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THE ANGLICANS IN NEW GUINEA AND THE TORRES STRAIT ISLANDS

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This study compares the Anglican diocese of Carpentaria in northeastern Australia with its Anglican neighbor the diocese of New Guinea. While New Guinea called for sacrifice on a heroic scale as befitted a mission among pure "pagans," Carpentaria was intended primarily as a church for Europeans. However, the withdrawal of thousands of settlers from the Gulf of Carpentaria country from 1910 to 1942 in the wake of recurrent cyclones, economic depression, and drought led to wholesale white depopulation. This depopulation, added to the Anglicans' acceptance of the London Missionary Society's sphere in the Torres Strait Islands, left Carpentaria overwhelmingly Islander and Aboriginal in character. Papua New Guinea headed for independence in state and church from the 1960s, but Carpentaria remained largely a missionary diocese, part of whose populations it managed for half a century on threadbare mission stations, with the empty-handed encouragement of the Queensland government.

"THOSE DAMNED CHURCHMEN are like the Papists," remarked M. H. Moreton to a fellow British New Guinea magistrate, "plenty of them willing to be martyrs."[1] The New Guinea Anglican Mission, established by Albert Maclaren and Copland King in 1891, was regarded by its supporters during its "golden age" from the postwar period to 1960 as one of the glories of the Anglican Communion. Its bishop, Philip Strong, was accorded an honored place at Lambeth conferences; its workers, seemingly unbowed by physical deprivation, were acclaimed for upholding the highest ideals of self-sacrifice. The tradition of "martyrdom" had begun with Albert Maclaren, who arrived in New Guinea in 1891 expecting large reinforcements of men and money that never came and died of malaria within six months. The murders of seven Anglican missionaries who remained with their flocks during the Japanese occupation of northern Papua in 1942 gave

poignant focus to the mission's fame as a field of suffering, a fame reaffirmed in the Mount Lamington volcanic holocaust nine years later when four thousand people perished, among them Anglican converts, teachers, and clergy.

The diocese of Carpentaria, created in 1900, had no such enduring reputation, although it deserved one. Carpentaria encompassed some six hundred thousand square miles, or one-seventh of the land area of continental Australia.[2] It claimed to be the fourth largest Anglican diocese in the world, consisting of the Torres Strait Islands, the Cape York Peninsula north of Cairns, the Gulf of Carpentaria country, and the whole of the Northern Territory. Alice Springs, near Ayers Rock in central Australia, lay within its borders, as did Darwin, two thousand kilometers west of Thursday Island, where the bishop lived. This huge territory was little other than a weary tract of savannah country in the cape and gulf and desert in the Northern Territory, interrupted by creeks and swamps in the "wet" season and ruled by sun and choking dust in the "dry." "Carpentaria" was more a geographical expression than a diocese.

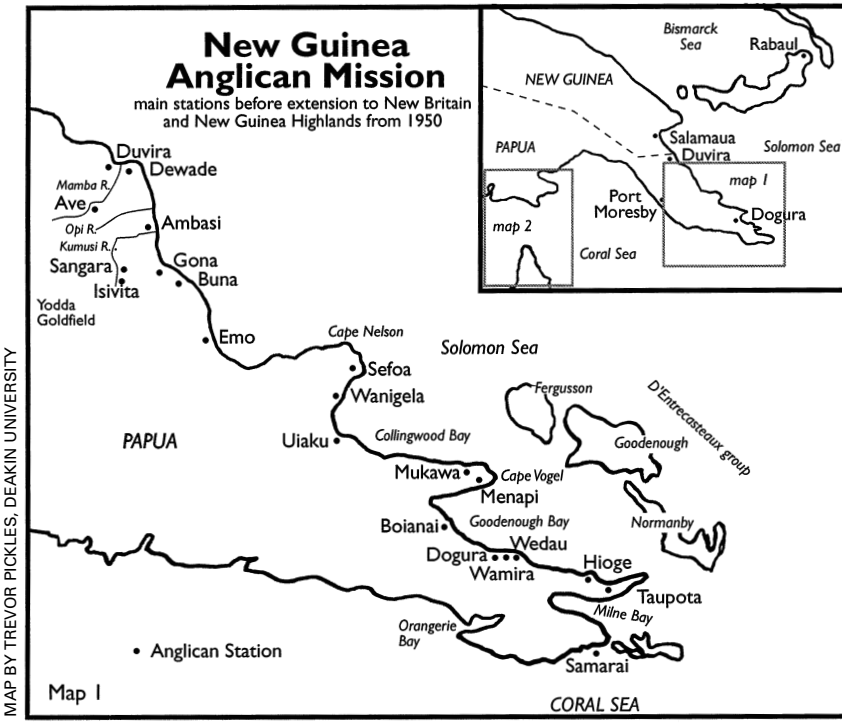
The reasons for the founding of the two missions differed. The annexation by Britain of southeastern New Guinea (Papua), according to a resolution passed in 1886 by the general synod of the Church of England in Australia, "imposed direct obligation upon the Church to provide for the spiritual welfare both of the natives and the settlers."[3] But modest commercial incentives and the ascendancy of humanitarian over economic goals in the British administration of Sir William MacGregor (1888–1898) and his successors meant that the settler population was always small. In practice the protectorate was left mainly to the official and the missionary. There were even fewer European settlers in the area claimed by the Anglicans than elsewhere in the colony: scarcely half a dozen expatriate planters could be found along the 350-kilometer northeastern Papuan coastline.[4] Beyond the two town parishes of Samarai (created in 1900) and Port Moresby (1915), the whole of Anglican effort in eastern Papua was concerned with the Melanesian population.

