THE INVISIBILITY OF GOSPEL PLOUGHMEN: THE IMAGING OF SOUTH SEA PASTORS IN PAPUA

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South Sea Islanders serving in missions in Papua were visible in their journey to Papua, in their work as pioneers opening up new missions along the coast and inland, and in their immersion in local communities. Travelers, administration officials, and European missionaries in Papua reported meeting these "gospel ploughmen" and "admirable frontiersmen" and relied on them for assistance with transport, accommodation, translating, collecting, and personal and official business. They were an integral part of the European world, though marginalized by position, rank, skin color, language, and ethnic origin. The schools, churches, and chapels they built were usually the only substantial buildings using European materials or architecture. When dressed for visitors in their white trousers, *lap-lap*s, and shirts, they stood out among partly clothed Papuan converts, students, and neighbors and were recorded in this space by photographers. Present but not acknowledged in the visual imaging of colonial Papua, they are only apparent on the edge of the print and on the edge of histories of missions.

About 190 South Sea Island pastors served in Papua between 1871 and 1891. By 1922 a new era had begun, and they made up only 22 of the 316 non-European mission staff (Stonewigg [1912] 1933:9; Wetherell 1977:121). The majority were now Papuans. Papua was the frontier when South Sea pastors first arrived in large numbers to support lone European missionaries. The cameras of European officials and passers-by were focused exclusively on the indigenous Papuans, their material culture, and their environment. The popularity of amateur anthropology, the novelty of the camera, and the excitement of being in savage, untamed, "heathen" Papua meant that the subse-

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quent publications, private albums, and loose collections of these resident/traveler photographers rarely included pastors at all, and if so only as supplementary to a long-range scenic view of the church, school, or teacher's house. Even in mission publications, few portraits of pastors were included in the hundreds of books and articles that resulted from the tours, official visits, and longer sojourns by European missionaries in remote mission stations. There is no evidence to suggest that pastors owned cameras or took photographs of themselves, their colleagues, or their families.

The pastor was the dominating presence in the early Papuan mission field. The Anglican bishop Henry Newton praised the pastors for being "able to break the fallow ground, to do pioneering work of a most valuable kind" (1914:155). In the field, the Anglican Arthur Chignell thought more highly of their efforts, noting that "their names rarely get into print, and hardly any one on earth knows or cares anything at all about them," but, he declared, man for man they had "done work as truly missionary and as permanently useful during these one-and-twenty years as the more ornamental and expensive white bishops and lay people" (1915:40–41). Later scholars agree. David Wetherell's opinion is that for the first two decades "the Anglican diocese was more Melanesian than European in character" (1977:104), and Diane Langmore notes that "the protestant preacher who stood before most Papuan congregations every Sunday was not the European missionary but the South Sea Islands teacher" (1989:161). Sione Latukefu and Ruta Sinclair conclude that "hardly any facet of the traditional way of life of the people among whom these Polynesian missionaries lived and worked was left untouched by their influence" (1982:4). Yet, in the huge mass of photographs generated by and about the mission in Papua in this era, the pastor is either missing or relegated to the edge of an occasional group portrait or school, church, and mission station view.

The pastors' role in teaching, preaching, and liaison with local communities was acknowledged sparingly by their superiors and home mission authorities, but there were a few singularly visible tributes. The London Missionary Society, for example, dedicated a stained glass panel at the Vatorata Training College to acknowledge the eighty-two martyrs from Polynesia who died in the first twenty-eight years of the mission, and the Anglicans placed brass plaques on the walls of the church at Dogura to commemorate the Solomon Island pastors who had joined the mission from the canefields of Queensland. At grave sites, markers commemorate their efforts, though rarely by inclusion with European martyrs and founders. One exception was a garden at Kwato, Eastern Papua, where Tiraka Anderea (deceased 1939) was listed on a plaque along with some of the European pioneers and the founder, Charles W. Abel. In a lantern slide set produced by the London Missionary Society (LMS) in

1892, two of the early pastors, Ruatoka and Harry Niue, were featured along with a "Teacher's house, Vabukori," but this seems poor acknowledgment in a slide set that included eight images of European missionaries; two of Papuan deacons, students, and their wives; and six of churches and chapels. As well as being treated indifferently in the mission record, in the final selection process pastors could not compete against the popularity, in England and Australia, of discovering others. In the LMS lantern slide set, the bulk of the images conveying mission "Life and Work in Papua," just over forty slides, were ethnographic, highlighting Papuan housing, costume, implements, canoes, a "half-civilised chief," and a sorcerer.

While contemporary mission writers like Chignell made a point of identifying in their texts the Anglicans' pioneering pastors—Willie Miwa, Henry Mark, Willie Holi, Dick Bourke, James Nogar, and David Tatoo—among seventy photographs in his two books, Chignell could find space to include only one portrait of a pastor, Peter Seevo, who arrived in 1907 (Chignell 1911: 52). It was not because photographs of these men were unavailable. A group portrait of the first four pastors appeared in the Anglicans' magazine *Missionary Notes* in June 1895. Nogar had his portrait taken in Brisbane in 1898, and a portrait of Dick Bourke, who arrived in 1897, was included by Gilbert White in his hagiography *Francis de Sales Buchanan: Missionary in New Guinea* (1923). However, images of these well-known pioneering pastors did not disseminate widely.

