"THE BRIDEGROOM COMETH": THE LIVES AND DEATHS OF QUEENSLAND MELANESIANS IN NEW GUINEA, 1893-1956

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A little-known migration in Oceania has been the movement of over eleven hundred Pacific Islander teachers and families between island groups in the service of Protestant missions. Among these migrants were Melanesian teachers who went to Papua New Guinea from the sugar fields of Queensland, having been recruited earlier by Australian labor traders from their homes in the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides.

Bachelor Melanesians from Queensland made up 70 percent of the staff of the Anglican Mission in northeastern Papua before World War I. They were meant to be cultural interpreters, smoothing the difficult road of understanding between the villagers and European mission agents. They were not as well educated as the seminary-trained Polynesian teachers from the Cook Islands, Samoa, and Fiji who served other Protestant missions; and their relations with Papuan peoples were based on cultural closeness and simplicity of life rather than patriarchal dominance. Their death rate far exceeded that of Europeans in the colony.

This article examines the recruitment for mission work of these "middle men," their expectations and performance, and their attitudes to their own illnesses and approaching deaths. Unlike Polynesians and Europeans, the Queensland Melanesians did not disappear from the land of their adoption: many of them married Papuan women, and their descendants have mingled with the people of Papua New Guinea.

In June 1987 the Ewage-speaking people of Gona village, in Oro Province, Papua New Guinea, staged a reenactment of the landing of the first Solomon Islander teachers with their English mission patrons some

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eighty years earlier.[1] Through song and dance, the coming of the Solomon Islanders was affirmed in popular memory beside that other event that made Gona and nearby Buna famous during World War II: the arrival of invading Japanese forces in 1942. Harry Locar of Malaita in the Solomons, the last of the South Sea Islander teachers among the Ewage-speaking people, died at Gona in 1952; the last islander teacher, Johnson Far, died at Dogura in the Milne Bay Province four years later. They were among several hundred South Sea Islanders who lived and died in New Guinea as part of the missionary endeavor to convert the Papuan people to Christianity.

The work of the South Sea Islander teachers has received little attention from anthropologists and historians, yet the records of the missions in Papua New Guinea contain valuable testimony of the teachers' contribution to cultural change. The title given to a little book about indentured Pacific Islander laborers in Queensland, *The Forgotten People*,[2] might well have been applied to the islander missionaries in New Guinea. "They leave their own islands . . . and lead a life of privation and monotonous isolation amongst the Papuans," wrote William MacGregor, first Administrator of British New Guinea, and "many die in service . . . unknown and unheeded by the 'outside world.' "[3] Altogether, over eleven hundred Polynesian, Micronesian, and Melanesian teachers and their wives traveled to other Pacific Island groups in the service of the Protestant missions.

Beginning in the 1820s, when Tahitian teachers had begun to spread the faith of evangelical Christianity to the Cook Islands and Tonga, the use of Pacific Islanders as agents became a standard Protestant missionary practice. In Papua New Guinea, a corps of Loyalty Islanders was sent by the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) in 1871 to staff its pioneer mission. The Loyalty Islanders in Papua and the Torres Straits were joined by groups of Rarotongans from 1872; then the Rarotongans were overtaken numerically by the Samoans, whose initial party arrived at Port Moresby in 1883. Fijians made up the majority in the first Methodist mission contingents sent to New Britain and the D'Entrecasteaux group in 1875 and 1891 respectively. Similarly, the Anglican Mission, whose initial party arrived in northeastern Papua in August 1891, came to be represented by Melanesian and European agents in almost equal numbers during the first two decades of work by the Church of England, In the field claimed by the Anglicans on the northeast coast of Papua, as elsewhere, village people in many places first heard the gospel stories as they squatted on the sand with other Pacific Islanders.

"You Send Me Down to New Guinea"

Working as agents of the Church of England in New Guinea before 1910 were 144 men and women. They may be divided into three distinct groups: sixty-four Europeans, nearly all from Britain and Australia, supervised thirty-three indigenous Papuan staff, products of the mission itself. The remaining forty-seven came originally from the western Pacific, from the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) and the Solomon Islands. All non-Roman Catholic missions at work in British New Guinea—L. M. S., Methodist, and Anglican—used Pacific Islanders; unlike their neighbors, however, the Anglicans possessed no missionary bases in Polynesia. The sole Anglican agency in the Pacific before 1891, the Melanesian Mission, was still in its infancy and provided New Guinea with none of its converts.[4] The initial Anglican effort in New Guinea was meager indeed: two clergymen led a small working group to Goodenough Bay in eastern mainland Papua. This compared unfavorably with the Methodists' party of seventy strong, including Fijians —claimed at the time to be the largest mission company ever sent to a foreign field. MacGregor had already published his opinion that the Anglicans could not hope to occupy their field, which encompassed three hundred miles of coastline, without "at least a score" of South Sea Islander teachers.[5]

For their islander agency, then, the Anglicans turned to the Melanesian converts of their church already resident in Australia. Thus the South Seas teachers who contacted village populations in northeastern New Guinea had all been adrift from their home islands and domiciled in Australia for some years. In Queensland, the Melanesians were invariably referred to as "Polynesian" or *"Kanaka"* (man), though their descendants in Australia now prefer the designation South Sea Islander. Being among the sixty-two thousand islanders recruited for colonial sugar plantations between 1863 and 1904, the Melanesians had taken part in a circular migration pattern between their home islands and the Australian colonies, having been engaged (or, in the early years, taken by deception) for work in Queensland. This total includes many who had remained in Queensland or had been recruited again for the colonies after returning to their homes following an initial three years' service. The majority of the Melanesian laborers were young, unmarried males.[6]

The churches' initial efforts to reach the South Sea Islanders in Queensland were paltry and sporadic. For the churches, the European population spreading from towns made the outback seem the more

urgent flock. The Brisbane Church Chronicle bewailed the fact that many Melanesians who might be the means of carrying civilization into the Pacific were returning to their islands in no way bettered by their sojourn in Queensland.[7] Beginning in the late 187Os, attempts were made to overcome the evangelistic paralysis of the major churches. Schools were opened for Pacific Islanders by Anglican clergy at Bundaberg and on the Herbert River. The evangelical cause was represented at Bundaberg after 1882 by Florence Young, founder of the Queensland Kanaka Mission.[8] To reach the greatest concentration of islanders, in Mackay, missions were conducted by Presbyterians at Homebush and Walkerston, while two devout Anglican women opened night schools. Elizabeth Watt Martin and Mary Goodwin Robinson offered instruction after 1882 to Melanesians in reading and arithmetic, singing, and scripture "to make them good Christian citizens."[9] Mrs. Robinson's school later became known as the Selwyn Mission. But such efforts were exceptional, and it was unsurprising that only two thousand out of eight thousand islanders in the colony in 1895 were numbered as converts of any Christian sect.[10]

In the 1880s two Anglican clergymen in Queensland conceived a particular interest in the Melanesians. One was the Reverend Albert Maclaren. A Scotsman born in England, he prepared for missionary work at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, but was rejected for service in Africa on grounds of health. Maclaren had then migrated to Queensland, where he was ordained. Appointed to Mackay, Maclaren won the esteem of the four thousand Europeans in the parish and the two thousand South Sea Islanders on the nearby plantations. He, in turn, encouraged the educational work of the Selwyn Mission among Melanesians: "It seems a great pity that something is not done for these poor fellows when they come to our country." He added reproachfully, "The white people are against my doing anything in the way of teaching them, their argument being that they pay me not to look after the souls of black but of white people."[11] Maclaren was commissioned by the primate of Australia, Bishop Alfred Barry of Sydney, to lead the New Guinea Mission and (though dying four months after arriving in the field) his links with the islanders were maintained by his successors in New Guinea. When islanders moved from the plantations south to Brisbane there was an influx into the schoolrooms run by the Church of England at St. John's Procathedral. Canon Montagu Stone-Wigg, subdean of the cathedral, had begun classes for Melanesians and acquired a home in South Brisbane for men with a church connection.[12] Maclaren had hoped to recruit Stone-Wigg for his New Guinea staff: but after his

consecration as first bishop of New Guinea, Stone-Wigg made the South Seas agency an important part of his expansionist policies. On a single return visit to Queensland alone, Stone-Wigg engaged twenty South Seas volunteers. Thus the first priest and the first bishop of the mission brought to New Guinea strong personal associations with the Queensland Melanesians.

Among those who had drifted south to Brisbane in the wake of the 1891 sugar industry recession were two islanders, Harry Mark and Willie Miwa of Maewo island in the New Hebrides. They were the first to respond to the call to preach to the Papuans. Overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task in New Guinea and encouraged by MacGregor's testimony as to the usefulness of Polynesians to the L. M. S., the Anglicans wasted no time in pointing to the divine command to do the work of an evangelist as a convert's duty. In particular the New Guinea cause was urged on Melanesians by Canon Stone-Wigg, and the first to volunteer were scholars at St. John's School, Mark and Miwa among them. Mark and Miwa offered to go in 1893. A service of commissioning was held, and the islanders were farewelled. A second party left two years later. At their valediction in Brisbane, the second group of Melanesian missionaries-to-be told their audience how they had come to Australia in ignorance of God and had learned of his goodness and love. They now felt compelled to tell others who were still ignorant of those glorious truths and so were going to New Guinea.[13]

But this was not the whole story. Melanesians assumed that since missionaries had status and respect in society, they too would be accorded status and respect if they became missionaries. Their religious motives were overlaid by other considerations. Their elaborate dress in missionary photographs—waistcoats, watch chains, striped trousers, and straw hats—speak of a desire for a white man's rank. One volunteer, William Maso of Palmer island in the New Hebrides, was a coachman-gardener in Brisbane. Another, John Dow, was the son of a Fijian sailor shipwrecked on the north Queensland coast who subsequently married one of his Aboriginal rescuers. A few were domestic servants in the suburbs of Brisbane. Offering her servant Joe to Stone-Wigg, Mrs. Lucy Benson conceded that he was no missionary zealot, but was of excellent character, honest and sober. She did not know whether he would like teaching but he would certainly help the bishop to boss the boys: "Give Joe a position and make him feel his responsibility and he would do well."[14]