In Carpentaria, by contrast, the extension of Anglican mission work to the Melanesians of the Torres Strait and the Aborigines on the mainland owed its origin primarily to the movement of European population that followed the mineral boom in North Queensland. Carpentaria was to be a "white settlement" diocese, one intended as much for Europeans as for indigenes, though the dream of mission outposts among Aborigines was always present. After the gold and silver discoveries at Ravenswood and the Palmer River (1868–1873), a wave of white population had moved to northeastern Australia. The influx of white settlers to the "El Dorado" of the goldfields was so

sudden in the 1880s that the Anglican Church in far north Queensland was expected to be predominantly European and self-supporting. As one commentator wrote laconically, while the gold boom lasted, the Australian continent, like a ship, "developed a temporary list to the northeast, during which everything and everybody tended to roll in that direction."[5] An ambitious cement Anglican church with side aisles and clerestory windows was begun in the northernmost settler enclave at Thursday Island in 1893. The church became a cathedral when Gilbert White, first bishop of Carpentaria, was enthroned in 1900. During his fifteen-year episcopate, he confirmed five times the number of Europeans as Aborigines and Islanders.

The Anglicans in Papua were the pioneer foreign residents, regarded in some places as ghosts, the first Europeans the people had seen. In the Torres Strait Islands, in contrast, the Anglicans were latecomers, arriving where European influences had long been active. An Anglican school had been created at Cape Somerset in 1867 by the teacher William Kennett and the Reverend Frederick Jagg, but it lasted only a year. The luggers of bêche-de-mer (trochus) and pearl shell fishermen had begun employing local men from the 1860s (hence the frequency among Islanders of English names like "Jibsheet," "Bowline," "Sailor," and "Pilot"). Forty years of London Missionary Society evangelization had occurred before the Anglicans arrived.[6] The days were long gone when missionaries might have been regarded as "ghosts."

