertaken by central schools located in each of the three principal island groups. They were opposed by the mission's traditionalists led by Comins, Archdeacon of Northern

1 There are accounts of the work of the hospital in *M.M. Report, 1913*, pp.13-5, 1914, p.16.
2 In 1908 Wilson referred obliquely to the need for 'some important new development in the organisation of the Mission': *S.C.L. (E), January 1909*, p.383.
Melanesia, and the Rev. T.C. Cullwick, headmaster of the training school, who upheld the value of Norfolk Island as a healthy centre where missionaries could recuperate after lengthy residence in the islands, stressed its hallowed associations with Patteson and pointed to the lack of unanimity among the mission staff. Wilson himself came to the conclusion that the transference was 'inevitable' and desirable for the future progress of the mission. He was, however, reluctant to remove his wife and children to a malarial climate. Furthermore, after 17 years of incessant travelling he was physically exhausted and doubtful of his ability to accomplish the required changes, and in 1910 he announced his retirement from the see with the intention of leaving the move to be implemented by his successor.

Shortly before his departure in 1911, Wilson called a conference of missionaries at Bungana, a new central school in the Nggela group. Attended by 17 of the 23 missionaries, this was the first occasion on which the European staff had met together since the practice of

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1 M.M. Report 1910, pp.8-10. Supporters of the move also argued from convenience and economy, and the example of other missions, all of which maintained their headquarters and training schools in the islands. Some outside the mission opposed abandonment of Norfolk Islands: e.g., Edward Jacomb, The Future of the Kanaka (Westminster, 1919), pp.160-4.

2 S.C.L., December 1910, pp.94-5. In 1917 he was elected Bishop of Bunbury, Western Australia, where he remained until his death in 1941.
returning to Norfolk Island each summer had been discontinued. Many of the 51 resolutions passed dealt with minor matters of church discipline and usage. Of the remainder, the most important were the decisions to set up junior and senior schools in the Solomon, Santa Cruz and New Hebrides groups, that no boy should be sent to Norfolk Island until he had passed through one of these, and that a similar conference be held every three years, to be preceded by a conference of Melanesian clergy and head teachers.¹

Later in the same year a meeting of Solomon Islands clergy and teachers was held at Pama under the leadership of Archdeacon Uthwatt. The 15 representatives discussed, in Mota, the duties of teachers and problems common to village churches and passed a number of resolutions. Among other things, teachers were bidden 'to instruct the people in the duty of keeping Sunday', to live in harmony with the chief and 'direct only such things as concern the Church', and 'to be on friendly terms with the heathen' in order to bring them to school.²

As successor to Wilson the New Zealand bishops elected the Rev. Cecil Wood, an English parish

¹ S.C.L., July 1911, pp.187-8, August 1911, pp.202-4, September 1911, pp.219-24, October 1911, pp.241-2. Because deliberations were conducted in English no Melanesian clergy or teachers were present. For the significance of the Bungana conference in the development of synodical government within the diocese see Hand-book of the Melanesian Mission.

clergyman, nominated at the request of the mission staff by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of St Albans and Canon Still, a former missionary in the Solomons. A strict Anglo-Catholic, an able theologian and a keen student of mission theory, Wood represented a new type of bishop for Melanesia. He was also a withdrawn, authoritarian personality and a cautious if somewhat erratic administrator - a combination of characteristics which ultimately alienated his staff and marred his episcopate.  

Determined not to be forced into a hasty decision and reluctant to sever the mission's physical links with its past, he delayed making a final judgement on the future of Norfolk Island for as long as possible. Finally, at a staff conference held at Maravovo in 1916, at which he was faced with a unanimous resolution in favour of moving the senior school to the islands 'as soon as circumstances permit', he announced that no change would be made until the war was over and the political future of Melanesia was finally settled.

Those changes in the organization of the mission and the external political and social developments

2 S.C.L.(E), June 1912, p.92.
3 S.C.L., January 1917, pp.16-8, April 1917, pp.10-1. By 1918 Wood was persuaded that the move from Norfolk was 'right': S.C.L.(E), November 1918, p.134.
which pointed towards the move from Norfolk Island also undermined the position of Mota as the mission's official teaching language. With the expansion of the mission in the Solomons and decreasing contact between the district missionaries and Norfolk Island, voices were raised in favour of the substitution of Mota by English, the language of commerce and civilization, which in the form of pidgin-English was already understood by several thousand returned labourers. The first step in this direction was taken at the short-lived school of Siota where, for one year, instruction was given in English. But at this early stage there was little enthusiasm for the change; indeed, many missionaries, including the brilliant linguist W.G. Ivens, were strongly opposed to the abandonment of Mota.

Robert Wilson was among the first in the mission to realize the immense advantages of a knowledge of English, both as a means of opening the door to a broader concept of education and in equipping mission teachers to play a full part in the white man's Solomons. In 1910 he was permitted to found a junior boys' school at Bungana where his theories

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1 On the mission's use of Mota, Woodford had written: 'The Mota language as at present taught and spoken at Norfolk Island probably bears as close a resemblance to the original Mota language as French of the "school of Stratford-atte-Bow" to Parisian French'. He himself advocated the introduction of Fijian as lingua franca in the Solomons: Woodford to Thurston, 7 September 1896, encl. in Thurston to C.O., 6 November 1896 - C.O. 225/50.

2 S.C.L., November 1909, pp.84-7.
could be put to test. At the 1911 Bungana conference his motion that English replace Mota at all central schools in the Solomons was defeated, but its experimental use at Bungana was approved.¹

In accordance with one of his cherished principles, that 'the natives should learn their religion in the language in which they are accustomed to think and speak',² Wood reimposed Mota, ostensibly to enable boys from Bungana to proceed without difficulty to Norfolk Island.³ However, further study of the problem, prompted perhaps by his own failure to become fluent in Mota, convinced him that new conditions compelled the mission to adopt English as its lingua franca. In support of this he argued that since Mota was understood only in the Banks Islands it had no inherent advantage as a medium for the teaching of Christianity. He also pointed out that few missionaries received the opportunity of acquiring Mota at Norfolk Island where it was universally spoken; that many teachers, especially in the Solomons, had never been to Norfolk Island and therefore knew no Mota; and that in relation to the outside world Mota was 'as a dead language'.⁴

¹ S.C.L., August 1911, p.204.
² S.C.L., October 1916, p.737. See also S.C.L.(E), June 1912, pp.92-3.
³ S.C.L., February 1913, pp.140-1. There were 37 boys at Bungana at this stage, principally from north Malaita and Ysabel.
⁴ A Memorandum on the subject by Wood is in S.C.L., October 1916, pp.737-40.
Once again the mission staff was sharply divided, ancient loyalties and prejudices coalescing with a genuine fear that the use of English would make the church 'more foreign', versus an equally strong determination to open new frontiers of knowledge to the Melanesians and thereby dispel the air of stagnation which hung over the village schools. After lengthy debate at the Maravovo conference of 1916 it was resolved, with some dissension, that 'English be adopted as the medium of instruction at the local Central Schools and at Norfolk Island'. But except at Bungana the experiment was not a success, principally owing to the lack of English-speaking Melanesian teachers to assist the Europeans. Accordingly, at another conference held in 1918 the earlier decision was rescinded and Mota enthroned once again. The question was not settled finally for another decade.

Unlike his predecessors, who had hammered out their principles of mission work only after personal experience of conditions in the island, Wood arrived

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1 S.C.L.(E), November 1917, pp.142-7; August 1918, pp.93-5.
2 S.C.L., January 1917, p.17. Woodford applauded the decision; S.C.L.(E), December 1916, p.185; Jacomb criticized it; Future of the Kanaka, pp.152-60.
3 S.C.L.(E), November 1918, p.140; S.C.L., May 1919, p.3.
4 S.C.L., February 1919, p.2. Bungana: where the teaching of English had been remarkably successful, was initially exempted but soon followed the others; Fox, 'History of the Melanesian Mission', Bishop Wood, p.9.
in Melanesia with his views on the subject already formed. Convinced that the object of the mission was to plant a 'native Church' retaining 'the forms of the Catholic Faith and Sacraments and the Apostolic Ministry' but in all else adapted to the needs and idiom of the indigenous culture, he applied to the Melanesian church the three fundamental principles of self-government, self-support and self-extension. As a foundation for a future diocesan synod he urged that councils be set up in each district in which clergy, teachers and other representative church members could become accustomed to discussion of administrative matters and problems of discipline. In the matter of self-support he criticized the mission's current practice of paying wages to its Melanesian agents as 'wrong in principle' and formulated a scheme by which the native church, working through its local councils, would be made responsible for the payment and support of its teachers and clergy. Only the principle of self-extension was well established, it having long been the custom of the mission to encourage teachers from Christian islands to volunteer for pioneer work further afield. In retrospect, Wood's views appear imaginative and far-sighted; to his contemporaries, they were the speculations of a doctrinaire theorist who understood little of the practical difficulties involved. None of his schemes was implemented in the Solomons.

1 S.C.L., October 1916, p.155.
Dissatisfaction with Wood's high-handed and frequently ill-judged actions and his tardiness about severing the links with Norfolk Island led finally to open revolt. In October 1918 18 missionaries met at Maravovo and resolved unanimously that two counsellors be selected for the bishop, 'that the Bishop shall always seek their advice and counsel, nor shall he act contrary to their advice when they represent the opinion of the Staff.' On receiving this ultimatum Wood promptly resigned, whereupon Robert Wilson was elected administrator of the diocese. 1

WOOD'S episcopate was clouded not only by indecisive leadership and internal dissension, but also - principally as a result of the war - by a severe shortage of staff and funds. Consequently, it saw little of the vigorous expansion and optimism which marked the decade after 1895. This steady slackening in the pace of the mission is reflected in its statistics: whereas the number of baptized adherents in the Solomons increased by nearly 3000 (66 per cent) between 1895 and 1907, it rose by only 1600 (21 per cent) between 1907 and 1918, and this at a time when

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1 *S.C.L.*, February 1919, pp.1-2; Interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox. Although the constitutional legality of the conditions demanded was subsequently questioned, a Select Committee of the New Zealand General Synod of 1919 appointed to enquire into the affair concluded that 'the staff adopted the only course open to them to obtain an adjustment of their legitimate grievances': *S.C.L.*, June 1919, p.1.
much of the old hostility to Christianity among the islanders was rapidly disappearing. ¹

The greatest advances were made on San Cristobal where the Rev. C.E. Fox was stationed, first as headmaster of a boys' boarding school founded at Pamua in 1911 and later, from 1915, as district missionary. An active and enterprising priest, he identified himself fully with the life of the people and inaugurated a Brotherhood of evangelists to reach the bush villages in the interior of the Bauro district. ² In 1918 there were 20 mission villages on San Cristobal and Ugi. ³

Following the establishment of the government station at Auki in 1909 the rule of law was steadily extended over the whole of Malaita. The smuggling of arms and ammunition had already come to an end with the cessation of the labour trade. Government retributive action was swift and severe, fighting died ⁴

² S.C.L., April 1917, pp.21-2; S.C.L.(E), November 1918, pp.142-3. For a traveller's impressions of Pamua and San Cristobal c.1914 see William M. Mann, Ant Hill Odyssey (Boston, 1948), 308ff. For Fox's exchange of name and possessions with a San Cristobal mission teacher see below, pp.500-1.
³ There were 32 schools in 1916. The decrease is probably explained by the amalgamation of small bush schools into larger villages on the coast and a decline in population resulting from epidemics.
down and conditions for mission work became noticeably easier. However, in comparison with the S.S.E.M., the Melanesian Mission was poorly staffed, its converts often deficient in zeal, and its rate of growth was correspondingly slow — indeed, in 1911 Woodford described its work as 'almost negligible'.

In 1918 there were 12 schools in north Malaita centred upon the mission stations at Fiu and Ngore Fou, and 21 schools in Small Malaita.

In the aftermath of Clement Marau's sensational lapse the once flourishing Ulawa church almost disintegrated in a resurgence of pagan customs and religious rites. Although Marau was eventually readmitted to Communion he remained a centre of disturbance and in 1914 he was deported by Woodford to his home in the Banks Islands. With five schools and half the population baptized the position of the mission on Ulawa in 1918 was virtually the same as ten years previously.

Accused of 'cold respectability' and 'outward conformity', the Christians of Nggela continued to be

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3 S.C.L. (E), October 1914, p.147.
a source of embarrassment to the mission. 'What is wrong with [Nggela]?', exclaimed one anguished missionary. 'The average white man has not a good word to say for its people as a rule; and the enemies of the Mission point triumphantly to it as a proof of our inefficiency,' ¹ For this low reputation some were inclined to blame the predominance of returned Queensland labourers, 'self assertive and glib tongued', or the Nggela fondness of a good business deal - sometimes, as in their smuggling of cartridges to Malaita, of a questionable nature.² But at the root of the mission's difficulties was the presence of the protectorate's administrative and commercial capitals at Tulagi and Gavutu respectively - centres of economic activity which brought the Nggela people into direct contact with a new world, more exciting and profitable than that represented by the mission.

In contrast to the religious lassitude which prevailed on Nggela, the people of Ysabel were eulogized as 'strong and simple in their faith, eager readers of Christian books, really affectionate to their pastors and very anxious for the education and

¹ M.M. Report 1911, p.27. See also S.C.L., April 1907, pp.153-6, and M.M. Report 1910, pp.62-4. By this stage almost the entire population of the Nggela group (3600 out of 4000) was baptized. There were 37 village schools.
² Woodford to C.O., 28 November 1911, loc. cit.
spiritual development of their children. This vigour was due principally to the continuous leadership of Welchman during the twenty years in which the greater part of the population was converted to Christianity, assisted by the absence of any countering political or commercial influence.

On Guadalcanal the Melanesian Mission lost to the Roman Catholics much of the ground it had won in its early years. In an ambitious attempt to outstrip his rivals the Rev. Frank Bollen undertook arduous journeys by whaleboat and placed teachers in villages along the western and southern coasts of the island up to 80 miles from Maravovo. Isolated from one another and, after Bollen's death in 1909, unvisited by a European missionary for long periods, many of these schools lapsed or, more frequently, accepted Roman Catholic teachers. By 1911 it was reported that the Guadalcanal mission was 'fighting for its bare existence'. The subsequent establishment of a strong centre at Maravovo was too late to reverse this trend. Competition between the two missions was also strong on Savo and at Tasimboko on the north coast where the Melanesian

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1 Uthwatt, op. cit., p.234. In 1918 there were about 1600 baptized converts on Ysabel out of a total population of 2500. Village schools numbered 49.
2 M.M. Report, 1908, pp.35-6; S.C.L., January 1910, pp.129-32; Wilson, Extracts from letters to wife, 6 June and 20 August 1909.
3 S.C.L., September 1911, p.227. See also M.M. Report, 1911, pp.53-4.
Mission opened a second European station. Everywhere conditions appeared favourable for the spread of Christianity but, as elsewhere, expansion was constantly hindered by the shortage of teachers. On Guadalcanal and Savo there were in 1918 31 schools and 2000 under instruction.

The population of the British Solomon Islands at this point totalled perhaps 85,000. Of this number, the Melanesian Mission claimed nearly 9000 baptized adherents with a further 2400 under instruction. Clergy (European and Melanesian) numbered 14, and there were 390 village teachers. 2

Despite its delays and frustrations and its acrimonious termination, Wood's six year episcopate was noteworthy in several respects, especially in the sphere of education where the old concentration at Norfolk Island was gradually replaced by a decentralized system. In the Solomons central schools were founded in Wilson's last years at Bungana and Pama; at each school 30 to 40 youths, drawn from all parts of the group, were taught reading and writing and given elementary religious instruction in preparation for Norfolk Island. 3 Drawing an increasing proportion of

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1 M.M. Report 1907, pp.28-9, 1908, p.34, 1909, pp.44-6, 1912, pp.27-8.
2 The first census was taken in 1931, when the population of the protectorate totalled 91,409. Before this it had been estimated at 150,000. The mission statistics for 1918 are in S.C.L., May 1912, p.18.
3 These schools are described in S.C.L., December 1910, p.98, February 1912, pp.288-90, February 1913, pp.135-8, April 1913, pp.27-9; M.M. Report, 1914, pp.18-9.
its pupils from these schools and from another at Vureas in the New Hebrides, Norfolk Island became an 'advanced' training centre. After 1914 there were no unbaptized scholars in the school and, in accordance with a resolution of the Bungana conference, numbers were progressively reduced from 148 in 1911 to 62 in 1915. In 1913 Cullwick, an able and colourful headmaster, was forced by Wood out of the mission. He was succeeded by the Rev. H.N. Drummond, an experienced island missionary, who made many changes in the internal organization of the school, among them the introduction of European eating habits.

Until this time all Melanesian clergy had received only meagre special training at Norfolk Island prior to their ordination. Anxious to increase the number of native clergy 'to administer the Sacraments in districts where our white staff is weak', Wood founded in 1912 a separate training college at Maravovo under the direction of the Rev. J.M. Steward. The primary aim of the institution was to give elementary instruction in Scripture and Theology to candidates for ordination, who were to be chosen from among the village teachers for 'character and steadfastness'.

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2 On Cullwick see Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp. 222-3, and Kakamora, pp.14-5.
3 Drummond had been a missionary in the Reef Islands, 1903-5; Raga (New Hebrides), 1905-11. He retired from the mission in 1920.
4 M.M. Report, 1913, p.4.
In addition, refresher courses were held for older teachers whose fervour and stock of knowledge, gained long before at Norfolk Island, was exhausted.¹

In view of the location of women missionaries in the islands Cullwick had discontinued the education of girls at Norfolk Island.² However, the new island stations did little to fill the ensuing vacuum and many teachers were forced to take untrained or even pagan wives. Finally, in 1915 two Nggela missionaries, Miss Child and Miss Wench, suggested the establishment of a girl's boarding school where, unlike the existing day schools, regular attendance could be ensured. Wood, characteristically cautious and unwilling to commit the mission to further expense, permitted the women to proceed with the venture on their own responsibility and with outside support. These conditions were accepted, and in 1916 the school was opened at Boromoli, near Siota.³

The years 1912 to 1918 were also something of a watershed in the mission's religious development. Although Wilson had recruited several Anglo-Catholic

¹ Ibid., pp.15-6; M.M. Report 1914, p.4; S.C.L.(E), February 1913, p.22, October 1916, p.154; February 1917, pp.24-5; April 1917, pp.7-8. The total number of students at any one time averaged 10 or 12. The 'first fruits' (Johnson Tome and Charles Turu) were ordained in 1916.
clergy from England for work in the diocese and had scandalized some of the older missionaries by introducing coloured stoles for officiants at Norfolk Island, the Melanesian Mission was still characterized by the sober Laudian piety of Patteson rather than the flamboyant and militant Anglo-Catholicism of the early 1900s. Under Wood the newer tradition became dominant; the practice of private confession was introduced and eventually became almost universal; a daily service of Holy Communion was inaugurated at Norfolk Island and on the Southern Cross, and at boarding schools and mission stations ritual grew steadily more elaborate.

Although it was through Wood that Anglo-Catholicism took root in Melanesia, the process was assisted by the observable tendency of Anglican missionary dioceses to become dominated by either High or Low Church partisans, to the virtual exclusion of the more moderate churchmen of an earlier generation. This was partly due to sectarian-type zeal which engendered a readiness to make sacrifices. For Anglo-Catholics it was also a case of the mission field offering freedom from the restrictions on their distinctive doctrines and devotional practices which they commonly encountered in England. More important, it was difficult under mission conditions to maintain without considerable modification the 'classical' Anglican compound of reason.

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1 C.E. Fox, letter to A.D. Ward, 10 March 1962.
2 Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp. 55, 227. The first Sung Eucharist in the diocese was celebrated in 1912 at Vureas school.
Scripture and tradition as the final authority in matters of faith. The Norfolk Island school endeavoured to impart some notion of this concept, but as the mission's activities became more widespread and other religious bodies arrived on the scene the value of a single absolute authority which would serve as a source and yardstick of orthodoxy became apparent. Under these and similar conditions there occurred in many Anglican missions a steady polarization of authority towards either the Bible or the Teaching Church. The Melanesian Mission tended towards the latter in its Anglo-Catholic interpretation, carefully distinguishing between the pure Catholicism of the first five centuries, embodied in the formularies of the Church of England and revived by the Oxford Movement, and the aberrations and additions of Papal Rome.

IN its ethos, adaptation to life in the islands and its basis of support the Melanesian Mission presented throughout this period a marked contrast to other missions in the Solomons. As a class, its missionaries were liberal in their approach to Melanesian customs and religion, inclined more to praise than to condemnation and agnostic about the ultimate fate of non-believers.1 About one third were university graduates; some of these, notably Fox on San Cristobal

1 For a fuller discussion of this point, see chapter IX.
and Ivens on Malaita, undertook monumental investigations of the languages and culture of the people among whom they worked.¹

On the principle that 'every man's language is the way in which he is to find God',² the mission stressed the duty of giving converts at least the Prayer Book and the Gospels in their own tongue. Translations of hymns, Prayer Book services and books of the Bible, sometimes hastily prepared and poor in quality,³ rolled off the mission press during these years. In addition, the complete New Testament was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in the languages of Bugotu, Sa'a and Ulawa, and (later) Lau - the last two being the work of Ivens.⁴

¹ Fox, The Threshold of the Pacific; Ivens, Melanesians of the South-west Solomons Islands, The Islands Builders of the Pacific and A Dictionary of the Language of Sa'a and Ulawa. Each also published numerous smaller studies.
² S.C.L., August 1910, p.43.
³ E.g., Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society, p.91.
⁴ The Bugotu New Testament was begun by Welchman, completed by E.F.B. Bourne, and published in 1914. The Sa'a and Ulawa New Testament was published in 1911 and the Lau in 1929. Nggela had the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles as early as 1883, the work of Penny. In addition, the Gospels were translated into Arosi by Fox, and by Steward into Vaturanga. The complete Mota Bible, the work of Patteson, Codrington, Palmer and Cullwick was published in 1912. By 1935 there were versions of the Book of Common Prayer in the languages of Arosi, Bugotu, Kwara'ae, Lau, Nggela, Sa'a and Ulawa, and Vaturanga: Artless, op. cit., pp.90-1.
The station-centred polity of some missions was almost entirely absent and there were few formal distinctions between the European staff and the Melanesian clergy and teachers. Edward Jacomb's description of a typical Anglican missionary in the New Hebrides at this time could be applied equally to the Solomons:

He learns Mota in the first place, and then the language of his island or district.... He will at times express a wish that he were himself a native, or even meditate marriage with one so as to enter native life more fully. He studies native customs, and when they are harmless will endeavour to participate in them. He will attend native dances, and will even dance himself.¹

Of all the Protestant missionaries in the Solomons, the Anglicans suffered more than most from loneliness and overwork. Mission houses were usually poorly equipped and irregularly supplied, wages were low (about £1.30 a year) and furlough was infrequent. The mission discouraged marriage, though for doctrinal and practical rather than doctrinal reasons. Constant travelling on foot or by whaleboat around huge districts to supervise the work of teachers, exercise discipline, baptize and celebrate Holy Communion, coupled with malaria, dysentery and other tropical diseases, led to physical breakdowns and, in at least three cases during these years, to premature death.² Indeed, in 1916

¹ Jacomb, op. cit., pp.150-1.
Woodford publicly accused the mission of culpable negligence:

I have known instances where missionaries of your Mission have not had the necessary comforts that, in my opinion, they should have had, and have lived in circumstances of the greatest discomfort, and I fear that some of the losses in men may have been preventible.¹

These spartan conditions made the recruitment of staff a major problem for successive bishops and threw more work on those who remained. To remedy this some suggested the formation of a Brotherhood of mission priests and laymen, either to operate certain difficult districts as a team or for special duties - teaching, the opening of new work and relief of hard-worked missionaries.² Although a missionary Brotherhood existed for a short time in the isolated Santa Cruz group, the scheme was never tried in the Solomons.³

The hope cherished by Selwyn and Patteson that the Melanesian Mission would be supported entirely by the church in Australasia was still far from fulfilment. During Wilson's episcopate mission committees were set

¹ S.C.L.(E), December 1916, p.184.
³ The Santa Cruz Brotherhood began in 1910 with high hopes but functioned for less than a year. One of its members died soon after arrival, another returned to England and the remaining two were recalled to the teaching staff at Norfolk Island.
up in several cities, scholars from Norfolk Island were exhibited to the church-going public, and on two occasions, in 1898 and 1907, the New Zealand General Synod reaffirmed the responsibility of the New Zealand church to support the Melanesian Mission as a 'primary duty'. The possibility of Maori clergy and catechists undertaking evangelistic work in some of the Polynesian islands within the diocese was also explored, but volunteers were not forthcoming and the plan was never put into effect. In Australia the Melanesian Mission never enjoyed a comparable status, and with the foundation of the New Guinea Mission in 1891 and the growth of interest in the missions of the Church Missionary Society in Africa and Asia it lost many of its old supporters. In 1910 its fund-raising organization was absorbed by the revived Australian Board of Missions.

Although the sum raised annually in Australia and New Zealand showed an overall increase - from £3800 in

1 Wilson established a Finance Committee of Auckland businessmen to assist in the administration of the mission; this was dissolved by Wood in 1913. Mission committees were also set up in Christchurch, Melbourne and Sydney. For details of this auxiliary organization see S.C.L., May 1901, pp.1-3.
2 For an account of one such tour see Hopkins, op. cit., pp.17-8.
3 S.C.L., April 1898, pp.4-5; M.M. Report, 1907, p.6.
4 M.M. Report, 1907, pp.9-10; S.C.L.(E), April 1908, pp.239-41.
5 S.C.L., May 1897, p.6, June 1910, p.4, M.M. Report, 1909, p.16. There was a full-time Organizing Secretary in Australia, 1903-10.
1894 to £8,300 in 1914 - the mission continued to rely for almost half its income on individual friends and parishes in England.¹ To coordinate these efforts Wilson appointed an Organizing Secretary in London and formed an English Committee, presided over by Bishop Jacob of St Albans and adorned by an imposing array of vice-presidents.² This held a public meeting in London each year at which missionaries on leave and others with knowledge of Melanesian affairs were invited to speak. Affiliated with the English Committee was the Eton Association, a diminishing band of aged and aristocratic friends of the Selwyns, which traditionally met at Eton on St Barnabas Day. Because of the war and the death of its two mainstays, Prebendary William Selwyn and Canon Still, this annual gathering was suspended in 1915; it was later formally amalgamated with the London meeting.³

¹ S.C.L., May 1903, pp.7-8. The total income of the mission in 1906 was £16,500 of which £8,000 was received from England. In 1912 English supporters subscribed £13,700 of a total £22,600.

² In 1902 the vice-presidents of the Melanesian Mission English Committee included the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Stepney, Bishop Montgomery, the Earl of Belmore, Earl Beauchamp, the Earl of Glasgow, Viscount Hamden, Lord Stanmore, Admiral the Hon. Sir E.R. Fremantle, Admiral Sir James E. Erskine, Admiral Lord Charles Scott, Admiral Sir N. Bowden-Smith, Admiral Sir H.H. Rawson (Governor of New South Wales), Admiral Sir L. Beaumont and the Provost of Eton.

The years 1894 to 1918 were of seminal importance in the history of the Melanesian Mission in the Solomon Islands. Within a decade the islanders were plucked from their isolation on the frontier of civilization and subjected to a series of European influences, political, economic and religious. Under Wilson's enlightened leadership the mission undertook a radical revision of its methods of work to meet these new conditions, in conjunction with a strenuous but largely ineffectual attempt to extend its operations to all parts of the group. Much that formerly distinguished the Melanesian Mission from other Pacific missions disappeared during these years. With missionaries resident in each major district, the closure of the Norfolk Island school imminent, the use of the Mota language under fire and the Anglo-Catholic tradition dominant in worship and doctrine, the mission in 1918 bore but slight external resemblance to the peripatetic, Norfolk Island-centred, consciously indigenous body described by Bishop Montgomery a generation earlier. Only a few constants remained, notably the Southern Cross, which increasingly took the place of Norfolk Island as the mission's headquarters and bond of unity, and the pervasive influence of Patteson, Welchman and other mission heroes whose life and ideals continued to inspire and edify their successors and the descendants of their converts.
IN 1918 as in 1894 the Melanesian Mission was on the verge of a crisis. There was a serious shortage of European workers, the war having dried up the supply of new recruits from England at a time of unprecedented loss through resignation and death. There were only eight Melanesian clergy in the Solomons - three priests and five deacons.\(^1\) Morale was not high: in contrast to neighbouring missions the rate of growth appeared distressingly slow, while the move from Norfolk Island, under consideration for a decade, had still to be carried out.

Determined to avoid a repetition of the troubles which had led to Wood's resignation, and convinced that they needed a leader who knew them, understood their problems and was acquainted with life in the islands - 'a Melanesian Bishop, and not merely a Bishop of Melanesia'\(^2\) - the missionaries decided against delegating their right of nomination to outsiders, the practice followed hitherto. After a period of consultation 13 representative European and Melanesian clergy met at Norfolk Island and elected the Rev. John Steward, head of the college at Maravovo, a former district

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1 The priests were Jack Talofuila (Malaita), Hugo Toke (Guadalcanal), Johnson Tome (Nggela); deacons - Joseph Gilvelte (San Cristobal), Hugo Hembala (Ysabel), John Pengone (Nggela), Benjamin Tumu (Nggela), Charles Turu (Malaita).

2 M.M. Report, 1919, p.10.
missionary on Guadalcanal and Nggela and a leader in the revolt against Wood.¹ The bishops of New Zealand duly approved the nomination, and the bishop-elect was consecrated in Wellington in September 1919.

From the standpoint of the mission the choice was as obvious as it was wise. Steward was a man of deep human sympathies, amenable to suggestions, whose knowledge of Melanesia and the problems confronting the mission was equalled by few others. He was also something of a visionary whose underlying gravity was relieved by a puckish sense of humour and delight in the absurd. 'None', writes Fox, 'has been more honoured and loved by the Melanesians and the Staff.'²

In accordance with the wish of the assembled missionaries, expressed at Maravovo in 1918 and again in the following year, Steward's first task was to undertake the move from Norfolk Island.³ In this, ties of sentiment struggled against practical considerations. Persuaded that the transference was necessary for the efficiency of the mission yet reluctant to make 'this seeming break with the past', he found reassurance in

¹ The process was election; strictly speaking, however, the mission clergy could only recommend a candidate to the New Zealand General Synod for approval: Steward to Archbishop [Averill], 29 October 1927, G.A. Selwyn, Miscellaneous Papers; D.J.B. Dorman, 'A History of the Diocese of Melanesia' (M.A. thesis, University of New Zealand, 1938) p.102.
² Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.64-5.
³ S.C.L., February 1919, p.1; S.C.L.(E), November 1919, p.120.
the knowledge that Patteson had set a precedent when he moved the mission's headquarters from Kohimarama to a spot closer to the islands. At the end of 1919 the Norfolk Island school was closed and, with the exception of the chapel which was constructed of permanent materials and some of the houses, its buildings were dismantled and shipped to island mission stations. Some went to Maravovo, Pamua and Vureas, but most were reerected at Siota on Nggela which was chosen as the mission's new headquarters.

Steward embarked upon his episcopate fired with two convictions, the fruit of 17 years missionary experience and theological study. The first was that the number of indigenous clergy should be increased rapidly if the church in Melanesia was to send its roots deep and become not a 'foreign importation' but the 'native Church of the people'. He did not delay putting his principles into practice; in 1922 he announced his aim to triple the number of Melanesian clergy within a decade in order to provide a priest for every three or four villages of size. These would be local pastors whose primary function was to teach and administer the sacraments to their own people.

2 S.C.L.(E), February 1920, pp.25-6, July 1921, pp.90-1. After the abandonment of Comins's ill-fated venture in 1900 the mission property at Siota had been drained and filled, and by 1919 it was regarded as perfectly healthy. It was also centrally situated and relatively close to the protectorate's capital and steamer port at Tulagi.
Because 'very few' were believed to be fitted for the work of pastoral supervision with its continual itineration, European missionaries would continue to bear the responsibility for the overall administration of larger districts.¹

For this project Steward had the enthusiastic support of his senior European staff. Already, Drummond had complained that whereas the mission traditionally had not hesitated to ordain faithful teachers to the diaconate - a change of status rather than the conferring of a new function - it had been excessively cautious in raising deacons to the priesthood, and had claimed that the number of Melanesian priests could be increased 'without undue risk'.² Fox urged an augmented Melanesian priesthood as a practical necessity, as the sole alternative to a church 'practically without Sacraments': for ordination the mission should select 'steady and reliable older teachers, who could be taught quite well to administer the Sacraments carefully and look upon that as their chief work.'³

During the twenties, under Steward's guidance, the Melanesian ministry achieved for the first time a measure of stability. From being an exception hedged

¹ M.M. Report, 1919, pp.15-7; S.C.L.(E), August 1922, p.89. Steward held sizeable ordinations in 1919, 1921 and in 1924. When he retired in 1928 there were eleven Solomon Islands priests and six deacons.
² Inset in S.C.L., November 1919.
³ S.C.L., December 1919, p.3.
about with qualifications, the full ordination of experienced teachers, usually for work in their own districts, became accepted as an integral part of the policy of the mission; by 1928 the number of Solomon Islands priests equalled the number of European. In respect of their sacramental functions these Melanesian clergy occupied the same status as their English counterparts; in all else their way of life differed little from that of an ordinary village teacher. As a class, their weaknesses were apparent to even the most sympathetic observer. They were apt to act hastily and to use their office for personal ends. They also tended to be lax towards their own people and excessively severe in other villages where they were not bound by ties of kindred.\(^1\) Moreover, their book learning was meagre and their interpretation of Christian doctrine sometimes grotesque. Nevertheless, it was claimed, they did 'on the average, rise higher than their environment more than the average white clergy do above theirs.'\(^2\)

Although Steward held an exalted view of the episcopal office, he abhorred autocratic rule and was determined to introduce synodical government by which the diocese would be governed by its bishop and priests conjointly.\(^3\) His efforts to this end culminated in

\(^1\) S.C.L.(E), April 1922, p.40; M.M. English Committee Report, 1925, p.19. The Melanesian clergy received salaries ranging from £7.10.0 to £15.0.0 a year.

\(^2\) S.C.L.(E), January 1921, p.9.

\(^3\) M.M. Report, 1919, p.17.
October 1921 when, at a meeting of European mission staff and Melanesian clergy at Siota, the Sacred Synod of the Diocese of Melanesia was formally constituted. This in turn set up an Advisory Council to consult and act with the bishop between sessions of synod and a General Staff Council, comprising all members of the European staff, to make regulations for the 'good order and discipline' of the diocese.¹ Whereas the synod was essentially an assembly of priests, the staff council, which met at the same time, offered an opportunity for deacons and lay workers to express their opinions and share in the government of the diocese.

The 1921 synod was the first occasion on which all European and Melanesian priests had conferred together, though the inability of some of the former to speak or understand Mota and the latter's limited knowledge of English proved to be a major handicap.

At the second synod, held in 1924, it was decided to duplicate meetings, deliberations in the morning being conducted in English and in the afternoon in Mota. Members were free to attend either meeting or both, and all met together in the following morning to vote without further discussion on the matter already discussed by each.²

¹ S.C.L.(E), April 1922, p.41; Report of the Fourth Conference of the Melanesian Mission and of the First Synod of the Missionary Diocese of Melanesia (n.p., n.d.). For the resolutions and recommendations passed see Appendix II.
² S.C.L.(E), March 1925, pp.40-1.
Because of the size of the diocese and the associated difficulties of communication synods could be called only at three or four yearly intervals. Nevertheless, this active implementation of the principles of mutual consultation and corporate action created concord between bishop and staff and restored the sense of unity which had been lost when the missionaries ceased to return each year to Norfolk Island.¹

THE keynote to Steward's episcopate was his profound conviction that each race, no matter how insignificant or primitive, had 'some unique thread to weave into the fabric of the Universal Church'² and that Christianity should whenever possible be expressed in Melanesian rather than European forms. For this reason he supported the retention of Mota as the mission's lingua franca and opposed the adoption of English. It was also reflected in his encouragement of Melanesian art in the decoration of churches, especially in the native-style cathedral which he commenced at Siota.³ His greatest achievement in this direction was, however, the Melanesian Brotherhood which he and Ini Kopuria founded in 1926.

¹ Steward laid down that synods should meet not less than once every seven years. He himself called three synods, in 1921, 1924 and 1928. Staff conferences were held in the Solomons and New Hebrides in alternate years: Stuart W. Artless, The Story of the Melanesian Mission (London, 1935), p.28; Fox, op. cit., pp.68-70.
³ Ibid., p.7; Fox, op. cit., pp.70-1.
Kopuria was born at the turn of the century near Maravovo, where he came under Christian influences at an early age. He was sent to Pamua and later to Norfolk Island where those who knew him describe him as a lively, impetuous and intelligent youth. Instead of becoming a mission teacher as originally planned he joined the protectorate's Native Armed Constabulary. During a severe illness in 1924 he underwent an intense religious experience and came under the influence of Hopkins at Siota, who told him of the English monks who evangelized Germany and explained the threefold monastic vow. Shortly afterwards he announced his intention of forming a company of evangelists to take Christianity to the pagan villages of Guadalcanal where he had worked as a policeman.¹

Steward sympathized with the proposal as one after his own heart.² He recognized Kopuria's transparent sincerity, fanned his enthusiasm into flame and assisted him in drawing up a Rule. On 28 October 1925, the Feast of St Simon and St Jude, in the presence of Steward and Hopkins, the former policeman

¹ There is a full account of his early life and 'conversion' in Margaret Lycett, Brothers (London, 1935), pp.8-15. See also Fox, Kakamora, pp.67-8, and Hopkins, 'Autobiography', p.206. Kopuria's letter to Steward, announcing 'The Will of God towards me concerning the declaring of His Kingdom above any other work that I could do on earth', is in J.M. Steward, The Brothers (Auckland, 1928), p.2.

² Some 15 years previously Steward had been among the advocates of a Brotherhood of mission priests for special work in Melanesia; see above, p.169. See also Newbolt, op. cit., p.16; Fox, Kakamora, p.68.
made his Profession - a formal renunciation of possessions, freedom of action and a life vow of celibacy. In the following year on Whit Sunday the Retatasiu or Company of Brothers was constituted with Kopuria at its head and six members - young men from Guadalcanal, Ysabel and the Russell Islands whom he had persuaded to join him.

The primary purpose of the Brotherhood was set forth in its first rule: 'to declare the Way of Jesus Christ among the heathen; not to minister amongst those who have already received the Law.' It was intended as an evangelistic spearhead whose task was to open schools in pagan villages preparatory to handing them over to permanent mission teachers. Neither Kopuria nor Steward conceived of the Brotherhood as a religious order of the traditional type with all its members taking vows for life. Rather, it was an original creation adapted to Melanesian conditions, aimed at harnessing the energy, zeal and desire for companionship and excitement of those young men who had completed their education under the mission's auspices but were too young to marry and settle down. Until this time the sole immediate alternative to the humdrum life of a village teacher had been to recruit for work on a trading vessel or one of the protectorate's

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1 There are two versions of Kopuria's vow: Lycett, op. cit., pp.17-8, and Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, p.271.

2 Lycett, op. cit., pp.18-20.

3 Steward, The Brothers, p.4.
Accordingly, promises of poverty, chastity and obedience were taken for only one year at a time and at the annual Chapter, held on St Simon and St Jude's Day at Tambalia near Maravovo, each Brother had the choice of either withdrawing or remaining for a further year. Nevertheless, both founders hoped that some would eventually take life vows — indeed Steward regarded one of the primary purposes of the Brotherhood as to ascertain whether the Religious Life as such was possible for Melanesians.  

The Brotherhood's first year was unspectacular, a modest success being achieved in bush villages near Tasimboko and at Marau Sound where the tradition of Patteson's visits still lingered. The 1927 Chapter resolved to go further afield, a second company of Brothers being sent to Santa Cruz, mission's most difficult and unrewarding district. Later other were despatched to north and central Malaita, to the Polynesian atolls of Sikaiana and Ontong Java, to

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1 Ibid., pp.5-6; Artless (ed.), The Church in Melanesia, pp.56-7; Lycett, op. cit., p.22.  
2 Artless (ed.), The Church in Melanesia, p.56; C.E. Fox, 'Companions and Brothers', The Melanesian Messenger, January 1964, pp.28-9. At the 1935 Chapter eight Brothers took three-year vows: S.C.L., January 1936, pp.15-6. Since then a few have remained in the Brotherhood for long periods, or have died while still a member, but apart from Kopuria none has yet taken a life vow.  
4 For details see below, pp.217, 226-8.
Nggela to work among the hundreds of boats' crews and labourers employed at Tulagi and Gavutu,¹ and beyond the Solomons to the New Hebrides, New Britain and Fiji.²

Attracted by the romance of the life of an itinerant evangelist and by Kopuria's winning personality, young men flocked into the Brotherhood; contrary to Steward's expectations its numbers jumped from 15 in 1928 to 128 six years later.³ Fox, unmarried and always an individualist, became a Brother in 1933, the only European ever to do so.

To emphasize the Melanesian rather than the European origin of the Brotherhood and its dependence upon the church at the village level, Kopuria founded in 1933 the Order of the Companions of the Brothers. This was organized in bands of eight to twelve members, called pulsala (friends), who were obliged to give practical assistance and alms to the Brothers whenever possible, to pray for their work and to undertake some

¹ S.C.L., April 1934, p.7; Lycett, op. cit., p.50.
² Two Brothers were sent to Fiji in 1930 to work among the impoverished descendents of the Solomon Islands labourers there: Lycett, op. cit., p.48; Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, p.80.
³ In 1928 Steward wrote (The Brothers, p.13): 'As far as one can venture to prophesy one would estimate the probable number of the Brothers for the near future as from 16 to 20. I do not expect that for some years to come the total of 20 Brothers actually at work will be exceeded, even if it is reached, nor that the spheres of their work will extend at present beyond Guadalcanar and Santa Cruz.' Of the 128 Brothers in 1935 45 were from Malaita; Raga (New Hebrides) supplied 22, Ysabel 13, Guadalcanal 11, New Britain 9, San Cristobal 8, Reef Islands 8, Ulawa 5, Nggela 4, Savo 2, Sikaisana 1: S.C.L., January 1936, p.15.
useful task for their village. Despite the suspicion of some of the Melanesian clergy, who detected signs of spiritual pride among the Companions and perhaps saw in such an organized group a threat to their own exalted position in the church, the Order grew rapidly and within a few years numbered over a thousand.1

Apart from certain stipulations — that the Brothers should be divided into Households of four to eight members, that no Brother should work alone and that all should meet at Tambalia each year to air grievances and discuss future action — the Rule of the Brotherhood was flexible and changes to meet new conditions were easily effected.2 Because of the chronic shortage of trained teachers it soon became necessary to allow at least some Brothers to settle for a time in the villages they opened up, to prevent ground from being lost.3 The education of boys from pagan areas or those who were not up to the standard of the existing central schools was also undertaken, initially at Tambalia and later, after 1936, at Alangaula on Ugi.4 In 1933 Fox began a training course or 'noviciate' at Tambalia for older

1 S.C.L., April 1934, p.8, January 1936, p.16; Lycett, op. cit., pp.53-4; Fox, 'Companions and Brothers', p.28, Kakamora, pp.77-8.

2 The principal rules are listed in Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.268-9. See also Lycett, op. cit., pp.24-5; Fox, Kakamora, p.69.


4 S.C.L., July 1929, p.29, January 1936, p.11, July 1941, pp.9-10; M.M. Report, 1938, p.11. In 1941 there were 45 boys at Alangaula; the average length of stay was two years.
boys without previous education who aspired to the Brotherhood.\(^1\) In 1935, in order to achieve financial self-support, a division of labour was introduced; those Brothers who did not feel equal to the work of an evangelist being deputed to earn money by working on plantations and ships. By 1938 a Household was permanently stationed on the island of Bio near Ugi engaged in making copra.\(^2\)

Yet despite this early success the Brotherhood contained within itself the seeds of its post-war decline.\(^3\) In the first place, its concentration on evangelism meant that many of its gains were nullified by the mission's failure to incorporate them into its organization by supplying teachers; in many places, especially on Malaita, the gains were collected by other Christian bodies. Secondly, the system of annual vows and the lack of any binding commitment meant that few remained in the Brotherhood for long periods to give stability and assist in the training of novices. Finally, its appeal rested largely on two factors which did not survive the 1930s - the dearth of attractive secular occupations for young men leaving school and the presence of a strong and able leader. Kopuria remained at the head of the Brotherhood until

\(^1\) M.M. English Committee Report, 1933, p.16; Lycett, op. cit., pp.29-30; Fox to Durrad, 9 November 1934, Durrad Papers. Those in training were called tingoro (disciples).

\(^2\) S.C.L., January 1936, p.16; M.M. Report, 1938, p.10; Fox, Kakamora, p.75.

\(^3\) Its weaknesses are analyzed by Fox in Kakamora, pp.75-6.
1940 when he requested episcopal dispensation from his vow of celibacy. He was duly released from the Brotherhood, married, and for the remaining five years of his life worked, unhappily, as a village deacon on Guadalcanal.¹

WITH the move from Norfolk Island accomplished, the mission was free to devote its energies to the consolidation and extension of its system of central schools in the islands. The most urgent need was for a senior school in the Solomons, a direct successor to Norfolk Island, to train selected youths from junior schools as mission teachers. This was commenced in 1919, first at Hautambu and then at Siota where it remained for two years.² Finally, in 1922 it was removed to Pawa on Ugi where land had been obtained from Joe Dickinson, a well-known trader. The school erected there was named All Hallows and the number of scholars increased from 40 to 100. These were drawn from all over the central and eastern Solomons as well as Tikopia and Santa Cruz. The age on entry ranged from 15 to 18 years and older. Under Fox, who was headmaster from 1924 to 1932, and his successors, an effectual attempt was made to perpetuate the traditional Norfolk Island synthesis of moderate Anglicanism, Public School discipline and Melanesian culture.³ Of the junior

¹ S.C.L., July 1941, pp.14-5; Fox, Kakamora, p.70.
² M.M. Report, 1920, pp.24-5.
central schools, Bungana was closed in 1918 when Robert Wilson became administrator of the diocese following Wood's resignation. Pamua school continued in existence under the sole charge of the Rev. H.J. Nind, a formidable disciplinarian and a lonely figure among the missionaries.¹

During the nineteenth century the belief that the advance of Christianity was necessarily accompanied by new economic and social standards, either as a prerequisite for conversion or as its inevitable consequence, became embodied in the concept of 'industrial education'. In the early years of the twentieth century this was eagerly adopted by many Protestant missionaries in Melanesia, mindful of the newly popular theory that the population decline they observed around them was due in large measure to a loss of interest in life caused by the decay of native culture and the enforced abandonment of warfare and head-hunting. This void could be filled and 'zest' restored, it was claimed, only by the satisfying values and incentives of a virile Christian civilization, and this demanded organized industry—plantation work, carpentry and similar crafts and trades.²

¹ There was an average of 60 boys at Pamua, principally from the eastern Solomons and Santa Cruz. On Nind see Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp. 231-2.
² For a detailed discussion of Melanesian depopulation in the light of this hypothesis see W.H.R. Rivers (ed.), Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia (Cambridge, 1922). Two members of the Melanesian Mission, W.J. Durrad and A.L. Hopkins, were among the contributors.
For long the Melanesian Mission stood aloof from these new ideas. Welchman poured scorn on the whole notion of industrial training as diverting the missionary from his essential task, the 'Saving of souls', and as based on false premises.¹ The customs and manner of life of the Melanesians were, he maintained, 'sufficient and convenient' for the present time; nor did they need trades to keep themselves occupied:

Let these people at least enjoy some simplicity of life as long as they can, and be saved from the Juggernaut of Fashion and Society, which will surely follow premature civilisation after Western ideas.²

Welchman, the self-sacrificing recluse, was revered by the younger missionaries and his forcefully expressed opinions swayed many. In addition, there was an element of social snobbery present in the mission's attitude to trade and industry. The Rev. W.J. Durrad recalled:

It seemed beneath us. Lesser men as we were, we still breathed the atmosphere of the Etonian and Oxford aristocracy in which the early days of the Mission had been passed. We watched the founding of another mission of quite a different type from our own, and listened with amused contempt to the stray yarns of missionaries whose

¹ See his article 'Industrial Training for Melanesians': S.C.L., March 1906, pp.9-12, May 1906, p.11, June 1906, p.4, August 1906, pp.35-6, September 1906, pp.47-8.
² S.C.L., August 1906, p.36.
evangelical fervour seemed curiously mixed up with tobacco and copra.¹

The mission took a first hesitant step in this direction in 1909 when Wilson purchased 500 acres at Maravovo for a plantation, with the intention of providing the islanders with the opportunity of employment under Christian auspices and assisting the mission towards eventual self-support. By 1914 over 100 acres had been planted and 25 Malaita labourers were permanently employed there.² Another plantation, operated by schoolboys, was commenced later on mission land at Pamua. Wood arrived convinced of the necessity of industrial work and the encouragement of native crafts to fill the supposed void in Melanesian life, but like other of his theories it was never put into practice.³

In his book The Future of the Kanaka, written about this time, Edward Jacomb criticized the Melanesian Mission for its emphasis on elementary religious training to the total neglect of education 'in the practical side of life', on the ground that the standard of civilization displayed was 'the test by which a tribe's

¹ S.C.L.(E), May 1925, p.69. The reference is probably to the South Sea Evangelical Mission and its close connexion with the Malaya Company; see chapter VII.
³ M.M. Report, 1912, pp.6-7; S.C.L., June 1913, p.165.
conversion must be measured.\textsuperscript{1} Within the mission
similar though less crude views were gaining ground. Persuaded that the mission's activities should embrace
the temporal as well as the spiritual advancement of
the islanders, Steward announced soon after his
consecration his intention of introducing technical education - printing and carpentry - both to 'improve
the natives' social conditions' and to enable them to
occupy their time profitably.\textsuperscript{2} This 'enrichment' of
native life by the development of indigenous and
European industries and the improvement of agriculture
was, a mission publicist urged, not only the sole
assurance of the continuance of a self-supporting church
but the 'only guarantee of the survival of the race.'\textsuperscript{3}

Maravovo was duly chosen as the site of the
mission's industrial school and the Rev. George Warren,
a newly ordained returned soldier, appointed headmaster.
In the event, it proved impossible to obtain the
necessary technical instructors. The original aim of
founding an industrial school was abandoned, and by
1925 Maravovo had developed into a junior central school, preparatory to Pawa.\textsuperscript{4} With 200 pupils in 1935
it was the largest school in the mission.

\textsuperscript{1} Jacomb, The Future of the Kanaka, pp.143, 147-50.
\textsuperscript{2} M.M. Report, 1919, pp.17-8; S.C.L.(E), August 1922,
p.90.
\textsuperscript{3} Hopkins, Melanesia Today, p.106. See also Rivers,
op. cit., p.66, and S.C.L.(E), May 1925, p.70.
\textsuperscript{4} S.C.L.(E), September 1922, pp.105-8, November 1922,
163-6, August 1923, pp.120-3; M.M. English Committee
Report, 1925, pp.21-5.
Warren was a strong personality and a dedicated Anglo-Catholic. During his 16 years at Maravovo he exerted a profound influence on the school he founded and through it on a wide circle of the Solomon Islands church. Discipline was severe, an intensely competitive House-system was in operation to teach 'character' and 'responsibility', and the daily chapel services were conducted with an elaborate ceremonial hitherto unknown in the mission.

The theological college which Wood had founded at Maravovo was moved in 1921 to the mission's headquarters at Siota. In accordance with Steward's aim to increase the number of Melanesian clergy a two year course of training was introduced, in conjunction with regular refresher courses for older teachers brought from all parts of the Solomons. At any one time between 10 and 20 students were in residence, accompanied by their wives and children. Apart from the Mota Bible and Prayer Book, there were no textbooks. Everything taught in class - Scripture (selected books of the Old and New Testaments), the preparation of candidates for confirmation, History and 'general knowledge' - was laboriously transcribed into notebooks, which later

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1 There is a detailed account of the school in S.C.L., July 1932, pp.25-32. See also About Melanesia, No.8: Training Young Melanesians (Sydney, n.d.), and Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.232-3.

2 Hopkins was warden of the college from 1919 until his retirement from the mission in 1925. He was succeeded by the Rev. Roger Tempest (1926-33). In 1926 the institution was named Selwyn College.
became a valued source of reference in the course of ordinary village duties.¹

Because the expansion of the mission was directly dependent upon a continuous supply of village teachers, the religious training of boys in junior and senior boarding schools was, of necessity, one of its chief activities. By contrast, girls' education appeared less urgent; in spite of a resolution of the 1918 Maravovo conference, that 'schools for the training of wives for teachers be started without delay',² the only girls' school in the Solomons was that commenced in 1916 at Boromoli, moved to Bungana in 1920. This was a small institution with 30 to 40 pupils of varying ages and with no previous education. Its expressed aim was to enable girls to 'return to their own villages and islands and be of practical help to their own people', but because none of the women missionaries in charge were qualified in either teaching or nursing its achievements in this direction were modest.³

The women's work of the mission received a much needed stimulus in 1929 with the foundation of a religious Sisterhood. By the beginning of the twentieth

³ S.C.L.(E), July 1921, p.89; Hopkins, Melanesia Today, pp.76-2. At a Solomon Islands staff conference held in 1926 it was generally felt that the school would 'profit greatly' by the presence on the staff of both a trained nurse and a trained teacher: S.C.L., October 1926, p.23.
century religious orders for women, devoted in the main to teaching, nursing and charitable works, had attained a recognized position in the life of the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England and were expanding beyond Britain to sympathetic colonial and missionary dioceses. Persuaded of the practical and religious value of a teaching Sisterhood, Wood initiated unsuccessful negotiations with a large English order, the Community of the Sisters of the Church, to establish a branch house in Melanesia. Steward approached the scheme from a different angle, aiming rather at the formation of a small independent religious community owing obedience to himself and his successors. To this end two members of the Society of All Saints, Sister Margaret and Sister Gwen, who had been engaged in mission work in India, were, with the approval of their superiors, transferred to Melanesia. On arrival at Siota in 1929 they constituted the Community of the Cross. Its rule was largely the creation of Sister (later Mother) Margaret. To allow for flexibility very little was defined; vows of

1 For an exhaustive study of this movement see Peter F. Anson, The Call of the Cloister (London, 1955).
2 S.C.L. (E), August 1918, p.92. The mission was asked to find five postulants for training; these, when professed, would staff the house in Melanesia. It proved impossible to fulfil these conditions.
chastity and obedience were taken but poverty was not insisted upon.¹

Both Sister Margaret and Sister Gwen were highly educated and experienced teachers.² At Siota they began a large children's day school, assisted in the work of the theological college and later commenced a nursery for abandoned infants.³ With the arrival of aspirants from New Zealand and Australia (a teacher and a nurse respectively), the Community numbered four in 1933. In the next year it was joined by two young Sikaiana women who, influenced by the example of the Brothers who had recently evangelized their island, expressed the wish to give themselves entirely to the service of the church. These Sikaiana novices, called Tā'ina, were permitted to follow their own customs in food and domestic arrangements and to wear a habit of native pattern. This new development attracted other recruits from Sikaiana and later from Malaita and the New Hebrides. In many cases, however, the initial enthusiasm proved superficial and short-lived, and

¹ 'If everything is decided beforehand by rule and constitution how should the Spirit lead us': Melanesian Mission, The Community of the Cross (London, 1946). See also Fox to Durrad 28 August 1950, Durrad Papers.

² Sister Margaret had been educated at Oxford and worked in South Africa before going to India. Sister Gwen, a B.Sc. of London University, had been a teacher before entering the Sisterhood.

³ The Community of the Cross; S.C.L., October 1933, p.2, January 1934, p.7; M.M. Report, 1934, p.16. Holy Cross school at Siota was attended by about 70 children. The Sisters also operated a dispensary for the people of the surrounding area.
about half of those who entered the noviciate subsequently returned to their homes.¹

In 1936 the entire Community moved from Siota to Bungana to assume charge of the mission's girls' school. The European Sisters raised its standards considerably by preparing special textbooks and emphasizing the teaching of hygiene, handicrafts and efficient methods of agriculture.² This remained their chief work until 1950 when, as a body, they joined the Roman Catholic church.

By 1918 government stations had been established on all but one of the major islands of the Solomons and the protectorate authorities were free to divert their energies from repressive control, exercised by means of punitive expeditions, to the systematic development of a native administration.³ Although the

¹ S.C.L., July 1934, pp.14-5, April 1935, pp.6-8, April 1936, p.15: Ta'ina (Sydney, 1935). One of the first two Ta'ina later returned to Sikaiana. Two European women also joined the Community during these years; one left after one year, the other after three.

² S.C.L., October 1936, p.23, April 1937, p.21, April 1937, pp.10-1. There were 64 girls attending the school in 1939. The work of the Sisters at Bungana received praise from W.C. Groves in his 1939 Survey of Solomons education: 'Report on a Survey of Education in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate', section 3, p.5, section 5, p.3.

³ Government stations were founded at Gizo (New Georgia) in 1899; Faisi (Shortland Islands), 1906; Auki (Malaita), 1909; Marovo Lagoon (New Georgia), 1910 (closed 1913); Aola (Guadalcanal), 1914; Kirakira (San Cristobal), 1918; Tatamba (Ysabel), 1918. By this time Choiseul was the only major island without a resident District Officer.
first step in this direction was taken in 1922 with a regulation authorizing the appointment of district and village headmen, successive Resident Commissioners and their assistants devoted most of their efforts to the taxation and regimentation of the islanders under their rule. In 1920 a poll tax varying from five shillings to one pound was levied on all males aged from 16 to 60. Later a dog tax was imposed and restrictions placed on the movement of individuals from their villages. Owing to their frequent transfers and changes of station, few District Officers believed it worthwhile, nor were they encouraged, to learn a native language. Consequently, the majority never won the confidence of the islanders, by whom they were regarded merely as tax-gathers and dispensers of punishment.

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1 Western Pacific High Commission, No.10 of 1920.
2 S.C.L.(E), February 1924, pp.25-4. In 1933 there was a Native Passes Regulation (B.S.I.P., No.4 of 1933) which forbade an islander to 'leave his district or the district in which he usually resides or proceed to any other district without having first obtained a pass'; these were issued by the District Officer for the fee of one shilling and were available for 12 months. There was considerable local opposition to this measure: P.I.M., September 1933, p.7, November 1933, p.12.
Faced with laws and regulations which they scarcely understood and taxes for which they received no tangible return, Christian converts habitually turned to their missionaries - in most places the only Europeans with whom they had any degree of personal contact - for explanations or even advice whether they should obey the government's commands. In this situation Steward stressed the role of the missionary as mediator, bridging the gulf between those of his own race and the islanders among whom he worked and siding with neither. The principal task of the Melanesian Mission in this respect was, he maintained, to act as an interpreter between the government and the people, explaining government actions to the latter, correcting misunderstandings, and representing their views to the district officials.¹ This policy was put into effect locally in innumerable unrecorded ways. Among its major fruits was the peaceful acceptance of the unpopular poll tax by the truculent inhabitants of north Malaita - success attributable, at least in part, to the efforts of the Rev. Albert Mason, the missionary at Fiu.²

Steward himself was well-placed to act as a mediator. For not only was he the head of the oldest and largest mission in the protectorate; as an Anglican bishop in British territory he was accorded a precedence over the leaders of other religious bodies

¹ S.C.L.(E), November 1921, pp.154-5. The same view is expounded in Hopkins, Melanesia Today, pp.34-6. ² Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, p.174.
which faintly echoed the Establishment, and from 1921 until 1927 he was a member of the protectorate’s nominated Advisory Council. Frequent and lengthy absences from Siota usually prevented him from attending meetings. Nevertheless, his opinions, backed up as they were by long experience of the Solomons, carried considerable weight both publicly and unofficially, and he is credited with preventing the passage of a law which would have forbidden the islanders to wear more than a waist cloth — a measure which he considered objectionable and destructive of individual liberty.

The potential political influence of the Melanesian Mission was augmented by its English Committee which, through its prominent and carefully chosen vice-presidents, was in a favourable position to make direct approaches to the Colonial Office. In

1 The Advisory Council was constituted in 1921 with four members, of whom one was an official. In 1927 the size was increased to seven — three official and four non-official members. The Bishop of Melanesia was commonly regarded by the other non-official members as the representative of the ‘natives’: e.g., P.I.M., December 1931, p.30.

2 Fox, Kakamora, pp.138-9; Interview with Rev. Dr. C.E. Fox.

3 The Melanesian Mission sought to maintain its traditional ‘close association’ with the British navy by maintaining at least one admiral on the English Committee (S.C.L.(E), July 1926, pp.110-1). In 1922 the President of the English Committee was the Archbishop of Canterbury. Among its vice-presidents were the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Edinburgh and Salisbury, Bishop Montgomery, Sir E. Bickham Escott, C.M. Woodford, the Rev. C.A. Alington
comparison with the storms which raged over the political future of the New Hebrides, Solomons affairs were rarely of sufficient moment to warrant representations in London. One such occasion was the murder in October 1927 of the Malaita District Officer, W.R. Bell, his assistant and a party of native police while collecting the poll tax at Sinarango, on the east coast of the island. Soon after the news reached England Hopkins, who had recently retired from the mission, and the Rev. A.E. Corner, the London Organizing Secretary, were summoned to the Colonial Office to discuss the incident. On the motion of Sir Rickham Escott, a former High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, the English Committee simultaneously resolved to press for an official enquiry into the method of collecting native tax and the general administration of the protectorate.

On both matters the Melanesian Mission had evolved a definite viewpoint. It wanted a 'better' method of assessing and collecting tax - if indeed there must be a tax at all - and urged that the £10,000 collected annually in this way should be used to benefit the islanders by the development of medical work. It also advocated the elevation of the Solomon Islands Protectorate to the status of a Crown Colony, independent

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1 S.C.L.(E), November 1927, pp.174-5.
2 S.C.L.(E), December 1927, p.191.
of the High Commissioner in Fiji; a measure which, it hoped, would result in more efficient government. Although the details of any negotiations are not yet available, it appears likely that the opinions of the mission, as represented by Hopkins and the English Committee, reinforced the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to send a Commissioner, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H.C. Moorhouse, to enquire into the circumstances of the Bell murder and related matters.

Moorhouse’s Report, published in 1929, was concerned primarily with the problem of erecting a viable system of native administration in a region where, in the absence of a central authority or powerful chiefs, the principle of "indirect rule", used successfully in Africa and Fiji, could not be applied. Two of the Melanesian Mission’s suggestions, the creation of a Crown Colony and reform of the taxation system, were ignored, but its chief contention, the extension of medical services, received strong support. In conjunction with government-operated "mass treatment" campaigns against yaws and hookworm, Moorhouse recommended utilization and encouragement of mission medical institutions.

Following the closure of the Welchman Memorial Hospital in 1917 the mission's medical work was confined to treatments administered at head stations and by itinerating missionaries, and the irregular supplying of a few simple medicines to native teachers and clergy. In spite of its inconvenient location the Hautambu hospital had proved its worth both as a practical demonstration to pagans of the 'power' of Christianity and as a symbol of the mission's concern for the physical well-being of the islanders,¹ and at the 1921 Siota conference its reopening on a new site was urged as the mission's 'first duty'.² Steward regarded the healing of the sick as essentially a religious activity³ and was eager to implement the recommendation. However, the mission's deteriorating financial position and large debt caused the project to be delayed until 1927 when the Colonial Office gave assurance of an annual grant of £200 together with a free supply of certain drugs.⁴ In 1928 a highly qualified English doctor, L.M. Maybury, joined the staff and at the synod held later in that year the question of a site for the new hospital was

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¹ Both motives were present in the mission's medical policy: S.C.L.(E), October 1925, pp.158-9; S.C.L., April 1927, pp.26-8; Hopkins, Melanesia Today, pp.81-2.
³ Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, p.65. Steward himself regularly practised the rite of 'laying on of hands' for the seriously ill.
debated. Ugi, Ysabel and north Malaita were advocated in turn. Finally, due to a block vote by the New Hebridean priests present, the latter district was chosen; after inspection of all possible sites land was leased at Fauambu in Coleridge Bay, 17 miles north of Fiun, in the midst of a large Christian and pagan population.  

Staffed by Maybury and two nurses, the Hospital of the Epiphany was opened in 1929. The immediate erection of permanent buildings was made possible by an appeal organized by the English Committee which attracted several large donations. Investigation revealed a high incidence of leprosy on Malaita and in 1930 a leper colony was established near the hospital. By 1933 there were nearly 80 lepers in residence and under treatment. For this immense task the mission's resources were totally inadequate, and after consultation with Dr S.M. Lambert of the Rockefeller Foundation, who visited Fauambu in the course of a yaws treatment campaign, the colony was closed.  

For some time the Fauambu hospital made little impact on the surrounding area. The local people,

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1. S.C.L., October 1928, pp.9-10, April 1929, p.11; Fox, 'History of the Melanesian Mission', Healing the Sick, p.3. Within a radius of 15 miles there was an estimated population of 10,000.
2. Donations of £2000 and £1000 were received. In 1932 a Melbourne woman gave £1080 to cover the cost of a nurses' home.
attached to their traditional remedies, were disinclined to use its facilities, and until 1933 lack of a launch prevented the doctor from visiting other parts of Malaita to give injections and bring back serious cases for treatment. Maybury left in 1932 after he was discovered to be operating a brothel for the hospital's native workmen and his successor was dismissed within a year for drunkenness.\(^1\) With the arrival in 1936 of Dr C.S. James, a former Methodist medical missionary, stability was finally achieved.\(^2\) In 1938 the leper colony was reopened on a new and efficient basis,\(^3\) and in 1941 Dr J. Thomson commenced the training of Melanesian nurses. This represented a major advance on Malaita where custom was strong and there was a deep-rooted antipathy against women doing work which involved attendance on male patients.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox. Maybury's successor was F.A. Macpherson (Fauambu 1933-4).
\(^2\) From 1928 until 1931 James had worked in the Solomon Islands Methodist mission; see below, p.322.
\(^3\) S.C.L., January 1938, pp.7-8; January 1939, p.11, July 1941, p.13; \textit{Leprosy in Melanesia} (London, n.d.), pp.10-2. There were 46 lepers in residence in March 1941. Although the protectorate government subsidized the doctor's stipend and issued a liberal supply of drugs (to the value of £383 in the year 1934-5) it made no grant towards the mission's leper work. In the quarter January-March 1941 the hospital treated 2222 out-patients and 215 in-patients: S.C.L., July 1941, p.26.
\(^4\) Fox, \textit{Lord of the Southern Isles}, p.251. The first nurse, a New Hebridean, qualified in 1946. Until this time the hospital had depended upon male orderlies.
THE knowledge of Melanesian customs and languages gained by Steward during his years as a district missionary enabled him to approach his episcopal duties with the benefit of insights denied his immediate predecessors. One feature of the mission which caused him concern was the gulf which inevitably existed between the bishop, constantly itinerating on the 500 ton Southern Cross and calling only briefly at each place, and the island Christians. Soon after his consecration he attempted to bridge this by undertaking a visitation by whaleboat and foot - a journey of some 750 miles through the central and eastern Solomons. It was a generous but foolhardy gesture: the seven months trip undermined his health, compelled two years leave in England and led to his resignation at a relatively early age in 1928.