The secular aspect of missionary enthusiasm therefore cannot be overlooked. The South Sea Islanders could look forward to the attrac-

tive prospect of a £25 yearly missionary salary, paid quarterly. This compared favorably with Melanesian laborers' wages that averaged £8 in Mackay and £20.1 in Maryborough in 1901.[15] The extra money could purchase such luxuries as shirts, hair oil, scented water, and tinned meat. Some islanders wanted to enlist because their friends were going. Peter Mussen of Ashfield, Sydney, said he wanted to go with his friend Willie Holi of Brisbane; both men later made an important impression in the Anglican mission. From Thursday Island, Jack Newa asked the head of Dogura station to let him come to New Guinea with his friend Ambrose Gela: "If he go, I would go with him. Please tell me whether you want any teachers," he wrote.[16] Moreover, the Melanesians had known of the New Guineans who had worked earlier in the Queensland sugar fields and considered them men "of their own kind." Between 1895 and 1906 no fewer than sixteen Selwyn scholars from Mackay and eight from Bundaberg threw in their lot with their companions and journeyed to the Anglican headquarters at Dogura in Goodenough Bay, Smaller groups came from schools on Thursday Island, the Herbert River, Maryborough, Brisbane, and Ashfield.[17] European privileges on a mission and Anglican status were assets not to be turned down lightly. "I will come Down to Bundaberg," wrote prospective candidate John Gela to his teacher, "and you send me Down to New Guinea. I like it very much to go there for the way of life."[18]

So worldly motives were well mixed with the spiritual ambitions usually associated with missionary endeavor. But, from the beginning, a strong religious and sacrificial element appears to have been in evidence among Melanesian candidates. Edgar Meduedue, a Papuan student who accompanied Stone-Wigg to the South Sea Islander schools of Queensland, told Papuan villagers that in North Queensland "the Bishop preached to the Islanders. . . . He asked them to come to New Guinea. It would not be for money or for food, but to do God's work, and then at last they would die in New Guinea. He said the same thing in Bundaberg."[19] The fact that ten Melanesians in Bundaberg and forty Melanesians in other centers forsook the opportunity to return home and instead went "Down to New Guinea," where at last they died, cannot be understood in terms of the allure of secular status and salary alone.

The arrival of Harry Mark and Willie Miwa at the New Guinea Mission in May 1893 was looked upon by the staff as a momentous event. Melanesians were now going to preach to other Melanesians, and their interposition would smooth the difficult road of understanding between Europeans and the villagers. The Wamira people shouted a loud

"Kaion" (Greetings) to the two islanders as they landed.[20] After his first attack of fever at Dogura, Mark was installed at Awaiama near Taupota, where two men had been hanged by MacGregor in 1889 for murdering a white trader. Here there was trouble. A syncretistic Christian cult had been launched by Abrieka Dipa, a former laborer returned from Townsville who had been an intermediary in the sale of Dogura plateau to Maclaren in 1891.[21] With a red calico band on his arm, Dipa was conducting prayers and religious instruction known as *tapwaroro.* According to the mission's senior priest, the Dipa sect had become entirely separate from the English mission and was holding its own services. Anyone who opened his or her eyes during prayers was liable to be beaten with a stick. Soon Mark was trying to impose orthodoxy on the followers of the wayward Dipa, holding school, and canvassing Taupotans "to tell them no work Sunday."[22]

Miwa died shortly afterwards near Cape Vogel from a meal of poisonous fish for which the sorcerers claimed credit, although the missionary had told the people that his illness was due to natural causes. Despite this melancholy beginning, a number of Melanesians swelled the mission staff before the turn of the century. Four teachers joined the mission before 1897, and in 1898 the address of welcome by the mission staff to Stone-Wigg was signed by seven islanders. During the first two decades of missionary work in New Guinea, the Anglican diocese was more Melanesian than European in character. After 1904 the South Sea Islanders outnumbered the Europeans; for a period of several years after 1907 over 70 percent of the foreign staff of the Anglican mission were Melanesians.[23]

Islander teachers were endowed with abilities that helped them carry the prayers and hymns of the mission to many firesides on the beaches of northeastern Papua. The first resident missionaries at Awaiama (Harry Mark, 1893), Menapi (Willie Miwa, 1893), Wamira (Jack Newa, 1895), Boianai (Willie Holi and Robert Tasso, 1895), and Naniu (William Maso) were all Melanesians. David Tatu accompanied Europeans in 1900 when the first permanent mission was established on the Mamba River in northern Papua.[24] The fragmentary records extant suggest that villagers had little trouble adjusting to the Melanesians. Accompanying Willie Holi to Boianai in 1895, E. H. Clark wrote that "Holi being a dark-skinned man was not so extraordinary to them, but I being white was a great curiosity. . . . Some of them said I was a child of the Sun."[25] Sharing a common cultural background with the people, the missionaries from the New Hebrides and the Solomons had considerable success with their congregations. At first, it is true, they were baffled by the lin-

guistic intricacies of the local dialects—Wedauan in Goodenough Bay, Ubir in Collingwood Bay, and Binandere on the Mamba River. But as Dick Fohohlie explained in a letter to Mary Robinson in Mackay, this was overcome by contact with the villagers: "I don't understand much of the language here yet—it is hard. Nothing is wrong with us. . . . On Sundays we go to other places to hold services. Some places are too far then two of us go on a Saturday morning—sleep there—and Sunday morning after Service held we come back to 'Ambasi'—the name of this place where I live. . . . There is not one Christian here yet in Ambasi—it is a new place."[26]

One missionary, Timothy Gori, had great difficulties in 1904 with the language of his village, apparently as troublesome a language to him as English. He poured out his difficulties in a letter to Dogura: "Please Bishop of New Guinea am very sorry am . . . [unable] to quite understand this language . . . please you send me home in Gela." In spite of such problems, Stone-Wigg could say that the teachers his mission attracted might not be great scholars but at least they were all men "of the very best type."[27]

The Exemplar

Some Melanesians in northeastern Papua were well fitted for the task of interpreting Christianity to village people. The special role of the New Hebridean James Nogar in articulating the gospel message was vividly remembered in Collingwood Bay. Born in 1876 at Sonamlo, Tana, Nogar was recruited, probably at the age of seventeen, for work in the Tweed River fields south of Brisbane. Since older men on Tana controlled marriage and monopolized eligible women, young bachelors such as Nogar had fewer ties to keep them from traveling. Known as a "thoroughly good fellow and very willing to work,"[28] Nogar was seen by an Anglican parson in the Tweed fields and offered the position of supervisor of islander scholars at St. Barnabas' School, Bungalore.

Energetic, masterful, and not without ambition, Nogar accepted the superintendent's post and was baptized on All Saints' Day 1894, having renounced his father Yogai's Presbyterian connection. In the following year he obtained Anglican confirmation at the hands of Bishop Green of Grafton and Armidale. Soon he determined to seal his new status in the farming community by proposing marriage to a young white lady in the Tumbulgum church choir. This brought him down. The sugar planters, indignant at Nogar's audacity, easily turned his fellow laborers against him and St. Barnabas' School emptied. "There has been a good deal of

jealousy that Nogar was ever made a teacher," wrote his clergyman. "He will never be a success there."[29] When the work languished, Nogar and his friend Fred Menena (or Menema), who had been at Stone-Wigg's school in Brisbane, elected to labor in a more productive field and accompanied the bishop to New Guinea. Nogar left Brisbane on the steamer *Titus*, having been photographed clad in the striped tie and straw boater, black coat and trousers he had worn on the day in 1897 when he had proposed marriage to the planter's daughter on the Tweed.[30]

Wanigela, with its population of over five hundred, was recognized as one of the best organized and most prosperous communities on the north Papuan coast. The people were engaged in continual warfare with the Doriri of the Musa River and had already engaged in an affray with MacGregor's constabulary. "There will be rough work there," wrote King, "and we want fellows with plenty of game in them, and with good heads on their shoulders."[31] Nogar was an obvious choice and arrived at Wanigela on 12 July 1898. Within two years the enterprising New Hebridean was turning his career to good account. He applied for a lay reader's license, declaring that he "allowed the Book of Common Prayer to be agreeable to the Word of God" and that he would "knowingly teach nothing contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England as contained in the Thirty-Nine Articles."[32] But he saw no harm in a little side business. By 1899 Nogar was conducting a flourishing trade in Maisin artifacts and was selling curios at £2 10s. each, with a cut rate of £1 10s. to trading confederates.[33]

Nogar thoroughly concurred with the Reverend Wilfred Abbot's vigorous handling of the proud Wanigela people. At first Abbot found Nogar "obstinate" but the two soon adjusted to each other.[34] Both the clergyman and his lieutenant believed in the maxim about not sparing the rod, and night school as well as day school became compulsory at Wanigela. Children were instructed in the morning, and their fathers, home from fishing and hunting, were corralled by the vigilant Melanesian into learning their letters in the evening. When Abbot promised Lieutenant Governor Sir George Le Hunte that he would erect government buildings at Tufi for the first magistrate, C. A. W. Monckton, Nogar executed the order in the teeth of opposition from the Korafe residents of Cape Nelson. Wrote Abbot, "[Jimmy] has quite adopted my methods of dealing with unruly natives. They had not cut a stick or plaited a leaf before his arrival. . . . The chief men threatened to kill any man who did a stroke of work. Jimmy promised the two chiefs a big hiding if they did not set their men on the work immediately. The rebel-

lion was quelled."[35] At least once, three years later, Jimmy put his threat of a beating into action, severely thrashing a Wanigela girl. The girl died the day afterwards. Copland King, the clergyman who went to inquire into the incident, learned that the girl's father had attributed her death to poison. "I told Jimmy he could make that explanation to those who spoke to him," wrote King.[36] Nogar was simply reprimanded.