My purpose is to examine the imaging of those pastors who appeared in the public domain, to look more widely at the imaging of mission work in Papua, and to offer an interpretation of the motivations behind the use made of images in mission publications and propaganda. This approach also invites commentary on the reluctance to publish images of pastors and on the relationship between indigenous missionaries and Europeans (with cameras) within a European-managed evangelical field.

The exact number and names of South Sea pastors who served in Papua is not known. In 1886 the *British New Guinea Annual Report* named ninety-five men who had served between 1871 and 1885, and eighty-two martyrs were named by the London Missionary Society on the Vatorata Chapel memorial. From Anglican records, Wetherell was able to name forty-six Anglican pastors who served between 1893 and 1942 (1977:40–41, 99). Mission books, articles, lantern slides, and postcards published up to 1930 reveal the names and photographs of only another fourteen pastors. These 14 are a paltry acknowledgment and visual record, considering, for example, that 1,198 photographs from Papua were published in a sample of 33 mission books in the 1894–1929 period. Not naming their colleagues in displays of the mission's work or in other modes of dissemination in the public domain was a

reflection of the power European missionaries exerted over South Sea teachers and pastors. A similar exclusion and marginalization was repeated in relation to Papuan co-workers, appointees, deacons, and priests.

Group Portraits

In archives, libraries, and personal collections, there are perhaps fifty group portraits of pastors from this period, but persons are not individually identified. In these unidentified formal arrangements of well-dressed pastors, we have the faces of some of the eighty-three Fijians who served in Papua before 1917, or perhaps some of the forty-five Anglican South Seas pastors, or some of the two hundred or more who served with the London Missionary Society. Until further research positively identifies them, they remain a statistic, appendixes to the history of the mission (see Figure 1).

The group portrait was a particular favorite of mission photographers, serving both to use plates and film economically, and, by its composition, to mark the pastors' incorporation into "a larger world and family," though still in a subordinate position (Thomas 1993:54). For example, a typical Sacré-Coeur fund-raising postcard of "native sisters" at Kabuna emphasizes the contribution of Papuan women to the church, yet seated in the central and dominating position is a male European missionary. A similar group portrait in H. M. Dauncey's 1913 book *Papuan Pictures* demonstrates the same dominant-subordinate relationship. In this portrait of nineteen district teachers, Dauncey commands the central position. In the twelve individual and group portraits of LMS and Methodist pastors published in Gash and Whittaker's *Pictorial History of New Guinea* (1975), the same pattern can be observed. George Brown stands amid a group of eight pastors and their wives, Dauncey stands outside the church at Kabadi with three pastors, and in a formal studio portrait three Europeans pose with Aminio Bale and an unidentified Fijian pastor. The Fijian, unnamed and of junior rank, is flanked, protectively and aesthetically, by the Reverends George Brown and Benjamin Danks. As a hero of the mission, Bale shares the limelight, seated in front, with the secretary-general of the Methodist mission. Had the visual message not been dominated by the hegemonic positioning and inclusion of the Europeans, the message these prints and postcards conveyed would have been celebratory and commemorative of the work not of the European missionary, but of the South Sea pastors. There are many group portraits of pastors in which European missionaries do not appear, although even these images were probably read as congratulatory of the European mission, not of the endeavors and achievements of the subjects photographed.