He was succeeded by the Rt. Rev. F.M. Molyneux, who had been consecrated in 1925 as an assistant bishop with special responsibility for the New Hebrides. Although the mission was passing through a difficult phase, with an annual excess of expenditure over income, several serious epidemics in the boarding schools and the Southern Cross disabled, Molyneux's episcopate began with high hopes. It was terminated abruptly three years later following the discovery of his clandestine homosexual affairs with Melanesian youths on board the mission ship.

1 Newbolt, op. cit., pp.79-110. See also Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.73-7 (extracts from the bishop's journal), and Kakamora, pp.98-9.

2 For an account of the principal events of Molyneux's episcopate see Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.78-82.
The year 1932 saw the spirit of the mission at its lowest since Patteson's death. The circumstances of Molyneux's resignation were an object of ribald amusement to the local European settlers. A fall in mission income, a result of the Depression, necessitated severe economy measures, including the closure of Pamua school. Finally, in October *Southern Cross* VI was wrecked in the New Hebrides on its maiden voyage. In their despondency, the missionaries were in no mood to exercise their right to nominate a new bishop. The administrator of the diocese, the Rev. D.E. Graves, accordingly sent two delegates, Fox from the Solomons and the Rev. A. Teall from the New Hebrides, to consult with the New Zealand bishops. These first offered the see to Fox, who declined; they then elected the Rev. Walter Baddeley, a prominent Yorkshire clergyman, who was consecrated in Auckland in December 1932.

In personality and outlook Baddeley shared many traits with Bishop G.A. Selwyn. A leader by nature and an autocrat by inclination, he was energetic, forceful and occasionally harsh. Like Selwyn he was

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1 By 1931 the mission was £3000 in debt. The fall in the price of copra meant that those boarding schools which were formerly almost self-supporting now required a large subsidy from the mission's funds. At a conference of Solomons mission staff held at Siota in 1931 it was decided to close Pamua school, reduce the number at all central schools and make a reduction in missionaries' stipends and teachers' pay: *S.C.L.*, October 1931, pp.3-6, 27-8.

2 Fox to Durrad, 1 September 1953, *Durrad Papers*.

3 Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles*, pp.84-5; Interviews with Miss N. Stead (Sydney) and Mr N.C. Deck (Sydney).
a High Churchman, but of a more liberal and accommodating variety. Indeed, his religion was somewhat laic: he had little interest in specifically religious or ecclesiastical issues, while the supernatural content of the Christian faith, so dear to Steward, was overshadowed by his concept of 'Redemption of the Whole Man'. For him Christianity was a matter of practice rather than belief, not primarily concerned with a future life but with 'men's lives here and now'.

His approach to mission work is well summed-up by the sermons he delivered during a visitation of mission villages on Guadalcanal, in which he reminded his hearers that they were 'called to be workers for God in His Church', that their churches, villages and persons should be kept 'clean and neat', that they 'must stand up for their Catholic heritage, and resist to the utmost unwanted sects who try to intrude in [their] villages.'

Melanesia offered plenty of scope for Baddeley's activist and temporal brand of Christianity, and throughout his episcopate he did much to improve the physical and material welfare of the islanders. In the former sphere the greatest problem was the high infant mortality rate. Perhaps 20 per cent of all children born died in infancy of malnutrition, disease and neglect, and in many cases the mothers also succumbed to primitive obstetrics and post-natal

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1 *S.C.L.*, January 1944, p.35.
2 *S.C.L.*, April 1935, p.10. The reference is to the Seventh-day Adventist mission which had recently commenced work on Guadalcanal.
complications. A start in combating this had been made in 1931 when Miss N. Stead, highly qualified in midwifery and mothercraft, joined the mission staff. To assist women in the villages who could not be reached by large central medical institutions she began, in 1938, a training school at Siota where selected girls were given an elementary education in conjunction with courses in nursing and mothercraft and then returned to their homes to pass on the techniques they had learned. In addition, personal and village hygiene was given a prominent place in the curriculum of all mission boarding schools; dispensaries were located for brief periods in north-east Malaita, the Reef Islands, Ulawa and Arosi; and in 1937 a new hospital, staffed by European nurses, was opened at Kerepei on Ugi to serve the eastern Solomons where

3 *S.C.L., October 1937*, pp.9-10. This dispensary, at Gwounatolo, was operated by two Sisters of the Cross who were assisting the Brothers in their evangelistic work in the area.
4 Ibid., p.25; *M.M. Report, 1936*, p.5.
the physical condition of the people was described as 'appalling'.

Baddeley was also anxious to improve the techniques of Melanesian agriculture, the deficiencies of which were only too apparent, and in 1936 he established a small experimental farm at Pamua. During its two years existence young men were brought there from various parts of the Solomons and instructed in crop rotation. New methods of gardening were taught at the boys' boarding schools and put into practice at Taroaniara, near Tulagi, where the mission's headquarters were removed in 1939.

Despite the efforts of individuals to broaden its basis, the mission system of education was still regarded primarily as an auxiliary of evangelism. Baddeley would have none of this. Mission schools did not exist merely for the training of native catechists; nor were they, he declared, 'a bribe offered to people anxious for learning'. Ideally, they were agents of

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1 S.C.L., October 1937, pp.25-7, January 1938, p.6; M.M. Report, 1938, p.16. The Kerepei hospital was almost as busy as Fauambu; in the period September-November 1937 1549 out-patients were treated and there was a daily average of 27 in hospital. Because there was no resident doctor the institution received no direct government subsidy.


3 M.M. Report, 1938, p.18; S.C.L., April 1941, p.35; Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, p.87. Taroaniara was at the southern entrance of the Mboli Passage, ten miles from Siota. The mission leased 400 acres and established its shipyard, workshops and a district school there.
Christian civilization, preparing their pupils for advanced education in order to serve their own people - 'schools which will fit them better for a fuller citizenship in a new world which is fast closing in on them.' This objective was clearly incompatible with the mission's use of Mota as its teaching language. Though the decision to use English as the medium of instruction at Maravovo, Pawa and Siota schools had been made at the Solomon Islands staff conference of 1931, the transition had scarcely begun when Baddeley arrived. He encouraged the process, made English the language of the Southern Cross and from 1937, when Pawa became an English-speaking school, supplied the protectorate government with promising boys to send to New Britain and Fiji for training in agriculture and medicine, as well as clerks for the incipient civil service.

Up to Baddeley's time relations between the Melanesian Mission and individual traders, planters and government officials were, on the whole, amicable but distant; with only one or two exceptions the

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1 S.C.L., January 1944, p.35.
2 S.C.L., October 1931, pp.29-30; Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.80-1.
3 M.M. Report, 1938, p.12; S.C.L., January 1938, pp.15-6, July 1941, p.9, October 1941, p.15, April 1942, p.17. The first pupils of Pawa school to be trained as Native Medical Practitioners were half-castes - George Bogesi (qualified 1931) and Geoffery Kuper (1937).
4 In isolated districts traders were often generous in transporting supplies for missionaries: e.g., S.C.L., July 1929, p.30. See also P.I.M., December 1932, p.40, January 1936, p.42; S.C.L., October 1937, p.6; Fox, Kakamora, p.140.
mission clergy had made no serious effort to provide religious ministrations for the Europeans resident in their neighbourhood. ¹ This was undoubtedly due in part to the absence of any strong desire among the white population for special Christian services.² The principal reason, however, was the mission's preoccupation with what it saw as its primary task, the building of a Melanesian church: only when there was sufficient staff to cope adequately with the evangelistic, pastoral and educational work among the islanders was it prepared to turn its attention to the local European community.³

Baddeley was not one to maintain the mission in isolation from the protectorate's centres of commercial and political power. He was a prominent Freemason, possessed a distinguished war record⁴ and was

¹ There were 418 Europeans resident in the group in 1924, 497 in 1931 (including missionaries). Some missionaries in the Tasimboko district had conducted services for the local European settlers (e.g., M.M. Report, 1910, p.46; S.C.L., September 1912, p.221). At the annual London meeting of the English Committee in 1926 Hopkins appealed for a chaplain for the European population, to minister to the settlers on the protectorate's plantations: S.C.L.(E), July 1926, p.108.

² S.C.L.(E), November 1918, p.136. The unusually high proportion of agnostics and anti-clerics among Europeans resident in the Pacific is a matter of observation: Belshaw, Changing Melanesia, p.74.

³ S.C.L., April 1928, pp.4-5, April 1924, p.28; Interview with Mr H. Bullen (Auckland).

⁴ M.C. (1917), Bar (1918), D.S.O. (1918).
at his ease with men of affairs. Moreover, he viewed his episcopal office in quasi-Establishment terms, being anxious to assist and cooperate with the government whenever possible, and from the time of his arrival he played a prominent part in the deliberations of the Advisory Council. Such a churchman the leaders of the European community could accept as one of themselves and they responded accordingly. In his first mission report Baddeley paid generous tribute to F.N. Ashley, the Resident Commissioner, the managers of the protectorate's two principal business firms and the white settlers in general, and expressed his regret that the mission had hitherto failed to realize its 'responsibilities' towards them. As a result of his efforts, a small church in memory of Patteson was opened at Tulagi in 1938. English services were held each month, conducted occasionally by the bishop himself, and were attended by the Resident Commissioner, European residents and Melanesians employed in the capital.

Baddeley commenced his episcopate determined to bring the mission's ideal, a church under indigenous leadership, substantially closer to realization. Convinced that the mission's most urgent need was an adequate staff at its central schools and training institutions, and satisfied that the island church was

1 M.M. English Committee Report, 1933, p.17.
2 M.M. Report, 1938, p.19. Baddeley firmly squashed a move by some of the Europeans to have Melanesians excluded from 'white' Communion services: interview with Mr H. Bullen.
by this time sufficiently stable to manage without the permanent oversight of European district missionaries, he located all new staff at a few head stations and steadily entrusted the entire pastoral supervision of the village churches and schools to Melanesian clergy. In this he probably acted prematurely. With no one at hand to turn to for advice on difficult problems of discipline and visited only rarely by the bishop or his deputy, many native priests became discouraged and oppressed by the responsibilities suddenly thrust upon them.

In the ordination of Melanesians Baddeley moved even faster than Steward, a policy which some observers criticized as excessively hasty. Deacons were normally ordained after a two years course of training at the theological college (moved in 1935 from Siota to Maka on Malaita). If after two or three years their conduct was considered satisfactory, they returned to the college for a further brief period of study before being raised to the priesthood. Because the students at the college were for the most part middle-aged men, former teachers who knew little or no

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1 M.M. English Committee Report, 1933, p.12; About Melanesia, No.10: Melanesia (Sydney, 1937), p.4. Each Melanesian priest or deacon had charge of a 'pastoral district' comprising 10 to 15 mission villages. By 1938 there were 40 of these in the Solomons: M.M. Report, 1938, p.8.

2 Fox, 'History of the Melanesian Mission', Bishop Baddeley, pp.5-6.

3 M.M. Report, 1938, p.9.
English, Mota was retained as the medium of instruction. 1

Another development of these years, one which signified both the growing maturity of the Melanesian church and the new importance of education in the eyes of the islanders, was the formation of district boarding schools, of which there were 14 by 1940. 2 These arose out of the need to provide boys with preliminary instruction in English before they were sent to Maravovo - impossible in the Mota-speaking village schools. Each served a number of villages, was operated by young teachers educated at Pawa and was supported in food by the local people. 3 Although the academic standard was higher than the small and inefficient village establishments, the district schools suffered from lack of coordination, due to the mission's failure to provide adequate European assistance and supervision. 4

1 The Rev. James Edwards was warden of the college from 1935 until 1957. As at Norfolk Island, teaching was aimed primarily at a thorough comprehension of the basic doctrines, 'to help the student to...know what he believes and why he believes it, to help him to think for himself so that he may deal with native problems, and to help him to understand something of the real meaning of obedience, so that he may be able to rule his flock wisely and well in the future': S.C.L., October 1936, p.24. The training single and married men with little previous education for work as village teachers continued to be undertaken at Siota.

2 S.C.L., July 1941, p.11. At this stage there were five on Ysabel, three on Malaita, two on Guadalcanal, and one each on Ugi and San Cristobal.


4 Groves, op. cit., section 3, p.3.
Baddeley was a man of action rather than a scholar or a visionary, with little instinctive sympathy for the mission's traditional usages and customs, and his episcopate saw the virtual disappearance of a dominant feature of its ethos - what Fox called the 'inina feeling' or sense of friendly inclusiveness. This was partly due to the abandonment of Mota as the mission's lingua franca and the subsequent withdrawal of European priests from district pastoral work - measures which, for the missionaries, removed the necessity of learning at least one native language. This in turn erected a barrier between them and the Melanesian teachers and clergy, the majority of whom had been trained exclusively in Mota and thus knew little or no English. Pidgin-English the mission despised. The division was accentuated on Southern Cross VII which arrived, with a new captain, shortly after the new bishop. On this ship the practice of European and Melanesian priests eating together was discontinued, on grounds of expense, and a number of other changes implemented, all of which tended to widen the gulf between the bishop and the island Christians for whom the annual visit of the mission vessel ranked among the major events of the year.

1 Fox to Durrad, 17 August 1938, Durrad Papers.
2 Fox, 'A Missionary in Melanesia', pp.106-7. Traditionally, the Southern Cross sailed on regular voyages and spent Sundays at isolated places where the people seldom saw a missionary. In addition, the bishop went ashore by whaleboat and took the steer oar. All these customs were discontinued.
The chief cause of this disintegration of the mission was Baddeley's reluctance to delegate authority and associate his clergy and lay staff with him in the government of the diocese. Experience in England of tedious diocesan conferences had reinforced his autocratic tendencies and convinced him that the synods and staff conferences inaugurated by Steward were unnecessary and a waste of time. His refusal to call any kind of conference not only prevented Melanesian priests from actively participating in the formulation of mission policy; it also deprived the large European staff, dispersed over a vast area, of their one opportunity of meeting together and voicing their opinions and pent-up grievances. The consequent bitterness and sense of frustration marred relations between Baddeley and many of the older missionaries and led to the resignation of some of the stalwart guardians of the 'old traditions' of the mission, among them Warren of Maravovo. 1

FOR the Melanesian Mission the third and fourth decades of the century were years of relatively rapid growth in which it strengthened its position on almost every island. In this it was aided by three new factors: the extension of pax Britannica over the last unruly portions of the Solomons, an ample supply of evangelists, and the multiplication of residential schools at which youths from pagan districts could be trained to reach their own people. More important,

1 Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, p. 85; Interviews with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox and Miss N. Stead.
there was a widespread feeling that the ultimate triumph of Christianity, the white man's religion, was assured. 'Christianity is like an epidemic; there is no escape from it', declared one Malaita bush chief; 'We are like fish in a net', lamented another. Older men, suspicious of European influences and often scornful of particular Christian tenets, normally wished to remain as they were, but a growing number were anxious for their children to become Christians and attend school.

The greatest advances were made in north Malaita, the home of some 20,000 islanders. This was largely the work of the Rev. Albert Mason who remained at Fiu from 1914 until his death while on leave in 1942, obstinately defying Baddeley's efforts to dislodge him. A conscientious, stolid priest, he owed much to his wife, a woman of exceptional ability who as Miss Child had been one of the first women missionaries in the Solomons, and together they exerted a considerable influence throughout the surrounding district. The steady influx of pagan bushmen into mission villages was accelerated by the sensational Bell murder and the resulting government counter-measures; in the eight years after 1926 alone the number of baptized adherents rose from 1300 to 2400.

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1 S.C.L., April 1934, p.7.
2 Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, p.174; Interview with Mr N.C. Deck.
The work of the Brothers was not without effect. In 1931 the first of several Households was sent to north-east Malaita, near Fouia, to evangelize the bushmen and the island dwellers of the Lau Lagoon who, regardless of the efforts of Jack Talofuila and his followers, were still strongly opposed to Christianity for themselves.¹ A little later the Brothers began work under the direction of an itinerant European missionary in central Malaita, at Uru and Takataka, where the mission had long been weak.² In spite of the difficulties of language and the scattered distribution of the population, they achieved some modest successes. In 1933 a new central school was founded at Maka at the southern entrance of the Maramasike Passage where local youths could be given rudimentary religious instruction to equip them to 'hold the line' in their own villages until sufficient trained teachers were available.³

Small Malaita suffered severely from epidemics in the first three decades of the century; by 1924 the population of Sa'a, the mission's stronghold, was less than half its 1896 level.⁴ Following the departure

⁴ M.M. Report, 1907, p.58e; S.C.L.(E), August 1923, p.113; Ivens, Melanesians of the South-east Solomon Islands, p.25. The population of Sa'a in 1924 was 100, compared with 250 30 years previously.
of the last European missionary in 1932 the church was led by locally-born priests and deacons, among the latter being a son of Joseph Wate. In 1934 the mission claimed the allegiance of 2000 people, half the population of the island.

Throughout this period the Ulawa church was headed by the Rev. Martin Marau, a son of Clement Marau (d. 1926). He was not as strong a character as his father, and Steward was disturbed by his strange air of 'quietness' and the undercurrent of resentment he appeared to provoke among a section of the Ulawa people and teachers. Nevertheless, he successfully regained the ground lost by the mission after his father's lapse and by the mid-thirties almost the entire population was either baptized or under Christian instruction.

Despite Fox's strenuous efforts in Arosi and Bauro the greater part of San Cristobal was evangelized by the S.S.E.M. and the Roman Catholics. By the early twenties there was a mission school of one kind or another.

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1 The last European missionary on Small Malaita was the Rev. A.A. Thompson (1920-32). Joseph Wate's son, William Atkin Wate, was ordained deacon in 1934. Andrew Dora, a Small Malaita teacher who died in 1926, was the last survivor of those who were on the Southern Cross when Patteson was killed. C.H. Brooke, the last European 'witness' died earlier in the same year.

2 S.C.L., April 1928, pp.8-9; Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, p.166. For an illustration of Marau's character see Florence Coombe, Islands of Enchantment (London, 1911), p.256.

3 M.M. Report, 1934, p.9. The population of Ulawa at this stage was about 900.
another in almost every village and most of the islanders had left the interior for new settlements on the coast. The disappearance of the bush villages was further hastened by epidemics of dysentery which swept through them every few years 'killing scores, or even hundreds'. This rapid destruction of much of the traditional culture, together with the marked decline in population, induced among the San Cristobal people a mood of apathy and despair which was in turn reflected in the state of the church, described in 1928 as 'lifeless'. As a class, San Cristobal teachers displayed few qualities of leadership and for a decade after Fox's departure in 1924 pastoral work was in the hands of clergy from Ysabel and Ulawa. The chief advance of these years was at the eastern end of the island where, after considerable opposition, schools were commenced at Nafinuatoga on Santa Ana (in 1924) and later on Santa Catalina.

2 Fox, Threshold of the Pacific, p.7. In 1921 there were 269 births on San Cristobal and 401 deaths: S.C.L.(E), December 1922, pp.141-2.
3 S.C.L., April 1928, p.9. See also S.C.L.(E), February 1924, p.26. Between 1918 and 1931 the population of the San Cristobal administrative district (which included Ulawa, Ugi and Santa Ana) declined from 8424 to 6267.
4 Only two San Cristobal teachers were ordained in these years - Samuel Gede in 1921 (died 1925) and Elias Sau, deacon in 1932, priest in 1934.
On Guadalcanal the Melanesian Mission was similarly in a minority position, with 2000 adherents in 1934 out of a total population of 14,000 and vastly overshadowed by its Roman Catholic rivals. Until 1930 a missionary was stationed at Tasimboko which, on account of its 'zealous' population and large number of plantations, was regarded as one of the most important districts in the mission. Elsewhere the church was under the direction of two elderly Melanesian priests, Hugo Toke and James Toganiande, who were based near Maravovo and on the south coast respectively. To counter the problems created by isolation, lack of supervision and the presence of other religious bodies, Baddeley divided the island into six 'pastoral districts', increased the number of native clergy to eight and ordained a priest for the hitherto neglected mission villages on Savo.

By 1920 the evangelization of Nggele was formally completed and the mission set about consolidation - 'building up the people in the faith and leading them to take upon themselves an increasing share of responsibility for Church work.' Despite the economic

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1 By 1939 baptized Roman Catholics on Guadalcanal numbered approximately 6000.
2 S.C.L., April 1928, pp.4-6.
4 S.C.L., April 1934, p.27. The last adult convert was baptized in 1920; S.C.L.(E), July 1921, p.91.
advancement of the group and the vitality of its inhabitants this was no easy task. With the passing of the generation of Norfolk Island teachers who, in retrospect, were held in high regard, and their replacement by young men, frequently poorly educated and ill-fitted for responsibility, confidence in the mission tended to wane. Dissatisfaction with the low standard of the existing mission schools was universal. On the other hand, among Europeans the Nggela people kept their reputation, not wholly deserved, as 'lazy' and 'dirty'. Nevertheless, Nggela was among the first districts in the Solomons to approach the mission ideal. From 1921 onwards there were at least five native deacons and priests in the group; although a European missionary, the Rev. D.E. Graves, worked there until 1933, the church in most areas was accustomed to indigenous leadership. In addition, a number of Nggela teachers volunteered for work in Guadalcanal and unevangelized areas of other islands.

On Ysabel, where the whole population was also nominally attached to the Melanesian Mission, there appeared the first signs of strain in relations between the representatives of Church and State. Since the

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1 S.C.L.(E), January 1926, p.10.
2 Groves, op. cit., section 2, pp.12-3.
3 For an estimate of Graves's work see S.C.L., April 1933, p.29, and Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.186-7.
4 S.C.L.(E), January 1926, p.10. In 1925 two Nggela priests and 19 teachers were at work on other islands.
establishment in 1918 of the government station at Tatamba successive District Officers had viewed with suspicion, if not outright hostility, the mission's domination of secular as well as religious affairs on the island, and its seemingly dogmatic and inflexible attitude towards divorce and other traditional customs. On its part, the mission saw the government officials as engaged in an unscrupulous campaign to discredit it in the eyes of the islanders and to undermine the authority of the existing chiefs by appointing men whose sole qualification appeared to be their ability to speak pidgin-English as village and district headmen. The Vunagi Kiloau ('Church men') and the priests, Hugo Hembala and Ben Hageria, who exercised authority within the Ysabel church, similarly scorned the government headmen as 'mission outcasts, people of evil reputation or white man's pimps', and proceeded to appoint 'mission headmen' in each village. Although their functions were supposedly limited to the religious sphere - the collection of money, repair of the church and the provision of hospitality for the visiting missionary - their precise position in relation to the government representatives

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1 S.C.L., May 1919, p.17; Personal communication from R.P. Fallowes, 25 January 1966. Friction also resulted from the administration's refusal to recognize the legality of marriages performed by native clergy: M.M. Report, 1934, p.12; P.I.M., September 1937, p.16.

2 Fowler, This Island's Mine, p.41. In this work, the reminiscences of a District Officer on Ysabel in the thirties, the names of all Europeans have been altered.
gave rise to considerable confusion: 'Who is number one boss', one District Officer was asked by a puzzled native constable, 'Archbishop of Canterbury or King George?'  

This delicate situation was aggravated by the arrival in 1930 of a young English missionary, the Rev. R.P. Fallowes. A turbulent, somewhat erratic priest, he opposed the authority of the government as arbitrary and repressive and introduced the islanders to inflammable notions of political rights and representation. After four stormy years, during which he was charged by Notere, the excommunicate headman of Ysabel, with unlawfully administering corporal punishment for ecclesiastical offences, he suffered a mental breakdown and retired from the mission. In 1939 he returned to the Solomons as a private visitor and attempted to set up an unofficial Native Parliament,

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1 Ibid., pp.39-40; Belshaw, Changing Melanesia, p.108.
2 Since the death of the Rev. R. Sprott in 1924 there had been no European priest at Ysabel, though Sprott's widow had remained at a station in the Maringe Lagoon to teach hygiene and mothercraft to the women of the island. Fallowes appears in Fowler's book thinly disguised as the missionary 'Woodley'.
3 In the resulting court case Fallowes conducted his own defence. He was acquitted on six of the charges laid against him; on the seventh, on which there was some doubt as to whether consent had been given, he was fined £3: personal communication from R.P. Fallowes. Notere had been chosen by the people of Bugotu as their leader after Soga's death, a decision ratified by Woodford who appointed him headman of the island: Ellen Wilson, Dr Welchman of Bugotu, pp.56-7; I.V., and Report, 1901, p.39.
'in which the chiefs and leading men from the various islands could meet and discuss their common needs and grievances' in order to make united representations to the Resident Commissioner. Meetings attracting increasing numbers and interest were held on Ysabel, Nggela and Savo, agitation being focussed upon the need for a native voice on the Advisory Council. On Nggela, where the people were more sophisticated and where there was already strong dissatisfaction with the perfunctory administration of the district from Tulagi, the movement gained momentum and demands for higher wages and prices were added.

Of Fallowes's erstwhile missionary colleagues, only Fox expressed any sympathy with his aspirations. To the remainder, as to the European community generally, he was an irresponsible adventurer whose activities were fomenting discontent and encouraging insubordination. Baddeley was actively hostile. When letters of a Nggela headman were discovered to have disturbed people on San Cristobal the government panicked and took repressive measures. Native leaders of the agitation were punished; Fallowes was publicly

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1 Personal communication from R.P. Fallowes.
3 Personal communication from R.P. Fallowes.
castigated by the High Commissioner, Sir Harry Luke (who was on a visit to the protectorate), and deported.

An anthropologist later described the movement as a 'primitive, abortive manifestation, constituting no danger to the government...and even capable of beneficial results had it been handled by enlightened administrators.' The essentially negative reaction of the leaders of the Melanesian Mission is partly explicable in terms of the alliance which Baddeley had forged with the protectorate authorities. The principal reason, however, was the mission's indifference to the political as opposed to the social and religious advancement of the Solomon Islanders, and its failure to establish a vital link between self-reliance in the native church and some measure of self-government in secular affairs.

The effects of the movement were twofold. In the first place, it prompted the government into giving the islanders a greater say in the conduct of their affairs. In 1942 a system of native courts and councils was introduced, initially on Ysabel, Nggela and in north Malaita, to advise government headmen on the working of their administrative sub-districts, to administer 'native law and custom' and to judge minor crimes. Nor was Fallowes forgotten by the people of

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1 Belshaw, 'Native Politics in the Solomon Islands', pp.189-90.
2 B.S.I.P., No.2 of 1942. For an account of the working of these courts see H. Ian Hogbin, 'Native Councils and Native Courts in the Solomon Islands', Oceania, vol.XIV, No.4, pp.257-69.
Ysabel and Nggela; in the post-war years when the anti-British millenial cult, Marching Rule, spread there from Guadalcanal his name and teachings were closely associated with it.  

IN addition to consolidating work begun in previous years, the Melanesian Mission extended its operations during this period to the Polynesian islands within the Solomon group - Sikaiana, Ontong Java and Rennell. Sikaiana, 130 miles east of Malaita, and Rennell, 110 miles south of Guadalcanal, were first visited by Selwyn and Patteson in 1856, but owing to their isolated position and lack of harbours, contact was not seriously renewed. With the foundation of the Brotherhood the mission possessed for the first time an adequate supply of evangelists for pioneer work, and in 1930 Kopuria and a companion were sent to Sikaiana. European traders had been in close contact with the island for over 80 years, and by the

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2 Patteson landed at Rennell and the adjacent island of Bellona on several occasions after 1856. There was no further contact until Wilson's episcopate when the Southern Cross visited both islands in 1904 and Bellona in 1908. On the latter visit the Rev. F. Drew spent a night ashore: S.C.L, January 1905, pp.9-10, January 1909, pp.116-7.

3 Cheyne, A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, pp.52-3; Mission Voyage, 1856.
1920s the pagan religion had virtually perished. Its disintegration was completed shortly before the arrival of the mission when Buchanan, the last resident trader, went berserk and burned down the temples.\(^1\) Without an alternative focus for their religious loyalties, most of the 230 islanders were soon attending church and school and by 1934, when the Brothers were withdrawn, it was reported that all but a handful of old people were either baptized or under instruction.\(^2\)

To some observers the conversion of Sikaiana, a 'heathen and happy' island, was a tragedy. After a visit in 1933 Lambert remarked with more bitterness than truth that 'Arcady had vanished under the heel of religious-totalitarianism.'\(^3\)

The evangelization of Ontong Java, 140 miles north of Ysabel, was a slower, less fervent process. A Methodist mission located in the group between 1906 and 1920 had gained but few converts,\(^4\) and as late as 1928

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\(^1\) Interviews with R.E. de Loach (University of Hawaii) and Rev. Alan Piva (Auki). In 1928 Steward visited the island and found the people 'anxious' for the mission to come: M.M. English Committee Report, 1928, p.19.

\(^2\) M.M. Report, 1934, p.10. See also Lycett, op. cit., pp.42-4.

\(^3\) Lambert, op. cit., p.340. One of the consequences of the adoption of Christianity was an increase in the population of Sikaiana from 230 to 300. To relieve the pressure on the island's food supply the mission sponsored a small resettlement scheme at Maranatambu on Ysabel. For details see Allan, Customary Land Tenure in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, pp.110-1.

\(^4\) See chapter VI.
the traditional religious rites were being practised with undiminished vigour. Fox's attention was drawn to the atoll by the anthropological researches conducted there by Hogbin in the late twenties, and soon after he joined the Brotherhood in 1933 he and another Brother took an opportunity to visit Luangiua, the most populous island of the group. They were warmly received. At the request of Makaekte, the heku'u (king), a Household of four Brothers was subsequently sent there; two of these were stationed at Luangiua and two at Pelau, at the opposite end of the great lagoon. As on Sikaiana the absence of a European missionary who could undertake translations necessitated the use of Mota, a Melanesian language, for worship and for teaching purposes. Although Makaekte was among the first to place himself under Christian instruction many of his people were slow to follow his example; by 1939 only about one third of the total population, which numbered about 700, had been baptized.

Apart from difficulties associated with the mission's attempts to enforce a Christian code of sexual morality and suppress kaleve (coconut toddy) drinking among its catechumens, the evangelization of Sikaiana and Ontong Java was accomplished without major incident. By contrast, the introduction of

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1 M.M. Report, 1934, p.10; S.C.L., April 1934, p. 6, January 1935, pp.10-1; Interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox.
2 S.C.L., October 1936, pp.30-1; Interview with Archdeacon H.V.C. Reynolds (Honiara).
Christianity into Rennell Island was attended by strife and tragedy - a consequence of the presence of three competing missions and the islanders' susceptibility to European diseases. Although Rennell was over 40 miles in length, its small population (about 1200), rugged coastline and the lack of a commercially valuable product discouraged vessels from calling there or at its smaller neighbour, Bellona, and after the murder of three S.S.E.M. teachers placed there in 1910 it was officially closed to missionary work. With visits from recruiting vessels, government officials and natural scientists during the twenties, the old isolation of Rennell was largely broken down. Calico loincloths began to replace bark waistbands, pidgin-English was introduced, and Lambert, who visited in 1930 and again in 1933, detected a 'certain loosening of the old religious ties'. In 1932 the Seventh-day Adventist mission sought and was granted permission to visit the island, a privilege extended in 1934 to other interested religious bodies. The government still prohibited the stationing of either European or Melanesian teachers, but it was willing to allow Rennellese boys to be taken away for schooling. In February 1934 the new Southern Cross made a preliminary visit, followed soon after by the S.S.E.M. vessel. The missionaries contacted Tahua, 'Lord of the White

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1 See below, p.391.
3 Ibid., p.361.
4 See below, pp.448 ff.
Sands' (the Kunggava anchorage on the south coast of the island), presents were exchanged, and on a second visit four months later five young men were obtained for the Brothers' school at Tambalia.\(^1\) In the following year others from Kunggava were taken to Tambalia and Maravovo, and Fox visited Taupongi, Tahua's rival, who lived on the shore of a great inland lake and ruled the eastern portion of the island.\(^2\) In 1936 two youths were returned to their homes with influenza which spread rapidly and caused the death of Taha and 60 of his people. The government promptly closed the island and ordered the return of all other Rennellese mission scholars.\(^3\)

News of the tragic consequences of the Melanesian Mission's negligence and the sectarian rivalry which the S.S.E.M. and Seventh-day Adventists had stimulated amongst their followers served to reinforce Lambert's conviction that the people of Rennell and Bellona urgently needed protection from the outside world. Accordingly, in 1936 he presented to the Colonial Office a plan by which the islanders could be preserved

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\(^1\) S.C.L., July 1934, pp.25, 33, January 1935, p.10. On its first voyage the Southern Cross also visited Bellona; the islanders were suspicious of visitors and the mission party narrowly escaped being killed: Fox, Kakamora, pp.86-7.

\(^2\) S.C.L., July 1935, pp.13-4. The protectorate authorities declined to sanction Baddeley's proposal that Fox be stationed on Rennell to study the language and customs of the islanders: Fox to Durrad, 28 July 1936, Durrad Papers, and Kakamora, p.87.

\(^3\) There is no direct reference to this tragedy in the Melanesian Mission reports.
in the enjoyment of their own religion and customs by
the exclusion of all Europeans except an anthropologist
and a medical officer.\(^1\) The scheme was rejected - due,
Lambert believed, to mission influence in high places.
In 1937, however, the islands were designated a 'Closed
District', entrance to which required a special permit
issued under stringent conditions.\(^2\) Baddeley, furious
at the restrictions thus imposed on his mission's
freedom of action and momentarily forgetful of his
well publicized concern for the physical and social
welfare of the island peoples, thundered that 'Christ's
Empire' knew no bounds.\(^3\) The authorities were unmoved.
When, after two years quarantine, Rennell was again
opened to strictly controlled visits the government
took steps to prevent the growth of religious
dissension. Investigation having revealed that the
majority of the islanders wished to be attached to the
S.S.E.M., the Melanesian Mission was requested to
relinquish its claim. Baddeley, his hands fully
occupied with existing work and unwilling to continue
in direct competition with other missions better
equipped for the task, complied.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Lambert, op. cit., pp.375-7. In this he enlisted the
support of three eminent English anthropologists -
Elliot-Smith, Haddon and Malinowski.
\(^2\) B.S.I.P., No.1 of 1937.
\(^3\) There are several versions of Baddeley's protest;
one is in Lambert, op. cit., p.377.
\(^4\) Interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox.
THE outbreak of the Pacific war in 1941 and the rapid advance southwards of the Japanese forces in the early months of 1942 brought mission work in the Solomons first to a standstill and then, with the invasion of the group in June and July, to total disruption. At this point the Melanesian Mission claimed approximately 20,000 baptized members, together with several thousand catechumens and unbaptized followers. There were over 300 mission villages, each with one or two teachers, and 51 native priests and deacons, of whom nearly half were from Nggela and Ysabel.¹ European missionaries (excluding wives of married couples) totalled 25. With the exception of the Masons at Fiu, Mrs Sprott on Ysabel and Fox in the Brotherhood, all were engaged in medical, educational or special administrative work at large central establishments - Fauambu, Kerepei, Bungana, Maravovo, Pawa, Siota and Taroaniara.²

In common with other missions in the group, the largest concentration of Melanesian Mission adherents

¹ There are no statistics for 1942 extant. My estimate is based upon the figures given in Groves, op. cit., section 3, p.2, and M.M. Report, 1936, p.19. The population of the Santa Cruz group and the outlying islands, within the protectorate but not included in this study, was about 7000.

was on those islands which had been under its influence the longest - Nggela and Ysabel. On Guadalcanal, Malaita and San Cristobal its members were unevenly distributed; though strong in some districts they comprised only a minority of the total population. The remainder were found on small islands - Ulawa, Ugi, Ontong Java and Sikaiana - where, in the absence of rivals, the mission had succeeded in converting all or most of the inhabitants.¹

In spite of the formal connexion of the Diocese of Melanesia with the Church of the Province of New Zealand and its administrative links with Auckland and Sydney, the Melanesian Mission was not, in essence, an Australasian institution.² Financial support from Australia was small, while the New Zealand church found the Anglo-Catholicism dominant in Melanesia little to its taste. The majority of the mission's staff and an average of half its income were drawn from England, where it maintained an independent fund-raising organization alongside the Church Missionary

¹ Nggela, 4400 baptized; Ysabel, 4600; Guadalcanal, 3000; north Malaita, 3000 (est'd); Small Malaita, 2000; Guadalcanal, 3000; San Cristobal, 1200: S.C.L., October 1942, pp.23-9.
² The mission's business office was moved from Auckland to Sydney in 1934 following a change in shipping arrangements. Unlike its predecessors Southern Cross VII was not based in Auckland but remained permanently in the islands, and Sydney was the headquarters of the Melanesian shipping companies which despatched stores and equipment to the island mission stations.
Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and a multitude of smaller associations.\textsuperscript{1}

Not since Patteson had the policies and spirit of the Melanesian Mission so reflected the personality and ideals of its leader as it did during the years 1918 to 1942. Steward, by his personal warmth and accumulated wisdom, welded into a unity a body in imminent danger of splitting asunder on the twin rocks of geography and race, and by his active encouragement of the first Melanesian Christian religious institution breathed life into the concept of an indigenous church. Baddeley's contribution was of a characteristically different kind. Arriving at a time when morale was low, he restored confidence and vigour, and aroused the mission to an awareness of its secular responsibilities, especially in the fields of health and education. Although notable achievements, they were counterbalanced to some extent by his autocratic method of rule and the shift in emphasis away from the mission's role as mediator between Europeans and Melanesians to a more partisan position, closely allied with the protectorate government. The effect of these trends was to drive a wedge between the missionaries and their converts, making it increasingly difficult for the former to view objectively, let

\textsuperscript{1} Throughout this period the annual income of the mission averaged £25,000. Of this, approximately £6000 was received from New Zealand supporters and £1200 from Australia. The remainder comprised contributions from individuals and parishes in England and revenue from the Melanesian Mission Trust Board.
alone assist, the islanders' half-formed aspirations and search for identity in a world in which their traditional values and social institutions had either been destroyed or were regarded as useless survivals.

The significance of the first 90 years of the Melanesian Mission lies perhaps more in the principles by which it was motivated and which it attempted to apply, and in the outstanding personalities of some of its missionaries, than in the positive results it achieved. Certainly, by 1942 it had failed in several notable respects to fulfil the hopes entertained by its founders. As a mission it was still dependent for survival upon English support; nor was it in sight of its ultimate goal, the establishment of an independent, indigenous church. More important was its utter failure to cover even in token measure the field it had claimed as its own. In these circumstances other missionary bodies had not remained inactive, and it was through their efforts rather than those of the Melanesian Mission that the majority of Solomon Islanders eventually received Christianity. Numerical superiority, martyrs and a share in that privileged status accorded English episcopal missions were stones given for bread, poor substitutes for the Anglican Melanesia of Selwyn's vision balancing the Nonconformist empires on the opposite side of the Pacific.
VI

THE METHODIST MISSION

In the mid-nineteenth century the people of New Georgia in the western Solomons were described as 'without exception, the most treacherous and bloodthirsty race in the Western Pacific'. These islanders - the inhabitants of the Roviana Lagoon in particular - earned this reputation for ferocity through their head-hunting activities, heads being demanded in order to inaugurate new canoes and communal houses, to celebrate the death of a chief and also as a sign of prowess.

In the later decades of the century head-hunting became an obsession and inter-island warfare reached a peak of savagery, the attackers, armed with rifles, carrying out their operations with considerable cunning and skill. Initially, the weaker inhabitants of the New Georgia group were the objects of attack. When these were reduced to a wretched remnant or exterminated altogether the raiders went further afield. Under their leader, Ingava, and in the company of men from the island of Simbo, Roviana warriors made expeditions for heads and slaves to Choiseul, Yaabel and the islands of the Manning Strait.  

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1 Cheyne, A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, p. 65.
The British naval authorities did not remain indifferent to this unprovoked slaughter; in 1891 H.M.S. Royalist used the refusal of Ingava's people to surrender the murderers of a European trader as an occasion to raid and destroy all the villages of Munda and Roviana Island. In an effort to replace the thousand skulls thus destroyed, raids were made in increasing number. The establishment of a government station at Gizo under A.W. Mahaffy in 1899 was the first step taken by the new protectorate administration to bring the head-hunters under control, and in 1900 a government punitive expedition, in retaliation for a murderous raid on Ysabel, destroyed houses and canoes and took away the great head-hunting canoe. After this blow the traditional large-scale raids ceased, though small sorties continued to be made.

At this stage the people of New Georgia numbered perhaps 15,000 and were divided into bush and 'salt-

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1 Davis to C. in C., 13 October 1891, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 24 June 1892 - C.O. 225/40.
2 Somerville, op. cit., p.399; Woodford to O'Brien, 21 January 1900, encl. in O'Brien to C.O., 15 March 1900 - C.O. 225/59; Woodford to Jackson, 15 September 1902, encl. in Jackson to C.O., 13 October 1902 - C.O. 225/63.
water' dwellers. The former, a despised people (the Kusage) inhabited the interior of the island, while the latter lived on the coast in the Roviana and Marovo Lagoons. Over each district ruled an hereditary chief (bangara). In general, his authority was confined to his own district, but occasionally a man of strong personality might enjoy a much wider influence and exert authority over a whole region. Such a bangara was Ingava whose supremacy was recognized by the whole lagoon and whose influence extended over much of the western Solomons.

Traders had first settled in the Roviana Lagoon in the 1870s, being granted protection by the head-hunters in return for an assured supply of European goods. At the turn of the century two remained - Frank Wickham, who had lived in the district for 20 years and was held in high regard by islanders and Europeans alike, and Norman Wheatley, a more recent

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1 Naval Intelligence Division, Pacific Islands, vol. III, p.676. In 1895 the interior of New Georgia was described as 'fairly well inhabited' and the population of the villages in the Roviana Lagoon estimated at between three and four thousand: Somerville, op. cit., pp.358-9. By 1931 the population of the Gizo District (New Georgia and its adjacent islands) numbered only 7173.

2 Allan, Customary Land Tenure in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, pp.95-7; Goldie, op. cit., p.24; Hocart, Unpublished papers on Roviana. Ingava (also called Hingava or Hinquava) was regarded by many Europeans as 'King of the Western Solomons': C.T.J. Luxton, Isles of Solomon (Auckland, 1955), p.28.
arrival with a growing influence. Here, as in most other parts of the Solomons, beads, fish-hooks and hatchets preceded Christianity; it was not until 1902, when the Methodist Church of Australasia founded a mission at Roviana, that the traders were joined by missionaries.

Since 1855, when the British Wesleyan missions in Fiji, Samoa and Tonga were incorporated into the newly constituted Wesleyan Methodist Conference of Australasia, Australian Methodism had become a major centre of missionary activity in the Pacific, both in supporting the older mission fields and in undertaking new missions in the islands closer at hand. In 1875 a mission was founded in New Britain by the Rev. George Brown, and in 1891 another was established in Papua.2

The Solomon Islands were brought to the attention of Australian Methodists in two ways. In the first

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1 The position of Nelson, a trader at Roviana in 1881, was described as 'by no means a safe one'; nevertheless, none of the Roviana traders was attacked, and Woodford paid tribute to their 'law-abiding spirit'. Elsewhere in the western Solomons a number of European traders and seamen were killed by the islanders during these years: Dawson to Wilson, 11 November 1881, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 18 January 1882 - C.O. 225/10; Woodford, op. cit.; pp.22-3n. On Wickham see Mahaffy to H.C., 21 December 1908, encl. in Major to C.O., 11 February 1909 - C.O. 225/85. For an account of the trading career of Wheatley ('Stapleton'), see Fowler, This Island's Mine, pp.86-7.

2 For the origins and early history of Methodism in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands, see James Colwell (ed.), A Century in the Pacific (Sydney, 1914).
place, the group lay on one of the shipping routes to New Britain, with the result that missionaries travelling to and from their field were able to see for themselves the small amount so far accomplished by the Melanesian Mission. In 1880 Brown passed through the Solomons for the first time and called at the Roviana Lagoon. The inhabitants were, he observed, 'very numerous' and 'very powerful', and despite their open hostility to Christianity he was 'very much impressed...with the importance of the place as a centre for missionary work in the Western Solomons.'

At the Methodist General Conference held in Melbourne in 1888 the Solomon Islands were mentioned as a possible mission field, but the foundation of the Papua mission three years later absorbed the energies of the Board of Missions and the Solomons were temporarily forgotten.

In 1896 the matter was brought to the notice of the board from a different quarter. On this occasion a group of some 60 Solomons labourers in Fiji, who had been taught by the Methodist church in Suva, petitioned for a Methodist mission to accompany them on their return to their homes. Further appeals were made in

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1897, 1898 and 1899. The majority of the petitioners were natives of Guadalcanal which, formally at least, lay within the Melanesian Mission's sphere of operation; consequently, the board felt unable to accede to their request and advised them to attach themselves to the existing mission. Brown, who was now General Secretary of the Board of Missions, also wrote to Bishop Wilson offering to transfer to the service of the Melanesian Mission those Solomon Islanders who had been trained as teachers at Navula College in Fiji.

Although he did not object to the Methodist converts receiving episcopal confirmation, it appears that the Melanesian Mission was reluctant to accept Wesleyan agents and nothing was done. On their part, the Fiji labourers displayed little enthusiasm for the Church of England:

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1 A.W.M.M.S. Report, 1896, p.11, 1898, p.lix; Worrall to Brown, 23 April 1896, 22 September 1896, M.O.M., Fiji Letters; Mission Board, 2 November 1898, 6 September 1899, M.O.M., Board Minutes. See also Luxton, op. cit., pp.14-6. According to Luxton, and information supplied by the Rev. Dr A.R. Tippett, the Solomon Islanders in Fiji raised the question of a Methodist mission to the Solomons as early as 1885. The 1896 petitioners were supported by G.A.F. Beauclerc, an active Methodist laymen and a former Protector of Immigrants, and the Rev. H. Worrall, Superintendent of the Suva Circuit.

2 Mission Board, 12 October 1896, M.O.M., Board Minutes.

3 Brown to Wilson, 6 October 1896, M.O.M., Letter Books.

4 Brown to Mules, 4 March 1903, M.O.M., Letter Books; Mission Board, 10 January 1899, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
Concerning the Church which is at N'gela and Bugotu, we did not disrespect that Church, but we know that it has been a long time there, it has been thirty years there, but does not grow up and spread rapidly to Christianise all the people that they may know the true Light as we know the truth of the Gospel.1

In 1899, while the matter was still under discussion, Brown again travelled through the Solomons after a visit to the Papua and New Britain missions. He noted a considerable decrease in the population of the Roviana Lagoon, but the violent antagonism to missionary work which he had encountered on his previous visit continued unabated. He also called at several government and trading stations in other parts of the group and was dismayed by the small extent of the work of the Melanesian Mission.2

Annoyed by Wilson's lack of interest in the Wesleyan Solomon Islanders, and aware that the recently established Roman Catholic mission would lose no time in setting up stations on the unoccupied islands,3 the board finally decided to recommend the foundation of a mission in the Solomons. The question was discussed at the first General Conference of the newly united

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1 Quoted by Luxton, op. cit., p.17.
2 Brown, Autobiography, pp.316-7. On his return to Sydney Brown spoke to the mission board of the 'dreadful' spiritual condition of the Solomons: Mission Board, 6 September 1899, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
3 Brown to Worrall, 10 July 1896, Brown to Quick, 14 October 1901, M.O.M., Letter Books.
Methodist Church of Australasia in 1901. Brown's proposal that the board should consult the Bishop of Melanesia with regard to a field for a new mission was defeated. A second, more militant resolution directing the board to commence a mission in the Solomons 'in such part as may seem most desirable and practicable, and at the earliest possible time' was carried with enthusiasm.

Mention of the needs and wishes of the Fiji labourers in the conference resolution implied that the mission would be established on either Guadalcanal or Malaita. Brown was, however, uneasy about starting a mission on either island, in view of the long-standing tacit agreement between Anglicans and Methodists in the Pacific to refrain from entering each other's mission territories. Although this comity agreement had been breached in 1901 when Bishop Willis, formerly of Honolulu, began an episcopal mission in Tonga, Brown knew that Willis's action was strongly disapproved of by most responsible Anglican opinion in Australia and New Zealand, and he refused to take advantage of it by claiming the right to enter the field of the Melanesian Mission.

1 The Methodist Church of Australasia was formed in 1901 by a union of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Primitive Methodist Church and the Bible Christians.
2 M.R., July 1901, pp.2-3; Brown, Autobiography, p.519; Mules [Bishop of Nelson] to Brown, 5 February 1903, M.O.M., Sundry Correspondence.
3 Brown to Mules, 4 March 1903, M.O.M., Letter Books. Willis's action was derided and resented by Methodists in Australia; e.g., M.R., June 1901, p.3. See also Montgomery, 'The Anglican Church in the South Pacific', pp.409-10.
New Georgia, on the other hand, was untouched by any mission body and, according to the evidence available, was beyond the Melanesian Mission's existing sphere of work. 1 Already impressed by the evangelistic potential of the island, Brown accordingly urged that the new mission be despatched to the Roviana Lagoon. The Rev. Benjamin Danks, the board's Organizing Secretary, mindful of the Fiji labourers, favoured either Guadalcanal or Malaita. Woodford, who was in Sydney at the time, adjudicated in favour of Roviana and Brown returned with him to the Solomons to prepare the way. 2

On the outward journey, Norfolk Island was visited and Wilson informed of the recent conference decision. 3 Brown was confident that he had acted honourably:

We will not interfere with the Melanesian Mission at all, as our sphere will be New Georgia, and that is not included in their sphere of operation...as a matter of fact they have far more than they can possibly do in the eastern part of the group. 4

The interview was amicable enough, although, predictably, the Melanesian Mission did not see the

1 In the map in Armstrong's The History of the Melanesian Mission, published in 1900, the dotted line depicting the mission's 'present Field of work' excluded New Georgia.

2 M.R., July 1901, p.5; Woodford to A.E. Corner, n.d. [December 1918], Melanesian Mission Correspondence, 1849 - 1918; Mission Board, 25 June 1901, M.O.M., Board Minutes.


issue in the same light. The Southern Cross Log, Wilson's mouthpiece, stated bluntly:

This [New Georgia] is in the Diocese of Melanesia, and the Wesleyans, in going there, are of course infringing upon the long-standing agreement or 'compact' between the Church and other bodies of Christians.¹

On this occasion Brown visited Simbo, 50 miles to the west of New Georgia and favoured by Mahaffy, the District Magistrate, as the initial headquarters of the mission. The Simbo natives were closely related to the Roviana people and their bangara were known to exert a strong influence over much of New Georgia. However, the island was isolated, its population relatively small, and Brown remained convinced of the superior advantages of Roviana.²

Brown was on friendly terms with both Wheatley and Wickham; the latter, himself a Methodist, gave considerable assistance by explaining to the people the object of the mission and attempting to secure the support of Ingava.³ But even Wickham's personal efforts, supplemented by the propaganda of Brown's lantern slides, did little to dispel the fear of mission work induced by earlier traders, and Ingava maintained his opposition. Brown was undeterred:

¹ S.C.L., August 1901, p.87.
³ M.R., September 1901, pp.3-4.
I decided after consultation with Mr Wickham and others that it would be very inadvisable for me to ask I[njgava or any of the chiefs whether they would like a Missionary to reside amongst them or not. We are all of opinion that to ask would be to court a refusal, and that would make it more difficult for us afterwards. The people all know that we intend to come, and so far as I can learn, there will be no serious objection to our coming. It will be much better to come without having asked permission rather than to come in the face of a refusal.1

Thus satisfied, he returned to Sydney to make arrangements for the foundation of the mission in the following year.

In January 1902 Bishop Wilson, Archdeacon Palmer and Brown met for a second time, in Sydney, to discuss the proposed Methodist mission. Brown affirmed the board's readiness to send missionaries to either Guadalcanal or Malaita if the older mission was willing to give up these islands; otherwise it was intended to proceed with the mission to Roviana. He stressed the example of New Guinea where in 1890 the board, on his recommendation, had ceded to the new Anglican mission most of the north-eastern coastline of Papua, part of the territory allotted by the Governor to the Methodists. Wilson was loath to surrender New Georgia which he firmly believed to be included within his mission's field of work. Nevertheless, he bowed to the inevitable:

1 M.R., October 1901, p.2.
...I should not regard it as an unfriendly act if you occupy New Georgia, but I should regard it as an unfriendly act if you were to occupy Guadalcanar or Mala. I will say further than this that New Georgia would be the last place in which I should think of taking up mission work, and I should certainly not take it up at all if you had a strong and effective mission work there.¹

THE Methodists had never favoured the traditional methods of the Melanesian Mission. Like the New Britain and Papua missions the mission to New Georgia was to be founded with a strong central base and a large staff of workers.² Besides teachers from Fiji and Samoa there were to be two European missionaries - one with experience in an older Pacific field, the other, if possible, to be a doctor. However, neither of the two missionaries approached was able to go, and it proved impossible to secure the services of a young doctor.³ Finally, two young ministers, John Francis Goldie of the Queensland Conference and Stephen Rabone Rooney from Western Australia, who had volunteered for mission work, were formally accepted by the 1902 New South Wales Conference and appointed by the board to

¹ Mission Board 9 April 1902, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
² M.R., December 1901, pp.7-10.
³ Mission Board, 7 March 1902, M.O.M., Board Minutes; Brown to Langham, 10 March 1902, Brown to Bromilow, 4 April 1902, M.O.M., Letter Books. The two senior missionaries approached were the Rev. W.J. Chambers of Ulu, New Britain, and the Rev. William Slade of Ba, Fiji. Brown was particularly disappointed by his failure to find a medical missionary.
the Solomons. Goldie was designated as leader of the venture.

Born in Tasmania in 1870 into a Plymouth Brethren family, Goldie had joined the Methodist church as a young man. After experience of evangelistic work in Sydney he entered the ministry in 1897 and worked for five years in various Queensland circuits. By inclination he was a man of affairs rather than a scholar or a pastor of souls. He disliked occupying a subordinate position and enjoyed the free exercise of power - a factor which may have influenced his offer for the mission field. Rooney, a son of the Rev. Isaac Rooney, a pioneer missionary in New Britain, was a man of different stamp - loyal, plodding and self-effacing. The two men shared the Evangelical faith of contemporary Australian Methodism with its suspicion of sacramentalism and dogmatic formulations, and its strong emphasis on moral improvement and the Christian social ethic.²

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¹ New South Wales Methodist Conference Minutes, 1902, p.11.
² Of his own Christian faith Brown wrote - 'The Fatherhood of God, the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ, and the everpresent Spirit of Truth guiding all who will be guided into the way of all truth, are the three articles which practically constitute the alpha and omega of my creed': Brown to Bennett, 25 January 1904, M.O.M., Letter Books. Missionary candidates who were neither ordained ministers nor accredited local preachers were required by the board to give their views on the following Evangelical doctrines - 'The inspiration and authority of Holy Scripture'; the Trinity; 'The total ruin of Man by the Fall'; 'The substitutionary and atoning character of the Death of Christ'; 'Salvation
The pioneer missionary party which left Sydney on 3 May 1902 comprised Goldie, Rooney, a carpenter (J.R. Martin), four Fijians, two of whom were married, three Samoans with their wives, and a Solomon Islander and a New Hebridean who had been converted while working on plantations in Fiji and Samoa respectively. Brown accompanied the party to supervise the establishment of the mission.¹

From Ingava downwards the reaction of the Roviana people to the advent of the missionaries was one of indifference: both open opposition and enthusiastic support were noticeably lacking. That the old hostility had vanished was due to the efforts of Wickham who for months past had spoken of the benefits which would accrue from the mission, especially the teaching of reading and writing.²

At first, the Australian missionaries lived on the tiny island of Nusa Songa which had been bought in Sydney from an insolvent trading firm. The teachers were quartered at Wheatley's station at Lambeti. A site through Faith alone'; Sanctification; 'The eternity alike of future rewards and punishments': Advisory Committee, 26 August 1910, M.O.M., Committee Minutes.

¹ M.R., May 1902, pp.5-6. The teachers were Wiliami Gavidi, Joni Laqere, Aparosa Takuita, Rakuita Sawatabu (Fiji); Muna, Seru, Siaasi (Samoa); Samu Agarau (Solomons); Hosea Ulu (New Hebrides).
² M.R., July 1902, p.3; Brown, Autobiography, p.521; Interview with Isaac Mamu (Dude, Roviana). Isaac Mamu was a young man when the mission began work a few miles from his home. In 1904, on his 'own thinking', he began attending school at Kokenggolo where he was baptized in 1912. He later worked as a mission teacher, initially on Kolombangara and later on Choiseul.
for a head station was selected at Munda on the mainland opposite Nusa Songa, land was purchased and mission buildings were erected on the top of a small hill known as Kokenggolo. Meanwhile, at Woodford's invitation, Brown visited Ontong Java and the adjacent Tasman group in the government schooner and decided to include these Polynesian atolls in the new mission district. After two months in the Solomons he returned to Sydney, confident of the eventual success of the mission.

Within four months Goldie's knowledge of the Roviana language was sufficiently advanced for him to preach at a public service. From then on 'great crowds' regularly attended the Sunday worship or 'Lotu' and small groups of men and boys visited the station in the evenings for instruction. The bagara and old men held aloof, but they permitted their sons to attend the school. Following the arrival of the missionaries' wives in 1903 sewing classes were commenced for the

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1 Colwell, op. cit., p.567; Luxton, op. cit., pp.30-2.
2 Brown, Autobiography, pp.525-31. See also his 'Notes of a Voyage to Ysabel Island, Solomons Group, and Le ua Niua (Ontong Java or Lord Howe), and Tasman Groups', Report of the Eleventh Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science...1907 (Adelaide, 1908), pp.528-35.
4 A Polynesian word, introduced by the mission's catechists, applied to the Christian religion and religious practice generally.
5 Colwell, op. cit., p.569; M.R., November 1902, p.2. At March 1903 'attendants at public worship'.totalled 80; 12 months later the number had risen to 500: A.M.M.S. Report, 1902, p.c, 1903, p.cii.
6 Interview with Isaac Mamu.
women and girls of the district, with the aim of making them 'industrious and cleanly in their habits'. Soon, some 40 women were being taught to make dresses for themselves and their children from lengths of print and calico, while the wives of the Fijian and Samoan teachers were giving lessons in mat-making. 

During 1904 a Sunday School was commenced and an English class for 80 boys and girls held on five mornings a week. By this time about 200 people were under instruction, although only half that number attended regularly.

Despite this show of interest, the great majority of Roviana natives remained wary of the mission and were reluctant to commit themselves, even with the promise of schooling. Goldie later recalled:

The people did not understand our position. The business of the trader they understood. That men should come so far to preach and help them was beyond their comprehension. Were we going to interfere with ancient custom, with belief and worship, thus bringing upon them the wrath of their gods?

Epidemics of influenza and dysentery frequently swept through Roviana during these years. In spite of the refusal of some of the youthful followers of the

1 M.R., September 1903, p.9, May 1904, p.12, October 1904, p.7.
3 M.R., May 1904, p.4.
4 Colwell, op. cit., p.568.
5 Hocart, Roviana papers. One dysentery epidemic swept away 20 to 100 victims a month.
mission to submit to the propitiatory taboos imposed by Ingava, the influence of the missionaries increased: their distribution of medicines and nursing of the sick won the confidence of the people and drove many who had been suspicious or indifferent to them for help.¹

A direct result of the epidemics was the death of many of the old men and bangara, among them Ingava.² With them disappeared much knowledge of customary taboos and magic, and the ties which bound the Roviana people to their past were noticeably weakened.³ This, together with the loss of confidence and even demoralization which the high mortality and visible population decline must have engendered, undoubtedly hastened the ultimate success of the mission, which offered a new teaching and a new way of life to fill the void in the old. But in the meantime the missionaries were welcomed as healers of the sick; none blamed them for causing the sickness, nor did any turn to the new religion as a way of escape or protection.⁴

Initially, the work of the mission centred upon the school at Kokenggolo, supplemented by regular visits by the missionaries to the neighbouring villages to meet the

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³ Hocart, Roviana Papers. When Ingava died it was noted that the traditional mourning customs were observed less strictly than formerly.
⁴ Interview with Isaac Maku.
people and tend the sick. At Christmas 1903 a third activity was introduced, when a large festive gathering of Roviana natives was held at the mission station. In organizing this assembly Goldie appears to have aimed at uniting the people as a body around the mission by making Christian festivals great occasions as head-hunting raids had been in former days. Five hundred were present at the church service and at the feast, sports and dances which followed. From this time on similar gatherings were held two or three times each year at Kokenggolo, later at other mission stations. These came to occupy an important position in the life of the mission.

For over a year the entire mission party remained inactive at Kokenggolo. Among the teachers dissatisfaction was rife. Mahaffy and Woodford also criticized Goldie's cautious policy. Finally, in September 1903 a Fijian teacher was sent to Simbo, and in May 1904 another was placed at Bilua, a former centre of head-hunting at the southern end of the island of Vella Lavella. Here the people were

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1 M.R., April 1904, p.11. In August 1905 a special sports' day was held at Kokenggolo, attended by some 70 children: M.R., October 1905, pp.13-5.
4 M.R., June 1905, p.8. For reports of Vella Lavella head-hunting see Woodford to Berkeley, 8 June 1897, encl. in O'Brien to C.O., 22 July 1897 - C.O. 225/32; Woodford to H.C., 27 August 1898, encl. in O'Brien to C.O., 11 October 1898 - C.O. 225/35. Of Vella Lavella,
persuaded to accept a teacher through the eloquent advocacy of two Munda *hangara*, Gumi and Veo, who accompanied Goldie. The other teachers of the pioneer party were sent to Roviana Island and other villages in the lagoon, to Lungga on Ganongga, and to the large but sparsely populated island of Choiseul, 45 miles north of New Georgia.

Strong links bound New Georgia and Choiseul. In addition to flourishing trade contacts, frequent head-hunting raids in the past had resulted in the presence of large numbers of Choiseul slaves at Roviana and in the acknowledgement of Ingava's supremacy by the inhabitants of the south-west of the island. In these circumstances extension of the mission's operations from Roviana to Choiseul seemed a natural development. Nevertheless, in view of the Melanesian Mission's possible claim to Choiseul the board was at first reluctant to agree to Goldie's request that the boundaries of the mission district be enlarged to include the adjacent island. The tardiness of the Melanesian Mission in beginning work there, together with rumours that Wilson was planning to place teachers

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Mahaffy declared that 'more headhunting raids have set out from it than any place in the Solomons': Mahaffy to H.C., 21 December 1908, encl. in Major to C.O., 11 February 1909 - C.O. 225/85.


2 Luxton, op. cit., p.69.

3 Brown to Goldie, 22 December 1903, 29 February 1904, *M.O.M., Letter Books; Mission Board, 6 January 1904, M.O.M., Board Minutes.*
in the Marovo Lagoon at the eastern end of New Georgia, spurred Goldie into action, and in August 1904 he visited Choiseul, accompanied by his loyal supporter Gumi. At Kumboro, in the south-east of the island, a Fijian teacher was imposed upon unwilling villagers; another was left further north at Varese. In the following year Rooney established a mission station at Sasamungga in the populous Mbambatana district on the west coast.

On receiving the news, Wilson indignantly protested that the Methodists were flouting the agreement reached in Sydney three years previously. In defence, Brown denied that Choiseul had been the subject of any formal agreement and pointed out the close connexions existing

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1 Brown to Goldie, 30 June 1904, M.O.M., Letter Books. The Solomons Islands inward correspondence for these years is unfortunately no longer in existence.

2 M.R., February 1905, p.8, March 1905, pp.5-6. The Kumboro people reacted swiftly to Goldie's high-handed action. The unfortunate teacher was tied to a raft and set adrift in the Manning Strait. After two days afloat he was picked up by friendly islanders and brought back to Roviana: Luxton, op. cit., p.72.

3 M.R., August 1905, p.6. Choiseul was created a separate circuit in 1906. For Rooney's account of the people of Choiseul at this point see his paper, 'Notes on some Customs and Beliefs of the Natives of Choiseul Island, Solomon's group', Report of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science...1911 (Sydney, 1912), pp.442-5.

4 Wilson to Brown, 8 February 1905, M.O.M., Sundry Correspondence.
between that island and Roviana. More important was the fact that Choiseul was totally unevangelized:

'After all,' Brown urged, 'the King's message must not be held back while His servants too tardily discuss and settle which of them is entitled to be His messenger.'

And to Goldie he wrote of the Melanesian Mission's claim to Choiseul:

...I am inclined to take up the position definitely that, just as in international matters the mere hoisting of a flag without occupation of the territory claimed constitutes no claim at all, and that it is no use saying that they regard the whole of the Solomons as their field unless they occupy it, and they have not done so during the last 50 years.

Wilson reacted by informing Brown, with regret, that he considered the existing agreement between the two missions terminated and that the Melanesian Mission now felt free to take up work in the Methodist area. Ysabel teachers and a European missionary were placed on Vella Lavella and another teacher was sent

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1 Brown to Wilson, 31 March 1905, 7 July 1905, 28 December 1906, M.O.M., Letter Books. Concerning the meeting in Sydney in 1902 Brown wrote: 'I am quite certain that the only reference to any place outside Rubiana was when you asked me, 'What about Choiseul?' I had not then considered the matter at all, and my reply to you was, 'Oh we are not thinking about Choiseul at present.'

2 Brown to Wilson, 7 July 1905, loc. cit.

3 Brown to Goldie, 7 March 1905. At this stage Brown did not know of the visits of the Southern Cross to Choiseul in 1900, 1901 and 1903.

4 Wilson's letter is referred to in Brown to Wilson, 7 July 1905, loc. cit.
Ill-feeling reached its peak in 1906 when the Methodist missionaries, meeting in their annual synod, resolved:

As the Bishop of Melanesia has expressly released us from any undertaking not to enter any island which his Society has attempted to evangelise, we recommend the Conference to alter the bounds of this District so as to include the islands to the east, many which are still almost entirely heathen, and thus bring the whole of the Solomons within the bounds of our District.

But Brown was strongly opposed to the establishment of Methodist missions on any island where the Anglicans were actually at work. There was to be no extension of the mission to the eastern Solomons: Choiseul had been an exception. His forbearance was rewarded in 1907 when the Melanesian Mission withdrew its missionary and teachers from the western islands. With the Manning Strait between Choiseul and Ysabel accepted as their dividing line, contact between the missions became almost non-existent, limited to brief meetings when the Methodist missionaries travelled through the central and eastern Solomons on their way to or from Australia.