In June 1901 Nogar was in charge of Wanigela mission. He was observed by Lieutenant Governor Le Hunte conducting the largest school in the mission, made up of seventy children and seventeen boarders, who "sang a hymn in their own language with their arms folded." Le Hunte wrote of a striking difference between the children of Wanigela and those of neighboring Uiaku. Nogar's students looked "as if they had no more knowledge of savagery or of fighting" than children in rural England.[37]

In many other ways, however, Nogar was sympathetic to the traditional preoccupations of Papuan villagers. He counseled the village constable, Nonis, to stay awake in the evening to combat the influence of evil spirits. Even visiting officer C. A. W. Monckton noticed Nogar's apparent fear of the power of *puri puri* (magic). In conversation with Monckton, the lay missionary P. J. Money said he was "of the opinion that in spite of the Mission's teaching Jimmy still had an inclination towards his native belief in sorcery."[38] The Reverend A. K. Chignell was less circumspect, saying that among the weaknesses of the Queensland Melanesians at Wanigela was "to get up in the middle of the night and fire off guns on [the] verandah, to scare away the *Daus* ('spirits') that most Melanesians, as well as every Papuan, dreads."[39]

In the daytime, away from nocturnal spirits, Nogar's energetic work was noticed by Monckton, who commended the unusually large attendance at St. Peter's School. Outside school hours Nogar mediated between quarreling clansmen. When two rival factions met in battle array in the villages, it was recorded that bloodshed had been prevented only by the "bravery and determination" of the New Hebridean.[40] Hoping to further the enforcement of peace, Nogar offered to accompany Monckton and the Administrator of British New Guinea, Captain F. R. Barton, in an expedition against the marauding Doriri. To Nogar's chagrin, however, Stone-Wigg decided that missionaries should not be identified as armed combatants, and Barton set off leaving him in the classroom.[41]

One problem that particularly troubled South Sea Islanders was the state of celibacy in which Anglican agents were enjoined to live. A handsome man like Nogar was so plagued by village women that he had

to appeal to Stone-Wigg: "My Lord remember me in your prayers to God because temptation very strong."[42] In 1899 Wilfred Abbot confided, "He [Jimmy] *is pure,* a great thing." But later, Abbot—whose relations with Melanesian teachers were anything but harmonious—suspected that Nogar had succumbed. This the harassed teacher strenuously denied: "Mr. Abbot . . . think I did samthing [sic] wrong in Wanigela," he wrote, "but he not true I call him lie he tell you same thing. I very sorry to he[a]r he lie."[43] Nogar decided to end his state of celibacy in May 1903 and married Mary Maniarun of Kumarbun village.

Compared with some of his islander contemporaries, who were "not nearly strong enough" for the Maisin, Nogar was credited with having gained an immense influence over the people between Wanigela and Cape Nelson.[44] In spite of Nogar's difficulties with written English, his letters convey the imperative spirit in which he introduced Christianity. Returning from a visit to the Winiafi of Cape Nelson, he wrote to his bishop: "I say you all won [want] missionary in your place all says we [want] you if you would come and I say I see about it my Lord."[45] Nogar made a major contribution toward the planting of mission Christianity in Collingwood Bay. "Less than twelve years a Christian, eight years a missionary! Does not that represent the spirit of the New Testament?" exclaimed Stone-Wigg.[46] Esteemed by magistrate and missionary, fully occupied at his large school at Wanigela, and accepted by his Maisin kinsmen as one of their own, Nogar worked for three more years in Collingwood Bay. When he died of fever at the age of thirty, he was buried in the midst of "the greatest lamentation and mourning from the whole population." Stone-Wigg's epitaph for Nogar perhaps best summed up the Anglican ideal for the Pacific Islander teacher: "a herald of the Gospel, simple, unlearned, faithful unto death."[47]

Morbidity and Mortality

Nogar had been ill for only a week when he died. Unexpected illness and sudden death dogged the islanders in all agencies of all missions in New Guinea from the start—not only the Anglican. In the L.M.S. field, the high death rate of Pacific Islander teachers was a cause of much anxiety among the society's European superintendents. One of them devoted an article in the *Australasian Medical Gazette* to an analysis of mortality among the teachers.[48] The major causes of death among Rarotongans, Samoans, Niueans, and others seem to have been malaria and pneumonia, but the full scope of ailments contracted by Polynesians is a

matter involving some speculation. "How terribly they suffer!" wrote E. Pryce Jones from the L. M. S. station of Moru in the Papuan Gulf. "It is a wonder that any work is accomplished, seeing what a number of breaks there are through illness."[49] At the society's institute for Papuan teachers at Vatorata east of Port Moresby, a memorial window in the chapel reminded students that in the thirty years from the opening of L.M.S. work in their country in 1871 until 1901, eighty-two Polynesian missionaries had died in New Guinea. By 1916 another forty had died. The deaths of wives and children—the latter not always recorded—would have brought the total by 1916 to a minimum of 160.

In Queensland the high Melanesian death rate has been cited as proof of harsh treatment meted out to the South Sea Islanders. One statistic has frequently been quoted: over the four decades of the Queensland labor trade (1863-1904), fifty Melanesians in every one thousand died each year on an average. These were young men and women in the prime of life, aged mainly between sixteen and thirty-five. The death rate among European males in the colony of similar age to the predominantly male Melanesian population was closer to nine or ten in every one thousand.[50] Until the completion of work by K. E. Saunders, P. M. Mercer, and C. R. Moore on Pacific Islander hospitals and indigenous healing practices in the 1970s,[51] historians had tended merely to catalogue the more obvious causes listed by late nineteenth-century observers: lack of immunity to disease, long hours and monotonous work, poor accommodations, and so on. Following Saunders's studies, C. R. Moore compiled a representative sample of mortality in Mackay and Maryborough listing sixteen possible causes of death. Of the 426 deaths in Moore's case study, spanning the three decades before 1895, respiratory diseases were the most frequent (tuberculosis, pneumonia, bronchitis, pleurisy: 131 deaths). Next most frequent were infectious diseases (cholera, typhus, typhoid, dysentery, measles: 70 deaths) and gastrointestinal illnesses (65 deaths).[52]

In falling victim to illness, newly arrived Melanesians in Queensland fared far worse than the returned Melanesian laborers. The death rate of first-generation laborers was three times greater on average than that of the others. At Mackay, for instance, every one of the 1,514 Melanesian deaths in the period 1882-1884 was of an islander who had resided in Queensland for fewer than three years.[53] If, however, a Melanesian survived his first three years in Queensland his chances of living to old age were good. The gradual numerical increase of more seasoned workers in the time-expired and ticket-holding groups[54] meant that as the labor trade progressed, the average crude death rate declined.

As such recent studies show, when assailed by disease in an epidemic such as measles, the newly arrived Melanesians tended to succumb. Many died in Pacific Islander hospitals, where primitive treatment and often insanitary conditions hindered rather than helped recovery.[55] The reaction of other ailing recently arrived laborers, to run away and refuse help, was typical of thousands of Melanesians who found themselves ill in a foreign land surrounded by alien people. In his salient research on epidemiology and the slave trade, P. D. Curtin argues that the most significant immunities are acquired, not inherited. Childhood disease environment is the crucial factor in determining immunities among a population. The genetic makeup of a community is important, according to Curtin, insofar as each succeeding generation will shift slightly towards a tendency to mild rather than fatal infection.[56]

The more isolated a human community, the more specialized and individual its disease environment is likely to become. Thus Polynesia and Melanesia with their small, isolated communities were sheltered, the whole from the outside world and each from the other.[57] As a result, the sudden interaction with Europeans, Aboriginals, and Chinese was devastating to the newly arrived Queensland recruits.

In addition, there were also sharp conceptual differences between European and Melanesian understanding of illness and death in the nineteenth century. Melanesians commonly assumed that misfortune was caused by sorcery uttered by enemies. As Moore notes, the strange food and acccompanying gastrointestinal illnesses, although not always directly responsible for deaths, must have exacerbated anxiety felt by Melanesians that they were being attacked by spirits.[58] Moore ascribes the high rate of morbidity and mortality not simply to a lack of physiological immunity to a variety of diseases, but also to a lack of psychological resistance. Since Melanesians typically attributed disease and death to sorcery, becoming ill or being "poisoned" in Queensland must have seemed especially threatening to the sufferer. The assumption that recovery was impossible, and the rapid descent to passivity and death following the onset of illness, put in mind the condition known colloquially as "fatalism."

In the New Guinea mission field it is not surprising that the death rate among Queensland Melanesians far exceeded mortality among the other volunteer groups on the staff. Of the sixty-four Europeans, twelve were clergy; only one of these apart from Maclaren died in the field. Of the twenty European women staff members among the sixty-four, only one succumbed; and among laymen, only two of thirty-two present died. This represented a death rate in service of 17 percent among

clergy and 8 percent among European lay workers between 1891 and 1909. Mortality was similarly low among the young Papuan pupil teachers employed by the mission. By contrast, the death rate in service of Queensland Melanesians in New Guinea was 25 percent for the same period.

The causes of death among Melanesians in New Guinea have not been comprehensively reported. Living conditions were poor for Melanesian teachers dwelling in sago-palm thatched huts (though European staff living beyond the better-equipped stations at Dogura and Mukawa did not fare much better). Melanesian teachers grew vegetables, caught fish, and complemented their subsistence diet with rice supplied by the mission. In the dry season they were forced to become largely rice eaters. Diet does not seem to have contributed to morbidity and mortality. Among those islander teachers the nature of whose illnesses are known, malaria, consumption, and pneumonia are prominently listed.

Belief in the power of sorcery was an enduring force among Melanesians in Queensland[59] and it is most unlikely that it played no part in the Queensland Melanesian interaction with Papuans. James Nogar's advice to a villager about avoiding *puri puri* has already been noted.[60] Nonetheless, the Queensland Melanesians whose lives and deaths have been documented do not seem to have been in the thrall of belief in the power of sorcery. Willie Miwa, the first islander to die, roundly told listeners in 1893 that a meal of poisoned fish, not sorcery, had brought about his illness. Willie Holi and Jack Newa, though apprehensive about the prospect of physical violence, remained unmoved by threats from sorcerers. Thomas Bebete, "a very strong character," was sent to Menapi to put down manifestations of sorcery "rife" there.[61] Sixteen years after Miwa's death, his companion Harry Mark succumbed to a chill, having much to say during his decline, but without any accusations of witchcraft. Quiet resignation, not a show of fatalism, seems to have been the manner in which the South Sea Islander staff anticipated their passing. In this they resembled their European mentors. One of the oldest of the teachers, Alfred Rerep from Mackay, used the Mukawa version of a phrase from Psalm 19 to express his last thoughts before dying of tuberculosis: "*Tabinewau e botubotu*" (The bridegroom cometh).[62]

Such expressions of resignation, after all, were not foreign to the missionary ethos in which the Queensland Melanesians worked. The capacity of a missionary, black or white, to endure hardship was closely related to a mentality that glorified death and accepted suffering without complaint. To the European, mainly Anglo-Catholic, mentors of

the South Sea Islanders, fever, discomfort, and death were signs of the life of renunciation that would be rewarded ultimately by the triumph of the cross. Suffering was part of the divine plan; to question the wisdom of the plan suggested lack of trust in Providence. "Those damned churchmen are like the Papists," said M. H. Moreton to a fellow magistrate, "plenty of them willing to be martyrs."[63] The remark of the Papuan observer on the New Guinea bishop's telling his Melanesian audiences in Queensland that they would die in New Guinea if they volunteered evokes this spirit well.[64] Sacrifice, not sorcery, was the motif of islander death speeches.