We must assume that photographers, editors, and mission administrators

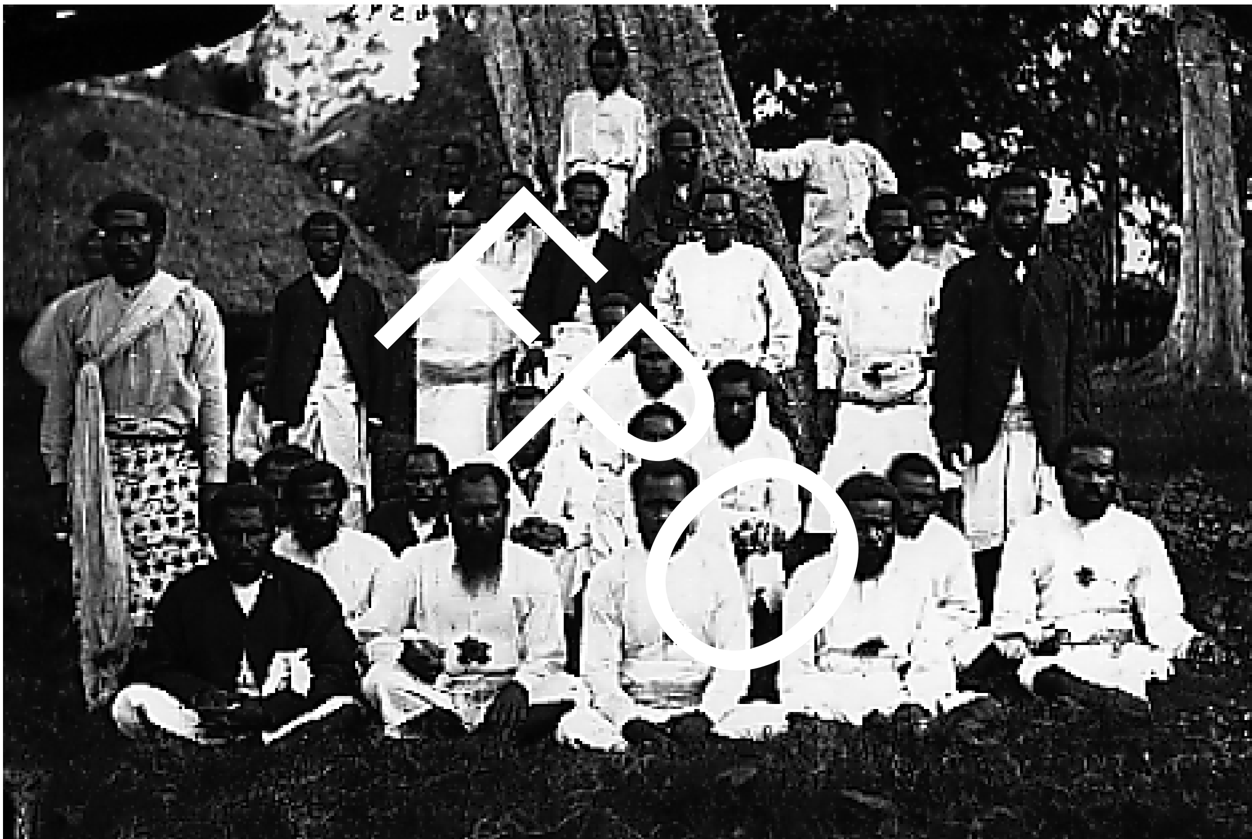

FIGURE 1. **Group photograph, unnamed pastors, no place or date.** (George Brown New Guinea collection, V6395, Australian Museum, Sydney)

judged that a group portrait of pastors, without a European present, would not represent the mission's management, leadership, and evangelical zeal. The European missionary was the public face of the mission at home in England or Australia, and these men took the chair in the middle not just because of their race, education, and rank, but because of their self-perception as the pivotal character. This is an ideology-driven reading of the image. It should not divert attention from more simple, human affection, for example, displayed when Dauncey and the district pastors finished the Christmas service at Delena and posed *together* merely for the purposes of creating a memento of the occasion. This imaging of pastors, if we read the images today, invokes rearticulations and refigurations, multiple histories and multiple trajectories, and raises questions about the dissemination of images worldwide and subsequent changes in meaning that are now the focus of much Pacific photographic research.[1]

The European missionary's superior place in the mission was made explicit by the public display of group portraits, where he was shown seated or standing among, but distanced and apart from, his junior evangelists by race and authority (and clothing), or positioned as photographer on the other side of the camera. The group portrait signaled success upon ordination or graduation; celebrated a sense of shared endeavor, brotherhood, and community in the field; or marked a particular event in the mission calendar. The purpose was not to glorify, identify, or acknowledge individuals, and if a caption was required, the standard self-effacing phrasing "Reverend 'X' and his native teachers" was used.[2] The group portrait also served to address the mission's fund-raising agenda. A group portrait of a sizable contingent heading for Papua, a recently ordained class, or a recently arrived group informally gathered at Port Moresby, Dogura, or Kwato praised past work and demanded funds for the next phase of mission achievement. These often overlapping, often conflicting hegemonic, fund-raising, and celebratory motivations lay behind the taking and use of group portraits and, at the same time, limited the functional use and popularity of posing and publishing individual portraits. Pastors were visible in private photography as friends and members of the religious community and brethren, but in published material they were denied this personal and individual position.

A further motivation for arranging group portraits might have been requests by pastors for such portraits to be taken so they could send copies home as visual evidence, demonstrating to their home congregations that they were working with kin and countrymen in Papua. They also may have secretly held grander visions of contributing to a global and distant enterprise that home congregations were only familiar with through sermons and calls for contributions.[3]

The Photographic Record

The only substantial single photographic collection of pastors was taken by the pioneering missionary William Lawes (in Papua, 1871–1907), who not only took single shots and series of photographs of his South Sea colleagues, but also named many pastors, their wives, and their children. The Kerry and Company sale catalog for his New Guinea collection included forty-one photographs of pastors and individually named fifteen of Lawes's colleagues (1919). Lawes's photographs became the first major stock of the LMS's London office for the preparation of fund-raising publications, magazines, and displays, but surprisingly few shots of pastors were used.

Later, the LMS in London added missionary photographers in Papua such as W. H. Abbott, H. M. Dauncey, E. A. Field, C. F. Rich, B. T. Butcher, W. J. Saville, and others. However, the LMS made little effort to acknowledge the work of pastors as a community, as a strategy in mission work, or individually, so that although the LMS created a cataloging system for keeping track of the images arriving from Papua, it did not create a separate category for pastors. Revealingly, when placing photographs of pastors in the filing system, LMS editors merely included pastors in the "Papuan individuals and groups" collection, conflating in Eurocentric fashion the Papuans and South Sea pastors as natives, further denying them their South Sea origins.[4] When the LMS was sorting and cataloging the many images of pastors, several of Lawes's images were given anonymous captions such as "South Sea Island teacher" and "New Guinea teacher," and teachers' names were adjusted by the LMS for English audiences so that "Matapo" became upon publication "Jacob."[5] These practices reflected the low regard for indigenous pastors at the home office and contrasted sharply with the personal relationships between pastors and missionaries in the field and the friendship shown by the considerable effort of Lawes, Dauncey, and others to photograph their teachers and pastors. They often took six or more plates of one pastor and his family, using different poses and compositions to ensure the best image was created (see, for example, Figure 2).[6] When the LMS editors were sorting Dauncey's photographs, the category "missionaries, church work" was created along with eight other categories, but not a separate one for pastors.