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1 For the efforts of the Melanesian Mission to extend its work to the western Solomons see above, pp.120-2.
2 Solomon Islands District Synod, 24 October 1906, M.O.M., Synod Minutes. See also A.M.M.S. Report, 1906, pp.cxxxix, cxliii.
4 Interview with Rev. J.R. Metcalfe (Melbourne).
The acrimonious dispute over Choiseul was unfortunate. It is difficult not to sympathize with Wilson who was endeavouring, with the meagre resources at his disposal, to fulfil what he believed to be a sacred trust bequeathed him by his predecessors - the evangelization of the entire Solomon group. On practical grounds, however, his case was difficult to defend. He had already permitted the Methodists to commence work on New Georgia and it was undeniable that Roviana was better suited as a base for the Christianization of Choiseul than Ysabel, let alone the islands further east. With its larger staff and more adequate funds the Methodist mission was the better placed and better equipped for the task.

The activities of the Sasamungga mission station followed closely the pattern set by Goldie at Kokenggolo. A school, at which some English was taught, was soon commenced and Mrs Rooney inaugurated sewing classes for a small group of women and girls. As at Roviana, epidemics of dysentery and other diseases were frequent and the missionaries spent much of their time treating the sick, both at the mission station and in the surrounding villages. A great Christmas feast held at Sasamungga in 1906 disposed many local inhabitants in favour of the mission.

1 A.M.M.S. Report, 1907, p.146; M.R., October 1906, pp.4-5, April 1907, p.15.
2 M.R., March 1908, p.8.
3 M.R., April 1907, p.16.
Throughout these years Choiseul was riven with inter-group fighting in which the Mbambatana people were involved. The mission station was threatened with attack; on one occasion rumours reached Australia that Rooney himself had been killed.\(^1\) Largely through the efforts of the mission the Mbambatana villages made peace among themselves, and many people left their hill villages for new, more spacious sites on the coast.\(^2\) This migration was actively encouraged by Rooney, both as an aid to mission work and in the hope that it would 'produce a cleaner, healthier, and more industrious people'.\(^3\) On the east coast of the island fighting continued for a further 15 years.

Ontong Java, 200 miles north of New Georgia, was formally incorporated into the mission district in 1903.\(^4\) Woodford had been anxious for a mission to be established in the group and Brown received his suggestion with enthusiasm, convinced that Polynesian Methodist teachers were ideally suited for evangelistic

\(^1\) A.M.M.S. Report, 1906, p.cxliii; M.R. May 1906, p.2. A government punitive expedition sent to Choiseul in 1905 destroyed several villages in the Mbambatana district. Rooney reported that their inhabitants were 'sore over what they claim to be unjust and undeserved treatment.'

\(^2\) A.M.M.S. Report, 1907, p.145; M.R., April 1907, p.15. See also Allan, Customary Land Tenure, p.231.

\(^3\) M.R., April 1908, p.22.

\(^4\) Mission Board, 4 February 1903, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
work among these islanders who spoke a language akin to Samoan.¹

The inhabitants of Ontong Java were familiar with Europeans. Trading stations had been founded in the group in the 1880s, and in 1905 two German traders were resident there.² The majority of the islanders lived dispersed over the whole atoll, but once a year they returned to the two main islets, Luangiau and Pelau - the headquarters of the two tribes into which the people were divided - to celebrate a festival or sanga. The total population of the atoll at the turn of the century has been estimated at 5000. It was, however, in rapid decline, principally owing to the introduction of endemic diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis, and frequent epidemics.³

¹ M.R., September 1902, p.14; Brown to Goldie, 29 August 1903, M.O.M., Letter Books. In 1901 Woodford had taken Welchman to Ontong Java in the government steamer to give him an opportunity of extending the work of the Melanesian Mission there, but Welchman had decided against the proposal: Woodford to Corner [December 1918] loc. cit.

² Millar to C. in C., 3 September 1905, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 23 November 1905 - C.O. 225/70. It was probably the entrenched position of the traders which led Sir Everard Im Thurn to observe after a visit to the group in 1905 - 'I...foresee some difficulty connected with the coming, till now deferred, of the Missionaries': Im Thurn to C.O., 11 September 1905 - C.O. 225/69.

Goldie first visited Ontong Java in May 1904 and found the kings and the people at both Luangiua and Pelau opposed to the sending of a missionary. In 1906 he made a second visit and left two teachers, a Samcan and a Tongan, at Luangiua. Keabea, the king (heku'u), was still vehemently opposed to the idea of a mission and refused to allow the teachers to land. For three months these lived in a canoe on the shore of the lagoon, secretly supplied with water by a friendly islander, until finally the people of Pelau agreed to receive them. At Luangiua the initial hostility was softened by the outbreak of a sickness which was attributed to the harsh treatment meted out to the teachers. The Tongan teacher, Semesi Nau, returned and this time was given a hearing. Although the traditional religion, centred on the two great temples at Luangiua and Pelau, continued to be practised, the teachers achieved considerable superficial success through their preaching. When Goldie next visited in September 1907 he found three large churches erected and almost the entire population of the two islands attending worship. Hearing rumours that the Roman Catholics were planning to found a mission at Luangiua, he determined to send a European missionary to the group without delay and forced Keabea to allot a site

1 M.R., November 1904, pp.6-7, January 1905, pp.7-8.
3 M.R., November 1907, p.5.
for a mission station. The Rev. Ernest Shackell, a young minister from Victoria, was appointed to Ontong Java in the following year and sailed to the group in February 1909.

Vella Lavelia had also been considered important enough to have a European missionary and in 1907 the Rev. Reginald Nicholson was sent to Bilua. An exuberant, opinionated young man, he soon aroused Goldie's ire and made himself the laughing stock of the local European settlers by his publications on the 'exceptional hardships' of mission life. As at Kokenggolo and Sasamungga, a group of boys and young men soon collected around the missionary to receive instruction. In addition, Nicholson spent a great deal of his time travelling around the island attempting to gain the goodwill and confidence of the people by distributing medicines and attending the sick. The lack of response he attributed to a distrust of the white man, induced

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1 Solomon Islands District Synod, 8 October 1907, M.O.M., Synod Minutes, Keabea was forced to provide land when Goldie arrived with a carpenter and timber for a house. However, he refused to accept payment, thereby indicating that the land continued to belong to him as before and not to the mission. Goldie made no arrangement to lease the land: Sarfert and Damm, op. cit., p.10.


4 Nicholson, op. cit., p.60.
by the dishonest practices of some of the local traders. Indeed, he claimed, many of the traders were openly hostile to missionary work, 'continually telling the natives that the talk of the Missionaries was one big "gammon"', and that 'Goldie, Rooney and Nicholson were in the Solomons because their own people did not want them'.

The habitual friendship and cooperation between missionary and trader which had existed at Roviana in the early days of the mission never extended to other parts of the western Solomons - rather, distrust and suspicion, if not outright hostility, almost invariably marred relations between the two. Even at Roviana, after Wickham's retirement in 1908, relations between Goldie and Wheatley rapidly deteriorated. Basically, this was a clash of two strong personalities, each eager to extend his influence in the area at the expense of the other. However, business rivalry, arising from Goldie's establishment of a large coconut plantation at Kokenggolo with the intention of bringing the mission to eventual self-support, was a major

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2 This fact was specifically noted by C.V. Vernon on his visit to the protectorate in 1912: Vernon to C.O., 24 December 1912 - C.O. 225/113.
3 An anthropologist who visited Roviana at this time described Wheatley as 'a person of great power and influence,...Native chiefs and leading people came to him from villages many miles away to consult him in their difficulties and troubles': Robert W. Williamson, The Ways of the South Sea Savage (London, 1914), p.19.
A travelling journalist faithfully reported Wheatley's opinions of Goldie and all his works:

The mission is a concern apparently conducted as a copra-raising, property-acquiring, and commercial undertaking, incidentally ready to save the soul of any stray heathen who may 'happen along,' desirous of becoming a faithful worker in the Vineyard of the Lord, or - in other words - the Mission Copra Plantation.  

This was a caricature of the actual situation, but it reflected a widely held view. It was given further support by Goldie's private commercial interests. In 1907 he had purchased, on behalf of his father-in-law, over 6000 acres at Mundimundi on Vella Lavella where he proceeded to develop a plantation with a resident manager and labour recruited from the eastern Solomons. Although he stoutly maintained that his visits to

1 M.R., June 1904, p.1; A.M.M.S. Report, 1905, p.cxiii, 1906, p.cxxxviii. Because the plantation employed boys from Choiseul and other islands in the western Solomons, Goldie also defended it as a means of preparing the way for the future expansion of the mission.


3 Woodford to Bickham Escott, 12 September 1913 - C.O. 225/120. By 1913 only 435 acres had been planted. Because protectorate regulations demanded that one tenth of all land purchased should be under cultivation within five years, much of the Mundimundi land was forfeited, two acres being granted by the government for every acre so far developed. Goldie appealed unsuccessfully against this decision: Goldie to Woodford, 23 and 26 September 1913 (official), 23 September 1913 (unofficial), encl. in Woodford to Bickham Escott, 29 September 1913 - C.O. 225/120.
Mundimundi were made only in the course of ordinary mission work and that he took no part in the operation of the plantation, it was known locally that he had been able to obtain excellent land on favourable terms solely by virtue of his position as a missionary. Furthermore, his interest in the plantation was in direct contravention of the current regulations of the Methodist Church of Australasia which forbade ministers to carry on 'any trade, business, or profession'.

Born by Wheatley and other observers, stories of the mission's commercial activities soon reached Sydney and caused the board considerable embarrassment. Investigation proved some charges to be fabrications, but the existence of the Mundimundi plantation was an undeniable fact. Goldie met the board's enquiries, with their implied criticism, by offering to resign from the mission and assist its work, 'in an unofficial capacity to the best of my poor ability', as a planter.

Faced with this ultimatum, the board's half-hearted resolution, that Goldie 'carefully reconsider his position in relation to his plantation at Mundimundi while he is a Missionary of the Church', remained a dead letter. Goldie continued his connexion with the

1 Brown to Danks, 24 January 1911, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence.
2 The Laws and Regulations of the Methodist Church of Australasia (Melbourne, 1905), p.15.
3 Sydney Morning Herald, 9 January 1911; Danks to Goldie, 10 January 1911, M.O.M., Letter Books.
4 Goldie to Brown, 30 January 1911, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence.
5 Mission Board, 5 May 1911, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
planted, while the board, despite its acute discomfort when the Secretary of State for the Colonies declared his disapproval of its missionaries engaging in planting and trading enterprises, succeeded in turning a blind eye to this breach of the regulations.\footnote{Mission Board, 5 February 1911, 8 February 1915, M.O.M., Board Minutes; Ween to Goldie, 19 February 1914, M.O.M., Letter Books. In 1916 and 1939 discontented missionaries (W.H. Leembruggen and A.C. Cropp) formally accused Goldie of breaching Methodist church law by his 'acquisition of private property and the conduct of private business'. On each occasion the charges were dismissed and the rebel removed from the Solomons by an embarrassed Board of Missions: Mission Board, 23 February 1917, M.O.M., Board Minutes; Mission Board, 24-5 January 1940, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports. The Mundimundi plantation was later merged with another at Choiseul Bay, owned by Captain Alexander, and a company (Associated Plantations Ltd) formed. Goldie owned a number of shares in this company and was one of its directors.}

AFTER five years at Roviana the mission was able to claim over 3000 adherents or 'attendants at public worship'.\footnote{A.M.M.S., Report, 1906, p.cxxxix. For the whole of the Roviana Circuit, which included Vella Lavella and Simbo, 'attendants at public worship' totalled 3600.} Yet despite the perceptible weakening of the traditional beliefs and customs the basic structure of Roviana society remained solidly pagan. Although Gemu, Ingava's successor, and the other Munda bangara were well disposed and frequently urged neighbouring districts to receive mission teachers, they refused to relinquish their old religion. It was to the social outcasts of Roviana that the mission initially made its
appeal. Those who attended the church services and school were, with few exceptions, persons of no prestige or influence—refugees, slaves, orphans and young men and women. In 1907 the first baptism was held, 12 boys being baptized after two years 'on trial'. Following the baptism the weekly Class Meeting, an honoured Methodist institution, was inaugurated for the new church members and those on probation.

It was not until 1910, when the baptism of 50 young men and women set off a widespread movement in favour of the mission, that Christianity succeeded in penetrating Roviana society to an appreciable depth. Persecution by parents and elders and an attempt to ban hymn singing, a symbol of the 'Lotu', merely strengthened the resolution of the young converts. A bangara and some older men came forward for baptism; in desperation the priests moved their principal

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1 A.R. Tippett, 'Notes on the expansion of Christianity in the western Solomons'; Davey to Danks, 1 July 1913, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
2 M.R., November 1907, p.5. Luxton (op. cit., p.44) declares that the first group to be baptized numbered 48; in this, it appears that he has confused the 1907 baptism with the large baptisms of 1910.
3 Colwell, op. cit., p.574. The object of the Class Meeting was 'the culture of Christian experience and character by means of fellowship and testimony': Laws and Regulations of the Methodist Church of Australasia, p.2. For the significance of the Class Meeting in the mission see below, pp.532-3.
shrines to an island in the nearby Wanawana Lagoon. 1

Goldie described the movement thus:

All over the Lagoon the people are definitely coming out for Christ, and taking a firm stand for Him.... Some of the very pick of the young men have definitely given themselves up to Him, and are now doing their best to lead others to Him also.... To hear them give their experience in the class meeting is almost too much for me, and my heart overflows in thankfulness to Him Whose love and power have wrought such a mighty change in the hearts and lives of these people. 2

That the mission had indeed accomplished a great deal in less than a decade was testified by two experienced observers, Brown and Mahaffy (now Assistant High Commissioner), who visited Kokenggolo at this time. The latter reported:

To anyone who knew the natives of Rubiana ten years ago, the transformation would be incredible if it were not perfectly certain. The whole nature of the people seems to have altered for the better, and in the frank, pleasant and cheerful natives, whom we met and talked with, it seemed impossible to recognise the cunning, sullen, and cruel looking savages, of former years. 3

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1 M.R., May 1910, pp. 10-1; A.M.M.S. Report, 1911, p. 125; Tippett, op. cit. See also Mrs Goldie's reminiscences, O.D., December 1923, p. 3.
2 Goldie to Danks, 10 March 1910; M.O.M., S.T. Conference.
3 Mahaffy to H.C., 8 April 1910, encl. in Thurn to C.O., 9 July 1910 - C.O. 225/91. For Brown's impressions of Roviana in 1911 see M.R., July 1911, p. 6.
In addition to its significance in the expansion of Christianity in the western Solomons, the year 1910 saw two sharp clashes between the mission and the protectorate government.

The first concerned the alleged humiliation of the mission during a government punitive expedition to Vella Lavella. This expedition was occasioned by the murder, in September 1909, of the Melanesian wife, children and servants of a trader, Joe Binskin, at his station on the island of Baga - a crime attributed to a band of Vella Lavella natives led by Sito, a notorious 'fighting man' and former head-hunter. Woodford being absent on leave at the time, the local traders panicked and pressured C.A. Bernays, the acting Resident Commissioner, into authorizing a raid upon Sito's village. The action achieved nothing. Immediately on his return in November 1909 Woodford gathered together a force of Malaita police and hastened to Vella Lavella where Wheatley, Binskin and other traders had also brought a hundred of their own plantation labourers to assist in the capture of the murderers. With the entire island in a confused and unsettled state it proved impossible to control the large and unruly force, and many of the Vella Lavella people fled for safety to the mission station at Bilua. Seizing the opportunity to discredit their adversary, the traders permitted their followers to damage and destroy church buildings in several villages. In addition, they persuaded Woodford that Nicholson and those sheltering at Bilua were in league with Sito and his gang, and were, in fact, assisting them in evading capture. Accordingly,
Woodford curtly refused Nicholson's request that the local people be allowed to join in the search and took as hostages some of those who had taken refuge at the mission station.  

In two weeks of uncontrolled rampage the horde of Malaita labourers succeeded in killing nearly 30 innocent islanders, but they failed to apprehend even one of the murderers. Finally, in December most of them were withdrawn and the Vella Lavella people were permitted to take what action they could. Within a few days the heads of three members of the gang were brought in. At the end of the month Sito himself was seized and, with the heads of two of his accomplices, was delivered by Nicholson to the government station at Gizo. Shortly afterwards two more members of the marauding gang were captured and temporarily lodged at Binskin's station on Baga where they received brutal treatment from which they later died.  

To Goldie it was evident that the prestige of the mission in the eyes of the Vella Lavella natives had been considerably damaged by the hostile attitude of the government officials. He made a formal protest:

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The traders who engineered the affair are even now...gleefully pointing out to the natives that not one of the people who took refuge on the trading stations was molested in any way, while the mission stations [i.e., villages] were all raided and the people found there punished by the Government. They tell them this that they may believe, and certainly not without good reason, that the Government is opposed to the mission and all who connect themselves with it.¹

Woodford was in an unenviable position. Unfortunately for him it was true that Sito and his accomplices had been captured by the Bilua people, under Nicholson's direction, and that the special government force had achieved nothing but needless bloodshed. Moreover, Goldie had collected full details of the atrocities committed and apparently intimated to Woodford his intention of publishing them, together with unpalatable facts about earlier government punitive expeditions, if the honour of the mission was not satisfied.² He was promised an enquiry into the whole affair.

The enquiry, conducted by Mahaffy and Woodford in March 1910, concluded finding Binskin's Malaita labourers guilty of murder, with Binskin himself 'an accessory before the fact'.³ Further investigation

¹ Goldie to Woodford, 15 January 1910, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
² Nicholson to Danks, 1 March 1910, Goldie to Danks, 11 March 1910, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence; Mahaffy to H.C., 8 April 1910, loc. cit.
³ 'Copy of Evidence and finding of Commissioners', encl. in Woodford to H.C., 4 April 1910, encl. in im Thurn to C.O., 4 May 1910 - C.O. 225/91.
led to the deportation of one trader from the group, the seizure on behalf of the islanders of a large quantity of copra from another, and Wheatley being compelled to surrender two islands in the Wanawana Lagoon which, it was alleged, he had acquired illegally. The traders, not surprisingly, were enraged by what seemed to be trumped-up charges and labelled the enquiry a 'farce', gone through for the sole purpose of placating the missionaries.

If this was Woodford's aim it was achieved. He and Mahaffy expressed regret for the trouble caused the mission and, calling at Kokenggolo on their return to Tulagi, urged the Roviana people to stand by the mission and follow their teachers. In jubilation, Goldie reported to the board that the mission had been 'vindicated in every way' and its prestige 'quite re-established'. In view of this triumph and Woodford's record of friendship in the past, the missionaries tempered the demands of justice with mercy and agreed to take the matter no further.

For the mission the consequences of the Sito affair were twofold. In the first place, it strengthened its position on Vella Lavella where

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1 Goldie to Danks, 29 March 1910, Woodford to Danks, 15 May 1910, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
2 Burnett, op. cit., p.163.
3 Goldie to Danks, 29 March 1910, loc. cit.
4 Goldie to Danks, 6 April 1910, 20 April 1910, Nicholson to Danks, 10 April 1910, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
hitherto it had been weak. Nicholson's presence at Bilua throughout the period of the raids, the mission's attempts to protect the islanders against the barbarous behaviour of the government forces and its ultimate vindication, earned it the confidence of the Vella Lavella people and assisted the rapid evangelization of the island. 1 A direct result was the baptism of the first six converts in October 1910. 2

Secondly, the Methodist mission, personified by Goldie, was established as a factor to be reckoned with in the administration of the western Solomons. Although Goldie continued to hold Woodford in high regard, he despised the officials at Gizo, whom he deemed incompetent, unjust and deliberately antagonistic to the work of the mission. 3 R.B. Hill, who was District Magistrate at this time, regarded the new prestige of the mission as a major threat to the authority of the government in the region - an impression supported by the habit of Christian converts of asking permission of a missionary or village teacher before carrying out government orders, the arrogant conduct of many of the Polynesian teachers, their repeated interference in secular matters, and the prevalence of rumours that a 'Missionary Governor' [District Magistrate] would soon be appointed who would punish

3 Goldie to Woodford, 12 June 1912, M.O.M., Chairman Correspondence.
those who did not attend church. Hill's hasty temper and unwise actions, in particular his 'removal' of a Fijian teacher from Zelanzu on Vella Lavella, aggravated the situation. The incident was trivial in itself and a compromise could easily have been effected, but Goldie magnified it into a major issue involving the right of the mission 'to live and labour in the Group without interference from government officials'. Through the board, representations were made to the High Commissioner and an investigation demanded. Despite Woodford's insistence that Goldie's complaints were exaggerated, and the death of the aggrieved teacher before he could be reinstated, the mission achieved a modest victory. Hill expressed regret for his indiscretions and was transferred to another district.

1 Woodford to Bickham Escott, 11 September 1913 - C.O. 225/120; Hill to Woodford, 20 September 1913, 24 September 1913, encl. in Woodford to Bickham Escott, 3 October 1913 - C.O. 225/120.
2 Goldie to Danks, 6 December 1912, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
3 For details of charges, explanations and negotiations see Goldie to Danks, 12 June 1912, 13 September 1912, 22 October 1912, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence; Goldie to Woodford, 12 June 1912, Woodford to Goldie, 14 August 1912, Goldie to Danks, 29 January 1913, 12 April 1913, Goldie to Wheen, 22 September 1913, 5 November 1913, M.O.M., Chairman Correspondence; Mission Board, 2 August 1912, 3 January 1913, 5 September 1913, 9 January 1914, 5 June 1914, 7 August 1914; M.O.M., Board Minutes; Danks to H.C., 1 May 1913, M.O.M., Letter Books.
4 Mission Board, 6 August 1915, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
The effects of this first collision were still reverberating when another clash occurred, occasioned by the 'deportation' of Shackell and his teachers from Ontong Java.

The isolation of Ontong Java, which precluded frequent visits and adequate supervision of the mission by Goldie, together with the special character of the indigenous society with its kingship, priesthood and vigorous religious and social customs, demanded a missionary with tact, understanding and commonsense - qualities in which Shackell showed himself singularly deficient. From the time of his arrival in 1909 he made no attempt to work through the existing social structure; those boys who attended the mission school were encouraged to separate from their people and to build a house for themselves. Ernst Sarfert, a German anthropologist, later wrote bitterly of these young converts and the disruption wrought by the mission:

Their sense of family was destroyed, and the respect which they owed to the family and its head was replaced by contempt and disobedience. The native authorities and institutions had no meaning for them any more; they were taught to listen to none but the missionary.

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1 A few months after his arrival in the Solomons Shackell had achieved some notoriety by joining an unofficial punitive expedition, organized by traders, to avenge the murder of Oliver Burns in the Marovo Lagoon: Vaughan Lewes to C. in C., 22 August 1908, encl. in im Thurn to C.O., 12 October 1908 - C.O. 225/82.
2 M.R., October 1909, pp.12-3.
3 Sarfert and Damr, op. cit., p.11 (translated by A.N.U. Library translation service).
Persuaded that the people of Luangiuia needed a 'firm hand' and that it was his duty 'to protect them in body and soul', Shackell arrogated to himself the functions of a ruler and set out to discredit and destroy the native religion. Keabea was treated with contempt and his authority ignored. Certain traditional customs such as the annual procession of virgins he deemed offensive and incompatible with Christian teaching, and he forbad their continuance. He enforced rules of hygiene, interfered in private disputes, punished those young men who disobeyed his orders to work, and, 'to force the hands of the Priests', entered the temple and struck the chief image with an axe. This act of desecration provoked the hostility of the priests who, incorrectly, prophesied the death of all who attended the Christian services.

Danks, who had succeeded Brown as General Secretary of the Board of Missions, was appalled by Shackell's unblushing account of his methods. He admonished him gently:

Do not forget that the most degraded system of religion is sacred to those who believe in it.... The only permanently successful methods in Missionary work are those adopted by our Lord Himself — gentle strength and persuasive power....

1 Shackell to Danks, 2 November 1909, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence.
2 Shackell to Danks, fragment [5 August 1909], M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence.
3 Shackell to Danks, 2 November 1909, loc. cit.
You must always remember that your Church sent you forth to preach the Gospel in order that it may lead your people to amend their lives from conviction, and not from fear.¹

But this wise advice was labelled 'patronising'² and ignored. Keabea, who had attended the mission's services, was soon persuaded by the priests that the adoption of Christianity would sap the foundations of his authority and replace it by a tyranny of the missionary. In these circumstances it is scarcely surprising that the baptism of seven young men, in July 1910, was regarded as an act of defiance. Shortly afterwards the priests placed a ban on the mission and the former large congregations dwindled to a mere handful.³

Although the two traders stationed at Luangiua, Markham and Schwartz, were antipathetic to Shackell's teaching, they had hitherto played little part in the controversies in which he had been involved. With the mission unpopular and prohibited, the islanders turned to them for support, asked questions and readily

² Shackell to Danks, 17 May 1910, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
³ Shackell to Danks, 12 August 1910, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence; A.M.M.S. Report, 1910, p.127.
accepted their opinions of mission work in general and its local representatives in particular. ¹

When Goldie visited Luangiua in October 1910 he was dismayed to find virtually the entire population bitterly hostile to the mission. Shackell's explanation, that the people were not really antagonistic but were afraid of the priests, was obviously untrue. Goldie's own verdict was that Shackell, through attempts to force outward reforms on the people before he had won their confidence and love, together with his lack of discretion, had largely brought about this state of affairs himself, and that the traders had taken advantage of the situation by 'lies and misrepresentations and false promises'.² It was at this point that Sarfert arrived at Luangiua. His investigations into the traditional religion and his answers to the peoples' questions on the propriety of the missionary's actions stiffened resistance to the mission, and when he left he was asked to carry a message to the 'Governor' requesting Shackell's immediate removal.³

In December 1910 Woodford arrived to investigate the complaints. Twelve charges against Shackell and

¹ Sarfert and Damm, op. cit., p.11. Shackell accused the traders of actively fomenting trouble: Shackell to Danks, 7 November 1910, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence. For Markham's version of these events see Sydney Morning Herald, 9 January 1911, and Collinson, op. cit., pp.52-3.

² Goldie to Danks, 18 December 1910, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence.

³ Sarfert and Damm, op. cit., pp.11-2; Sydney Morning Herald, 9 January 1911.
one of his teachers were made by Keabea and endorsed with enthusiasm by a large crowd of islanders. Some of the charges were satisfactorily explained, but the more serious were admitted. Although Woodford was unmoved by Shackell's attempts to justify his actions, particularly with regard to the accusation of sacrilege, he endeavoured to effect a settlement. However, Keabea refused to accept a compromise and in view of this intense hostility Woodford determined to remove Shackell and his assistants from the group.\(^1\) Two weeks later the government schooner called at Luangiua and embarked Shackell, his two assistants and their families. With them came nine young Christians who had incurred Keabea's displeasure for their excessive zeal in the mission cause and who feared to remain alone. Pologa, the Samoan teacher at Pelau, was also taken away, much to the distress of the inhabitants of the island who liked him personally and were well disposed towards the mission.\(^2\)

Of the legality and wisdom of Woodford's action at Luangiua there can be little doubt. Certainly, Shackell's continued presence was 'likely to produce or excite a breach of the peace', while the power of deportation or removal in these circumstances was

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\(^1\) Woodford to H.C., 14 December 1910, encl. in May to C.O., 1 March 1912 - C.O. 225/104.

\(^2\) Bernays to Woodford, 21 December 1910, encl. in above. At Pelau the entire population, led by its heku'u and priests, had been attending Christian services for nearly a year: Shackell to Danks, 22 March 1910, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
vested in Woodford, as a Deputy Commissioner of the Western Pacific, by the 1893 Western Pacific Order in Council.¹ On the other hand, the removal of the teachers from Pelau, where Woodford had erroneously believed conditions to be similar to Luangiua, was a tactical error of which Goldie was not slow to take advantage. His protest was immediate. He labelled the proceedings 'high-handed, one-sided, and most unjust' and laid heavy blame on the traders who, he darkly asserted, were 'at the bottom of this trouble in that group'.² The mission authorities in Sydney received the news with justifiable consternation and despatched Brown to the Solomons, 'with plenary power to act for the Board in every respect', to enquire into the affair and to make arrangements for the revival and continuance of the Ontong Java mission.³

Goldie was sensitive to any infringement of his authority, real or imagined, and soon convinced himself that the board's action was irregular and betrayed lack of confidence in himself as district chairman. Moreover, he found Brown's conciliatory approach disturbing: 'I am afraid', he wrote to Danks, 'that Dr Brown is inclined to sacrifice Shackell for

¹ British Order in Council, 15 March 1893, Articles 14 and 111.
² Goldie to Woodford, 21 December 1910, 21 January 1911, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence.
³ Mission Board, 6 January 1911, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
the sake of peace with the Commissioner. Brown and Woodford first held a full enquiry at Kokenggolo, at which Shackell again admitted the most serious charges, and then sailed to Ontong Java to complete their investigation. A long spell of bad weather prevented the mission vessel Tandanya with Goldie and Shackell on board from making the journey, and this failure to be present at what he regarded as the crucial stage of the enquiry reinforced Goldie's sense of grievance.

At Pelau Woodford rectified his earlier mistake by promising the return of Pologa. At Luangiua the antagonism to the mission continued unabated, but for the sake of good relations with the mission he insisted on a compromise. His announcement that Semesi Nau (who had been a popular figure until his departure in 1909) would return as a teacher pending a final decision by Keabea on the future of the mission at the end of 12 months was greeted by the islanders with sullen silence.

His work completed, Brown returned to Sydney and recommended to the board that Shackell be recalled from the Solomons. Meanwhile, Goldie raised the standard of revolt by calling a special synod at Sasamungga on

1 Goldie to Danks, 1 February 1911, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence.
2 Woodford to Major, 17 March 1911, encl. in May to C.O., 1 March 1912 – C.O. 225/104. Brown's account of his visit to Ontong Java is in M.R., August 1911, p.9.
3 Mission Board, 5 April 1911, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
10 April at which eight strongly-worded resolutions were passed, protesting against the 'illegal' action of the Resident Commissioner in removing Shackell from Ontong Java 'without trial of any kind', denouncing the removal of the mission's teachers from the group, especially from Pelau, opposing Brown's settlement of the case and urging that Goldie be permitted to proceed to Sydney 'at the earliest possible date' to assist in bringing about a 'speedy and satisfactory' settlement. The board, in reply, passed appropriate countering resolutions, firmly squashed the suggestion that Goldie visit Australia and demanded Shackell's immediate return.

Shackell duly submitted and agreed 'to drop the whole matter'. Goldie was less tractable. In June 1911 he asked to be relieved of his duties in order to resume church work in Australia, feeling, he declared, 'that under these conditions it would be better that another, possessing the entire confidence of the Board, He was given a temporary church appointment at Newcastle from which he was reabsorbed into the normal circuit ministry. Many years later he was aroused by a critical account of the Ontong Java mission (Hogbin, 'The Problem of Depopulation in Melanesia as applied to Ontong Java', pp.61-2) to a defence of his actions. The resulting exchange between Shackell and Hogbin is in J.P.S., vol.41, No. 161, p.65; vol.41, No.163, pp.232-4; vol.42, No.165, p.25.

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1 Minutes of Special District Synod, 10 April 1911, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence.
2 Mission Board, 18 May 1911, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
3 Shackell to Goldie, 30 August 1911, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
should take my place. The board's clumsy attempts at conciliation only resulted in Brown's indignant resignation. At length, both parties were pacified; Brown withdrew his resignation and Goldie was prevailed upon to remain in the Solomons.

In July 1911 Goldie visited Ontong Java for the first time since Shackell's departure. The inhabitants of Pelau welcomed Pologa's return and their heku'u, Koke, was baptized. Semesi Nau was left with the tiny group of Christian sympathizers at Luangiu. Owing to the wreck of the government schooner Woodford never revisited the group. After 12 months. Keabea was therefore persuaded by the traders to send messages, and then a deputation, to Tulagi urging fulfilment of his promise to remove the mission altogether. Goldie attacked Woodford's commitment, made in his absence, on the ground that 'as long as there were any individuals there who desired to have the Lotu, it was the duty of the Government to see that they were not persecuted, and to see that they were allowed to have

1 Goldie to Danks, 10 June 1911, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence; Solomon Islands District Synod, 9 November 1911, M.O.M., Synod Minutes.
2 Mission Board, 14 February 1912, M.O.M., Board Minutes; Brown to Bromilow 15 and 19 February 1912, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence.
3 Luxton, op. cit., p.63.
4 Goldie to Danks, 5 August 1911, M.O.M., O.J. Correspondence. Rooney's account of the visit is in M.R., March 1912, pp.15-7.
5 Goldie to Wheen, 22 September 1913, M.O.M., Chairman Correspondence.
the school and services without any interference from the king or anyone else'.

Persistent ill-treatment of the Christian party at Luangiua - acts of violence, thefts of food and the destruction of coconut trees - together with Woodford's reluctance to intervene eventually led Goldie to ask the board to act on his behalf. The High Commissioner in Fiji was accordingly requested either to take effective measures to protect the Christian minority from the hostility of 'both white and native residents' or to institute an enquiry into the matters complained of. The latter course was taken; in January 1915 F.J. Barnett, the acting Resident Commissioner, conducted an enquiry at Luangiua in the presence of Goldie and the protectorate's Judicial Commissioner.

For the mission, the results of the investigation were eminently satisfactory; indeed, for Goldie the outcome was something of a personal victory. One of the traders, W.L. Gillan, who had stirred up much of

1 Goldie to Danks, 6 December 1912, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
2 Sydney Morning Herald, 9 July 1914. Semesi Nau had returned to Tonga on furlough in 1912. Pologa, who was brought from Pela to replace him, was alleged to have antagonized the Luangiua people by his irresponsible actions: Gillan to Woodford, 27 May 1913, encl. in Woodford to Bickham Escott, 11 September 1913 - C.O. 225/120.
3 Mission Board, 5 June 1915, M.O.M. Board Minutes.
4 Wheen to H.C., 12 June 1914, 13 July 1914, 13 August 1914, 15 September 1914, M.O.M., Letter Books.
the recent opposition to the mission, was deported from the group, the native Christians were granted complete liberty of worship, and the right of the mission to appoint a European missionary at any time was conceded. The Commissioner also lent his official support to the mission by informing the islanders that 'while no compulsion could be used, it was the earnest desire of the Government that the people should attend church and school.'

But with the mission firmly reestablished under Semesi Nau, Goldie showed little inclination to restore its staff to its former strength and thereby hasten the evangelization of the entire group. Although the need of a European missionary for Ontong Java was explicitly recognized, none was appointed. After 1915 there was no teacher at Pelau, and when Semesi Nau retired in 1919 Luangiua was given up altogether; the few Christians were left to their own devices and reverted to their traditional religion.

1 Mission Board, 7 May 1915, M.O.M., Board Minutes; Solomon Islands District Synod, 4 November 1915, and Roviana Circuit Report, 1915, M.O.M., Synod Minutes.
3 Ontong Java was still regarded as part of the mission district. During the twenties it was proposed on several occasions to send a European minister or lay missionary there, but nothing was done. The possible appointment of a missionary to Luangiua was discussed for the last time in 1928: Solomon Islands District Synod, 20-4 November 1928, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
One of the reasons for Goldie's failure to build on the foundations laid and the mission's eventual withdrawal from the group was the difficulty of providing the necessary European and Polynesian missionaries. Throughout this period the mission was expanding rapidly and Ontong Java was but one of many districts demanding teachers. Moreover, the isolation of the atoll and the difficulty of access, made the prospect unattractive for European missionaries. But perhaps the chief explanation lies in Goldie himself. For years he had fought for the survival of the Ontong Java mission so that it had become identified for him with the excitement of controversy with the government, protection of the islanders against immoral and unscrupulous traders, and the dramatic persecution of the Christian remnant. When at length the clouds of dissension lifted and the mission was free to advance unhindered he was able to see Ontong Java in its true, less attractive light - a remote and unimportant atoll, awkward to work and inconvenient to visit, with a rapidly decreasing population. He found it difficult to maintain interest in such a field and when he relinquished it, it was without any sense of loss.

FROM 1875 onwards teachers from the Fiji, Samoa and Tonga Mission Districts played an indispensable role in the establishment of Methodist missions in Melanesia. The Solomons mission initially drew its teachers from Fiji and Samoa, and later from Tonga. As

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1 Interview with Rev. J.R. Metcalfe.
a class they were highly conscious of their exalted position as foreign teachers of the Gospel, and in their attitude to the Solomon Islanders they were often truculent and overbearing. They were also strongly attached to the strict church customs of their home islands: the horrors of Hell formed a favourite topic for sermons, and on Sundays they delighted in donning the traditional Polynesian ministerial dress of black suit and laceless boots.\(^1\) On the other hand, living in the villages they encountered the brunt of the hostility and suspicion of the local people. They also suffered severely from the malarial climate, and many died after only a brief period in the Solomons.\(^2\)

During the mission's early years there was little personal contact between these teachers and the European missionaries, due principally to the fact that neither was fluent in the other's language. Not surprisingly in these circumstances discontent grew,

\(^1\) Examples in O.D., March 1924, p.7, March 1925, pp. 10-1, June 1936, pp.9-10; N.Z.M.T., 21 November 1925, p.12; Interviews with Isaac Mamu and Rev. J.R. Metcalfe. Mrs Goldie recalled that one of the first Fijian teachers 'invariably preached a detailed sermon on Hell, and with not one horror left out...I had a burning desire to blot out all this talk of judgement and eternal damnation, and give our people a gospel of love; for it seemed to me they surely suffered enough torture here and now': O.D., March 1923, p.9.

\(^2\) In 1911 Polynesian teachers were granted nine months furlough after six years service, as against six months after three years for European missionaries. This long period of service without leave in a malarial climate was probably the greatest single cause of the high mortality rate.
which, in the case of some of the Fijian teachers, manifested itself in a series of complaints to the board.¹ Dissatisfaction with teachers' pay was general.² Accusations were also levelled against the missionaries personally - that they treated their assistants harshly and unfairly, and that they desecrated the Sabbath. One aggrieved teacher declared:

We observe in each of our missionaries that they do not strongly enforce upon the natives a due observance of the Sabbath Day. It is a thing of little worth to them, while we Fijians do strongly enforce it upon the natives urging that no work shall be done on that day in each town in which a missionary dwells.³

When informed of the complaints the missionaries were unsympathetic. Goldie maintained that many of the teachers believed that mission work was 'simply preaching on the Sunday, and loafing all the rest of the week, lording it over the other natives';⁴ Rooney diagnosed avarice as the root of the trouble:

They are everlastingly crying out about the miserable stipend they receive and persist in clamouring for a substantial

¹ Maiteci to Danks, 14 August 1906, 29 December 1906, Teki to Danks, 16 August 1908, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence; Maiteci to Danks, 1 April 1908 (unsigned), 1 May 1908, Agarau, Teki and Maiteci to Danks, 7 April 1908, Teki to Danks, 21 April 1908; M.O. M., S.I. Correspondence, 1908.
² The current rate of pay was £8 p.a. for a single man, £10 for a married man. The teachers wanted this increased to £5 a quarter.
³ Teki to Danks, 16 August 1908, loc. cit.
⁴ Goldie to Wheen, 18 March 1909, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
increase....I often wonder if some of these men have ever been converted. After reading some of their letters which are nothing but a pack of lies I find it hard to believe that they are the epistles of fellow-labourers in the Master's Vineyard.¹

A gentle Pastoral Letter from Brown, which exhorted the teachers to trust the missionaries and to discuss their troubles with them before writing to the board, had no effect.² Finally, in the course of Danks's visit to the district in 1909 an enquiry was held in which the missionaries were supported and the charges of the malcontents dismissed as a mixture of unsupported hearsay and deliberate untruths.³ However, the substance of the teachers' complaints was tacitly admitted by the board when, in 1911, it raised their stipends and inaugurated a retiring fund.⁴ But stories spread by returned teachers had already led to a diminution in the number of volunteers from Fiji and Samoa,⁵ and in 1912 the high mortality among Fijian teachers in the Melanesian mission fields led the

¹ Rooney to Danks, 31 August 1908, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
² Brown to Solomon Islands teachers, 21 June 1907, M.O.M. Letter Books.
³ Minutes of meeting of missionaries and teachers, 1 April 1909, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
⁴ Mission Board, 2 and 9 June 1911, M.O.M., Board Minutes; Executive Committee, 3 September 1912, M.O.M., Committee Minutes.
⁵ Danks to Goldie, 27 September 1909, M.O.M., Letter Books; Teki to Danks, 1 October 1911, 8 March 1912, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
Fiji government to impose severe restrictions on the numbers sent.  

Goldie, on his part, had become increasingly dissatisfied with the quality of the Fijian and Samoan teachers allotted to the Solomons, and from 1910 onwards he looked to the Tonga Mission District as his chief source of supply. Although for many years to come the staff of the mission was regularly augmented by parties of Polynesian teachers and catechists, the disadvantages of the system were apparent. In any case, after 1910, when large numbers of young men were baptized at the three head stations, it was possible to consider training young Solomon Islanders for evangelistic work among their own people. In this, Goldie and his colleagues were supported by Danks, an enthusiastic student of the missiological writings of the new International Review of Missions, who urged that each mission should plan to depend on its own teachers as early as possible.

1 Danks to Goldie, 8 May 1912, M.O.M., Letter Books; Methodist Church of Australasia Conference Minutes, 1912, p.128.
2 E.g., Goldie to Danks, 10 March and 13 May 1910, M.O.M., S.I., Correspondence.
3 During these years Danks frequently urged on the Solomons missionaries the importance of self-reliance in the island church and the training of a 'sturdy native agency...capable of taking the initiative whenever required': Danks to Goldie, 3 September 1909, 27 September 1909, 1 April 1910, 20 April 1910, 10 October 1911, 15 November 1912, 21 December 1912, Danks to Rooney, 7 September 1910, Danks to Nicholson, 18 September 1911, M.O.M., Letter Books. See also Danks's article in M.R., 4 May 1912, pp.1-2.
In 1912 the district synod resolved to commence a Training Institution at Kokenggolo to prepare the more promising young scholars for work as mission teachers. To Danks, Goldie outlined his policy:

We cannot look much longer to the older districts for the supply of men to teach and preach the Gospel here. If we have an inadequately trained native ministry we are simply courting failure. We have abundance of splendid material here, and we all feel deeply that now is the time to lay good foundations and build well for the future, by establishing a training college that will afford the young men the opportunity they plead for to fit themselves for the work of the ministry.

An additional minister was appointed to supervise the educational programme at Kokenggolo and in 1913 the Training Institution was opened. Within a year there were 25 students from New Georgia and Vella Lavella on a two year course. From 1915 onwards a succession of trained teachers was sent out for work in the villages of the western Solomons, first to supplement and later

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1 Solomon Islands District Synod, 20 November 1912, M.O.M., Synod Minutes.
2 Goldie to Danks, 6 December 1912; M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence. By 'native ministry' Goldie appears to have meant village teachers and catechists, not the ordained ministry.
3 The Rev. H.R. Rycroft was head of the Training Institution, 1912-4; Rev. W.H. Laembruggen, 1914-7; Mr. J.H.L. Waterhouse, 1922-8; Rev. F.H. Hayman 1928-32; Rev. T. Dent 1932-4; Rev. E.C. Leadley, 1934-42.
to replace the Polynesians. 1 With them they carried the Roviana language spoken at Kokenggolo, which thus became the mission's lingua franca.

Concurrent with this new development the arrival of Missionary Sisters enabled an increase in the scope of the work undertaken by the mission. The policy of sending out single women missionaries had been adopted by the Board of Missions in 1891 with some hesitation, but it was soon generally accepted. 2 These first Missionary Sisters received no special training and usually worked as teachers among women and children. 3 Then in 1906 it was suggested by the Victorian Ladies' Auxiliary, an influential mission-supporting body, that a qualified nurse be sent to one of the mission districts. Despite the scepticism of Danks, who believed that conditions in the islands were 'such as to make really skilful nursing almost impossible', 4

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1 The first seven teachers were sent out in 1915: M.R., July 1915, pp.19-20. By 1918 there were 46 youths in training: A.M.M.S. Report, 1918, p.17. 2 Colwell, op. cit., p.554; M.R., July 1917, p.1. 3 On the qualifications required of Missionary Sisters Danks wrote - 'We expect them to have a good record in Church life; well recommended by our Ministers and leading church people where she resides; to have a good English Education; to have proved, in actual Christian work, her aptness to teach; if possible some knowledge of nursing; a good knowledge of the Word of God, and to be able to present to us a Medical Certificate of Health': Danks to Blamires, 5 August 1901, M.O.M., Letter Books. 4 Danks to Goldie, 13 September 1906, M.O.M., Letter Books.
the board accepted the principle of employing Missionary Sisters with medical and nursing qualifications and decided to send the first to the Solomons where a woman missionary was badly needed.¹

Nurse Moore joined the mission in 1907. She left Sydney inadequately briefed, emotionally unprepared for the conditions of work awaiting her. A brief term of office, marked by acrimonious relations with the rest of the European staff, climaxed in her flight to one of employees of the local Levers station; 'as a mission', Rooney reported, 'we are most fortunate to be rid of her services.'² Goldie blamed the failure on Brown who had been responsible for sending the nurse:

We never asked for one, for I was always of the opinion that a devoted woman, with some experience, and plenty of common sense, able to teach and willing to do general mission work, was what we really wanted.³

Danks agreed. In 1909 two more Missionary Sisters - Mabelle Davey and Ida Keyte - were sent to the Solomons

¹ Mission Board, 5 December 1906, 4 September 1907, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
² For details of her missionary career see the relevant correspondence - Moore to Danks, 1 March 1908, Rooney to Danks, 11 April 1908, Goldie to Danks, 22 June 1908, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence, 1908.
³ Goldie to Danks, 18 June 1908, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence, 1908. Goldie was always distrustful of women's Missionary Training Homes - 'They seem to turn out a lot of religious prigs... whose only idea of mission work is preaching and praying at people': Goldie to Danks, 28 September 1910, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.
and these were followed by a succession of devout women with few special skills or qualifications. The first sisters lived at Kokenggolo, but in response to repeated requests from Nicholson one was sent to Bilua in 1915, and from 1916 a sister was stationed permanently at Sasmungga.

A few sisters, mainly those who arrived with sentimental notions of mission work, stayed only a short time; the majority remained on the mission staff for some years - several married young ministers - teaching in the schools, conducting sewing classes, giving simple medical treatments and looking after abandoned children and orphans. Because they lived at the head stations and seldom travelled far afield, their direct influence was limited to adjacent villages and to the dozen or so schoolgirls and young unmarried women who lived with them in the Sisters' Homes. However, their indirect influence was widespread, for many of the girls they educated married mission teachers and taught what they had learned to the women and girls in distant parts of the group.

The most serious weakness in the sisters' work in its early years was the neglect of systematic teaching of hygiene and techniques of mothercraft. It was not until the 1920s that the ideal of the devout

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amateur possessing 'sanctified commonsense' gave way to a realization that the mission, and the islanders, were best served by women professionally trained in either teaching or nursing. 1

THE second decade of the mission saw substantial advances on New Georgia, Choiseul and the surrounding islands. In 1912 the mission on Simbo which had lapsed three years previously was revived; 2 about the same time teachers were also sent to Mono (Treasury Island), to Baniata and Lokuru on Rendova, to Kolombangara and to Kusage on the north-west coast of New Georgia. 3 The Marovo Lagoon, which had long remained impervious to mission influence, was also entered. Here the way was prepared by Ngatu, a young chief, who having spent a period at Kokenggolo under government surveillance after being implicated in the murder of a young trader, Oliver Burns, in 1908 had returned to his home in the lagoon to press the claims of the Methodist mission. A Tongan catechist was sent to the district in 1912 and a mission village established at Patutiva in the Njai Passage. 4

1 Interview with Mrs J.R. Metcalfe (formerly Sister Ivy Stanford).
2 M.R., August 1912, p.16. The station had been vacant since 1909 when one Samoan teacher died and another was removed ill.
3 A.M.M.S. Report, 1911, p.126; M.R., July 1915, p.20; February 1916, p.12, August 1916, p.16. The school on Ganongga which had lapsed when its teacher died in 1909 was reopened about 1915.
4 J.R. Metcalfe, 'Methodism in the Marovo'. 
At Roviana the mass movement which had begun in 1910 gained momentum and many older people were baptized.\(^1\) Gemu and Gumi continued to refuse baptism, though they encouraged the young people to attend school and, according to one visitor, expressed 'profound belief in the Missionary and his message.'\(^2\)

In 1912 they, together with Sasambeti, a young mission convert of high rank, were persuaded to write a letter of greetings to the New South Wales Methodist Conference, which Goldie was to attend, assuring the 'Great Missionary Chief's' of their 'very great love' and their joy that 'the Lotu lives and grows in our midst.'\(^3\)

That the Methodists had gained a strong foothold was demonstrated in 1911 when, at Wheatley's instigation, the Roman Catholic mission on Guadalcanal despatched two priests to found a new station at Roviana. Wheatley, anxious to buttress his opposition to the Methodist mission, threw his whole influence on the side of the newcomers and even attended Mass himself. Goldie, however, had the support of the leading men of the district and faced with this formidable alliance the priests could make no headway.

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\(^1\) During 1912 the number of baptized members rose from 142 to 356. In 1916 there were 200 candidates for baptism in three months: *A.M.M.S. Report, 1911*, p.130, *1912*, p.131; *M.R.*, August 1916, p.16.

\(^2\) *M.R.*, October 1917, p.6.

\(^3\) *M.R.*, April 1912, p.9.
After a year's residence on a small island in the lagoon and an unsuccessful bid to purchase land for a station on Kolombangara, they withdrew to the eastern Solomons.¹

The mission station at Kokenggolo increasingly dominated the religious and social life of Roviana. By 1915 it was reported that all the children in the nearby villages regularly attended school,² while the great assemblies at the weekly Class Meetings were drawn from a wide area.³ At Christmas and on 23 May, the anniversary of the foundation of the mission, many hundreds flocked to the head station for the festivities.⁴ On the latter occasion the annual mission collection was held, at which representatives of every village in the Roviana Circuit (which comprised all of New Georgia and its adjacent islands) deposited with Goldie and the Munda bangara their offerings of copra, trochus shell and money. In 1920, when copra prices

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¹ Goldie to Danks, 18 July 1911, 31 August 1911, M.O.J. Correspondence: Goldie to Danks, 27 November 1911, 1 August 1912, 19 September 1912, 23 October 1912, M.O.M. S.I. Correspondence: A.M.M.S. Report, 1912, p.126; Interview with Mr. K. Wheatley (Lambeti, Roviana) - a son of Norman Wheatley. Following the failure of this Roman Catholic venture Wheatley turned his attention to the Seventh-day Adventists and encouraged them to found a mission on New Georgia, in the Marovo Lagoon, see below, pp.416-8.
² Roviana Circuit Sisters' Report, 1915, M.O.M. Synod Minutes.
⁴ At Christmas 1914 700 islanders attended the mission celebrations.
were high, £1700 was given in this way for the purposes of the mission.1

With the advance of Christianity came new social habits - the wearing of European clothes on Sundays 2 and the foundation of 'model villages'3 - and the decay of traditional customs. The old Roviana dances were given up about 1918, without pressure from the mission.4 There was also some destruction of the images and shrines of the pagan religion by the more militant Polynesian teachers.5

The growth of the Christian community and the mission's emphasis on literacy necessitated the provision of a vernacular literature. Although Goldie appropriated to himself the most prestigious task, the translation of the Bible, he disliked the labours involved in linguistic work.6 Mrs Goldie and others

1 M.R., April 1921, p.1. Similar 'Thanksgiving Services', were held at the head station in each circuit. Each year mission villages gave themselves over entirely to the preparation of copra for the annual collection - a practice which temporarily robbed the local traders of their business and added to their resentment against the mission. O.D., June 1922, p.15; Collinson, op. cit., pp.190-1.
2 For a comparison of mission policies regarding the adoption of European dress see below, pp.519-20.
3 Colwell, op. cit., p.584.
4 Interview with Lazarus Pania (Dude, Roviana) - Methodist catechist and son of Isaac Mamu.
5 Woodford to Bickham Escott, 11 September 1913 - C.O. 225/120; Interview with Isaac Mamu.
6 Interview with Rev. E.C. Leadley (Auckland).
translated hymns and several miscellaneous works, but it was not until 1916 that the first Scripture in Roviana (St Mark's Gospel) was published. Twenty years later, despite the position of Roviana as the mission's teaching language and the constant proddings of mission boards, printed translations were limited to three Gospels, one hymnbook and a catechism.

After the disturbances of 1910 the spread of Christianity on Vella Lavella was so rapid as to be described as 'one of the miracles of the modern missions'. The central figure in this movement was Daniel Bula, a young teacher who became Nicholson's chief adviser and the acknowledged head of the island's

1 M.R., October 1912, p.13, September 1914, pp.19-20, August 1918, p.9; Goldie to Scriven, 10 February 1950, M.F.M., Correspondence. Mrs Goldie translated a 'Life of Christ' and an Old Testament history, 'Tales from Shakespeare' and 'Pilgrim's Progress', but these were never printed.
2 M.R., January 1916, p.22. At the same time Goldie untruthfully reported that he had 'nearly completed' translations of St Luke and St John.
3 Wheen to Goldie, 21 July 1914, 15 February 1915, M.O.M., Letter Books; Board Minutes, 28 February - 1 March 1927; 25-6 January 1928, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports. Danks, in particular, stressed the importance of translation work, on the ground that it was 'only through the written Word that the people will see the Living Word': M.R., September 1921, p.4.
4 By 1932 there were translations of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and John; St Luke was published in 1940 and the whole New Testament in 1953. An English-Roviana Dictionary was published in 1928 - the work of J.H.L. Waterhouse, the headmaster at Kokenggolo.
5 Solomon Islands District Synod, 10 November 1921, M.O.M., Synod Minutes.
chuch. By 1920 there were over 800 baptized members in the circuit and the sole remaining pocket of resistance to mission influence was the Doveli district on the north-east coast. When Nicholson left in the following year he described the achievements of 15 years with his customary verve:

The people have been lifted from the condition of brutality in which the Gospel found them & have been built up into being partakers of man's better nature... The moral wilderness of Vella Lavella has been converted into a lovely garden, a fruitful field. Industry & order, schools & churches are now giving grace & charm to every village. These facts declare the dignity & the divinity of the missionary enterprise.

On Choiseul the baptism of the first converts in August 1910 initiated a religious movement in the Mbambatana district similar to that which was currently sweeping the Roviana Lagoon. This reached a climax in 1913 when the prohibition on the attendance of married women and widows at church services was abolished and over 130 were baptized within a few months.

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1 Bula died in 1922. For an account of his work see N.Z.M.T., 23 December 1922, p.14, and Nicholson's biography, The Son of a Savage.
2 The total population of the Vella Lavella Circuit (which included Ganongga) was about 2000. Of these, 384 were baptized in 1918 alone: M.R., March 1919, p.13.
3 Vella Lavella Circuit Report, 1921, M.O.M., Synod Minutes.
4 M.R., April 1911, p.20, August 1912, p.16, August 1913, p.9, October 1913, p.19.
Rooney retired from the mission at the end of 1913 and returned to Australia.  

About this time there occurred on Choiseul the first clash between the Methodist mission and the Roman Catholic Marist mission expanding eastwards from its base in the Shortland Islands. The attempt by Father Boch, the local missionary, to buy land for a station among pagan villages at Tambatamba on the north-east coast of the island was resisted stoutly by Goldie, who regarded it as an unjustified intrusion into a recognized Methodist field and insisted that the people of the area were opposed to the Roman Catholics. He threatened repayment in kind:

My policy has been, ever since coming to the Solomons to avoid clashing with any other Missionary Society, and I can safely say that I have never attempted mission work on any island on which other societies have had agents at work....I have held aloof from the

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1 Goldie wrote of Rooney's departure with rare emotion - 'A man cannot let a tried and trusted colleague go without feeling it keenly. Especially one who has been with me from the very foundation of this district, who never failed me or caused me anxiety by self seeking, but who always had before him the interests of the Kingdom. I shall miss him more than I care to say': Goldie to Wheen, 5 November 1913, M.O.M., Chairman Correspondence.

2 A Roman Catholic station was founded at Poporang in the Shortlands in 1899. An invitation to establish a mission on Choiseul had been received as early as 1903, but because no missionary could be spared for the work the opportunity was missed.

3 Goldie to Heffernan, 14 December 1912 (official), encl. in Bickham Escott to C.O., 20 May 1913 - C.O.225/116.
Shortlands and from Ysabel for that reason, though I have frequently had invitations from those places to found schools,...If Father Boch is determined not to respect our boundaries it will mean that I shall have to change our policy, and almost immediately place a white man both at the Shortlands and Tambatamba, and we shall have a repetition of the trouble at the eastern end of the group.¹

These were empty threats. Goldie knew he had no men to spare for either place. Nor was the religious situation on Choiseul comparable with either Ysabel or the Shortlands; the former island was still largely pagan, while the other two were already wholly evangelized by the Melanesian Mission and Marist mission respectively. On the other hand, it is likely that Father Boch, a colourful and bellicose Alsatian, would have welcomed a showdown with Goldie, whom he privately labelled 'the demon of Rubiana'.²

Investigation by the District Magistrate in the Shortlands revealed that Goldie's accusations were false and that the people of Tambatamba were quite willing to receive the Roman Catholic mission:

We are frightened of Mr Goldie and some of us told him that they did not want Father Boch here, they were only telling

¹ Goldie to Heffernan, 14 December 1912 (unofficial), encl. in above.
² Boch to Procure, 27 January 1913, Marist archives (Sydney). I am indebted to Mr Hugh Laracy of the Department of Pacific History, A.N.U., for this reference and for other information relating to the Roman Catholic mission in the Shortland Islands.
him lies, as we are afraid of him, and we wanted to appease him.\(^1\)

The land was duly sold and a station established, but the influence of the new mission never extended beyond a handful of villages on the north-east coast.\(^2\) Goldie never attempted to send a European missionary to the Shortlands.

Inter-tribal fighting on the east coast of Choiseul proved to be a major hindrance to the advance of Christianity during these years. News of the white man's struggle in Europe stimulated the unrest and by 1916, when 40 people were killed in an armed raid on the village of Pakisake in the interior of the island, a violent war was in progress in the Sengga, Ririo and Varese districts. Strongly fortified villages were built on ridges and hilltops and many Sengga people fled to Mbambatana for safety.\(^3\)

Contact between Choiseul and the protectorate government was still confined to the occasional expedition to punish notorious murderers and participants

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\(^1\) Deposition of 37 natives, encl. in Heffernan to Woodford, 26 February 1913, encl. in Bickham Escott to C.O., 20 May 1913 – C.O. 225/116.

\(^2\) There were eventually about eight Roman Catholic villages on the north-east coast of Choiseul.

in head-hunting raids;¹ no official attempted either to end the fighting or to disarm the combatants, even when opportunity offered. This reluctance of the government to intervene finally compelled the mission to assume the role of mediator, both for humanitarian reasons and in order to protect its followers in the Sengga district.² In 1918 Goldie and the Rev. V.L. Binet, the missionary at Sasamungga, met Lilliboe, a prominent warrior, and endeavoured to dissuade him from a projected attack on a Christian village at Sengga. The raid was made in the following year and Lilliboe was killed.³ After the latter’s death Binet and his teachers attempted, without reference to the government,

¹ J.R. Metcalfe, 'Pioneering on Choiseul'. Head-hunting persisted on the east coast of Choiseul long after it had ceased on New Georgia and Vella Lavella. Firearms were freely supplied to the islanders by the less scrupulous traders: Woodford to High Commissioner [21 December 1909], encl. in im Thurn to C.O., 15 March 1910 - C.O. 225/90; Heffernan to Woodford, 13 December 1910 and 18 January 1911, Woodford to Heffernan, 29 December 1910, encl. in May to C.O., 14 December 1911 - C.O. 225/98; Woodford to Major, 19 April 1912, encl. in Major to C.O., 17 June 1912 - C.O. 225/105.


³ M.R., August 1918, p.8, November 1919, pp.3-4; Luxton, op. cit., pp.84-7.
to persuade the disputants to reduce their claims against one another and to discontinue fighting. 1

In this work of pacification the missionaries, unknown to themselves, had fitted into the traditional pattern of conflict resolution, through 'negotiation conducted by related third parties'. 2 They themselves saw their task in terms of religious mission rather than social function, as the imposition of peace from without in virtue of their position as representatives of the 'Gospel of the Prince of Peace'. 3 The arbitration was concluded in 1921 when a peacemaking ceremony, organized by Stephen Gandapeta, the leading Choiseul mission teacher, was held at Sasamungga and a treaty between the warring Sengga and Vurulata 'tribes' signed in the presence of a government representative. 4 Soon afterwards, Binet moved to a new station at Panggoe in Sengga where, in 1924, he effected a further reconciliation between the Kamungga and Vuruleke peoples. 5 The pacification of Choiseul was now virtually complete.

The advent of peaceful conditions brought about significant changes in the indigenous society. Islanders

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1 N.Z.M.T., 4 June 1921, p.12. By this stage Goldie was convinced that 'little good would come by interference on the part of the present officials': Solomon Islands District Synod, 8 December 1920, M.O.M., Synod Minutes.
2 Scheffler, Choiseul Island Social Structure, p.23.
3 Luxton, op. cit., p.88.
4 O.D., September 1922, p.15;
5 N.Z.M.T., 30 August 1924, p.12; O.D., December 1925, pp.8-10; Luxton, op. cit., pp.120-1.
who had been in fear of attack left their fortified villages; those who had lived in the interior in scattered hamlets descended to the coast where, to facilitate schooling, they were encouraged by the mission to aggregate into large permanent settlements. During the next six years, under the combined leadership of Binet on the east coast and the Rev. J.R. Metcalfe, assisted by Gandapeta, at Sasamungga, the number of mission villages rose from nine to 20.¹ The suppression of warfare also undermined the traditional system of leadership, which had rested upon activities related to inter-group conflict. In the absence of a government district administration, mission teachers soon assumed a prominent position as arbitrators in disputes and in the punishment of minor crimes.²

THE outbreak of the First World War was greeted by the missionaries with mingled emotions. The bloodshed they deplored, yet they were convinced that the British Empire had espoused the sacred cause of justice and liberty; and they were confident of ultimate victory.³ The people of Roviana, their head-hunting now a thing of the past, eagerly absorbed the news of

¹ Personal communication from J.R. Metcalfe, 14 July 1965; O.D., June 1926 p.11; N.Z.M.T., 23 April 1938, p.414. On the work of Stephen Gandapeta see O.D., June 1921, pp.2–4, and J.R. Metcalfe, 'Stephen Gandapeta'.
² Scheffler, Choiseul Island, pp.28–9.
³ Solomon Islands District Synod, 27 October 1914,
⁴ November 1915, M.O.M., Synod Minutes.
the gigantic struggle in Europe and, in response to an appeal by Goldie, subscribed over £130 to the War Fund.¹

For the mission the most significant result of the war was the transfer from German to Australian rule of the large and populous island of Bougainville, thus enabling the mission freely to extend its operations northwards from its base on Mono. Before the war Goldie had been negotiating with the German district administration and the chairman of the New Britain mission, in whose district Bougainville was situated, with a view to sending teachers to Siuai in the south-west of the island where some of the people had called for schools.² Uncertainty as to the future political status of the former German colonial territories caused the board to adopt a cautious policy towards extension of mission work to the island. However, persistent requests by the Solomon Islands District Synod had their effect; in 1916 the board resolved to include the islands of Bougainville and Buka within the bounds of the district and to begin mission work there as soon as possible.³ Three teachers were sent to Siuai

² Mission Board, 3 April 1914, M.O.M., Board Minutes; Luxton, op. cit., pp.103-4.
³ Wheen to Goldie, 30 October 1914, 15 February 1915, M.O.M., Letter Books; Solomon Islands District Synod, 27 October 1914, 4 November 1915, M.O.M., Synod Minutes; Mission Board, 2 February 1916, M.O.M., Board Minutes. A Roman Catholic mission had begun work on Bougainville in 1902, but by far the greater part of the population remained untouched by Christian influences. The Rev. John Wheen, General Secretary of the Board of Missions,
in 1917 and after the war, when the Australian civil administration was set up, a European missionary was appointed to the island. In 1922 a head station was founded at Skotolan on Buka. Other stations were later established at Teop, on the north-east coast of Bougainville itself, and at Tonu in Siuai.

The post-war years saw New Zealand Methodists accept responsibility for the support of the Solomon Islands mission. Since its separation from the Methodist Church of Australasia in 1913 the Methodist Church of New Zealand had been anxious to secure a mission field of its own, but until definite arrangements could be made it had assisted in supporting the extensive missions of the Australian church. In 1914 and again in 1919 the New Zealand Conference set out its preferences, resolving on the latter occasion that the field should include both unevangelized territory, 'in order to provide scope for aggressive missionary work', and evangelized territory 'from which Native Teachers and workers may

who visited the island in 1916, described it as a 'magnificent field of almost virgin soil for Missionary enterprise': M.R., December 1916, p.4.

1 Solomon Islands District Synod, 25 October 1917, M.O.M., Synod Minutes; M.R., November 1918, p.11. For the subsequent history of the Methodist mission on Bougainville and Buka see Luxton, op. cit., pp.124-41, 162-9.

2 Methodist Church of Australasia Conference Minutes, 1913, p.41. The Methodist Church of New Zealand was formed in 1913 by a union of the New Zealand Conference of the Methodist Church of Australasia and the Primitive Methodist Church of New Zealand.
be drawn.'¹ The Solomons, Samoa and Tonga Districts were chosen as meeting these conditions, and in 1919 negotiations were commenced with the Board of Missions and the New South Wales Conference, of which all the mission districts were members. The board recommended that the Solomons mission be transferred to New Zealand.² The missionaries, although loath to sever their traditional links with Australia, were persuaded to support the proposal largely by the promise of increased assistance from New Zealand in money and staff.³ The Samoa and Tonga Districts, already self-supporting, wished to retain their connexion with the Australasian General Conference, but they were willing to continue supplying teachers for the Solomons.⁴ Accordingly, in 1920 the board's recommendation was accepted by both the Australasian and New Zealand Conferences, and in 1922, the centenary year of New Zealand Methodism, the Solomon Islands Mission District became part of the Methodist Church of New Zealand.⁵

¹ Methodist Church of New Zealand Conference Minutes, 1912, p.91.
² Executive Committee, 2 October 1919, M.O.M., Committee Minutes; Mission Board, 3 October 1919, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
³ Solomon Islands District Synod, 29 November 1919, M.O.M., Synod Minutes.
⁴ Mission Board, 3-7 February 1920, M.O.M., Board Minutes.
⁵ Methodist Church of Australasia Conference Minutes, 1920, pp.49-50; Methodist Church of New Zealand Conference Minutes, 1920, p.92; M.R., June 1920, p.2; N.Z.M.T., 22 May 1920, p.12.
At the time of the transfer there were ten European missionaries on the staff - four ministers, five Missionary Sisters and one layman. There were also 18 catechists, principally Tongans, and 52 village teachers. In the three circuits - Roviana, Choiseul and Vella Lavella - baptized members totalled 3520 and there were 9768 adherents.\(^1\)

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IN 1920 two delegates of the New Zealand Conference - W.A. Sinclair, the newly appointed Secretary for Foreign Missions, and J.W. Court, a wealthy Auckland businessman and prominent Methodist layman - visited the Solomons to report on the needs of the new mission field. They returned to New Zealand determined to mark the acquisition of the district by a vigorous policy of expansion on Bougainville and Choiseul, and to build up the mission into the best equipped in the Pacific.\(^2\) Indeed, the material equipment and

\(^1\) O.D., June 1922. The European staff was stationed as follows: Kokenggolo - Rev. J.F. Goldie, J.H.L. Waterhouse; Misses G.M. Mansfield, I.M. Stanford, A.I. Olds; Bilua - Rev. A.A. Bensley, Miss E.G. Jennings; Sasamungga - Rev. J.R. Metcalfe, Miss E. McMillan; Panggoe - Rev. V.L. Binet.