Years later, an anthropologist visiting northeastern Papua marveled at the remote, almost sealed-off existence of the Dogura community.[65] New Guinea Anglicans were remote not only from the world of magistrates and merchants, but from other missions as well. While the churchmen in their isolated environment sanctified poverty and suffering, their Protestant neighbors adopted a less austere and more pragmatic policy. The Methodist general secretary of missions, the Reverend George Brown (1887-1908), argued that there was a religion of the body as well as of the soul, and told his mission staff in New Guinea that they had no more right to break laws given to preserve life and health than to break those given for their spiritual conduct. No one, Brown advised a Methodist minister stationed close to the Anglican coast, would expect a man to endanger his health in New Guinea.[66] The Anglican bishops at Dogura who supervised the Melanesian and European staff belonged to a more idealistic, less practical school that believed a missionary, like a soldier, could retreat from a position won only with disgrace.

"Our people die well" was a Fijian missionary saying.[67] It might have applied equally to Queensland Melanesians in New Guinea. Some of these mixed attributes of soldiery and resignation were evident in the death of Harry Mark in 1909. Like other Queensland islanders, Mark was fond of making journeys into the mountains behind the New Guinea coast to preach. On one of these chilly mountain visits he caught pneumonia, which resulted in his death. Henry Newton, acting head of the mission, reported the sequel:

> The ambulance was sent to the river, the stretcher was taken on, and he was carried on it. . . . He did not seem to think his illness would be fatal . . . he knew we were short-handed. . . . "We are soldiers of Christ" were words he was constantly repeating. . . . Before the funeral, the school children were

> taken in for a last view of their teacher's face, four at a time, and then the men and then the women in the same way. . . . It was a wonderful sight to see big, old men bursting into tears when their teacher's face was uncovered.[68]

For Queensland Melanesians in New Guinea, moreover, resignation to hardship and death in New Guinea was enforced by severe practical limitations. The closure of Queensland by the Pacific Island Labourers Act of the Commonwealth Parliament in 1901 had left the islander teachers with no home other than the mission they had chosen to employ them in New Guinea. They had already decided once not to return to their islands. Before Federation in 1901, Queensland Melanesians such as Holi had been under contract to the Australian Board of Missions to work for a fixed term, usually of one year; further contracts beyond a year could be determined by negotiation, with either party giving three months' notice before termination and departure. One or two Melanesians had resigned from the mission before 1900 and returned to Queensland.[69] But the Immigration Restriction Act, passed at the same time as the Pacific Island Labourers Act, effectively prevented reentry to Australia for non-Europeans, and made it difficult for islanders even to take holidays in the south. The acting head of the mission had to write directly to the prime minister, Sir Edmund Barton, to allow islander Dick Bourke to reenter Australia on furlough in 1903. By 1905 the mission's *Paper of Conditions* was stipulating the ideal of "indefinite service" for both Europeans and Melanesians in New Guinea. Only three islanders thereafter were given permission to return to Australia or their home island, dispensation from a lifetime of service being given on grounds of previous matrimony.

If the conviction that service was for a lifetime was strongly held in the mission, it had little force among the European laymen, the staff group that most closely approximated the islanders in sex and unmarried status. Able to return to Australia, these single European males could not afford to stay too long as volunteers in the prime of life if they hoped to establish themselves and raise a family afterward. Of the thirty-two white males who volunteered in the twenty years from 1891 to 1911, more than half stayed only one term, or at most two.[70] The lifetime of service upheld by the mission had more practical impact on the Queensland Melanesians, who literally had nowhere else to go.

Mark had been in New Guinea for sixteen years before dying, Nogar for eight, and a number of Queensland Melanesians eventually lived there for more than three decades. While the South Sea Islander death

rate in New Guinea was higher than the European death rate, their mortality was still markedly lower than among their compatriots in the Queensland labor trade. Consistent with Curtin's analysis, this was only to be expected; the New Guinea volunteers were among those already toughened by previous exposure to an exotic disease environment. They were among the survivors: a transfer from Queensland to New Guinea was preceded by at least two, or even three, terms away from their home islands, with a correspondingly high resistance to disease.

Sex, Marriage, and Career

Having survived the passage into a new environment in New Guinea, the great majority of teachers could now face the prospect of settling down for a long life on the mission. Of the ultimate domestic questions facing young men, that of sex and marriage was the most persistent. Willie Kyliu from Gairloch on the Herbert River was the only volunteer to bring a wife, Annie.[71] Melanesian and European laymen together totaled seventy-nine unmarried males on the mission between 1891 and 1909. The Europeans came from a metropolitan, English-derived society in which racial intermarriage was frowned upon. Two bachelor European laymen who fell in love with Papuan mission girls—Sydney Ford at Dogura and Eric Giblin at Mukawa—were not permitted to marry.[72] Both later left the mission, largely on that account. Moreover, the milieu of the New Guinea Mission was celibate and monastic, so married men were rejected even when their spouses were of the same race.

It is therefore not surprising that a Queensland Melanesian volunteer described by the bishop's commissary, H. M. Shuttleworth, as "first rate" was rebuffed because of his European wife. "The worst of it is the fellows that offer have got wives for the most part," wrote the commissary. "There is too ready a disposition to forsake all (!) when I object to the white wife. . . . A *white* wife seems impossible to me," Shuttleworth concluded. "Please let me have your views about wives white and black."[73] Overwhelmingly, the mission was to be staffed by single people. Before 1910 a clause was inserted into the mission's *Paper of Conditions* forbidding "matrimonial or other engagements." Two Melanesians, Peter Sukoku and Thomas Bebete, worked for three years at Menapi before mission leaders realized that they were married and had left their families behind in the Solomon Islands. They were released from service.

In areas of northeastern Papua unmarried islander, teachers worked in an atmosphere not conducive to celibacy, an atmosphere, according

to P. J. Money, "of fornication and abortion with occasional clouds of adultery and infanticide."[74] A few teachers succumbed and had to he suspended. Only one was reported to the government. Philip Nodi was jailed for an offense at Wedau: he had kept a schoolgirl in class and put her on his knee with his trousers unbuttoned. Some Wedauans were watching through the open schoolroom window, and they did not rest until Nodi was sentenced to six months in jail at Samarai.[75]

Most teachers who found the strain unendurable were treated with compassion. When Willie Pettawa had a sexual relationship with a favorite girl at Wanigela, he had a dream in which Jesus Christ appeared, telling him to repent and saying he would have to suffer some time for his sake.[76] Money was sensitive to the matter of Melanesian celibacy: "Many of the S.S.I. teachers have had trouble of this kind; they are very close to the Papuan in sympathy and general living in their native homes and I am not surprised that they fall in a sin which, I, a foreigner, in every sense . . . find so hard to keep free from. To me the temptation is severe. What must it be like to them? I make no boast of having withstood it for wicked lustful thoughts have often filled my mind."[77]

European bachelors who fell short of the celibate ideal of the mission were treated more severely than Melanesians. In matters of sexual morality the mission leaders expected less of a South Sea Islander than of a European. Nonetheless, a Melanesian who found it difficult to withstand a woman's advances or made overtures himself and "fell" was suspended and made to do manual work. A European who erred sexually was dismissed. To avoid this, at least one Melanesian protected a European from betrayal. Thus Nogar did not inform his superiors about a sexual scandal involving three Wanigela women and Norman Dodds, the engineer on the mission launch *Albert Maclaren.* To Nogar's surprise, Newton chastised him for concealing the Dodds affair: "When you heard you should have spoken at once so that people would know that sin is bad with Missionaries and with New Guinea people just the same. . . . You keep quiet and say nothing and . . . that makes a bad thing very much worse. . . . Bishop put at Wanigela to help Gods work not to stop Gods work. This time you stop God's work and it is very bad."[78]

The Melanesians' attempts to solve their problems sometimes offended Papuan villagers as well as missionaries. In 1898 Willie Holi asked King to write to the Melanesian mission school on Norfolk Island to obtain a wife for him. "But then," Holi anxiously asked, "s'pose I no like her face when she come?" The next day, hearing of her teacher's predic-

ament, a Boianai girl came to say she wanted to be his wife. When Holi replied that he liked her but that she would need more training, her parents were angered and complained to King about Holi's attitude.[79] As King said perceptively, a New Guinea village girl's marrying the teacher corresponded to "a country girl in the colonies marrying the curate and never able to get free from all the jealousies and cliques of the place."[80] Holi died unmarried in 1899. The teachers' search for wives cast some of them into a pit of recrimination in the villages. It sparked jealousy, angered relatives in a matrilineal society in which all kinsmen had a say in the marriage of their girls, and upset matrilocal inheritance procedures in which a husband worked his wife's land.

In spite of matrimonial difficulties, Melanesian teachers were not criticized by Papuans for their personal behavior in the villages. On the contrary, the villagers often took to the newcomers with an alacrity that delighted their superiors. Chignell reported that Peter Seevo, Nogar's successor at Wanigela, was in some ways the most prominent and popular person in the neighborhood. MacGregor, no admirer of the islanders' classroom talents, agreed that they appeared to get on very well with the natives.[81] Holi won the confidence of the people of Boianai, and before his death in 1899 had turned opposition into friendliness. Seevo, whose rumbustious personality figured prominently in Chignell's *Outpost in Papua*, was a notable in Wanigela: "These . . . men do indeed spend 'much of their time' with Peter, and you may find them, at almost every hour of the day or night, seated in rows upon his verandah, or around his table while he sits at meals."[82]

European praise of the Melanesians was often tempered by criticism of their behavior in a crisis. At Mackay in Queensland, islanders had been blamed for the decline of bird life around their settlements. Similarly, in New Guinea, missionaries noted the complete absence of birds near the teachers' stations and reasoned that shotguns were used too often and sometimes for the wrong reasons.[83] In 1905 Newton had to report two islander missionaries to the government. There had been a fight between the people of Wamira and Wedau after the Wamira village constable married the widow of a Wedauan Christian without village permission, and both Harry Mark and Johnson Far fired guns into the air to break up the fray that threatened. Further north, some men were fired upon when mission cattle were speared and Seevo was cautioned.[84] One of the strictest disciplinarians in the mission was Peter Mussen, the senior Melanesian teacher, recruited at Ashfield in Sydney. Mussen once grabbed a sorcerer at Taupota and carried him to a cliff, over which he held him dangling by the ankles for quite a long time.