Dauncey offered his view on pastors in his book *Papuan Pictures* (1913), in which he wove anecdotes with a diary of his own life in Papua. Samoan teachers such as Timoteo were praised by Dauncey for being "a success as a teacher as at most things" and for continuing on despite the personal tragedy at Kabadi of losing his mother, father, stepmother, and three of his own children. For primarily a children's audience, Dauncey included a group portrait of teachers at a Christmas service, a portrait of a pastor's wife and two chil-

FIGURE 2. **Pastor and his family, unnamed, no place or date.** (George Brown New Guinea collection, V6426, Australian Museum, Sydney)

dren, a standard group setting of a teacher and wife with their students on the school steps at Kopuana, and a snapshot of children playing in front of Timoteo's house with two (unnamed) pastors looking on (Dauncey 1913:125, 127; Langmore 1989:234).[7]

A published photograph of a European missionary suggesting close contact with a pastor was rare, reflecting the institutional and hierarchical gap that separated co-workers in representation and imaging, though not in reality among the flock. The separation of European and South Sea Islander, to which publications adhered strictly when signaling to English and Australian readers what was happening on the mission frontier in Papua, followed from the belief that the mission was a European endeavor and performed a European civilizing role. Yet, the literary and archival record suggests that pastors and missionaries shared much freer and friendlier relationships. The view of the missionary facing off-camera while the pastors stared obediently at the lens was a popular composition and can be found in group portraits from both Pacific and African mission fields (Douglas 1900:335; Burret 1906:499, Thomas 1993:52). Although this composition signaled the missionary's au-

thority, it did not necessarily deny the paternal love and companionship that existed.

The missionary–South Sea pastor relationship differed from the missionary–Papuan clergy/convert relationship. Published photographs of European missionaries with their newly ordained Papuan deacons, priests, catechists, and local appointees were colonial, racist, and Eurocentric in their format and composition. But private unpublished images can be read as conveying a sense of companionship and respect. In visual imaging, missionaries and Papuans could be imagined as close friends. Meanwhile, the missionary–South Sea pastor relationship was imaged in publications as restrained and distant.

The first time a pastor was named by the LMS in an image published in *The Chronicle* was in July 1884, thirteen years after the Papua mission started. Identified were the Loyalty Islander Gucheng and his daughter. Between 1882 and 1900, the *Chronicle* included etchings, based on photographs, or photographs of the Cook Islander Peri's house, five group portraits of unidentified pastors, and a view of a teacher's house. This was a reasonable commitment considering the *Chronicle*'s wide field and limited use of illustration. A few more etchings, postcards, and photographs of individuals, groups, and teachers with their families appeared after 1900, but excepting the now famous Ruatoka (in his obituary), pastors were not named (Figures 3, 4). In 1921, the mission's jubilee year, a double-page photography feature, a format rarely used by the LMS editors, was devoted to "pictures of primitive Papua; the utmost for the least." It presented fourteen photographs sent in by C. F. Rich from Fife Bay mission. The impression gained by glancing across the Fife Bay presentation is of a comfortable, busy station life with European missionaries in close contact with Papuans. Europeans feature in half the images, which also include two standard fund-raising mission images —a launch and a school. No pastors were included. The early acknowledgment and then, after 1900, virtual silence mirrors the history of South Sea pastors' contribution to the LMS and other missions in Papua. The first ten to twenty years of pioneering work was led by indigenous evangelists, and their presence in visual imaging of that era reflected the pastors' importance in the mission. As European missionaries and lay members and gradually Papuan appointees took over the field, South Sea pastors were no longer recruited so heavily for the mission.

Although it is possible to cite examples where pastors were acknowledged by inclusion in text and illustration, in the surge of illustrated mission and non-mission books and articles after 1900 pastors were notable for their exclusion rather than their inclusion. The lack of acknowledgment in mission publications is made more noticeable by their occasional inclusion in non-

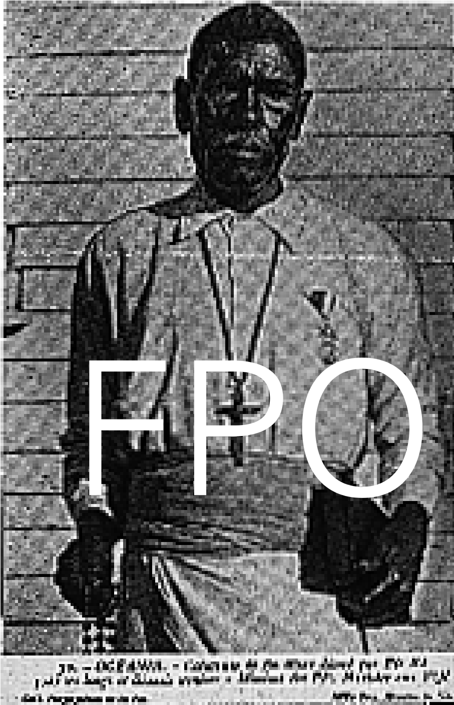

FIGURE 3. **Catechist, Marist Mission, Ba River, Fiji, unnamed. Fund-raising postcard, no date.** (Propagation de la Foi, Paris)