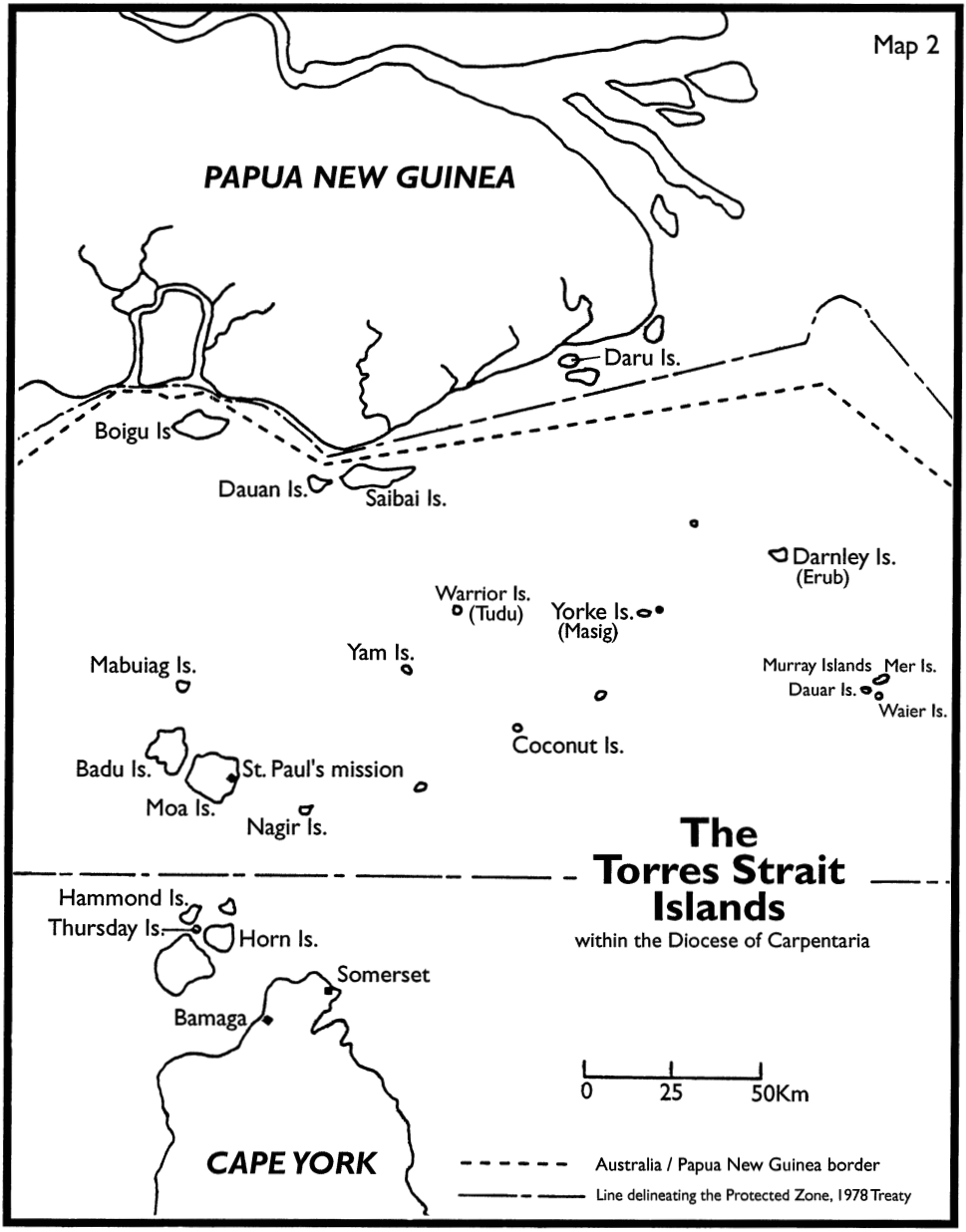
In 1915 Gilbert White, Bishop of Carpentaria, and F. W. Walker, a representative of the London Missionary Society (LMS), toured the Islands to announce the transfer from the society to the Church of England. When the Anglicans arrived in 1915 it was to inherit a fully equipped church. All together, fifty-five Loyalty Island teachers and wives, and some two dozen of their children, had lived in the Torres Strait Islands after the first landing in 1871, followed by a succession of Samoan and Ellice Island pastors from the early 1880s. Chapels had been built on eleven of the islands, some of them fine buildings of lime and coral. The LMS held freehold land on seven islands and was represented by nine pastors, annual visits being paid by the missionary from Daru in New Guinea, where the society had its district headquarters. By 1915 a clear pattern of religious acculturation had emerged. The Islanders had endured a fairly strict autocracy under the Polynesian pastors, though this despotism was softened by a new repertoire of dancing, cooking, and other household arts. There had been some Islander intermarriage with nonmission Samoans and other South Sea Islanders. For Torres Strait men, work in pearling luggers now alternated with a life of fishing, gardening, and churchgoing. They sang hymns in the vernacular written by Pacific Islands teachers to tunes originating in the English Evangelical Moody



MAP BY TREVOR PICKLES, DEAKIN UNIVERSITY

and Sankey tradition.[7] The mass of the Torres Strait people under the LMS, Gilbert White had written, had become not only Christians in name, but "also to a very large extent in practice."[8]

With a Polynesian version of Nonconformist Christianity so visibly entrenched in Island culture, the question must be asked, why did the LMS feel compelled to hand over its mission to the Anglicans in 1915? There were three predominant reasons. First, the society was understaffed in Papua and could not provide a European superintendent, while the Anglican Church on Thursday Island, having already created a mission for South Sea Islanders in Queensland on Moa Island in 1908, was anxious to expand and possessed the means to do so. The LMS district missionary, stationed on Daru, visited twice and sometimes only once a year. It was more difficult for the district missionary to visit when the application of the Commonwealth Navigation Act to Papua from 1914 separated Papua for tariff purposes from Australia, including the Torres Strait. Second, the sole representatives of the LMS were Samoan and Ellice Island pastors. Third, there was continuing friction between the Samoan pastors, or *faifeau,* and the state schoolmasters