Afterward, the sorcerer seldom forgot to remind Mussen how regularly he attended divine service.[85] Physical dominance is more in evidence in Melanesian than in European missionary behavior, though the sketchy nature of source material makes reconstruction of conflict very difficult.

A few examples of clashes between Melanesian mission teachers and a particular local Papuan custom have come to light. One concerned the timing of a traditional ceremony, the *Walaga*, a great agricultural festival staged at Gelaria in the mountains behind Dogura. At the *Walaga* of 1901 about two thousand villagers were present. The celebrants believed the mango—the symbol of fruitfulness whose approval was believed necessary for the growing of crops—must be propitiated by the squealing of sacrificial pigs, produced by the twisting of a spear through the pigs' hearts. At the festival of 1901, the pigs were shot by European missionaries anxious to prevent suffering. But the efficacy of the ceremony was thereby lowered in Papuan eyes. At the staging of the second *Walaga* in 1905, the Europeans sent the teacher Johnson Far of Malaita in the Solomons and another South Sea Islander to hold a church service on the Sunday of the festival. What happened is not clear, but it is likely the teachers desired to interfere in the spearing. For, as a missionary wrote later, "The people suspended operations during the Sunday. On Monday, when Johnson Far was investigating some matters connected with the feast, he was gently but firmly told, 'We considered your feelings yesterday and waited for your service, you must consider ours today and mind your own business.' "[86]

Few Melanesians left a deep impression on folk memories in northeastern Papua. Perhaps, like most Melanesian islanders, they were not dominating men. At Dogura there were glimpses of severity. Ill feeling was aroused among Papuans at Dogura by Dick Bourke, who tied the hands of a runaway school boarder and locked the boy up until the station priest returned. Complaints were made about thrashings administered to school girls by Johnson Far. Nogar's thrashing of a girl at Wanigela the day before she died has been noted. However, there is more evidence of Europeans' lamenting the weakness of islanders than condemning their severity. Newton thought most "too easy going with the Natives" and withdrew Willie Kyliu from Menapi for weak leadership, replacing him with the "strong character" Thomas Bebete, the married man with a family in the Solomons who later had to return home.[87] "It does not appear as though the South Sea Islander teachers are able to manage the Maisins," wrote Newton about the islanders at Uiaku. David Tatu, an Ambrimese from Bundaberg who worked for seventeen years on the Mamba River, reported friendly relations with the Binan-

dere: "We get on very well. . . . The native *[sic]* get on very well to come for service [and] we have the school going very well."[88] Like most of his colleagues, Tatu was a quiet, blameless, unexceptional man.

The dominant numerical group in the Anglican staff was severely impaired by lack of academic training. Schoolmasters the Melanesians were meant to be; yet as schoolmasters, said Chignell, they were probably as ill-instructed and incapable as any body of men who ever handled a piece of chalk or flourished a duster. They knew no more about teaching children then they did "about running a steam laundry or making boots."[89] European overseers said William Maso and Peter Seevo were "shocking writers"; Peter Mussen was unable to read, write, or do simple arithmetic; Robert Tasso could not teach arithmetic involving numbers larger than the total of his fingers and toes.[90] Another Melanesian was reported to be unable to read or learn figures, though he knew *1, 0,* and *6* by sight. As early as 1896, when the mission had been at work only five years, some Papuans at Dogura were said to be superior in learning to the Melanesian teachers.[91] Stone-Wigg wrote that "the inability of most of them in Queensland to do any arithmetic is a draw back. Still they learn the language very well, and can evangelise if really in earnest, tho' their knowledge be limited."[92]

Mission logistics mitigated the disadvantage of a poorly trained soldiery by a system of control from headquarters. The Melanesian-staffed outstations were arranged concentrically around a European-staffed station where weekly in-service classes were held. Such classes were certainly necessary, in Chignell's words, to remedy "silly nonsense imbibed from well-meaning people in Queensland."[93] Chignell was sometimes appalled at classroom instruction: "I have caught Peter chanting, with the children after him, 'Four fundle one penny', 'ten fardles t'ree penny', each formula repeated ten or twelve times over . . . and I have heard them go on, 'Fourteen fartles seven peness', 'Fifteen bartles eight penny', and I wrote the very words down at the time, that there should be no mistake."[94]

As mentors of Papuan pupil-teachers, such islanders illustrated the saying about a little learning being a dangerous thing. King wrote that because New Guinea teachers had examples of incompetence before them they might assume that the Anglican mission did not care about education.[95] Those Papuans who had been taught arithmetic and English in islander schools were often ill educated compared with those at Dogura. Amos Paisawa, who entered St. Aidan's College for teachers in 1934, was regarded as one of the finest Christians at Cape Vogel, but as a student was noted to be "a difficult learner, having learnt to read and

write under a[n] . . . S. S. I. teacher, who knew practically nothing of arithmetic. . . . A poor reader, a very slow learner, and knows no arithmetic."[96] King continued hoping for the improvement of the islanders as pedagogues: he thought they knew their limitations and did not resent correction.[97]

Being better acquainted with Bible stories than arithmetic, the islanders were more at home in the pulpit. Each Sunday morning Seevo set off from Wanigela with hymnbook and smoking tackle tied up in an old flour bag, returning from his preaching tour at one o'clock "soaked, when the tide and creeks having been high, up to the very armpits" and "still [wearing] his newest soft felt hat just as he did 'along-a-Queensland.' "[98] Devout, earnest, and pious, the islanders favored long sermons, being even more voluble in church than in the classroom. Unlike their Polynesian contemporaries in the L. M. S. and Methodist fields, they did not speak much about the Old Testament, of which, said King, they were absolutely ignorant. With New Testament topics they were thought "excellent and reliable." As a result, the Papuans of the northeast coast were never exposed to the kind of fire-and-brimstone Christianity favored by the Polynesian missionaries of the L.M.S. and the Methodists.[99]

Chignell, author of two books, *An Outpost in Papua* (1911) and *Twenty-One Years in Papua* (1913), did more than any other writer to represent the general outlook of the mission: indeed, he did much to create it. The anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski described Chignell as "a good natured missionary with absolutely no understanding of the natives."[100] It was a perceptive, if exaggerated thrust; more a statement about Chignell's lack of rigorous scientific training and his not being an anthropologist. Chignell was a gifted writer; he created unforgettable portraits of his Queensland teachers in *An Outpost in Papua.* He lived alone at Wanigela from 1909 with Reuben Motlav (Sukulman), Peter Seevo, Samuel Siru, Willie Maso, Ambrose Darra, and Benjamin Ganae. His chapters on Reuben, Peter, Samuel, and William are, on first reading, humorous and even affectionate; yet on greater familiarity, they betray exasperation. Chignell's satiric pen found its mark in the teacher Peter Seevo, "a fat old fellow" in blue dungaree trousers, the son of Tom Vulau of Taumbaru on Santo in the New Hebrides. In spite of the entertaining outlines of Chignell's vignettes and the affection with which he depicted his characters, his books and articles tended to caricature islanders behind their backs. "And then with a grunt or a sigh," he wrote, "and a glance along the room, and a sailor-like hitch at his capacious trousers, he would wheel and stump along to the next

small victim of his solemn incompetence."[101] Seevo probably never knew what Chignell wrote about him. In Chignell's writing, Pacific Islander teachers come alive for the first time in English literature, but only as figures of ridicule. Portly, puffing, wheezing men or perspiring schoolmasters equipped with a big stick, glittering teeth, and coal-black countenances were comic-opera characters rather than messengers of civilization. Though islanders often appeared ludicrously overdressed, the surfeit of comedy suggests that, unlike their Protestant neighbors, the Anglicans never really took the islander missionaries seriously as communicators.

Following his marriage, Chignell returned to Britain in 1914. There he organized and edited the New Guinea Mission's biannual *Occasional Papers,* containing regular news of the South Sea Islanders. His literary ability was recognized in England: he was chosen to help edit and handle the proofreading of James Joyce's *Ulysses,* which he did in his rambling Yorkshire vicarage.[102] He spent the rest of his life supervising an almshouse for old men. In his books appear the most vivid pen-pictures of the Queensland Melanesians ever drawn.

The Last Melanesian Recruits

Before 1905 Melanesian teachers chose missionary careers freely. Those who came to New Guinea after 1905, however, were among the four thousand islanders expelled from Queensland by legislation. Some of the most articulate opposition to the Pacific Island Labourers Act was organized by islanders at Mackay led by a New Hebridean, Henry Tongoa, chairman of the Pacific Islanders' Association.[103] A letter attributed to a scholar at Selwyn Mission, Jack Malayta, was widely circulated: "We have worked well in this land for white people. Then why do they want to turn us out? . . . I am only a poor South Sea boy and may be I do not know much, but if white people know the true God . . . how can they think that right, to send us back into a land . . . where there is always fighting, where life is never safe, where there can't be schools for many years yet . . . ?" Among Malaitan Christians there was an anxiety that a return to Malaita might endanger life; in any case, at home they would "mix with bad people," a reflection of the tardiness of the Melanesian Mission in extending northward into the Solomons.[104]

In Anglican circles there was in 1906 an incipient dream that newly converted laborers would volunteer to take the gospel to their benighted brethren in New Guinea. There were hopes that some of the thirty-

seven hundred Melanesians who had passed through mission classes in Maryborough in the years since 1899 would wish to go to New Guinea. A former New Guinea missionary, Charles Sage, succeeded Mary Robinson as head of the Selwyn Mission at Mackay in 1905 and began fostering missionary vocations among the four hundred adherents there.[105] With the additional help from those islanders, Stone-Wigg hoped to open up the whole coastline from Samarai to the Mamba River to missionary influence. "What an army of them the Mission will have!" wrote a lady supporter.[106]

Between 1905 and 1908, visits by Stone-Wigg to the canefields resulted in an influx of over twenty-five Melanesians to the mission, most of them better educated than earlier volunteers. Ten came in 1905 from a class taught by a Miss McIntyre at Bundaberg and another five from the same class the next year. In 1907 another seventeen arrived, two from the Reverend Francis Pritt's mission at Gairloch on the Herbert River and fifteen from the Selwyn Mission. Sage had hoped for more but there was little hope of persuading most of his Selwyn scholars to go to the mission field. The islanders told him that if they were forced to leave Australia they would sooner go home. At the Tweed River Mission in northern New South Wales Melanesian interest in the church was said to be "as dead as any nail that is in any door."[107] In spite of the large force of twenty-five Melanesians, Anglican hopes of a large-scale emigration of exiles from Australia, entertained in the confusion of the deportation of islanders, were largely illusory.