\(^2\) N.Z.M.T., 18 December 1920, pp.12-3; Methodist Church of New Zealand, Conference Minutes, 1921, pp.110-2. Among the deputation's recommendations were extensions to the Kokenggolo Training Institution, the provision of a printing press and a portable sawmill, a new and larger mission vessel, additional Missionary Sisters, and European missionaries for Ganongga, the Marovo Lagoon and Ontong Java, as well as six for pioneer work on Bougainville.
efficiency of its Solomons mission became the overriding interest of the New Zealand mission board. Each head station was provided with a launch; Court himself donated large sums for electric light plants at Kokenggolo and Sengga, and for a sawmill and wireless plant - the latter to enable Goldie to sell the mission's copra on the best market.¹

Fundamental to the board's policy was the principle which the 1920 deputation had imbibed from Goldie: that the adoption of Christianity by a people should be accompanied by their mental, moral and physical improvement.² From the time of his arrival in the Solomons Goldie's religious views had steadily evolved from their early Evangelicalism towards a theology which stressed works rather than faith and the temporal world rather than a future salvation. In later years he declared his conviction:

...the Gospel of Jesus Christ is not merely a way of escape from some future hell for some mysterious entity called the soul, but is God's message declaring salvation embracing the whole man - body, mind, and spirit - here and now.³

¹ N.Z.M.T., 18 March 1922, p.4; 1 April 1922, p.13; Goldie to Sinclair, 22 August 1922, M.F.M., Correspondence. This was the first mission-owned wireless station in the Pacific. From the first it was a useless encumbrance; it soon fell into disrepair and was finally destroyed in the bombing of Kokenggolo in the Second World War.

² 'It is the work of our Mission to make the lives of these people richer and fuller....The religion of Jesus Christ, practically applied, is the only power than can save this child race and build it solidly into the Kingdom of God': N.Z.M.T., 15 January 1921, p.12.

³ O.D., March 1940, p.5.
Although Goldie's concept of salvation embraced the religious conversion of individuals, increasingly it came to mean the 'physical and social salvation' of a race. Creed and conduct were inseparably linked; once Christianity had been accepted it was the duty of the missionary to develop the character of his converts and raise them to a new and fuller way of life embodying the Christian principles of 'industry, cleanliness and honesty'. Only then would Christian Melanesians be equipped to withstand the corroding forces of that materialistic European civilization which was beginning to invade the islands.¹

Our native converts will have to meet the changed conditions sooner or later, and the terms on which he meets them, and the result, will largely depend on the strength or weakness of his Christian character. The responsibility is ours - as is the great privilege of so moulding and guiding the young Christian life, correcting defects of character, and so strengthening it, by developing habits of cleanliness, punctuality, self-restraint, honesty, and industry, that changed conditions will not necessarily mean disaster.²

Industrial training was the means chosen to achieve this end, and was regarded by Goldie as an essential part of the mission. Coconut plantations

¹ This is a collation of expositions of Goldie's mission theories in Colwell, op. cit., pp.583-4; Solomon Islands District Synod, 12 November 1909, M.O.M., Synod Minutes; M.R. April 1916, p.17, July 1916, pp. 2-5; Q.D., September 1923, p.1, March 1926, p.11; P.I.M., May 1927, p.34.
² M.R., July 1916, p.4.
were commenced at each head station at an early date: at Kokenggolo 150 acres were planted, while at Bilua, where Nicholson had been an enthusiastic advocate of industrial missions, the mission plantation covered 300 acres. Most of the labour force was drawn from the boys and young men who attended the stations' schools and training colleges. Another 'industrial' activity was technical training. Owing to the lack of qualified instructors this was, in practice, confined to Kokenggolo and consisted principally of the instruction of selected youths in the construction and maintenance of mission buildings and boats.

Although the operation of plantations at the head stations could be defended on the ground that it was, in essence, a 'spiritual' activity, the same could not be said of the mission plantation on the island of Bangga at Roviana which, from 1912 onwards, Goldie developed as a purely commercial enterprise with a

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1 N.Z.M.T., 1 January 1921, p.12. For Nicholson's defence of industrial training see Vella Lavella Circuit Reports, 1920 and 1921, M.O.M., Synod Minutes.
2 The mission's labour force was divided into three classes - young schoolboys who did light work in return for schooling and food; young men training as teachers, whose time was divided between religious studies and the plantation and who were paid according to work done; young men from distant villages who recruited to the mission plantation primarily in order to earn money. These latter were paid 'highest wages according to ruling rates' and were given religious instruction and two hours schooling every morning: N.Z.M.T., 14 April 1923, p.12.
permanent overseer and labour recruited from Malaita. Nearly 500 acres were cleared and planted, but the plantation never produced the profits which Goldie had anticipated. Moreover, both the Australasian and the New Zealand boards were uneasy about the separation of the Bangga plantation from the normal teaching work of the mission, which was in defiance of the accepted theories of industrial training. They also questioned the employment of indentured labour - and that from an island outside the Methodist mission field. Finally, in 1928, the New Zealand board overrode Goldie and made arrangements to sell the plantation. Because of the Depression, this proved impossible. The board therefore unwillingly rescinded its decision and issued debentures, in the hope of developing the plantation into a profitable venture. This measure was moderately successful, and the Bangga plantation continued in operation until the Second World War.

The extension of industrial work and Goldie's emphasis on the value of a large, fully equipped head station led to more and more of the missionaries' time

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1 Solomon Islands District Synod, 9 November 1911, M.O.M., Synod Minutes; Goldie to Danks, 1 August 1912, M.O.M., S.I., Correspondence. Bangga was donated to the mission in 1902 by Captain Nielsen, a pioneer trader in the central Solomons.

2 Mission Board, 2 February 1916, M.O.M., Board Minutes; Sinclair to Goldie, 22 December 1927, M.F.M., Correspondence.

3 Mission Board, 18 July 1928, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.

being taken up with the oversight of the mission plantations, and the slow strangulation of religious work by commercial and administrative activities. Goldie's broad view of the objectives of missionary enterprise was shared by the majority of his colleagues. Nevertheless, by the late 1920s the religious torpor of the Methodist mission, in contrast to the tireless zeal of the recently arrived Seventh-day Adventists, together with Goldie's growing conservatism and dislike of criticism, engendered a strong undercurrent of discontent among the mission staff.

Because the missionaries were separated on their own stations for most of the year, the annual district synod afforded the sole opportunity for a concerted attack on current mission policy. But Goldie, with the skill of an experienced tactician, effectively maintained his control over the deliberations of the synod, and his age and experience encouraged the younger missionaries to defer to his wishes. Nor was his supremacy challenged by the board, which confined itself almost entirely to the raising of money and the provision of staff and equipment for the mission. Seldom did either Sinclair or A.H. Scriven, his

1 E.g., N.Z.M.T., 24 June 1922, p.12; Interview with Rev. J.R. Metcalfe.
2 There were two sessions of synod - the Ministerial and the Representative. Only fully ordained ministers were eligible to sit in the Ministerial Session, although probationer ministers were admitted if they were in charge of a circuit. The Representative Session was attended by all ministers and, from 1927 onwards, by one of the sisters.
successor, overrule Goldie or intervene in the internal workings of the district.\(^1\)

In 1929, while Goldie was in New Zealand as Chairman of the Methodist Conference, the dissension came to a head and the district synod passed 13 resolutions recommending sweeping administrative reforms within the mission and abandonment of several of its subsidiary activities. The most significant resolution was:

That this Synod views with concern many features of our Mission work....It feels that a forward evangelical movement is necessary, and believes the time is opportune for a complete review of Mission policy, and requests the Board to consider whether we are not overburdened by the plantation side of our work.\(^2\)

The 1930 synod, at which Goldie was present, affirmed that 'the spiritual needs of the native are of supreme importance compared with his social, commercial, and political interests', and, at the request of the board, proceeded to list the means by which the religious salvation of the islanders could best be accomplished.

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1 Interviews with Rev. E.C. Leadley and Rev. J.R. Metcalfe. Personal contact between the Solomons mission and the mission board in Auckland was limited to brief and irregular visits to the field by the General Secretary or some other representative (Court and Sinclair in 1920, Court and Scriven in 1927, Sinclair in 1928, Scriven in 1935), and the presence at board meetings of those missionaries who were on leave in New Zealand.

2 Solomon Islands District Synod, 18 November 1929, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports. The synod was attended by 10 of the 20 European ministers and lay missionaries then in the Solomons.
These included biannual visitations by each missionary to every part of his circuit, definite instruction and probation for candidates for baptism, 'inspirational meetings' in the villages, urgently needed translations of Scripture and school lessons, stricter control of village teachers and quarterly refresher courses. The mission's duty to engage in educational work was explicitly recognized, but the curtailment of its trading and commercial activities - in particular the handling of 'native produce' and the operation of licensed trade stores at the head stations - was urged.¹

These submissions were, in one sense, a religious revolt - an orthodox Evangelical criticism of peripheral, non-spiritual activities. At the same time they were, in effect, a thinly veiled criticism of the overall policy of the mission, and Goldie's own methods of work in the Roviana Circuit in particular. As such, they remained a dead letter, for Goldie successfully persuaded Sinclair that the methods advocated by the synod were quite unsuitable for pioneer mission areas and that they were already being carried out, 'to some extent', where the mission was well established.² Thus reassured, the board thankfully shelved further consideration of mission priorities and practice and without its support the united rebellion of the missionaries collapsed.

¹ 'Findings of Mission Synod, 1930', in Mission Board, 27-8 January 1931, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
² Goldie to Sinclair, 3 December 1930, M.F.M., Correspondence.
Only individuals continued in opposition, notably the Rev. F.H. Hayman, Goldie's assistant at Kokenggolo. A trained teacher, he arrived in 1928 determined to reorganize the mission's system of education and to introduce modern techniques and teaching methods into the training college. 1 From the outset he freely criticized many features of Goldie's administration - his outdated approach to education and neglect of translation work - and was openly contemptuous of the Roviana church customs. After a term of office marred by continual discord and much virulent correspondence with the board he resigned in 1933. 2

AFTER discussion with Goldie during their visit to the Solomons in 1920, Court and Sinclair had recommended the establishment of a medical mission - a decision which was subsequently endorsed by the board and the

1 Goldie's reaction to the board's proposal to send Hayman to Fiji to study the Methodist educational work there is revealing - 'We have not much to learn from them as far as I know, and think that the expense would not be warranted, and the visit do more harm than good to a young fellow coming to the field for the first time. What I would like Hayman to do is to make himself quite expert in transmitting and receiving Morse': Goldie to Sinclair, 24 January 1928, M.F.M., Correspondence.

2 Hayman's criticisms and Goldie's complaints are in Goldie to Sinclair, 27 April 1928, 13 July 1928, 6 October 1928, M.F.M., Correspondence; Solomon Islands District Synod, 20-4 November 1928, Kokenggolo Day School Report, 1929, District Training College Report, 1929, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports. See also Mission Board, 1 July 1931, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
New Zealand Conference. Basically, medical missionary work was a logical outcome of Goldie's belief in the social consequences of the Christian gospel and in the task of the missionary as embracing the salvation of both body and soul. Nevertheless, there were traces within the mission of that view which regarded a mission medical service primarily as a means of winning the confidence of the heathen preparatory to their conversion:

In healing the sick, the Medical Missionary means not only to relieve bodily suffering, but to touch responsive chords in darkened hearts, and to win from them appreciation of the Divine Love. The Medical Missionary has a unique opportunity for awakening interest in the Gospel message...His patients are susceptible to his influence.

In accordance with this new policy, the board insisted, as a general rule, that Missionary Sisters, if they were not trained teachers, should possess either nursing qualifications or some hospital experience. From 1922 trained nurses were sent regularly to the mission and small hospitals were operated at the three head stations. In 1927 Dr E.T.

1 N.Z.M.T., 1 January 1921, p.12; Methodist Church of New Zealand Conference Minutes, 1922, p.109. See also O.D., March 1923, p.2.
2 O.D., September 1922, p.3.
3 Of the 20 Missionary Sisters sent to the Solomons between 1922 and 1942, four were teachers, 14 were either nurses or had nursing experience and two appear to have been unqualified.
Sayers, who had offered for mission work while a student at the University of Otago Medical School, arrived to establish a fully equipped central hospital. The decision of the protectorate government to withdraw its doctor at Gizo and subsidize the Methodist medical work aroused strong protests from both the European settlers in the western Solomons, who were unwilling to be driven into a position of dependence on the mission, and the Seventh-day Adventist mission which feared that its adherents, in thus being forced to attend a Methodist hospital, would suffer victimization. An agreement was finally reached, an annual subsidy of £200 together with supplies of essential drugs being granted by the government on condition that a small ward be maintained for Europeans and that islanders be treated irrespective of their creed.  

Sayers was stationed initially at Kokenggolo. In addition to his hospital work he undertook valuable research into Melanesian diseases, founded a small leper colony and embarked on the training of young men and women as village dressers and hospital nurses. The majority of the patients treated were Methodists (most of the remainder being Seventh-day Adventists); about half came from beyond Roviana. In 1928 church members

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1 Mission Board, 25-6 January 1928, 30-1 January 1934, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports. For an account of Seventh-day Adventist medical work in the western Solomons see below.

2 O.D., June 1928, p.5, September 1929, p.3, December 1930, p.3; Hospital Report, 1928-9, 1932-3, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports. Within six months of its opening the hospital was treating an average of 51 out-patients daily; in-patients averaged 21. By 1929 the numbers had increased to 69 and 34 respectively.
of the Roviana Circuit showed their gratitude for the work of the hospital by donating £1000 towards the erection of permanent buildings. However, Sayers's views on village cleanliness and the design of hygienic houses were badly received by the local people and relations between the two deteriorated. Finally, in 1930, while Goldie was absent in New Zealand, a violent dispute led to the removal of Sayers and the nursing sisters to Bilua. Sayers then advocated that the permanent hospital be sited at Bilua, on account of its central position for the whole of the mission field, and the 1930 synod, conscious of the favoured position hitherto enjoyed by the Roviana people, concurred. Goldie disliked the decision but was forced to give way. The completed Helena Goldie Hospital at Bilua was opened in 1933.

1 Mission Board, 18-9 February 1929, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
2 At the 1928 synod Sayers advocated the erection of a 'standard native house' at each of the stations. 'Model villages are being established in several places but many of the villagers still leave much to be desired as far as sanitation, ventilation of the houses, and general cleanliness are concerned. It was resolved to bring this important matter before the chiefs and people at every convenient opportunity': [W.A. Sinclair], 'Report...on his visit to the Solomon Islands Mission, 1928'.
3 Mission Board, 30-1 January 1930, 27-8 January 1931, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports; Goldie to Sinclair, 3 December 1930, M.F.M., Correspondence; Interviews with Rev. John Bitibule (Munda) and Sister Edna White (Auckland).
4 At Bilua the work of the hospital expanded rapidly. In the 12 months, October 1932 - September 1933, 633 in-patients were admitted and 26,639 treatments were given - a daily average of 73: O.D., March 1934, pp.5-6.
A second doctor, C.S. James, was appointed to the mission in 1928 and sent by the district synod to Choiseul where there was no medical service and the health of the people was poor.\(^1\) James was stationed first at Susamungga and later, from 1930, at Sengga where he established a small hospital at the Pango station and concentrated on work in the villages. Soon afterwards a drastic fall in the mission's income compelled revision of the medical policy and the 1930 synod resolved, 'in the interests of co-ordination and economy', that there should be only one base hospital in the district, located at Bilua, and one doctor.\(^3\) Accordingly, James was withdrawn in 1931 and the Sengga hospital was closed.

The inadequacy of the government grants and the proselytizing activities of the Adventist hospital patients led to a move at the 1933 synod to surrender the subsidy and turn the hospital into a purely Methodist institution in which non-Methodists would be charged for treatment.\(^4\) With a remarkable generosity Goldie (successfully) opposed the motion on the ground that 'no matter how our hospitality is abused and advantages taken for unscrupulous propaganda work by

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\(^1\) Sinclair, op. cit.

\(^2\) O.D., March 1931, pp.6-8. During 1930 the mission medical unit on Choiseul gave 60,129 treatments.

\(^3\) N.Z.M.T., 10 January 1931, p.10; Mission Board, 27-8 January 1931, loc. cit.

\(^4\) Solomon Islands District Synod, 1933, extracts from minutes, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports. See also O.D., March 1934, p.8.
the S.D.A. people we dare not refuse to receive and treat any native whether he could pay or not - our common Christianity forbids it.¹

The Depression was meanwhile forcing the mission to consider whether the medical work ought to be relinquished altogether. On the one hand, some retrenchment was obviously necessary and the medical work could easily be transferred to other hands. On the other hand, the government medical service was of indifferent quality and the hospital was central to the work of the mission.² The district synod and Sayers himself supported the first view, the board reluctantly concurred, and in 1934 the Bilua hospital was closed. However, the government's own financial straits prevented the anticipated reopening of its hospital at Gizo,³ and the western Solomons was without a doctor until 1937 when the Seventh-day Adventist mission hospital was commenced on Kolombangara. Until then, treatments were given by a sister at Kokenggolo and by native medical assistants (trained by Sayers) who maintained small hospitals at Sasamungga, Patutiva, Bilua, Mono and at three centres on Bougainville.⁴

With the rise in the income of the board after 1936 it became possible to reestablish the mission's

¹ Mission Board, 30-1 January 1934, loc. cit.
² Ibid.
medical unit on a small scale. A 'Send the Doctor Back' appeal attracted a series of large donations from a wealthy New Zealand Methodist businessman, and in 1938 the hospital was fully reopened with Dr Alan Rutter and two nurses on the staff. Rutter's views on medical missionary work were similar to Goldie's: it was not primarily a method of approach or a bait to attract the uncommitted, but 'an integral part of the gospel of more abundant life which we as a Church have been commissioned to preach.' He continued and extended Sayers's policy of training native nurses and medical assistants and undertook regular tours of New Georgia and Choiseul. The difficult problem of Choiseul, where there was no obvious centre for a base hospital, was solved by establishing three small district hospitals under native orderlies, supervised by an itinerant nursing sister.

The work of the Methodist medical mission in this period resulted in a slow but noticeable rise in the general level of health throughout the mission's

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1 Mission Board, 22 January 1936, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports; O.D., December 1936, pp.9-10.
2 Samuel Gorman of Nelson gave £11,400 of the total £15,200.
3 O.D., June 1941, p.6.
4 O.D., March 1940, pp.5-11; Medical Unit Report, 1940, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
5 Sister Vera Cannon Report, July 1938 - June 1939, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports; N.Z.M.T., 30 December 1939, p.286; O.D., March 1941, p.3. In 1937 the death rate among baptized Methodists on Choiseul was estimated at 42 per 1000: N.Z.M.T., 9 April 1938, p.398.
field of operation. The population decline which had troubled missionaries and government officials in earlier decades was arrested and then reversed.\(^1\) Even on Choiseul, it was noted by a government medical survey in 1940, the standard of health was superior to that in the eastern Solomons.\(^2\) Thousands of injections for yaws resulted in the virtual elimination of the disease. With the extensive use of quinine, the incidence of malaria decreased around Bilua and Roviana,\(^3\) while maternity services and the teaching of mothercraft at the head stations led to a lowering of the infant and maternal mortality rate in the surrounding districts.

Nor did the mission's medical work remain confined to the hospital and the doctor's itinerations. By its training of young women to give injections and simple treatments in the villages it began to bridge the gulf which inevitably existed between a large European institution and the local village community and brought an elementary health service within the reach of many.\(^4\) This produced in turn a new consciousness

\(^1\) O.D., March 1934, pp.6, 12; cf. Colwell, op. cit., p.564, and Mahaffy to H.C., 21 December 1908, encl. in Major to C.O., 11 February 1909 - C.O. 225/85.
\(^2\) Choiseul Circuit Report, 1940, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
\(^3\) E.g., O.D., December 1938, p.14;
\(^4\) By 1941 there were 26 native medical assistants and nurses. Rutter's system of medical training was praised by Groves, 'Report on a Survey of Education in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate', section 5, p.3.
of disease and its prevention, and a readiness to attend the hospital and submit to European remedies.

The Sito affair of 1910 had reinforced Goldie's belief that only the Methodist mission stood between the people of the western Solomons and their exploitation, even destruction, at the hands of traders and government officials. This conviction he transmitted to the New Zealand delegation of 1920, which reported:

He [the missionary] is their natural protector; he champions their rights; he voices their grievances. He is their guide, philosopher, and friend, to whom they turn in their hour of need. On this account he frequently incurs the opposition and hatred of the unscrupulous trader, the avaricious planter, and the unsympathetic Government official.1

The missionaries saw themselves as the sole witnesses in the group to the accepted standards of Christian morality. They therefore denounced those traders who, by freely taking and discarding Melanesian mistresses, flouted the moral code which they were endeavouring to inculcate and enforce among their flock. 'The majority of the white men in the islands are no credit to the race', lamented one Missionary Sister. 'It makes mission work so much harder when the natives see such shocking examples.'2

1 N.Z.M.T., 15 January 1921, p.12.
2 O.D., June 1924, p.11. See also M.R., October 1917, p.5, N.Z.M.T., 7 July 1923, p.12.
Such an attitude, which made no allowance for the lonely life and physical hardships suffered by many of the smaller traders, tended close to pharisaism. Not surprisingly, the traders resented these public condemnations. Their hostility was further aroused by the mission's practice of operating small trading stores at the head stations to supply goods at cost price to teachers and others in mission employ - a restriction which Goldie, at least, did not observe scrupulously.\(^1\) With reference to the situation in the western Solomons one aggrieved trader wrote:

Missionaries live in a little world of their own and I am sure they do not realise what harm they do the white planter and trader by depriving him of his legitimate living. Also, when the native can get something for nothing, or for very little, from the missionary, he naturally thinks he is being taken down by the trader when the latter charges him a price to bring him in a profit....Personally, I think it would be best if the missions were to confine their activities to the work for which they originally came here, that of teaching religion, cleanliness and attending to the sick, etc., and leave trading to those who call it trade.\(^2\)

Goldie, himself a substantial businessman, never damned the entire class of planters and traders.\(^3\) With

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\(^1\) Interview with Rev. J.R. Metcalfe.

\(^2\) P.I.M., April 1932, p.25. The traders' viewpoint on the commercial activities of the Methodist mission is forcefully expressed by Collinson, op. cit., pp.188-93.

\(^3\) Goldie was a kind friend in adversity. When his old rival, Norman Wheatley, was hit by the Depression he paid for the education of his eldest son in New Zealand: interview with K. Wheatley.
some he maintained good relations, and he lamented the gradual elimination of the small independent traders by large trading firms. This advent of a 'godless commercialism', together with the increasing sophistication of the islanders, which manifested itself in a 'love of pleasure' and a 'grasping after material wealth', called, he declared, for 'powers of resistance which only a real spirituality can supply' and created dangers and difficulties greater than those of pioneering days.¹

The mission took even more seriously its chosen role of political protector - as champion of the rights of the islanders against the blunderings and 'oppression' of the protectorate government. Goldie had little confidence in the Resident Commissioners who succeeded Woodford and his relations with Ashley, Commissioner during the thirties, were anything but cordial.²

The most notable collision between the mission, acting on behalf of native interests, and the administration and large commercial firms was occasioned by the Lands' Commission of the early twenties. The Commission, headed first by Captain G. Alexander and then, from 1920 to 1924, by Mr F.B. Phillips, was appointed to enquire into native claims against

¹ O.D., March 1938, p.3; Roviana Circuit Report, 1939, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
² He accused Ashley of being 'very strongly prejudiced against Christian Missions in general' and the Methodist mission in particular: Goldie to Ashley, 29 December 1931, encl. in Ashley to Sinclair, 29 January 1932, M.F.M., Correspondence.
Europeans and the government over coastal lands, principally in the western Solomons and on Malaita, alleged to have been improperly alienated. ¹ Goldie supported the claims of the Roviana people against Levers' ownership of large tracts of land on Kolombangara and at the western end of New Georgia, and succeeded in obtaining the backing of first the Australasian and later the New Zealand mission boards. ² To Goldie's opponents his crusade was motivated neither by zeal for the welfare of the islanders nor by 'any particular enmity' towards Levers, but solely by a desire to restore his personal prestige which, it was alleged, had been waning since the recent imposition of the government poll tax on the inhabitants of the western islands. ³ In fact, it is likely that all three motives were present in some degree; certainly, Goldie's concern for 'native rights' and his interest in the land cases pre-dated the imposition of the government tax in 1920.

¹ Allan, Customary Land Tenure, pp.43-4. See also Gilchrist Alexander, From the Middle Temple to the South Seas (London, 1927), pp.256-7.
² Mission Board, 8-10 April 1919, 4 July 1919, 3-7 February 1920, 5-9 April 1921, 12 August 1921, 31 January - 3 February 1922, M.O.M., Board Minutes; Mission Board, 23 September 1921, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports; Wheen to H.C., 8 July 1919, 20 February 1920, 2 May 1921, Wheen to Goldie, 17 November 1921, 27 February 1922, Wheen to Sinclair, 27 January 1922, M.O.M., Letter Books.
In 1921, New Georgia bangara, led by Gemu and Gumi, petitioned the High Commissioner that Goldie be permitted to act as their official representative in the forthcoming land court. "He has lived with us for twenty years," they wrote, "and we cannot trust another man." The request was declined. Convinced that further negotiations with the local authorities would achieve nothing, Goldie fostered a second petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The politically inexperienced New Zealand board ignored Goldie's request to arouse influential English Methodists to ensure the success of the petition. This too was rebuffed. The bangara then urged the board to grant Goldie leave to visit England in order to lay their claims before the Colonial Office. The board agreed, provided that a satisfactory settlement could not be reached locally. It also resolved that the aid of leading Methodist members of the House of Commons and the International Missionary Council in London be enlisted, if necessary, to secure 'justice' for the natives. This extreme action was rendered less urgent

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1 Letter of Gemu, Gumi and 29 'Landowners and Chiefs of New Georgia' to the 'Great Chief of the Solomon Islands', encl. in Wheen to H.C., 2 May 1921, loc.cit.
2 Wheen to Goldie, 24 August 1921, M.O.M., Letter Books.
3 Goldie to Sinclair, 7 March 1922, 3 June 1922, M.F.M., Correspondence. The Seventh-day Adventist mission, which was currently engaged in a land dispute with the Methodists (see below, pp.438-9) expressed pleasure at the failure of the petition: A.R., 7 August 1922, p.4.
4 N.Z.M.T., 2 September 1922, p.12; Mission Board, 14 August 1922, 24-5 January 1923, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports. The New Georgia claimants, who were to assist in financing the trip, entrusted Goldie with over £1000 to use in their interests: interview with Rev. J.R. Metcalfe.
when the Resident Commissioner announced a compromise acceptable to the petitioners: that Goldie would be permitted to conduct their case through the official appointed as native representative. ¹

When the court hearings for the disputed New Georgia land finally began in 1923 Goldie played a prominent, though unofficial part in the proceedings. In addition to giving evidence on behalf of the native claimants, he assisted the witnesses in presenting their case and stiffened their resistance to any suggestion of a compromise settlement. His efforts were in vain: the Lands' Commissioner adjudged as unsatisfactory much of the evidence brought forward by Gemu, Gumi and their supporters and confirmed Levers in their possession of the greater part of the land in question. ² Goldie reluctantly accepted the judicial decisions and took the matter no further.

Although the mission-supported native victory which had been confidently anticipated did not eventuate, ³ the land cases illustrated beyond doubt the confidence which the people of New Georgia - pagan and Christian alike - had in Goldie, and sealed his position as the most influential European in the western Solomons.

¹ Goldie to Sinclair, 15 January 1923, M.F.M., Correspondence.
² Allan, Customary Land Tenure, pp.44, 97-8. The final settlement is in Western Pacific High Commission Gazette, 11 February 1926, pp.10-2. Of the 200,000 acres in dispute, 45,000 acres were declared to be occupied native land and handed back to the owners.
³ N.Z.M.T., 2 June 1923, p.12; Goldie to Sinclair, 28 September 1923, M.F.M., Correspondence.
This was recognized by the government in 1927 when it nominated him to a seat in the Advisory Council, a position he held for a three year term. If this mark of official favour was intended to soften Goldie's criticism of much official policy, it was unsuccessful; he remained an uncompromising critic of those acts of the administration which he considered oppressive or unfair. For instance, in 1934 Ashley increased the native poll and dog taxes, regardless of the fact that owing to the virtual collapse of the copra market scarcely any money was available. A localized agitation against the whole institution of the poll tax resulted in the imprisonment at Gizo of a number of New Georgia natives. This action provoked Goldie to personal intervention on behalf of the aggrieved islanders and elicited a strong protest from the district synod. 1

This incident led Goldie to reflect again on the desirability of a mission liaison in London which could deal immediately with such problems at the highest level:

What the Administration is afraid of is publicity, and if we could get in touch with some people who would really take a deep interest in the welfare of the native race, and either make influential representations to the Colonial Office, or if that failed take such matters up in Parliament, we would get justice done. 2


2 Goldie to Scriven, 10 May 1935, M.F.M., Correspondence.
But this vision of a London branch of the mission never materialized.

Relations with the district administration varied according to the attitude of the local officials. Some, like Captain A. Middenway at Gizo (who married a Missionary Sister)¹ and A.N.A. Waddell, the first District Officer on Choiseul, accepted the fact of an all-pervasive mission influence and endeavoured, whenever possible, to work through or in conjunction with existing church institutions and officers.² Others, like the unfortunate Hill, found this de facto dependence on the mission intolerable. Their attempts to redress the balance were often implemented unwisely, giving rise to complaints—often justified—of arbitrary action, destruction of mission property, harsh treatment of native teachers, refusal to cooperate with the missionaries and clumsy attempts to undermine their influence.³ While the government of the western Solomons comprised a handful of (mainly short-term) officials at Gizo, maintained no medical service or schools and was, in practice, largely dependent on the Methodist and Adventist missions, through their teachers and church discipline, for the day-to-day maintenance of order, it was scarcely in a position to embark on a power struggle,

¹ Middenway was D.O. at Gizo, 1924-34. He married Sister F. Jennings, in 1924.
² There is a tribute to Waddell's work on Choiseul in O.D., September 1942, pp.10-1.
³ E.g., Solomon Islands District Synod, 20 November 1912, 8 December 1920, 10 November 1921, M.O.M., Synod Minutes; R.Z.M.T., 23 April 1921, p.12; Wheen to E.C., 2 May 1921, loc. cit.
least of all with a man like Goldie who was prepared to fight every inch of the way. Despite differences over policy, personal antagonisms and rumblings of official discontent, the Methodist mission remained the dominant European influence in the area, and the description of the pre-war western Solomons as a 'missionary administration', is not unjustified.

AFTER 1922 the mission's educational system altered little in structure, though there was a steady improvement in the quality of teaching given. In each mission village there was a 'primary' school. These were often of a poor standard, but by 1926 they were sufficiently widespread for Goldie to claim, with only slight exaggeration, that 'there is not a child or young person in the whole of the New Georgia Group of Islands...who cannot read and write.' Large schools were also maintained at each head station for boys and girls from the neighbouring villages. The educational work at Kokenggolo was the best in the mission, owing to the presence of a full-time headmaster and one or two Missionary Sisters who were also trained teachers. In 1941 there were nearly 250 children in the main school and over 150 in the kindergarten. Ten Melanesian teachers assisted the European staff.

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1 Burnett, op. cit., p.140.
2 O.D., March 1926, p.11.
3 N.Z.M.T., 14 June 1941, p.58. The kindergarten - the only one in the Solomons - was begun by Sister Lina Jones in 1925.
At each Sisters' Home lived a small group of girls who were taught domestic crafts, sewing and child-care. Goldie strongly urged the establishment of a central girls' boarding school, but shortage of funds and the opposition of the other missionaries, who believed such a project to be premature and impracticable, caused the scheme to be delayed indefinitely. 1

For those boys who wished to become teachers a more advanced education was available. This was provided by Circuit Training Institutions at Bilua and Sasamungga, and the District Training Institution at Kokenggolo, which both served the Roviana Circuit and drew the more promising youths from all parts of the mission district. With the growth of the mission and an increasing demand for teachers, particularly in Bougainville, the roll rose steadily and in 1940 there were 72 students. 2

After a three year course of instruction, covering a wide range of religious and practical subjects, the young teachers were appointed to a village school, usually on their own island though seldom in their home district. During the thirties a few entered government

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2 The educational standard of the circuit institutions was only slightly superior to that of the village schools: N.Z.M.T., 16 January 1937, p.302.

3 O.D., September 1940, p.13.
service as clerks, or were sent to Fiji to train as Native Medical Practitioners. Among the latter were the two sons of Norman Wheatley (who had died in 1930), and John Wesley Kere, who graduated with distinction from the Suva Medical School in 1941. Later, students from Kokenggolo were taken by the government for training as wireless operators or agriculturalists.

W.C. Groves, the educationalist, who inspected Kokenggolo in 1939, commended the efficient organization and 'comparatively high' academic standard of the training college and praised the kindergarten section as 'the best of all the school work I have seen in the Protectorate.' Although the position of Kokenggolo as the 'Educational Centre of the Solomons' was, in fact, due principally to the ability and enthusiasm of his subordinates, Goldie hailed the tributes of outsiders as a further vindication of the wisdom of the policy he had applied since the inception of the mission:

...we have always realised that a Christian Church cannot be built and flourish on uninstructed savagery. The Gospel of Christ

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1 In 1934 it was observed that all Solomon Islands clerks in government service were products of Methodist mission schools: B.S.I.P., Minutes of Education Conference, 5 February 1934, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
4 Groves, op. cit., section 3, pp.9-10; O.D., September 1940, p.4.
5 O.D., March 1937, p.11.
is essentially a teaching ministry - the gradual widening of their mental horizon must accompany the spiritual progress of heathen people if the Gospel is to mean anything to them.¹

This elaborate system of education was maintained by the mission with only minimal government assistance. In the late twenties the Resident Commissioner made small annual grants for 'technical education',² but there was no move towards formal educational cooperation until 1938 when Ashley introduced a scheme by which senior schools in the protectorate would receive a limited grant-in-aid together with remission of students' poll-taxes provided pupils reached a set standard within a prescribed scholastic curriculum. By this, the Methodist mission was eligible to receive an annual sum of £500.³ The plan was later criticized by Groves as 'educationally unsound, and unsuited to local conditions',⁴ and it was discontinued after two years of operation. Negotiations for an alternative, more suitable scheme, in accordance with Groves's recommendations, were proceeding when the Pacific war brought both government and mission activities to a halt.

¹ O.D., March 1939, p.6. See also Goldie's comments on Groves's report: O.D., June 1940, p.1.
² B.S.T.P. Report, 1925-6, p.8, 1926-7, p.8. The Methodist mission was given an educational grant of £50 p.a. from 1926 until 1930 when the allocation was discontinued.
³ N.Z.M.T., 17 December 1938, p.270; O.D., March 1939, p.10.
⁴ Groves, op. cit., section 5, p.2.
In the light of Goldie's conviction that missionary work involved not only the religious conversion of a people but also the development of their character and mental powers, his reluctance to entrust any real administrative responsibility to native teachers or senior church members is surprising. He placed much emphasis on self-support and self-propagation within the Solomon Islands church, scarcely any on self-government, despite the fact that many of the early Roviana Christians were men of high qualities and considerable powers of leadership. Over the years he raised a handful of teachers to the status of catechist - among them his close friend, Boaz Sunga, a son of Gumi - but it was not until 1938 that a Solomon Islander, Belshazzar Gina, was ordained to the Native Ministry, itself a special category within the Methodist ministry.

On several occasions the New Zealand board, perhaps aware that its mission in the Solomons was lagging behind other Pacific Methodist missions in this matter, felt misgivings about Goldie's cautious policy and issued directives for discussion of such questions as a 'Constitution for the Native Church' and the training of 'selected natives' for ordination to the ministry. But neither Goldie nor the other missionaries ever seriously considered these proposals, and the board

1 O.D., March 1940, p.4.
2 O.D., March 1939, pp.1-2. A second Solomon Islander, Nathan Kera, was ordained in 1942.
did not feel strongly enough about the principles involved to press the issue.¹

For this conservatism of the Methodist mission, in contrast to the practice of the other Protestant missions in the Solomon Islands, three reasons may be offered. In the first place, Methodists regarded ordination not as the bestowal of a special priestly function but as a recognition of status and responsibility.² Teachers did not require ordination for their duty of preaching, while the sacraments were given little importance by Goldie and his colleagues. For many years Holy Communion was celebrated only once a year – at synod, for the assembled Europeans – and it was only in the thirties that some missionaries began to admit teachers and other carefully selected islanders to the service.³ Thus, unlike the Melanesian Mission which was virtually compelled to ordain large numbers of Solomon Islanders in order to ensure the regular administration of Holy Communion and other sacraments in the villages, an indigenous ministry was never forced on the Methodists as a practical necessity.

Secondly, Goldie deliberately demanded a high standard of education as a prerequisite for ordination. The door to the Native Ministry should, he asserted, be 'jealously guarded'; consequently, he demanded a

¹ Mission Board, 28 February - 1 March 1927, 22 September 1932, 19-4 February 1933, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
³ For details see below, p.531.
full reading course, in English, with examinations for local candidates.\(^1\) Such a standard precluded the ordination of senior teachers who had given faithful service but whose level of education was low - a practice followed in some other Methodist missions and also by the Seventh-day Adventists.\(^2\) It is significant that Gina, the first minister, was educated in New Zealand, partly at Goldie's personal expense.

Finally, although Goldie paid lip-service to modern theories of mission work,\(^3\) he never grasped their full implications; nor did he discard those views current when he first went to the Solomons, which tended to regard the European missionary as a permanent institution and the creation of a self-governing church as a matter of no urgency. These were reinforced by his authoritarian personality and inclination to paternalism: he always enjoyed the concentration of power in his own hands and disliked sharing with others, let alone committing to them entirely, the responsibility for making major decisions.

\(^1\) Goldie to Scriven, 14 September 1937, 29 November 1938, M.F.M., Correspondence.
\(^2\) According to Metcalfe, Goldie refused to consider the suggestion that Stephen Gandapeta, the senior mission teacher on Choiseul, be ordained.
\(^3\) At a missionary meeting in Auckland in 1927 he described the mission's objective as a 'self-directing and self-supporting Church in the Solomons in the near future': N.Z.M.T., 26 March 1927, p.14. The same view is expressed in Goldie to Scriven, 10 December 1940, M.F.M., Correspondence.
MATERIALLY, the Solomon Islands mission benefited from its transfer to the Methodist Church of New Zealand. Within five years the European staff had doubled in size,¹ and New Zealand Methodists gave enthusiastic support to distinctive projects such as the medical mission. However, finance remained a constant problem. Largely as a result of the Depression the income from the New Zealand church seldom kept pace with the demands of the mission,² while the vicissitudes of the copra market during these years played havoc with the generous contributions of the Solomons church members.³

For the mission, the two decades after 1920 were a period of transition during which it began to pass out of the pioneer stage, in which all its adherents were first-generation converts, to assume some of the characteristics of an organized institutional church.

The 1930s saw a breakdown in the unofficial agreement made with the Melanesian Mission in 1907 to confine the work of the Methodist mission west of the

¹ By 1927 there were eight ministers, nine sisters and two laymen on the staff of the mission. During the Depression the number of missionaries was reduced to ten, but by 1941 it had risen again to 17 - seven ministers (three on Bougainville), nine sisters and one layman.

² From 1920 onwards the missionary contributions of New Zealand church members averaged £12,000 p.a. Over-expenditure and the Depression led to a deficit of £16,000 in 1931; by 1941 this had been reduced to £4000.

³ Income from the Solomons (mission collections and the sale of plantation produce) amounted in 1916 to £511; 1922 - £1843, 1928 - £4955, 1934 - £1126, 1937 - £3439, 1941 - £1155.
Manning Strait. This was due to two factors: the growing mobility of young Solomon Islanders, which led to a minor Methodist 'diaspora' \(^1\) and denominational pride which made it difficult to turn down persistent and apparently genuine requests for assistance. From 1926 onwards petitions for a Methodist teacher were received regularly from Aola on Guadalcanal. Many of those labourers who had been converted by the Wesleyans in Fiji had come from this locality. However, the invitations had not emanated from them (most of whom had joined either the Melanesian Mission or the S.S.E.M. on returning to their homes), nor from their descendants, but from the inhabitants of a pagan village who had hitherto resisted approaches from the three missions working in the district. Their desire for the Methodist mission had been induced, so they said, by young men from the western Solomons employed at the adjacent government station. Goldie initially refused the request and attempted without success to persuade the petitioners to accept a teacher from one of the local missions. Finally in 1936 the district synod gave way and agreed to regard the persistent invitations as a 'call of God'. \(^2\) A teacher sent to Aola in 1938 achieved considerable local success, and despite Goldie's assurances to Bishop Baddeley and to the S.S.E.M. that the teacher was for one village only and that the

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\(^1\) From the 1920s onwards a number of youths from Roviana and other parts of the New Georgia group entered government or private service as clerks, policemen or seamen, before the war there was a small Methodist 'colony' at Tulagi.

\(^2\) Solomon Islands District Synod. 22 October 1936. M.E.M. Minutes and Reports.
Methodist mission did not intend to encroach on the territory of the other missions, it subsequently proved impossible to prevent Methodist expansion inland. Goldie always viewed the extension of the mission to Aola as a special case, not as an example to be followed, and he firmly rejected a similar request for a teacher received in 1939 from Auki on Malaita.¹

The arrival of the Seventh-day Adventist mission in 1914 had ended hopes that New Georgia and Vella Lavella, if not Choiseul, might eventually be united by the possession of a common religious faith, as were Nggela and Ysabel. Many villages which for various reasons had resisted the Methodists were persuaded to accept Adventist teachers.² The efforts of the two missions, competing for souls rather than working in harmony, assisted by peaceful conditions and the islanders' growing awareness of the value of education in the world of the white man resulted in the virtual disappearance of active paganism from New Georgia and Vella Lavella by the mid-twenties. After 1934, when the last pagan village on Choiseul received a Methodist teacher,³ the entire population of the western Solomons, which numbered about 13,000, could be regarded as being under direct mission influence.

² For a discussion of relations between the Methodist and Adventist missions see below, pp.44-40.
³ W.Z.M.T., 12 April 1935, p.10.
It is difficult to gauge the extent to which the distinctive character of western Solomons society at this point was a product of Methodist teachings and attitudes. Certainly, the region was sharply distinguished from other parts of the group. Economic independence was the rule; few young men recruited for work on the local plantations. Owing to their abundant coconut groves, the people of New Georgia, in particular, were prosperous and economically advanced. To Groves, the region was characterized by 'a general air of satisfaction with life - a certain smugness, and of successful adjustment to European contact and culture-change,'

Although the spiritual life of the Methodist flock was not all that the missionaries would desire - attendances at Class Meetings were declining and the 1938 synod prepared a Pastoral Letter on 'certain aspects of morality' to be read in all churches - the mission continued to dominate considerable sectors of western Solomons life. Its adherents, approximately three-quarters of the total population, were dispersed fairly evenly over the entire district. On New Georgia the Roviana Lagoon, under the supervision of the mission headquarters at Kokenggolo, was staunchly Methodist; the Marovo Lagoon was divided almost evenly

2 Goldie to Scriven, 29 November 1938; M.F.M. Correspondence. 'For obvious reasons' the letter was not quoted in the synod minutes sent to the mission board.
between the two missions. With the exception of a group of Adventist villages at Doveli, the whole of Vella Lavella was under Methodist influence. Likewise, Canongga and Simbo were Methodist with small Adventist enclaves. The majority of the inhabitants of Choiseul were attached to the Methodist mission, though there was a large Adventist minority concentrated at the southern end of the island and a few Roman Catholics in the north. Apart from Methodist villages on Mono and Fauro, the sparsely populated islands of the Bougainville Strait were Roman Catholic. In 1941 the Methodist population of the Roviana, Vella Lavella and Choiseul Circuits totalled 9548. There were four European and two 'native' ministers, a doctor, seven Missionary Sisters and 95 catechists and teachers. 

1 In 1925 there were 11 Methodist villages in the Marovo Lagoon with about 700 baptized members, out of a total population of 1400: O.D., September 1925, p.2. 

2 In 1938 the population of Choiseul was about 4000, of whom 2848 were Methodists: N.Z.M.T., 31 December 1938, p.286. 

3 Methodist Church of New Zealand Conference Minutes, 1942, p.114. In addition, there were 8019 adherents in the Bougainville - Buka Circuit (separated from the Roviana Circuit in 1931). The European staff was distributed thus: Roviana - Revs. J.F. Goldie and E.C. Leadley, Misses E. Harkness, L. Jones, G. McDonald; Choiseul - Rev. J.R. Metcalfe, Misses V. Cannon and E. McMillan; Vella Lavella - Rev. A.W.E. Silvester, Dr A.G. Rutter, Misses M.S. Farland and D.J. Whitehouse. The Native Ministers were Gina on Simbo and Paul Havea, a Tongan ordained in 1938, who was stationed at Patutiva in the Marovo Lagoon.
The Solomon Islands Methodist mission provides a rare example of a mission founded and then led for nearly half a century by one man. Consequently, it is possible to detect beneath the major events and skirmishes of its first 40 years an underlying unity, the person and character of Goldie, enabling a lengthy and perhaps disjointed chronicle to be viewed as a whole. Although years of residence on their own stations gave individual missionaries unrivalled knowledge of local conditions and earned them the affection of their converts, none approached the position which Goldie occupied in relation to the people of Roviana. He knew and understood them as no European had ever done; he fought the government on their behalf, provided them with schools and a medical service, and supplied occasions for feasting and amusement at the mission station. Most of all, he provided them with a figure to look up to, a leader on the pattern of a great bangara like Ingava to whom they could turn in a time of rapid and disturbing social change. In return, the Roviana people bestowed on Goldie their love and loyalty, and revered him almost to the point of idolatry. Moreover, through his position as chairman of the mission his personal influence extended far beyond the confines of the Roviana Lagoon. Missionaries came and went; Goldie alone remained, extinguishing rebellion within the mission and repelling attacks from

1 Goldie remained Chairman of the Solomon Islands Mission District until 1951 when he retired to Australia. He died in 1954.
without, his prestige waxing with the passing of years, so that European observers, cynically but not inaccurately, dubbed him 'King of the western Solomons'. Those policies and activities which distinguished the Methodist mission from other missions in the Solomons - its extensive commercial and plantation interests, the efficient medical mission, the emphasis on education, the orientation of church life towards large central stations and a paternalistic attitude towards the Melanesian converts - all were either direct implementations of Goldie's principles of mission work or had their roots within his character and temperament. Autocratic, egocentric, materialistic, an implacable controversialist when aroused, yet kindly, able and dominated by a passionate concern for the welfare - economic, intellectual, physical and religious - of the people of the western Solomons, he left an indelible mark on the mission he founded.
PROTESTANT MISSIONS
IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS
1849 - 1942

by
D.L. HILLIARD

VOLUME II
THE SOUTH SEA EVANGELICAL MISSION

THE Solomon Islands were visited regularly by recruiting vessels from 1870 onwards, but it was not until the eighties that the group became a major source of labour for the cane fields of Fiji and Queensland. During the period of the labour trade an estimated 15,000 Solomon Islanders were imported into Queensland alone.¹ A high proportion of these, perhaps three quarters, were drawn from Malaita where the population was large, anchorages and harbours abounded and young men could be obtained without difficulty. Despite the popularity of Malaita as a recruiting ground the operation was not free of danger; attacks on labour vessels - chiefly for plunder - were common, and recruiters went ashore only if well armed.²

Although some of those labourers brought to Queensland from the Loyalty group, the New Hebrides, and the Banks and Solomon Islands had been connected with the London Missionary Society, the Presbyterian mission or the Melanesian Mission respectively, the vast majority were listed as heathen.³ The churches

¹ Parnaby, Britain and the Labor Trade in the Southwest Pacific, p.203.
² The most notorious attacks were those on the Borealis at Uru in 1880, the Janet Stewart at Kwai in 1882 and the Young Dick at Sinarango in 1886: Rannie, My Adventures among South Sea Cannibals, pp.195 ff, and Woodford, A Naturalist among the Head-Hunters, pp.15-6.
³ Parnaby, op. cit., p.150.
of Queensland, preoccupied with the problems of establishing themselves in a vast and rapidly growing colony, and embarrassed by the magnitude of their new evangelistic task, were inclined to pass off the responsibility of Christianizing the Melanesian labourers to those mission bodies already working in the islands. However, both the London Missionary Society and the Melanesian Mission declined requests to send teachers to the Queensland plantations - the former on the ground that it would imply approval of the labour trade; the latter for practical reasons.  

During the sixties and seventies a few islanders attended English church services, but no formal missionary work was undertaken on the plantations. Indeed, it was this absence of any attempt to evangelize and educate the labourers in Queensland, and the habits of drinking, swearing and gambling which many acquired there, that formed a principal complaint of the missionaries in the islands against the labour trade as then carried on. Finally, individual Christians found the apathy of the churches intolerable and took matters into their own hands.

Of these, the best known and most successful was Florence S.H. Young, a wealthy spinster and member of a prominent Plymouth Brethren family.  

A single-minded,  

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1 Ibid., p.152. For the attitude of the Melanesian Mission towards the labour trade in general and its policy with regard to schools for labourers on the plantations see chapters III and IV.  

2 She was born in 1856 at Motueka, New Zealand. The events of her early life in New Zealand and England are recounted in her autobiography, Pearls from the Pacific (London [1926]), pp.11-36.
strong willed personality with a buoyant Evangelical faith and assurance of the will of God, she was one of that army of emancipated women whose crusading instincts found an outlet in religious cause, Tractarian and Protestant, in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1882, while staying with her two brothers, Ernest and Horace Young, on their sugar plantation at Fairymead near Bundaberg, she recalled:

...God brought me for the first time into contact with men and women who had never heard of Christ, and for whom nothing was being done to teach them the way of salvation. And it seemed dreadful.

Possessing both leisure and opportunity for evangelistic work she immediately commenced a Sunday class for the labourers on the estate, with the Bible as textbook and pidgin-English as the medium of instruction. By learning selected scriptural texts by heart many islanders achieved a sufficient knowledge of English to be able to read the Bible for themselves. The school flourished, classes were increased and in 1885 the first convert was baptized. In the following year the work was placed on a permanent basis by the foundation of the Queensland Kanaka Mission. Led by Miss Young and employing a full-time evangelist, the mission soon extended its activities to other plantations in the Bundaberg district where one quarter of the colony's 10,000 labourers were employed.

1 Young, Pearls from the Pacific, pp.38-9.
In organization and doctrine the Q.K.M. was an undenominational Evangelical mission, one of many which sprang up in the late nineteenth century following the foundation of the first such society, the China Inland Mission (C.I.M.), in 1865. Both in the circumstances of their foundation and in their methods of operation these missions had much in common, while in their principles and policies they tended to differ markedly from those favoured elsewhere in the Protestant world.

All were founded by one person, or by two or three at the most, of strong character and intense faith, 'burdened' by the apparent spiritual destitution of the pagan inhabitants of a particular area who were unreached by the existing missionary societies. If these would not enter the unoccupied field it was felt that the only possible course was to found a new mission for that purpose.¹ Thus the sense of the need of the inland provinces of China where no Protestant missionaries were at work drove Hudson Taylor to found the C.I.M., and in a similar manner Florence Young began the Q.K.M. to evangelize the colony's neglected Pacific island labourers.

Secondly, in its theology each mission maintained an uncompromisingly Evangelical position, its doctrines centred upon the plenary and literal inspiration of Scripture. Baptism, by immersion, was administered only to adult believers. A doctrinal standard

corresponding roughly to the 'fundamentalist' articles of faith was enforced, acceptance of which was regarded as a necessary qualification for a missionary. ¹

In the third place, each mission was a 'voluntary union of members of varying denominations agreeing to band themselves together' for a specific purpose. ² This was a logical consequence of the Evangelical belief in the invisible nature of the church, the visible church and its denominations being human organizations which should not prevent manifestation of that spiritual fellowship which existed between all true believers.

Fourthly, because of their undenominational nature none of the missions received support from any one church or congregation; rather, they were dependent upon the gifts of individual sympathizers, often from several countries. The majority refused to advertize their needs in any way and made no direct appeal for funds, on the ground that God could be trusted to provide fully for His work. This principle had originated from Hudson Taylor's conviction that the C.I.M. ought not consciously to divert support from existing missions and was reinforced by his personal study of Christ's teaching on Providence in the sixth chapter of St Matthew's Gospel. ³ The example of George Müller who had received

¹ Ibid., p.498.
huge sums in unsolicited contributions for the Orphan Homes he founded in Bristol also had far-reaching influence; during a visit to Sydney in 1886 he gave the first donation to the new Q.K.M. ¹

Again, the undenominational missions provided an opportunity for laymen of little education to do missionary work. The early missionary ideal of the 'godly mechanic' had but a short life, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the established missions were tending to become professionalized, consisting largely of ordained ministers with laymen usually employed only in positions of minor responsibility or in their professional capacity as doctors or teachers. In contrast, the new missions were founded and staffed entirely by laymen and, in the absence of highly trained workers, accepted men and women of 'moderate ability and limited attainments'. They were thus able to draw upon a hitherto largely untapped source of labour, and they absorbed many of those who offered themselves for missionary work following the evangelistic campaigns of Moody and Sankey and other revivalists at the close of the century. ²

Finally, there was in all the undenominational missions a marked emphasis on evangelization. The conviction that the Christian Gospel must at all costs be brought to those who were without it had been responsible for the foundation of this type of mission

¹ Young, op. cit., p.43.
in the first place. Once in operation the basic principle was faithfully followed, and no educational, medical or social work was permitted to approach in importance or overshadow the essential religious duty. Within the Q.K.M., this was succinctly summed up in the dictum, 'salvation before education or civilization'. In addition, most missions, following the example of the C.I.M., saw their principal function as the proclamation of the Christian message over as wide an area as possible. Although the gathering of converts and the guidance of young churches were undertaken, these activities were usually committed as early as possible into the hands of the indigenous Christians, leaving the European missionaries free for further evangelistic work. This enthusiasm and note of urgency arose partly out of a belief in the impending return of Christ, endemic in Evangelical circles and associated with the notion that the sooner every people and tongue heard the Gospel the sooner the Lord would appear.

At first, the staff of the Q.K.M. was small and its influence restricted. Besides Miss Young, who was assisted by members of her family, there were two married couples, both stationed in the Bundaberg district, who visited the local plantations on weeknights.

1 Grubb, op. cit., p.499.
2 Young, op. cit., p.39.
4 Grubb, op. cit., p.500.
to conduct classes and who held services in mission halls on Sundays.\(^1\) In 1890 Miss Young, under the influence of Hudson Taylor, was led to offer herself for the C.I.M. and left the struggling Q.K.M. in the charge of her sister-in-law. She remained in the C.I.M. until the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, when she returned to Australia to direct the mission she had founded.

When Miss Young left for China in 1891 the cessation of the system of imported Pacific island labour appeared imminent.\(^2\) In the following year, however, the Queensland government extended recruiting for a further ten years. The mission interpreted this legislation as a sign that God was 'owning His work'.\(^3\) In the decade after 1892 nearly 15,000 islanders were imported into Queensland, about half of whom were from the Solomons.\(^4\) During this period some interest was taken in the physical and religious welfare of the labourers. A mission was commenced at Mackay by the Presbyterian Church of Queensland, the Melanesian Mission rounded its Queensland 'branch', and the Q.K.M. extended its operations to all remaining parts of the cane fields.

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1 The first two missionaries were A.E. Eustace from Victoria and C.F. Johnston, a Swede with experience of mission work in the Congo.
2 Young, op. cit., p.54. For the evolution of Queensland government policy towards the recruitment of Pacific island labour during these years see Willard, *History of the White Australia Policy*, pp.172-82.
3 Q.K.M. Report, 1891-2, p.3.
4 Between 1892 and 1904 7693 Solomon Islanders were imported into Queensland: Parnaby, op. cit., p.203.
By 1900 there was a paid mission staff of 12 working from 11 separate centres.\(^1\)

Among the labourers 'schools' were popular wherever they were established, and many of those who attended the mission's Bible classes accepted Christianity. A keen desire to learn reading and writing was a powerful motive for attendance, and the islanders purchased hundreds of copies of the New Testament and Sankey's Hymn Book, the only literature freely available.\(^2\) Moreover, separated from their families and home influences and bewildered by their new way of life, the islanders responded readily to the personal interest and teaching of the missionaries.\(^3\) A high standard of conduct and verbal testimony was demanded before baptism was administered, the candidates normally being examined publicly before the local Protestant ministers.\(^4\)

Although this method of converting individuals displaced from their traditional social environment produced rapid results, its weakness was apparent when the labourers' terms expired and they were returned to their homes. Because the Q.K.M. saw its task as supplementing the work of the older missionary agencies

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\(^1\) Young, op. cit., pp.127-8.
\(^2\) Q.K.M. Report, 1888-9, pp.5-6. Rannie was surely over generous when he praised the efforts of the Q.K.M. to give the islanders a 'sound liberal secular education': My Adventures among South Sea Cannibals, p.209.
\(^3\) Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, p.179.
\(^4\) Q.K.M. Report, 1888-9, pp.4-5.
it usually supplied its converts with a letter accrediting them to whatever Protestant mission was working on their own islands.\(^1\) This was a satisfactory working arrangement for most of the New Hebrideans, who were absorbed either by the Presbyterian mission in the southern islands or by the Melanesian Mission in the north. However, it was of little use to the Solomon Islanders from Malaita and Guadalcanal, where the traditional religion was strong and the influence of the Melanesian Mission was confined to a few tiny enclaves. In the face of overwhelming opposition the great majority of converted labourers from these islands abandoned Christianity along with their European clothes and resumed their former religious practices. Many found life in the islands dangerous and uncomfortable after the security they had come to enjoy in Queensland and recruited for a second or third term. Others, more zealous and less easily discouraged, attempted to convert their families and friends; indeed, instances are recorded of labourers leaving Queensland with stores and teaching materials intending to found schools in their own villages.\(^2\) Invariably they found it difficult, if not impossible, to gain a hearing and with only few exceptions their ventures were short-lived.\(^3\)

The most successful of these evangelists was Peter Ambuofa, the son of a bush chief in north Malaita, who

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\(^1\) Q.K.M. Report, 1893-4, p.6.
\(^2\) E.g., N.I.V., 1898-9, p.8.
\(^3\) M.M. Report and I.V., 1895, p.xii; N.T.V., 1901-2, pp.5-6.
was baptized at Bundaberg in 1892. Two years later, on the expiry of his term of engagement, he was returned to Malu'u, near his birthplace. For several years he lived alone on the shore, ostracized and persecuted by his neighbours. The flourishing state of his gardens when others were suffering from drought eventually turned the tide in his favour. Women and children began to come to him for teaching, and with the support of other converted labourers from the Malu'u district he succeeded in forming a small Christian village. ¹ He then sent messages by visiting recruiting vessels to the Q.K.M. appealing for a European missionary to lead and teach the flock he had gathered together, but the mission, convinced that its sphere of work lay in Queensland and there alone, declined the requests.

Others were less cautious. In 1900 Charles B. Pillans, an itinerant evangelist who had worked in Queensland, made his way to Malaita, unsupported by any missionary society and with scanty equipment and provisions. He died of malaria and privation soon after his arrival at Malu'u. ² A second attempt two years later by two independent missionaries, Frederick Schwieger and Joseph Watkinson, also ended in disaster. Schwieger died within a few months and his companion,

¹ N.I.V., 1897-8, pp.7-8, 1903-4, pp.6-7. See also Hogbin, op. cit., p.180.
² N.I.V., 1899-1900, pp.10-1. His companion, Richard Ruddell, who reached Malu'u shortly afterwards, returned to Australia and joined the staff of the Q.K.M.
seriously ill, was despatched by Woodford to Australia with instructions not to return unless supported by an organized mission body.\footnote{\textit{V.I.V.}, 1902-3, p.21.} 

The Melanesian Mission welcomed Ambuof'a's success, with its promise of an opening in a district hitherto firmly closed to Christian influences. The Southern Cross called at Malu'u in 1895 and on several later occasions.\footnote{\textit{M.M. Report and I.V.}, 1895, pp.xliiv-v; \textit{S.C.L.}, January 1902, pp.164-5; \textit{August 1902}, p.44. The Melanesian Mission also rendered considerable assistance to Pillans and Ruddell. Both men were surprised to find a mission already at work on Malaita, having inferred from the letters of Ambuof'a and other labourers that they were the only Christians on the island: \textit{I.V. and Report}, 1900, pp.10-1; \textit{S.C.L.}, January 1901, p.110.} Hopkins also regularly visited the new village, which by now numbered over 200, with the aim of drawing it into the Melanesian Mission's network of schools. Already, he recalled, Malu'u was a 'very, very different place to the bush villages round. It was cleaner...tried to be at peace, and be friends to all, kept Sunday rigorously and attended services diligently.'\footnote{Hopkins, 'Autobiography', p.67.} Although Ambuof'a's teaching was 'terribly defective' and often 'painfully ludicrous', his sincerity was unquestionable and the faith of his converts 'very real and earnest'.\footnote{\textit{S.C.L.}, May 1904, p.13.} They, on their part, were conservative and suspicious of Hopkins's mission with its Prayer Book, its lack of extempore prayer and kerygmatic preaching, and its use of the vernacular...
in worship instead of the pidgin-English to which they had become accustomed. An epidemic of dysentery which followed the sending of an Anglican assistant teacher to Malu'u in 1903 aroused further disquiet. When Hopkins next visited, Ambuofa expressed the fears of the Malu'u Christians: 'My way been good for me, me saved by it; no savvy church way properly, might be the punishment for trying new way.'

THE introduction of Pacific island labour into Queensland was curtailed by an Act of the Commonwealth parliament in 1901, and the work of the Q.K.M. entered upon its final phase. Since its inception the mission had regarded the employment of Melanesian labourers, shorn of its economic, political, social and moral implications, solely as an opportunity for the evangelization of the heathen, and it greeted the announcement of the approaching end without enthusiasm:

...we cannot but lament the prospect of the early loss of further opportunity to bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ to these dark heathen under such specially favourable conditions.

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3 N.I.V., 1900-1, p.6. See also Johnston's testimony to the evangelistic value of the labour trade in Alex C. Smith, The Kanaka Labour Question (Brisbane 1892), p.17.
It therefore made a determined attempt to bring the Christian message before the Melanesian islanders while they were in Queensland and receptive to its influence. The weekly average attendance at the mission's Bible classes tripled to 7000.\(^1\) This led in turn to a high proportion of baptized labourers among those returning to their homes, with the majority possessing at least a rudimentary knowledge of Christianity.

Conscious of their identity and fearful of the hostility of their pagan relatives, Christian converts tended more and more to gather around a leader and form new villages in their own districts on the hitherto unoccupied coastal lands.\(^2\) They were, Hopkins observed, 'great letter writers';\(^3\) at every opportunity they wrote to their friends in Queensland directing them to the 'school' and to their former teachers relating their attempts to preach to their neighbours and appealing for assistance.\(^4\)

Unwilling to commit itself to mission work in the Solomons, yet suspicious of the reputed High Church character of the Melanesian Mission, the Q.K.M. first sought the aid of the Church Missionary Association, an Evangelical Anglican organization affiliated with the

\(^1\) N.I.V., 1904-5, p.32.  
\(^2\) Ivens, The Island Builders of the Pacific, p.269.  
\(^3\) Hopkins, op. cit., p.96.  
English Church Missionary Society.\textsuperscript{1} It requested the association to undertake the teaching and oversight of its converts on Malaita, working alongside the Melanesian Mission under the Bishop of Melanesia. However, the leaders of the association rejected the proposed plan as unworkable and recommended that the Q.K.M. itself begin work in the Solomons.\textsuperscript{2} After prolonged prayer the decision was made; and in January 1904 the Solomon Islands branch of the Q.K.M. was founded with an executive council of nine members, all of whom were residents of Sydney and Melbourne and prominent supporters of the existing mission.\textsuperscript{3} Like its parent body the new mission was to be 'evangelical and unsectarian' in character and dependent upon the unsolicited donations of individual friends.\textsuperscript{4}

Arrangements were made to begin the Solomons mission immediately. Woodford, who was in Sydney at the time, gave his consent for the mission to begin work on Malaita. Three men volunteered as missionaries and were accepted

\textsuperscript{1} Church Missionary Associations were founded in Sydney and Melbourne in 1892. They later federated and in 1916 became the Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania: S.M. Johnstone, \textit{A History of the Church Missionary Society in Australia and Tasmania} (Sydney, 1925).

\textsuperscript{2} Interview with Mr N.C. Deck (Sydney).

\textsuperscript{3} Young, op. cit., p.142.

\textsuperscript{4} 'For support and for the supply of every need in connection with the work we are depending entirely upon God, and we are confident that as long as the need for the work continues, He will not suffer it to fail for want of funds, but will incline people to give whatever is needed "a willing offering unto the Lord": Sydney Council, 21 January 1904, \textit{S.S.E.M. Minutes}.}
by the council: A. Hedley Abbott, a carpenter from Ballarat, James Caulfield, a former Queensland Inspector of Labourers, and O.C. Thomas, who was already on the staff of the Q.K.M. Led by Miss Young (who was accompanied by a chaperone), the mission party left Sydney in March 1904. At Tulagi Woodford was inclined to regret his earlier permission. Malaita was 'too dangerous': the extensive smuggling of rifles and ammunition by returned labourers had stimulated the traditional feuds between bush and coastal inhabitants and much of the island had lapsed into a state of continuous chaos and bloodshed. However, Miss Young stood her ground and Woodford reluctantly gave way. In their small launch the missionaries sailed from Nggela to Malaita, first to Langalanga and then northwards to Malu'u.

The Malu'u Christians expressed pleasure at the arrival of sympathetic European teachers, though for some months they refused to sell land for a mission station. Those who had been in Queensland resented their deportation and, aware of the displacement of the Australian Aboriginals from their ancestral lands, had

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1 There is an account of this first visit to the Solomons in Young, op. cit., pp.143-55. Much of the material in Pearls from the Pacific is drawn verbatim from articles by Miss Young in previous issues of Not in Vain. When this is so reference will be made to the book rather than the earlier publication.