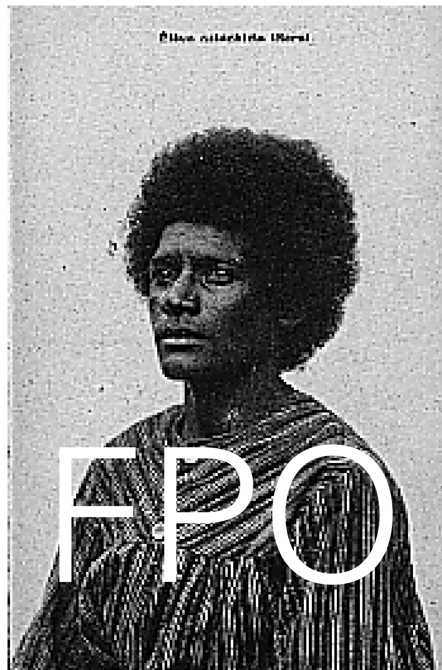

FIGURE 4. **Catechist, Roro, fund-raising postcard, no place or date.** (From a series "Papouasie, Novelle-Guinée," Sacré-Coeur Mission)

mission domains. For example, an obituary appeared for Dick Kiake in the administration's *Territory of Papua Annual Report* of 1887 and for William Lattu in the *Papuan Courier* in 1920. Even in 1921, when the LMS was celebrating fifty years in Papua, and South Sea teachers were declared to be "first on the list" and it was declared "right to give them the foremost place because of their lives laid down," the only image of pastors offered in the *Chronicle* was Lawes's group portrait of the early contingent, representing the years 1871–1872, when the LMS began its work in Papua. The choice of this photograph is significant, because in the collection at the editor's disposal there were more than a hundred carefully composed photographs of pastors from across the fifty-year period from 1872 to 1921. This oversight was partially redeemed in the LMS's 1945 commemorative "snakes and ladders" board game, which included a portrait of Ruatoka (the entry for 1872) and a group portrait of the first ordained Papuan teachers (the entry for 1884).

Naming the Pioneers

The pioneering missionary James Chalmers (in Papua, 1877–1901), although not known as a photographer, included images of pastors in his four illustrated books in 1885, 1886, 1887, and 1895. The Cook Island pastor Ruatoka, his wife, a group portrait of teachers, and the Cook Island pastor Peri's house at Boera were featured in etchings, taken from photographs, in one or more of Chalmers's and Chalmers and Gill's books. In 1894 the LMS historian George Cousins included three images of pastors in the children's edition of *Story of the South Seas* and four in an adult edition, including a rare image of the "Rev John Marriott with recruits for New Guinea," taken in Samoa. Among books published in 1902, W. E. Geil included a standard view of a teacher's house and C. W. Abel included two of teachers' houses and a group portrait (using the possessive captioning "my Samoan colleagues"); in 1917 Frank Lenwood included an unidentified "Samoan missionary"; and in 1926 J. W. Burton included a portrait of Simioni Momoivalu, a pioneer Fijian pastor. The only pastor to be publicly recognized through inclusion and regular naming was Ruatoka, an LMS pastor from Mangaia in the Southern Cook Islands, who went to Papua with the pioneering Polynesian pastor group of 1872. He was referred to as the "patriarch of the South Sea Teachers" and "Ruatoka, the Good Samaritan" and appeared in etchings (based on photographs) or in black-and-white photographs, either alone or with his wife (later, with his second wife), in books, lantern slides, games, and books, ranging from one by Chalmers and Gill in 1885 to one by Rogers in 1920.[8] However, this list of appearances by pastors is notable for its brevity and amounts to a sparse visual record, considering the lives given

and the presence of hundreds of South Sea pastors in the first fifty years of mission involvement, and considering the mass of photographs taken and published.

Images of Others

The chief competitor for publishing space was the late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century reading public's fascination with images of others. The public popularity and interest in anthropology and visual ethnographic reporting from the field meant that mission editors, with an eye on fund-raising, gave priority to images of Papuan types, artifacts, and material culture, allowing one or two portraits of a European missionary and relegating pastors (as non-Papuans and non-Europeans) to a single group portrait, if any.

In their texts, amateur missionary authors tried to marry conscientious studies of the church abroad (considered apologist texts by mission critics) with ethnographic studies of their Papuan communities and neighbors. Thomas correctly points out that for these amateur texts "the properties of descriptive discourse and the familiarity with indigenous peoples upon which statements were typically based encourage one to place these texts, as a category, on the same level as those of professionals" (1989:12, 69–73). The publication of hagiography, the celebration of heroic endeavor and propaganda aimed at potential European and Australasian donors, constituted a major portion of the mission library, however; and a focus on mission conversions, theological debate, pastoral programs, the comings and goings of European staff, and church, school, and launch construction was outweighed by a popular and amateur ethnographic discourse. The result was that the majority of so-called illustrated mission publications were closer in style to travel literature, popular science, or ethnography than they were to expositions of mission positions on liturgy, faith, evangelism, teaching, and prayer. This popular-ethnography format was motivated by a need to keep an eye on mission finances. Mission publishers and societies hoping to attract donations were aware that an illustrated text dominated by earnest missionaries and pastors, recently built mission launches, and church buildings had less popular appeal than a tree house, a mask *ravi,* a double-hulled *lakatoi,* an infant in a "cradle," or a group of alleged cannibals posed in front of a camera for the first time.

