Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History

In recent years, renewed interest in the role of Christian missionaries in colonising projects has helped inform and challenge current concepts of gender, race and colonial governance. Evangelists of Empire? gathers together a diverse group of scholars around these evolving new histories in Australia and other colonial sites.

Utilising a range of source material and a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches, this ground-breaking collection offers the reader new ways of assessing the uneven paths of mission endeavours, and examines the ways in which Indigenous peoples responded to - and took ownership of - aspects of Christian and Western culture and spirituality.

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Missions, Colonialism and the Politics of Gender

Patricia Grimshaw

This chapter outlines the specific project on missions, gender and colonialism that prompted the conference from which the papers of this collection emerged. There are exciting new directions for studies grounded in the extremely rich and varied archives of imperial missions that offer new ways of assessing not only the uneven path of mission endeavours but also the ways in which Indigenous people responded to and made their own aspects of both Christian and Western cultural and religious forms. This collection indicates some of the steps that scholars including those new to the profession are currently taking. The chapter considers the collection contributions, which range chronologically from early NSW to 1950s Western Australia and from mainstream Protestant to Pentecostal to Catholic mission endeavours.

To cite this chapter:
MISSIONS, COLONIALISM AND THE POLITICS OF GENDER

Patricia Grimshaw

The conference on missions and colonialism held in September 2007 at the University of Melbourne from which this collection emerged, had its origins in an Australian Research Council-funded project 'Faith, Gender and Cultural Exchange: Australian Missions in Comparative Perspective, 1800 to 1930', that Andrew Brown-May and I, with colleagues, are currently pursuing. Our focus is the history of Protestant missions in Australia, within a comparative context of Catholic missions and an international context of missions within the British Empire. Joanna Cruickshank joined the project as a Postdoctoral Fellow, Amanda Barry as a research assistant and Fiona Davis as a postgraduate student with a funded scholarship. We form part of a larger group of scholars with advanced interests in aspects of colonialism in or associated with the School of Historical Studies, including Peter Sherlock, Julie Evans, Felicity Jensz, Claire McLisky, Peter Carolane, Noah Riseman, Catherine Kovesi, Keith Hallett, Shurlee Swain, Katharine Massam, Stephen Hills and Barry Patton. At the conference we were joined by a number of scholars from other universities in Victoria and elsewhere, including our keynote speaker Peggy Brock of Edith Cowan University, Matthew Doherty of La Trobe University, Jessie Mitchell of the Australian National University, Catherine Bishop of Macquarie University and Meredith Lake of University of Sydney.

The paper givers at the conference were a mix of scholars, on the one hand some whose central concern was religious history and on the other, scholars for whom mission records provided a fruitful entry point for their primary intellectual engagement with the nature and practices of colonialism. Our research project has so wide a brief that it made sense to invite the innovative scholars whose cutting edge work appears in this collection, to hear something of our work and offer studies of their own. The initial project for which we won funding signalled a close interest in the workings of gender in the missions, within both the western and the new Aboriginal Christian communities, using this as a portal to the exploration of under-researched aspects of Australian colonialism. Initially in the Asia-Pacific region, the similarities of humanitarian goals and strategies of western women and men were clear: to assist Indigenous peoples to assume their full humanity through attachment to the Christian faith and to western cultural norms. Missionaries and new Indigenous Christians in Australia entered into novel and complex negotiations across the cultural boundaries of their communities. We trace over time, however, how the transmission of a new faith became entangled in the tension between settlers' liberal and democratic aspirations and a settler nationalism that was racially inscribed, and that saw a marginal place at best for the original owners of the land.1

Protestant missionaries had a clear path marked out for the gender and familial arrangements of the Indigenous Christian men and women who were their converts. Missionaries presented Christianity to Indigenous people as a gendered faith. True
Christianity entailed the monogamous marriage of Christian couples, the husband to serve as sturdy breadwinner, the wife the faithful carer of home and children. Husband and wife, entrenched honourably in the local community, would diligently serve the church in differing ways appropriate for their sex. But amidst the rapid transformation of their world, new Christian women and men, as the missionaries discovered, took hold of Christian living in ways that differed from expectations. Such intertwined experiences of Aborigines and missionaries, grounded in gender, constituted a vital part of Australian history in the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries. Their exploration in the context of contemporaneous Asian and Pacific missions should contribute fresh understandings of the shared past of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.

This project thus aims to fill a gap in existing Australian history writing. The extent to which Imperial mission objectives reveal distinctive features in relation to gender is a historical question of growing importance. The distinctive contours of various denominations of Protestantism dominated the British mission enterprise in Australia as elsewhere in the Asian and Pacific region, alongside vigorous Protestant initiatives from within Australia itself. There is currently no wide-ranging monograph-length study that explores across time the place of gender in the Australian mission enterprise, and its importance for understanding religious change and Indigenous Australians. Much of the work on the history of missions gives prominence to male figures in leadership positions. Christine Choo’s Mission Girls is the sole full-length study of gender issues, focused on Catholic missions in the Kimberley region of Western Australia. In 1974 Diane Barwick in a seminal chapter argued that amidst the social dislocations of nineteenth-century Victoria, missions offered Aboriginal women opportunities less available to the men. Hilary Carey has written an important article-length study of Anglican mission wives in early New South Wales and both she and Janet West include chapters on missions in their book-length histories of religion. There are other historians, and also anthropologists who engage with history, who have alerted us to aspects of women’s experiences on missions in particular times and spaces. Historians of government policy towards Indigenous people have included missions in their accounts. Our study goes beyond this existing work, to explore the workings of gender in Protestant missions of every colonial jurisdiction, considering both masculinity and femininity within missionary and Indigenous experiences alike. It will assess these issues against the similarities and differences within Indian and Pacific missions. These multiple issues are being analysed within recent critical perspectives on missions, interfacing in addition with the burgeoning international literature exploring gender and empires.