MAP BY TREVOR PICKLES, DEAKIN UNIVERSITY

settled on six of the islands by the Queensland government. The tension was particularly acute on Murray Island (Mer), where the Scots settler J. S. Bruce had begun a state school in the 1880s at the behest of the Queensland government Resident John Douglas.[9]

Cult Movements

The arrival of Anglican missions in both New Guinea and the Torres Strait was accompanied by an efflorescence of cult activity. In far eastern Papua this activity took the form of a minor syncretistic movement led by Abrieka Dipa of Taupota village, and in the Torres Strait there was the "German Wislin" movement of Saibai Island. Dipa, a young man with "a pleasant face and a merry disposition," had been recruited for plantation work in Queensland and had been the broker in the sale of Dogura plateau as a mission headquarters in 1891.[10] He made the seller, a man called Gaireka of Wamira village, surrender half the purchase price as a brokerage fee for his services; for this extortion he was sent home to Taupota by Maclaren, the founding missionary. When Dipa arrived at Taupota, he began wearing a red calico band on his arm and conducting his own church instruction, or *tapwaroro.* Two years later Harry Mark, the pioneer Queensland Melanesian teacher on the mission, was sent to counteract Dipa at Taupota. By then the Dipa sect had become entirely separate from the English-led mission and was holding its own services. Soon Mark was trying to impose the mission's teachings on Dipa's followers by conducting an Anglican school and canvassing Taupotans "to tell them no work Sunday."[11]

In Carpentaria the cult came before the mission. A prophet had appeared at Saibai before Gilbert White's tour of 1915, warning the villagers of the "New Messiah" soon to appear in the islands.[12] This prophecy was an offshoot of the German Wislin movement, whose doctrines had first been announced two years earlier and which had already become an established cult. The devotees anticipated the coming of ancestors bringing money, flour, and calico; their leaders were three men who were called "captains" or "generals." F. W. Walker had encountered the leading prophet announcing the "New Messiah" of Saibai and heard of the "consequent downfall of the white man."[13] It had been prophesied that the millennium would begin on Good Friday 1914; when it did not materialize, the day was postponed. The prophet reported that a steamer would tie up at a jetty that would rise out of the sea.[14] The cult had been strongly opposed by the Samoan LMS pastor on Saibai. It is possible that White's arrival on the ship *Goodwill* with Walker may have been seen as the fulfillment of the cult leader's prophecy. As a Saibai elder welcoming the bishop said: "We are like children who have lost

their father and mother. We do not know what to do or where to look. You will be our father and show us the way to go and how to live."[15] The historian must rest content with only a partial understanding of the background to the welcome given to the Anglicans on Saibai and elsewhere in the Strait.

Personnel and Attitudes

Whatever the differences in the circumstances of their founding, the hierarchies of the Anglican missions assumed a similar character once they began work. In the fifty years before World War II, 186 foreign workers enlisted in the New Guinea Mission and fifty-seven in Carpentaria.[16] Each mission was led by a succession of English-born bishops. Australians mingled with Englishmen among the clergy; the laywomen and laymen were overwhelmingly Australian. In New Guinea there were also forty-six Melanesian teachers from the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) who had originally been recruited for work on the Queensland sugar plantations and there converted to Christianity.[17]

Henry Newton, educated at Sydney University and Merton College, Oxford, and bishop of both dioceses of Carpentaria and New Guinea in succession, was exceptional among the leaders in being Australian-born. He was the adopted son of an Australian parson. More typically, the bishops were the sons of English country clergy possessing close links with the "squirearchy." Gilbert White, Bishop of Carpentaria (1900–1915), was a collateral descendant of the well-known parson-naturalist Gilbert White of Selborne (d. 1793) and like his forebear was at Oriel College, Oxford. The longest-serving bishops (Stephen Davies with twenty-eight years in Carpentaria, 1921–1949, and Philip Strong with twenty-six years in New Guinea, 1936–1962) had remarkably similar backgrounds. Davies's childhood had been spent in a rectory in Shropshire, a county bypassed in the industrial revolution and in whose villages squire and rector were often neighbors. Strong, also a son of a vicarage, was grandson of a prominent land-owning squire whose seat was at Sherborne Castle in Dorset. Both bishops were Cambridge graduates. Moreover, each had close relatives in the British armed services. Strong had served in the Thirty-third Division on the Western Front in 1917 under the command of his cousin, Major General Sir Reginald Pinney. A brother of Bishop Stephen Davies, Vice Admiral Arthur Davies, was commander of the British Atlantic Fleet during the 1920s. Sir Arthur Davies became commodore of British ocean convoys in the Russian campaign during World War II.[18]