Mission texts, although responding to the underlying task of the mission, were contextualized by issues of colonialism, economic and social development, and popular (amateur) anthropology. The close three-way association between the newly emerging study of anthropology, colonial rule, and late-

nineteenth-century evangelical expansion is acknowledged by a recent catchword in academic discourse in the 1990s—the colonial project—and has been the subject of research in African and Asian mission fields,[9] though less so in the Pacific. Anthropology in the English-speaking world in the late nineteenth century had become, in Greg Dening's phrasing, "the science of understanding the native" (1980:35, 44), but it was an understanding rooted in domination. Papuans were being homogenized, incorporated, and culturally dominated. Young, citing Levinas, asserts that "the aim of the west was to make the other lose its alterity" (1990:12). The Papuan was thus normalized. Pinney suggests that photographs were a means for the Occident to document the Orient and to reduce "otherness to degrees of difference along a normalising scale" (1989:146, 148). This reductionism can be seen in a study of the frontispieces of Papuan mission texts, images carefully selected by mission authors as representations with a powerful initial impact on readers.

C. W. Abel's "a group of Logea men," J. H. Holmes's Orokolo fisherman poised in "anticipation," A. K. Chignell's "Agnes and Phoebe," H. M. Dauncey's "Tima of Delena," and J. M. Synge's "native of Wamira" are images normalized by contrived poses, contrived demeanors of wistful thoughtfulness, and their status as frontispieces (Abel 1901; Synge 1908; Chignell 1911; Dauncy 1913; Holmes 1924). The subjects continued to live their Orokolo, Delena, Logea, or Wamira lives, but for the rest of the world they were new colonial subjects and Papuan types along a scale of "otherness." The boy from Wamira frozen in F. M. Synge's 1908 frontispiece was no longer a brute savage from Goodenough Bay, but was normalized by both the photographic composition and the mission experience and became, despite his "difference," a childlike Christian, British subject, and friend. This image was an ideal mission frontispiece. The same selection process excluded pastors, because they were not Papuans and did not fit the ethnological taxonomic classifications into which thousands of other photographs of Papua were sorted (McIntyre and Mackenzie 1992:158). Pastors like Timoteo and Ruatoka might appear toward the end of a book or lantern slide show, but their inclusion merely served to legitimize the mission's work at large among distant indigenous peoples.

Multiple Motivations

The selection of frontispiece and other photographs for publishing reflected the philosophical position of the powerful assuming control over subject peoples, and imaging of Papuans and the South Sea pastors belongs to a complex, interwoven typology. The colonizer-missionary-ethnographer roles

FIGURE 5. **"An outpost of the Church in Oceania: a missionary with two Papuan boys," unnamed. Probably photographed by Thomas McMahon, Papua, 1917.** (*Illustrated London News,* 15 November 1919, p. 779)

that missionaries in the field adopted were the result of the pressures exerted by the multiple motivations of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century European hegemony of spaces like the newly claimed and mapped Papua. European missionaries were caught between the role of converting the heathen and the role of civilizing new colonial subjects, and they felt that along with Christianity they were bringing Europe's material culture, social discipline, and behavior (see Figures 5, 6). They had to move back and forth (carrying their cameras) between evangelism, administering their mission station and domain, gathering ethnographic evidence in their spare time, and a civilizing duty.

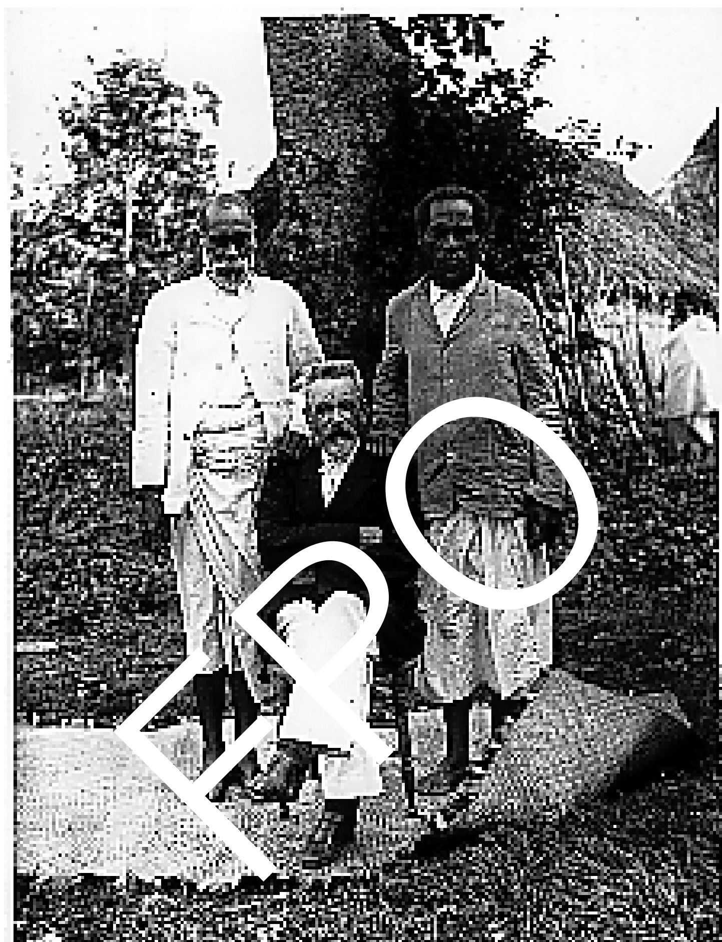

FIGURE 6. **The Rev. George Brown and two pastors, unnamed, no date.** (George Brown New Guinea collection, V6342, Australian Museum, Sydney)