First, we are examining the issue of gender within the mission bodies themselves. The influence of the gendered ideology of nineteenth-century evangelicalism was profound on early Protestant mission outreach, in Australia as in the Empire as a whole. In the field missionaries preached to non-Christian populations whose gender arrangements they found uniformly disturbing given their rigid attachment to western family forms. Evangelical missionaries’ prescriptions of appropriate ways of expressing masculinity and femininity, of performing courtship, sexuality and marriage, of gender divisions of labour, parenthood and childrearing, were major components of the mission agenda. Gender and the family were from the first at the core of the Protestant evangelicals’
worldview\textsuperscript{13} and strongly shaped mission thought.\textsuperscript{14} Ubiquitous theories of ‘barbarism’ and ‘civilisation’ prevalent in Enlightenment writings, with their negative images of ‘primitive’ domineering men and semi-enslaved women, further fuelled the moral imperatives of missionary societies. This impacted with particular force on wives of missionaries, whose presence on a foreign field was legitimated through evangelicals’ stress on the virtues of domesticity for living the good life. The presence of mission wives as well as the male missionaries was vital for interactions with Indigenous people. At a practical level, male missionaries needed wives to run mission households, to demonstrate gendered ideals, and to teach in schools. The elevation of mission wives to be ‘helpmeets’ for male missionaries paved the way for the subsequent recruitment of single women with special tasks and ambitions.

Second, we attempt to identify how Indigenous Christian men and women negotiated and initiated western gendered religious and cultural meanings of Christianity. New Indigenous Christians across the Empire took varying spiritual paths, most commonly through syncretised religious beliefs, and adopted certain aspects of western educational forms and cultural practices. Recently influential scholars have alerted us to the frequently overlooked part that Indigenous Christians in the Empire played in the spread of the faith among their people. They also plead for greater attention to particular Indigenous appropriations of Christianity.\textsuperscript{15} We seek to uncover the specificities of Australian mission strategies for preparing Indigenous people for a place alongside Anglo-Australians: a strategy that came to be termed ‘assimilation’. My own initial work with colleagues on Indigenous women in the missions in Victoria suggests that their entry into new religious and cultural understandings belie others’ reports of indifference or rejection. The missionaries were often not open, however, to accepting the innovations the Indigenous women introduced.\textsuperscript{16} Missionary expectations of social equality and the aspirations of new Christians were modified during more than a century of successive British colonial and settler governments. The work of missions was highly significant for colonial administrators, not least because administrators and politicians assessed Indigenous peoples’ readiness for work and citizenship (including political rights) in terms of their religious choices and their aptitude for mission teaching.\textsuperscript{17} The study will conclude in 1930, by which time the original mission agenda of assimilation had assumed a specific trajectory, as a state policy being played out on a national stage. The assimilation agenda of missionaries, suitably marked by gender, was crucial in the formation of settler governments’ policies from the 1930s.\textsuperscript{18}

Third, the project pursues this history through comparative attention to contemporaneous British mission sites, especially of Asia and the Pacific region. This comparative dimension sharpens particular aspects of the Australian data. India constituted the most important of the early sites of mission and has been the arena for the richest historical work on gender concerns.\textsuperscript{19} Scholars of this field have noted the disproportionately high number of female missionaries to India over the period.\textsuperscript{20} Single women rapidly joined wives whose numbers were not equal to the demands for mission women to reach Indian women who were secluded in their households, or to serve as teachers and nurses for Indian women.\textsuperscript{21} Andrew Brown-May’s research on missions in the north-eastern Indian region offers rich insights into comparable gender issues on this very different colonial
stage. Praising women Christian converts as 'like Phoebe and Priscilla' labouring among their own sex 'in their own humble way', missionaries relied heavily on local workers to promote the faith. Where missionaries were anxious that converts were fragile in the faith, however, the mission workers shepherded children away from unbelieving parents and married women converts from their non-Christian husbands, in their attempt to sustain religion and culture on western patterns. The Pacific islands, including New Zealand, also offer significant sites through which to consider Australian experiences, given their geographic proximity and the similarities as well as instructive differences these missions experienced. My research on gender and the American mission in Polynesian Hawai'i under the Native Hawaiian kingdom revealed the considerable degree of communication of missionaries across the Pacific. Meanwhile work flowing from historians of Britain's settler colonies of Canada and South Africa offer instructive additional comparative insights.

Missionaries had an inspiration that varied in some respects from Imperial or settler regimes, and sought to implement an agenda that was at times consistent with governments, at other times divergent. But assessed on a broad historical canvas, missionaries appear as key players in the diverse cultural projects of colonialism. This study will demonstrate how missionaries were driven not only by a concern to 'save' souls from damnation, but also by the urge to promote a cultural agenda in which gender properties were the lynchpin. Whether in Australia, India or the Pacific region, male and female missionaries diverged from each other because of personal characteristics, national and ethnic backgrounds, denominational differences, and the responses of the local communities whom they sought to influence. Indigenous Christians were differentially enabled or debarred from the paths the missionaries promised them according to location, numbers and the progress of white settlement in the vicinity. Yet there is sufficient commonality in mission objectives and outcomes for both our comparative enquiry to be valid and valuable. Missionaries appear in retrospect as the harbingers of a modernity the impact of which few colonised peoples entirely evaded; they sustained an influence long after their initial and formative interventions in the spiritual and educational experiences of Indigenous peoples in Australia and the Asian-Pacific region.

An understanding of the trajectory of gender in Australian missions must take a start from the fact that its grounding is the particular circumstances of the unfolding of mission endeavour. Unlike other missions in the Empire, and in the Pacific, including New Zealand, missionaries arrived when local people were the political rulers. Australia stands out because the British government founded the colony in 1788 as a prison settlement before a missionary set foot on the soil and rapidly exerted political control of the eastern portion of the country in law and increasingly in practice. Various colonial officials, including the first chaplain, sponsored the first schools for Aboriginal children just as the great mission bodies of Britain were coming into existence. The Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society sent missionaries in the 1830s as they did throughout Britain's fast-growing empire. Their interventions, however, were brief and soon discontinued when discouragements came their way. British mission societies, with the whole of Asia, Africa and the Middle East in their sights, swiftly saw Australia as
dominated by settlers, where its thriving white Protestant churches could take primary responsibility for mission outreach to the colonies' relatively few Indigenous people.

In most circumstances British foreign missions entailed a small group of missionary couples who arrived to negotiate a foothold, shelter and food with a large population of local people, with scarcely any other European presence, or at least only a distant one. They attempted to convert local people amidst the politics of a complex culture and society, their lives at risk from local political tensions, unknown diseases and their own blundering actions. As colonial administrations strengthened they gained more security but with respect to religious alignment, local peoples maintained control of their own sources of livelihoods and hence their choices over their lives, including the decision to convert, adopt novel material culture and relationships, to undergo western education and training in new skills for alien employment. Closer to Australia, consider the mission contact with the Pacific islands, where the first missionaries in the Marquesas, Tahiti and Tonga fled for safety to New South Wales, fearful for their lives. Consider the early years of the Church Missionary Society from 1814 and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society from 1823 in New Zealand. By the time the British annexed the islands in 1840, many Maori had become Christians, become bi-lingual, and some enthusiasts carried the message to other Maori groups.