The largest islander contingent to Dogura in 1906-1907 was from Malaita in the Solomons. Of the six thousand Melanesians in Queensland in 1906, almost five thousand were from the Solomon Islands and twenty-five hundred of these were Malaitans. Frances Synge, who interviewed several Malaitans in Brisbane, said their interest in New Guinea was "not a little bit caused by fear of returning to the islands."[108] Malaita had a widespread reputation for violence, which was borne out by experiences in Australia. Eight Melanesians were executed in Queensland between 1895 and 1906, and seven of these had been from the island of Malaita. After Mary Robinson's life had been threatened at Mackay, the Malaitan students quickly nailed up a public notice that promised death to anyone who touched her.[109] When the Malaitan contingent arrived at Dogura, it was decided to place half of them in the "undeveloped" Mukawa district of Cape Vogel, and the other half along the Mamba River, where work among the Binandere demanded the toughest natures.

There were three leaders among the Malaitans on the Mamba River.

Two of the three, Peter Arbunarie and Harry Quy, quickly established a Malaitan influence near the Mamba mouth. Quy took charge of the workshop that produced church furniture at Ambasi and began traveling on the river to help David Tatu conduct trade-store services for carriers on the goldfields. Arbunarie also began voyaging on the river to conduct services. As teachers, the Malaitans were more thoroughly prepared than earlier Melanesians, with a stronger grasp of arithmetic.[110]

All the Malaitan missionaries knew of the health hazards on the Mamba. Quy proposed marriage to a girl at Ambasi if he lived and made up a joint will with Arbunarie if he died. In any event the marriage did not take place, as both men died on the pestilent Mamba between June and November of 1907. The third of the leading trio among the Malaitans was Harry Locar. He lived for forty-five years in New Guinea, having survived his first wet season on the Mamba.

Race Relations

Relations between Melanesian and European missionaries were not smooth in northeastern Papua. The initial appearance of an easy equality sprang from an intimacy between leaders and followers. Lured by the prospect of a white man's status, islanders did not at first look back with nostalgia to the Selwyn Mission where relations were harmonious. Dick Fohohlie wrote affectionately to Mary Robinson from Ambasi: "I never forget you. I pray every day and night for you. All your own boys we are, and all trying to do good work for God in New Guinea. We have been put to teach here quickly because you been teach us fellows so much in Queensland. I think you were best teacher in all Queensland. . . . God bless you always for ever and ever."[111]

From the beginning, however, latent tension was evident in the mission, as some Europeans felt that Melanesians lost interest quickly when the novelty of New Guinea life wore off. After the turn of the century, Stone-Wigg emphasized the brotherhood of black and white missionaries by conferring lay readers' licenses on Melanesians, entitling licensed islander lay readers to wear white surplices and black cassocks. On the only visit to New Guinea by an archbishop of Brisbane, St. Clair Donaldson in 1907, an islander gave the speech of welcome and an islander preached the sermon at the first Evensong. All foreign missionaries attended the annual conference. But even here there was trouble, for as they sat round a common table to take corporate action, the islanders spoke Pidgin, not English.

Discovering that the business of consultation was laborious, King

explained that the Melanesians' speech was very puzzling. Chignell wrote disparagingly that islanders conversed "with that complete elimination of mood and tense and number and concord" that was "characteristic of the right 'pidgin' English."[112] Having spent years mastering Wedauan, Ubir, or Binandere, Anglican missionaries steadfastly refused to learn Pidgin. When Stone-Wigg declared in 1900 that "on one point I am sure we all agree—we will have the Queen's English, if any, and not that mongrel tongue which the white man usually introduces," he unwittingly reduced enormously the potential for communication between racial groups in the mission.[113]

Difficulties over Pidgin caused the dividing of the Anglican annual conference into two sections, one for Europeans and the other for Melanesians. Newton reported a very strong feeling among islanders about the "cleavage along the colour line."[114] The reason given by Stone-Wigg—that linguistic difficulties among a staff of sixty missionaries made discussion unwieldy—did not satisfy the islander teachers. Moreover, there was considerable indignation among Melanesians in New Guinea when letters from the scholars of Norfolk Island reported that Mrs. Cecil Wilson, wife of the bishop of Melanesia, had ended fifty years of male egalitarianism by refusing to eat at the same table as islanders.[115] The Queensland Melanesians who were admitted to fuller fraternal association with Europeans in New Guinea were men such as Willie Miwa, Peter Mussen, Harry Mark, Ambrose Darra, Robert Tasso, and Reuben Motlav. As individuals they were more trusted or better educated, and were regarded as more capable, than other Melanesians, who were judged not to have been very intelligent.[116] Common meals ceased in New Guinea, though on some occasions the Europeans entertained the Melanesian staff with refreshments and music.[117]

In the Anglican mission the Europeans, not the South Sea Islanders, were the center of authority. They managed the rest of the staff, made the decisions, and controlled the finances. The Europeans were given an allowance of £20 per annum, lower than the Melanesians' allowance, but their daily living expenses came directly from mission funds. They were repatriated, free of cost, to Australia once every three years, and once each five years to England if their homes were there. The Queensland Melanesians were expected to maintain themselves entirely from their £25 yearly allowance. The mission expected the islanders to have gardens and receive support from the villagers. The teachers were not given furlough expenses to Australia, though they were permitted to go if they paid their own passage. King was appalled in 1904 to learn that Dick Bourke of Boianai had paid his own fare to Sydney on fur-

lough. King's sister, Madeline Ethel King, paid Bourke's return fare when she discovered he was stranded in Sydney. If the teachers were not given furlough allowance, King told Bishop Stone-Wigg, neither would he accept traveling assistance from the mission in the future.[118]

One quarrel of a racial nature was recorded. Fred Menema, a missionary at Taupota, was one of the only two islanders who had been educated by the Melanesian Mission at Norfolk Island. In 1898 he had a quarrel with the Reverend Wilfred Abbot: "Mr. Abbot that time he went Down Awaiama he get on me about our work and said to me We Don't like Black men in this work if you like take your thing[s] and go so I told him I said Yes I will go. . . . Sir Bishop I leave my work in Awaiama true."[119]Menema resigned, but not before his Melanesian brethren had taken up his cause. For several months afterward, Abbot's gibe "We Don't like Black men" was chorused by Melanesians. There was always plenty of time on a Papuan outstation for an islander to brood. Even the quiet David Tatu, when ruffled by King, replied with smoldering bitterness, "No need to make a row. . . . I know all about it. . . . I know what you did along of Fred."[120]

It is doubtful whether the South Sea Islanders accepted the subordinate role in which some Europeans were willing to cast them. Unlike Papuan converts, who often clung helplessly to their *taubada* (leader), there was a streak of independence in these island men. Talk of "simple coloreds," "good boys," and "poor fellows" expressed European perceptions and were not the way the teachers saw themselves. On the contrary, the older and more experienced the men grew, the more formidable they became. One, Johnson Far, at Wedau was described as "virtually King of the village."[121] Harry Mark, said one observer, "knew more about the people of New Guinea from Wedau to Awaiama than any other man living. He had a most wonderful gift for language, and a marvellous memory for faces, and for the intricate relationship of New Guinea folk."[122] Some teachers certainly would not have been easily intimidated into obedience. Timothy Gori's reply to Stone-Wigg suggests an independence at odds with mission authority: "My dear Lord Bishop, I been think over what you say to me . . . but I must make up my own mine *[sic]* myself."[123]

The Melanesian missionaries deserved pity in one respect. Of the seventeen mission graves dug between 1891 and 1910, only five were for Europeans: the rest were for Melanesians. They served their life sentences, the majority of these Melanesians, until they died. Some teachers left tiny legacies to help the endeavor of the mission, or "God's work" as Melanesians called it. Three shirts, a hat, a plate, a saucepan,

a mug, and a box of matches were left by Willie Ope, at a total value of £2 5s. ½d. A suit of clothes, a silk handkerchief, £10, and a silver cross were left to the mission by Willie Tari.[124]

Yet, as MacGregor noted, they were unheeded by the outside world for the most part. In 1910 a memorial fund was established by Lady Lucinda Musgrave, wife of a former governor of Queensland, to erect monuments to the New Guinea Melanesian missionaries. Four years later, many brass tablets commemorating those who had "fallen in action" had been placed on the wooden walls of Dogura chapel. (The placing of tablets was discontinued in 1920.) In the Kingdom all men were equal, and the twenty-four brass tablets bear testimony to the ideals that the South Sea Islanders and Europeans shared. These include the roles of brothers, evangelists, preachers, sufferers; but the imagery of servant and soldier is continual.