2 The state of Malaita in these years is described in Mahaffy to Woodford, 1 October 1902, encl. in Jackson to C.O., 8 January 1903 - C.O. 225/65, and Woodford to im Thurn, 21 February 1908 - C.O. 225/83.
resolved to prevent white men from obtaining an easy foothold in their homes. The missionaries, on their part, arrived totally unprepared for life in the islands; nor, according to Hopkins, had they 'realized the vast difference between the clothed and smiling "Kanaka" in Queensland and the same man in Mala'. During their brief stay at Malu'u the entire party went down with malaria and in June Thomas was invalided home with the two women. Abbott and Caulfield remained in the Solomons, visited the other parts of the group and built a mission house at Malu'u.

In 1905 Miss Young made a second visit to the Solomons. Ignoring the warnings of the official in charge at Tulagi, she circumnavigated Malaita, contacting the small and beleaguered settlements of Christian labourers around the coast and selecting sites for future mission stations. Land was purchased and wooden houses were erected at Taravania, 15 miles south of Malu'u, Ngongosila, a populous island in the Kwai anchorage on the east coast, and One Pusu, a small peninsula south of the Langalanga Lagoon already occupied by a tiny Christian village. Caulfield was stationed at Malu'u.

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1 A letter from Peter Ambuofa and another Malu'u man to 'lord King Edward' protesting against their repatriation and requesting money - wages of £1 a week and offering land for sale at £8 an acre - eventually found its way to the Colonial Office. The letter, dated 2 May 1907, is in C.O. 225/80.


3 Young, op. cit., p.166-72.
Watkinson (who had first gone to Malaita in 1902) at Ngongosila, and Charlie Aurora, a New Hebridean Q.K.M. teacher who had volunteered for service in the Solomons, began work at Taravania. On account of its healthy site and proximity to the steamer port at Aola, One Pusu was chosen as the headquarters of the mission, and in 1906 a small boarding school for boys and girls was established there. The peninsula also became a temporary refuge for Christian labourers who were unwilling to return immediately to their homes and a sanctuary for fugitives from all parts of Malaita.¹

With the deportation from Australia of all Pacific islanders save those few who for various reasons were exempted, the Q.K.M. ceased operations, and in 1907 the Solomon Islands branch was renamed the South Sea Evangelical Mission.² During its 21 years of existence the Q.K.M. had baptized 2,484 islanders, nearly a quarter of whom (589) were natives of Malaita.³ Of these, a high proportion were returned to their homes during the closing years of the trade and in the mass repatriation of 1907, when they clung tenaciously to their new faith and to one another for support. Between 1906 and 1908 the number of villages connected with the mission increased from 16 to 44, located in every coastal district.⁴

² Sydney Council, 4 April 1907, S.S.E.M. Minutes.
⁴ There is a description of each 'native out-station' in N.I.V., 1907-8, pp.8-19.
The return of the labourers was an event of considerable significance for the subsequent religious and political development of Malaita. The Melanesian Mission and other mission bodies had been compelled to begin at one or two centres, extending their influence outwards a little further each year, dependent largely upon local converts who first had to be trained to undertake the work of teaching at out-stations. The S.S.E.M., on the other hand, had the initial advantage of being able to commence simultaneously at a number of points with a large nucleus of adherents who were eager to evangelize their fellow islanders.

Although the great majority of Solomon Islanders taught by the Q.K.M. were from Malaita, there were over 100 baptized converts from Guadalcanal as well as individuals from other islands in the eastern and central Solomons.1 As early as 1892 a former labourer, Samson Jacko, had commenced a 'school' among his own people at Malageti on the south coast of Guadalcanal,2 and during the repatriation another was founded by David Sango at Talisi, 15 miles to the east. In 1907 Abbott and Caulfield sailed to Guadalcanal on the new mission vessel Evangel to encourage these struggling ventures. Miss Young herself visited the island in

1 Guadalcanal - 104; San Cristobal - 16; Nggela - 12; Ontong Java - 5; Savo - 3; Ulawa - 3; Ysabel - 2: N.I.V., 1906-7, p.8.
the following year,\(^1\) and in 1911 a mission station was established at Talisi (moved later to Inakona). At the same time a school started at Wanoni Bay by a converted labourer, Peter Wetigo, led to the inclusion of San Cristobal within the mission's sphere of work. In 1907 six Malu'u teachers were sent to assist him,\(^2\) and five years later a mission house was erected in the bay, adjacent to a new Roman Catholic station.

To minimize friction between rival missionaries and their followers Woodford had hitherto persuaded each of the three missions in the protectorate to restrict its activities to a loosely defined area. Because of the large size and population of Malaita, the number of Queensland converts from the island, and the small extent and apparent stagnation of the work of the Melanesian Mission, the S.S.E.M. operated there with his approval; there was, he observed, 'room for both'.\(^3\) However, he deplored its extension to Guadalcanal and San Cristobal where the population was smaller and the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions were well entrenched. The two older missions likewise regarded the intruder with small favour. Bollen of the Melanesian Mission referred with evident distaste to the coming of 'dissent in its barest and crudest form',\(^4\) while a French priest described the S.S.E.M. as 'a strange sect, with hardly any religious principles, without a definite name'.\(^5\)

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1 Young, op. cit., pp.189-91.
2 Ibid., pp.187-8.
3 Woodford to Bickham Escott, 21 August 1913, Confidential - C.O. 225/120.
4 M.M. Report, 1908, p.35.
5 Raucaz, In the Savage South Solomons, p.196.
STRONGLY influenced by the objectives and methods of the C.I.M., Miss Young made a sharp distinction between the mission, supported in the homelands, whose chief function was to preach and teach, and the church, 'national' in character and independent in organization, the result of its labours. In each place the congregation of those baptized was regarded as a church, competent to enforce discipline and administer its own affairs under the direction of its teacher and elders, subject for the time being to the oversight of the local European missionary.

This policy of creating a self-reliant Christian community was implemented in two major matters at an early date. The missionaries asked senior teachers (Queensland converts) at One Pusu, Malu'u and other centres to decide whether Christians should be permitted to perform their traditional dances. In view of the missionaries' known disapproval of dancing of any kind and the common tendency of first-generation converts to adopt a negative attitude towards former beliefs and practices, their advice was not surprising: dances were so closely bound up with pagan beliefs that their continuance was out of the question.\(^1\) Feasts, on the other hand, were permitted; indeed, in some places teachers organized a distribution of food at Christmas and Easter. It was not until the 1920s that the leaders

\(^1\) Interviews with Mr N.C. Deck and Ezra Toimae (Takataka, Malaita). Toimae was an early S.S.E.M. convert from the Areare district of Malaita. He attended the mission's training school at One Pusu about 1912 and later worked as a village teacher on Small Malaita and at Takataka.
of the Malu'u church forbade the customary competitive feasts for prestige and status on the ground that these ministered to vanity and led to rivalry and ill-feeling—a decision welcomed by the missionaries who had long viewed all large-scale feasting with disapproval as wasteful and socially disruptive. ¹

The principle of self-support within the island church was rigidly adhered to. When the question of the payment of mission teachers was first raised during Miss Young's visit to the Solomons in 1907 she decreed that wages should not be paid, since this would imply that teachers were employees of the mission. Any support received by teachers, in either money or food, should, she maintained, emanate from the native church of which they were agents. In any case, preaching the Gospel was a privilege, not a task: 'You are not sent forth to preach by man, but by God', she proclaimed. 'Freely ye have received, freely give.' ² In the long view, the policy was possibly a strength. An immediate consequence, however, was a smouldering resentment among the teachers at what seemed, in comparison with other mission, an unfair and niggardly measure. Moreover, because the teachers were, in effect, voluntary workers the mission could exert only a moral authority over them. Consequently, when opportunity offered many young men did not hesitate to recruit to a plantation in a distant

¹ Hogbin, op. cit., p.214. ² N.I.V., July-August 1940, p.7. See also Dr Deck's Letter, February 1916, and N.I.V., April 1923, pp.5-6.
part of the group to earn money for the European goods they desired.¹

In accordance with its overall aim of building a 'national' church, the S.S.E.M. deliberately refrained from imposing distinctively European social and religious customs upon the islanders. From the first it discouraged its adherents from wearing more than a waistband, with calico loincloths for teachers and school pupils, while at the monthly Communion services there was some adaptation to Melanesian culture in the substitution of taro and coconut fluid for bread and wine.²

Yet in relation to the indigenous social structure and institutions, the S.S.E.M. represented alienation and division rather than adaptation or assimilation. Ambuof'a first began the habit of Christians withdrawing into separate villages under pressure from his pagan neighbours, who feared the consequences of his disregard for their traditional customs and taboos. The missionaries, mindful of the Biblical warnings to the Children of Israel and the Corinthian Christians,³ erected 'separation' into the normal custom of the mission, defending it as a necessary means of preserving the faith from corruption and maintaining a high standard of personal conduct. Dr Northcote Deck, Miss Young's nephew, who joined the mission in 1908, frequently expounded this policy:

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¹ The frequency with which this occurred was a constant mission lament: e.g., N.I.V., 1911-3, pp.17-3; Dr Deck's Letter, May 1913 and April 1926, p.7.
² Interviews with Mr N.C. Deck and Rev. W. Gibbins (Sydney).
³ 2 Corinthians 6, vv, 14-7 was often quoted in this context.
It is vital for them to 'come out and be separate', as in the Apostolic days, though in another sense. For when both live together, the heathen ways are so devilish, so soaked in sin, the heathen talk is so filthy and degrading...that it saps the life and purity of the Christians. It is only by making a separate settlement that the Christians can hold their own and make the rapid headway against the forces of darkness that we see down here at times. 1

Accordingly, when evangelistic work was undertaken teachers were usually placed outside existing villages. Then, as their inhabitants wished to become Christians they moved out and formed a new village around the schoolhouse. The necessity of a 'clean break' with the past was stressed: no pagans, as such, were permitted to live in these 'school villages', and all 'outward heathen practices' were strictly prohibited. 2

Although Hudson Taylor had constituted the C.I.M. on the principle that mission work should be directed from within the field rather than by a distant committee, 3 the relative proximity of the Solomons to Australia and the fact of Miss Young's age (she was 48 in 1904) led to a modification of his pattern of organization. For over 20 years Miss Young divided her time between administration of the mission from her home in Sydney

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1 Dr Deck's Letter, December 1912.
2 N.I.V., 1911-3, p.20; Dr Deck's Letter, April 1928, pp.5-6. Few S.S.E.M. villages exceeded 80-100 inhabitants. When numbers increased beyond this number a new village was usually formed.
3 Taylor's reasons for this, then revolutionary, step are outlined in Neill, op. cit., p.334, and Pollock, op. cit., p.129.
and lengthy annual visits to the Solomons, during which she travelled extensively on the *Evangel* inspecting mission stations and schools. At each place she examined candidates for baptism, delivered evangelistic addresses, and there occurred what a somewhat sceptical anthropologist later described as an 'orgy' of public confession. ¹ When Miss Young was in Sydney, Dr Deck, who was captain of the *Evangel* until his retirement in 1927, implemented her decisions and supervised the work of the mission.

In its internal organization the S.S.E.M. reflected both one of the principles behind the C.I.M. - dictatorship for the sake of efficiency - and its foundress's masterful disposition. Although the mission officially regarded the European missionaries as 'members' of the mission and not its agents, it gave them no voice in its management.² Two advisory committees, known as Councils of Advice, located in Sydney and Melbourne, replaced the executive council which had been constituted in January 1904, and complete authority within the mission was vested in Miss Young herself.³ The Sydney Council, prominent Evangelical ministers and laymen from the principal Protestant denominations, was usually consulted on more important matters and always assisted in the final selection of

¹ Hogbin, op. cit., p.194.
² Sydney Council, 21 January 1904, S.S.E.M. Minutes.
³ Sydney Council, 15 and 23 August 1904, S.S.E.M. Minutes.
missionaries. The mission later set up Councils of Advice in New Zealand, whose chief function was to publicize the work of the mission and to recommend missionary candidates.

In contrast to the latitudinarian tendencies of the Anglican and Methodist missions, the S.S.E.M. placed unusual emphasis on doctrinal purity. Missionary candidates were required to give assurance of 'soundness in the faith', especially with regard to those doctrines assailed by 'modernism': the divine inspiration and supreme authority of the whole canonical Scriptures, the Trinity, the moral depravity of man, Substitutionary Atonement, Justification by Faith, the resurrection of the body, the everlasting life of the saved and the eternal punishment of the lost. The Bible, honoured by the mission as the inerrant Word of God, was not only a source of doctrine; it was also used as a textbook which gave practical guidance in every situation. Miss Joan Deck, a niece of Miss Young, described the mission's attitude to Scripture:

1 As constituted in 1904 the Sydney Council comprised the Rev. Rainsford Bavin (a former president of the New South Wales Methodist Conference), Dr and Mrs J. Field Deck, Mr W.H. Dibley, Mr James B. Nicholson, Mr T.H. Norrie, the Rev. Dr Porter, Mr T. Wills Pulsford. Later members included the Rev. J.D. Mill, minister of a large suburban Baptist church, and the Rev. R.B. Robinson, a prominent Anglican clergyman.
2 Dunedin (1911) and Auckland (1919).
3 'Principles and Practice of the South Sea Evangelical Mission'.
We do not educate our people, but teach them the Word of God, so that it is everything for them and they go to it for everything. Any contingencies in their villages are met by some lesson from the Word of God, and the teachers...are taught to know God and to know His Word, and they know that...their people will not believe them unless they can show the place from the Bible where they got their teaching.¹

Although the written word exerted a powerful attraction it proved ultimately to be a two-edged weapon. Taught to accept whatever was written in the Bible, S.S.E.M. adherents later succumbed readily to the energetic proselytizing activities of Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses who supported their distinctive doctrines by appealing to the same authority.²

The reiteration and exposition of texts of Scripture was the mission's principal method of evangelism, one which succeeded, it was believed, where human eloquence achieved nothing. 'Thank God we have no higher critics here',³ exclaimed Dr Deck, who delighted in contrasting the spiritual vitality of

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² The Seventh-day Adventists began work on Malaita in 1924 (see below, p.44), but they made little headway until after the Second World War. The first Jehovah's Witness missionaries arrived in the Solomons in 1956 and obtained a foothold in a S.S.E.M. village near Auki. Since then they have gained about 3000 followers in the Kwara'ae district - mainly former members of the S.S.E.M.

³ Dr Deck's Letter, [1917].
those parts of the mission field where the Bible was held in honour and thousands were converted with the visible stagnation of the home churches - a direct result of waning belief in the infallibility of Scripture. ¹

Among the missionaries this strong sense of the supernatural was coupled with a conviction that they themselves were actors in a giant cosmic battle against the entrenched forces of Satan: 'Personally, I hope I will die down here!', wrote Constance Young. 'My ideal is this - a few, short, sharp years in the firing-line, strenuous, intense, and soul-winning, and then - Heaven.'²

FROM Bible classes on the Bundaberg plantations it was no great step to an association between the S.S.E.M. and commercial enterprise in the islands. In 1906 the Sydney Council decided that the mission should take out a trading license, in order to prevent the islanders from being 'forced' into the hands of traders who were opposed to Christianity. In addition, it was anxious to counteract 'the tendency among the natives to look upon the man who supplies their wants as their real friend and the missionary as a mere preacher' and to assist the mission financially.³ The mission also favoured the principle of industrial training. However, the difficulty of pioneering the

¹ Dr Deck's Letter, April 1914.
² Young, op. cit., p.252.
³ Sydney Council, 27 November 1906, S.S.E.M. Minutes.
necessary plantations from its own resources compelled it to look for outside support. Miss Young described the next step:

It had been suggested...that a company of sympathetic Christian men might render great assistance to the Mission and at the same time find an investment in the Solomon Islands if they took up land there to grow coconuts. This would provide employment for Christian Boys and thus relieve the Mission of the burden of industrial work and set us free for the purely spiritual business of teaching.

Ernest and Horace Young, whose plantation at Fairymead had prospered, accordingly decided to form a company on these lines, and in 1908 they sent a representative to the Solomons. Woodford and Mahaffy (who was on a visit to the protectorate) welcomed the prospect of commercial development on Malaita and duly approved the sale of a strip of land, 15 miles long and 10,000 acres in extent, centred on Baunani, 20 miles north of One Pusu.

In 1909 the Malaya Company was launched with a nominal capital of £50,000 and the Young brothers as directors. Within 12 months 300 of the 500 shares issued had been taken up. Of these, two thirds were owned by the two directors, while the remainder were distributed

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1 A 60 acre plantation was commenced at One Pusu as early as 1906 with boys from the training school as labour: N.I.V., 1905-6, pp.19-20.
2 Young, op. cit., p.194.
3 Mahaffy to H.C., 21 December 1908, encl. in Major to C.O., 11 February 1909 - C.O. 225/85.
among 15 small shareholders who comprised either members and relatives of the Young family or leading supporters of the S.S.E.M. As well as planting coconuts on its Malaita property the company purchased the land and trading stations of W.H. Pope, located at Aola and Marau Sound on Guadalcanal and at Yandina in the Russell Islands.¹

From the outset the Malayta Company made generous provision for evening classes on its plantations. In 1911 its offer of favourable conditions induced the mission to move its training school from One Pusu, where insufficient land for gardens was already a problem, to Baunani.² Here, in return for rations supplied by the company the youths did light work on the plantation for four hours daily. Although the system was liable to abuse - most of the scholars were under 16 years, the minimum legal age for recruitment - W.R. Bell, the protectorate's Inspector of Labourers, admitted he could 'find no reason to believe that the pupils were being exploited in any way for the benefit of the Company.'³ On its part, the mission actively encouraged its adherents on Guadalcanal and San Cristobal to sell their produce to the Malayta Company, announcing that 'all other white traders would impose upon them, but that the Company would deal fairly with them.'⁴

¹ Woodford to Bickham Escott, 21 August 1913, Confidential, loc. cit.
² N.I.V., 1908-9, p.6, 1910-1, pp.8-10. See also Catherine M.A. Deck, A Son of the Solomons (Melbourne, [1943]), pp.17-9.
³ Bell to Woodford, 6 September 1913, encl. in Woodford to Bickham Escott, 6 September 1913 - C.O. 225/120.
⁴ Woodford to Bickham Escott, 21 August 1913, Confidential, loc. cit.
a reckless bid to live up to its reputation the company raised the price paid for copra - an action which forced several smaller neighbouring traders into bankruptcy. At length, after three years of operation and a considerable financial loss, it gave up the trading business altogether.

From then on the Malayta Company turned its attention to the development of its plantations on Malaita and the Russell Islands. In 1910 the protectorate government blocked a move to procure additional land on the north-east coast of Malaita, on the ground that the price offered was inadequate and that the alleged owners' title to the land was vague.\footnote{Ibid.} A second attempt in 1913 to purchase the island and harbour of Baikwa at Langalanga was also disallowed by Woodford, who saw the company as aiming 'to secure all the anchorages and so to exclude vessels owned by other traders and recruiting vessels.' His proposal to permit no further sales or leases of land to those 'Christian gentlemen' was warmly endorsed by the Colonial Office.\footnote{C.O. minutes and draft reply to Woodford to Bickham Escott, 21 August 1913, Confidential, loc. cit. To gain its ends the Malayta Company enlisted the aid of a sympathetic New York businessman who had recently visited the protectorate; Denison to H.C., n.d., encl. in above.}

The Malayta Company soon acquired a reputation throughout the Solomons for inefficiency and extravagance. Within its first three years of operation the local manager was changed at least six times, and Bell
described conditions on one of its Malaita plantations as 'decidedly bad'.\(^1\) Moreover, its close association with the S.S.E.M. and the 'attitude of superiority' which both bodies adopted towards outsiders rapidly aroused the resentment of the other traders and planters in the group. The mission's emphatic denials of any connexion with the company caused Woodford to remark tartly:

\[\ldots\text{Dr Deck has so frequently interfered in the management of the Company, has written to me officially on its behalf and has been present at interviews between myself and the local manager of the Company that I cannot accept this view.}\(^2\)

With the development of its large plantation at Yandina - in later years reputed to be among the finest in the Solomons\(^3\) - the Malaya Company flourished. As its interests moved away from the eastern Solomons many of the links forged with the S.S.E.M. in its early years were severed. Lack of harbour facilities at Baunani compelled the return of the training school to One Pusu in 1918. Nevertheless, the company continued to undertake the ordering of stores for the mission,\(^4\) mission teachers conducted Bible classes on the Malaita and Yandina plantations,\(^5\) and there was frequent

\[^1\text{Bell to Woodford, 6 September 1913, loc. cit.}\]
\[^2\text{Woodford to Bickham Escott, 21 August 1913, Confidential, loc. cit. See also Vernon to C.O., 24 February 1912 - C.O. 225/113.}\]
\[^3\text{Collinson, Life and Laughter 'midst the Cannibals, p.31.}\]
\[^4\text{Young, op. cit., p.246.}\]
\[^5\text{N.I.V., July 1931, p.5.}\]
contact between One Pusu and the company's centres at Su'u (near Baunani) and Aola.1

EVEN after the establishment of the government station at Auki in 1909 Malaita maintained its reputation as the most disturbed and lawless island in the Solomons. The dangers of European residence there were underlined dramatically in June 1911 by the murder of Frederick Daniels, the missionary at Ngongosila, who was shot while conducting an open-air service for the few Christians at Uru.2 Investigation by Hopkins, who regularly visited the district from Ngore Fou, revealed that the murder was committed by two bushmen from the village of Farisi at the instigation of the chief of Busu and with the knowledge and aid of Maisua, the powerful chief of Uru Island. It was also discovered that a mission teacher had recently seduced the daughter of the Busu chief - a crime for which the traditional penalty was either death or a heavy fine - and that Daniels had secretly removed the young couple to safety at One Pusu.3 Although Hopkins, Woodford and

1 In August 1936 the assets and goodwill of the Malayta Company were sold to the Fairymead Sugar Company (founded in 1912 by Ernest and Horace Young) for £95,000. The validity of the sale was attacked by a section of the Malayta Company shareholders but was subsequently upheld in the Equity Court of New South Wales: P.I.M., July 1936, p.23, December 1937, p.3.
2 Daniels, a former Queensland railway employee, had joined the S.S.E.M. in 1909. At the time of his death he had been stationed at Ngongosila for about 18 months.
3 Edge-Partington to Barnett, 15 July 1911, encl. in May to C.O. 21 August 1911 - C.O. 225/96; Corner to C.O., 13 October 1911 - C.O. 225/102.
Edge-Partington, the Malaita District Magistrate, agreed that Daniels's clumsy handling of the situation was the likely cause of his death, his colleagues indignantly rejected this explanation and attributed the murder to 'revenge for the death of a labourer on plantation service'.

In November 1911 Commander Carver of H.M.S. Torch led a large punitive expedition to Farisi. His plan to punish the entire village was supported by Hopkins, who maintained that the decision to murder Daniels was a communal one for which all could be held responsible. A dawn surprise attack succeeded in killing five villagers including, it was believed, one of the murderers. In addition, at the suggestion of the High Commissioner, Sir Frederick May, who was on board the Torch, Maisua's village on Uru Island was totally destroyed.

News of the government's action had a chastening effect throughout Malaita. On the east coast, however, the mission had suffered a severe setback. The station at Ngongosila was closed. The eastern people, 'though scared, remained wild' and were confirmed in their

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1 Young, op. cit., p.215.
2 Carver to King-Hall, 11 November 1911, encl. in May to C.O., 15 December 1911 - C.O., 225/98; Woodford to C.O., 28 November 1911 - C.O., 225/90; Carver to King-Hall, 23 December 1911, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 2 March 1912 - C.O., 225/109.
3 Edge-Partington to Woodford, 6 December 1911, encl. in Woodford to C.O., 7 December 1911 - C.O., 225/103.
4 Hopkins, op. cit., p.190.
opposition to Christianity. In addition, a struggling Christian village at Cherith, on the mainland opposite Ngongosila, was forced to disperse. A new settlement was later formed at Gwobusu under the protection of a friendly bush chief, but hopes that it would become a centre for the evangelization of both bush and coastal inhabitants of the district were unfulfilled.¹

On the other islands, where the authority of the government had already made itself felt and inter-group warfare had ceased, the S.S.E.M. made rapid headway. On the south coast of Guadalcanal the 'salt-water' natives were friendly and disposed to receive schools, but their interest proved transient. Although many 'professed conversion', Dr Deck reported, 'there is not change enough in their lives to make us confident that they have passed from death unto life.'² For the bush dwellers, on the other hand, the adoption of Christianity was a deliberate act, accompanied by 'a clean sweep of their old sinful habits and customs.'³ Under Abbott and his successor, Charles Lees, a mass movement occurred; schools were opened along 80 miles of coastline and by 1916 there were over a thousand people under instruction.⁴ During the following decade lack of continuous European oversight led to stagnation, even regression, and it

¹ Dr Deck's Letter, August 1913; Young, op. cit., pp.217-8.
² Dr Deck's Letter, May 1913.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Dr Deck's Letter, September 1911, and July 1916.
was not until 1930 that the mission made a serious effort to evangelize the populous interior of the island.¹

On San Cristobal there were two principal mission centres: Wanoni Bay in the east and Arosi at the opposite end of the island. Despite its early associations with Patteson and the Melanesian Mission, this latter district held aloof from Christianity until about 1909, when a returned labourer, recounting his experiences of Queensland, aroused an interest in Miss Young's mission.² On hearing of this the S.S.E.M. left a Malaita teacher, Matthew Matai, with two assistants at Mata, and within a few months most of the villagers had accepted their teachings with enthusiasm. At the behest of the teachers the more spectacular features of the traditional society — feasting, dancing and the wearing of ornaments — were instantly relinquished. Although 'less picturesque', Dr Deck observed approvingly, the people were now 'more robust in the faith.'³ News of the happenings at Mata spread to adjacent villages, and Matai opened a number of new schools. By this time the people of San Cristobal were eager to adopt the white man's religion and Christianity encountered few obstacles. In 1922, when the evangelization of Arosi was virtually completed, there were 12 S.S.E.M. villages in the district with 600 members.⁴

¹ There is an account of the work of the S.S.E.M. on Guadalcanal in N.I.V., Jubilee Issue, 1954, pp.14-7.
² Dr Deck's Letter, February 1912.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Dr Deck's Letter, October 1922, p.7.
At Wanoni Bay the presence of a Roman Catholic station, worked by Fathers Babonneau and Moreau, two active and devoted priests, led to strong religious rivalry, accompanied by mutual recriminations and minor acts of violence. Following punitive action in 1915 against a local village for complicity in the murder of the captain of a recruiting vessel, rumours spread that the government was about to impose Christianity by force. In the resulting panic some villages declared for the Roman Catholics, others for the S.S.E.M., and by 1917 it was estimated that over a thousand people in the eastern portion of San Cristobal were attached to the latter's schools. Rapid growth under these conditions brought its own problems: 'true separation' was made impossible, and before long the missionaries were complaining of 'wholesale turning back to feasting with heathen music and even worse.'

In 1919 Norman Deck, Dr Deck's younger brother, founded a new station at Star Harbour at the eastern extremity of San Cristobal and from this base extended schools along the southern coast of the island. About the same time Matai went to Ubuna, a village on Santa

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1 E.g., Dr Deck's Letter, September 1918, pp.2-3; N.I.V., 1917-8, p.3. See also Mann, Ant Hill Odyssey, p.312.
2 Raucaz, op. cit., p.196.
4 Dr Deck's Letter, October 1926, p.7.
Ana, where the people had hitherto refused to accept any kind of Christian school.¹

In background, training and understanding, the teachers of the S.S.E.M. were distinguished from their counterparts in other missions. The first generation of S.S.E.M. teachers were Queensland converts - in most cases, the leaders of the small Christian colonies which sprang up during the closing years of the labour trade. Although untrained and with only meagre knowledge of writing and spelling, many were able to read the Bible 'remarkably well' and expounded its contents with considerable force.² However, as converts were gained and Christian villages grew in size³ the proportion of teachers who had never been to Queensland and whose knowledge of Christianity derived almost entirely from the instruction they received at the One Pusu training school increased.

It was from the To'ambaita district (Malu'u and Taravania) that the majority of teachers for Guadalcanal and San Cristobal, as well as for central and south Malaita, were initially drawn. Some of these were

¹ Dr Deck's Letter, September 1918, pp.3-4; Bernatzik, Owa Raha, p.13. The difficulties of mission work in this district - isolation and the alleged opposition of traders and the local District Officer - are recounted in Dr Deck's Letter, April 1924, pp.5-6, and Clara Waterston, With God in the Solomons (Sydney, 1954), pp.22-8.
² N.I.V., 1911-2, p.17.
³ By 1914 there were 800 mission adherents at Malu'u and Taravania: Dr Deck's Letter, October 1914.
forceful characters and zealous evangelists and remained away from their homes for some years. Others disliked working alone among a strange people, became disheartened and deserted their posts, usually for a plantation. This tendency compelled the mission to hasten the training of local converts to fill their places. Accordingly, in these early years the obtaining of youths for One Pusu was one of the mission's primary tasks. Visiting new villages on the Evangel, Dr Deck would try to persuade chiefs to permit one or two young men to come to the training school for a year, in the likelihood that 'they would be saved while with us, and return to their own people as evangelists.' At this stage the mission was forced to accept anyone who would come - small boys, outcasts and the disabled. It gradually raised its standards, however, and lengthened the period of training, first to 18 months and then to two years. By 1920 One Pusu normally took only those young men who had plantation experience, knew pidgin-English and displayed an aptitude for learning and leadership. Numbers rose from 64 in 1913 to 160 in 1933. Included in the latter were 36 married couples, who 'set the tone of the school', and 47 unbaptized youths from new districts.

The training course consisted chiefly of a comprehensive study, through the medium of pidgin-English,

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1 Dr Deck's Letter, July 1916.
3 Interview with Rev. W. Gibbins.
4 N.I.V., 1919-20, p.7.
5 N.I.V., July 1933, p.4.
of the text of the English Bible with a little reading, writing and arithmetic. Trainees were taught to apply Scripture 'to their own lives and conditions', and were instructed in 'the main principles, from the Word', of church government and discipline. Personal commitment and practical evangelism were also strongly stressed. Students were encouraged to share their spiritual experiences and to discuss their problems with others; 'preaching bands' were sent out regularly to neighbouring villages, and one day each month was set aside for united prayer.

IN the meantime, the mission was making rapid advances in many parts of Malaita. Although different factors predominated in each district, the adoption of Christianity appears to have been motivated largely by the relative peace of existing mission villages, the promise of freedom from costly sacrifices, and the hope that Christianity would ensure protection against influenza and other new and devastating diseases. The desire for education was not widespread on Malaita at this stage.

On Small Malaita returned labourers had begun schools first at Port Adam (1907) and later on the opposite coast near Su'upaina. Unlike north Malaita there was little overt opposition to Christianity and

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1 N.I.V., April 1933, p.7.
2 There are accounts of the One Pusu Bible School in N.I.V., Jubilee Issue, 1954, pp.8-10; and Young, op. cit., pp.241-2.
3 This subject is discussed in chapter IX.
small importance was placed on the formation of separate villages.¹ By 1927 the mission claimed 1000 adherents, one quarter of the island's population.² North of One Pusu in the Langalanga Lagoon the village churches were under the oversight of three able senior teachers - 'men of faith and prayer'. With 28 school villages and 2000 members in 1932, it was regarded as the best organized and most prosperous district in the mission.³

On the east coast Norman Deck reopened the station at Ngongosila in 1923 and pioneered the difficult Kwara'ae and Koio districts. The Koio people were still notoriously intractable and their murder of Bell and his assistants in 1927 sent a wave of panic through the Solomons. Rumours reached One Pusu that Deck and Anderson, the local Seventh-day Adventist missionary, had been massacred together with the native Christians at Sinarango, and the Europeans on Malaita prepared for a concerted uprising.⁴ The government responded to this affront to its authority by despatching a warship to Sinarango and arresting the entire male population, numbering nearly 200. Four S.S.E.M. teachers accompanied the party to Tulagi to act as interpreters and were there permitted to preach to the

¹ Dr Deck's Letter, December 1912 and February 1916.
² Dr Deck's Letter, April 1927, p.5.
⁴ Diary of C. Deck, 9, 11, 12 October 1927; Ivens, op. cit., p.29.
prisoners. Although the bush villages of Koio remained firmly attached to their traditional ways, Christianity made considerable headway in east Kwarâ'ae; when Deck left Ngongosila in 1932 there were over 30 S.S.E.M. villages on the mainland. Further north at Makwanu, where a new station was opened in 1928, several bush villages accepted teachers, though the more sophisticated inhabitants of the artificial islands held themselves aloof.

The To'ambaita district of north Malaita remained the mission's stronghold. Significantly enough it was at Malu'u that the first signs of a breach between the European missionaries and their converts appeared, together with indications that the S.S.E.M. was already sufficiently rooted in the native society for prominence in the church to be a means to dominance in secular affairs. From the first, Ambuofa had been the acknowledged leader of the church at Malu'u. He was the missionary's chief adviser, directed communal enterprises and, with his fellow teachers and elders, was largely responsible for the day-to-day maintenance of order. 'Hundreds of men and women obeyed him implicitly', recorded one observer, 'and praised him

1 Dr Deck's Letter, July 1928, p.4. Their efforts were not in vain. Although Basinana, the actual murderer, remained a pagan, his chief accomplice was converted shortly before his execution.
3 N.I.V., April 1936, p.7. There were by this stage 300 converts at Makwanu in eight villages.
for what he had done.\(^1\) A man of considerable ability, not without ambition, he came to resent the presence of the European missionaries as an unprofitable encumbrance. Finally, in 1920 he publicly denounced Dr Deck and his colleagues as 'hypocrites and dishonest liars' and ordered ostracism of Miss Clara Waterston who was resident at the mission house. Bell, who was asked for assistance against the mission, upbraided the rebels for ingratitude. Shortly afterwards Ambuofa became involved in a case of adultery and was suspended from his office as a teacher. For the next four or five years the Malu'u church was in a state of chaos as its erstwhile leader, announcing he would take the mission with him to Hell, tried to destroy it, while other elders, former Queensland Converts, engaged in a violent struggle for power. At length, the rebellion petered out, open opposition to the European missionaries died away and normal church life was resumed.\(^2\) Although the penitent Ambuofa was restored to church membership, he never regained his former position and led a forlorn and lonely existence until his death in 1937.\(^3\)

1 Waterston, op. cit., p.17.
2 Hogbin, op. cit., p.175; Waterston, op. cit., pp.17-21; Dr Deck's Letter, October 1922, p.3; July 1926, p.7. In 1924 Miss Young removed Miss Waterston from Malu'u 'because of her views as to mission methods': Sydney Council, 14 April 1924, S.S.E.M. Minutes.
3 His obituary is in N.I.V., July 1937, p.2.
PARALLEL to its work among Solomon Islanders of the Melanesian race the S.S.E.M. had a long-standing interest in the 'Polynesian' inhabitants of Rennell Island, south of Guadalcanal. Impelled by a mixture of scientific curiosity and evangelistic zeal, Dr Deck visited this 'hermit people' as early as 1909. As the islanders appeared friendly he made several more visits in quick succession and in 1910 left three teachers at the Kunggava anchorage to begin a school. Two of the party were Solomon Islanders, but the leader was a New Hebridean, Thomas Sandwich, who had been converted by the Q.K.M. Two days after the departure of the Evangel the three men were clubbed to death by the Rennellese, resentful of their refusal to give presents of axes and knives from their ample store. The missionaries interpreted the disaster in terms of the workings of Divine Providence:

This is the answer of the enemy, yet still we cannot wonder or complain, for blood has always been the price of victory. To human eyes this tragedy in Rennell seems like defeat, while really it is victory deferred. Some day the martyr's blood will reap a martyr's harvest.

Forbidden by the government either to leave European or Melanesian teachers on Rennell or to take islanders away, the mission turned its attention to its growing

1 For a detailed account of S.S.E.M. work on Rennell (1909-44) see Northcote Deck, South from Guadalcanal (Toronto, 1945).
2 Lambert, A Doctor in Paradise, p.313.
3 N.I.V., 1910-1, p.35.
work elsewhere in the Solomons. During the twenties, however, the old isolation of the island rapidly broke down and in 1934 the government permitted the S.S.E.M., the Melanesian Mission and the Seventh-day Adventists to remove selected youths for brief periods of training.  

Led by Norman Deck and accompanied by two Malaita converts who had already visited Rennell with earlier scientific expeditions, the mission party visited Kunggava and contacted Tahua who ruled the western portion of the island. As a result of this visit four young men came away to One Pusu. Among them was Puia who had been taken by a government official to Tulagi and Auki a few years previously. Six months later these youths were returned and a second group obtained from Taupongi, the 'Lord of the Lake'. For over a year this process of interchange went on, culminating in brief visits to One Pusu and by both Tahua and Taupongi. Miss Catherine Deck studied the Rennell language, translated passages of Scripture and instructed the young islanders in the Creation, the Fall, the Redemption, the 'Two Roads', and in the necessity of conversion. On returning to their homes these passed on the fragments they had learned, teaching their friends Bible stories and truth, refraining from heathen dances, from food offered to the "atuas" [spirits], and...from the heathen worship.  

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1 For details of Melanesian Mission and Seventh-day Adventist contacts with Rennell see above, pp.229-31, and below, pp.448-52.

2 Deck, South from Guadalcanal, p.68.
This stage came to an end in 1936 when the government, disturbed by the havoc wrought by introduced diseases, ordered the return of all mission scholars and forbade further visits until a satisfactory medical report was received. For two years Rennell was closed to all comers. Against those who advocated preserving the islanders in their 'natural' state, the S.S.E.M. claimed that 'no one had the right to deny this isolated people the blessings of the Gospel, and the Bible' - even if all died as a result. 1

In November 1938 the protectorate authorities accepted the S.S.E.M.'s offer to transport a Medical Officer to Rennell to undertake an inspection. On this visit it was discovered that the zeal of the mission's original 13 converts had led to a mass renunciation of the traditional religious rites. Tahua had died in the influenza epidemic three years previously, but Taupongi was fervent in his profession of Christianity. In view of the improved health of the Rennellese and their expressed wish for further visits from the mission ship - probably prompted, at least in part, by a keen desire for trade goods - the government permitted the Evangel to make a second voyage in the following year. By this time most of the islanders (who now numbered about 800) were under Christian instruction and, to enable attendance at the daily

1 Ibid., p.89; Hogbin, op. cit., p.139. Although Hogbin does not refer to the S.S.E.M. by name the allusion is clear from the context.
services, had come together into ten large villages with houses of Malaita design. Puia, Taupongi and seven others were baptized and a large party of youths were taken away to One Pusu. On their return in 1940 the missionaries held a second baptism and effected a reconciliation between Puia and Taupongi, who had quarrelled over the control and ownership of the profitable Kunggava anchorage where all visiting vessels called. The conversion of the Rennellese was at this point, closely bound up with a few strong personalities and symbolized by the possession of coveted Bibles, catechisms and calico waistcloths, when the island was cut off by the war from direct mission influence.

IN 1926 Miss Young, aged 70, paid her last visit to the Solomons. With the departure of Dr Deck in the following year the mission placed the oversight of its work in the islands on a more formal basis by appointing Miss C. Deck as Island Superintendent. A council of three senior missionaries - R. McBride, H.J. Waite and Miss V. Sullivan - was to assist her in this work. In the same year Pastor William Mallis, a former Baptist missionary in India, was designated Associate Superintendent of the whole mission with a view to his eventual assumption of complete leadership. But Miss

1 The 1938 and 1940 visits are described in N.I.V., January 1939, p.2, October-November 1940, pp.3-4.
2 Dr Deck's Letter, April 1928, p.3.
3 Sydney Council, 26 August 1927, S.S.E.M. Minutes.
Young's overriding determination to have her own way made cooperation difficult and in 1932 Mallis resigned his position.\(^1\)

Once a foothold had been obtained in each coastal district on Malaita and the island was encircled by a chain of schools, the S.S.E.M. formulated a definite policy of entrusting evangelistic work in the interior to the native Christians acting on their own initiative, with the European missionaries devoting themselves to 'advising and cheering and feeding the teachers and converts with the Word of God.'\(^2\) By his calls for the early establishment of a self-supporting, self-propagating church expressing itself in indigenous forms, Mallis gave impetus to this trend.\(^3\) He constantly stressed the dangers of over-dependence on the missionary and moved to give the leaders of the island church a considerable measure of responsibility.\(^4\) Regular

\(^1\) Divine guidance was the official reason for Mallis's resignation - 'I feel that the Lord led me to the Mission at a time of great need, but now owing to the renewed health of Miss Young, and the influx of young life into the Mission during my period of service with you, this sphere of service does not present as great a need as the field in India where there is a definite feeling that my message will meet a very real need at the present time': Sydney Council, 6 May 1932, S.S.E.M. Minutes.

\(^2\) Dr Deck's Letter, April 1928, p.6. The first bush schools on Malaita were founded in the early twenties.

\(^3\) E.g., N.I.V., April 1931, pp.7-8.

\(^4\) Dr Deck's Letter, April 1928, pp.4-8; N.I.V., April 1933, pp.5-8; Interview with Mr N.C. Deck.
teachers' meetings, led by senior teachers and attended by the local missionary only in an advisory capacity, were inaugurated in every major mission centre in order to encourage and support the scattered teachers and to give an opportunity for further instruction.¹

By its very nature the S.S.E.M. was able to permit a degree of autonomy at the local level which other Protestant missions in the Solomons found difficult or impossible to attain. Its teaching was simple and based upon a literal interpretation of Scripture - itself a convenient and concrete final authority. Because teachers were unpaid there was no financial dependence on the European missionaries. Moreover, the congregational system of church government with its pastor-teacher and elders in each village was readily adaptable to the local power structure. At Langalanga this sense of responsibility manifested itself during the thirties in the foundation of district boarding schools, built, operated and supported entirely by the native Christians. Similar schools later sprang up in other parts of Malaita and on Guadalcanal and San Cristobal.²

But at the same time there was a widening gulf between the European missionaries and their Melanesian

¹ N.I.V., October 1935, p.7. Large conferences, extending over several days, were also held. During a visit to the Solomons in 1928 Mallis conducted seven of these on Malaita and San Cristobal, attended by over 2000 mission adherents: N.I.V., 1927-8, p.3.
adherents, of which the troubles at Malu'u in the twenties had been a sign. These concurrent trends - independence and alienation - culminated dramatically in the post-war years during Marching Rule, a widespread quasi-nationalist political movement, motivated by a desire for the return of the American soldiers and the distribution of 'cargo'. A full account is outside the scope of this study. It is sufficient to recall here that the headquarters of the movement was on Malaita, that one of its two founders and eight of its nine 'high chiefs' were S.S.E.M. teachers and that the S.S.E.M. missionaries suffered a complete and relentless boycott by their former flock.¹

First among the reasons for this breach was the continuous residence of most of the mission staff, especially the women, in an introverted European community at one of the head stations. This apartness was strikingly evident at One Pusu, situated fortress-like on its small peninsula, where eight or ten missionaries, about one third of the total, were permanently stationed.² Secondly, changes of station were frequent. Few missionaries remained longer than two or three years in any one place; they were thus prevented from gaining thorough knowledge of one

² E.g., in 1923 there were eight women missionaries and one man resident at One Pusu; in 1939 seven women and two men.
particular district if they had so wished. Thirdly, the majority of the missionaries relied exclusively upon pidgin-English as a medium of communication with the islanders. This disinclination to learn a native language and the consequent heavy dependence on interpreters not only prevented the missionaries from developing close relations with their converts. It also limited their knowledge of events within the village churches to what their members chose to tell.

In the early years of the mission Miss Young, in accordance with the principles she had acquired from the C.I.M., strongly urged its staff to learn a native language. For a time new missionaries were stationed initially at either Malu'u or Taravania where they could acquire the To'ambaita language as a basis for future linguistic studies. However, in her absence from the field the policy was not enforced and eventually lapsed. A few missionaries of the first generation - Catherine and Norman Deck, W. Gibbins, Lees and Waterston - became fluent in at least one Solomons language and produced translations of Scripture and the mission's Question Book, a simple syllabus for candidates for baptism. Some missionaries were poorly educated and lacked the

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1 N.I.V., 1911-3, p.6, 1925-6, p.5.
2 Miss Waterston, a gifted linguist, translated the New Testament into To'ambaita, published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1923. Norman Deck compiled a grammar of the Kwara'ae language, published in 1934. By 1924 the Question Book had been translated into eight languages or dialects, including To'ambaita, Kwara'ae and Inakona.
requisite ability. The majority, however, followed Dr Deck and argued that their continual journeys or transfers made knowledge of only one native language worthless when there were ten or eleven major linguistic divisions within the mission's field.

Basically, this attachment to pidgin-English was symptomatic of a state of mind which characterized the S.S.E.M. missionaries as a class. Among them a conspicuous lack of interest in Melanesian life and customs was joined to a stereotyped, almost manichean, view of the islanders themselves. Older pagans, 'besotted with sin and demon worship', were, in the words of Dr Deck, 'almost animals in mind and thought and habits'; young pagans, though 'more outwardly attractive', were still 'only splendid animals...devoid of most of the finer feelings of life.' Against this sombre background the inward and outward changes wrought by Christianity were depicted in glowing colours. A converted islander, a 'fellow heir to heaven', was raised immeasurably in the scale of being: 'Now you feel that you can put your arm round him and love him', wrote the doctor, 'for now he is "a brother beloved", and you have a thousand times more in common with him than you have with a drunken white man.' Yet few missionaries were prepared to accept the island Christians as brothers or equals in any but an abstract

1 Interview with Rev. W. Gibbins.
2 Dr Deck's Letter, October 1923, pp.3-4.
3 Dr Deck's Letter, April 1928, p.8.
and spiritual sense. 'We are enjoying the happy Christian fellowship here', wrote Dr Deck's wife during a visit to the Malayta Company's station at Aola, 'and to me it is quite a tonic to be with older and more matured Christians whom one has not to be trying to help and raise all the time.' The emphasis was on soul-winning rather than friendship and, as has been observed in a similar context, the two attitudes are not the same.

In addition, the missionaries of the S.S.E.M. saw their task as confined to the propagation of Christianity. Native education, economic development and health were regarded as incidental to the paramount spiritual ideal and therefore of little importance. Despite frequent and serious epidemics, high infant and child mortality rates and an inferior government medical service, the mission never attempted seriously to deal with the health problem on Malaita. It was not entirely passive in its attitude: Dr Deck gave numerous treatments in the course of his itinerations on the Evangel, village teachers were occasionally supplied with simple homeopathic medicines, and at each European station first-aid and injections were administered to all comers. But these were mere palliative measures.

1 Diary of J. Deck, 11 July 1915.
3 Dr Deck's Letter, [1917]; N.I.V., June 1941, pp.4-5; Interview with Mr N.C. Deck. In the year 1934-5 the S.S.E.M. received from the government free drugs to the value of £104 - the smallest quantity of any mission in the protectorate: Western Pacific High Commission Gazette, 18 February 1936, p.15.
It was left to the Melanesian Mission, and to a lesser extent to the Seventh-day Adventists, to pioneer an efficient health service for the people of Malaita and the eastern Solomons.

The educational work of the S.S.E.M. broadened only slightly in scope over the years. It did not undertake the separate training of selected girls to assist their future husbands as village teachers until the thirties when it opened a small boarding school at Wanoni Bay (1931) and a larger central institution at Afio on Small Malaita (1934). At the latter school about 50 girls were given a two year course centred upon 'Bible teaching, prayer and personal work', supplemented with simple nursing and scientific food gardening. Education was regarded as essentially an evangelistic activity, aimed at producing fervent believers and dedicated teachers. In all schools the principal textbook was the Authorized Version of the Bible. Academic subjects were considered unsuitable for the islanders and a cause of discontent; nor, except at Afio, did agricultural training or technical education have any place in the curriculum. ²

RELATIONS between the S.S.E.M. and the protectorate government were on two levels. The European missionaries, intent on their religious task and convinced on

scriptural grounds of the necessity of an absolute distinction between the functions of Church and State, were content to adopt a neutral attitude on most political issues. Like many Evangelical missionaries they were not interested in applying political pressure either locally or in the homelands. Consequently, friction with government officials was minimal and Malaita saw none of the furious controversies which raged in the western Solomons.

At the village level, on the other hand, where personalities loomed more important than the injunctions of Scripture, conflict between representatives of the mission and the civil government was not uncommon. In 1922 the government embarked on a policy of appointing district and village headmen in order to provide a chain of communication between its District Officers and the local communities. In the unsettled interior districts of Malaita the islanders initially resisted government authority, but in the Christianized coastal areas it was accepted without demur. In S.S.E.M. villages and districts the traditional system of leadership either had never operated or was fast

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2 B.S.I.P., No.17 of 1922.
3 Allan, op. cit., pp.18-20.
disappearing. The appointment of government headmen thus threatened the supreme position previously enjoyed by the mission teachers in secular and religious affairs, and during the thirties a struggle for power developed between the two parties. This was most marked in To'ambaita where the personal enmity between Shem Irofalu, who had succeeded Ambuofa as leader of the Malu'u church, and Maekali, the local headman, long dominated local politics. As a class, the mission teachers steadily improved their position in relation to the government representatives - a victory which had important consequences in the political disturbances of the post-war years.

IN both composition and religious ethos, the S.S. E.M. stood apart from the other Protestant missions in the Solomons. Its European staff was relatively large and predominantly female. The number of missionaries (including married couples) rose from 16 in 1914 to 25 in 1928 and reached a peak of 36 in 1939. Of these,

1 Hogbin, 'Native Councils and Native Courts in the Solomon Islands', p.260.
2 Allan, op. cit., p.62.
3 Ibid., pp.24, 41, 53-4.
4 These were stationed as follows: One Pusu - B. Kingsmill, H.J. Waite, Misses C.M.A. Deck, G. Davies, L. Drewett, N. Graham, E. Schrader, E.S. Semple, V.M. Sullivan; Fo'ondo (Taravania) - Misses E. Braid, M.M. Jenkins; Makwanu - R.C. Vance; Nafinua (Kwara'ae) - W.T. Clark, Mr and Mrs N.C. Deck, Miss A. Fey, N.E. McGregor; Waisusu (Small Malaita) - J. Hobern, W.T. Wade; Afio - Misses M.A. Civil, J. Deck, J. Macintosh; D. Read; Wanoni - Misses D.L. Henderson, N. Morris, L.
the majority were Australians, the remainder being drawn from New Zealand and Britain, with two from Germany. Acceptance as a missionary was normally conditional upon receiving a course of religious training at an approved Bible Institute, as well as some practical evangelistic experience. Although most of the major Protestant denominations were continuously represented, the mission's practice of believers' baptism led inevitably to a preponderance of Baptists and Plymouth Brethren.

Financial support was correspondingly diverse in origin. Contributions came mainly from individual Evangelicals in Australia and New Zealand, but also from all parts of the English-speaking world. The Young family were consistent and generous benefactors. In proportion to the commitments of the mission, income was remarkably small - an average of £7000 a year in the 1930s. European workers received a tiny maintenance allowance and capital expenditure was kept to a minimum.¹

A further notable feature of the S.S.E.M. was its encouragement of revivalism as a means of urging individual Christians and whole communities whose early fervour had waned to higher levels of life and conduct:

Waite; Star Harbour - A.P. Cowie, K.P. Finger; Inakona - Mr and Mrs R. McBride; Evangel - Mr and Mrs K. Griffiths, E. Horne, J.S. Mill.

¹ A significantly high proportion of the mission's income - £4300 out of £11,000 in 1937-8 and £2500 out of £6700 in 1939-40 - consisted of legacies.
We need our converts not only to be born again, but to be WELL BORN; we long for them to be not only saved, but to be MIGHTILY SAVED....For if a high standard be not set, if the standard of the Lord be not raised high, the Church will have no great expectations.¹

Revivals have always played an important part in the progress of Evangelical Christianity, and after 1872 the association between the two was strengthened by the Keswick Convention, a religious gathering held annually in the English Lake District, which stressed the practical consequences of conversion and the possibility for every Christian of a 'Spirit-filled life' in intimate communion with God.² Like most other undenominational missions, the S.S.E.M. was profoundly influenced by the Keswick teaching and its missionaries prayed regularly for an 'outpouring of the Holy Spirit' upon the young churches in the islands, to 'burn out the sin and the dross and the unbelief.'³ The first outburst of revival in the Solomons was in 1914 at the Baunani training school;⁴ others occurred at Malu'u and Fo'ondo (formerly Taravania) in 1935-6 and at Menehelisi in Small Malaita in 1937.⁵ These were organized religious movements, initiated in each case by the preaching of revivalist missionaries. In common with revivals elsewhere they

¹ N.I.V., 1914, p.18.
³ N.I.V., 1914, p.18.
⁴ Ibid., pp.5-6, 13-5.
⁵ N.I.V., October 1935, pp.4-5, April 1936, p.3, July 1936, pp.3-4, April 1937, pp.4-6.
were marked by lengthy, indeed almost continuous prayer meetings, public confession of former sins and, in the emotionally charged atmosphere, the mass renunciation of tobacco smoking and betel chewing.

Under the watchful eye of Dr Deck the S.S.E.M. preserved its strict Evangelical orthodoxy. On only one occasion did 'heresy' arise: in the late thirties when two experienced missionaries, Ronald Grant and Alan Neil, both of whom had been deeply involved in the recent revivals in north and south Malaita, embraced the doctrines of Perfectionism - the belief that by an act of the Holy Spirit a Christian was enabled to live a 'continuous resurrection life' without conscious sin. At a special meeting in March 1938 the Sydney Council examined the two men and judged their views to be incompatible with those held by the mission. The offenders immediately resigned.1

The importance placed by the S.S.E.M. on purity of doctrine made it critical of, if not actively hostile towards, the aberrations it detected in neighbouring missions. On one side were the Seventh-day Adventists who regarded the Bible as the sole rule of faith yet deduced unacceptable doctrines from it. On the other side were the Melanesian Mission and the Roman Catholics, who supplemented Scripture with the teaching authority of the church, hindered free communion between the individual believer and God by means of 'ceremonialism' and a professional priesthood, and tolerated among their

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1 Sydney Council, 1 February 1937, S.S.E.M. Minutes.
converts customs which the S.S.E.M. considered inextricably associated with pagan beliefs.¹

Of the three, the S.S.E.M. maintained personal contact only with the Melanesian Mission. Although there had been a certain amount of friction between the two bodies in the early years of the S.S.E.M., they soon reached a rough agreement concerning spheres of influence on Malaita. Later, during Baddeley's energetic episcopate, the S.S.E.M. accused the Melanesian Mission of unfair tactics and deliberate breaches of comity agreements, and Baddeley finally agreed to a conference to discuss the matters in dispute. This was held in July 1939 when Catherine and Norman Deck and four other missionaries met with Baddeley and five of his staff at Siota. The most common causes of friction were aired and some attempt made to formulate a uniform policy on the payment of bride price and the attendance of Christians at pagan feasts.² Although unofficial, the meeting was significant in that it was the first occasion in the Solomons in which agents of separate missions conferred freely in an effort to minimize points of practical difference.

WHEN Miss Young died in 1940 the mission she founded had grown to be the largest on Malaita. It then had 9000 adherents out of a total population estimated at 40,000 and was unquestionably a major

¹ E.g., Dr Deck's Letter, July 1226, pp.5-6.
² Interview with Mr N.C. Deck; Diary of C. Deck, 3 July 1939.
force in the island society. Apart from its headquarters at One Pusu there were European stations at Afio and Waisusu on Small Malaita, at Nafinua on the mainland opposite Ngongosila, and at Makwana and Su'u, where a new senior boys' school was planned. The stations at Po'ondo and Malu'u had been closed in the thirties when the To'ambaita church was considered sufficiently stable to stand on its own with only occasional visits from a European missionary. On the east coast and in the interior of the island, in the Areare, Koio and Kwara'ae districts, evangelistic work was being undertaken by individual teachers and also by the Lifurongo, a small band of evangelists founded by Norman Deck on the pattern of the Melanesian Mission's Retatasiu. Despite the weaknesses common to a religion of the second and third generation the mission's fundamentalist teaching was growing in popularity in all districts, with a corresponding increase in the prestige and influence of its native teachers.

That the S.S.E.M. did not occupy a comparable position on either Guadalcanal or San Cristobal was due to the deliberate concentration of its resources on Malaita with its larger population, and to the presence and competition of other Christian bodies. Nevertheless,

1 Groves, op. cit., section 3, p.12.
2 The Lifurongo ('Broadcasters') were founded about 1930. Its members promised to remain unmarried for two years and itinerated in pairs preaching in Christian and pagan villages, at shore markets and feasts. Numbers averaged between 12 and 20: interview with Mr N.C. Deck.
3 Allan, op. cit., pp.76-7.
in some districts - the south coast and north-eastern
hill country of Guadalcanal, and the Arosi district and
south coast of San Cristobal - the S.S.E.M. members
comprised either a substantial minority or a majority
of the total population. On the three islands the
mission claimed approximately 13,000 adherents, of whom
perhaps two-fifths were baptized. The number of school
villages exceeded 300.¹

Undenominational missionary societies possessed a
freedom and flexibility enjoyed by few missions of the
traditional type. Within a freely accepted framework
of common principles each society developed its own
characteristics and policies according to the physical
demands of its field and the preoccupations of its
founder. In its organization as a 'faith mission', the
substance of its teaching and its emphasis on direct
evangelization, the S.S.E.M. may be regarded as a
single example - the first in the Pacific - of a world-
wide Evangelical phenomenon. On the other hand, in
particulars - its premature refusal to pay its native
teachers, its control from outside the field, its
negative attitude towards most features of Melanesian
society and its missionaries' aloofness from their
converts, the mission reflected the personality of its
foundress, the limitations of its European workers and
conditions peculiar to the Solomons.

¹ The S.S.E.M. published no regular statistics. The
figures given here are estimates based on the total
baptized in the Solomons, 1904-40 (7913), and the number
of mission villages in 1935 (300): N.I.V., October 1935,
In its pioneering stage the S.S.E.M. achieved a remarkable success. Its clear, uncompromising teaching, flexible organization and capacity to inspire missionary zeal enabled it to take full advantage of developments on Malaita and elsewhere in the Solomons which, after the return of the Queensland labourers, were generally favourable to the expansion of Christianity. Consequently, it spread rapidly, often in areas where other missions, hampered by rigid organization or the demands of their distinctive doctrines, had made little headway. It was not until after the Second World War that the weakness of many S.S.E.M. policies, especially its neglect of education, became fully apparent; while the ostracism of its missionaries during Marching Rule showed that their inculcation of a spirit of independence into the native church when unaccompanied by a corresponding sense of personal identification was capable of destroying virtually the entire mission edifice.
THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST MISSION

At the turn of the century the Marovo Lagoon at the south-east of New Georgia was regarded as one of the wildest and most unsettled areas in the Solomons. Like the Roviana people, the coastal inhabitants of Marovo practised head-hunting, and until about 1901 they sailed regularly in their great canoes to Ysabel, and even to Guadalcanal, in search of victims. Plentiful coconuts attracted traders to the lagoon at an early date. Although the Marovo people were considered friendly to Europeans, these traders led an uneasy existence. During the 1890s at least two were killed in the course of their work and in 1908 violence erupted again with the murder of Oliver Burns, a young and inoffensive trader's assistant. In addition, the region was terrorized by Lela, a 'fighting man' and the instigator of the Burns murder, forcing most of the inhabitants of the Pondokana district on the New Georgia coast to withdraw into the bush or to Ramada at the northern end of the lagoon.

Yet the root cause of the unrest was neither the bloodlust of powerful chiefs nor the persistence of traditional feuds, but the practice adopted by the four resident traders of arming their native assistants, and

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1 Mahaffy to H.C., 21 December 1908 - encl. in Major to C.O., 11 February 1909 - C.O. 225/85. See also Bain to Davis, 15 September 1891, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 24 June 1892 - C.O. 225/40, and Scarr, 'Policy and Practice in the Western Pacific', p.273.
their haphazard and dishonest methods of collecting coconuts from the Pondokana groves. Finally, in April 1910 Woodford officially prohibited trading at Marovo and installed a District Magistrate with a band of native police at a deserted trading station. Assured of government protection, the Pondokana people were induced to return to their homes. Within two years the district had quietened down sufficiently for the ban on trading to be lifted and the government station to be closed.\(^1\)

It was not until 1911 that Christian missions turned their attention to Marovo. In that year an attempt was made to establish a Roman Catholic station on Vangunu but, like the mission commenced at Roviana at the same time, it made no headway and the priest was soon withdrawn.\(^2\) In 1912 a Tongan Methodist catechist was sent to the district and over the next two years some of the Pondokana people were gathered into a mission village at Patutiva.\(^3\) Elsewhere the Marovo natives, who numbered perhaps 2000, held themselves aloof from Christian influences. It was at this point that Seventh-day Adventist missionaries from Australia arrived in the lagoon with the intention of founding a mission.

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\(^1\) Mahaffy to H.C., 8 April 1910, 11 May 1910, encl. in im Thurn to C.O., 9 July 1910 - C.O. 225/91; Woodford to H.C., 13 May 1910, Mahaffy to H.C., 9 July 1910, encl. in im Thurn to C.O., 11 July 1911 - C.O. 225/91; Vernon to C.O., 24 December 1912 - C.O. 225/113.

\(^2\) There is a reference to this venture in Goldie to Danks, 1 August 1912, M.O.M., S.I. Correspondence.

\(^3\) See above, p.295.
At various stages in the history of Christianity men have prophesied Christ's imminent return. The first decades of the nineteenth century saw the resurgence and spread of this belief in the historic Protestant churches of England, Europe and the United States. Interest reached a peak in New England in the 1840s; prophecies were made and remained unfulfilled, but the enthusiasm did not wane. Among its results was the foundation by Ellen and James White of the Seventh-day Adventist church, which combined the apocalyptic expectations of the earlier movement with a new belief in the necessity of observing the Sabbath and other precepts of the Old Testament.  

Convinced that the prophecies of St Matthew 24:14 and Revelation 14:6 applied to them in a special way, Seventh-day Adventists from the first held a strongly missionary faith. Ellen White, whose prolific writings were a source of instruction and inspiration for her followers, declared:

Sound an alarm throughout the length and breadth of the earth. Tell the people that the day of the Lord is near and hasteth greatly. Let none be left unwarned....According to the truth we

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2 'And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come'; 'And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people'.
have received above others, we are debtors to impart the same to them. 1

The Adventist faith was brought to Australia, to Melbourne, in 1885, 11 years after the church's first overseas missionary left the United States for Europe. By 1888, when the Australian Conference of Seventh-day Adventists was organized, there were four churches with 266 members. In 1891 the south Pacific was designated as the mission field of the Adventists of Australia. Three years later the first band of missionaries departed for the islands. 2

Adventist mission work in the Pacific Islands had begun in 1886 when an itinerant church member from the United States visited Pitcairn. Within four years half the population of the island was baptized, and during the 1890s missionaries were placed on all the major island groups as far west as Norfolk and Lord Howe Islands. 3 Resources were then concentrated on the less hospitable islands further north, missions being founded in Papua in 1908 and in the New Hebrides, on Malekula, in 1912.

1 Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church (Mountain View, Calif., 1948), vol.VI, p.22.
2 A.R., 29 July 1935, pp.1-2; A.G. Steward, Trophies from Cannibal Isles (Washington, 1956), pp.7-22. In 1894 the Australian Conference was enlarged to include the churches in New Zealand (where Adventist missionaries had first arrived in 1885) and reconstituted as the Australasian Union Conference.
3 Tahiti in 1891, Norfolk Island in 1893, Lord Howe Island in 1894, and Fiji, Rarotonga, Samoa and Tonga in 1895.
The missionary fervour of Australian Adventists, linked as it was to the movement's keen interest in the 'Signs of the Times', was at fever pitch in the years immediately preceding the First World War. The statistics of the Australasian Union Conference reveal that in 1913 the 4478 church members gave over £1 a head for missionary purposes, in addition to the customary tithe. This was a remarkable sum for this period, especially when it is considered that the great majority of Adventists appear to have been drawn from the humbler ranks of society.\footnote{\textit{A.R.}, 28 September 1914. Pastor W.E. Battye of Sydney who was a student at the Australasian Missionary College, Cooranbong, N.S.W., at this time has confirmed my impression, gained from a perusal of Adventist literature of the period.}

The reasons are not difficult to ascertain. In the first place, the movement was in its infancy, virtually all its adherents being first generation converts; consequently, enthusiasm was likely to run high. Secondly, the unsettled international situation tended to underline the urgency of the Adventist message. 'That we have reached the closing scenes of this world's history is clearly evident', declaimed a writer in the \textit{Australasian Record}. 'The prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation that have not yet been fulfilled are in the process of fulfilment. What should have been done in warning the world of a soon-coming Saviour must now be done in a short time. Missionaries are wanted everywhere....'\footnote{\textit{A.R.}, 20 January 1913, p.6. See also \textit{A.R.}, 28 April 1913, p.10.} Finally, the concept of 'special
election' - the conviction of being a favoured minority set apart to witness to great truths neglected by the existing churches - engendered a willingness to make sacrifices. One propagandist stated:

Of all the people on the earth, none are so highly honoured as the Seventh-day Adventists, who are permitted to receive special instruction, direct from heaven, on all things that relate to the earthly as well as the heavenly life. If we should receive a letter post-marked 'New Jerusalem, Heaven', and signed with Jesus' own hand, we would probably feel greatly elated; but that would be no greater honour than we are now receiving.¹

It was against this background of exclusiveness, assurance of divine favour and eager anticipation of the proximate return of Christ,² that the Seventh-day Adventist mission in the Solomon Islands was founded.

AID in establishing the new mission was received from an unlikely quarter. Norman Wheatley, the Roviana trader, in a bid to counter the expanding influence of the Methodist mission, had long been anxious to introduce an element of religious dissent into the western Solomons. The Roman Catholic mission on which he had

² Cf. the definition of a sect given by Algermissen (op. cit., p.15) - 'an individualistic religious community, characterized by the Donatist concept of special election, a rigorous ethical code, fundamentalism, religious fanaticism and powerful propaganda activity. It clings obstinately to its special doctrines and because of its eschatological and millennial expectations is completely philistine in its general attitude.'
initially pinned his hopes had failed, but somewhere he had heard of the Seventh-day Adventists who, so their detractors claimed, would 'compass sea and land to make one proselyte'. Accordingly, while on a visit to Sydney in 1913, he contacted the Union Conference headquarters and suggested to the church authorities that they send a mission to New Georgia. His proposal was welcomed and in September of that year the Union Conference Council designated Pastor G.F. Jones and his wife to 'open up work in the Solomon Islands'.