In Australia, however, early local church mission initiatives had to be supported from local donations and volunteerism, rather than depending on the well-endowed central mission boards of London. Thus these missions lacked the external experienced oversight that the British could provide; and they were caught financially by their necessary reliance on funds from the local colonisers. They sought ways out of this: in Victoria the Presbyterians linked up with the German Moravian Mission outreach for example, as they later were to do in northern Queensland. But above all the absence of British funding for missions threw the missions into reliance on government funding from the start. The impact on missionaries of answering to colonial regimes while on the ground they did not have to negotiate for their very existence or continuance with local peoples was crucial. When in the twentieth century many missions became merely an arm of government management of Indigenous people, the distinction between government reserve and active missionary activity was blurred indeed.

The chapters in this collection represent the kind of research which needs to be done in order to answer the overarching questions which our project poses, regarding the relationship between missions and colonialism in Australian history and their place in a wider context of imperial mission outreach. First, Peter Sherlock continues this contextual discussion of missions derived from the chapters in this collection in his chapter: 'Missions, Colonialism and the Politics of Agency'. Sherlock provides a more detailed analysis of the following chapters, which are arranged into four sections following broadly chronological ordering, although many chapters overlap each other in terms of time.

In the first section, 'A Global Mission', a range of studies draw on mission experiences beyond Australia: Canada, India, Jamaica, Papua New Guinea and the African Congo. In 'Negotiating Colonialism: The Life and Times of Arthur Wellington Clah', Peggy Brock examines the experience of a Tsimshian convert in Northwest Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Andrew Brown-May's chapter, 'Sex and Salvation: Model-

The second group of chapters, 'Missionaries in Early Australia', focuses on the role of missionaries in the early colonial period, paying particular attention to questions of gender and family, which are revealed as central to missionary interactions with both colonial structures and Indigenous people. Meredith Lake, in 'Salvation and Civilisation: First Missionary Encounters at Sydney Cove', examines a little-known encounter between Richard Johnson, the first missionary to Sydney, and his relationship with an Aboriginal girl named Booron. Jessie Mitchell's chapter, "The Nucleus of Civilisation": Gender, Race and Childhood in Australian Missionary Families, 1825-1850, examines the dynamics of missionary families in the early colonial period. In "To Exercise a Beneficial Influence over a Man": Marriage, Gender and the Native Institutions in Early Colonial Australia' Joanna Cruickshank examines the complicated relationship between understandings of marriage and race in the project of early missionaries to Australia. Barry Patton's chapter, 'Aboriginal Child Separations and Removals in Early Melbourne and Adelaide', provides a detailed examination of the interactions between missionaries and Indigenous people around the process of child separation and removal, which began very early in the colonial period.

A third group of chapters focus on the consolidation of the missionary project from the 1850s to the end of the century, the period during which the connection between missions and the colonial regime became increasingly formalised. Stephen Hills' chapter "The Grand Experiment of the Civilisation of the Aborigines": Perspectives on a Missionary Endeavour in Western Australia', examines the practice of Roman Catholic missionaries in Western Australia of sending Aboriginal children to Europe. Claire McLisky in 'Professions of Christian Love: Letters of Courtship between Missionaries-to-be Daniel Matthews and Janet Johnston, 1872-1873', offers a detailed study of the love letters of two young Christians who were later to run the Maloga mission, focusing on the emotive dimension of missionary practice. In 'Tourism and Aboriginal Mission at Lake Tyers in the Late Nineteenth Century', Peter Carolane uses an example of 'mission tourism' to explore the complicated position in which missions and missionaries found themselves in late nineteenth-century Australia, negotiating between their evangelical imperatives and the financial and practical demands of managing residential missions. In 'Imperial Critics: Moravian Missionaries in
the British Colonial World’ Felicity Jensz considers the German Moravian missionaries who ran a number of the longest-lasting Aboriginal missions in Australia.

The final section focuses on missionaries and assimilation in the twentieth century. In the twentieth century, missionaries in Australia pursued their activities in a context of increasingly racialised government policies of assimilation, protection and control of Indigenous people. The chapters in this section contribute to a more detailed understanding of the impact that this assimilative agenda had on the missionary project in the twentieth century, again paying particular attention to gender. Amanda Barry in ‘“A Longing Desire in my Heart”: Faith, Family and the Colonial Frontier in the Life of Euphemia Kramer, 1887-1971’ examines the life of one non-denominational missionary wife, demonstrating the ‘multiplicity of concerns’ that motivated her endeavours. Similarly, Catherine Bishop in ‘“She has the Native Interests Too Much at Heart”: Annie Lock’s Experiences as a Single, White, Female Missionary to Aborigines, 1903-1937’, explores the varied career and complicated self-understanding of a woman missionary who worked in isolated Aboriginal communities. Katharine Massam’s chapter ‘“That There was Love in This Home”: Spanish Missionary Women in Twentieth Century Western Australia’ explores the affective dimension of relationships between missionaries and Aboriginal women and children, asking how such relationships can be understood in the light of the broader structural injustices and cultural destruction in which missionaries were implicated. Noah Riseman’s chapter ‘Disrupting Assimilation: Soldiers, Missionaries, and Yolngu in Arnhem Land during World War II’ examines hostile missionary attitudes to the presence of military personnel in northern Australia during World War II.

There are exciting new directions for studies grounded in the extremely rich and varied archives of imperial missions that offer new ways of assessing not only the uneven path of mission endeavours but also the ways in which Indigenous people responded to and made their own aspects of both Christian and Western cultural and religious forms. This collection indicates some of the steps that scholars including those new to the profession are currently taking.

Endnotes

1 In addition to this collection, publications out, in press or under contract from this project include:
Andrew Brown-May, Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism in North-east India (Manchester: Manchester University Press, forthcoming 2009);
Andrew Brown-May, ‘Missionaries and Indigenous Exchange in the Khasi Hills, India’ in Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange;
Amanda Barry and Patricia Grimshaw, ‘Spreading the Good News: The Aborigines’ Friends’ Association and the Central Australian Caravan Mission in the 1920s and 1930s’ in Beyond the Black Stump ed. Alan Mayne (Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2008);
Joanna Cruickshank and Patricia Grimshaw, "'The ladies have more ‘go’ in them": Single Women and Missions in North Queensland, 1894-1914", in Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange;
Patricia Grimshaw, "'That we may obtain our religious liberty': Victorian Aborigines, Colonialism and Cultural Exchanges, 1870 to 1918", Journal of the Canadian Historical Association, (forthcoming 2008);
5 John Harris, One Blood: 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope (Sutherland, NSW: Albatross Books, 1994).
11 Phillipa Levine, ed. Gender and Empire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Clare Midgley, ed. Gender and Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Angela Woollacott, To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) and Gender and Empire (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context (London: Routledge, 1995); Frederick
Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, ed. Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).