Images of these English and Australian men in their heroic and grand work was a subject worthy of publishing, but for editors and publishers was clearly secondary to captioned Papuan ethnographic subjects from congregations and not-yet-converted communities. The South Sea pastor, meanwhile, was busy teaching and preaching, immersed empathetically in the daily social and economic, and thereby personal or political, agendas of his

congregation. As the pastor did not have a place in mission responses to the emergent field of anthropology, to colonialism, or to economic development,[10] he came a distant fourth in editorial selection processes. Elsewhere I have argued that, in Papua, missionary photographers and other visitors attempted through their photographs to convey the deeper meaning of Papuan cultures and to tackle the intensive study of limited areas, which A. C. Haddon claimed was the appropriate methodology for knowing others (Quanchi 1996; Stocking 1983). This strategy meant that "South Sea fellows and their wives," whom H. M. Dauncey praised effusively for bearing the brunt of mission work in Papua, were mostly excluded from the public visual record of missions. The emphasis on ethnography that characterized published mission imaging meant that pastors, already marginalized by the European-led mission power structure, were denied the acknowledgment that portraits, preaching scenes, or classroom views might have attracted to their efforts.

At the pragmatic level, a portrait of a pastor or a scene with a pastor preaching or teaching had to compete against fund-raising images such as mission launches, newly constructed chapels and churches, school buildings, and "teachers' houses." Images of launches, locally made cutters, dinghies, or bigger craft—the essential lifeline for remote mission stations—were a standard inclusion. The "teacher's house" also was a popular inclusion in mission publications, usually with the pastor dressed in European clothing and standing to the side. The launch and the "teacher's house" signaled success, achievement, and work in progress, and invited further donations to keep the mission going. The launch and house were signs of permanence. The Anglicans' Society for Propagating the Gospel, for example, published a fund-raising "album" with eight photographs and a short introduction about mission work and aims. The images included a "redeemed cannibal," three portraits of Papuans, and two village views, at Samarai and Aue. Mission work was highlighted by images of Wamira station, including the first church (a copy of an early photograph), a school, and the new St. Matthew's native church. Standing to the side in both the school and church photographs was a pastor, dressed in white. Donors to the mission were informed by a caption that the man at the left of the picture was the "South Sea Islander Teacher." For the public the physical construction (the building) was the focus, the mission's educating role (the school) a secondary interest, and the pastor merely an adjunct to the two central visual messages. When European missionaries wrote or spoke about their own work and grappled with problems confronting them in the church abroad—which the Bishop of Brisbane considered was "conscientious study" and an appropriate subject for a book (St. Clair 1911:vii)—they chose to use photographs that reinforced the link

between the mission and home churches in England and Australia. Mission authors and editors represented this link with images of mission vessels, whaleboats, or launches, toward which home church congregations were expected to give freely, not with images of pastors from the South Seas.

The LMS photographic archives show that European missionaries like Dauncey, Schlenker, and Butcher, at considerable personal expense, took series of photographs of their pastors, their wives, and their children. At Aird Hill, for example, B. T. Butcher posed with "my Samoan teacher and forty-six boys," while an unnamed missionary photographer took seven successive poses of a pastor and his family, also unnamed. The prints from these sittings with pastors, wives, and children in various poses on chairs or mission house steps, like others in loose collections and private albums, were never published. They were for personal use, perhaps by the pastors for sending back to their home communities and islands; but it is possible that pastors never saw their own image, particularly if the missionary died, moved on, or went home shortly after, or the visiting photographers failed to send prints back as they continued on their journey. The subject matter of the few substantial collections of work by missionary photographers suggests that taking private and personal photographs was not a priority. Recording the culture, artifacts, behavior, and appearance of Papuans seems to have dominated their photographic activities.

Surprisingly, there are few extant photographs of pastors teaching in school or preaching, though there are several staged compositions with pastors standing at the side or among their congregations or a curious village crowd. The absence of industrial or documentary photography of pastors at work is partly explained by the difficulty of taking indoor shots and of stage-managing a large crowd for the time required for a long exposure (see Figure 7).[11] It also related to the timing and introduction of the camera. When pastors were most active in Papua, between 1871 and 1900, there were only a few bulky wet- and dry-plate cameras taken on the long and arduous sea, river, and land journeys to new stations. Photographers also had a limited number of plates. More pressing imperatives determined the allocation of those plates for recording savages, heathens, and converts. Visitors also traveled from harbor to harbor visiting major settlements like Daru, Port Moresby, and Samarai, missing pastors stationed in remote and less accessible outposts. By the time roll film and box cameras became widely available, pastors were no longer leading the mission work, and pastors as subject matter were now competing against exciting ethnographic images to be collected in the Fly-Gulf division or in the Highlands. By 1930 there were only a few South Sea pastors left in Papua to photograph.

FIGURE 7. **LMS missionaries at a photography session. Photographed by the Rev. A. K. Chignell, date and place unknown, probably Samarai, ca. 1910.** (L. H. Stamp collection, PX*D119, no. 22, Michael Somare Library, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby)

A New Era

Certain images remained standards for mission imaging. A set of Anglican mission calendars from 1967 and 1968 reveals much the same imaging as in the pre- and post-1900 era. Church and mission photographers continued to take group portraits and individual "mug shots," though by the postwar period they were now of local, indigenous Papuan clergy.[12] In the early 1960s the Anglican Board of Missions produced a large display poster on their work in Melanesia. The ten black-and-white photographs covered the same subject matter as in the 1880–1930 period, including a group portrait of theological students on the steps of a school, three individual portraits (including the first two Melanesian Anglican bishops), the crew of a mission ship, images of a teacher, a nurse, and a printing machine operator, and a village scene where the sacrament was being taken. The remaining photograph was a European woman teacher with her class. Allowing for changes in clothing and excluding the printing machine and the nurse, these could have been taken in 1880 or 1890.