> Frank Arbinsau
> Who died at Ambasi 1910
> No longer do I call you servants, but friends
> Jn 15:15

> Benjamin Saroa
> Died 1913
> He that is faithful in that which is least
> Is faithful also in much
> Luke 16:10

> Simon Devi
> Died 1910
> Be clothed with humility
> 1 Peter 5:5

Among the soldier epitaphs:

> James Nogar
> Island teacher at Wanigela 1898-1906
> Died at his post June 16 1906
> Fight the good fight of faith

> Willie Pettawa
> Island teacher at Uiaku
> 1901-1907

More than conquerors through Him that loved us
Rom 8:37

The tablet to Willie Kyliu (died 1908) is inscribed,

Lord Thou knowest that I love thee
Jn 21:15

Conclusion

The numerical strength of the Queensland Melanesians was waning by World War I, and by 1922 there were only twenty-three Melanesian teachers still employed. Five old islanders were left in the mission at the beginning of World War II. Johnson Far and Harry Locar, the two Malaitans who came to Papua in 1900 and 1907 respectively, were still living in retirement in the early 1950s. Locar died at Gona in 1952. Four years later, Far, "a picturesque figure with his snow-white hair" in his eighties, was tending a herd of cattle at Dogura. One day in February 1956, fifty-six years after arriving at Dogura, Far "received the Sacrament of Holy Unction and the Laying on of Hands for the Sick, followed by the Blessed Sacrament."[125] Within an hour he was dead. Locar and Far were the last of the Queensland Melanesians. Like their colleagues, they conversed in the language of their villages and left wives and children among the people with whom they had lived.

The Melanesian teachers contrasted vividly with their Polynesian counterparts in the L.M.S. and Methodist missions. The experiences of a sugar worker, adrift from his own society in Australia, shaped a missionary contribution very different from that of the Samoan and Tongan patriarchs sent forth by vigorous churches in Polynesian strongholds. In number and in erudition, the Polynesian teachers of the L.M.S. and Methodist missions far exceeded the Melanesians in the Anglican stations. The Polynesian teacher had an air of distinguished urbanity that the Melanesian cane cutter from Queensland did not possess. Unlike the Polynesians, however, no teachers in the Anglican Mission ever attracted the criticism that they saw themselves as of higher caste than their converts, for there did not exist any gulf in outlook between them and the people they came to convert. And no Polynesian became as close to coastal villagers in Papua as the Melanesian teacher. The Melanesian married a village woman and died where he had lived.

The Melanesian islanders in northeastern Papua were admirable frontiersmen. Moving gently among the village people, such men as

Willie Holi and Johnson Far introduced the people to the influences of an outside world that would change their ways forever. These island, ers were thoroughly familiar with the sacramental character of the Anglo-Catholic movement. They also had the flexibility of mind that prompted them to learn from their converts. Above all, they showed how Christianity in the Pacific could be separated from both the narrow cultural triumphalism of some Polynesians on the one hand and the material affluence of the Europeans on the other; and there was need for this separation. As Charles Helms remarks, the Melanesians were capable of strong leadership, of eloquence and declamation. But they were not dominating men; their method of communication was oblique rather than by direct assertion.[126] It was thus that the celebrations at Gona in 1987 showed that, for people in Oro Province at least, the islanders were not forgotten people. Such reenactments as that at Gona had the same purpose as Lucinda Musgrave's fund, to commemorate the "devotion and self-sacrifice" of the Queensland Melanesians, so they might be "remembered by the people of New Guinea for whom they lived and died."[127]

NOTES

I should like to thank Dr. Clive Moore for comments made on an earlier draft of this article and Frank Coppock for recording twenty-four South Sea Islander memorials in Papua New Guinea. The term New Guinea is used here to describe the territory claimed by Britain in 1884 and transferred to Australia in 1906. The Anglican mission retained the original name of New Guinea in its title. But more generally, the name Papua—officially used to describe the territory after 1906—is used in this article.

1. *Family* (Lae, Papua New Guinea), no. 31 (Christmas 1987). The occasion of the reenactment was the launching of the Ewage New Testament at Gona.

2. Clive Moore, ed., *The Forgotten People: A Histoy of the Australian South Sea Island Community* (Sydney, 1979).

3. British New Guinea *Annual Report* (hereafter cited as BNG *AR),* 1892-1893, p. 6. For previous publications on the South Seas Islander teachers see Charles W. Forman, "Missionary Force of the Pacific Island Church," *International Review of Missions* 59 (1970): 215-226; David Wetherell, "From Fiji to Papua: The Work of the *Vakavuvuli*, " *Journal of Pacific History* (hereafter cited as JPH) 13 (1978): 153-173; David Wetherell, "Pioneers and Patriarchs: Samoans in a Nonconformist Mission District in Papua, 1890-1917," *JPH* 15, no. 3/4 (1980): 130-154. The only book published on the teachers in Papua New Guinea is R. and M. Crocombe, eds., *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia from Samoa, Cook Islands, and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia* (Suva, 1982). A list of Pacific Islander teachers is held in the chapel of the Pacific Theological College, Suva, but records of teachers' wives are incomplete.

4. The Anglican church established by William Floyd at Levuka in Fiji was a parish church for Europeans rather than a mission.

5. *Australasian Methodist Mission Review*, May 1894. Among the seventy-member Methodist group in June 1891 were twenty-one Fijians, twenty Samoans, and eight Tongans including wives and children (BNG *AR*, 1893-1894, p. xxvii). A substantial number left to reinforce the New Britain Mission once the Dobu-based D'Entrecasteaux Mission had become established.

6. Among recently published works on the Queensland labor trade, the most significant are J. M. Ward, *British Policy in the South Pacific, 1789-1893: A Study in British Policy Towards the South Pacific Islands Prior to the Establishment of Governments by the Great Powers* (Durham, N.C., 1964); D. Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914* (Canberra, 1967); P. Corris, *Passage, Port, and Plantation: A History of Solomon Islands Labour Migration, 1870-1914* (Melbourne, 1973); K. E. Saunders, "The Pacific Islander Hospitals in Colonial Queensland: The Failure of Liberal Principles," *JPH* 11, no. 1 (1976): 28-50; P. M. Mercer and C. R. Moore, "Melanesians in North Queensland: The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices," *JPH* 11, no. 1 (1976): 66-88. K. Saunders, *Workers in Bondage: The Origins and Bases of Unfree Labour in Queensland, 1824-1916* (Brisbane, 1982); C. R. Moore and P. M. Mercer, "Australia's Pacific Islanders, 1906-1977," *JPH* 13, no. 1/2 (1978): 89-101; and C. R. Moore, *Kanaka: A History of Melanesian Mackay* (Port Moresby, 1985).

7. *Church Chronicle* (Brisbane) (hereafter cited as CC), 1 June 1895.

8. In later years, when Florence Young moved to the Solomon Islands, the mission was renamed the South Seas Evangelical Mission.

9. *CC*, 1 March 1901; J. O. Feetham and W. V. Rymer, eds., *North Queensland Jubilee Book* 1878-1928 (Townsville: Diocese of North Queensland, 1929), 64-65, 38.

10. *CC*, June 1895.

11. Quoted in Feetham and Rymer, *Jubilee Book*, 38.

12. *CC*, May-June 1894 and November 1894.

13. *Missionary Notes* (hereafter cited as *MN*), 15 March 1895, Needham Library, Australian Board of Missions (Anglican) Head Office, Sydney. The occasion was a farewell to the teachers Peter Mussen, Willie Holi, Robert Tasso and Jack Newa. See also David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea, 1891-1942* (Brisbane, 1977), 102.

14. A. K. Chignell, *An Outpost in Papua* (London, 1911), 74; according to C. Whonsbon Aston, a priest formerly in the New Guinea Mission, John Dow's father was a black American. L. Benson to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Brisbane, 10 October 1905, Anglican Archives, University of Papua New Guinea (hereafter cited as AA).

15. Figures for Melanesians in Mackay in first year of work, in Maryborough with more than three years' experience, calculated over the period 1884-1903, cited in Moore, *Kanaka*, 172-173. For Melanesian wage scales during the period 1883-1904, see ibid.

16. J. Newa to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Thursday Island, 16 September 1903, AA. Newa's application was evidently refused: he had already served in, and resigned from, the mission.

17. These islanders were influenced by Francis Pritt (Herbert River), C. C. Sage (Selwyn Mission, Mackay), R. S. Hay (Bundaberg), and M. J. Stone-Wigg (Brisbane).

18. J. T. Gela to G. C. McIntyre, Bundaberg, 15 February 1906, AA.

19. E. Meduedue, *Address by Edgar Meduedue with Theodore Lodi's Story* (Sydney, 1906).

20. Dogura Log, 13 May 1893, AA.

21. N. Yaumalauna and Hezekiah Tauloa, interview with Father Robert Barnes, Awaiama, 9 March and 16 July 1975; Robert Barnes, pers. comm., July 1975.

22. H. Mark to M. J. Stone-Wigg, [New Guinea], n.d., AA.

23. New Guinea Mission, *Annual Report* (hereafter cited as NGM *AR*), for years 1898-1899 to 1909-1910.

24. Charles Helms, "The Impact of the Anglicans' Settlement in New Guinea, 1891-1909" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Melbourne University, 1981), 230. A European layman, Cyril Elwin, had gone with Holi to Boianai in April 1895, followed by Tasso the next month. Tatu arrived at Ave on the Mamba in June 1900, following the withdrawal of an Anglican party on account of ill health.

25. *MN,* 15 February 1896.

26. Quoted in Diocese of New Guinea (Anglican), *Occasional Papers* (hereafter cited as *OP*) 13/9 (1907).

27. T. Gori to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Mukawa, 1 January 1904, AA; NGM AR, 1899-1900, p. 9.

28. A condensed version of this section appeared in David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission,* 106-109. J. Nogar, Certificate of Marriage with Mary Maniarun, 28 May 1903, AA. C. B. Humphreys, *The Southern New Hebrides: An Ethnological Record* (Cambridge, 1926), 17. F. C. Reynolds to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Murwillumbah, 30 September 1897, AA.

29. F. C. Reynolds to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Glen Innes, 10 February 1898, AA. Japhet Nogar [son of James], interview, Maivara, Milne Bay, Papua New Guinea, 27 April 1972.

30. See *MN,* 22 June 1898.

31. *CC,* 1 August 1895.

32. J. Nogar, Lay Reader's Licence, 12 August 1901, AA.

33. J. Nogar to [ ] Johnson, Wanigela, 28 August 1899-5/23 [sic] 1899, AA.

34. W. H. Abbot to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, 8 November 1899, AA.

35. W. H. Abbot to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, 27 March 1900, AA.

36. C. King to M. J. Stone-Wigg, at sea, 26 January 1904, AA; quoted in Helms, "Impact of Anglicans' Settlement," 286.

37. *OP* 12/8 (1907); BNG *AR*, 1900-1901, p. 15.