‘The Nucleus of Civilisation’: Gender, Race and Australian Missionary Families, 1825-1855

Jessie Mitchell

Marriage and parenthood were considered vital qualities for the first Evangelical philanthropists sent to convert and “civilise” Indigenous Australians. At the same time, the wives and children of the colonies’ earliest missionaries and protectors occupy shadowy and complex places in the writings of their husbands and fathers, as well as in government and missionary society records. Here, they alternately represented ideals of piety, femininity and whiteness, or emerged as more disruptive, threatening presences. Meanwhile, the very nature of the evangelising project demanded that missionary homes be open to Indigenous people, literally and symbolically. In missionaries’ accounts, their families could epitomise the vulnerability of Evangelical Protestantism in the face of official apathy and white and black “heathenism”. This chapter aims to add to the growing field of historiography recovering missionary women’s lives and cultural significance. It also enters into the relatively new and challenging territory of exploring the roles and agency of missionary children.

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'THE NUCLEUS OF CIVILISATION': GENDER, RACE AND AUSTRALIAN MISSIONARY FAMILIES, 1825-1855

Jessie Mitchell

In 1838, missionary James Günther recorded in his diary a small incident from the Church Missionary Society station at Wellington Valley. The missionaries there wrote extensively about young Wiradjuri men, expressing alternate hope and despair at their varied responses to Christianity. However, in one such diary entry, Günther made unusual mention of his seven-month-old daughter. He wrote:

The Young men returned before noon, but were very idle except Cochrane, who made himself very useful in the House; he even nursed Baby. It is surprising how she likes black faces; she prefers to see & even go to a Black fellow; however frightful his appearance may be, than to smile [at] White faces of strangers.

This short passage is suggestive of many of the strange intimacies of the mission frontier. The divisions imagined and enforced between the 'civilised', private, domestic world of the mission house and the 'idle', 'frightful', 'savage' Indigenous world outside are clear, but also evident is the way that the evangelising process required a frequent crossing and blurring of such boundaries in mission family life, allowing possibilities of affection and care to develop between Indigenous people and missionary families. The nature of such relationships, together with the symbolic meanings of family in mission records, warrants closer historical examination.

Between the 1820s and 1840s, large-scale dispossession of Indigenous people coincided with efforts by British evangelical Protestants to reshape the empire, including the Australian colonies, through missionary and philanthropic work. The sources used here are drawn from the London Missionary Society station at Lake Macquarie (1825-41), the CMS mission at Wellington Valley (1832-43), and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society stations at Buntingdale near Geelong (1838-48) and Western Australia (1840-55 – this mission moved from Perth to Gullillilup, then to York). I will also refer to the Protectors at Port Phillip (1839-49). The latter were employed as a result of evangelical lobbying and several of them participated in evangelical networks and worked in a missionary style. All of these missionaries and Protectors were married and almost all had children. Their stations were widely judged 'failures' at the time, because of their general lack of conversions, fluctuating numbers of residents, and tense relationships with settlers and government. However, their relative lack of power makes their relationships with Indigenous people historically intriguing, rather more equitable and conversational than those that oc-

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curred in later institutions. It also made the significance of the missionaries’ families both powerful and problematic, as women and children alternately represented ‘civilised’ ideals, colonial vulnerability, closeness and conflict with Indigenous people, and the aspirations and anxieties of class.

The topic of women in mission history has attracted growing interest in recent decades, with visibility a central issue. Scholars have paid particular attention to women’s work and hardships, their interactions with indigenous societies, and their changing status within the missionary world. Discussions have also focused on how ideologies of femininity and domesticity both facilitated and constrained female missionaries’ work. Relatively few works, however, have considered the lives of missionary women in Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century. One notable exception is Hilary Carey’s work, which situates some of these women within the Sydney-centred Pacific missionary community, as well as considering their work’s impact on Indigenous people. Patricia Grimshaw’s work is also important here, emphasising the centrality of white womanhood to Australian colonialism, and contrasting the cultural authority white women claimed on grounds of maternal purity with the oppression of Koorie mothers on missions. However, Grimshaw’s work focuses mainly on the late nineteenth century onwards. Meanwhile, the children of Australia’s first missionaries have been largely neglected by historical scholarship. As Linda Clemmons points out in her study of nineteenth-century missions amongst the Dakota, missionary children have typically been rendered historically invisible. While they may enter history indirectly through missionary women’s experiences of parenting, the children’s own ideas, agency and relationships to their parents’ work have attracted insufficient attention.

Certainly, tracing the lives of Australia’s first missionary children and women is a challenging task, as very few direct voices have survived, and they rarely featured in formal publications and reports. Where they did appear in edited public accounts, their role and relevance could be confined to a rather narrow evangelical purity. For example, when representatives from the CMS, LMS and WMMS testified to the House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines in 1836, they used extracts from Wellington Valley papers to indicate the need for greater evangelical authority in NSW. Ann Watson, mentioned frequently in her husband’s diaries, was largely absent from the extracts chosen, with the exception of a story of her removing and caring for a baby whom she claimed had been injured and rejected by his mother. Here, while the missionary woman’s symbolic virtue was emphasised, her broader work and relationships with Wiradjuri people were not. Public accounts, on the whole, worked to construct the missionary as autonomous male expert.

In contrast, missionary journals (not necessarily private, but full of less formal, daily details), along with letters to government and missionary colleagues, indicate the practical and symbolic importance of family, an importance characterised alternately by evangelical idealism and profound anxiety. Children, for example, appear in their fathers’ records mainly as symbols of responsibility and vulnerability. The birth of new babies, in particular, became a focal point for their parents’ self-interrogation and submission to God’s will. Francis Tuckfield, of the Buntingdale mission, wrote of his son’s birth ‘another important charge is committed to our care. O that we may be able to train him up in the fear and admonition of the Lord’. Similarly, J.C.S. Handt of the Wellington Valley mission commented on his new son:
‘May our dear boy be a child of God, and an heir of glory! Whether he lives or dies, may he be the Lord’s.’ His colleague, Günther, expressed hope that his daughter’s birth would prompt his family to strive harder for God: ‘Oh! That we may be enabled, if the Lord please to spare her, to raise her up in his fear & love, once may she, according to his sovereign mercy, prove an heir of grace & of glory!’ This was in keeping with the evangelical emphasis on family-based ritual and on childhood as a time for religious struggle and enlightenment. Children’s presence would also, missionaries believed, set an example to Indigenous people of middle-class family values. As Protector James Dredge noted, he had been chosen for his job ‘partly that my family might form the nucleus of civilization amongst the natives’.