The prominence being given to Melanesian church workers in the 1960s, after a hiatus when pastors gradually disappeared from visual imaging in the 1900–1930 period, is explained by the indigenization of churches in the Pacific. Unfortunately for pastors, they were either poorly represented or excluded entirely from the visual record of all stages of the transition of governance from pioneering (dominated by pastors) to consolidation (dominated by Europeans) to indigenization (by Papuan clergy). In Papua, even during the pioneering stage, when pastors were central to mission success, the mission was European-led and pastors were either constructed in images that reinforced European hegemony or excluded from the visual record because they were from the South Seas and not Papuans. When indigenous Papuan church leaders claimed the governance of missions and churches in the 1960s, they also claimed space in the visual record and in the nationing process,[13] as Papua and New Guinea passed from colonial to independent nation status. As the transition occurred in the mission field from pioneering to indigenization and nation building, the inclusion and exclusion of foreign pastors is another dimension of the history of missions and of the complex evangelism-anthropology-colonial project in Papua.

NOTES

1. For example, these issues were raised by Alison Devine Nordström and Elizabeth Edwards in an exhibition catalog of Samoan photography (Blanton 1995:14–25, 49). The phrase "from sites of making to sites of use"—part of the title of an unpublished paper by Nordström (n.d.)—captures these entanglements neatly.

2. For example, Lawes took three group portraits of pastors in 1875, two in 1882, another in 1886, and one other that is undated; see Papuan Pictures, Box 4 (Lawes album dated 1885–1890). Another Lawes album dated 1875 is held in Papuan Pictures, Box 1, and further large prints in Papuan Pictures, Box 5. Church World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and Asian Studies, London (hereafter cited as CWM/SOAS).

3. A search of family albums and training-college records in Fiji, Samoa, Niue, and Tonga might reveal that pastors did indeed use photographs in this way, but to this point family holdings in source islands have not been the subject of research.

4. See Papuan Pictures, Box 7, PGLP series and PGPI series, CWM/SOAS. The categories for storage of Papuan photographs used by the LMS were "Church and Mission work," "General-landscape," "Documentary," "Impact of civilisation," "General-types," "Home life," "Crafts," "Manners and customs," and "Miscellaneous."

5. Lawes named twenty-nine teachers in forty-eight of the sixty-five photographs of pastors in his collection. He also used anonymous captions for seventeen other group portraits, such as "New Guinea students and wives" or "group of four Samoan teachers." For Matapo, see "Photos of groups of Papuans" (n.d.), Papua Pictures, Box 7, PaPiLp 5, CWM/SOAS.

6. For example, a series of photographs taken by H. M. Dauncey at Delena, Papua Pictures, Box 7, PaPgLp 26–28, 31, 38, and 45; and a series probably by H. P. Schlencker at Kalaigolo Mission, Papuan Pictures, Box 6, Pa2, 1–14, CWM/SOAS.

7. Lawes's photograph of Timoteo was available through his "New Guinea" catalog, print no. 330; Dauncey's photograph of Timoteo appeared in *Papuan Pictures* (1913: facing page 120). Pastors appear elsewhere; see ibid.: facing pp. 105, 120, 136, and 137. McIntyre and Mackenzie make the point that Dauncey's familiarity with Delena people enabled him to make a documentary record by taking casual snapshots of village life (1992:160). A similar familiarity, with colleagues and friends, shows in his imaging of pastors.

8. Etchings and later photographs of Ruatoka appeared regularly (in Chalmers and Gill 1885; Cousins 1894; Horne 1894; Chalmers 1895; Barradale 1907; King 1909; Nairne 1913; Bryant 1925), and six prints of Ruatoka alone or with his family were offered for purchase in Lawes's "New Guinea" catalog when it was made available through Kerry and Company of Sydney (1919). H. M. Dauncey wrote Ruatoka's obituary. See *The Chronicle,* November 1908, p. 207. Also see, Bryant 1925: Chap. 23, Reason 1947, and Crocombe 1982.

9. See Howell 1947, Rosenteil 1959, Rotberg 1965, Porter 1980, Coombes 1985, and Clymer 1986.

10. The limited interest in research on representation, imaging, and mission history in the Pacific is surprising. The few attempts to critique mission imaging in the Pacific include Quanchi 1995, Schutte n.d., Thomas 1992, Thomas 1993, and Webb 1995.

11. For a rare photograph, never published, see Papuan Pictures, Box 7, PaPgLp 77, CWM/SOAS. A pastor is shown with a European missionary and a European woman (playing an organ), leading an open-air service for 200 partly clothed Papuans under a large banyan tree.

12. Uncataloged photograph collection, Anglican Board of Missions, St. Martins House, Brisbane; and "New Guinea," uncataloged collection of lantern slides, Church House, Brisbane.

13. Images of indigenous clergy were used as propaganda by the former colonial power, Australia, and by the new nation, Papua New Guinea, to demonstrate the successful transition. The Papuan priest or minister represented the nation's success. The nation was in turn represented by the image of the Papuan priest or minister taking over the role of the European (and colonial) missionary. For the notion of "nationing" and the use of symbols and images to represent the nation in an Australian context, see Turner 1992.

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