Below the bishops were the clerical and lay workers, a few of whom served terms in both missions. From the beginning there was a steady

trickle of Anglican workers from Carpentaria to New Guinea, staff who had had some previous acquaintance with Aborigines or Torres Strait Islanders. Albert Maclaren had been rector of Mackay in North Queensland, where he had spent much time among Melanesian cane cutters. The campaign to build a church on Thursday Island had been begun by Maclaren in 1890, when he was on the island to investigate the prospects for a mission in Papua. Henry Newton, arrived in Papua in 1899, had moved to Carpentaria as bishop in 1915 and returned to Papua six years later, remaining there until his death in 1947. The first two Torres Strait clergy, Poey Passi and Joseph Lui, and all the Papuan clergy until 1947 were trained wholly or partly by Newton. Gertrude Robson of Thursday Island, Moa, and the Mitchell River Mission went to Papua in 1913; Nita Inman worked on Thursday Island before going to Papua; likewise Doris Downing left Mitchell River for Papua in 1929; Henry Matthews, killed in the Papuan Gulf in a Japanese submarine attack in 1942, had been rector of Cooktown before proceeding to the town parish of Port Moresby. There were a number of other migrant clergy, including Frere Lane, longtime priest among Aborigines of the Mitchell River; C. W. Light, rector of Darwin before moving to Papua in 1923; and Harold Thompson, rector of Normanton in the Gulf country before going to Kumbun in New Britain. Albert Haley and Harold Palmer moved from Carpentaria to Papua New Guinea after the Pacific War.[19] Only two priests—A. C. Flint (Ambasi, Papua, 1919–1922) and the Christian Socialist Alf Clint (Gona, 1948–1950)—migrated in the opposite direction, from Papua New Guinea to Carpentaria.

Although the missions shared a proportion of their workers, there were marked differences in the healthiness of the two regions where they worked. Northern Papua was more isolated from communication and more dangerous to foreigners than the Torres Strait. Traveling between the Australian port of Cooktown and the mission's headquarters at Dogura took early volunteers a week. From Dogura the mission schooner sailed for another fortnight off-loading cargo at mission stations along a 350-kilometer sweep of coast as far north as Ambasi near the Mamba River mouth. For the pioneer party of 1891, the discovery of the link between malaria and the anopheles mosquito lay ahead. The morbidity and mortality rate among the pioneer New Guinea workers, including the forty-six Melanesian teachers from Queensland, was much greater than in Carpentaria, even after Sir Ronald Ross in England incriminated the anopheles mosquito as the culprit in the malaria cycle. A typically somber entry from the first bishop's diary is this one from May 1899: "Willie Holi dangerously ill. Miss Sully down with her worst attack of fever. Ambrose, Jimmy Nogar and Miss Thomson ill. Miss McLaughlin kept school going splendidly. Mr King

down with fever."[20] New Guinea's being one of the "glories" of the Anglican Communion was occasioned by its austerity: missionary life there was said to require a standard of self-sacrifice hard to equal anywhere else in the world. The Torres Strait was healthier and closer to safety. In short, the two missions presented volunteers with differing expectations of service. A Papuan who accompanied the first Bishop of New Guinea on a recruiting tour of Queensland in 1906 said the bishop told his South Sea Islander audiences they would die in New Guinea if they volunteered. They could not expect to return to their homes. A young European recruit was overheard in Cooktown buying his passage to New Guinea: "But I shall not want a return ticket," he said. "I shall want only one way. I shall die there."[21]

Some of those who survived remained for astonishingly long terms in New Guinea: a layman (Francis de Sales Buchanan) who spent twenty-one years on northeast coast stations without once taking furlough, a laywoman (Maud Nowland) who remained thirty-three years, two Melanesian teachers (Bob Tasso and Johnson Far) with forty-three and fifty-four years respectively, two clergy (Romney Gill and Henry Newton) who totaled forty-four and forty-two years. Elizabeth and Samuel Tomlinson together spent a total of ninety-four years in Papua. The unmarried lay Australian males, who could not hope for marriage and a career in Papua, averaged far briefer terms.[22]