More important still was the role of women; the significance of marriage to Protestant missionary endeavour at this time cannot be overstated. Anna Johnston notes that few missionaries were allowed to begin their work without a wife (swiftly arranged marriages were common), and this was evident even for the relatively secular Port Phillip protectors. During the selection process, Sir George Arthur described unmarried status as ‘a great disqualification’ and rejected several candidates partly on these grounds. Furthermore, during this era, most missionary organisations did not employ women independently. Women were by no means outsiders; Carey, for instance, has demonstrated Evangelical women’s active role within the Pacific missionary world, and the importance of family connections within evangelical circles is receiving increasing historical attention. However, the fact remains that marriage was fundamental to missionary women’s relevance at this time. Deborah Kirkwood observes that missionary women were valued not only for their labour, but also for the friendliness their presence was meant to symbolise to native peoples, and the control they theoretically exercised over their husbands’ sexuality.

Yet, just as the responsibilities of parenting were often articulated in anxious terms, so was the significance of wives decidedly mixed. In 1832, for example, Johann Handt wrote to the CMS secretaries from Sydney, prior to leaving for Wellington Valley. Reporting on Sydney’s moral degeneracy, Handt described his loneliness and reliance on God to cheer his spirits. He complained that finding a wife through the local missionary society branch was proving difficult:

it is a rare thing to get a good missionary wife in this Country, and I would rather not marry all my life-time than an unsuitable one ... I have surrendered myself to the will of God ... If he gives me a partner for life, it will be a good wife. And I shall find her as a blind hen finds a grain of precious wheat.

Later in the same letter, however, he returned to the subject of missionary wives with consternation. He described visiting the Liverpool Mad House and meeting a missionary’s wife there who had been in the South Seas. Handt described her as incoherent and vain, and wondered whether the tropical climate had driven her mad. He lamented: ‘How wretchedly deep is man fallen, who was created in the image of his Maker! Her poor husband died a lunatic in this Colony.’ In this letter, the figure of the missionary’s wife emerges alternately as a blessing, crucial to the mission enterprise, or as inarticulate and potentially degenerate, symbolising the vulnerability of evangelical family life amidst savage surroundings.
Such vulnerability or ambiguity was never far from the surface in local missionary accounts of women’s work. Indeed, an essential paradox was evident: missionary women’s domestic labour (emphasising the feminine work of childrearing, food preparation, hygiene and private religious guidance), and their efforts to represent idealised evangelical femininity, necessitated a blurring of the very boundaries between private and public, male and female, civilised and savage, which they were attempting to enforce. In their preparation of food, for example, missionary women found themselves implicated in tensions over Indigenous rationing, where Indigenous expectations of reciprocity and obligation sat uneasily beside the missionary need to attract people to stations but also to enforce industry and ‘deserving’ poverty. Protector William Thomas’s diaries, for instance, describe his wife Susannah supplying people with food, sometimes independently of her husband, negotiating this with difficulty when rations were insufficient. Meanwhile, accounts from Wellington Valley place William Watson’s wife Ann at the centre of several fierce arguments with Wiradjuri men over who deserved rations, how they should be distributed, and what sort of Indigenous compliance was required in return. Such disputes, often occurring in the domestic space of mission buildings, were emblematic of the links between evangelical femininity and controversial colonial policies.

The slight blurring of roles that could occur when evangelical feminine ideals were enacted in practice was also evident sometimes when missionary women spoke to Indigenous people about God. Providing religious guidance, especially to women and children, was vital to the missionary woman’s role; Francis Tuckfield, for example, noted in his diary that his wife talked to the women about God whilst he addressed the men. The most extensive descriptions of missionary women’s religious endeavours are contained in William Watson’s diaries, which record Ann Watson, hearing the children’s daily hymns and prayers and telling them about the crucifixion, the danger of hellfire and the necessity of baptism. While this could be incorporated easily into the role of domestic helpmeet, some other encounters were rather more expansive, bringing to mind Clare Midgley’s argument that missionary work, due to its mobile and conversational nature, could to some degree blur the formal restrictions on women’s religious authority. In 1836, Watson described one particularly interesting Sunday, when he was away:

Mrs Watson read through the morning service, the natives regularly responding ... to her great surprise when the prayers were finished, all the natives sat down apparently expecting a Sermon. She felt at a loss how to proceed. However, her mind was directed to some anecdotes of pious youths and children; and some accounts of happy deaths of several who had served the Lord in their early years. Having read several of these, and made occasional remarks, as how happy we should be in seeing this native, and that native in heaven &c she thought they would be tired, and enquired shall I give over now? Are you tired of hearing these? Kabbarrin said go on, go on. Gungin with his face literally bathed in tears, with difficulty articulated, no, read more, we are not tired.

Ten years later, Watson mentioned to the Colonial Secretary that his household did not suffer much by his absence on some Sundays, as his wife took people to
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church and guided them through scriptures, hymns and prayers. 24 Such scenes are intriguing not only for Ann Watson’s confidence in leading religious discussions but also for her husband’s apparent satisfaction with this arrangement.