Griffith Francis Jones was nearly 50 years old when he was appointed to the Solomons. A master-mariner converted to Adventism through a study of its literature, he had already worked as a colporteur in England, as a missionary in Mangareva and the Cook Islands, and had recently spent eight years founding a new mission in Singapore. He was a tough and tenacious little man, methodical and single-minded, and his

1 For details of Wheatley's relations with Goldie and his encouragement of the Roman Catholic mission at Roviana in 1911-2 see above, pp.263-5, 296-7.
2 Interviews with Mr K. Wheatley (Lambeti) and Belshazzar Gina (Honiara). Both extant versions of the story are in substantial agreement. Wheatley's intervention was, however, the occasion rather than the cause of the foundation of the Solomons mission. From the pattern of Adventist missionary activity elsewhere in the Pacific it is likely that a mission would have been sent to the protectorate within the next few years.
3 A.R., 13 October 1913, p.4.
ability as a pioneer evangelist was respected by his coreligionists.¹

The new mission field consisted of the geographical Solomons - Bougainville as well as the protectorate. Although it was intended to begin work on New Georgia, no particular area had yet been singled out for attention. It was, however, Adventist policy to found missions centres in the islands 'among the natives away from steamer ports',² while Jones himself sought a central position so that 'the whole of the group, whether savage or civilized', might be quickly reached.³

In May 1914 Jones and his wife sailed by steamer to the Solomons, first to Tulagi, where Woodford supplied them with letters of introduction to the District Magistrates of the western Solomons, and then to Gizo.⁴ At Lambeti Wheatley gave the newcomers advice, supplied a native crew for their launch Advent Herald, and recommended Viru harbour, on the south coast of New Georgia 40 miles from Roviana, where he owned a plantation and a store, as a convenient place to begin work. The population of Viru was small and its inhabitants considered lazy and unattractive, but they were willing to receive a missionary. Accompanied by

¹ There is an account of his life in Steward, op. cit., pp.103-41. On his return from the Solomons in 1920 he was sent by the Union Conference to Papua to revive a languishing mission, and he later founded missions in New Caledonia (1925) and New Britain (1929). He died in 1940.
² A.R., 13 October 1913, p.3.
³ A.R., 9 August 1915, p.3.
⁴ A.R., 10 August 1914, p.4.
two local traders (Anderson and Statham), Jones then sailed on into the Marovo Lagoon where he was joined by J.C. Barley, a young assistant magistrate temporarily in residence at the government station. Ten villages were visited, from Nono at the western end of the lagoon to the island of Gatukai in the east; at each place Jones was introduced to the chiefs and leading men, and his intentions explained. While the Marovo people decided whether to accept the mission, Jones devoted himself to the establishment of a head station at Viru. Land was leased, a prefabricated house erected and a school commenced, in the hope that the Viru natives, who spoke the Marovo language, would soon supply young men for work as mission teachers in the lagoon villages.1

At the close of 1914 a second missionary (O.V. Hellestrand) arrived from Australia to take charge of the Viru Station and Jones became an itinerant evangelist, sailing around Marovo and later further afield endeavouring to find fresh openings for the mission. News of the war in Europe, a further sign of the approaching End, stirred him to even greater activity:

There can be no mistake now in what all this war and confusion means....I pray we shall

1 The events of these first months are recounted in A.R., 19 October 1914, p.3, 2 September 1929, p.4; Stewart, op. cit., pp.120-1. Statham, who rendered Jones considerable assistance, was in charge of Wheatley's planting and trading interests at Viru. Barley remained in the Solomons - a well-known District Officer and one of the few to learn a native language - until 1933 when he was appointed Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate.
not be hindered for men and means just now. Our last opportunity for service has come, and we should hasten everywhere.¹

During 1915 two more missionaries (D. Gray and D. Nicholson) arrived to found stations in the lagoon at Gatukai and on Marovo Island. By the close of the year there were eight village schools, each about ten miles apart. Already, several hundred people had expressed their readiness 'to keep the Sabbath day holy, and to have the Bible and other instruction.'²

Despite major hindrances - the attachment of the Marovo natives to their traditional religion and the disruption of school attendance by frequent feasts, pig hunting and sacred days³ - these first years of mission work were more fruitful than any that the Adventists had yet undertaken in the Pacific Islands, with the sole exception of Pitcairn. In Polynesia little impression had been made on the London Missionary Society and Methodist fortresses, while the missions in Papua and the New Hebrides, which had been founded in solidly pagan areas, were struggling for survival.⁴

² A.R., 13 December 1915, p.7. It is difficult to estimate the precise numbers under instruction at this stage. At 30 June 1915 Sabbath School members totalled 93 (A.R., 20 September 1915), while about 500 had 'chosen us as their missionaries': A.R., 16 August 1915, p.3.
³ A.R., 16 August 1915, p.4, 24 July 1916, p.3.
⁴ In 1918, a decade after its foundation, the Papua mission had only one Sabbath School with 20 members and no baptized converts: A.R., 31 March 1919. In 1923 the New Hebrides mission comprised four Sabbath Schools with 157 members and 23 baptized converts: A.R., 29 October 1923.
The apparent willingness of the Solomon Islanders to receive Adventist teaching greatly heartened the missionaries, accustomed as they had been in Australia to much hard work and little response to their efforts. Characteristically, they interpreted it as another sign that Christ's return was near:

Surely we are in the days when a 'quick work' is to be accomplished for the heathen....The ripened sheaves from far and near are ready for binding, and should be gathered in ere the great day of the Lord breaks upon a guilty world.1

This early success of the Seventh-day Adventist mission in the Marovo Lagoon owed much to a combination of unusually favourable circumstances. From the time of his arrival at Gizo Jones was, in the eyes of the local European residents, a symbol of defiance and opposition to the Methodist mission in general and to Goldie in particular. Traders and planters were generous with assistance and government officials showed 'every consideration and respect'; Barley lent a vocabulary of the Marovo language which he had compiled and encouraged the chiefs of the lagoon villages to accept the new mission.2

Secondly, European culture had already made considerable inroads into the traditional Marovo society. The protectorate government had suppressed inter-group fighting and head-hunting, trade goods were widespread, the people had lost their spirit and were considered

1 A.R., 28 May 1917, p.4.
'indolent' and 'dirty'. They were therefore open to Seventh-day Adventism with its clear-cut beliefs and rigorous behaviour demands, its negative attitude to many features of the old society and its eschatological emphasis - the promise of Christ's coming kingdom and the collective resurrection of the dead.

Thirdly, the Adventists' unusual method of propaganda exerted a strong immediate attraction. Indeed, it was to the hymn singing and testimonies of those Vuru youths who travelled with him on the Advent Herald that Jones later attributed much of his initial success. Everywhere the Adventist hymns were received with enthusiasm, and in many the singing aroused a lasting affection for the mission.

Three other local factors assisted the newcomers. In their efforts to gain a sympathetic hearing both the Methodist and Roman Catholic missions had taught a little reading and writing to some of the older Marovo natives. For these, the written word came clothed with all the authority of the white man and they were inclined to accept Adventist teaching, with its stress on a literal interpretation of Scripture, without question.

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1 A.R., 28 May 1917, p.3.
2 See below, pp.480-1.
4 Interview with Pastor Laejama (Honiara). Laejama was a boy when the Seventh-day Adventist mission commenced a school in his village, Kono, in 1916. He later attended the mission's training school at Batuma, was baptized (1928) and worked as a village teacher on Gatukai, Guadalcanal and Rendova.
In addition, Ngatu, the young Pondokana chief who had introduced the Methodists into Marovo, was convinced that this action was in some way responsible for the subsequent death of his father, and he advised neighbouring leaders to try the Adventists instead.\(^1\)

Finally, Jones was fortunate in gaining at an early date, through Barley, the support and goodwill of Tatangu, the chief of Marovo Island, who in turn persuaded Nipala, the most influential chief in the lagoon, to consent to the foundation of the mission in the area.\(^2\)

From 1914 until his death in 1920 Tatangu's relationship with the mission was somewhat chequered. Although he declined to allow a school in his own village of Mbambata he permitted the establishment of a mission station at Sasaghana, two miles distant, and encouraged his younger followers to attend school there.\(^3\)

These became the 'stay' of the Marovo mission and a ready source of workers, as boat's crews and teachers for the village schools further afield. In 1917 D. Nicholson, the resident missionary, reported that Tatangu had instructed his own children 'to remain firm and follow whatever we taught from the Bible, and accept that as right', and had himself relinquished the worship

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1 Interview with B. Gina.
2 Personal communication from H.B.P. Wicks, 28 February 1966.
of his ponda or ancestral spirits. Shortly afterwards, following a sexual misdemeanour by one of the boys attending the Sasaghana school, he withdrew his support for the mission and demanded that the station be closed. The missionaries regretfully complied and transferred their school to Telina, a small island seven miles away near Nipala's village of Repi.

An immediate result of the entry of the Adventists into the Marovo Lagoon was increased Methodist activity and a violent antagonism between the two missions as each raced the other to obtain the allegiance of the remaining pagans. In such a contest the Adventists were at a distinct disadvantage. Unlike their rivals they had no source of trained native teachers to place in those villages which expressed interest in their teaching; indeed, for the first four or five years they were dependent almost entirely on a handful of European staff. As a temporary measure, the missionaries taught English to the schoolboys at the Viru, Sasaghana

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1 A.R., 28 May 1917, pp. 3-4.
2 Personal communication from H.B.P. Wicks, 4 July 1965. A mission house was erected on Telina in 1917. Nicholson later quarrelled with Jones and was recalled to Australia. Before he left Telina he told the school pupils to return to their homes and remain there until he himself came back. 'This made it very hard for Pr Jones, and just about broke him.' The damage was finally repaired by Jones's successor: H.B.P. Wicks: 'Some thoughts concerning the Tetagu family'.
3 In 1917 there were ten European missionaries: G.F. Jones and wife, O.V. Hellestrand and wife, S.R. Maunder and wife, D. Nicholson and wife, D. Gray and J. Radley.
and Telina stations and sent them to adjacent villages for three month periods to teach English hymns, Bible stories and the elements of Adventist doctrine.\(^1\) In each village the first mission institution was the Sabbath School, the pivot of Adventist church life throughout the world. Day schools were at first confined to the European stations and were not started in the villages until after 1918 when more experienced teachers were available.\(^2\)

The teaching given by the missionaries tended to stress those points on which Adventism differed from Protestant orthodoxy, special emphasis being placed on the Old Testament stories of the Creation and the Patriarchs, Bible prophecy and the imminent Second Advent. Picture rolls which depicted these events in bright colours were used extensively. In 1915 Jones reported on the achievements of the mission scholars at Viru:

They can...answer questions on the creation work of each day of the week, and tell why Saturday is the Sabbath. They can tell also about the fall of our first parents, the coming of the Saviour, and of His soon coming again to restore all things.\(^3\)


\(^2\) A.R., 30 October 1922, p.96; Interview with Pastor Laejama. These Sabbath Schools followed the same syllabus as their Australian counterparts, with a different printed lesson each Sabbath: A.R., 26 December 1921, p.4.

\(^3\) A.R., 8 March 1915, p.8.
But to the islanders Seventh-day Adventism appeared less a set of doctrines than a new and binding way of life, centred upon the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, the payment of the tithe and the renunciation, in the name of certain books of the Old Testament and Ellen White's principles of 'health reform', of betel-nut and tobacco, shellfish (fish without 'fins and scales') and pork.

Throughout the Marovo Lagoon, as elsewhere in the Solomons, pork was an important article of diet,\(^1\) shellfish were plentiful, and tobacco smoking and betel chewing were well-entrenched habits. At first the missionaries made little progress in their struggle against these practices and it was not until 1916 that some success was achieved, when ten young men at the Sasafrica mission - among them Peo, a son of Tatangu, and Pana, the chief's nephew - gave up their betel-nut, tobacco and 'unclean foods'.\(^2\) These became ardent propagandists on behalf of the mission and other young men, 'tired of...aimless feasts' and attracted by the clear choice offered them between the Way of Life and the Path to Destruction, followed their example.\(^3\) From this time on instances are regularly recorded of the Adventist demands being obeyed, at least by some,

\(^1\) The people of Gatukai, in particular, were known for their fine pigs: A.R., 30 August 1915, p.3.
\(^2\) A.R., 24 July 1916, p.3.
within a few months of the mission's entry into a village.

On the other hand, keeping the Sabbath, from Friday evening to sundown on Saturday, was a simple matter. Frequently a village would observe the Sabbath rigidly as soon as it received a teacher, long before the significance of the day was understood. Similarly the tithe, which was paid on money and food and devoted to the support of mission teachers and Sabbath Schools, presented few problems. Faithfulness in tithe paying was generally believed to ensure divine favour, in the form of good crops and protection of gardens from wild pigs.

The progress of Juapa Rane, as the Seventh-day Adventist mission was called, through the Marovo Lagoon was accompanied by a strong, even violent revulsion against the pagan past and the reorganization of social life in conformity with the precepts of the mission. The ponda were denounced as instruments of Satan, competitive feasts and the payment of bride-price — important elements in the traditional culture — were discontinued, as were dances and other customs considered incompatible with the new faith. Converts were clothed

1 E.g., A.R., 28 August 1919, p.4, 8 December 1924, p.3. The missionaries themselves were not unaware of this. R.H. Tutty noted that 'Healthful living is the cross in the islands, not Sabbath-keeping. A native can easily keep Sabbath, but it is a cross for him to give up his pipe, pigs and betel-nuts': A.R., 8 October 1928, p.4.
in calico - 'Mother Hubbards' for the women and waist cloths for the men - and gathered from their hamlets into new villages, located on the shore with houses built in ordered rows around the church. The only way to 'reform' the people fully, the missionaries agreed, was to 'bring them right under the influence and benefit of the mission.'¹ Those islanders who lived near the European stations were therefore encouraged to settle upon mission property where daily life could be regulated in detail. Everywhere cleanliness was stressed; washing and the use of bar soap became regular habits. Although these developments were approved and directed by the European missionaries, the principal agents in their enforcement were the young native teachers who, as a class, were even more sweeping and less accommodating in their demands.²

These early evangelistic efforts climaxed in December 1917 when the first annual mission meeting was held at Sasaghana, attended by 21 chiefs and 300 of their followers. At the close of the gathering, on 1 January 1918, the first converts - ten young men from Sasaghana, Telina and Viru - were baptized.³

¹ A.R., 29 June 1923, p.3.
² Interview with Pastor Laejama. Of the Marovo people in their new state Jones reported - 'Their aims now are to buy calico to dress themselves for church and school, to possess a Bible and read it, and also a hymn book and sing its hymns': A.R., 18 August 1919, p.2.
³ A.R., 25 February 1918, p.4. This assembly was a Melanesian counterpart of the Camp Meeting, an established feature of Adventist church life in Australia, the United States and European countries.
ALTHOUGH local enmities and suspicions persisted, the Marovo Lagoon was by this time a relatively peaceful and homogeneous unit, far removed from the warring nest of head-hunters of a generation earlier. Increasing contact between Marovo and other parts of the New Georgia group led in turn to an interest in the new mission in villages further afield - opportunities which Jones was not slow to seize. In 1916 the inhabitants of Ugeli on Rendova, where Jones had first called in 1914 on his way to Viru, sent a delegation to Marovo to report on what they saw, and in response to their request a European missionary was sent there in the following year.¹ Teachers were subsequently placed at Baniata and Lokuru, the last remaining pagan enclaves on the island.² From their base on Rendova the Adventists made repeated but abortive attempts to obtain a foothold in the Roviana Lagoon: Goldie allegedly did not hesitate to use force to expel troublesome intruders from his domain.³

Favourable reports of the Seventh-day Adventist mission also aroused the curiosity of the people of Doveli, a heathen district on the north-east coast of Vella Lavella. Melanesian Mission teachers from Ysabel

¹ A.R., 28 May 1917, p.4; Cormack, op. cit., pp.168-70. A European missionary was stationed at Ugeli until 1928.
² A.R., 7 July 1924, p.2, 7 June 1926, pp.3-4. Methodist teachers were already stationed at both places; that portion of the population which had hitherto remained aloof subsequently joined the Adventist mission.
³ A.R., 21 October 1918, p.55, 6 March 1932, p.8; Goldie to Scriven, 9 May 1940, M.F.M., Correspondence; Personal communication from H.B.P. Wicks, 28 February 1966.
had been placed at Doveli in 1905, but after their withdrawal two years later the people had refused to accept the Methodist mission, which was entrenched elsewhere on the island, for fear it would take away all the young folk. Accompanied by a Doveli man who had married a Marovo woman, Jones himself visited the area on several occasions. At length, he was offered land for a mission station adjacent to the village of Mboro and in 1919 R.H. Tutty, a young Australian missionary, was sent there. From the inception of the mission, the entire village observed the Sabbath and attended church twice daily, though the traditional religious rites were continued as before. Tutty's success in healing the sick eventually turned the tide in his favour and in 1921 the first eight converts were baptized. In 1923 the achievements of the Christian community were proudly chronicled: 99 had given up smoking, betel chewing and 'unclean food', 78 could 'pray and testify', 53 were considered 'true Christians', 51 had 'overcome anger' and 32 could 'read English in varying degrees'.

From Doveli Adventism spread to adjacent islands, Ganongga in the south and Choiseul to the north. Jones had called at Mondo, a populous locality on Ganongga in 1918 but had found its inhabitants undecided about

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1 See above, p.122.
3 A.R., 2 July 1923, p.4.
which of the two competing missions to accept. The Mondo people were, however, on friendly terms with the Doveli - there were regular exchanges of food and shell ornaments between the two - and after a visit in 1920 the leading men decided that they too would receive the Adventists. Pana, Tatangu's nephew, who was assisting Tutty, was sent there to begin a school.

A forceful though somewhat wayward character, Pana achieved a remarkable success at Mondo. Under his direction, and with the enthusiastic support of Keza, the chief, a large church was erected and a sustained attempt by the Methodist mission to gain entry into the village repelled, while virtually the entire population, which numbered nearly 300, was prevailed upon to part with tobacco and betel-nut. In 1923 the Union Conference Secretary, who visited Ganongga in the course of a tour of inspection of the Solomons field, claimed with pride that the Mondo mission, 'for real practical results gained in so short a period, stands alone in the history of our South Sea work', and was the largest company of 'faithful believers' anywhere in the Pacific.

1 A.R., 1 November 1920, p.3.
2 There is an account of the foundation and early years of the Mondo mission in Tutty, op. cit. Reports of its progress are in A.R., 4 April 1921, p.3, 13 June 1921, p.4, 28 November 1921, p.8, 20 February 1922, p.2. The Methodists withdrew their two teachers in 1922.
3 A.R., 9 October 1922, p.26. The large Adventist village thus formed was later moved to Buri (Vori) at the northern end of the island where there was a convenient anchorage.
The Doveli people had traditionally migrated from Choiseul - a link they subsequently renewed in the form of head-hunting raids upon its unfortunate coastal dwellers.¹ Following the suppression of head-hunting by the protectorate government there was friendlier contact between the two peoples; indeed, as early as 1920 six Choiseul youths, from Sengga, were attending the mission school at Mboro. These pressed invitations to found a mission among their own people, but inability to provide the necessary staff, either European or Melanesian, forced the mission leaders to decline the requests. However, in 1921 they were spurred into action by a report that the inhabitants of Ghogombe, near Kumboro, had ejected a Methodist teacher on the ground that they wanted only an Adventist mission, and Jugha, Pana's assistant at Mondo, was despatched there immediately.²

Jugha, a slave captured on a Marovo head-hunting raid some years previously, had been among the first converts of the Sasaghana mission. Although untrained for teaching and physically unattractive - his entire body was covered with a variety of ringworm - he was considered 'steady and dependable',³ and he soon gained a sizeable following among the young men of Ghogombe.⁴

¹ Tutty, op. cit. See also Woodford to Mahaffy, 27 August 1898, encl. in O'Brien to C.O., 11 October 1898 - C.O. 225/55.
² A.R., 4 April 1921, p.3, 17 October 1921, p.5; Watson, op. cit., pp.243-4; Personal communication from H.B.P. Wicks, 4 July 1965.
³ Personal communication from H.B.P. Wicks, 28 February 1966.
⁴ A.R., 27 August 1923, p.4. The first baptism, of four young men, was held in 1924.
From there he established the mission in pagan villages on both the east and west coasts of Choiseul, newly at peace after decades of sporadic fighting. The Methodist mission not unnaturally resented being robbed of the fruit of its peacemaking efforts. Goldie reported bitterly:

It is characteristic of the strange sect of Seventh-dayists that now the fighting is over on Choiseul, they should seek an opening there and upset and undo as far as they are able to the fine work done by our Missionaries and teachers. It will be interesting to hear how they 'have now taken up work among the fierce people of Choiseul', ... they will of course quite forget to mention the unimportant fact that they only went to that island after the Methodists had succeeded in establishing peace by years of hard work and self-sacrifice.

In 1925, when a European missionary was appointed to the island, there were seven Adventist villages - four on the east coast and three on the west. Four years later, when a new head station was established at Ruruvai, the number had risen to 11 and there was fierce competition with the Methodists for the allegiance of the 300 or so pagans remaining in the Sengga district. The ill-feeling between the two

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1 For details see above, pp.303-6.
2 Goldie to Sinclair, 1 December 1922, M.F.M. Correspondence.
3 A.R., 5 April 1926, p.3. A European missionary was stationed on Choiseul, more or less continuously, until the war: D. Gray, 1925-6; A.J. Campbell, 1928-36, J.T. Howse, 1936-42.
bodies erupted dramatically in 1931 when militant Methodist burned down a church and several houses in two Adventist villages. A visiting missionary consoled his aggrieved flock, assuring them that 'the day will soon be here when the just Judge will call things into reckoning, and the offenders will receive whatever is their due.' To this came the reply: 'it does not matter much, for Christ will soon come, and give us something better than we have lost.'

THROUGHOUT the western Solomons Adventist—Methodist rivalry reached its peak during the twenties. As the accusations made by the Methodists are similar to those levelled against Adventist missionary activity elsewhere in the Pacific, indeed the world over, it is worth examining them in detail. The principal charges were five in number.

In the first place, the Adventists, by entering the western Solomons, a recognized Methodist sphere of work, had breached the principle of comity of missions. This charge the Adventists countered by claiming, in the name of the principle of religious liberty, the absolute right of each denomination to promulgate its tenets anywhere in the world, regardless of whether other bodies considered certain areas to be their exclusive

1 A.R., 8 February 1932, p.3.
3 N.Z.M.T., 1 January 1921, p.12, 7 May 1921, p.13.
territory. In any case, Adventist teaching represented
the consummation of the Christian revelation and
therefore superseded all earlier theologies:

As we believe that every nation, kindred,
tongue, and people must be given the
opportunity of hearing the judgement
message of Revelation fourteen, we are
organising our forces to deliver to all
the world that judgement message, whether
the territory be pagan, Mohammedan, Papal,
or Protestant. ¹

Bound by this fundamental article of faith, the Adventists
were unable, in conscience, to accept the principle of
comity which governed relations between most Protestant
missionary organizations.

Related to this charge was another, that the
Adventists had made no move to reach the pagan
population of the region, but had established their
stations close to Methodist centres where the people

¹ N.Z.M.T., 7 May 1921, p.13. See also Cormack, op.cit.,
pp.135-6, and A.R., 21 August 1922, p.6. According to
H.B.P. Wicks, Jones confronted an irate Goldie some
time in 1914 and challenged him thus - 'Are you teaching
that God's Judgement is in session in the heavenly
sanctuary, and that it will close soon, and when it
does Revelation 22:11 will be fulfilled, and that will
prepare the way for the return of Jesus? If you are
we will be pleased to leave this district to you, but
if you are not then we will stay here and teach this
message to all who will listen, for this message must
go to every nation, kindred, tongue and people, saying
with a loud voice, "fear God and give glory to Him, for
the hour of His judgement is come". So if you don't
give it we will': Notes accompanying Tutty's 'History
of the Dovele Mission'.
were already 'served' by the existing mission.¹ This the Adventists strongly denied: in 'nearly all cases' they had founded their missions amongst 'distinctly heathen people', while Goldie, 'instead of rejoicing that men were being won from "the power of Satan unto God"', had done all in his power to disrupt and overthrow their work.²

The Adventists were also alleged to have obtained invitations to begin schools by 'misrepresentation and false promises', such as the assurance that they would make English scholars of the people within three months.³ This too was flatly denied:

We have been invited by the natives to send missionaries to teach them the gospel...because they see such genuine transformation of character in the lives of those who have accepted the message we preach, that they themselves are attracted to it.⁴

It is beyond dispute that the Adventists used the widespread desire to learn English as a lever to gain entrance into a village.⁵ It was also true that personal preference played a significant part in its

¹ Solomon Islands Chairman's Report, 1920, M.O.M., Synod Minutes; Goldie to Sinclair, 3 September 1922, M.E.M., Correspondence; N.Z.M.T., 1 March 1924, p.16.
² A.R., 7 August 1922, p.4. Jones claimed that the Methodist mission 'carefully trains the natives to avoid and hate us': A.R., 7 October 1918, p.3.
³ Solomon Islands Chairman's Report, 1920, loc. cit.; N.Z.M.T., 1 January 1921, p.12.
⁴ N.Z.M.T., 7 May 1921, p.13.
⁵ Interview with Pastor Laejama.
expansion; many islanders were impressed by the conscientious abstinence from pork and betel-nut and the bodily cleanliness which distinguished Adventist converts from those of other missions.¹ To imply, as did Goldie, that the Adventist mission was the only one to misrepresent its rivals, and that its progress was due entirely to secondary social forces and ulterior motives, was as erroneous as his rival's ingenuous insistence on the moral perfection of its converts and the total absence of non-religious factors in conversion.

The fourth charge was that many of the invitations which the Adventists claimed to have received emanated from disgruntled elements in Methodist villages or were sponsored by Europeans 'who for their own selfish reasons were opposed to the Methodist mission', and were therefore of such a questionable nature that no honest man, or mission, could have accepted them.² Against this, the Adventists upheld the right of each individual, even in an established mission station, 'to exercise his God-given right of choice.'³ Goldie could produce certain facts to support his case, even if the conclusion he drew is unacceptable. The chief 'fault' of the Adventist missionaries in this respect was not conscious dishonesty, but rather an oversimplified world-view which, when coupled with a consuming zeal for the propagation

¹ E.g., A.R., 5 October 1925, p.3, 4 June 1928, p.2, 14 August 1933, p.8, 20 April 1931, p.8; Watson, op. cit., pp.264-5.
² N.Z.M.T., 7 May 1921, p.13, 3 March 1934, p.5.
³ Cormack, op. cit., p.194.
of their faith among any who were willing to listen, made them an easy tool in the hands of those who were not averse to using religious dissension for their own ends.

Finally, it was asserted that the presence of the Seventh-day Adventist mission was everywhere a 'disturbing factor', resented by the vast majority of the inhabitants of the western Solomons. Moreover, the land occupied by the Adventist stations at Telina, Vuru and Ugeli had been wrongfully leased by the government and was 'undoubtedly' the property of Methodist natives, who were in fact appealing to the protectorate Lands' Commission to evict the interlopers. To the Adventists, for whom persecution and the opposition of clergy of older churches was but a further guarantee of the truth of their teaching, this clumsy Methodist attempt to dislodge them from the group appeared as part of a satanic plot to 'shut away the light'. Days of fasting and prayer were duly observed at all mission stations:

1 Solomon Islands Chairman's Report, 1920, loc. cit.; N.Z.M.T., 1 January 1921, p.12, 7 May 1921, p.13.

2 In a passage often quoted by her followers Ellen White had declared: 'As the controversy extends into new fields, and the minds of the people are called to God's down-trodden law, Satan is astir. The power attending the message will only madden those who oppose it. The clergy will put forth almost superhuman efforts to shut away the light, lest it should shine upon their flocks. By every means at their command they will endeavour to suppress the discussion of these vital questions. The church appeals to the strong arm of the civil power, and in this work, papists and Protestants unite': The Great Controversy (Mountain View, Calif., 1949), p.607.
It was deemed advisable for all in this group particularly, to engage in deep heart searching, and seeking the Lord, in order that God would cleanse the soul temple from sinful dross, and hear our requests on behalf of the land questions so soon to come before the government officials.

Be it known that the enemy is strongly entrenched behind solidly fortified battlements, and will die fighting, and consequently we shall need all the resources at our command to overthrow the work of the evil one.¹

The cases, long delayed, were heard in 1923. Although the land in dispute was small in area, the Lands' Commissioner (F.B. Phillips) reported 'an extraordinary interest' in the proceedings.² Goldie was present at all the hearings to encourage the Methodist claimants and two members of the Union Conference executive were sent from Australia as defendants. At Ugeli the Adventists retained their property in a settlement reached out of court, while at Viru the mission lease was confirmed when the rival claimant withdrew at the last moment.³ The Telina case dragged on for a year until judgement was finally given in favour of the Adventists.⁴ With their three leases upheld and a resounding moral victory gained over their adversary, the missionaries were jubilant. Goldie, humiliated, described the cases when

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¹ A.R., 27 March 1922, p.3.
² Allan, Customary Land Tenure, p.81.
³ A.R., 27 August 1922, pp.2-3; Personal communication from H.B.P. Wicks, 4 July 1965.
⁴ A.R., 7 July 1924, p.8.
in progress as 'quite unimportant', and made no further reference to the matter.

JONES was recalled to Australia in 1920. He was succeeded as superintendent by Pastor H.B.P. Wicks, an able organizer who had already worked for six years in the Cook Islands mission. Within the Marovo Lagoon there were, at this point, 16 Adventist village schools with some 600 under instruction. Older men, who had permitted their children to attend school but had themselves remained aloof, were now beginning to associate themselves with the mission; in 1921 15 of the chiefs met with Wicks and promised their cooperation. Growth in the number of baptized converts made it possible to organize churches, each with its elder, deacons and deaconesses, in the larger villages: Telina in 1921, Doveli, Gatukai and Viru in 1922 and Ugeli in 1923.

Among the more notable converts of these years was Kanijama, the chief of Telina and formerly a famous head-hunter. Although he had permitted the mission to found

1 Goldie to Sinclair, 12 July 1923, M.F.M., Correspondence.
2 This is an estimate, based on the mission statistics for 1920: A.R., 22 August 1921.
3 Personal communication from H.B.P. Wicks, 28 February 1966.
4 There were 59 baptized islanders in 1920, 215 by 1923. The first 'church' in the Solomons had been organized in 1917 with ten members, all missionaries: A.R., 5 November 1917, p.8.
5 There is an account of his last raid on Ysabel (in 1897) in Coombe, Islands of Enchantment, pp.355-8.
a station on his island, he was soon enraged by the refusal of its young followers, his son in particular, to assist him in his feasts and religious worship. 'He tied him up,' Wicks recalled, 'he kept him for days without food, he thrashed him unmercifully, and finally he was so exasperated at his stubbornness...that he told him one evening that if he would not yield by morning, at sunrise, he would pay the penalty of his obstinacy by his life.' Only the timely arrival of a neighbouring chief with some of his leading men prevented Kanijama from carrying out this threat. His vow violated, Kanijama was convinced that the basis of his authority was destroyed:

At one time, when I spoke no-one would dare to disobey me, but would immediately execute my every wish. I never spoke a second time, I had no need...The [school] has been the means of this causing the power of your erstwhile fighting chief...of waning until it is now almost set. Henceforth I will no more answer to the name of Kanijama. But Jorovo...I am to you all. 2

Soon afterwards he removed his sacred emblems to the mainland and began to attend church services. Later, after his son’s premature death in 1922, he publicly announced his belief in the truth of the Bible and that 'Jesus could give him endless life'. From then until his own death some months later he was a fervent

1 H.B.P. Wicks, 'Life of Jorovo, mée Kanijama'.
2 Ibid. Kanijama means 'he speaks but once'; Jorovo, 'waning or setting'.
supporter of the mission and the resident missionary's chief adviser and assistant.¹

In his haste to plant the mission in as many places as possible Jones had done little to build up its institutional side. Wicks, on his arrival in the Solomons, was 'appalled' by the makeshift character of the mission's educational work, in particular the total lack of translations and the absence of a central school where young men could be trained for work as village teachers.² He immediately selected the Marovo language, which was spoken or understood by most of the mission's converts, as a lingua franca and undertook translations of hymns, Sabbath School lessons and portions of Scripture.³ He also leased 500 acres of land at Batuna, near Telina, and commenced a training school there in 1924. The first headmaster was A.R. Barrett, an industrious but unimaginative teacher for whom Goldie reserved his special personal dislike.⁴ The number of pupils fluctuated between 50 and 90, in proportion

¹ Ibid. See also A.R., 6 March 1922, p.4, 20 October 1922, pp.97-8; Watson, op. cit., pp.252-5.
² A.R., 8 August 1921, p.19; Personal communication from H.B.P. Wicks, 4 July 1965.
³ Seventh-day Adventist translations were extensive in quantity, though not always of a high standard. The mission's principal linguistic achievement was the Marovo Bible, published in 1951 by the British and Foreign Bible Society.
⁴ On one occasion Goldie was moved to describe Barrett as 'one of the narrowest and most fanatical bigots I have ever met, and also one of the most unscrupulous': Goldie to Scriven, 10 February 1940, M.F.M., Correspondence.
to the Batuna food supply and the state of the mission's finances. English was taught, but Marovo was the normal medium of instruction.¹

With the withdrawal of the European missionaries from Viru, Telina and Gatukai in the mid-twenties, Batuna became the head station for the Marovo area, as well as the industrial and medical centre for the entire mission. A press to print the new translations was installed in 1924;² later a sawmill was donated, enabling the teaching of carpentry and the construction of houses, school buildings and boats.³ In 1926 a small hospital and dispensary was opened.⁴

A decade after its foundation the mission, having gained a firm foothold in the western Solomons, was in a position to extend its operations further afield, northwards to Bougainville (where Tutty was sent in 1925) and to Malaita and Guadalcanal. Contact with the latter

¹ There were 85 pupils in 1926, 51 in 1932, 95 in 1936 and 55 in 1938. The majority were young men from Adventist villages whose course of training extended over three or four years. There were also 10-15 girls in residence who received instruction in domestic arts, first aid and teaching; there was no separate mission girls' school. The activities of the Batuna school are described in A.R., 22 June 1925, p.6 and 19 November 1934, p.3.
² A.R., 29 September 1924, p.5. The press was donated to the mission by the Adventist publishing house, 'The Signs Publishing Company'.
³ A.R., 16 June 1930, p.4.
⁴ Nurse E.R. Totenhofer joined the mission in 1925. The Batuna hospital initially treated an average of 80 patients a week. By 1932 it was giving 60-80 treatments daily: A.R., 28 June 1926, p.4, 11 July 1932, p.3.
islands was made through labourers who had gained some knowledge of Juapa Rane while working on plantations on New Georgia and Choiseul. It was in response to an invitation from one of these that J.D. Anderson was appointed in 1924 to found a mission at Uru on Malaita's east coast. Although there were a few S.S.E.M. villages in the district, the bulk of the population was still solidly pagan. For the coastal dwellers, Europeans were no novelty; gambling was widespread and there was negligible interest in the mission's teachings. Anderson and his wife soon became discouraged and labelled the Uru people 'thieves, rogues, and liars'. Faced with this indifference, and the opposition of the S.S.E.M. entrenched further north in Kwara'ae, H.J. Gibson (temporarily in Anderson's place in 1926) turned his attention to the thickly populated bush villages of the interior, as yet untouched by any mission. Here, too, progress was small: one village was persuaded to accept a teacher and a handful of women and children were induced to come down to the station for Sabbath services.

Any hopes of a rapid success were finally dashed in 1927 when Bell and his assistants were murdered at nearby Sinarango. Anderson refused to leave the district, though he accepted the government's advice to move his

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1 A.R., 8 December 1924, p.2; Personal communication from H.E.P. Wicks, 4 July 1965.
2 A.R., 8 March 1926, p.5.
3 A.R., 21 February 1927, p.3.
residence to a small island off the shore. At the same time several hundred Sinarango natives took refuge on the mission property in the hope of obtaining protection against government reprisals. Their confidence was short-lived. When the authorities arrested and imprisoned all the adult males of Sinarango, including those who had fled to the mission, the local people were inclined to hold Anderson responsible. Anderson squashed this damaging rumour only with the aid of an influential pagan who persuaded a hostile gathering that the mission had played no part in the government's action.

Soon after the foundation of the mission at Uru a beginning was made further north at Makwanu where a teacher was placed in a bush village, the home of a labourer who had been converted to Adventism while working in the western Solomons. In both districts, however, progress was disappointing. When Anderson left in 1930 there were only seven village schools and, with the exception of Jackie, the Makwanu labourer, and his wife, no Malaita native had yet been baptized.

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1 A.R., 9 January 1928, pp.1-2 (in Cormack, op. cit., pp.201-2). Anderson conducted a burial service for Bell and Lillies on an island at Uru and also buried the murdered police at Sinarango.
4 A.R., 6 October 1930, p.7. The first converts, ten in number, were baptized in 1931: A.R., 15 February 1932, p.3.
Under A.F. Parker, who was appointed to Malaita in 1932, steps were taken to establish the mission in all parts of the island by placing teachers in any village where individuals expressed an interest, regardless of the presence of another mission body. Several of these ventures came to nothing; only in north-east Malaita, in the artificial islands and on the mainland, did the mission make appreciable headway. Accordingly in 1936 the head station was transferred from Uru to Kwailebesi, near Makwanu.

At least two reasons may be suggested for the failure of the Seventh-day Adventist mission to gain more than a few hundred adherents on Malaita during these years. In the first place, the mission suffered the handicap of a late arrival. By the mid-twenties most coastal inhabitants were under the influence of either the S.S.E.M., the Melanesian Mission or the Roman Catholic mission. Those islanders who had so far held aloof were even less likely to accept the Adventists whose food and allied prohibitions struck at the heart of deep-rooted Malaita custom. In the absence of a strong coastal foothold, the movement in favour of

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1 During these years Adventist teachers were placed in S.S.E.M. or Melanesian Mission localities at Bita'ama, Langalanga, Su'u and Walande (Small Malaita). For reports of their progress see A.R., 13 July 1931, p.2, 16 July 1934, p.2, 25 February 1935, p.3, 11 July 1938, pp.2-3, 27 March 1939, p.3.

2 A.R., 31 October 1932, p.3, A boys' boarding school, under native teachers, was commenced at Kwailebesi in 1935, in an attempt 'to get the promising boys away from their villages': A.R., 18 March 1935, p.2.
Christianity which began among bush natives after the Bell murder passed the Adventists by. Secondly, effective mission work was impeded by the lack of strong direction. For two lengthy periods (1930-2 and 1937-9) there was no European missionary on the island. Only one of the Melanesian teachers, Simi, a native of Ganongga, displayed any marked ability.

On Guadalcanal, where these conditions did not apply to the same extent, the mission achieved a modest success. Jugha, whose work on Choiseul was held in high regard by the European missionaries, was sent in 1926 to Talisi on the south coast where, at the instigation of a labourer returned from a Marovo plantation, the few remaining pagans had requested an Adventist teacher. The arrival of additional teachers from the western Solomons enabled Sabbath Schools to be opened in neighbouring villages, and within three years there were 200 under instruction. That most of the inhabitants of the district had long been attached to the S.S.E.M., Roman Catholic or Anglican missions did not impress the newcomers: from their dirty homes and villages it was evident that 'the gospel of Christ [had] not reached their hearts.' Jugha's zeal found scope in the work of a pioneer evangelist, initially in the

1 Personal communication from H.B.P. Wicks, 4 July 1965.
2 A.R., 23 April 1928, p.3.
3 A.R., 19 October 1931, p.3; Interview with Pastor Laejama.
south and later in the hill country behind Aola.\(^1\) In 1931 Norman Ferris, a popular figure among European residents of the Solomons, was sent to supervise the Guadalcanal schools. A head station was established at Kopiu, near Marau Sound.\(^2\)

From this base Ferris endeavoured to extend the mission to San Cristobal. With the assistance of a dissatisfied S.S.E.M. member — apparently under church discipline for a sexual offence — a teacher was placed in 1937 in the village of Lomahui in Arosi. A handful of sympathizers was detached from the existing mission and a new village formed.\(^3\)

It was through the Guadalcanal mission that the Adventists were able to begin work on the unevangelized islands of Rennell and Bellona. In 1931 Ferris met a young Rennell Islander on a trading vessel and was told of the long standing desire of the chief Taupongi for someone to teach him the hymns he had heard in his boyhood when the Southern Cross called hear his home.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) A.R., 3 June 1929, p.2; 28 February 1938, p.2, 13 May 1940, p.8.

\(^2\) Ferris was initially stationed at Wanderer Bay at the western end of the island. The first baptisms on Guadalcanal were held at Kopiu in 1933: A.R., 18 September 1933, p.8.

\(^3\) A.R., 1 February 1937, p.8, 22 November 1937, p.4; Interview with Mr N.C. Deck.

\(^4\) There are accounts of the mission's first contacts with Rennell in A.R., 6 February 1933, pp.2-4, 13 February 1933, p.2, 26 June 1933, pp.3-4, 4 January 1937, pp.2-3, 14 October 1940, pp.3-4. Ferris apparently did not know of the visit of the Southern Cross to Rennell in 1904.
The Adventists immediately seized the opportunity thus presented; representations were made to the Resident Commissioner and permission to visit Rennell was granted. In November 1932 Ferris and Pastor L.A. Borgas, the superintendent of the mission, sailed to the island and contacted Taupongi. Four months later Borgas and Barrett followed this up by a visit to Tahua, the other great chief, at Kunggava. First impressions were unfavourable. The issue of 'Missionary Volunteer' armbands to Tahua and Taupongi in place of the customary tribute of food and tobacco, together with the missionaries' expressed disapproval of flesh food, tobacco and 'walk about', infuriated the chiefs and excited their people. Dr Lambert of the Rockefeller Foundation, who visited the island a few months later, recalled that the 'missionary scandal' was the 'biggest news...since the day of the famous murder [of the three S.S.E.M. teachers in 1910].'

In 1934, when the government's policy was relaxed sufficiently to allow missions to remove small parties of boys for training, the Adventist missionaries sailed to Rennell again and obtained six boys for Batuna -

(see above, p.226n) and consequently attributed Taupongi's interest in Christian hymns to Patteson's visit in the mid-nineteenth century; this is most unlikely. The S.S.E.M. missionaries did not land on Taupongi's end of the island on their voyages to Rennell in 1908-10.

1 The insignia of the Adventist youth movement.

2 Lambert, A Doctor in Paradise, p.357.
three from each end of the island.¹ Owing to hostility
stirred up by some of the S.S.E.M. converts, visits to
Kunggava were soon ceased,² but a connexion was
maintained with the eastern district where Mua, Taupongi's
nephew, had embraced the Adventist creed with fervour.
Following the closure of the island in 1936 the Adventist
sympathizers in this area strove to preserve their
identity in the face of a growing wave of support for
the S.S.E.M. and in 1938 Mua gathered about 80 followers
into a new village, Hutuna, located on the shores of the
great inland lake.³ He also led a party of former Batuna
scholars to Bellona where they destroyed two sacred
stones and prompted the entire population, numbering
about 400, to relinquish their traditional religion and
erect Christian churches.⁴

The policy of the government at this stage was to
allow only one Christian mission to resume work on
Rennell and in view of the report of the protectorate's
Medical Officer, that the majority of the islanders were
attached to the S.S.E.M., it was hoped to exclude the
Adventists altogether. For two years the missionaries
fought stubbornly to prevent this. A canoe journey by
four Rennellese youths – one of them an Adventist –

¹ A.R., 12 November 1934, p.3.
² A.R., 25 March 1935, p.2. For an account of S.S.E.M.
connexions with Rennell see above, pp.391-4.
³ A.R., 12 February 1940, p.3.
⁴ Ibid.; Diana Bradley, 'Notes and Observations from
Rennell and Bellona Islands, British Solomon Islands',
J.P.S., vol.66, No.4, p.333.
across 150 miles of open sea to San Cristobal in search of their European teachers,\(^1\) letters from Mua pleading for assistance, and evidence supplied by an Adventist Native Medical Practitioner who was stationed on Rennell in November 1939,\(^2\) eventually convinced the authorities that the Adventists had a legitimate claim to at least some of the islanders. The missionaries made two further voyages, in July 1940 and May 1941, before the war brought activities to a halt.\(^3\) On both occasions converts were baptized, injections administered, Bibles distributed and the opportunity taken to preach the doctrine of the Second Advent to S.S.E.M. members in their own churches.

In the absence of European missionaries, the distinction between the two versions of Christianity remained somewhat blurred: outside the small inner circle of baptized supporters many islanders moved from one to the other at will or adhered to both simultaneously.\(^4\) In 1941 the Seventh-day Adventist mission claimed 500

\(^1\) A.R., 13 March 1939, p.3, 22 May 1939, p.4. See also S.C.L., October 1939, pp.28-9.

\(^2\) A.R., 12 February 1940, p.4, 9 September 1940, p.3, 14 October 1940, p.4.

\(^3\) There are accounts of the 1940 voyage in A.R., 15 July 1940, p.7, 26 August 1940, pp.3-4, 9 September 1940, pp.3-4, 16 September 1940, p.5, 23 September 1940, p.4, 14 October 1940, p.4. On the second visit there was a large mission party - four Europeans and six Melanesian teachers: A.R., 4 August 1941, pp.3-4, 11 August 1941, p.4, 22 September 1941, p.5.

\(^4\) This fluidity is still a feature of Rennellese Christianity: interviews with Mr D. Carr (One Pusu) and Pastor J.P. Holmes (Honiara).
Sabbath School members on Rennell and Bellona, about two-fifths of the total population. 1

Nggela and Ysabel, where the inhabitants were united by at least nominal profession of Christianity and a common allegiance to the Melanesian Mission, presented a vexing problem which persistently defied the efforts of Adventist evangelists. An attempt in the early thirties to enter Ysabel through a school on an island owned by the mission near Kia failed. 2 Later a new approach was tried, that of taking boys anxious for efficient schooling to Batuna for instruction. 3 In 1938 a teacher was left with one of these at Huali in the Maringe Lagoon where a family quarrel over an inheritance was assuming a religious dimension. 4 Owing to strong local opposition little was accomplished until 1941 when Jugha was sent from Guadalcanal. With the prospect of a school superior to those provided by the Melanesian Mission, interest in the new mission waxed. 5 Jugha was confident:

1 In 1941 the population of Rennell numbered perhaps 800; that of Bellona about 400. Of the Rennellese, 119 lived at Hutuna and there were 50 baptized: A.R., 13 October 1941, p.5.
2 A.R., 13 July 1931, p.2, 16 November 1931, p.5, 22 August 1932, pp.3-4. The leasehold of the island was donated to the mission by F.J. Hickie, an elderly Marovo trader recently converted to Seventh-day Adventism.
3 A.R., 1 February 1937, p.8, 28 March 1938, p.4.
Many people on this island like very much to come to our mission, but they are afraid of their chiefs and priests. The common people cannot follow their own thoughts.... For many years Satan has made this people blind to the way of truth that Jesus wants us to follow. God will bring them out of the way which Satan led them before, because God is a very strong God.¹

The application by the Seventh-day Adventist mission for a lease of land for a station gave the Melanesian Mission the opportunity it had been awaiting to exclude its troublesome rival by legal means. The district court to which the matter was referred, presided over by a native priest and advised by Mrs Sprott, the resident missionary, dutifully disallowed the lease and requested the government to remove the Adventist teachers. It also declared it to be the wish of the people of Ysabel that no other mission organization be permitted to work on the island and that land would in future be leased only on assurance that the lessee recognized Sunday as the day of worship. The District Officer accordingly took steps to eject the intruders. However, Ferris, who was sent to investigate the incident, successfully persuaded him that at least one group of Ysabel islanders was anxious to have an Adventist school and the teachers were permitted to remain.²

¹ A.R., 16 February 1942, p.8.
² A.R., 30 June 1941, p.3 (in Cormack, op. cit., pp. 240-1). This Adventist account has been confirmed, in substance, by Archdeacon Reynolds.
On Nggela, where religion was a less intense affair, no lasting interest was expressed, nor did any occasion present itself to introduce teachers.

Meanwhile, in the New Georgia group a hesitant beginning was made on the tiny island of Simbo, through a local man who had been converted to the Adventist faith by Papa while a leper patient at the Bilua hospital. On returning to his home he gathered together a few followers and in 1934 two mission teachers were sent to instruct them. Goldie, enraged by the Adventist entry into what he had always regarded as a Methodist island — although only a small proportion of the population was, in fact, baptized — prevailed upon the District Officer (Middenway) to withdraw his earlier permission and order the removal of the teachers. Despite strong opposition from both Methodists and pagans, the small company of Adventists remained intact and in 1938 a new, less pliable District Officer allowed a teacher to return.¹ After several unsuccessful attempts by Gina, the Methodist leader, to have his rivals ousted, the adherents of the two missions settled into a more harmonious relationship.²

Elsewhere in the western Solomons the mission was preoccupied more with nominal professions of faith and allied problems associated with second generation

¹ A.R., 11 September 1933, p.3, 8 January 1934, p.4, 26 April 1937, pp.11-2, 24 April 1939, p.4; Cormack, op. cit., p.229.
Christianity than with the commencement of new schools. By the mid-twenties the entire population of the Marovo Lagoon was attached to one or other of the two missions; in other parts of the district, with the exception of Simbo and a few villages in the interior of Choiseul, the traditional religion was practised only by isolated individuals. With the disappearance of uncommitted pagans the chief cause of friction between the two denominations was removed and, apart from sporadic forays into Methodist territory by the more fervent Adventist teachers, they settled into a state of coexistence, each reconciled to the continuing presence of the other.

CENTRAL to Seventh-day Adventist mission policy was the welding of small and scattered companies of believers into a solid, confident body, conscious of its position within a much wider organization. This sense of community found its chief expression in District Meetings which, from 1928 onwards, were held annually in each group of villages. These were led by visiting missionaries and senior teachers and comprised a series of prayer meetings, church services and Bible expositions, designed to 'strengthen the faith of the believers in God's last message, as well as lead to a

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1 The last pagan village in the Marovo district received an Adventist teacher about 1925. In 1931 there were 20 Adventist villages in the lagoon with 700 adherents, about half the total population: A.R., 20 April 1931, p.8.

2 A.R., 6 October 1930, p.7. By 1931 13 District Meetings were held annually in the Solomons.
deep heart-searching and consecration of life.¹
Meetings extended over three or four days and usually concluded with a large baptismal service.

As a unit of a tightly organized world-wide movement, the Seventh-day Adventist mission in the Solomons had fewer opportunities for free and independent action than did the other Protestant mission bodies in the group. For most of this period the Solomons mission was directly under the control of the Australasian Union Conference: a plan devised in 1916 to coordinate work in the western Pacific by uniting the Solomon Islands, Papua and New Hebrides missions into a Melanesian Mission with Jones as superintendent proved to be unworkable and was soon abandoned.²

Within the Union Conference the Solomons mission occupied an important position as the most successful Adventist enterprise in the south Pacific.³ Indeed, by 1935 it ranked above four local conferences in baptized members, while in the number of Sabbath School scholars (i.e., adherents) it exceeded even the large

¹ A.R., 23 January 1939, p.3.
² A.R., 25 September 1916, p.5; H.B.P. Wicks, draft article, 'The Solomon Islands', for forthcoming S.D.A. Encyclopedia. The 60 foot vessel Melanesia, provided by the Union Conference to enable Jones to visit all parts of his scattered field, remained in the service of the Solomon Islands mission for over 30 years.
³ In 1935 there were 20 organized churches in the Solomons (including Bougainville) as compared with 7 in Tahiti, 8 in the New Hebrides, 4 in Papua and 9 in the Territory of New Guinea: A.R., 8 July 1935, p.8.
Southern New South Wales Conference.\(^1\) Despite its numerical superiority and the large sums which derived from tithe payments, the Solomons mission remained dependent upon funds collected and distributed by the Union Conference. In addition to their normal mission contributions, the Adventists of Australia and New Zealand responded generously to appeals issued regularly for launches and other special equipment.\(^2\)

Internally, the mission was led by a superintendent, appointed by the Union Conference and assisted by a committee of missionaries and senior teachers. The annual meeting, at which policies for the coming year were formulated, was attended regularly (usually every second year) by a representative of the Union Conference Council. In 1928 the field was divided into six Districts, each headed by a European or Melanesian director: Marovo, Gizo, Choiseul, Bougainville, Guadalcanal and Malaita.\(^3\) Seven years later Bougainville was transferred to the newly organized New Guinea mission field.\(^4\)

\(^1\) A.R., 7 October 1925, p.4.

\(^2\) The actual income received by the mission was never stated. However, in 1942 the Adventists of Australia and New Zealand (16,318 church members) gave £57,335 for 'foreign missions', of which possible one sixth was devoted to the Solomons mission.

\(^3\) A.R., 16 September 1929, p.6. District Directors were appointed as follows: Marovo - A.R. Barrett; Gizo - N.A. Ferris; Choiseul - A.J. Campbell; Bougainville - R.H. Tutty; Guadalcanal - Jugha; Malaita - J.D. Anderson.

\(^4\) A.R., 16 September 1935, p.4. Bougainville was detached from the Solomons mission owing to constant difficulties arising from the political boundary between the Solomon Islands Protectorate and Territory of New Guinea.
A striking feature of the Solomons mission was the rapid turnover of European staff: only rarely was a missionary stationed on one island for longer than four or five years, while in the 15 years after Wicks's departure in 1927 there were no fewer than five different superintendents. This was a deliberate policy of the Union Conference, applied in Australia as well as in the mission field and aimed primarily at preventing stagnation. Under mission conditions, however, the lack of continuous direction and cumulative experience was a severe weakness - a handicap which few missionaries were equipped to surmount. For the majority had received only an elementary education, and that entirely within Adventist institutions, culminating in special training for religious work at the Australasian Missionary College at Coorangbong. As a class they were distinguished by a strong sense of dedication and a penchant for organizational efficiency, with a corresponding lack of outstanding personal or intellectual qualities.

Because Seventh-day Adventist mission work was motivated by the conviction that Christ's return was at hand, it was totally uninfluenced by those theories concerning the foundation of independent indigenous churches which guided most Protestant missionary activity. The task of the missionary was to preach the Advent message to any who were willing to listen, whereas the

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2 Interview with Pastor J.P. Holmes.
church was essentially a temporary administrative convenience. Yet despite this difference in emphasis there was a greater readiness among the Adventists to entrust the direction of these churches to indigenous leaders than in many Protestant missions. Two Solomons teachers sat on the mission committee from its inception in 1923, and in 1935, only 20 years after the mission had commenced work in the group, the first native pastors were ordained. Within the church these were equal in status to the European pastors and they were always entrusted with the administration of baptism at the annual District Meetings.

This notable absence of paternalism was partly a consequence of the missionaries' overriding belief in the imminence of the Second Advent - a doctrine which tended to underline the evangelistic responsibility of each believer, independent of his colour or level of learning. 'God is not particular...about the instrument being a white man', wrote one prominent church official. 'A black man is just as good to Him, if yielded to the control of His mighty spirit of power.' It was further facilitated by conditions peculiar to the Solomons: the personal ability of some of the mission's early converts, the enthusiasm with which they adopted Adventist

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2 In this, as in most else, direction came from above. In 1931 the Union Conference Council recommended that 'native representation' on the Solomon Islands Mission Committee be increased to three: A.R., 21 September 1931, pp.3-4.
3 A.R., 9 October 1922, p.27.
teaching in its entirety and their success in disseminating it amongst their own people. Of these, a group of young men from Tatangu's village of Mbambata was outstanding. Peo was entrusted as early as 1924 with the oversight of the mission villages in the Marovo Lagoon. Kata Rangoso and Pana were ordained in 1935 after some years working as teachers and translators at Batuma. Kioto, a former slave, became a teacher on Choiseul and directed the mission there in the absence of the European missionary until his death in 1934. Jugha, the most successful of the mission's evangelists, was ordained about 1938.

A third factor was the frequent transfer of European workers by the Union Conference. This rapid succession of missionaries necessarily strengthened the position of those senior teachers and pastors on whom the newcomers relied extensively for assistance with the local language and advice on 'native affairs'. Indeed, the influence of Peo in the inner councils of the mission was so great that the Marovo people referred to him as the 'Mission Chief', and after his premature death in 1926 they accorded Rangoso, his brother, the same title. In 1936 Rangoso was chosen to accompany

1 A.R., 29 September 1924, p.5. See also Watson, op. cit., pp.219-24.
2 A.R., 8 July 1935, p.2.
4 Wicks, 'Some thoughts concerning the Tetagu family'. See also A.R., 27 August 1928, p.4.
Ferris as a Solomon Islands delegate to a world conference of Seventh-day Adventists in San Francisco.¹

IN obedience to the precepts of their foundress, who wrote extensively on health reform and the interrelationship of body and soul, Seventh-day Adventists from the first placed high value on medical work as an indispensable adjunct to their preaching:

Medical missionary work is the right hand of the gospel. It is necessary to the advancement of the cause of God. As through it men and women are led to see the importance of right habits of living, the saving power of the truth will be made known....As the right hand of the third angel's message, God's method of treating disease will open doors for the entrance of present truth.²

The first Adventist missionaries in the Solomons spent much of their time treating the sick who came to them for attention,³ but organized medical work was not begun until 1926 when the Batuna hospital was opened. Although this institution was soon treating hundreds of patients each week, the lack of a qualified doctor necessarily restricted its activities, while in the eyes of the islanders it suffered in comparison with the large Methodist hospital at Roviana.⁴

¹ For accounts of his American tour see A.R., 12 October 1936, pp.6-7, 19 October 1936, pp.6,8; 23 November 1936, p.2.
⁴ A.R., 9 September 1929, p.3.
The missionaries' ambition to found a fully equipped hospital was brought nearer fulfilment in 1933 when S.H. Amyes, a wealthy New Zealand Adventist, donated a large sum for this purpose to the Union Conference. Following a visit to the Solomons by conference officials it was proposed to establish the Amyes Hospital on Malaita under the direction of Dr Mills Parker, the wife of the local missionary. 1 Although a small hospital was opened at Kwailebesi, 2 it was subsequently decided to erect the principal medical unit in the western Solomons where most of the mission's adherents were concentrated and land was leased at Kukundu on the coast of Kolombangara. In 1937 building commenced and Dr Edmond Finkle, a Canadian graduate of Loma Linda College, the Adventist medical college in California, arrived to take charge. 3 Patients flocked to the hospital from a wide area, 5000 treatments being given in one month. 4 The completed 60 bed hospital, one of the largest projects yet undertaken by the Union Conference in the Pacific mission field, was opened in June 1939. 5 Finkle resigned in 1940, allegedly after a series of disagreements with the mission leaders. 6 In view of the reopening of the Methodist medical unit at

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1 A.R., 5 March 1934, p.8, 28 May 1934, p.8, 30 July 1934, p.8, P.I.M., July 1934, p.40. The hospital was to be located at Su'u.
2 A.R., 22 March 1937, p.3.
3 A.R., 16 August 1937, p.3.
5 A.R., 4 September 1939, p.3. A leper colony established at the same time had 20 patients by 1941: A.R., 7 April 1941, p.4.
6 Goldie to Scriven, 22 October 1937, M.F.M., Correspondence.
Bilua, less than 20 miles distant, a successor was not appointed, the hospital being carried on by an Australian nursing couple assisted by trained native dressers.

TRADITIONALLY opposed to any overlapping in the complementary functions of Church and State,¹ the Seventh-day Adventists were, of all the missions in the Solomons, the least active politically: secular issues which aroused other bodies to comment or hostile protest passed by apparently unnoticed. On the other hand, there was in official circles some interest in the industrial and general education given at Batuna. As early as 1929 the High Commissioner invited the mission to nominate selected scholars for training in Fiji as Native Medical Practitioners,² and in 1934 Ashley published a glowing report on the school:

Outside religion, which is not in my province, the motto of this school might well be 'Work', which is excellent....One cannot imagine any one who has been fortunate enough to be here not being elevated to a high level of living, and with a knowledge of how to accomplish it. A great work is in progress.³

In view of Ashley's known dislike of Goldie, the favour he extended to the Seventh-day Adventist mission in the

¹ Baker, op. cit., p.90.
² A.R., 22 July 1929, p.3. Two youths were sent to Fiji in 1930 and another two in 1931. Three of these failed their examinations and were returned to their homes; the fourth, Gusob Piko, a native of Choiseul, graduated in 1936: A.R., 10 February 1936, p.8.
³ A.R., 17 September 1934, p.3.
form of public praise and a special grant for industrial training may not have been entirely disinterested. Certainly, his judgement was endorsed only partially by Groves who, though he commended the efficiency and many-sided activities of the Batuna training institution, criticized it and the mission's educational work in general for its 'failure to adapt curricula and methods to local conditions.'

Personal contact between the mission staff and other Europeans resident in the Solomons was limited. Although some of the missionaries - notably Norman Ferris and Pastor G. Peacock (superintendent of the mission from 1927 to 1931) - gained the respect of the local traders and planters, they were, as a body, regarded as tedious cranks, obsessed with the Old Testament and vegetarianism. However, like other missions in the islands it was, in the last resort, judged by its fruits. Whereas the cleanliness of Adventist villages and their inhabitants' frequent use of soap won general acclaim from traders and government officials, the mission's food prohibitions and encouragement of calico clothing was a source of wry amusement and led occasionally to indignant protest.

Goldie interpreted some of Ashley's public utterances on the Adventist mission as a personal slight: Goldie to Ashley, 29 December 1931, M.F.M., Correspondence.  
E.g., P.I.M., December 1931, p.23.  
Cormack, op. cit., pp.228-9; P.I.M., March 1934, p.15, April 1934, p.18, July 1934, p.27.
IN January 1942, when the last of its missionaries left the Solomons in inglorious flight four months ahead of the invading Japanese army,¹ the Seventh-day Adventist mission claimed nearly 4300 adherents, of whom 1400 were baptized. They were led by 14 European missionaries (including wives), five Melanesian pastors and over 100 teachers, mainly from the Marovo Lagoon. Sabbath Schools - one in each mission village - totalled 111.²

Like other missions in the protectorate, the largest constituency of Adventist believers was in those areas which had been under its influence the longest. In the Marovo Lagoon and Gizo Districts - New Georgia, Vella Lavella and their adjacent islands - Adventists numbered nearly 2000, about one quarter of the total population.³

¹ The Union Conference Board of Missions had already made arrangements for the work of the mission to be committed to 'trusted native workers' should evacuation prove necessary. Rangoso was chosen to lead the field, assisted by a central executive committee and an advisory committee in each district: Cormack, op. cit., p.258.

² A.R., 13 July 1942. The European staff was stationed as follows: Batuna - Pastor and Mrs J.C.H. Perry, Pastor and Mrs A.R. Barrett, Nurse E.R. Totenhofer; Buri (Ganongga) - Mr and Mrs J.E. Cormack; Kukundu - Mr and Mrs J.C. Gosling; Kopiu - vacant; Kwaliybesi - Pastor and Mrs D.A. Ferris; Ruruuai - Mr and Mrs J.T. Howse; Melanesia - G. Tucker. The Solomons pastors were Jugha (Ysabel), Pana (Marovo), Rangoso (Marovo), Rori (Ganongga) and Simi (Malaita).

³ This figure is an estimate, based partly on the attendances recorded in A.R., 16 August 1937, p.3, and partly on known Methodist membership. By 1941 the population of the Gizo administrative district, equivalent to the mission's Gizo and Marovo Lagoon Districts, totalled about 8500 (7173 in 1931).
In addition, there were 700 on Choiseul,\(^1\) 800 on Guadalcanal\(^2\) and a mere 300 on Malaita, described by one Adventist writer about this time as 'perhaps one of the most heartbreaking fields in our work today.'\(^3\) A further 500 islanders attended Sabbath Schools on Rennell and Bellona. Two tiny enclaves on San Cristobal and Ysabel respectively comprised the sum of Adventist missionary achievement in the remainder of the group.

Viewed in the light of its expressed aims and universal commission, the limited success of the Seventh-day Adventist mission is, at first sight, surprising. Clearly, one reason for this was its late arrival - a decade behind its chief competitors. Jones himself bemoaned the fact that his mission was 'obliged to come in last and take what is left, as the best has already been picked out.'\(^4\) The Adventists gained their earliest foothold in a sparsely settled region; and by the 1920s, when the mission was equipped to extend its operations to the populous eastern islands, only relatively inaccessible regions remained unevangelized. Isolated individuals, or even entire villages, were occasionally won from their existing mission allegiance, but in general it was from the less tractable pagans that the Adventists were forced to draw their converts.

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\(^1\) A.R., 28 August 1939, p.3.
\(^2\) There were 700 adherents in 1939, and the mission was expanding rapidly: A.R., 14 August 1939, p.3.
\(^3\) Cormack, op. cit., p.199.
\(^4\) A.R., 16 August 1915, p.3.
Equally important were the practical differences between the Adventists and other Protestant missions. In the first place, the adoption of the Adventist creed implied considerable changes in every segment of social life. Most of its ritual demands were, in fact, acceded to readily enough. Its food prohibitions, on the other hand, were accepted without hesitation only in coastal districts where fish could replace pork as a flesh food. Secondly, the organization of the mission, with its constant direction from Sydney, frequent changes of European staff and the lack of outstanding ability in all but a few of its missionaries prevented any one man from attaining a position of dominance comparable to that occupied by the bishop in the Melanesian Mission, Goldie among the Methodists or even Miss Young in the S.S.E.M. In a society in which the powerful, untrammelled leader was held in high respect this absence of a strong personality who could symbolize the institution to its members and personally mould its activities left a void at the heart of the Adventist mission which lessened its impetus and retarded its growth.

With the exception of its medical work, the Seventh-day Adventist mission was the least significant of the Protestant missions in the protectorate. Its importance lay essentially in its relationship to other Christian bodies: in the opportunities it provided for religious choice or protest, and in the challenge it alone presented to the Methodist hegemony over the western Solomons.
CHRISTIANITY did not come to the Solomon Islands as an isolated influence, but as a part of that European civilization which it had helped to create. To the islanders it appeared as one facet of a new and incomprehensible way of life, one which brought them tobacco, steel tools and calico, and later, medicines, wages and taxation.

From the inception of missionary work in the group Christianity was associated in the indigenous mind with material advantage and interpreted as a means of obtaining European goods. In their efforts to obtain scholars for Kohimarama and Norfolk Island, Selwyn and Patteson gave presents to the chiefs and leading men of each place as a gesture of goodwill and also bartered knives, fish-hooks and similar articles for food for the Southern Cross. This, Patteson observed, was a 'tangible advantage, which they can appreciate at once'¹ and a 'necessary step to a more perfect acquaintance'.² However, once the economic element had entered into the relationship between the mission and the islanders it was impossible to dislodge it. Patteson's serious talks about the real objects of his visit - to teach 'the knowledge of the great Father

¹ *Mission Voyage, 1866*, p.20.
in Heaven, and of His Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit of God 1—were listened to politely and ignored. During his stay at Wango in 1866 only a handful of villagers troubled to attend his services in the great canoe house, in contrast to the hundreds who thronged the mission ship to trade. 2

The islanders welcomed the residence of a missionary among them for the same reason, as a source of European-type wealth: prizes of beads and fish-hooks for regular attenders at school, with the possibility of presents to the entire village in return for special assistance such as the erection of a schoolhouse. 3 On their part, the missionaries were under no illusions as to the reasons for their popularity. Most accepted the 'continued cry for tobacco' 4 as unavoidable in this early stage of their work. A few, like Brooke, revelled in the singular position they occupied in the island society.