By contrast, service in Carpentaria was regarded by most volunteers as of limited duration. From the inauguration of the diocese in 1900, clergy had arrived on Thursday Island on the understanding they had come only "to serve for a term in the north" before returning to southern suburban parishes. There were, however, some terms of great length. E. J. Taffs was rector of Port Douglas–Mossman from 1904 to 1950, one of the longest Anglican incumbencies in Australia since the beginning of white settlement. The layman J. W. Chapman of Mitchell and Edward River Missions (1914–1957) and Bishop Stephen Davies (1922–1947) also remained for long terms; but Taffs, Chapman, and Davies were not typical. Residence in the Strait reduced some missionaries to a state of peevishness in what the priest A. P. B. Bennie called the sometimes "vile" climate, with its wet and dry seasons, but most workers did not stay long enough to have their health permanently damaged, as happened in Papua. The Torres Strait was not a malaria-ridden "white man's grave." In the New Guinea Mission, apart from the seven who perished at the hands of Japanese troops, twenty-five others died during service, death in many cases being hastened by hardship. The New Guinea Mission, with its "Exhausted Workers' Fund," flimsy bush houses, poor nutrition, and general physical deprivation, was a byword for sacrifice. The better health record of Carpentaria's workers was a corollary

to greater comfort and proximity to hospitals in northern Australia. With the Japanese attack on Rabaul in January 1942, the New Guinea Anglican staff were exhorted in a ringing broadcast by their bishop to stay. All except one did. In the Torres Strait, the remaining European priest fled with a suitcase.[23]

A further distinction between the two missions lay in their use of South Sea Islands agents. The Loyalty Island and Samoan LMS pastors who laid the foundations of Torres Strait Island Christianity were powerfully influenced by Polynesian chiefly, or *matai,* models.[24] The forty-six Queensland Melanesian teachers who helped extend New Guinea Anglicanism contrasted vividly with the Samoan patriarchs in the Torres Strait. In erudition and personal authority the Polynesian pastor had advantages over the unlettered Melanesian cane cutter, adrift from his home society and recruited for labor on the sugar plantations in Queensland. But the Melanesians did not see themselves as of a higher caste than their converts: they were prepared to do physical work; they conversed in the language of the people, married women from the Papuan villages, and died where they had worked.[25] No Polynesian in the Strait, or in any other LMS or Methodist area in Papua New Guinea, seems to have come as close to coastal villagers as did the Queensland Melanesian teacher of the New Guinea Anglican Mission.

In the Torres Strait Islands the Anglicans accommodated with little difficulty the form of Christianity they found there. By the time the LMS departed, some characteristics of Polynesian Christianity had become firmly engrained: the authoritarian pastor, acting in a presiding and ceremonial role rather than one that required physical work; the reciprocity between pastor and people to ensure a supply of food and services; the fostering of intervillage and interisland rivalry to stimulate generosity in the annual "Mei" collection (modeled on LMS meetings held in London each May). In addition, the Anglicans inherited a musical legacy: Polynesian hymns characterized by a two-part harmony with the parts moving independently, the parts sometimes in antiphon and sometimes overlapping.[26] The words came from the nineteenth-century Moody and Sankey revival tradition.

On all the inhabited islands, too, there were churches, symbols of village pride. From 1914 the LMS churches, originally given biblical names such as "Bethel" (Badu), "Etena" or Eden (Mabuiag), "Panetta" (St. Paul's Landing, Saibai), "Salom" or Peace (Yam), were rededicated by the Anglicans in honor of saints. The huge pulpits dominating their interiors were dismantled and the timber sometimes used for altars. Walls were rebuilt to take in Anglican additions of sanctuary, chancel, baptistry, vestry, and side chapels. Arches leading to side aisles were constructed for overflowing numbers. In this way "Panetta" at Saibai was expanded to seat three hundred and renamed Church of the Holy Trinity.

Anxious to preserve continuity with the past, the Anglicans in the Torres Strait Islands commemorated the LMS pioneers, rather than Gilbert White, as founders of the Torres Strait mission. In the vestries of their enlarged churches they placed portraits of Samuel McFarlane or James Chalmers. The cathedral font on Thursday Island was dedicated to Chalmers and his colleague Oliver Tomkins, killed at Goaribari in 1901. "Everything possible linking up with past days is being carefully preserved," wrote the priest-director of the Torres Strait to the LMS directors.[27] Even Chalmers's camera was put on display in the bishop's house. In 1919 the priest-director began to observe July 1 as a feast day to mark the arrival of McFarlane and the Loyalty Island teachers in 1871 as the "Coming of the Light." From that time July 1 was annually observed by Islanders at home and in mainland Queensland.