Considered less pleasant but equally important to daily life was the missionary woman’s task of implementing regimes of European hygiene. Indigenous bodies were repeatedly described in missionary papers as ‘dirty’ (crucial here is Mary Douglas’s definition of dirt as disorder, as matter out of place), and the task of rendering them ‘clean and clothed’ usually fell to missionary women.25 The Wellington Valley papers, especially, described in detail Mary Handt, Ann Watson and Lydia Günther cutting young men’s hair and urging people to wash and wear clothes on Sunday.26 Here, a vital paradox was evident: proximity to ‘dirt’ must (by definition) be intolerable to respectable women, yet only such women were qualified to enforce cleanliness. Günther, for instance, was surprised that his wife could stand the exposure to young men’s bodies that the cleaning process necessitated, commenting ‘I was surprised that Mrs G. had inclination and ability for it,’ and ‘Mrs G could hardly bear it but observed “I must not mind if I can do the poor men any good”’.27 The contradictory ideal of white missionary femininity – too refined to bear dirt, yet uniquely qualified to eradicate it – was made explicit in a letter to the Colonist in 1839. Praising the Wellington Valley mission, the writer remarked:

I was greatly struck by the neat, clean and orderly appearance of all the children in attendance. While zealous missionaries labour to promote the intellectual, moral and spiritual improvement of the blacks, Mrs Watson and Mrs Günther are no less indefatigable in attending to their personal comforts. The difficulty of performing this latter task can be duly appreciated only by those who have been accustomed to observe the slovenly and filthy habits of savages.28

Such tensions have been explored elsewhere by Anna Cole, in her discussion of Ella Hiscocks, matron of the Cootamundra Girls’ Home. Cole portrays the matron exerting often harsh power over the children in her care, notably through hygiene regimes – ‘Cleanliness, in Hiscocks’ world, was next to whiteness’.29 At the same time, the marginalisation of the ‘civilising’ white woman through her gender, inferior class and racial proximity was an implicit concern – ‘her futile struggle against dirt symbolises the inevitable exclusion and isolation from mainstream society of both the Aboriginal girls in her care and matron herself’.30

This situation of the missionary woman in a curious boundary zone becomes particularly clear in representations of her domestic space. The mission house, being idealised as civilised family space for Indigenous people to emulate, necessitated incursion by a sometimes threatening, ‘savage’ world, as part of the evangelising process. This is, again, most evident in Watson’s papers, perhaps because of the peculiar stress he and his wife placed on encouraging people into their home. Their zealous efforts to gain custody of children, for instance, were typically described in terms of keeping children with Ann Watson. Watson’s writings convey a particular sense of private, feminised missionary space, vulnerable to intrusions by Indigenous men, but this dynamic was not a simple one. This became clear in a series of incidents in 1836, when people from another district gathered near Wellington Valley, appar-
ently planning revenge killings. Ann Watson, afraid that 'wild natives' were coming to abduct the girls, locked them inside, and was startled when a man called Darby ran up to the house, begging for protection. She hid him in another room, and reported that he anxiously demanded she stay with him - 'don't let Black fellow come'. Watson was astonished by this - 'A stout, able, Savage, seeking for safety, and reposing his confidence for protection in a nervous European female'. Two days later, another fight occurred when Darby was accused of an incorrect relationship with a young woman. Watson described the scene:

Our large room which had just been washed and got ready for the Sabbath was nearly filled by about 40 females who had rushed into the kitchen, for refuge, crying and trembling: Then the men came ... for their weapons which the females generally carry. The yinnars [women] not daring to make their appearance kept throwing out their weapons saying to Mrs Watson you give that to Bobby and that to Tommy and so on for all their husbands, and it was very well Mrs Watson escaped without injury, for in their fright they threw them down any way.

In the missionary's papers, such descriptions are framed as savage intrusions into Christian family space, and were probably intended partly to vindicate the Watsons' policy of separating young girls from their relatives. However, they also suggest the complex ways in which evangelical discourse portrayed missionary women's relationships with Indigenous men - alternately in terms of violent threats and nurturing dependence - reinforcing feminine roles but also linking women in unnerving ways to the tumultuous outside world. The stories are, of course, also suggestive of Wiradjuri people's own use of the space claimed as Ann Watson's and their sense of relationships of protection and obligation with her.

It is this strange intimacy of mission life which is, to the contemporary reader, perhaps the most interesting and most elusive aspect of missionary women's and children's experiences. Hints of affectionate relationships and even efforts by Indigenous people to incorporate missionary families partially into extended kinship systems are present in the archives, although tantalisingly brief. Protector Edward Stone Parker's son, Joseph, for instance, recollected as an adult that when his mother Mary died at the Franklinfood protectorate station in north-western Victoria, 'The blacks cut their heads and the women scratched their skin with fire sticks and kept up a wailing for 48 hours'. This was apparently an extension of Indigenous mourning rituals, and yet we know almost nothing else about Mary Parker's relationships with these people.

Protector Thomas's papers can be similarly intriguing. Most references to his wife were brief, but in 1840 he gave a longer description of her closeness with an Indigenous woman, Maria. According to Thomas, Maria cared for her wife lovingly while she was ill, camping outside her tent and protesting in distress when Susannah Thomas was removed to Melbourne. When Susannah left the station:

this Lubra followed the dray sobbing most lamentably crying 'Me no more see good Lubra' the repetition of which so affected Mrs T that she beg'd we would make her desist ... the untutor'd Lubra got hold of the back of the
Thomas shaped this story to demonstrate Indigenous people's willingness to attach themselves to humane white authority figures, making alternative readings both tempting and problematic.

The difficult question of intimacy also emerges in missionaries' brief mentions of their children's relationships with Indigenous people. The fear of cultural mixing which Clemmons and Grimshaw identify as a key concern for Dakota and Hawaiian missionary families at this time is rarely evident, possibly because these first Australian missions and protectorates did not last long enough for generational concerns to develop. Nonetheless, the archives do make references to potentially significant encounters. In one scene described by Protector Charles Wightman Sievwright's biographer, Lindsey Arkley, an Elangamite man called Buruidningnang welcomed Sievwright to his camp, exchanged gifts and food, and offered his infant daughter in betrothal to Sievwright's son, Charles. Another son, Marcus, testified as an adult to the 1858 Victorian Select Committee on Aborigines that Aboriginal Victorians should be enabled to choose their own reserves for farming – one of the few subsequent accounts of such children's Indigenous interests.

While Sievwright's experiences may have been exceptional, other protectors and missionaries mentioned affectionate family scenes. When Günther's daughter was born at Wellington Valley in 1838, he described Wiradjuri women's eagerness to see 'the little Stranger':

When at last permitted to have a peep at her, through the window, they were highly delighted, calling out 'Marombary', (very good or fine etc etc). One old woman in particular smiled at the little daughter of the Missionary, with much interest & was as it were quite in an extacy [sic].

Lancelot Threlkeld mentioned that his young son, Joseph, spoke 'fluently' with Awabakal people at his Lake Macquarie mission, and that they had protected Joseph from fights and looked after him when injured in the bush. Protector Thomas's description of his family's first arrival at Port Phillip in 1839 is particularly interesting. He was taken aback by the appearance of Kulin peoples with traditional dress, scarring and weapons, and asked a group of men why their front teeth were missing:

They could not talk much English, but taking my little boy Jeremy who was about eight years old and catching hold of my son William who was 18, raised their hand from Jemmy's head higher and higher until they got as high as my William and then opened mouth and pretended to knock out teeth, plainly telling me that when they got to be young men and not till then their front tooth was knocked out.