Although the islanders' hope of immediate material gain played a significant part in the early establishment of the Melanesian Mission in the Solomons, it became steadily less important during the 1870s when labour recruiters extended their operations to the group and visits from trading vessels became more frequent. These

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1 M.M. Report, 1857-8, p.27.
2 Mission Voyage, 1866, pp.14-5.
3 For references see above, p.83.
4 Still to Jackson, 9 September 1875, Jackson Papers.
'Tobacco has in fact established itself as the principal currency between the trader and the native; and without it a white man would be as destitute in these islands as the beggar is in more civilized lands: Guppy, The Solomon Islands and their Natives, p.94.
not only surpassed the mission in their gifts to the chiefs and relatives of the young men they took away; they also offered seemingly enormous sums in wages and even the opportunity of seeing Sydney - the symbol of all that was attractive and exciting in the white man's world. Consequently, in those places which were frequented by both types of vessel the mission found it almost impossible to keep the allegiance of its scholars, while on islands such as Savo and Ugi it was totally unable to gain a foothold.

Despite its inferiority to the professional agents of western commerce the Melanesian Mission was still regarded by the islanders as a potential source of trade goods. This was certainly one of the factors in the friendly reception given to Hopkins when he first took up residence at Ngore Fou in 1902. As late as 1925 the people of Santa Catalina announced that their acceptance of a mission school was conditional upon gifts of tobacco and calico.

The economic advantage accruing from a Christian school or a resident missionary was, however, but one element in the overall identification of Christianity with European political and material dominance. The missionaries of the Melanesian Mission displayed no great

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1 E.g., I.V., 1877, p.18.
3 S.C.L.(E), December 1925, p.182. Other missions do not appear to have been identified with the issue of attractive gifts to the same extent. Because of its refusal to pay wages to its teachers, the S.S.E.M. in particular had a reputation for stinginess.
interest in British territorial expansion and, as a general rule, were reluctant to associate themselves with naval retributive action. Nevertheless, the rapport which existed between them and their fellow-countrymen on the men-of-war was evident to all observers. That the islanders connected allegiance to the mission with submission to British political authority was indicated by two events in 1893: the enthusiastic reaction of the Christians of Nggela to the proclamation of the protectorate,¹ and the request by the chief of a mission village on San Cristobal for a Union Jack and a copy of the proclamation.²

The precise significance of this relationship in the progress of Christianity in the group is difficult to determine. Selwyn's mediation in the Sandfly affair was undoubtedly a major factor in the conversion of Nggela.³ On the other hand, the reverse was true on Savo where, in 1883, a chief refused to allow Ruddock to live in his village because he was 'afraid of a [head-hunting] raid and of being held responsible for [his] safety by a man of war.'⁴ Similarly, in the eastern Solomons where Comins cooperated with the naval authorities on numerous occasions the mission remained weak and made little headway.

² Special Report of Proceedings, encl. in Admiralty to C.O., 6 October 1893 - C.O. 225/43.
³ See above, pp.66 ff.
⁴ Diary of A. Penny, 30 May 1883.
Founded upon incidents such as the friendly visit of H.M.S. *Pylades* to Ngore Fou in 1904,\(^1\) and the despatch of a large naval force to avenge the murder of Daniels in 1911,\(^2\) belief in an alliance between the missions and British power persisted on Malaita, among both pagans and Christians, into the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1906 the chief of Uru Island requested the S.S.E.M. to station a teacher with him because he was 'afraid of the man-of-war' and wanted 'to stand well with the Government'.\(^3\) Three years later a Melanesian Mission teacher in the same district asked Hopkins to send for a warship to stop the women from Sunday trading and working around his village.\(^4\)

The protectorate government was seldom identified with the representatives of Christianity to the same extent. Although Woodford used missionaries as pioneers in unruly areas and, as at Roviana in 1910, encouraged the islanders to attend church and school,\(^5\) his successors, wary of the growing influence of the missions, did not exceed the limits of formal cooperation. Moreover, for those islanders who lived in the vicinity of government stations it was apparent that the District Officers and other officials were, as a class, indifferent to the religion taught by the missionaries.\(^6\) Where there was

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2. See above, pp.380-2.
5. See above, pp.113, 272.
6. All informants are agreed on this point.
open conflict between the representatives of Church and State, as on New Georgia and Ysabel, the two were even less likely to be confused. Only in isolated districts and outlying islands, where visits from government officials were infrequent and perfunctory, were the wishes of the local mission accepted without question as the attitude of the government and white people in general.¹

Even deeper was the gulf between the missions and the largest section of the European population, the traders and planters. With the exception of the carefully selected and godly agents of the Malayta Company, a significant proportion of these were loud in their protestations of unbelief.² In the western Solomons, where anti-clericalism was rife, the Methodist mission supported its claims by the witness of those native converts who had been taken to Australia or New Zealand to arouse enthusiasm for the mission cause. Two young Roviana men who visited Sydney in 1916 were impressed with what they saw:

They had been told by certain white men in the Solomons that only a comparatively few people in Australia were lotu people, that the Missionaries had only a few supporters at home; but now they had proved for themselves. Had they not seen it in crowded Churches in enthusiastic clapping meetings? That we had a great congregation of supporters helping us in the religion of Christ.³

¹ E.g., Raymond Firth, We, the Tikopia (London 1936), p.49; Scheffler, Choiseul Island Social Structure, p.28.
² E.g., M.R., October 1917, p.5; Burnett, Through Polynesia and Papua, p.90; Uthwatt, 'The Melanesian Mission in the Solomons', p.240.
³ M.R., August 1916, p.15.
There is, however, little evidence to suggest that the religious scepticism of individual settlers hindered the ultimate acceptance of Christianity by the islanders. Despite the isolation of the missionaries from the life of the white community in the Solomons, Christianity lost none of its force as a European product, sharing in the authority and prestige of the dominant race.

At the root of this conviction was the mission's provision of schooling. For to many Melanesians it seemed that the ability to read and write was the vital difference between themselves and Europeans, the source of the latter's amazing wealth. In the early years of missionary contact few islanders understood the significance of literacy. For the information of the people of Ulawa, Clement Marau described 'school' as 'teaching the boys to call the names of letters on the paper, and to know how to speak out of books as white people do, besides getting enlightenment about a great many other things.' The desire for education, as a direct means of gaining access to European goods, was first instilled by returned labourers who had become convinced of the validity of the equation during their sojourns in Fiji and Queensland. Influential traders such as Wickham at Roviana and Svensen in the eastern Solomons fanned the flame, and by the second decade of the new century the missions' monopoly in the field of education and the institution of the village

1 Marau, Story of a Melanesian Deacon, p.59.
2 On the influence of Wickham see above, p.249. On Svensen see Wilson, The Wake of the Southern Cross, pp.159-60 and Extracts from letters to wife, 4 August 1903.
school were powerful factors in the expansion of Christianity.¹

Eager anticipation eventually gave way to a sense of disappointment.² The teaching of literacy, whether in English or in a vernacular, brought none of the rewards hoped for: the door to the treasury remained locked. But by this time the missions were firmly entrenched, and in those villages where schools had been established the majority of inhabitants were at least nominally converted to Christianity.

Another inducement to conversion was the association between Christianity and peace. Traditional warfare was a balanced system, limited and terminated by constraints imposed from within.³ The advent of Europeans upset this equilibrium. By the close of the nineteenth century the widespread use of firearms and, in some places, the likelihood of government retribution made warfare a burdensome activity whose gains were outweighed by its disadvantages. In this situation, Christian teaching offered a 'rationale for the termination of conflict'. ⁴

¹ E.g., Dr Deck's Letter, September 1919; Choiseul Circuit Report, 1919, M.O.M., Synod Minutes; Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, pp.180-1 and A Guadalcanal Society, p.91; Interviews with Bishop Leonard Alufurai (Auki), M. Daniel de Coppet (Takataka) and Rev. J.R. Metcalfe (Melbourne).
² This feeling appears to have been particularly strong on Nggela in the years immediately preceding the Second World War: Groves, 'Report on a Survey of Education in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate', section 2, pp.12-3.
³ See, e.g., Scheffler, 'The Genesis and Repression of Conflict: Choiseul Island', pp.797-800.
⁴ Scheffler, Choiseul Island, p.25.
Missionaries, finding the islanders receptive to the idea of peace, frequently held out the prospect of relief from a life of violence and fear as an inducement to receive a school. On Malaita, San Cristobal and Ysabel a number of pagans joined mission villages or took a teacher for themselves primarily in the hope of ensuring peace: Bishop Wilson was once asked by an Ysabel bushman, 'What will it cost us to buy this new teaching which gives peace, for we are tired of fighting?' The association between the two was most marked on Choiseul where Methodist missionaries and teachers played a prominent part in negotiations between hostile groups.

For young men of ambition the advent of Christianity signified a 'new alignment of power'. In the village society the acceptance of Christianity and the consequent rejection of the existing taboos was a convenient means of escaping from the domination of the elders. Moreover, the mission institution offered an environment in which a young man could acquire a position of prominence without waiting for marriage, the acquisition of wealth and old age. The early success of the Methodist mission at Roviana and elsewhere in the

1 E.g., Wilson, Extracts from letters to wife, 12 September 1903 and Wake of the Southern Cross, p.239.
2 Wilson, Dr. Welchman of Bugotu, p.49; S.C.L., June 1913, p.169.
3 Wilson, Wake of the Southern Cross, p.235.
4 See above, pp.303-5.
5 Belshaw, Changing Melanesia, p.71.
western Solomons among this class was only one example, though the most spectacular, of a widespread tendency.\(^1\)

Also present in the conversion process were a number of religious or semi-religious factors. Chief among these was a waning confidence in the efficacy of the traditional religion, owing to its inability to give protection against those alien diseases which surged through the islands from the 1890s onwards. When the customary remedies, including sacrifice and the performance of magic, proved unavailing, many pagans rejected their ancestral spirits and turned to Christianity in the hope that it would prove more successful.\(^2\) It is significant, for example, that the Melanesian Mission was invited to establish a school at Longgu on Guadalcanal soon after an epidemic of dysentery\(^3\) and that the disastrous influenza epidemic of 1919 was accompanied by a large influx of pagan bushmen into the S.S.E.M. villages at Malu'u.\(^4\) Faith in the existing religious system was also undermined by personal misfortune - a run of bad luck or the death of a relative,\(^5\) the death of a prominent leader strongly

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1 For details of the movement at Roviana see above, pp.267-8. The same factor was present at Malu'u: Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, p.180.
2 Ibid., pp.181-2; M.M. Report and I.V., 1892, pp.xxiv-v; N.I.V., July 1930, p.3.
3 Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society, pp.90-1.
4 N.I.V., 1919-20, pp.6-7.
5 Interviews with Rev. S. Su'urourua, Michael Aihunu, Jack Kenioma, Jack Rouhana (Takataka) and Daniel Lolome (Kiu, Malaita).
opposed to Christianity\(^1\) - or the occurrence of some natural disaster.\(^2\) Few islanders in this position were deterred by the fact that the mortality rate among Christians differed little from their own or that adherence to Christianity was in itself no guarantee of physical protection. For a people overwhelmed by calamity, distrustful of the past order which had failed them, Christianity represented an avenue of escape whose appeal rested essentially on its novelty.

Linked to this loss of confidence was the knowledge that Christianity did not require sacrifices of pigs or food, and the expectation of smaller economic cost.\(^3\) This emphasis, on 'present benefits rather than on eternal rest and peace', formed a constant theme of mission preaching. S.S.E.M. teachers addressed Malaita pagans thus:

Why do you work so hard, praying to the Akalos [spirits]? All the time when you are sick and in trouble you have to buy and kill more and more pigs as sacrifices, till all your money is gone and you are poor men. We do not have to "buy" our God like that. His son has paid for us, once for all, at Calvary. Now we do not have to be making sacrifices of pigs, but He keeps us strong and well. Your way is the way of hard work and no good. God's way is better.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Examples are recorded in S.C.L.(E), January 1918, p.7 and Gatukai Seventh-day Adventist mission log-book.

\(^2\) S.C.L.(E), October 1925, p.156; Dr Deck's Letter, July 1926, p.8; N.I.V., January 1932, p.3.

\(^3\) J.L.V., 1887, pp.48-9; Dr Deck's Letter [1917]; Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society, p.91.

\(^4\) N.I.V., 1919-20, p.7.
The superior power of Christianity, demonstrated by the success of the missions' medical treatments, disposed many people in its favour. Numerous examples of this are recorded, perhaps the most notable being the work of Mrs Goldie at Roviana which broke down much deep-rooted suspicion of the Methodist mission and prepared the way for its subsequent rapid growth. In addition, native teachers of all missions sometimes achieved remarkable cures by the combination of herbal remedies and prayer. Even when these efforts proved unsuccessful they appear to have been appreciated as acts of friendship and created a climate favourable to the reception of Christian teaching.

Throughout Melanesia perhaps the majority of conversions were products of social pressure rather than free choice, undertaken out of loyalty to kinsmen or at the behest of a few influential leaders. Owing to the fragmented nature of the island society these were seldom on a large scale. Movements involving the conversion of hundreds within a few years occurred, not surprisingly, in places like Bugotu or Roviana where a large homogeneous population was concentrated within a relatively small area, and where the leading men

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1 See above, pp.251-2.
2 N.I.V., December 1941, p.5; Interview with Michael Aihunu and others (Takataka).
had thrown their influence behind the mission.¹ On Nggelai
the latter element was less in evidence. The mass movement
there, in which 3000 people were baptized in 14 years, is
explicable in terms of the momentum of a new dynamic faith
which, through the efforts of an able native teacher, had
already taken deep root in one district.²

As analyzed by Guiart, mass conversions to Christianity
in Melanesia took place within a framework of millennial
anticipation. Two aspects of Christianity - a 'golden and
happy' future for believers and the promise of Hell for
non-believers - were seized upon by the islanders and
epitomized as Life versus Death. Acceptance of the 'word
of life' was then expressed in spectacular acts of destruction
and by the demand for a total reorganization of the
traditional society as a means of protection - 'a frame
within which social cohesion could be reestablished' - in the
face of a dominant alien group.³ Although Guiart has drawn
his examples from New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, the
Solomon Islands also provide evidence in support of this
hypothesis. For example, it seems likely that the collective
conversions in the Roviana and Marovo Lagoons, where the
people had suffered severely from their first contact with
Europeans, were motivated by this interpretation of Christian

¹ M.M. Report and I.V., 1893, p.xlv. In 1915 a young
Christian bangara appealed to the people of Roviana Island -
'I am ashamed, and you ought to be ashamed, too, to think
that this, the central and most important island of our
people, has not accepted Christianity': M.R., July 1915, p.20.
² Interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox (Taroamiara).
³ Guiart, 'The Millenarian Aspect of Conversion to
Christianity in the South Pacific', passim.
teaching. So also on Guadalcanal the growth of European commercial interests in the early years of the twentieth century was accompanied by a spontaneous conversion movement. Known as the 'new Law' or the 'good Law', news of Christianity spread through the bush villages and both the Melanesian Mission and the Roman Catholics were besieged with more requests for teachers than they were able to meet.

The residence of a European missionary was not in itself a sufficient reason for the adoption of Christianity. Indeed, in every mission the rate of conversion bore little direct relation to the numerical strength of its European staff. On the other hand, the personal ability of the individual missionary was often a significant secondary factor, one which materially reinforced or retarded existing influences. In general, a missionary who was liked or trusted by the islanders for his impressive bearing and commanding personality was a more successful evangelist than one who lacked these qualities or somehow failed to gain the peoples' confidence.

As in Africa and other primitive societies, the popularity of Christianity in the Solomon Islands was directly related to its position as the religious counterpart of a new material culture and political order. The early identification of Christianity with immediate

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1 S.C.L., January 1910, p.132.
2 Interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox.
economic gain was short-lived, undermined by the islanders' realization that the acquisition of a few European goods was not incompatible with the continuance of their own religion and that Christianity did not automatically ensure a share in the white man's treasure. Progress was therefore slow; for 30 years the influence of the Melanesian Mission remained confined to a handful of villages visited annually by a European missionary. It was not until the twentieth century, when the establishment of British rule, the arrival of hundreds of white settlers and increased contact with the outside world brought new problems for which custom and precedent offered no solution (leading in some places to a radical disruption of the traditional society), that conditions favoured the introduction of a new religion. It was, as an observer of the New Guinea scene has stated, 'the time for new things, Christianity was part of the new way of living.' In this situation the association of Christianity with education, medical aid and peace, together with its assurance of economy in the present, 'life' in the future and Hell for those who rejected it, assumed compelling force. The arrival of new missions at this point enabled the deployment of Christian forces in all parts of the group. Villages and whole islands, formerly closed to outside influences but now bewildered by the changes coming with the Europeans, turned to the newcomers for protection and pleaded for schools. From being an alien enterprise, dependent on the presence of a European

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missionary, the expansion of Christianity had become an indigenous movement, motivated and impelled by forces deep within the island society.

THE forms and distinctive features of Solomon Islands Christianity were determined in large part by the content of the teaching imparted by the missionaries and the methods of evangelism they employed. Although the four Protestant missions shared certain assumptions about the nature of Christianity, they were separated by deep and fundamental doctrinal differences, rooted in European history and exacerbated by conflicts of personalities and struggles for influence in the same locality.

At one end of the theological spectrum stood the S.S.E.M. whose uncompromising Evangelical creed was based entirely upon a literal interpretation of the Bible. Closest in faith were the Seventh-day Adventists who also regarded the Bible as the inerrant word of God, but who parted company with orthodox Protestantism in their interpretation of the first books of the Old Testament and in the doctrine of conditional immortality. The Melanesian Mission had little in common with this Fundamentalism. Traditionally, its teachings, drawn from the well of 'primitive antiquity' and enshrined in the Mota Bible and Prayer Book, were aimed at the intellect rather than the heart. From the 1920s onwards this sober High Churchmanship was steadily displaced by a ritualistic Anglo-Catholicism which laid special stress on the sacramental system, the
intercessory power of the saints and the observance of the liturgical calendar. The Methodist mission falls into no simple category. Despite its background of vigorous colonial Protestantism it shared none of the S.S.E.M.'s preoccupation with the word of Scripture, while its day-to-day teaching tended to emphasize works rather than faith. In the absence of vernacular Scriptures or a fixed liturgy, religious 'substance' was provided by the Methodist catechism and the hymns of Charles Wesley.¹

The importance which all the missions placed on doctrine demanded at least a minimum precision of belief on the part of their converts. This in turn presupposed some measure of literacy - sufficient to read the Bible or a catechism, or to participate in a liturgical service - which could be provided only by a system of formal education. Like the 'out-station' in East Africa, the Melanesian village school was 'the least spectacular branch of the missionary enterprise, but also the most important'.² For not only was it in this form that the majority of pagan islanders made their first contact with Christianity and learned of its basic doctrines. It was also the means by which Christianity, once entrenched, was established among succeeding generations.

Each school was in the charge of a teacher or catechist who was also responsible for daily prayers and the general

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¹ Goldie reported that the Roviana people were 'passionately fond of singing....When a new translation of a hymn has been made, they come from miles round to learn it, and so the Gospel story is carried far and wide': M.R., April 1916, p.16. ² Oliver, Missionary Factor, p.201.
religious life of the village. Except in the S.S.E.M.,
teachers were regarded as mission employees and received
a small annual salary. In 1939 this ranged from £1 to £3
in the Melanesian Mission (the same sum as 60 years
previously) to a maximum of £12 for Methodists and £15 for
Seventh-day Adventists.¹

Within the first generation of Christianity the mission
teacher was accepted by the traditional society, but with
all the limitations of an alien institution. Only rarely
was he himself a native of the village.² Moreover, although
many of his duties paralleled those of the pagan priests,
he was, unlike them, not subject to the village headmen and
elders.³ Religious status and independence, combined with
his personal participation in the work of the white man,
gave the teacher considerable prestige and in many places
he played an important part in the everyday affairs of the
village. That he was frequently a centre of tension -
accusations of adultery and other irregularities were
common - reflected more the peculiar nature of the office
than the personality of its holder. As in the African
context, difficulties such as these were probably inherent

¹ Groves, op. cit., section 3, pp.4, 11, 18.
² The majority of qualified teachers were drawn from the
vicinity of long-established mission stations, often some
distance from the district to which they were posted. In
addition, many missionaries followed a deliberate policy
of sending teachers to work away from their home
territories.
in a situation in which a person recognized as a leader within a community was not himself a member of it. ¹

Each teacher conducted daily classes in the schoolhouse, either in the morning before the day's work or at dusk after evening prayers and the principal meal. The proportion of the village community which attended varied according to the enthusiasm of its inhabitants and the policy of the mission. In villages where school was a novelty, its potential unexplored, attendance was high, especially in those missions which emphasized personal access to the Scriptures. ² Patteson, on the other hand, towards the end of his life, questioned the traditional association between Christianity and literacy:

...I feel that but few of these islanders can ever be book-learned; and I would sooner see them content to be taught plain truths by qualified persons than puzzling themselves to no purpose by the doubtful use of their little learning. ³

His successors, too, discouraged adults from coming to daily classes, on the ground that they were 'apt to get weary' and were better employed working in their gardens. ⁴

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² This was especially true of the Seventh-day Adventist mission whose first converts were encouraged to make their homes around the European mission house: e.g., Watson, Cannibals and Head-Hunters, pp.233-5.


⁴ M.M., Report, 1883, p.33: Penny, Ten Years in Melanesia, p.210. Older people were given oral instruction on Sundays or on two or three evenings a week.
Schools had the common aim of propagating the tenets of the particular mission and of instilling a sense of the Christian moral code; indeed, the Adventists and the S.S.E.M. explicitly stated that the 'acquisition of Scripture knowledge' was the sole object of school learning.\(^1\) They also taught reading and writing in one of the native languages, usually the mission's lingua franca, together with a little simple arithmetic. Teaching equipment was meagre - slates, chalk, a few books and perhaps a picture roll or alphabet chart. Textbooks were frequently limited to the Bible (either the Authorized Version or such portions of it as had been translated into the mission's vernacular) and a catechism. Production of vernacular readers and primers was not begun until the 1920s.\(^2\)

Apart from faults inherent in their curricula and methods of work, village schools suffered constantly from inadequate supervision. Many villages were visited by a European missionary only once or twice a year, and then the state of the school was only one of a multitude of problems demanding attention.\(^3\) Deprived of outside support and encouragement and with only scanty personal knowledge and teaching apparatus to fall back on, teachers quickly lost heart, performing their duties perfunctorily and without enthusiasm. Although this weakness was universally recognized, only few missionaries attempted to combat it by organizing

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1 A.R., 21 August 1922, p.3. For the views of the S.S.E.M. see above, pp.374, 401.
2 J.H.L. Waterhouse and Sister L. Jones at Kokenggolo pioneered this field.
regular refresher courses for the teachers in their districts.\(^1\) Within the Melanesian Mission and the S.S.E.M., the decline was accelerated during the thirties by the growth of district schools which absorbed the younger and better-trained teachers and left the village schools in the charge of older men, many of whom possessed only the bare elements of a formal education.\(^2\) By 1942 these were, with few exceptions, moribund institutions lacking any real significance in the village community and among the more sophisticated islanders dissatisfaction was rife.\(^3\) In his survey of education in the Solomons, Groves described village education as 'tragically weak':

Many of the present village "schools" are not schools in any real sense. In charge of poorly-trained natives, some barely literate, ...they make a pretence of instruction in the elements of reading and writing for mission purposes, frequently merely teaching the prescribed ritual texts by heart. Such schools - and they are all the people have, the best the missions concerned can give - obviously contribute little to the true development of the people.\(^4\)

From the standpoint of a secular educationalist this sombre verdict is indisputable. Nevertheless, it was on the native teacher and the village school, wretchedly equipped as they were, that the entire fabric of Solomon Islands Christianity ultimately rested.

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1 Refresher courses organized at central training institutions (as at Marovovo and Siota) were able to accept only a small proportion of those teachers who needed assistance.


3 Groves, op. cit., section 5, p.8.

4 Ibid., section 5, p.6.
FOR the adult Solomon Islander the acceptance of Christianity demanded three steps. The first was to attend school regularly - daily or weekly - thereby signifying his readiness to 'hear' Christian teaching. This was followed by a probationary period, called in the Melanesian Mission the catechumenate, during which his observance of the externals of Christian morality was carefully watched. Finally came the rite of baptism by which he was admitted to the visible church. Despite their differences in theology and practice all four missions were agreed that this was primarily an individual act, the outward sign of a personal faith. No-one seriously upheld the view of the German Lutherans in New Guinea: that baptism of individuals should be delayed until the whole village community was influenced by Christian teachings and could be brought into church membership together.2

The duration of the instruction and the level of comprehension required depended on the practice of the mission and the judgement of the missionary in charge. In the Melanesian Mission the catechumenate, which stood

1 'When anyone wishes to enter the school he asks that he may be thought of in prayer; and on the day that he comes in as a hearer he declares that he will entirely give up all that has to do with the ghosts of the dead or the spirits that he has worshipped; on that day he gives those things up entirely, and he begs me to teach him a little prayer that he may pray to God to protect him from the anger of those spirits': Marau, op. cit., p.75.
at six months on Nggela in the 1880s, was standardized by Bishop Wilson at two years. In other missions it varied from six months to three years, according to the conduct and zeal of the aspirant. Candidates were expected to give evidence of 'repentance' and a genuine desire to lead a 'consistent life', and - although literacy was never a prerequisite - to show that they understood the rudiments of Christian doctrine. In general, this meant ability to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments, supplemented in the case of the Adventists by an assurance of faith in the imminent return of Christ and the necessity of observing the Sabbath.

To underline the importance of the rite, baptisms were seldom conducted in a village more than once a year, usually when the head of the mission made his annual visitation. Always it was preceded by an oral examination of the candidates by the visiting missionary, with the native teacher or clergymen who had been responsible for their instruction as informant and interpreter. Yet despite these precautions it was impossible to separate the tares from the wheat. In the last resort the quality of those baptized depended upon the ability and zeal of the village teacher, and he - usually inadequately trained and anxious for praise from the visiting dignitaries - was commonly more concerned with numbers than the fitness of

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1 S.C.L., June 1911, p.172.
2 Interviews with Mr N.C. Deck (Sydney), Pastor Laejama (Honiara) and Rev. J.R. Metcalfe.
3 In the case of elderly candidates this requirement was often waived: e.g., I.V., 1886, p.8.
the candidates he presented. On the other hand, that a
thorough preparation was, by itself, insufficient to
ensure fidelity was demonstrated by the first converts
of the Melanesian Mission from San Cristobal and Guadalcanal,
all of whom abandoned their Christian profession on returning
to their pagan homes.\(^2\)

Adventist and S.S.E.M. converts were always baptized
by immersion in a stream or in the sea. Methodists baptized
at a font by infusion. The Melanesian Mission used both
methods but favoured the former for adults on account of its
symbolic value.\(^3\) At baptism the convert was given a
Christian name, usually of biblical origin. Evangelical
missionaries showed a fondness for names drawn from the Old
Testament; John, in honour of either Goldie or Wesley, was
a common Methodist name, while in the Melanesian Mission
the names of saints or popular missionaries were frequently
bestowed. Some of the latter, such as John Still and John
Selwyn, were in use many years after their original owners
had left the group.\(^4\)

The missions were divided over the question of the
baptism of infants. The Adventists and the S.S.E.M.

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1 M.M. Report, 1912, pp.24-5; Interview with Mr N.C. Deck.
2 See above, pp.23-4.
3 There are accounts of such baptisms in Hopkins,
'Autobiography', p.164, and Wilson, The Wake of the Southern
Cross, pp.194-5.
4 More recently it has been claimed that the possession of
a Christian name, with which the European employers are
already familiar, assists the individual Solomon Islander
in the economic situation: Black, 'Christianity as a
Cross-Cultural Bond in the British Solomon Islands
Protectorate', p.175.
regarded the practice as unscriptural and administered baptism only to adult believers. On the other hand, the Methodists and the Melanesian Mission, in conformity with the practice of their parent churches, extended the privilege to the children of baptized parents. From the 1880s onwards infant baptism was the normal custom in Melanesian Mission villages and in 1921, when the first diocesan synod attempted to codify existing rules of procedure and discipline, elaborate regulations were framed to cover all possible contingencies: the baptism of the children of excommunicates and polygynists, and those of one pagan and one Christian parent.¹

ON the relation of Christian converts to the indigenous society two views were current. Some missionaries, principally Adventist and S.S.E.M., urged that Christians should form new villages where religious and social life would reflect their new profession. Anglicans and Methodists, on the other hand, generally stressed the evangelistic opportunities inherent in a situation in which pagans, ideally at least, had the Christian way of life continually before them and rejected segregation as both unnecessary and socially disruptive. In practice, however, policy was subordinate to local conditions. On Small Malaita and in eastern San Cristobal the S.S.E.M. was accepted by entire villages as a result of group decision - a fact to which the missionaries subsequently attributed the torpor of the church in those districts, in contrast to the fervour characteristic of

¹ See Appendix II.
north Malaita where Christian villages had grown up slowly around their teachers. ¹ Similarly, pagan opposition and shortage of teachers sometimes compelled Anglican and Methodist missionaries to gather together their sympathizers from one district into a new Christian settlement. ² Assimilation was always a problem in villages artificially formed in this way, especially when, as at Ngore Pou, they comprised a mixture of coastal dwellers and bushmen. ³

To facilitate teaching and the development of a Christian community the missionaries from the first encouraged closer settlement. As early as 1884 Comins was bemoaning the dispersal of the people of Sa'a into numerous tiny hamlets, 'because it makes it more difficult to get the children together for school at any one centre.' ⁴ Everywhere in the Solomons the process of Christianization was accompanied by a movement towards larger villages, usually located on or near the shore. ⁵ For this latter

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¹ Dr Deck's Letter, October 1923, pp.5-6. In Small Malaita some of the more fervent S.S.E.M. adherents left the existing villages 'to form settlements of those who are earnest and keen for God': Dr Deck's Letter, April 1927, p.5.

² E.g., S.C.L., August 1910, pp.41-2; S.C.L.(E), December 1912, pp.193-4; Interviews with M. Daniel de Coppet, Lazarus Pania (Dude, Roviana).


⁴ I.V., 1884, p.37.

⁵ Most of these contained from 100 to 150 inhabitants. By 1942 there were several very large Christian villages - for example, Vori on Ganongga, Menakasapa on New Georgia and Fiu on Malaita - with populations in excess of 300.
development the missionary does not bear the sole responsibility. In the last resort, bush dwellers migrated to the coast because they wished to do so: because of its new safety, its promise of a fuller diet and its easy access to European traders and shipping.

Many nineteenth century missionaries in Africa and the Pacific found themselves as 'the one fixed centre in a disorganized society',¹ unable to accomplish their spiritual task without some exercise of temporal authority. The years immediately preceding the proclamation of the protectorate saw the same tendency at work in the Solomons, though on a very modest scale. Christian villages on the pattern of the Congolese chrétienté, where all shared a common programme of worship, school and work directed by the mission, were unknown. Even the Vaukolu laws were but a pale shadow of the comprehensive Christian legal codes promulgated by missionaries in the New Hebrides and in Polynesia.

With the establishment of British rule the conditions under which independent Christian 'colonies' might have arisen disappeared. In the absence of large numbers of dependents to be fed and governed, the European missionary was free to bring his personal influence to bear upon a wider circle of the island society. Most of the first generation of missionaries itinerated constantly, as a necessary means of gaining the confidence of the people preparatory to the establishment of schools. As Christianity moved out of its pioneer stage, mission

¹Slade, English-Speaking Missions in the Congo Independent State, p.167.
stations became more residential: absorbed in its daily routine, the missionary travelled further afield only on periodic tours of inspection, and then usually on the mission launch. By the 1920s regular itinerations from village to village, on foot or by whaleboat, were undertaken only by the district missionaries of the Melanesian Mission, many of whose duties paralleled those of a parish clergyman in England.

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FOR centuries Christian theologians were content to regard the relation of Christianity to other religions as 'simply that of truth to falsehood, of light to darkness.'¹ Within Protestantism sympathetic study of non-Christian religions was further hindered by its belief in the total corruption of the nature of man by original sin and in the Bible as a final, infallible revelation of God. European colonial expansion, the corroding influence of the Enlightenment and the birth of the new sciences of anthropology and comparative religion led in the second half of the nineteenth century to a new appreciation of the spiritual core of the great Asian civilizations and to a distinction between higher and primitive faiths. Among theologians, Newman's theory of progressive revelation, that 'from the beginning the Moral Governor of the world has

scattered the seeds of truth far and wide over its extent',\(^1\) steadily gained ground.

The animist religions of Africa and the Pacific were, however, in a different category. Characterized, so it seemed, by violence and fear and in many cases associated with cannibalism, infanticide and other customs repugnant to the European Christian conscience, it seemed impossible to regard them as anything but unaided gropings for the divine, unrelieved by even a glimmer of light. The view expressed by some of the delegates to the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910 that 'there is a modicum of truth in all religious systems' represented the most advanced thought of the day and had little popular support.\(^2\)

Confronted with a living non-Christian religion for the first time, many missionaries in the Solomons were reluctant to concede its originality as the Melanesians' attempt to achieve a coherent explanation of the world in which they lived. Instead, they judged it in terms of beliefs and practices with which they themselves were already familiar. Although, unlike an earlier generation of Pacific missionaries, none appears to have postulated a corruption of some primeval revelation,\(^3\) some did in

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\(^{1}\) Quoted by R.C. Zaehner, The Catholic Church and World Religions (London, 1964), p.128. A bizarre expression of this new attitude was the World Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893.

\(^{2}\) Stansfield, op. cit., pp.50-1.

fact explore the similarities between Melanesian religion and the systems of idolatry described in the Scriptures. Nicholson compared the customs of Vella Lavella with those of ancient Egypt. Tutty derived the religion of the people of Doveli, Marovo and Bougainville from the sun worship of the Babylonians and even conceded a primitive knowledge of 'the plan of salvation and atonement by the blood'. Cormack drew attention to the resemblance of tamaza, the Ganongga word for creator spirit, and Tammuz, the Babylonian fertility god (Ezekiel 8:14).

However, deductions of this nature were uncommon. Most missionaries outside the Melanesian Mission tended to regard the religion of the Solomon Islanders, without distinction or qualification, as a collection of absurd superstitions - 'fifthy', 'degrading', 'horrible' and 'cruel' - whose relationship to the Christian Gospel was totally negative. Some, possibly influenced by the pidgin-English word 'devil' for 'spirit', identified the ancestral spirits worshipped by the islanders with malevolent beings or the Devil himself.

The scholarly tradition and doctrinal inclusiveness of the Melanesian Mission mitigated against a stereotyped picture of the indigenous religion. Although individual

1 Nicholson, The Son of a Savage, pp.16-8.
2 A.R., 13 June 1938, p.3.
3 Cormack, Isles of Solomon, p.99.
4 These and similar condemnations occur frequently in the missionary literature of the period.
5 A.R., 12 February 1916, p.16, 18 October 1926, pp.28-9; N.I.V., 1925-6, p.8; Watson, op. cit., p.236.
missionaries did not hesitate to express their abhorrence of certain of the religious rites they witnessed, the mission generally inclined towards a broader view, suggested by Patteson and developed by Codrington, which sought to find 'the common foundation...which lies in human nature itself, ready for the superstructure of the Gospel.'

In his estimate of the positive relationship between Christianity and the native religion, Codrington was cautious: he doubted the moral value of a system in which there was 'no prospect of reward or punishment in another world to encourage virtue and to deter from vice', and he appears to have been content to label much of what he observed as 'wild and foul superstitions'. Nevertheless, he welcomed the universal beliefs that 'man has a soul, in a different sense from that which can be applied to a brute', and that death was but a 'change of existence' as a 'foothold for an advance in the way of salvation'. Later missionaries were more adventurous. Some introduced the concept of a primitive revelation, and extended the 'true and good' elements in the native religion to include worship, sacrifice and the system of taboo. Without this assumption, that Melanesian religion was not mere devilism but a system possessed of religious as well as social significance, the sympathetic pioneer studies of Codrington, Fox and Ivens would have been impossible.

2 Ibid., p.313.
The interpretation of Melanesian religion embraced by a missionary necessarily coloured his attitude towards its practitioners. Apart from a grudging tribute to the strict sexual code of the inhabitants of Malaita, missionaries of the S.S.E.M. were disposed to regard pagan islanders as 'vassals of the power of evil, with imaginations darkened and minds seared and hands red stained.'1 In the western Solomons Adventist and Methodist missionaries similarly tended to depict the unconverted in the worst possible light.2 Yet although the force of revulsion against practices such as head-hunting should not be discounted, the picture presented probably owed as much to the demands of missionary propaganda as to genuine conviction. Moreover, conflicting estimates of the character of the islanders frequently existed side by side within the one mission. Whereas Jones described the Marovo natives as 'naturally treacherous savages and cannibals, gluttonous [sic], lazy, immoral, and cunning',3 one of his assistants praised their natural virtues: 'there is much to be admired...and...much that is good', and they possessed 'many promising traits of character.'4

Within the Melanesian Mission there was a corresponding range of viewpoints. Most missionaries were, however,

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1 Dr Deck's Letter, October 1913. See also above, p.399.
3 A.R., 21 October 1918, p.53.
quick to acknowledge the full humanity of the Solomon Islanders as 'fallen' but not depraved, with 'ever varying shares of our vices, virtues, feelings and appetites', and their own 'special heritage'. One priest wrote:

There is splendid stuff in these people to build upon and to transform, such as their simplicity of life and of mind, their willingness to hear, their reticent dispositions, their keen sense of justice and injustice, their ability to endure fatigue and hunger, their deep affection, and their love for their children.¹

But even the most magnanimous and perceptive of missionaries were also convinced of the existence of an 'impassable barrier' between white and black and were sceptical of the ability of Europeans to achieve a genuine understanding of the 'Melanesian mind'.³ One of the few to challenge this convention was Fox who, in 1920, performed ha'imarahuda with Martin Taki, a San Cristobal mission teacher and member of the chiefly clan Araha.⁴ By this

¹ Hopkins, op. cit., p.15. Following a visit to Mota in 1870 Codrington wrote: 'The most wonderful thing about heathen savages is that they are so extremely like other people. When one gets used to the colour, which is certainly the best wear for the climate, it is absurd to see the exact likeness of people you see everyday in England. My particular old friend, if white, would keep a general shop in the village and be Churchwarden to a certainty — others are exact counterparts of country parsons'. Codrington to his aunt, 28 September 1870 (continuation, 27 October), Codrington Papers; cf How, Bishop John Selwyn, pp.54-5.
² Howard, op. cit., p.289.
⁴ For a description of ha'imarahuda see Fox, Threshold of the Pacific, p.266. Martin Taki was a son of Taki, the famous chief of Wango (d. 1917).
act, the two men exchanged names and possessions and Fox was adopted by Taki's relatives as one of themselves.

Fox took to his new way of life with enthusiasm:

...I lived entirely on native food, never wore hat or shoes, smoked village tobacco when I could get it and so on. One month I spent as a cook on a plantation, living with the boys, same food and conditions....I have never in all my life been so happy as I often have been in these months. I have been treated by Melanesians as a Melanesian and learnt many things.¹

The various sections of the European community in the Solomons reacted predictably. Many were openly contemptuous; the S.S.E.M. missionary on San Cristobal sent a 'scathing letter full of texts'. Steward, on the other hand, was sympathetic, a French Roman Catholic priest wrote a 'loving letter', and the local traders and District Officer cooperated to the full.² The original venture came to an end after six months when Fox was forced to return to a semi-European diet. However, the adoption was a permanent relationship which survived Taki's death in April 1921.³

OF all that the missionaries encountered in the Solomons, intermittent warfare and the islanders' apparent disregard for human life seemed the most incompatible with

¹ Fox to Durrad, 8 July 1920, Durrad Papers. For a later account see Kakamora, pp.48-50.
² Fox to Durrad, 8 July 1920, loc. cit. Mischievous versions of Fox's action were still circulating among European residents in the Solomons a decade later: Lambert, A Doctor in Paradise, p.345.
³ Fox to Durrad, 4 July 1921, Durrad Papers.
Christian teaching. Accordingly, from the first they endeavoured, with varying success, to fill the role of peacemaker. In 1869 Atkin assisted in ending a long-standing feud on San Cristobal between the peoples of Wango and Haane. When hostilities flared up again seven years later Still wrote despondently:

My great trouble is the fighting... It is a difficult thing to know what to do in the matter. I can't tell the Bauro people not to fight if they are attacked, and these people perfectly agree in the evil of fighting as long as I am with them.

The problem was even more serious on Ysabel where savage raids by New Georgia head-hunters necessitated permanent defensive measures. Penny, who was staying at Bugotu when false news arrived that a fleet of canoes was advancing down the coast, was quite ready to fight alongside Bera and his people - a decision which offended some of the mission's supporters in New Zealand. Welchman, although forbidden by Selwyn to bear arms, also encouraged the Ysabel people to defend themselves; indeed, in 1898 he contemplated taking Soga's two successors to Roviana to deposit a propitiatory gift with Ingava in the hope of preventing further raids - a proposal which Woodford declined to sanction.

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1 I.V., 1886, p.40.
2 Still to Jackson, July (n.d.) 1876, Jackson Papers. See also I.V., 1876, p.27.
3 Diary of A. Penny, 26 September 1879, 11 November 1880. See also Penny, Ten Years, p.218 and The Headhunters of Christabel, pp.220-1.
4 Awdry, In the Isles of the Sea, p.50.
5 Woodford to O'Brien, 27 August 1898, encl. in O'Brien to C.O., 11 October 1898 - C.O. 225/55.
On Ysabel, Nggela and San Cristobal the Melanesian Mission used its influence among pagan islanders to suppress infanticide, the use of human heads in gift-exchanges and for religious purposes, and the custom of punitive killing. The latter was replaced by a money fine or banishment to another island. In the western Solomons the Methodist mission sought the assistance of the government in ending the custom of widow strangling prevalent on Vella Lavella. It also conducted and concluded the negotiations which ended the inter-group fighting on Choiseul - a major achievement which received scant recognition from the protectorate authorities. That neither the S.S.E.M. nor the Adventists became involved in large-scale pacification was due primarily to the early extension of the authority of the government throughout their respective areas. To a lesser extent it also reflected their distinctive approach to mission work, which aimed at converting individuals rather than permeating the wider society with Christian moral attitudes.

Among the most profound social changes advanced by the missions were those involving marriage. Faced with the custom of 'bride price' for the first time, the early missionaries of the Melanesian Mission tended not unnaturally to transpose it into European terms. Comins denounced it as 'a mercantile transaction' and wrote indignantly of the

downtrodden state of Melanesian women, whose husbands 'lord it over them in a way which would not be tolerated in a Christian land'. Penny, a more acute observer, privately described this view as 'absurd' and perceived that much of the money given by the bridegroom's kinsmen was, in fact, returned by the bride's family in the form of food.

The problem of imposing Christian concepts of marriage upon traditional Melanesian practice was initially confined to those few Norfolk Island scholars who took wives from their home villages. It was not until the 1880s that the growth of the Christian communities on Nggela and Ysabel obliged the mission to define its position in detail. Although the validity of native marriage, ratified by the payment of bride price, was then recognized, it was 'wrong for baptised persons or catechumens to form such unions without seeking God's blessing in the Church service'.

In view of the former provision, native marriage, which permitted separation and remarriage, continued as before; Christian marriage in church, 'an indissoluble tie', remained the exception rather than the rule. As a result of Welchman's persistent teaching, marriage in church, preceded by the issue of Banns, became the normal practice of Ysabel Christians. Elsewhere, however, the mission was

1 I.V., 1886, pp.39-40.
2 Diary of A. Penny, 10 September 1879.
3 M.M. Report and I.V., 1893, p.xiii.
less successful in enforcing its ideal. The 1921 synod accordingly took sterner measures: marriage without a Christian service, although 'not voidable', was declared to be 'a crime worthy at least of the Lesser Excommunication.'

The Melanesian Mission never reconciled itself to the practice of marital gift exchanges. While admitting that the custom was 'not exactly sinful', many missionaries campaigned vigorously to reduce bridal payments to a uniform low level, on the ground that a high sum involved economic hardship for the bridegroom and had harmful social consequences. Delegates to the Nggela Vaukolu of 1901 claimed that the greed of parents had forced up bride price to a level beyond the capacity of any but the rich to pay. At the instigation of Tambukoro, the leading Christian chief, the Vaukolu therefore decreed that in future no one should pay more than 30 pitipiti (strings of shell discs), or 50 pitipiti - less than one fifth of the prevailing price - if either party was of chiefly family. The decision was unpopular from the first. The Nggela people called it a 'teachers' law' and women resented the implication that they were of less value than their mothers. Accordingly, at the 1903 Vaukolu the maximum sum was raised from 30 to 40 pitipiti. During the following decades constant mission pressure had its intended effect: by.

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1 See Appendix II.
2 Coombe, School-days in Norfolk Island, pp.55-6; About Melanesia, No.7: Native Women of the Solomons (n.p., n.d.).
3 S.C.L., January 1902, p.171.
4 S.C.L., October 1902, p.61, January 1904, pp.102-4.
1942 the standard bride price on Nggela comprised three pitipiti and two additional strings of ornaments.¹

In other Melanesian Mission districts a comparable trend towards reduction of money and food exchanges was observable;² indeed, on Ysabel the custom was given up altogether. Owing to the government's refusal to recognize those marriages which were neither performed by a registered European minister of religion nor carried out according to native custom, this led in the thirties to an absurd situation in which most of the marriages on the island were legally invalid, thus preventing official punishment for adultery.³

In some parts of the western Solomons bride price was easily brought under control. The Seventh-day Adventist missionaries, convinced that customary marriage was 'nothing more than a business transaction',⁴ prohibited it absolutely among their converts. The Methodist mission also officially opposed the custom. However, many of its adherents persisted in the practice and some missionaries were prepared to permit its continuance in a modified form, in

² Ibid., p.183. Examples in S.C.L., September 1910, pp.52-3 and January 1942, p.35.
³ S.C.L., January 1935, p.11; Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, p.213; P.I.M., September 1937, p.16. Baddeley eventually arranged a compromise. In 1938 the protectorate government registered an Ysabel priest, the Rev Stephen Talu, as a 'Minister for celebrating marriages in the Western Pacific'. Six more Ysabel clergymen were officially recognized for this purpose in 1939.
⁴ Cormack, op. cit., p.107; Interview with Pastor Laejama.
conjunction with the church service, as a 'symbol of the earnestness of the contract.'

The people of Malaita were less tractable. The missionaries of the S.S.E.M. looked upon bride price, erroneously, as the selling of the girl into some form of slavery and they endorsed the early decision of Peter Ambuofa and his Malu'u converts to abolish it altogether. Later, about 1914, part of the Malu'u church rebelled against this ruling and reverted to the payment of a moderately high price - 20 or 30 tafuli'ae - which prevailed elsewhere on Malaita. After more than a decade of confusion and bitterness the mission effected a reconciliation between the two factions by fixing a maximum limit of three tafuli'ae. In other districts the missionaries attempted to reduce the customary bride price to a similar nominal sum, claiming that high payments were a recent development caused solely by covetousness and that they prevented young men from marrying and were therefore a direct cause of depopulation. Although bridal payments were lowered in some places, the mission's successes were short-lived; it was eventually compelled

1 O.D., June 1932, p.6; Interviews with Rev. E.C. Leadley (Auckland) and Rev. J.R. Metcalfe.
2 N.I.V., 1905-6, p.10, 1907-8, p.43.
3 Dr Deck's Letter, April 1915; Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, pp.211-2.
to admit defeat in its efforts at regulation and to retire from the struggle.¹

Polygyny, which taxed the consciences and ingenuity of generations of missionaries in Polynesia and tropical Africa, was not universal in Melanesia. On some islands it was not uncommon for a man to have two wives, but only chiefs or 'rich and elder' men had more than this number.² Codrington recorded that on Nggela one wife was generally regarded as enough - men could 'neither manage nor afford more than one' - and to have seven spouses as did Takua, the chief of Mboli, was considered exceptional.³ Nevertheless, the custom was sufficiently widespread for both Patteson and John Selwyn to be disturbed by the practical problems it posed. In obedience to the western Christian tradition both men held monogamy to be part of biblical revelation, but in the absence of an authoritative ecclesiastical ruling they shrank from imposing it upon an alien culture solely on their own responsibility. As an interim measure Selwyn reluctantly decreed that polygynists


² On the incidence of polygyny in the Solomons in the pre-European period see, e.g., F. Elton 'Notes on Natives of the Solomon Islands', J.A.I., vol.XVII, p.95; Goldie, op. cit., pp.27-8; Guppy, op. cit., pp.44-5; Ivens, Melanesians of the South-east Solomon Islands, p.127; Rooney, 'Notes on some Customs and Beliefs of the Natives of Choiseul Island', p.443.

³ Codrington, The Melanesians, p.245.
who wished to be baptized should keep one wife and make suitable provision for the others. ¹

The theoretical problem was finally solved by the Lambeth Conference of 1888 which, at the request of a number of missionary bishops, laid down two guiding principles: polygynists were to be excluded from baptism 'until such time as they shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ'; wives of polygynists, because they had but one husband, could be admitted 'in some cases' to baptism at the discretion of the local church authorities.²

This judgement was endorsed by the 1911 Bungana conference and the 1921 synod, the latter adding the curious proviso that the baptized wives of polygynists should be told 'their duty as Christians to try and persuade their husband to permit all but one of them to leave him.'³

Although this later practice of the Melanesian Mission was illogical, it had the advantage of permitting the polygynous family of the first generation to remain together under Christian influence. Other missions, less flexible in their approach, denied baptism absolutely to any party of a polygynous union.⁴

¹ M.M. Report, 1883, p.27; L.V., 1885, p.41-2; Penny, Ten Years, p.220-1.
³ See Appendix II.
⁴ E.g., The Laws and Regulations of the Methodist Church of Australasia, p.129; M.R., July 1917, pp.3-4.
Dancing and feasting, traditional expressions of Melanesian social life, were modified considerably under the impact of Christianity. Adventist and S.S.E.M. missionaries judged native dancing to be hopelessly intertwined with pagan religious beliefs and therefore as incompatible with a pure Christian faith. The former forbade it among their converts from the first. 1 The latter, anxious to avoid the accusation that they were Europeanizing the islanders, left the decision to 'spiritual' native teachers, with the same results. 2 Despite the negative attitude of the Methodist mission to many features of the traditional society, Goldie himself officially discouraged only those dances which he believed to have sexual references. However, the Roviana people were in no mood to compromise and about 1918 they performed their own dances for the last time. During the 1920s the void was filled by dances of Polynesian origin, which were taught in the villages and at Kokenggolo by the mission's Fijian and Tongan catechists. Goldie encouraged this development and by the thirties these dances were exceedingly popular in many parts of the Methodist field. 3

The Melanesian Mission was even less inclined to condemn native dancing as inherently evil. At the Norfolk Island school, where successive headmasters made a deliberate effort to inculcate a 'holy patriotism',

1 Interview with Pastor Laejama.
2 See above, p.368.
scholars from each island group gave public performances of their own dances as part of the Christmas and New Year festivities. ¹ Penny utilized the *gavae tona* or dancing party in the spread of Christianity on Nggela by sending a Christian party around the group, attended by a teacher to conduct morning and evening prayers.² At the meeting of Solomon Islands clergy and teachers held at Pamua in 1911 'church people' were bidden to dance at Christmas, Easter and the great church festivals.³ Again, at the 1924 synod, although approval was given to Martin Marau's prohibition of certain Ulawa dances as 'full of spiritism, possession, strange lights and sounds, invocation of spirits', the discouragement of native dancing in general was strongly deprecated.⁴ Yet toleration on the part of the mission authorities was by itself insufficient to prevent the custom from dying. As early as 1891 the Christians of Haane relinquished their dancing parties because, as they said, 'many of the songs had words which were more or less improper', and because it was 'inconsistent with a Christian profession that they should keep up what belonged to their heathenism.'⁵ About the same time it was recorded that the Nggela *gavae tona*  

¹ S.C.L., February 1907, pp.99-100; Fox, Kakamora, pp.16-7.  
² Penny, *Ten Years*, pp.100-1.  
³ S.C.L., February 1912, p.287.  
⁴ S.C.L.(E), March 1925, p.41.  
⁵ M.M. Report and I.V., 1891, p.93. Comins continued his report: 'Their musical talent is now diverted in another direction, and twice a week a singing practice is held after evening prayers, when hymns and psalms in the Haani language are sung to good old-fashioned tunes...'
had, for similar reasons, ceased to exist in its old form.\(^1\) And a generation later Fox concluded a description of a dance he had recently witnessed in a pagan village on San Cristobal with the sad reminder that when the village became Christian this ceremony, which was 'probably less heathen than the Maypole and the Christmas tree', would be discontinued.\(^2\)

Feasts, on the other hand, were never subject to an absolute prohibition. Seventh-day Adventist and S.S.E.M. missionaries frowned upon large-scale feasting as gross extravagance and a waste of time and, apart from sporadic revivals of 'custom' feasts in some S.S.E.M. districts, succeeded in limiting the custom among their converts to a few special occasions - weddings, the opening of a new church, and perhaps Christmas or New Year.\(^3\) The Melanesian Mission permitted its adherents to give and attend feasts as formerly, on the sole condition that at pagan gatherings they were 'to eat only such food as has not been consecrated, and...not remain more than one day.'\(^4\) Small distributions of food, accompanied by dancing, were held in some mission villages at Christmas, Easter and on the patronal festival of the local church, and during Steward's residence at Maravovo (1912-9) a

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3. Interviews with Mr N.C. Deck, Pastor Laejama and Rev. W. Gibbins. See also A.R., 9 February 1920, p.4; Dr Deck's Letter, October 1922, p.3; N.I.V., July 1929, p.3, December 1941, p.5. Both missions forbad their followers to attend pagan feasts.
large feast was organized each Christmas for all the people of the district, whether Anglican, Roman Catholic or pagan. ¹ For Methodist islanders village feasts were overshadowed or supplanted by the large festive gatherings held each Christmas at the head stations. These were European in style, featuring carol-singing, sports (canoe racing, diving and climbing the greasy pole), firework displays and even Santa Claus.²

Segregation of the mother and other customs associated with childbirth which depended directly upon the concept of ritual uncleanness were judged by the missionaries to be incompatible with Christianity, and as such were prohibited among their converts. These birth taboos were, however, deeply rooted, and initial attempts at infringement frequently caused something of a sensation among Christians and pagans alike.³ Even when the outward behaviour was discontinued the beliefs behind it persisted in force. In the Melanesian Mission these were given orthodox expression

³ When the wife of a Fijian teacher gave birth in the mission house at Roviana in 1903 all the boys working on the station fled to their homes: M.R., December 1903, p.4; Luxton, Isles of Solomon, pp.37-8. At Ngore Fou Hopkins proceeded cautiously; a small hut was built outside the village palisade for the wife of one of his teachers, while the period of segregation was reduced from 40 days to one week. The taboo was not broken down until 1909: Hopkins, op. cit., pp.89, 169.
in the service of 'Churching of Women', which signified the mother's return to normal village life.¹

Traditional funeral rituals did not long survive the advent of Christianity. From the first the missionaries taught, and their teachers enforced, the European Christian habit of interment in a cemetery separate from the village.² Exposure of the body or sea burial were disallowed; cremation was also generally discouraged. Mourning ceremonies, which entailed fasting, seclusion and the giving of feasts, were either forbidden or else fell into disuse.³ Welchman was one of the few missionaries to make a serious attempt to adapt these in the light of Christian teaching on eternal salvation. When Soga died the duration of mourning was reduced from two years to four months, but other practices - hiroku or the wearing of coarse clothing, honours to the burial place of a chief and the destruction of fruit trees - were carried out as usual.⁴

Tobacco smoking and betel chewing are examples of habits possessed of no religious significance. To the

¹ Black, op. cit., p.177; Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, p.201.
² For the regulations governing burial in Melanesian Mission villages see Appendix II.
³ M.M. Report, 1883, p.9; Interviews with Bishop Leonard Alufurai, Mr N.C. Deck, Rev. J.R. Metcalfe. Binet and Metcalfe permitted the people of Choiseul to continue their traditional practice of cremation, but this toleration was exceptional.
⁴ Montgomery, The Light of Melanesia, pp.227-8; Wilson, Dr Welchman, pp.43-4. Later, about 1900, Welchman came to the conclusion that the custom of hiroku was 'definitely heathen and evil' and discouraged its continuance: ibid., pp.54-5.
Melanesian Mission, these were morally neutral activities which could legitimately be discouraged only on grounds of health. Older scholars at Norfolk Island were permitted to smoke and, apart from the efforts of over-zealous teachers to forbid smoking by women, mission adherents in the islands indulged in both habits without hindrance.\(^1\) Methodist policy was similar. Goldie himself smoked, and for many years the mission, like the government and commercial firms, issued tobacco to its plantation employees as part of their weekly rations.\(^2\) Although the mission doctors opposed betel chewing as 'physically harmful',\(^3\) their efforts to enforce a ban met with scant success. Missionaries of the S.S.E.M., on the other hand, regarded smoking and chewing as evidence of an unchristian worldliness - 'other gods', which 'more than anything else were keeping the Lord Jesus out of His rightful place, and were responsible for all kinds of sin.'\(^4\) Although these practices were never prohibited, abstinence was upheld as an ideal, especially in the course of revivalist preaching. Many mission converts were prevailed upon to destroy their pipes and limepots on these occasions,\(^5\) but the renunciation was seldom permanent. Only the Adventist missionaries imposed religious sanctions against

\(^1\) S.C.L., June 1896, p.1; Coombe, op. cit., pp.45-6; Montgomery, op. cit., p.41; Interview with Rev. Dr C.E. Fox.
\(^2\) Interview with Rev. J.R. Metcalfe
\(^3\) [W.A. Sinclair], 'Report...on his visit to the Solomon Islands Mission, 1928'; Solomon Islands District Synod, 20-4 November 1928, M.F.M., Minutes and Reports.
\(^4\) N.I.V., January 1937, p.4.
tobacco and betel nut. Their success in this, and the white teeth which distinguished their own followers from those of other missions, who displayed 'no evidences of gospel cleansing', served to strengthen their conviction of the superior power of the 'third angel's message'.

Even without pressure from the missionaries, the impact of Christianity was frequently sufficient to bring about the decline or rejection of economic and social activities not directly incompatible with belief in the Christian God. One example of this, the cessation of the manufacture of shell ornaments by the people of Hounihu, an Anglican village on San Cristobal, is attributed by Belshaw to two causes: the villagers' loss of faith in their ability to do the work as Christians, and the demands on their time and energies made by mission and government which precluded the necessary specialization.

Similar factors operated in the decline of non-utilitarian native handicrafts - shell-inlay work, carving and painting. Only in the Melanesian Mission, and to a minor extent the Methodist mission, did individual missionaries seriously encourage the islanders to maintain their traditional crafts. The results of this were visible mainly on Nggela and Ysabel where a number of village churches possessed richly ornamented lecterns,

1 A.R., 9 April 1923, p.4, 27 March 1932, p.3.
3 Groves, op. cit., section 2, p.6.
altars and crosses. Some village churches on San Cristobal also contained fine examples of native art. One of these, the work of a mission teacher, Elias Sau, was described by Steward:

...the altar itself...in three panels, with wheat ears and grape vine on each side and in the centre the figure of our Lord on the Cross, reminded me of some old fresco discovered behind the whitewash of our oldest English churches....A rood beam, with an ornamental cross six inches wide, marked the approach to the sanctuary, while above the west door was carved a cross intertwined by a serpent and on the gable end a cross surmounted by a dove. ²

But works of art such as these were exceptional. Far more typical of Solomon Islands Christianity were the plain or shoddily decorated churches of Malaita, ³ or the wooden iron-roofed tabernacles, provided by the proceeds of copra, which made their unsightly appearance in Adventist and Methodist villages in the New Georgia group. ⁴

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² Newbolt, op. cit., p.107. 'Probably if Christianity were now to disappear in San Cristoval the sacred emblem of the cross would be found when all else was lost or almost lost in the outward culture': Fox, Threshold of the Pacific, p.358.


⁴ O.D., March 1925, pp.10-1, September 1927, p.7; A.R., 11 June 1934, p.4; Collinson, Life and Laughter 'midst the Cannibals', pp.191-2.
Few missionaries possessed the combination of imagination and anthropological knowledge to incorporate a particular Melanesian ceremony into the native church, with Christian prayers taking the place of pagan rites and incantations. Ivens was responsible for several such adaptations on Small Malaita. The first of these was a Christian porpoise hunt held at Port Adam in 1902. On this occasion Ivens dedicated six canoes and a new canoe house and composed special prayers for starting, finding and driving the 'game', while the fishermen prepared themselves by seclusion, fasting and prayer. This adaptation was avowedly proselytizing in intent, aimed at obtaining a large catch in order to convince the local pagans of the superiority of Christianity. Ivens also encouraged mission adherents to continue their practice of 'first fruits', placing the first of their nuts, yams and taro in church instead of offering them to the spirits as formerly. Some years later, on a return visit to the district, he was instrumental in Christianizing the traditional ceremonies at the beginning of the bonito fishing season in December. This 'opening of the sea' was

1 The Melanesian Mission alone made specific provision for Christian blessing of canoes, nets, houses, gardens or 'whatever was the custom of the people in their heathen state': The Constitutions, Canons and Regulations of the Missionary Diocese of Melanesia (Auckland, [1924]), p.14.
2 S.C.L., January 1902, p.165, July 1902, pp.21-2, January 1903, p.90; Ivens, Island Builders, p.170. The venture was less successful than hoped: the porpoises came into the harbour but were too large to drag ashore.
3 Ivens, South-east Solomons, p.368.
carried out for the first time at Sa'a in 1925 and was later inaugurated by Baddeley at Bita'am in north Malaita.¹

JOHN Williams's vision of the missionary enterprise as a civilizing agent — 'incomparably the most effective machinery that has ever been brought to operate upon the social, the civil, and the commercial...interests of mankind'² — found few disciples in the Solomons. Even Goldie's advocacy of industrial education owed more to his views on the essence of Christian character than to a desire to impart the techniques of civilization in themselves. The Melanesian Mission consistently opposed in principle the identification of Christianity with English customs.³ In practice, however, the distinction was often blurred. Its early missionaries, almost without exception, required European dress as the 'official mark' of a native clergyman or teacher on duty and encouraged their converts to wear special garments — shirts and trousers for men, bodices and dresses for women — at least to church on Sundays.⁴ In this, they were assisted by the presence of trading stores in the islands and also by the example of the Norfolk Island school where climatic conditions demanded warm clothing. Moreover, as Rivers clearly saw, the islanders regarded trousers and coats as the 'distinctive

¹ S.C.L.(E), October 1926, pp.156-8; Interview with Bishop Leonard Alufurai.
² Williams, A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises, p.499.
⁴ Rivers (ed.), Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia, pp.8-9; S.C.L.(E), February 1923, pp.21-2. See also above, p.82.
mark of the white man', and 'nothing short of prohibition could have prevented their use.'

European dress appears to have reached its peak of popularity in the first two decades of the century. From then on, assailed by anthropologists, medical experts and a new generation of missionaries, the practice was firmly discouraged, and a calico loin cloth or cotton skirt became the normal dress of mission adherents at all times.

Methodist policy evolved similarly, from wholehearted encouragement of European clothing on special occasions in the early years to a realization of the dangers to health which accompanied its excessive use. By contrast, as part of its indigenous principle, the S.S.E.M. opposed the adoption of any but the simplest clothing by its followers. Alone of the missions, the Seventh-day Adventists regarded the adoption of clothing as an act of religious significance (did not God command Adam and Eve to cover themselves?) and an integral part of its creed. Male adherents of the mission wore calico waist cloths with perhaps a shirt on the Sabbath. Women were supplied by the mission with plain one-piece dresses.

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1 Rivers, op. cit., p.92.
2 E.g., S.C.L., October 1931, p.28.
3 M.R., July 1904, p.8; Rivers, op. cit., p.75; [Sinclair], op. cit.; Interviews with Isaac Mamu (Dude, Roviana) and Rev. J.R. Metcalfe.
4 See above, p.370, and Groves, op. cit., section 3, p.16.
5 Interview with Pastor Laejama. See also the references in A.R., 10 November 1924, p.8, 8 December 1924, p.2, 16 February 1925, p.3, 22 August 1927, p.4.
IN many respects the concepts and doctrines of Christianity were less alien to Solomon Islands belief systems than might at first be thought. According to their own religion, the Solomon Islanders believed in ritual and moral prohibitions, the efficacy of sacrifice, the necessity of supernatural intervention to ensure temporal success and the capacity of material objects to convey material force. The propitiatory and sacramental aspects of Christianity - the doctrines of the Redemption and grace - were therefore readily grasped. Mission teachings on individual existence after death, the efficacy of prayer and the idea of punishment for sin likewise accommodated to traditional beliefs. On the other hand, the doctrines of the Trinity and the Resurrection, which had no equivalent in the indigenous religion, remained formal beliefs, accepted solely on authority and practically ignored.¹

From this it could be argued that Christianity was a completion rather than a reversal of much of what the islanders had previously held - perhaps the 'natural sublimation' of Melanesian animism.² In practice, however, accommodation between the two was superficial. Christianity was modified considerably by its new environment and appears to have made only slight impact upon indigenous religious concepts. Individual Christian doctrines, whenever possible, were assimilated by the islanders into

¹There are discussions of this point by Ivens and Fox respectively in S.C.L., September 1901, pp.105-8 and M.M. Report, 1920, pp.19-20.
²A phrase applied by Bishop Gresford Jones to Christianity in Africa: Oliver, Missionary Factor, p.207.
their traditional belief system and interpreted in a sense often very different from that intended by their European teachers.

An example of this is provided by the concept of *mana*, which was universally applied to the Christian God and to the action of the Holy Spirit. In the traditional religion, a person was able to obtain the favour of the spirits and thus secure their *mana* for his own purposes by the performance of sacrifice and magic. Similarly, God's *mana* was believed to be bestowed through the sacraments and in response to prayer. Conversely, it was believed that God would withdraw this 'power' if His rules - moral or ceremonial - were not obeyed. Melanesian systems of morality tended to stress the public performance of the deed rather than the motive of the doer. So too Christians viewed sin, not in the missionaries' sense as a rebellion within the soul and 'an offence against God's person', but as the transgression of an external law, knowledge of which had come from the missionary and whose guilt was contingent upon detection.¹ Atonement could be made, and God's goodwill restored, by a ritual act - confession and penance. It is this image of God as an external lawgiver and judge - Hogbin's 'unlovely tyrant'² - and of religion as primarily a matter of obedience to concrete injunctions, which lies at the heart of Solomon Islands Christianity.