On Mer episcopal rule rekindled traditional leadership. The hereditary chiefly headship received an impetus when Poey (Tauki) Passi, heir of the last priest, or *zogo-le,* of the pre-mission cult known as Malu Bomai, began studying for ordination two years after the cession. Kabay Pilot, a priest ordained into Anglican orders with Passi in 1919, was a son of the priest-chief of nearby Darnley Island. The Anglicans' assumption of some sort of continuity between the precontact hereditary priesthood and their own priesthood was based on an appreciation, probably somewhat romanticized, of patriarchal Torres Strait Island religion. The Islanders had, said the priest-director of the Strait, "a powerful secret society, which controlled the moral welfare of the islands and possessed a defined code of rules with a sacred ministry of three orders."[28] This organization was seen as corresponding neatly with the threefold ministry within the Anglican Church. No parallel existed among the more egalitarian societies of northeastern Papua. Bishop Montagu Stone-Wigg's citing of a verse from the psalms to signify the ordination of the first Papuan priest, Peter Rautamara—"he taketh up the simple out of the dust . . . [to] set him with the princes, even with the princes of his people"—was purely figurative.[29] There were no hereditary priest-chiefs, far less "princes" in the Papuan societies that accommodated the Anglicans; whereas in the Torres Strait the dubbing of priests as "princes" of their people was a little less figurative.

European missionaries of the Church of England were, as Henry Newton said, "hugger mugger" in their work, not equipped by any professional missionary training or by anthropology.[30] The idea that there were distinct "missionary methods" gained ground only slowly in Australia. This mattered less in the Torres Strait, where Anglican methods were based on the LMS model already established. Though the leading clergy in both dioceses had Oxford or Cambridge backgrounds, no missionary until the 1930s possessed any "scientific" equipment in such disciplines as anthropology and compara-

tive religion. In 1923 Professor Baldwin Spencer of the Australian National Research Council had proposed the creating of a chair of anthropology at the University of Sydney, arguing that "it was quite clear that officials, missionaries included . . . should possess requisite anthropological knowledge."[31] Australian Anglicans were required after 1925 to study for two years at Cromanhurst, the Australian Board of Missions residential college at Burwood in Sydney, but there was no specific course in anthropology. After 1936 all trainee Australian Anglican missionaries were required to complete a course in anthropology under the Reverend Dr. A. P. Elkin, professor of anthropology at the University of Sydney. Though Malinowski had commended Newton's *In Far New Guinea* (1914), there was no one else in the Anglican churches in Papua or Carpentaria to compare, in terms of disciplined anthropological knowledge, with J. H. Holmes or Bert Brown of the LMS in Papua.[32]

Yet, because of the English public school and university education of the Anglican leaders, there was a breadth of spirit and an intellectual tolerance that distinguished them from their Evangelical forebears in the South Seas and many of their contemporaries in other missions as well. The Pacific Anglicans subscribed to the Fall of Man as did other missionaries, but this belief did not lead them to act against the traditional societies of the Strait and Papua as had their Evangelical predecessors. Anglo-Catholics stressed continuity with the past; whereas earlier Evangelical missions had sought to create a new cultural environment to help converts make a clean break with the past. Bishop Gilbert White's aphorism that "Christ never promised to give the church complete truth. He promised that his spirit should 'guide her into all truth' " endorsed the spirit of reverent agnosticism toward Melanesian culture evident in early Anglican writing in Papua and the Strait.[33] The missionary view of northeast Papuan villagers and of the Torres Strait Islanders as "gentlemen" whose community life was based on "open-handed, open-hearted generosity" and who were "not savages but Saints" reflected attitudes that appear in Anglo-Catholic literature from both missions.[34] However, in theological terms it has been suggested that, in their heartfelt admiration for the virtues of the "natural man" of the Pacific, these Anglicans came close to the heresy of Pelagianism in departing so far from a belief in the corrupting gravity of original sin.