Amongst diary entries concerned primarily with food distribution, government tensions and so-called Indigenous 'savagery', the moment stands out, partly for its conversational nature and also for the reminder that these could be family encounters
rather than individualist ones. The very use of the Evangelical family as a domestic ideal involved potential closeness with Indigenous people which could, occasionally, move beyond the typical structures of the philanthropic narrative.

The greatest tension associated with missionary families, however, was their troubled relevance to the issue of respectability, and to missionaries’ competence in their work. When Sievwright was dismissed from the Protectorate, his colleagues claimed this was necessary partly because he was alleged to have committed adultery and abused his wife and daughter; Chief Protector G.A. Robinson lamented to Superintendent La Trobe the example this set to Indigenous people. Meanwhile, Protector Thomas competed professionally with his station’s schoolteacher, Mr Wilson, partly via their wives, with each claiming the other’s female relatives were unequal to the task of teaching school and tending the sick.41

However, the missionary wife as a contentious figure became most visible at Wellington Valley, in the furious disputes between the Günthers and Watsons, who competed for authority on the station. Watson told the CMS that Lydia Günther started fights, drove servants away with her bad temper and beat Wiradjuri girls who worked for her. He also asserted that she had allowed young people to associate ‘immodestly’ with each other and angered the young men by saying ‘O the girls don’t want you natives, they want white men’, jokingly pairing them with convict servants.42 It is hard to judge the truth of Watson’s claims, but his choice of complaint is significant, given the emphasis missionaries placed on encouraging Indigenous women’s morality through gender segregation (often considered the job of missionary wives). Watson added that Günther had opposed Mrs Watson tending the sick and teaching the children, and contrasted Lydia Günther’s demands for servants and comfortable housing with his own wife’s Christian humility. His claim that Günther had shouted at him ‘you have made Mrs Watson a slave; but Mrs Günther shall never be a slave’ is suggestive of the intricate class relations that shaped the mission project, where humility and respectability were in frequent competition.43

Almost all missionaries and protectors during this time reported their wives suffering illness, stress and drudgery, and some also emphasised their children’s vulnerability.44 While their families certainly battled ill-health and difficult living conditions, the anger missionaries expressed about this was bound up with class status. For men from artisan or lower middle-class backgrounds, the respectability promised by missionary work was contradicted by disappointing salaries and conditions, and their tone of appropriate deference and willingness to undergo hardship sat uneasily beside barely-concealed resentment. The nuclear family, with its associations of idealised middle-class domesticity, became a focus for such concerns. In the late 1820s, for example, L.E. Threlkeld reacted furiously when the LMS withdrew their support from his Lake Macquarie mission. Asserting that they were abandoning Awabakal people, he also accused them of callousness towards missionary families. Threlkeld himself had never recovered from the LMS reprimanding him for staying in Rio with his family when his baby son was dying, instead of proceeding with his duties.45 He wrote to the directors: ‘you treat your Missionaries in print as brethren, in your private correspondence as an inferior order of beings, hardly worthy of notice’.46
The claim that enduring hardship was pious and essential, but also degrading and unreasonable, was especially evident when missionaries wrote about their wives’ efforts to domesticate ‘savagery’. Watson, for example, thanked God for his wife’s ability to ‘bear with cheerfulness and pleasure the fatigues and (so many times) unpleasant labours’, whilst also lamenting that their work was unfairly harsh. Meanwhile, his colleague Günther complained in his diary in 1837 that it was unjust ‘that the Missionary’s wife be an entire servant maid’. He claimed his wife was becoming ill; ‘she has to tire herself frequently with work, to which she was not accustomed’, living ‘like a common servant’. Similarly, John Smithies of the Swan River mission complained to the WMMS in 1843, ‘Mrs S is a slave in labour and toils day by day’. For missionaries, manual labour was not only physically necessary, it was also intended to demonstrate to Indigenous people the future class position missionaries imagined for them; that of a respectable working class. However, as Kathryn Rountree observes in her work on New Zealand, many missionary women were teaching Maori girls domestic work with which they themselves were unfamiliar. In order to acquire servants and change Maori understandings of labour, they had to lower themselves (at least temporarily) to an almost working-class position. This process, apparently both unavoidable and deeply resented, was perhaps even more pertinent to the Australian colonies at the time, where Indigenous people’s residence and labour at the missions fluctuated greatly.

Tensions between middle-class aspirations and realities of manual labour were notable in the protectorate records. Thomas lamented to Dredge that his living conditions were inadequate, leaving his children ‘like vagabonds’. In 1842, he complained to Chief Protector Robinson that he was forced to live a transient, impoverished life, adding ‘I may I think without exaggeration state that few females have suffered in privation more (that have entered into Australia) than the partner of my life’. The following year Thomas complained again that his family’s wish to be useful was thwarted by constant hardship – ‘myself ever wandering while she has been unprotected & with scarce a covering to shelter her’.

Liz Reed, in her analysis of the William Thomas records, argues that the protectors complained frequently about their wives’ struggles in order to indirectly demand greater wages, better conditions and higher status as Aboriginal ‘experts’. I would build on this: accounts of wives’ hardships were not merely an indirect way of articulating husbands’ concerns, nor were they singular to the protectorate. Rather, tensions in the missionary family’s role may have been central to the way that local evangelical authority was conceptualised. This is suggested in the similar complaints of Protector Dredge. In his diary in 1840, Dredge wrote furiously of the government’s apparent indifference to his difficulties. He vividly described sitting outside his Goulburn River hut at night with his wife and children, being frightened by fights between Taungurong people: ‘what a scene – one, only, civilized man – with a family under his protection – surrounded in solitary woods with nearly a hundred savages ... Surely my defence is in God – vain is the help of man! Lord protect me and mine’. The belief that the authorities were indifferent to the safety and status of Protectors’ families was made explicit when Dredge resigned from the protectorate in 1840. In an angry letter to Robinson, he wrote that his job had been represented to him as suitable for a family man, with the government promising to ‘render the situation respectable’. Instead, he claimed, he had been inadequately paid and left
unable to educate his daughters, leaving them 'entirely removed from civilized life without the smallest hope of attaining the commonest education'.'\textsuperscript{58} He also reminded Robinson that Mrs Dredge had been 'compelled to submit to the performance of such constant domestic drudgery as she had not been accustomed to'.\textsuperscript{59} His position was, he said, 'anything but respectable' - 'so far from it being respectable, no degradation short of banishment can exceed it'.\textsuperscript{60} As Dredge's repetitious language suggests, it was through concern for their families that missionaries' class anxieties were made most explicit.