Christians and pagans alike agreed in placing the consequences of earthly actions squarely in the temporal

² Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, p.189.
order. In those societies, such as the To'ambaita, where traditionally there was a close connexion between religion and morality, much of the Christian moral code was reinforced by supernatural sanctions. On Guadalcanal, on the other hand, where the two systems were entirely separate, Christian converts allowed a supra-human penalty only for adultery and fornication. If protection, health and success were the rewards of 'virtue', 'vice' was punished by ill-fortune, disease and death. Misfortune was generally regarded, if not by the sufferer then by his acquaintances, as direct punishment for the breach of some moral or ritual rule. Unworthy reception, and therefore profanation, of Holy Communion was a common explanation of physical disaster: an epidemic in Nggela in 1902 which carried off a number of elderly people who had been confirmed a short time before caused something of a panic when rumours spread that this was 'a judgement on those persons for venturing to approach such holy ordinances.' Steward recalled that mission converts would frequently badger a dying person 'until they "confess" some sin to be the cause of their suffering.' In some cases it would even be insisted that the suffering of one individual was the penalty for the sin of another. When a teacher or prominent man committed adultery the

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1 Ibid., pp.195 ff.
2 Hogbin, A Guadalcanal Society, pp.91-2.
3 I.V. and Report, 1902, p.33.
4 Newbolt, op. cit., p.139.
subsequent death of a favourite child or some similar
disaster was invariably attributed to the 'swift judgement
of God'.

In the persistence of pagan beliefs among Solomons
Christians several factors may be isolated. In the first
place, some missionaries are known to have adapted their
teaching to the traditional framework of ideas with the
idea of making it more intelligible to their hearers.
For example, Bishop Wilson once addressed those whom he
had just confirmed on 'the secret of retaining the
mana...they had just received' by 'regular prayer,
self-examination and confession, Bible reading, and Holy
Communion.'

Secondly, although mission teachers played a
crucial role in the transmission of Christianity to the
islanders, scarcely anything is yet known of the actual
content of their teaching or of the extent to which they
transformed orthodox doctrine. Nevertheless, the theme
of divine retribution is sufficiently prominent in the
Christian scriptures to suggest that it was teachers,
who were for the most part literate, rather than their
converts who were responsible for the widespread belief
that the desecration of Sunday was a sin meriting death
or that an accident at the altar rails was an infallible
sign of some undisclosed sin.

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1 O.D., September 1934, p.6.
3 E.g., Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, pp.193-4.
The importance of the intermediary in the alteration of
standard doctrine was first suggested to me by Dr Ann
Chowning of the Department of Anthropology, A.N.U.
The survival of traditional religious concepts was further assisted by the dearth of suitable words to convey many key Christian doctrines and ideas with any degree of accuracy. Occasionally, as a last resort, new expressions were coined or European words introduced, the most notable being the word 'God' in the Mota language. Examples of appropriation are the Melanesian Mission's use of words denoting 'ghosts of a higher order' or spirits who had never led a human existence for the Holy Spirit, and the application of words conveying the notion of magical spell or charm for prayer. These and innumerable similar incongruities not only hindered the meaningful transfer of Christian teaching to the islanders; the presence of these expressions in the Christian vocabulary served to underline the essential continuity of a number of traditional beliefs.

Yet for many Solomons Christians the indigenous religion was more than a conceptual framework, the old skin into which the new wine of the Gospel was poured. It was also a religious system in its own right, parallel to Christianity, whose power worked in the same manner and achieved identical results. To'ambaita Christians attributed the similarity between the two religions to Satan's imitation of God; although the spirits had no existence the sacrifices were accepted by Satan, who

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1 Cf Oliver, *A Solomon Island Society*, p.315.
2 Ivens, *South-east Solomons*, p.16.
4 Ibid.
exerted his mamanaa on behalf of his worshippers. That Christian converts retained a strong belief in spirits, sacred stones and magic was a constant missionary lament, even in a body like the S.S.E.M. which stressed outward separation from traditional customs. On Nggela tindalo worship was still secretly practised after a generation of continuous mission influence. Even in the 1960s belief in 'custom sickness' and fear of sorcery were widespread among Christian labourers on the Russell Islands plantations.

The practice of some missionaries of breaking down inconvenient taboos by prayer or deliberate infringement encouraged belief in the continuing efficacy of the traditional religion. On one occasion Bishop Wilson released hundreds of Nggela natives from irrevocable vows in the name of the Christian God. Before the first baptisms at Kia on Ysabel Welchman insisted that the people demonstrate the sincerity of their Christian profession by destroying their sacred shrines and skulls - 'a solemn business' in which 'nobody talked much'. Similar incidents are recorded on San Cristobal, Malaita and New Georgia. By such actions the missionary appeared to defy

1 Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, p.203.
4 Wilson, Wake of the Southern Cross, pp.177-81.
6 T.V., 1886, pp.30-1; Dr Deck's Letter, July 1914; N.I.V., April 1935, p.4; Woodford to Bickham Escott., 11 September 1913 - C.O. 225/120. See also Wench, Mission to Melanesia, pp.153-5.
rather than deny the existence of the spirits. Their effect was therefore to assert the superior protecting power of the Christian deity rather than discourage belief in the power of the spirits themselves.¹

Nevertheless, Christian converts of the first generation were generally reluctant to show tolerance towards the religious convictions of their pagan neighbours. The traditional worship was denounced; zealous teachers desecrated sacred sites and shrines, interrupted religious ceremonies and disregarded taboos placed on private property.² In one extreme case an Ysabel deacon ordered his followers to destroy a pagan settlement - an indiscretion for which he forfeited half his pay.³ This characteristic 'rudeness and contempt' was due partly to the universal tendency of converts to stigmatize their former beliefs as evil; an attitude in which they were supported by perhaps the majority of their European teachers. In many cases it was also probably an expression of suppressed resentment. In the early days of a school when Christians were few and defenceless they frequently suffered a certain amount of persecution at the hands of their pagan neighbours: their gardens were robbed, they were subject to taunts and jibes, and on Malaita some were killed.⁴ When at length the tide turned in their

¹ Belshaw, Changing Melanesia, p.75.
² M.M. Report and I.V., 1892, p.xxxiv; N.I.V., 1916-7, p.3; Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, pp.182-3; Horton, op. cit., p.28; cf. Firth, We, the Tikopia, pp.44, 49.
³ Wilson, Extracts from letters to wife, 6 June 1909. A similar incident occurred on Nggela in the 1890s; see above, p.111.
favour the Christians were not slow to demonstrate their new strength to their erstwhile opponents, by mercilessly wounding their susceptibilities and denigrating their cherished institutions.

In spite of these distinctive features the beliefs of Solomons Christians remained, in principle, faithful to the teaching imparted by the European missionaries. Throughout this period Christianity was still permeating the island society and conscious deviations outside the bounds of traditional orthodoxy were almost unknown. The first recorded example was in 1896 on Small Malaita, where a pagan priest combined his customary rites with certain Roman Catholic practices taught him by a returned labourer from Fiji and gathered a few followers. With these he performed baptism by pouring water from a bamboo, administered water sprinkling, and observed three days of rest and two of fasting in each week. ¹ A second incident occurred on Vella Lavella in 1929. On this occasion an apostate Seventh-day Adventist attracted some supporters in the Methodist village of Java by claiming identity with Christ and Mrs White, and also by the performance of 'miracles' — lying in a fire without hurt and curing the sick by juice from a tree. ² Both 'heresies' were products of individual eccentricity rather than movements with profound social and religious roots. Neither achieved more than a temporary and local notoriety nor possessed any lasting significance.

¹ S.C.L., February 1897, p.32. The incident is also referred to by Coombe, Islands of Enchantment, p.257.
² A.R., 18 November 1929, p.8.
IN its religious observances and the obligations of its inhabitants, a Christian village was sharply distinguished from the pagan settlements around it. For all Christians prayer was essentially a communal activity: private prayer, although encouraged by the missionaries, was almost unknown. In each village it was the duty of the teacher, or a deputy, to lead public prayers morning and evening, as well as to conduct the principal services on Sunday or the Sabbath. Attendances at weekday prayers was not compulsory, but it was considered an 'unpardonable offence' to miss church on Sunday. Most Christians worshipped in their own village chapel. However, in populous S.S.E.M. districts people from adjacent hamlets usually met together on Sundays in a central church, while at Kokenggolo Goldie conducted large services for all those who lived within walking distance of the mission station. The Melanesian Mission alone practised liturgical worship - the offices of Mattins and Evensong from the Book of Common Prayer. In other missions church services were lengthy and informal, comprising an address with a series of Bible-readings, hymns and extempore prayers.

Because of its dominical origin, powerful symbolism and association with the idea of sacrifice, the service of Holy Communion occupied a unique place in the religious life of many Christian converts. In the early years of the Melanesian Mission, when relatively few of those baptized

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1 Wilson, Dr Welchman, p.16.
2 S.C.L., August 1910, p.45.
3 This was the practice at Malu'u and also in the Kwara'ae district.
were admitted to confirmation, the service was conducted in the islands only at irregular intervals. Growth in the number of communicant members and an influx of Anglo-Catholic missionaries gave the service a new importance: the term 'Mass' was adopted, and by 1926 the 'Holy Eucharist' was officially recognized as the principal service, to be attended by all baptized persons whenever possible. At mission stations and large villages where there was a resident priest Holy Communion was celebrated at least weekly, even daily. The majority of mission converts, however, were dependent for the sacrament on infrequent visits from the European district missionary or the local Melanesian priest. In accordance with traditional Anglican practice, the mission always used the elements of bread and wine.

The 'Lord's Supper' was celebrated at S.S.E.M. mission stations and villages at fortnightly or monthly intervals, with taro and coconut fluid taking the place of bread and wine. In Adventist churches the 'Ordinances of the Lord's House', which comprised Holy Communion preceded by mutual washing of feet and formal reconciliation of quarrels, was observed each quarter. In both missions the service was conducted by any senior church leader, European or Melanesian, and was open to all baptized members.

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1 E.g., Penny usually celebrated Holy Communion only twice during his three month stays on Nggela in the 1880s.
3 To surmount this difficulty Wood encouraged the Anglo-Catholic practice of 'spiritual communion'; see A Form of Spiritual Communion compiled by the Bishop of Melanesia (Auckland, 1916).
4 Interview with Mr N.C. Deck.
5 Interviews with Pastor Laejama and Pastor J.P. Holmes.
The Methodist mission, on the other hand, removed Holy Communion from the experience of all but a few of its followers. Goldie himself placed little importance on the rite, and argued that its introduction into the native church demanded a level of theological comprehension which the islanders had not yet attained. For 25 years the service was held only once a year, when the European missionaries assembled at their synod. In response to pressure from the New Zealand mission board, the 1928 synod agreed that 'the time has come when many of the more enlightened of our people might be invited and encouraged to participate in this means of Grace.'\(^1\) On Choiseul and Vella Lavella the missionaries proceeded to inaugurate quarterly celebrations of Holy Communion for native teachers and selected church members. Goldie characteristically interpreted the resolution in its minimal sense and, apart from admitting a handful of teachers to the annual Communion service at the head station, did little to put it into effect.\(^2\)

The use of ceremonial in church services was confined to the Melanesian Mission. From the first the mission had stressed the importance of 'decency and order',\(^3\) but it was not until Wood's episcopate that ritual and elaborate

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1 Solomon Islands District Synod, 20-4 November 1928, M.E.M., Minutes and Reports. 'For the present at any rate, we suggest that all our Native Teachers and Class-leaders be invited to the Lord's Table. This suggestion is not in any way to be accepted as an instruction to any of our Ministers, or to interfere with their discretionary powers to administer the Sacrament to others.'


3 Awdry, In the Isles of the Sea, p.105.
symbolism were accepted as legitimate adjuncts in the teaching of Christian doctrine. Steward laid down the basic principles which should govern public worship throughout the diocese: 'dignity and beauty' should be combined with 'an amount of ceremonial easy of explanation', and the difference between greater and lesser festivals should be clearly marked. Certain 'red letter' saints days were to be observed with additional ceremonial, while on major feasts (Easter, Christmas, Whit Sunday etc.) Holy Communion should be celebrated with 'every accessory that may lie within our powers', including a procession, music and decoration of the church.¹ The mission also revived the ancient Christian season of Rogationtide, marked by long processions from the church through the village to the gardens and cemetery with appropriate intercessions at each place.²

As the missions moved out of their pioneer phase, the growth of a Christian community was assisted by the formation of organizations for specific religious or social purposes. During the 1930s the Order of the Companion of the Brothers³ and branches of the Mothers' Union were established in many Melanesian Mission villages. The latter, a world-wide movement, took deep root, especially on Ysabel where, under the direction of Mrs Sprott, it did

¹ J.M. Steward, A Melanesian Use (Maravovo, 1926), passim.
² Ibid., p.11; Hopkins, 'Autobiography', pp.205-6. Another custom was the All Souls Eve procession at Marovovo: Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.234-5.
³ See above, pp.183-4.
much to spread knowledge of hygiene and child-care.\(^1\) At the same time the S.S.E.M. was encouraging the foundation of 'Women's Bands' in its villages, for 'common interest' and Bible teaching.\(^2\) For young Adventists there was the Missionary Volunteer Organization, an adaptation of an Australasian church youth movement.\(^3\) In Methodist villages the principal social institution was the weekly Class Meeting, held usually on Thursday afternoons. Unlike the ordinary Sunday services in which the congregation played a somewhat passive role, the Class Meeting was essentially a popular gathering, centred upon mutual 'fellowship and testimony'. Goldie proudly described his large Roviana meeting as 'probably unique in world-wide Methodism'\(^4\) and bitterly resented any criticism of it. Nevertheless, by 1940 the institution was showing unmistakeable signs of decay: its form had become stereotyped and attendances were rapidly falling.\(^5\)

IDEALLY, Christian villages were embodiments of the Christian social virtues, a compelling attraction to their

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1 Artless, The Story of the Melanesian Mission, p.34; Fox, Lord of the Southern Isles, pp.200-1. The first 'branch' was founded by Mrs Mason at Fiu about 1930.
3 By 1929 there were 48 Missionary Volunteer societies with 1200 members: A.R., 1 April 1929, p.2.
5 Interview with Rev. E.C. Leadley.
pagan neighbours. The S.S.E.M. and Adventist missionaries placed special emphasis on this corporate 'witness'. The latter, in particular, were proud of their converts' well-planned villages with their sanded paths lined with crotons and trimmed grass running down to the sea. But the fervour characteristic of early years was seldom maintained. Peace which had at first been a welcome relief from the fear of surprise attack soon became torpid sleepiness. An ordered life centred upon daily attendance at church and school rapidly descended into a dull routine, devoid of any real significance. Sanitary regulations were found to be irksome and, unless enforced by a strong teacher, were commonly disregarded. As early as 1900 Bishop Wilson observed that although 'sin of a serious and gross kind' was very rare, the people of Nggela had become tired of church-going and school and had settled into a 'lazy indifference'. By 1942 this description could have been applied to a dozen or more islands or districts where the entire population had been attached to one or other of the missions for two or three decades. Attempts to dispel this prevailing apathy - Wilson's encouragement of extempore prayer, the S.S.E.M.'s use of

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1 'A Christian village ought to attract. It ought of course to be irresistible; at worst it is better than a heathen village, and that in every way': Hopkins, *Melanesia Today*, p.45.
3 *S.C.L.*, January 1900, p.112
revivalist techniques, conventions and short-term Bible schools,¹ and the Adventists' District Meetings² - influenced individuals but did little to alter the basic religious atmosphere.

Despite this lack of dynamism, Christianity exerted a strong negative influence at the village level as a means of social control. Membership of each mission involved conformity to a specific set of rules, breach of which resulted in the offender being subject to church discipline. He was thus placed in public disgrace, subject to the open disapproval of his fellows, so that others 'admonished by [his] example might be the more afraid to offend.'³

Within the Melanesian Mission three main means of church discipline were practised: private or public rebuke, exclusion from church services and expulsion. In the early years of the mission, exclusion was a voluntary gesture, those Christians who were guilty of some sexual offence usually absenting themselves from daily services of their own accord until they were prepared publicly to confess their sin.⁴ During the 1890s Welchman and his colleagues separately expanded this convention into a definite system of church law, involving public sentence of excommunication. This was finally codified and standardized at the 1921 synod.⁵

¹ See above, pp.404-6, and Dr Deck's Letter, April 1922; N.I.V., April 1929; p.6, October 1938; pp.2-3, January 1939, p.5.
² See above, pp.455-6.
³ S.C.L.(E), February 1925, p.23.
⁴ S.C.L., March 1896, p.2.
⁵ See Appendix II.
There were two grades of excommunication. The Lesser Excommunication, which debarred the offender from participation in the public services of the church, could be imposed by any priest and was the normal punishment for adultery, fornication, theft, persistent desecration of Sunday, possession of charms and reverence of 'heathen powers or places'. The length of sentence varied between a few weeks and six months or more depending on the gravity of the offence. If at the end of this period the conduct and repentance of the sinner was considered satisfactory the excommunication was publicly lifted and he was publicly readmitted to church. The Greater Excommunication, which temporarily severed the sinner from the church, was reserved for 'notorious evil livers' and could be pronounced by the bishop alone.¹

During the 1920s the increasing use of private confession compelled a modification of the existing practice. The 1924 synod laid down that sinners who had received absolution could not then be excluded from prayers, but that some form of 'open penance' should be imposed if the offence had caused scandal to the church of the village.²

In other missions church discipline owed less to medieval precedent. In S.S.E.M. villages public confession was a feature of the Sunday service, and discipline was imposed by the teacher and elders of the local church. Adultery and other serious offences were punished by temporary

¹ S.C.L., July 1911, p.222, February 1912, p.286; Hopkins, Melanesia Today, p.34.
suspension from church membership, which in turn involved exclusion from the Lord's Supper and a seat at the rear of the church at ordinary services.¹

For Methodists the usual method of punishment was a period of probation during which the offender was excluded from the weekly Class Meeting. At the end of the set period he publicly expressed his penitence and was readmitted to full church membership.² There was no uniform administration of discipline. Goldie tended to be lenient - in the eyes of some of his colleagues outrageously so - and would transfer teachers guilty of adultery to another district rather than demote them from office. Conditions were different on Choiseul where, until a district administration was established in the late thirties, the mission was forced to assume certain civil responsibilities. To this end Metcalfe erected an elaborate circuit organization resting on courts at the village and district level. These culminated in a teachers' Quarterly Meeting which settled secular disputes and administered church discipline.³

Most of this disciplinary practice originated locally and applied only to the Solomon Islands church members. The Seventh-day Adventist mission alone imposed upon its native adherents a system of discipline to which the missionaries, and their coreligionists in every country, were equally subject. For moral and ritual offences

¹ Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, pp.177-8, 194; Interview with Mr N.C. Deck.
² N.Z.M.T., 14 January 1939, p.302.
³ Interview with Rev. J.R. Metcalfe.
(including smoking and persistent Sabbath breaking) members were liable to public censure, pronounced by the elder and deacons of the local church with the advice of the European missionary. While under censure the offender was permitted to attend services, but he was prevented from holding office or otherwise taking an active part in church life. In extreme cases a sinner was 'disfellowshipped', a measure corresponding to the Melanesian Mission's Greater Excommunication.¹

In general, the distinction between the laws of Church and State was kept clear. Many offences punished by the missions were of no interest to the government officials; only a few, for example adultery and interference with private property, were punishable by both authorities. Conflict over the actual exercise of church discipline, as opposed to arbitrary acts of individual missionaries, appears to have been rare. The most notable case occurred on Ysabel in the thirties when Fallowes was brought to court charged with inflicting beatings as a substitute for excommunication.²

Among the missionaries, the importance of church discipline as a means of creating a stable Christian society was widely recognized. For Anglicans, moreover, Melanesia presented a unique opportunity to restore the ancient practice of canonical discipline commended by the Prayer Book.³ The principal weakness of this approach - one which became increasingly apparent after the Second World War - was

¹ Interview with Pastor J.P. Holmes.
² See above, p.223.
³ S.C.L., March 1896, p.2; I.V. and Report, 1900, p.18.
implicit in the very conditions to which it owed its initial success: its total dependence upon a particular set of social conditions. In a small village community, where an individual's actions were the concern of all, public penance with its accompanying notoriety had considerable deterrent effect. In urbanized centres, however, where a man's sins were his own affair, ecclesiastical censure could easily be ignored and was incapable of enforcement. Despite its inconsistencies and occasional bizarre features, church discipline nevertheless filled a valuable role as a means of preventing social chaos during that period of transition from the traditional moral code to a system of order enforced by the government.


THE potential of Christianity as a unifying force within the Solomons, transcending regional and linguistic divisions, was undermined by the presence of five mission bodies each with its own theology, forms of worship and discipline, and system of schools. At this stage the vast majority of European missionaries, inured to the spectacle of a divided Christianity in their own countries, accepted the existence of rival versions of the same faith as undesirable but unavoidable. With the exception of Goldie's early restriction of Methodist activities to the western Solomons, the spheres of influence of the various missions overlapped from the beginning. Adventists and Roman Catholics, who claimed universal validity for their teachings, were not prepared to accept the convention of 'comity of
missions' in any form. Similarly, the S.S.E.M. in its early years did not hesitate to commence schools adjacent to existing Anglican villages.¹

To the Melanesian Mission, accustomed to regard the Solomons as an Anglican preserve, the arrival of the Roman Catholics, the Methodists and the Q.K.M. within the space of seven years represented a blow to its prestige, the effects of which took some years to absorb. The presence of other missionary agencies not only compelled radical revision of time-honoured but inefficient methods of work; it also engendered a new militancy, a readiness to copy the tactics employed by others and carry the sword when occasion offered into the enemy's camp. The 'explosion', as Ivens called it, came at the 1924 synod, which agreed that the mission was morally justified in starting a school in any village when one was requested, regardless of whether another body had a school there already or claimed the territory as its own.²

Sectarian animosity was reflected in the almost total lack of personal contact between the heads of the various missions or the members of their respective European staffs. Relations between missionaries of the Melanesian Mission and their S.S.E.M. and Roman Catholic neighbours were sometimes cordial, but were in practice confined to mutual hospitality and assistance in cases of need. On the other

¹ For details of relations between the Melanesian Mission and the S.S.E.M. see above, pp.131-5, 407.
hand, between the S.S.E.M. and the Roman Catholics, and between the Methodist and Seventh-day Adventist missions, a great gulf was fixed. Nor was there any move towards cooperation or interchange of ideas in fields such as education. In this, as in everything else, each mission evolved and applied its own policy in isolation.

Although each district tended to be dominated by one particular mission, there were sensitive spots where two or more sects overlapped, either competing for converts or in an uneasy state of coexistence, throughout the Solomons. By 1942 Nggela was the only major island group undisturbed by religious dissension; even the Melanesian Mission strongholds on Ysabel and Ulawa were being challenged by Adventists and Roman Catholics respectively. In most places only two missions were in direct contact. The principal exceptions were the south coast of Guadalcanal where four missions were at work, and north-east Malaita where there were three European mission stations and villages of a fourth mission within

1 On relations between Melanesian adherents of the different missions Fox has written - 'If one of these groups meets one of another they are rather like two dogs walking round each other, uncertain whether to be friends or not': 'The Church of Melanesia', p.43.

2 Groves and Hayman bemoaned this lack of cooperation in educational work: Groves, op. cit., section 5, pp. 6-7; O.D., December 1930, p.10. For some years Goldie looked towards the formation of a council of Christian missions for the Pacific, 'to consider problems common to all': Solomon Islands District Synod, 8 December 1920, M.O.M., Synod Minutes; O.D., December 1943, pp.1-2.

3 Melanesian Mission, Roman Catholic, Seventh-day Adventist, S.S.E.M.
a few miles. Overlapping of missions occurred in an extreme form at Aola where, in 1939, 300 people were divided between four bodies, each with its own teaching language.

After 25 years in the Solomons Hopkins sadly observed that the islander 'finds it hard to understand but easy to imitate our differences.' Although disputes seldom arose directly out of doctrinal disagreements, social cleavages frequently assumed a religious dimension. Traditional hostilities between neighbouring villages often found expression in membership of rival missions. Similarly, quarrels within a Christian village sometimes resulted in one faction adopting a new religion and obtaining a teacher of its own.

In addition, respective adherents argued crudely about opposing teachings and practices - polemics which were apt to end in personalities and mutual accusations of pride and hypocrisy. Followers of the S.S.E.M. charged the Melanesian Mission with teaching salvation through sacraments instead of by faith, and with tolerating

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1 The mission stations were at Kwailebesi (Seventh-day Adventist), Makwanu (S.S.E.M.) and Takwa (Roman Catholic). There were also a number of Melanesian Mission villages centred on Talofuila's headquarters at Fouia.
2 Groves, op. cit., section 3, pp.25-6. The four missions were the Melanesian Mission, Methodist, Roman Catholic and S.S.E.M.
3 Hopkins, 'Native Life in the South-West Pacific', p.549.
5 This was a significant factor in the expansion of the Seventh-day Adventist mission; see chapter VIII.
pagan practices. Anglicans in turn ridiculed distinctive customs of the S.S.E.M., such as the use of taro and coconut in Holy Communion and the habit of sitting for prayers, as unscriptural.¹ Scraps of history were also used to buttress rival claims. Melanesian Mission adherents boasted that their mission was established in the Solomons long before the others.² To counter Roman Catholic allegations that the Church of England was the creation of an adulterous monarch, Steward even published a Mota letter to his teachers 'with the purpose of showing that the Church of England never separated from the body of the Catholic Church.'³

This variety of Christian creeds and the competition it engendered probably stimulated rather than hindered the evangelization of the Solomon Islands. In retrospect, it seems unlikely that one mission, even with increased resources, would have succeeded in influencing as many people within the same period of time. Moreover, the absence of a religious monopoly permitted the islanders to exercise a certain liberty of choice in their religious allegiance, and prevented the growth of a Christian totalitarianism endemic elsewhere in the Pacific. At the local level, however, the existence of rival missions had a wholly damaging effect. Opposing creeds, ill-feeling,

¹ These and other differences were aired at a meeting between Melanesian Mission and S.S.E.M. teachers held in north Malaita in 1926: M.M. English Committee Report, 1926, pp.20-1.
² Hogbin, Experiments in Civilization, p.206.
³ S.C.L.(E), December 1926, p.179.
physical strife and, in extreme cases, the total
disruption of traditional social relationships were
practical denials of that teaching which proclaimed the
unity of all men in Christ.
CONCLUSION

The Christian mission was probably at the peak of its influence when the Pacific war engulfed the Solomons in 1942. By this date some 50,000 islanders - over half the population of the group - were either baptized members of one of the four Protestant missions or else resident in a mission village. In most districts the authority of the protectorate government was shadowy, its functions limited to the routine administration of justice and the collection of taxes. Plantations involved only the male portion of the population, and then usually for only a few years in early manhood. Urbanization was a development of the coming generation. Mission stations, on the other hand, were numerous and dispersed - European centres from which educational and, to a lesser extent, medical work radiated into the surrounding villages.

Whereas most missionaries were by this time prepared to regard the physical well-being of the islanders as an end in itself, mission education was still avowedly evangelistic in intent. Although village and residential schools gave the islanders a limited acquaintance with the ways of the European, his values and techniques, they were essentially denominational institutions, aimed at the consolidation and extension of the Christian community. English was the language of commerce and civilization; the vernacular was the language of religious instruction. More important as a means of adaptation to a new secular world was the role of the village teacher. For not only did this new kind of leadership offer a rapid means of
advancement to those young men who were prepared to associate themselves with the new religion, it also provided a personal link between the old order and that pattern of life which the European was imposing on the Solomons.

The most significant of the social consequences of Christianity was its inculcation of a sense of community, wider if more diluted than the traditional village. Christianity is a social system in which kin ties are less significant than the bond of a common humanity.\footnote{Hogbin, \textit{Social Change}, p.182.} In the Melanesian situation this element was counterbalanced to some extent by sectarian differences, which served to reinforce old hostilities. Nor did the possession of a common religious allegiance supplant the traditional ties of language and locality as a basis for free association. Nevertheless, the existence of mission boarding schools in which youths from different islands lived together for two or three years; the use of a single mission \textit{lingua franca} and the practice of a common worship, 'with the same kind of prayers to the one Deity', supplied the basis for a wider concept of brotherhood, capable of embracing strangers and even those of a different race.

Those missionaries who had thought in terms of grafting the substance of Christianity onto the old society, in the belief that the indigenous culture could survive the operation, were generous idealists, but with an inadequate grasp of the process they had set in train.
Fundamentalist missions viewed the Christian Gospel as a message under which independent religious systems stood judged and condemned. Individual missionaries, more practical in approach, saw their task as the creation of a new society based upon Christian principles and practice. Although their attempts to implement their theories may appear inadequate, even tragically misguided, they saw further than their detractors: that the adoption of a religion rooted in the processes of European history could not but produce profound changes at the very heart of the indigenous society.

Among the Solomon Islanders Christianity brought about some considerable changes in the traditional pattern of behaviour. In matters of belief its impact was less marked. All available evidence indicates that the Christianity of the islanders owed at least as much to its Melanesian environment as to its European teachers. The Christian God had assumed the functions of protection and retribution formerly attributed to the ancestral spirits. Individual dogmas had been assimilated into the indigenous belief system which had survived the conversion process substantially unchanged.

By 1942 most missionaries realized, if only dimly, that the religion of their converts was cast in a different mould from their own and that the future stability of Christianity in the Solomons was directly dependent upon the training of indigenous leaders. But in general they were hesitant about putting their ideas into practice. The Seventh-day Adventists, whose missionary activities were impelled by an overwhelming sense of urgency, were
the least conservative in this respect. In other missions policy was governed by the dictates of prudence or, more commonly, by a subtle paternalism which admitted Solomon Islanders to subordinate office within the church, while denying them equal participation with the Europeans in its overall direction.

Yet at this stage, it may be argued, it could scarcely be otherwise. From the first, the missionaries had found themselves thrust into a patriarchal position, as dispenser of the sacraments, wielder of discipline and mediator between the islanders and the government. In these conditions authoritarian attitudes flourished unchecked. Furthermore, mission schooling by its very nature prevented the raising of an educated elite, capable of succeeding the European missionary in his specialist functions. The absence of separatist tendencies among the island Christians confirmed the missionaries in their belief that the existing state of affairs could be prolonged indefinitely.

The record of Christian missionary enterprise, like that of organized religion, is written large on the pages of history for all to see. At his best the missionary has been a sympathetic interpreter between alien cultures, a creative factor in the emergence of a new order. At the same time he has, too often, been an uncritical upholder of the colonial relationship, an enthusiastic exporter of European customs and western denominationalism. The Protestant missionary has played both roles. It is too early yet to say which of them will be his more lasting contribution to the development of the Solomons.
APPENDIX I

BISHOP PATTESON'S MEMORANDUM ON THE LABOUR TRADE

The object of this Memorandum is to inform the General Synod of the means frequently adopted in the islands of the South-West Pacific, to procure labourers for the Queensland and Fiji plantations.

I am not now concerned with the treatment of these islanders on the plantations, which I have never visited. My duty is to state what has occurred in the islands, and to make known the character of the trade as it is carried on there.

Assuming that the Government of Queensland and Her Majesty's Consul at Levuka, Fiji Islands, do all that lies in their power to guard this traffic from abuse, and assuming that they succeed in affording some security to the islanders while on the plantations, it is certain that they do not, and cannot restrain lawless men from employing unjust means to procure so-called labourers in the islands; they cannot know what is done by the masters and crews of the numerous vessels engaged in the trade; they are absolutely without power to enforce any regulations as to the number of persons kept on board, the amount of food given to them, the treatment of the sick, and the general management of the whole transaction.

Whatever measures may be proposed or adopted to secure humane and just treatment of these islanders while in Queensland or in Fiji, there is absolutely no check whatever upon the proceedings of the men engaged in procuring these islanders for the labour markets of Queensland and Fiji. No regulations can prevent men, who are bound by no religious or moral restraint, from practising deception and violence, to entice or convey natives on board their vessels, or from detaining them forcibly when on board.

Much is said about engagements and contracts being made with these islanders. I do not believe that it is possible for any of these traders to make a bona fide contract with any natives of the Northern New Hebrides, and Banks, and Solomon Islands. I doubt if any one of these traders can speak half-a-dozen words in any one of
the dialects of those islands; and I am sure that the very idea of a contract cannot be made intelligible to a native of those islands without a very full power of communicating readily with him. More than ten natives of Mota Island have been absent now nearly three years. The trader made a contract with them by holding up three fingers. They thought that three suns or three moons were signified. Probably he was very willing that they should think so, but he thought of at least three years.

Something has been said about the benefit to the islanders by bringing them "into contact with civilization." What kind of civilization they may see on the plantations I do not know, for I have not visited them; neither can I say that I have seen many natives who have been returned to their homes, from whose conduct I might judge of the effects of their "contact with civilization." The reason is simple. Out of 400 or 500 Banks Islanders who have been taken away, I have not heard of, much less seen, one-tenth of that number brought back.

But there is no instance that I can remember of any one of these natives exhibiting on his island any proof of his having received any benefit from "his contact with civilization," much less of his conferring any benefit on his people. The few that have been brought back to the Banks Islands bear a bad character among their own people.

But I am not now concerned with the treatment of these islanders on the plantation, nor with the effect of their intercourse with white men, or upon themselves or their people.

The African slave trade was put down as a thing evil in itself, a disgrace to humanity, and a practical repudiation of Christianity. People did not stop to enquire further. It was enough that men were stolen from their homes, and taken away by force.

There is no check at present upon the traders engaged in procuring "labourers" for Queensland and Fiji. Many of these men, whether they are technically and legally slavers or not, are acting in the spirit of slavers. Sir William Manning admitted in the Daphne case that "this system of so-called emigration is likely to degenerate, and probably sometimes has degenerated, into a practice approaching a slave trade, and perhaps actually
amounting to it." It is, indeed, a mockery to speak of it as a system of emigration.

A most impartial and dispassionate writer in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' who had spent some time in sailing among these islands, and had twice visited Fiji, speaks of the "nefarious nature of many of the transactions (of the masters of vessels sent to procure labourers for the Queensland and Fiji plantations) which have undoubtedly, in not a few instances, been nothing less than kidnapping." I leave the statements of some of our scholars to speak for themselves. But I know that throughout the Northern New Hebrides and the Banks Islands, deception and violence are frequently practised. I know the lawless character and the lawless conduct of persons now engaged in the trade, whose names I am not at liberty to divulge. One person writes to me mentioning by name four vessels carrying on "rough work" with the New Hebrides natives. "You know," he says, "that these men have no scruples of conscience, and so long as they make money, are perfectly dead to any code of laws, human or divine. I tell you of this (he adds) confidentially, as I have only had the information as a friend, and inform you for your own protection when amongst the islands."

A captain of a whale ship writes to me:—"The natives of these islands would come off in former years, bringing such articles of trade as their islands afford, for which we paid them with hatchets, tobacco, fish-hooks, &c. They trusted us, and we trusted them. At times our decks were crowded. This, when slaving commenced, was all to the slaver's advantage, for the natives were easily enticed below, the hatches put on, and the vessel was off. Now, no native comes on board the whale ship, and we, in our turn, dare not land. Again, we used to carry people from one island to another, when they wished it, and they would give us hogs and other articles. This also has been taken advantage of, and the natives carried into slavery instead of home. Should we be wrecked our lives must go for those that have been stolen, and the natives will be condemned and called blood-thirsty, &c., and yet what will the natives have done? Not certainly right, but no more than what civilized people have done in many cases. I hear that they use your name to decoy natives from their islands, and I also hear from good authority, that they enquire very particularly of the whereabouts of the Southern Cross."
We experience to some extent the evil effects of this traffic which has been described in this last extract. In many islands where we were already on most intimate terms with the people, we are now obliged to be very cautious. Unless we are so well known as to be thoroughly trusted, we have to begin again to some extent the task of disabusing their minds of the natural suspicion and distrust which these "nefarious practices" excite.

As for using our names and inventing any stories about us which may induce natives to go on board their vessels, that is the common trick adopted by some traders. There are some — I trust very few — men sailing in these vessels who have taken a voyage in the 'Southern Cross,' and the fact that they have been on board the mission vessel gives a plausibility to their story. In several of these islands some of our scholars are living; they speak a little English, and communicate more or less readily with any white men. Of course they use their influence to dissuade their people from going in such vessels. They know nothing about the Queensland and Fiji plantations, but they know quite enough of the character of these vessels to warn their people against going in them.

Many natives of Tanna, Vate, and of the Loyalty Islands, are employed by these traders for the boating work. These men are amongst the most reckless and mischievous of the whole number of persons concerned in the trade.

Naisilene, the Christian chief of Mare, has forbidden any native of that island to go on board any one of these vessels. It would be well if white men were to follow his example.

In conclusion, I desire to protest, by anticipation, against any punishment being inflicted upon natives of these islands, who may cut off vessels or kill boat's crews, until it is clearly shown that these acts are not done in the way of retribution for outrages first committed by white men. Only a few days ago, a report reached me that a boat's crew had been killed at Esperito Santo. Nothing is more likely. I expect to hear of such things. It is the white man's fault, and it is unjust to punish the coloured man for doing what, under such circumstances, he may naturally be expected to do. People say and write inconsiderately about the treachery
of these islanders. I have experienced no instance of anything of the kind during fourteen years' intercourse with them; and I may fairly claim the right to be believed when I say that, if the Melanesian native is treated kindly, he will reciprocate such treatment readily. The contact of many of these traders arouses all the worst suspicions and passions of the wild untutored man. It is not difficult to find an answer to the question, - Who is the savage, and who is the heathen man?

Imperial legislation is required to put an end to this miserable state of things. Stringent regulations ought to be made, and enforced by heavy penalties, as to the size and fittings of vessels licensed to convey natives to and from the South Sea Islands and Queensland and Fiji. All details should be specified and vigilantly carried out, as to the number of natives that may be put on board, their food, clothing, payment, term of labour, and reconveyance to their homes.

Two small men-of-war ought to cruise constantly in the islands, and especially in the neighbourhood of Queensland and Fiji, to intercept vessels bringing natives to those parts, and to examine into the observance or non-observance of the regulations.

It is manifestly to the planter's interest to discourage the lawless practices now going on in the islands. If he wishes to have a willing, good-humoured set of men on his plantation, it is evident that they must come to him willingly, and receive from him such treatment that they will work for him cheerfully.

At present many of these islanders are brought to the plantations in an angry, sullen, revengeful state of mind. Who can wonder at it? The planter pays a heavy sum now - amounting, it is said, in some cases, to £10 or £12 per head - for the so-called "passage" given to these "imported labourers." I do not believe that the planters themselves justify or desire the continuance of these proceedings in the islands. It may be that only a few persons would be found willing to come if their free consent was required; and that compulsion is necessary if labourers are to be procured at all. In this case it is not too much to say that free labourers must be sought elsewhere, among the Chinese or other people who are able to protect themselves from injustice.
But my belief is that there will be always some, not many, islanders willing to leave their homes for a time, if once it is thoroughly known by experience that they will be treated kindly and fairly, and brought home at the proper time. Curiosity, excitement, the spirit of adventure, will always induce some men to volunteer for any employment that is not distasteful, with people who treat them honestly and fairly.

There are some two or three vessels honourably distinguished from the rest by fair and generous treatment of the natives. One such vessel was at anchor for some weeks in Vanna Levu Harbour. I do not know its name.

Ganevierogi (the Leper Island lad) speaks of a whaler, a three-masted vessel, which was visited by some of their people. It came on to blow, and the Leper Islanders were kept on board all night, well fed, and sent ashore with presents the next morning. He could not tell me the name of the vessel. But she was a whaler, and such treatment of natives is customary with such vessels.

I regret that I am unable to attend the General Synod, and that I lose the opportunity of giving further explanations of the real character of this traffic.

(Signed) J.C. PATTESON,
Missionary Bishop.

Norfolk Island.

11th January, 1871.
APPENDIX II

RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MELANESIAN MISSION,
MADE AT SIOTA, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1921

1. That a Committee be appointed for the Revision of the New Testament.

2. That the Revision be conducted upon the following lines:

   (1) Uniformity of spelling of proper names and translation of synonyms.
   (2) The Revised Version be the Textual Basis.
   (3) Improved form, larger type and in paragraphs.
   (4) References.

3. That the Bishop be asked to approach the S.P.C.K. on the matter and in any other way that he may consider desirable to promote the object desired.

4. That the Committee consist of the Bishop as Chairman and Mr. Nind, Mr. Fox, Mr. Hart, and Mr. Tempest.

5. That a Life of Christ, taken from the Gospels, in Mota, be provided for a reading book in our Schools, to which be added certain extracts from the Acts and Epistles as are illustrative of the History of the Church.

6. That the Staff at Vureas should be asked to draw up such a book.

7. That a Hand-book of practical directions for Native Teachers be provided.

8. That Mr. Tempest be asked to collect a list of subjects to be contained in such a Hand-book and to give the same to the Bishop before the end of this Conference.

9. That there should be a Revised Standard Hymn Book provided for use in the Diocese.

10. That the Bishop be asked to prepare and authorise such a book.

11. That it is desirable that an Industrial School be formed at Vera-na-aso.
12. That the first duty of the Melanesian Mission is to reopen the Welchman Memorial Hospital at some convenient centre, and for that purpose this Conference makes an earnest appeal to the Home Churches for the services of one or more Doctors.

13. That there should be three Primary Schools of about 40 small boys each. One at Pamua and two others at two different places to be decided at some future date, one Secondary School of about 60 boys at Pawa, and at Siota - a Finishing School of about 30 young men, a class of Teachers from the districts of about 30, and an Ordinands Class of about 20.

14. That the School at Pawa shall be started at the first voyage, 1922.

15. That Mota be taught in all our Schools and English in our Central Schools and especially at the Technical School.

16. That the Heads of Central Schools should keep the men in charge of Districts informed of vacancies likely to occur in their schools and should notify the men in charge of districts of such of their boys as are returning and state whether these boys are to return to the School or no.

17. This Conference desires to express its approval of the present method of appointing a Bishop of the Diocese, which is substantially in agreement with Resolution 43 (e) of the Lambeth Conference of 1920, and requests the Bishop and the Representatives of the Diocese in the General Synod of the Church of New Zealand to oppose any alteration.

18. Boys on holiday from Central Schools must not preach or conduct services.

19. Teachers should recognise that their duty is to conduct school regularly and those who fail to do so should be gradually weeded out.

20. When there are two or more teachers in one place they should all attempt to attend daily services regularly.

21. The following graduation of pay is suggested as a minimum: - Priest, £10; Deacon £7 10s; Ilogoro, £5; Tore-tore, £3; Vatogo, £3; Vasvasogo, £1.
REGULATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE MELANESIAN MISSION
TO BE OBSERVED AS FAR AS CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT, MADE AT
SIOTA, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1921

1. No teacher shall be appointed without a licence. Licences shall be issued as follows:-
   (a) To preach,
   (b) To teach,
   (c) To read the Services and Lessons in Church.

Each licence shall be signed by the Missionary in charge of the district in which the teacher resides, and countersigned by the Bishop.

2. As far as it is possible no teacher shall be appointed to a head-teachership unless he has resided for not less than six months at a recognised training college, and has obtained a certificate of competence from the head of such a college.

3. It is undesirable that a period of more than two years, or less than one year, should elapse between the Baptism of an adult and his Confirmation. Where it is desirable to present a candidate for Confirmation in less than one year after Baptism the consent of the Bishop must first be obtained.

4. All candidates for Confirmation should be duly instructed and prepared to receive the Holy Communion.

5. The most suitable age for Confirmation is between the apparent ages of fourteen and eighteen years.

6. The restoration to full Communion of a public and notorious offender against the Laws of the Church may not be made except publicly and openly before the congregation.

7. Any Priest shall be competent to pronounce the sentence of the Lesser Excommunication which excludes the sinner from participating in the Public Services of the Church. Teachers can only advise and warn.

8. The Bishop alone shall be competent to pronounce the sentence of the Greater Excommunication which temporarily severs the sinner from the Church which is the Body of the Living Christ.
9. Under no circumstances shall any fee be charged for re-admission of a penitent or for the Celebration of any other Rite or Sacrament of the Church.

10. No Priest shall presume to exercise his power of binding or loosing except in that district the oversight of which has been committed to him by the Bishop or by other competent authority, unless he shall be -

(a) Requested to do so by the Priest in charge of that other district.

(b) Authorised to do so by the Bishop or other competent authority.

11. The officiating Priest at the Celebration of the Holy Communion shall be vested either in cassock, surplice and stole, or amice, alb, girdle, stole, maniple and chasuble.

12. The assistant Priests at the Celebration of the Holy Communion shall be vested either in cassock, surplice and stole, or in amice, girdle, stole, maniple and, where such vestments are provided, in tunicle or dalmatic.

13. If the Officiating Priests so desire, any fully qualified teacher may be considered as being in Sub-deacon's orders to such an extent that in the absence of another minister in Deacons' or Priests' orders he may read the Epistle at a Celebration of the Holy Communion.

14. At a Baptism, Wedding, Re-admission of Penitents, Absolution, or any other Sacramental Rite the Officiating Minister shall be vested in cassock, surplice and stole.

15. At any other Public Service the Officiating Minister should wear some decent garment, and where he is in Deacons' or Priests' Orders, shall be vested at least in cassock and surplice.

16. A scarf or tippet may also be worn by Priests and Deacons, of black silk, if the wearer have a Master's Degree of any University in the British Empire, or of black stuff if he have not such a Degree.

17. The hood of any Degree, or of any Theological College which is duly qualified to grant the right to wear a hood, may be worn over the surplice by any person qualified to wear such a Hood, when taking part in the Public Services of the Church.
Holy Baptism

18. No infant should be presented for Baptism unless there be three, or at least two, God-parents besides the actual father or mother of the child.

19. No infant shall be baptised unless the Officiating Minister shall have reason to believe that the child will be brought up in the Faith into which it receives its baptism.

20. The infant children of persons lying under the Lesser Excommunication may be baptised if not less than three Communicants are prepared to stand as Sponsors for their Christian upbringing.

21. The infant children of heathen, or persons lying under the Greater Excommunication, should not be baptised unless there be very good reason to believe that they will not be brought up under conditions which would tend to make it difficult for them to do and believe such things as their God-parents will promise on their behalf.

22. No adult shall be presented for Baptism unless there be good reason to believe that he is in earnest in renouncing heathenism and truly desires to live a Christian life and repent of his past misdeeds.

23. The wives of a polygamist may be baptised, but it should be clearly explained to them that it will be part of their duty as Christians to try and persuade their husband to permit all but one of them to leave him.

24. The infant children of a Christian wife of a polygamist may be baptised unless there is good reason to fear that the father will oppose their being brought up as Christians.

25. Where one of the parents of an infant is a heathen while the other is baptised, great care must be taken to ensure the probability of the child being brought up as Christian.

26. In all other cases in which there is any doubt as to the advisability or otherwise of baptising an infant, or an adult, the case shall be referred to the Bishop, whose ruling on the matter shall be binding until such time as the matter can be brought before the Synod.

Holy Matrimony

27. None but baptised persons who are not Excommunicate can be married with the full Service of the Church, and
this service can only be taken by a Priest or by a Deacon.

28. No Christian or Catechumen should be married without some form of service as is licensed by the Bishop for such Services.

29. Any baptised person deliberately marrying without any Christian Service shall be considered as having committed a crime worthy at least of the Lesser Excommunication.

30. Any marriage contracted by a Christian and recognised as a marriage by the parties living together openly as man and wife, after their Baptism, shall not be voidable whether such a marriage be contracted with a Church Service or not.

31. Women who have been living in polygamy but have separated from their husbands owing to either party accepting Christianity, are free to contract another marriage.

32. If a heathen shall divorce his or her wife or husband because the latter has accepted Christianity, the separated party shall be held free to contract another marriage.

33. If a baptised person marry a heathen, or live openly with a heathen as his wife or her husband, that marriage shall be considered binding on the Christian party, and shall not be voidable nor shall the Christian party be free under any circumstances to contract another marriage during the lifetime of the other party.

Burial of the Dead

34. In every Christian village there shall be as far as possible a plot of land set apart as a burial ground.

35. Where there is such a burial ground no baptised person shall be buried in any other place.

36. None but baptised persons who are not Excommunicate shall be buried with the full Service of the Church.

37. No heathen shall be baptised on his death-bed unless he had shown a clear desire for Baptism for some time before his death.
38. Should any uninstructed person so baptise a heathen the Minister shall not read the full Service of the Church at the burial nor shall the body he brought into the village Church before burial.

Marriage of Unsuitable Persons

39. No Minister shall marry (1) persons who have not reached the age of puberty; (2) an unwilling bride or bridegroom; (3) any couples whom he shall have good reason to consider unsuitable for being joined together in Holy Matrimony.

Christians Observing Heathen Customs

40. Any baptised person who shall have in his or her possession or shall make use of any harmful heathen charm or shall invoke heathen spirits or shall be known to reverence heathen powers or places shall be liable to the Lesser Excommunication.

41. Any baptised person having in his or her possession or making use of any charm intended to cause death or grievous bodily or mental harm shall be treated as though he or she had actually committed the crime which the charm is intended to accomplish.

42. Any baptised person who is accessory to the use of such a charm by another person shall be liable to the Lesser Excommunication.

Churching of Women

43. The mother of an illegitimate child should not be Churched until the period for which she is Excommunicate is passed.

44. Although it is a good and laudable custom that the woman shall make an offering at the time of her Churching, no Minister shall refuse to Church a woman who may be unable or even unwilling to make such an offering.
APPENDIX III

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AND INDIGENOUS CLERGY IN THE

SOLOMON ISLANDS 1849-1942

The following list has been compiled from a number of sources. It is intended as a basis for future investigations rather than a compendium of all information available on individual missionaries.

The form of entry is as follows: name, country or island of origin, details of ordination, period of continuous missionary service in the Solomons (excluding furloughs), principal sphere of work according to island or station. The latter is listed usually only if the missionary's stay exceeded five years. Solomon Islands clergy were stationed on their own islands unless otherwise stated.

Melanesian Mission

Abbreviations: O. = Ordained. The first date given is the year of ordination to the diaconate, the second is that of ordination to the priesthood.

C. = Consecrated.

M. = Missionary service.

S. = Stationed.

Akwa, Benjamin: Nth Malaita; O. 1937.


Atkin, Joseph: N.Z.; O. 1867, 1869; M. 1869-71 (died); S. San Cristobal.


Averill, Lloyd: N.Z.; M. 1933-5.


Bale, Dudley: Ysabel; 0. 1937; S. Pawa 1937-9, Ontong Java 1939-40.
Bana, Wilson: Ysabel; 0. 1924, 1935; died 1941.
Barge, John Frederick: Aust.; 0. 1932, 1933; M. 1937-8.
Béchervaise, May: Aust.; M. 1914-5.
Biru, George: Guadalcanal; 0. 1941.
Bollen, Frank: England; 0. 1905, 1907; M. 1906-9 (died).
Bosamata, John: Nggela; 0. 1941.
Bridges, Frances: N.Z.; M. 1908.
Broadbent, Elizabeth Moore: ?; M. 1922-6.
Brooke, Charles Hyde: England; 0. 1867, 1869; M. 1867-74; S. Nggela.
Browne, Cyril George Dennis: England; 0. 1898, 1899; M. 1903-4.
Browning, Charles William: England; 0. 1884, 1885; M. 1892-9; S. Nggela.
Browning, William Frank: England; 0. 1912, 1919; M. 1925-33; S. Siota.
Bugoro, Hugo: [Ysabel?]; 0. 1941; S. Alangaula, 1938-.
Buffet, Cameron: Norfolk Is.; M. 1927-45.
Bula, Reuben: Nggela; 0. 1891; died 1916.
Bullen, H.W.: England; M. 1933-
Butchart, Alfred Aird: England; 0. 1924, 1925; M. 1924-6, 1934-5.


Codrington, Robert Henry: England; O. 1855, 1857; M. 1867-87, 1892-5 (Acting Head 1871-7); S. Norfolk Island.


Crawshaw, Frederick Alfred: N.Z.; M. 1911-2.

Dancaster, Alan Churcher: England; O. 1920, 1921; M. 1923-7; S. Maravovo.


Dickie, William Acworth: England; O. 1932, 1933; M. 1933-40; S. Pawa.


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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Dora, Andrew</td>
<td>Nth Malaita; O. 1937; died 1941</td>
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<td>Doyle, Peter J.</td>
<td>Aust.; M. 1940-2</td>
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<td>Drew, Frederick H.</td>
<td>England; 0. 1911, 1913; M. 1904-9, 1913-5 (died); S. San Cristobal</td>
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<td>Edwards, James</td>
<td>England; 0. 1924, 1925; M. 1933-57; S. Maka 1933-9, Taroaniara 1939-</td>
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<td>Elliott, Arthur Charles</td>
<td>England; M. 1923-30; S. Marovovo</td>
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<td>Engall, W.W.</td>
<td>N.Z.; M. 1925-6</td>
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<td>Fallowes, Richard Prince</td>
<td>England; 0. 1924, 1925; M. 1929-34; S. Ysabel 1930-4</td>
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<td>Field, Estelle</td>
<td>N.Z.; M. 1933- ; S. Fauambu 1933-7, Kerepe 1937-</td>
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<td>Fitzgerald, Knightley Purefoy</td>
<td>England; 0. 1934, 1935; M. 1935-7</td>
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<td>Fletcher, A.H.</td>
<td>N.Z.; M. 1927-41</td>
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<td>Aust.; M. 1924-7</td>
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<td>Fox, Charles Elliot</td>
<td>N.Z.; 0. 1903, 1906; M. 1911-3, 1915- ; S. Pamua 1911-3, San Cristobal 1915-24, Pawa 1924-32, Brotherhood 1939-43</td>
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<td>Fox, Helen</td>
<td>N.Z.; M. 1928-31</td>
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<td>France, Emily</td>
<td>England; M. 1917-50; S. Bugotu 1919-50. Married R. Sprott, 1919</td>
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<td>Francis, David Lloyd</td>
<td>[N.Z.??]; M. 1931-3</td>
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<td>Freshwater, Herbert L.</td>
<td>? ; M. 1928-39</td>
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<td>Gagae, Walter</td>
<td>Ysabel; 0. 1932, 1935</td>
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<td>Gede, Samuel</td>
<td>San Cristobal; O. 1921; died 1925</td>
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<td>Giladi, George</td>
<td>Ysabel; 0. 1924, 1933; S. Pawa 1926-32, San Cristobal 1932-</td>
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Gilvelte, Joseph Motlava (Banks Is.); O. 1917, 1919; S. San Cristobal 1917-23; died 1927.
Gito, Ellison: Ysabel; O. 1911; died 1915.
Hageria, Benjamin: Ysabel; O. 1921, 1924.
Hagesi, Stephen: Nggela; O. 1934, 1939; S. Guadalcanal 1934-41.
Hardacre, Marion: Aust.; M. 1905-6.
Hardy, (Miss): ? ; M. 1920-4.
Hembala, Hugo: Ysabel; O. 1906, 1920; died 1931.
Hill, Alfred Thomas: England; O. 1938, 1939; M. 1938-9; S. Pawa 1938-54.
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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Houmaesiugi, Malachi</td>
<td>Small Malaita</td>
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<td>Igioa, John Mark</td>
<td>Ugi</td>
<td>0. 1937.</td>
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<td>Iputu, Ambrose</td>
<td>Ysabel</td>
<td>0. 1921; died 1930.</td>
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<td>Isom, Frederick Reuben</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>M. 1920-56; S. Maravovo.</td>
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<td>Ivens, Walter George</td>
<td>N.Z.; 0. 1894, 1895; M. 1895-1909; S. Ulawa - Small Malaita.</td>
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<td>Jackson, Robert Simeon</td>
<td>N.Z.; M. 1872-4; S. San Cristobal.</td>
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<td>James, Clifford</td>
<td>N.Z.; M. 1936-9; S. Fanambu.</td>
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<td>Jeffery, Sarah Augusta</td>
<td>N.Z.; M. 1915-7; died 1917.</td>
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<td>Jones, Nellie</td>
<td>Aust.; M. 1914.</td>
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<td>Jote, Henry</td>
<td>Nth Malaita</td>
<td>0. 1940.</td>
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<td>Kafa, Henry</td>
<td>Ysabel</td>
<td>0. 1937; S. Reef Islands 1927-41; San Cristobal 1941-1947 (died).</td>
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<td>Kakau, Robert Codrington</td>
<td>Nggela</td>
<td>0. 1931, 1933; S. Guadalcanal 1933-7; died 1937.</td>
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<td>Kasute, Edward</td>
<td>Nth Malaita</td>
<td>0. 1934; died 1937.</td>
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<td>Kelo, Clement</td>
<td>Nggela</td>
<td>0. 1929, 1932; died 1943.</td>
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<td>Kiriau, George</td>
<td>Nth Malaita</td>
<td>0. 1934, 1938.</td>
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<td>Kitchen, Ruth</td>
<td>Aust.; M. 1905-10; S. Nggela.</td>
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<td>Kopuria, Ini</td>
<td>Guadalcanal</td>
<td>0. 1933; S. Brotherhood 1933-40; died 1945.</td>
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<td>Kwalges, Simon</td>
<td>Ureparapara (Bank Is.); 0. 1896; S. San Cristobal 1906-14 (died).</td>
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Law, Arthur Thomas
William: England; O. 1899, 1900; M. 1920-1.


Leishman, Helen M.
(Sister Madeleine): Aust.; M. 1930-50; S. Sisters of the Cross 1933-

Leo, Joseph: Small Malaita; O. 1921; died 1922.

Lomhu, Alfred: Nggela; O. 1884, 1900; died 1919.

Longarata, Lionel: Ysabel; O. 1935, 1939; S. Santa Cruz 1935-9, Guadalcanal 1939-


Macpherson, F.A.: Scotland; M. 1933-4; S. Fauambu.

Mae, Leonard: ? ; O. 1937; S. Santa Cruz, San Cristobal.

Maesiola, John Selwyn: Small Malaita; O. 1935, 1937.

Manana, Toswell: Ulawa; O. 1937, 1941; S. San Cristobal 1941-

Mane, Ellison: Ysabel; O. 1935, 1937; S. San Cristobal 1935-41.


Marau, Clement: Mergiava (Banks Is.); O. 1890, 1903; S. Ulawa 1880-1909, 1912-4, 1921-6; died 1926.

Marau, Martin: Ulawa; O. 1919, 1921; died 1942.

Marita, Paul: Ulawa; O. 1921, 1924; S. San Cristobal; died 1930.


Matahu, Charles: ? ; O. 1937; S. San Cristobal.

Maybury, Lawrence Montague: England; M. 1928-32; S. Fauambu.


Moir, George Kynoch: Scotland; O. 1910, 1911; M. 1908-15; S. Nggela 1911-5.


Motui, Ambrose: Ysabel; O. 1937.


Muani, Clare Wilson: Russell Islands; O. 1934.

Mustard, Gertrude: Aust.; M. 1913-5.

Mwaeraha, Simon: San Cristobal; O. 1934; died 1935.

Ngorovaka, Hugo: Guadalcanal; O. 1894; died 1918.


Odakake, Simon Peter: [Guadalcanal ?]; O. 1924; died 1928.
Ollerenshaw, (Miss): ?; M. 1907-8.
Owen, Mary: N.Z.; M. 1908-10.
Parapolo, Charles William Browning: Nggela; O. 1934, 1936; S. Guadalcanal 1934-6, 1939-
Parina, Marvin: Nggela; O. 1940.
Pengone, John: Nggela; O. 1906, 1926; died 1945.
Penny, Alfred: England; O. 1868, 1869; M. 1875-85; S. Nggela.
Petrie, Frederick Herbert: Scotland; O. 1897, 1899; M. 1907-8.
Pita, John: Savo; O. 1934, 1939; S. Guadalcanal 1941-
Plant, John Holford: England; O. 1879, 1880; M. 1885-91 (died); S. Nggela.
Pogla, John Selwyn: Ysabel; O. 1937.
Porter, Jean: Aust.; M. 1917-?
Ruddock, David: England; O. 1879, 1883; M. 1880-3; S. Savo.
Sade, Daniel: Guadalcanal; O. 1933, 1941.
Sage, Charles Crace: Aust.; O. 1913; M. 1907-10, 1913 (drowned); S. Nth Malaita.
Sapibuana, Charles: Nggela; O. 1882; died 1885.
Sasai, Samuel: Nth Malaita; O. 1934, 1938.
Sau, Elias: San Cristobal; O. 1932, 1934.
Sautahi, Ambrose: [Ulawa ?]; O. 1935.
Selwyn, John Richardson: England; O. 1869, 1870; C. 1887; M. 1873-91 (Bishop 1877-91).
Shaw, Gwen (Sister Gwen): England; M. 1929-50; S. Sisters of the Cross.
Stead, Nellie: England; M. 1931-63; S. Siota 1938-.
Steel, Wilfred: England; O. 1924, 1925; M. 1923-5.
Stephenson, Margaret: N.Z.; M. 1940-2.


Still, John: England; O. 1869, 1870; M. 1875-8; S. San Cristobal.

Sukoku, Peter: Nggela; O. 1920, 1924; died 1927.

Sulu, Reuben: Nggela; O. 1927, 1935; died 1942.


Talbot, Phyllis: N.Z.; M. 1938-

Talofuila, Jack: Nth Malaita; O. 1915, 1918; died 1945.

Talu, Stephen: Ysabel; O. 1931, 1934.

Tegna, Nelson: Ysabel; O. 1931, 1941; S. Sikaiiana 1936-9, Maravovo 1939-41.


Thomson, John D.: N.Z.; M. 1939-44; S. Fauambu.

Tiroa, Herbert: Nggela; O. 1937; S. Guadalcanal 1937-41.

Titiulu, Timothy: Guadalcanal; O. 1935, 1937; S. Ulawa 1941-
Toke, Frank Bollen: Nggela; O. 1937, 1946; S. Guadalcanal 1937-9, Savo 1941-
Toke, Hugo: Nggela; O. 1911, 1917; S. Guadalcanal.
Toke, Johnson: Nggela; O. 1916, 1918; died 1937.
Tumu, Benjamin: Nggela; O. 1909, 1920; died 1927.
Turnbull, Robert Monilaws: Scotland; O. 1889, 1891; M. 1887-9; S. Ysabel.
Turu, Charles: Nth Malaita; O. 1916, 1920; died 1921.
Upwe, James: Small Malaita; O. 1921, 1924; died 1945.
Veve, Stephen: Guadalcanal; O. 1937, 1941.
Wadrokal, Mano: Mare (Loyalty Is.); O. 1875; S. Savo 1871-4, Ysabel 1874-8; died 1894.
Ward, (Miss): ? ; M. 1921-3.
Watë, Joseph: Small Malaita; O. 1897; died 1903.
Watë, William Atkin: Small Malaita; O. 1934.
Welchman, Henry: England; O. 1892, 1893; M. 1890-1908 (died); S. Ysabel.
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<td>West, George Henry</td>
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<td>Wilson, Alice (Sister Veronica)</td>
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<td>Wilson, Cecil</td>
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<td>Wilson, Winifred</td>
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<td>Wood, Cecil John</td>
<td>England; O. 1897, 1898, C. 1912; M. 1912-8 (Bishop).</td>
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<td>Woods, Christine</td>
<td>England; M. 1934- ; S. Kerepe 1937-</td>
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<td>Wotlimaro, Lindsay Buffett</td>
<td>Russell Islands; O. 1941.</td>
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Methodist Mission

Abbreviations: C. = Commenced ministry.
O. = Ordained (if date known).
M. = as above.
S. = as above.

Cannon, Vera: N.Z.; M. 1934-42.
Chivers, Frank: N.Z.; M. 1922-7; S. Kokenggolo.
Gartrell, Mary: Aust.; M. 1912-6.
Gina, Belshazzer: Roviana; O. 1938; S. Simbo.
Goldie, John Francis: Aust.; C. 1897; M. 1902-51 (Chairman); S. New Georgia.
Havea, Paul: Tonga; O. 1938; S. Marovo.
James, Clifford: N.Z.; M. 1928-31; S. Choiseul.
McDonald, Grace: N.Z.; M. 1927-34, 1939-51.
Pye, H.: Aust.; M. 1905 (died)
Rycroft, Harold Rawson: England; C. 1911; M. 1912-9; S. Choiseul 1914-7.
Shackell, Ernest Ebborn: Aust.; C. 1907; M. 1908-11; S. Ontong Java.
Soakai, Joeli: Tonga; O. 1915; M. 1908-30; S. Roviana.
South Sea Evangelical Mission

Abbreviations: as above.


Bee, John Moore: England; M. 1926-34.


Burgess, Mabel: Aust.; M. 1934-42.

Cameron, May: Aust.; M. 1914-5.


Clark, Wilbur T.: N.Z.; M. 1933-.

Clarke, May: Aust.; M. 1924.


Coates, (Miss): Aust.; M. 1940-2.


Daniels, Frederick: Aust.; M. 1909-11 (killed).

Davies, Gwen: Aust.; M. 1938-.

Deck, Catherine Mary Alice: Aust.; M. 1907-40; S. Ngongosila 1907-10, Baunani 1911-9, One Pusu 1919-40 (Island Superintendent 1938-40).


Deck, Joan Winifred Baring:  Aust.; M. 1921-52; S. Ngongosila 1924-31, Afio 1934-.


Fey, Anna:  Germany; M. 1935-.


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<td>Aust.; M. 1926-32; S. Su' u.</td>
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<td>Irwin, (Mrs)</td>
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<td>Jenkins, Thora</td>
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<td>N.Z.; M. 1930-40.</td>
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<td>N.Z.; M. 1920-5.</td>
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<td>Mallis, William</td>
<td>?; M. 1928-31 (Associate Superintendent).</td>
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Peters, Alfred: [Aust.?]; M. 1916-27; S. Baunani and One Pusu.
Read, Dorothy: Aust.; M. 1929-42.
Schrader, Elizabeth: Germany; M. 1935-
Spedding, Hilda: [Aust.?]; M. 1923-42; S. One Pusu 1925-42.


Young, Constance: Aust.; M. 1921-4 (died).

Young, Florence Selina Harriett: N.Z; M. 1904-40 (founder and Superintendent).
Seventh-day Adventist Mission

Abbreviations: as above.


Ball, Alfred Charles: Aust.; O. 1942; M. 1932-3.

Barham, Hubert E.: Aust.; M. 1925-38; S. Melanesia.


Borgas, Ludwig Alfred: Aust.; O. 1932; M. 1932-4 (Superintendent).

Broad, Walter Owen: Aust.; O. 1936; M. 1931-2, 1934-7 (Superintendent).


Ferris, David Andrew: Aust.; O. 1941; M. 1939-42; S. Malaita.


Finkle, Edmond W.: Canada; M. 1937-40; S. Kukundu.


Jones, Griffith Francis:  Wales; O. 1903; M. 1914-20 (Superintendent).
Jugha:  Marovo; O. [1938?]; S. Guadalcanal, Ysabel.
Martin, Alfred Walter:  Aust.; M. 1934-9; S. Batuna.
Nicholson, Donald:  Aust.; M. 1915-20; S. Marovo.
Pana, Barnabas:  Marovo; O. 1935.
Peacock, Gerald:  Aust.; O. 1927; M. 1927-31 (Superintendent).
Perry, James Charles Hamley:  Aust.; O. 1940; M. 1941-2 (Superintendent).
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