38. Resident Magistrate, North Eastern Division, Station Journal, 26 June 1904, Australian National Archives, Canberra, Records Series, G91.

39. Chignell, An *Outpost,* 48-49.

40. C. King to M. Stone-Wigg, at sea, 13 February 1900, AA.

41. For an account of this expedition, see C. A. W. Monckton, *Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate* (London, 1921), 210.

42. J. Nogar to M. J, Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, 10 November 1900, AA.

43. W. H. Abbot to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, 8 November 1899, AA; J. Nogar to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, 10 November 1900, AA.

44. *MN,* 30 June 1903.

45. J. Nogar to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, 10 November 1900, AA.

46. NGM *AR,* 1906-1907, p. 41.

47. Ibid.

48. *Australasian Medical Gazette* (Sydney) 6 (May 1887): 144.

49. E. Pryce Jones to R. W. Thompson, Moru, 10 May 1905, L.M.S. Papua Letters, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

50. Moore, *Kanaka,* 244. The major instance of inhumanity cited is the notorious year of 1884 when 147 of every one thousand Melanesians died. In 1884 the death rate was swollen by the extraordinary mortality among New Ireland laborers; it occurred when Pacific Islands migration was at its height and the health of the laborers at its lowest in a span of forty years. For a seminal study of islander death rates, see Ralph Shlomowitz, "Mortality and the Pacific Labour Trade," *JPH* 22, no. 1/2 (1987): 34-55.

51. See n. 6.

52. Moore, *Kanaka,* 247, table 18.

53. Ibid., 262.

54. Time-expired laborers were Melanesians who had completed a single three-year indenture agreement, but opted to remain in Queensland. The ticket holders were 835 Melanesians resident in Queensland more than five years before 1 September 1884, who had no restrictions on the type of work they undertook (Moore, *Kanaka,* 139). A number of New Guinea volunteers beginning with Peter Mussen, who had been in Australia since 1880, appear to have been time-expired laborers.

55. P. D. Curtin, "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade," *Political Science Quarterly* 83 (1968): 190-216.

56. Ibid., 194-195.

57. Moore, *Kanaka,* 251.

58. Ibid., 225.

59. P. M. Mercer and C. R. Moore, "Melanesians in North Queensland: The Retention of Indigenous Religious and Magical Practices," in *JPH* 11, no. 1/2 (1976): 66-68.

60. See above, p. 62.

61. C. King to M. J. Stone-Wigg, n.p., 19 June 1895, cited in *CC,* August 1895; *CC,* October 1905.

62. *OP* 21/10 (1910); S. Tomlinson to H. Newton, Mukawa, 17 September 1922, AA. The phrase is from Psalms 19:5.

63. C. A. W. Monckton, *New Guinea Recollections* (London, 1934), 75.

64. See above, p. 58.

65. Camilla Wedgwood, quoted in John Garrett, *To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania* (Geneva and Suva, 1982), 251.

66. G. Brown to [ ] Pearson, Sydney, 27 November 1901; G. Brown to J. T. Field, Sydney, 4 September 1896, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Methodist Overseas Mission, Box 45.

67. New Guinea District Synod Minutes (Methodist) 1907, in United Church Archives, University of Papua New Guinea; *Ai Tukutuku Vakalotu* (Suva), May 1910.

68. *OP* 21/9-10 (1910).

69. Willie Holi, Memorandum of Agreement with Australian Board of Missions, 11 March 1895, AA.

70. Helms, "Impact of Anglicans' Settlement," 256.

71. Ibid., 254.

72. Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission,* 67; Helms, "Impact of Anglicans' Settlement," 450.

73. H. M. Shuttleworth to M. J, Stone-Wigg, Brisbane, 5 August 1904; R. S. Hay to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Bundaberg, 10 February 1905, AA.

74. P. J. Money to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Uiaku, 5 April 1907, AA.

75. C. King to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Dogura, 13 December 1905, 10 January 1907; Resident Magistrate, Eastern Division, Official Journal, 10 January 1906, Australian National Archives, Canberra, Commonwealth Records Series, G91. Nodi's sentence seems to have been two years, rather than the six months reported by King.

76. P. J. Money to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Uiaku, 5 April 1907, AA. Pettawa's death was reported in the following month (A. M. Campbell to H. Newton, Samarai, 24 May 1907, AA).

77. P. J, Money to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Uiaku, 5 April 1907, AA.

78. H. Newton to J. Nogar, Boianai, 17 November 1904, AA.

79. C. King to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Dogura, 4 January 1898, AA.

80. Ibid.

81. Chignell, *An Outpost,* 50. BNG *AR,* 1895-1896, pp. 9-10.

82. Chignell, *An Outpost,* 50.

83. Moore, *Kanaka,* 232.

84. H. Newton to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Dogura, 3 December 1907, AA.

85. R. H. Dakers to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Taupota, 13 November 1899, AA.

86. See C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea, with a Chapter by F. R. Barton, C.M.G., and an Appendix by E. L. Giblin* (Cambridge, 1910), 581, 651; M. J. Stone-Wigg, *The Papuans: A People of the South Pacific, with Later Additions by the Right Rev. Henry Newton, D.D.* (Sydney, 1933), 28; Helms, "Impact of Anglicans' Settlement," 391-397.

87. Dogura Log, 21 September 1902, 16 April 1904, AA. H. Newton to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Dogura, 20 September 1900, AA; CC, October 1905; P. J. Money to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Wanigela, 30 September 1907, AA. John Barker, an anthropologist who lived for nearly two years at Uiaku, reported that the Uiaku people could remember only two of the Queensland Melanesians who were stationed there, Ambrose Darra at Uiaku and Benjamin Ganae at Sinapa (John Barker, "Maisin Christianity: An Ethnography of the Contemporary Religion of a Seaboard Melanesian People" [Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1985], 97, 103).

88. D. Tatu to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Mamba, 15 March 1905, AA.

89. Chignell, *An Outpost,* 104.

90. E. L. Giblin to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Hioge, 8 March 1906, AA.

91. S. Tomlinson to E. S. Hughes, Dogura, 3 January 1896, copy in my possession.

92. M. J. Stone-Wigg to H. H. Montgomery, Bartle Bay, 23 July 1899, LRA & P United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, London, cited in Helms, "Impact of Anglicans' Settlement," 249.

93. Wanigela Log, 22 November 1914, AA.

94. Chignell, *An Outpost,* 57.

95. C. King to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Ambasi, 10 January 1910, AA.

96. St. Aidan's College Report, 1933-1934, AA.

97. C. King to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Ambasi, 10 January 1910, AA.

98. Chignell, *An Outpost,* 58.

99. Barker, "Maisin Christianity," 440.

100. B. Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (London, 1967), 10.

101. Chignell, *An Outpost,* 54-55.

102. Margaret Barclay [Chignell's daughter], pers. comm., 13 February 1983.

103. Peter Corris, " 'White Australia' in Action," *Historical Studies* (Melbourne) 15, no. 58 (April 1972): 237-251.

104. *MN,* July 1901. *CC,* July 1894.

105. C. C. Sage, lay missionary in New Guinea (1898-1904), succeeded Mary Robinson as head of Mackay's Selwyn Mission. In 1905, four hundred islanders attended Sage's first annual general meeting, but owing to the rapid repatriation of Queensland Melanesians the mission's lands were sold two years later. Sage drowned in the Solomon Islands in 1913 while repatriating Queensland Melanesians (North Queensland Diocesan Council Minutes, 27 February and 30 May 1907, Registry Office, Townsville; *OP* 37/3 [1914]).

106. E. Scarth to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Torquay, 16 January 1907, AA.

107. C. C. Sage to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Mackay, 15 June 1906, AA; F. R. Newton to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Murwillumbah, 15 December 1905, AA.

108. F. M. Synge to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Brisbane, 26 July 1967, AA.

109. J. Norman, *Life's Varied Scenes* (Devon, n.d.), 74-75.

110. *OP* 21/11 (1910); NGM *AR*, 1909-1910, pp. 43-44; L. B. Drury to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Ambasi, 28 May 1907, AA.

111. *OP* 13/9 (1907).

112. Chignell, *An Outpost,* 65.

113. M. J. Stone-Wigg, Conference Address, 26 July 1900, AA.

114. H. Newton to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Ganuganuana, 8 May 1905, AA.

115. Ibid.

116. M. J. Stone-Wigg to H. H. Montgomery, Bartle Bay, 23 July 1899, LRA & P, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, London. The reasons for Melanesian-European social separation were not based simply on race. The basis was due to difficulties in communication. St. Paul's School at Samarai, run by the mission, was open to children of all races. (Likewise, when Melanesians were excluded in 1906 from the Halifax State School in North Queensland, the Anglican bishop of North Queensland protested [North Queensland Diocesan Council Minutes, 19 June and 6 October 1906, Registry Office, Townsville].)

117. Compare the informality of early meals between South Sea Islanders and Europeans before 1900 with a 1911 mission notice, "The SSI teachers were entertained at 'Dogura House' to a Musical Evening and light refreshments after Evensong" (Dogura Log, 17 August 1911, AA).

118. C. King to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Samarai, 23 April 1904, AA. Bourke's brother, Reuben Bourke, lived on Thursday Island, which may explain Bourke's declining while in Sydney an offer by Bishop Cecil Wilson for employment in the Melanesian Mission (John E. Done, *Wings Across the Sea* [Brisbane, 1987], 12).

119. F. Menema to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Awaiama, 16 July 1898, AA. The other islander teacher educated at Norfolk Island was Ambrose Darra (*OP* 48/10 [1915]).

120. C. King to H. Newton, Mamba, n.d., AA. A fragment from a letter by Newton to Nogar suggests the same subordination: "You must remember that at Wanigela your master is Mr. Money . . . You are not master up there. Mr. Money is your master and you must tell him things" (H. Newton to J. Nogar, Boianai, 17 November 1904, AA).

121. G. E. Downton to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Dogura, 13 November 1907, AA.

122. *OP* 21/10-11 (1910).

123. T. Gori to M. J. Stone-Wigg, Menapi, 2 April 1907, AA.

124. Wills of W. Ope and W. Tari, n.d., AA.

125. *OP* 134/6 (1956).

126. Helms, "Impact of Anglicans' Settlement," 463.

127. Australian Board of Missions *Review,* November 1910; ibid., August 1914.