Tracing the lives of Australia's first missionary women and children remains an awkward process, due to their rare and fragmented place in the surviving record. Nonetheless, the accounts that remain are powerfully suggestive, showing the importance and vulnerabilities - practical and symbolic - of the Evangelical family in colonial Australia. Idealised versions of childhood and femininity, when depicted or lived out, were often contradictory; 'civilised' nuclear families lived in relationships of uneasy reciprocity with Indigenous people, and private missionary domesticity existed in turbulent contact with the outside world. These factors should not necessarily be seen as deviations from a missionary norm, but rather as paradoxical necessities to mission work. Furthermore, it is in the area of family life that missionaries' troubled notions of respectability become clearest. Domestic hardship was seen as both formative and destructive to middle-class evangelical labour, thus suggesting that the position of women and children, while often marginalised in evangelical writings, should be fundamental to how missionary work is understood.

Endnotes

2 In the area of reclaiming a female missionary history and considering relationships between missionary women and indigenous cultures, one important collection is Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener, ed. Women and Missions: Past and Present (Providence: Berg, 1993). Tanya Fitzgerald, Clare Midgley and Alison Twells have considered women's changing roles in mission history and how ideals of domesticity and separate spheres shaped their work. See Tanya Fitzgerald,\textquoteleft\textquoteleft'To unite their strength with ours': Women and Missionary Work in Aotearoa / New Zealand, 1827–45', Journal of Pacific History 39, no.2 (2004); Clare Midgley, 'Can Women be Missionaries? Envisioning Female Agency in the Early Nineteenth-century British Empire', Journal of British Studies 45, no.2 (April 2006); Alison Twells, \textquoteleft\textquoteleft'Happy English Children': Class, Ethnicity, and the Making of Missionary Women in the Early Nineteenth Century', Women's Studies International Forum 21, no.3 (May–June 1998).
4 For example, Patricia Grimshaw, 'Colonising Motherhood: Evangelical Social Reformers and Koorie Women in Victoria, Australia, 1880s to the early 1900s', Women's History Review 8, no.2 (1999); Patricia Grimshaw, and Elizabeth Nelson, 'Empire, \textquoteleft\textquoteleftthe Civilising Mission\textquoteright and Indigenous Christian Women in Colonial Victoria', Australian Feminist Studies 16, no.36 (2001).
5 Linda Clemmons, \textquoteleft\textquoteleft'Our children are in danger of becoming little Indians': Protestant Missionary Children and Dakotas, 1835-1862', Michigan Historical Review 25, no.2 (Fall 1999).
6 Dandeson Coates, John Beecham and William Ellis to Select Committee on Aborigines, 6 June 1836, in Irish University Press Series, British Parliamentary Papers: Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) together with minutes of evidence, appendix and index, Anthropology: Aborigines, vol.1 (Shannon, 1836), 489.
7 Francis Tuckfield, 23 July 1839, Francis Tuckfield Journal (hereafter FTJ), MS11341, Box 655, State Library of Victoria (SLV).
8 J.C.S. Handt, Journal, 13 May 1833, WVP.
9 Günther, Journal, 19 Feb 1838, WVP.
14 Carey, `Companions in the Wilderness`, 228-34; Johnston, Missionary Writing and Empire, 51-52; Deborah Kirkwood, `Protestant Missionary Women: Wives and Spinsters` in Bowie, Kirkwood and Ardener, Women and Missions, 27.
15 Kirkwood, `Protestant Missionary Women`, 26-27.
16 J.C.S. Handt to Thomas Woodroffe and Dandeson Coates, 23 April 1832, WVP.
17 Ibid.
18 Thomas journal, undated fragment, 1839, f.18, reel 3, William Thomas Papers (hereafter, WTP), MP323, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (hereafter AIATSIS); Thomas, Journal, 30 June 1840, reel 1, WTP.
19 For example, Watson, Journal, 24 August 1833, 5 Dec 1834, WVP.
20 Francis Tuckfield, 18 August 1839, FTJ.
21 Watson, Journal, 6 December 1832, WVP. Also, 5 April 1833, 25 June 1834.
22 Midgley, `Can women be missionaries?`, 335-59.
23 Watson, Journal, 30 Sep 1836, WVP.
26 Handt, Journal, 5 November 1834 and 26 April 1835, WVP; Günther, Journal, 25 September 1837, WVP; Watson, Journal, 3 October 1832, 16 March 1833, WVP.
27 Günther, Journal, 25 and 29 September 1837, WVP.
28 The Colonist, 24 December 1839.
30 Ibid., 163, also 162, 169.
31 Watson, Journal, 17 November 1836, WVP
32 Watson, Journal, 19 November 1836, WVP
33 J. Parker, Boyish Recollections of Victoria 70 Years Ago, date and place not given, 3, PMS2675, AIATSIS.


37 Ibid., 464.

38 Günther, Journal, 20 Feb 1838, WVP.


40 William Thomas, Jan-March 1839 abstract, Cannon (ed.), *HRV*, vol.2B, 438.

41 G.A. Robinson to C.J. La Trobe, 9 July 1842, AAR, reel 3. Also, Arkley, 60; W. Lonsdale to C.J. La Trobe, 23 June 1842, AAR, reel 3.

42 William Thomas to G.A. Robinson, 29 Sep 1841, AAR, reel 2.

43 William Watson, ‘Reverend William Watson’s reply to the Charge preferred against him by the Reverend James Gunther dated Sydney Nov 1-1838’, 1840, WVP.

44 Ibid.


48 Watson, Journal, 30 June 1833, WVP.

49 Günther, Journal, 22 August 1837, also 2 September 1837, 1 December 1837, WVP.

50 Günther, Journal, 2 November 1837, 20 September 1838, WVP.


53 Dredge, 27 March 1840, JDD.

54 William Thomas to G.A. Robinson, 8 December 1842, AAR, reel 2.

55 William Thomas to G.A. Robinson, 1 December 1843, AAR, reel 2.


57 Dredge, 29 Jan 1840, JDD.

58 Dredge, 10 May 1839, JDD.

59 James Dredge to G.A. Robinson, 17 February 1840, WMMS, box 1.

60 Ibid.