The Torres Strait and New Guinea missions were part of the "biretta belt" permeating Anglican churchmanship in northeastern Australia. Their Anglo-Catholic impetus derived from the Oxford Movement that had begun in the 1830s under the leadership of John Keble, J. H. Newman, and E. B. Pusey. The bishops always claimed to be preserving the traditions of the ancient church. The Anglo-Catholic heritage was marked by an

emphasis on the sacraments and ritual, and aesthetically by music and movement, architecture and church ornaments as aids to worship. What concerned their Nonconformist neighbors was the visible expression of early-twentieth-century High Churchmanship, particularly the colorful services of the Anglo-Catholics, which to them resembled Roman Catholicism. In both New Guinea and Carpentaria the arrival of "ritualistic" clergy provoked a short-lived flurry of opposition among resident Protestants to try to keep the "Roman" influence within the Church of England at bay.[35] Moreover, Anglicans in both missions steadily refused to take part in united Protestant services of worship. Gilbert White, with the backing of Bishop C. G. Barlow of North Queensland (1891–1902), declined to allow Presbyterians to hold services in his cathedral (built partly through Presbyterian donations), though he did offer the Thursday Island parish hall for the purpose.[36]

From this tension there were a few isolated ripples in the villages. Papuans in the LMS sphere living closest to Saibai Island were told by Torres Strait converts that the LMS was not the "real" mission but was merely preparing the way for the bearers of the "true word" in the Anglican Church. The LMS district missionary was annoyed.[37]

Far more serious, however, was the loss of support for both the New Guinea and Torres Strait missions within the largest centers of Anglican population in Australia: the predominantly Conservative Evangelical diocese of Sydney and the "low church" diocese of Melbourne. With their use of the words "Mass" for the Eucharist and "Father" for the priest and with candles, incense, and vestments in their sanctuaries, the two missions were cut off psychologically and financially from the two dioceses where well over half the Anglicans in Australia lived. Poverty for employees of both dioceses was inevitable.

Bishops of Carpentaria led a diocese with two divergent varieties of churchmanship within their territory—Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical—unlike the more monochrome Anglo-Catholic diocese of New Guinea. The staffs of the three Church Missionary Society (CMS) missions to Aborigines on the mainland at Roper River (established 1907), Groote Eylandt (1921), and Oenpelli (1925) were Evangelicals, mainly from Sydney. However, in 1928 it was reported that there had been "no difficulties whatever" between the bishop and the CMS clergy. It is worth noting, however, that the Anglo-Catholic missions to Torres Strait Islanders and Aborigines were gathered within a close 850-kilometer radius of the bishop's headquarters, while the CMS missions were flung much farther afield, a circumstance that no one regretted. Privately, Davies described some of the CMS clergy as "badly infected by Sydneyitis."[38]

Missions and Government

There were marked differences in the behavior of Anglicans in Papua New Guinea and in Carpentaria when faced with a challenge by government authority to their monopoly over education. In Papua there was a nervous dread of government influence. When a native taxation ordinance was promulgated in 1918 with the specific goal of augmenting mission school funds by government grants from taxation, the Anglican Church told the government that any interference in its schools would be "strongly resented" and had to be assured that the government did not intend "in the least" to disturb the arrangement by which the church maintained control over its schools.[39] The Oxford Movement had begun in the 1830s as a reassertion of the spiritual independence of the Church of England and more specifically as a protest against government control, a principle congenial to Anglicans in New Guinea who saw the principle at stake in the control of education. Anglicans prized their sovereignty, greatly disliked leaning on the administration, and adopted a position of aloofness. The lofty separation of Sefoa mission station across the spectacular fiords of Cape Nelson from Tufi government station is a striking illustration of a principle fought for by the Oxford reformers in England. In New Guinea the Anglicans received no special favors.[40] No government party accompanied Maclaren and Copland King at their first landing in 1891. The only occasion when a pioneer mission was invested with official support was the founding of the Methodist Mission two months before the Anglicans began. The long-serving lieutenant-governor of Papua, Sir Hubert Murray (1908–1940), was neither English-born nor Anglican.

If there was a wariness toward the government's influence in Papua (and, in return, a jealousy of mission power among some Papuan government officers), the opposite was true in Carpentaria. In far north Queensland the diocese of Carpentaria, like the Melanesian Mission, possessed something of the privileged position of an English episcopal mission. This position was partly due to the accident of personality. While Queensland premiers, from Thomas McIlwraith to T. J. Ryan, were usually either Presbyterian or Roman Catholic, on Thursday Island the first three Residents were Anglican. John Douglas, former Queensland premier, then Resident and police magistrate on Thursday Island (1884–1904), was a member of the Carpentaria diocesan council. His successor, Hugh Milman (1905–1912), was nephew of a notable dean of St. Paul's, London. The third Resident, W. Lee Bryce, was a churchwarden of All Souls' Quetta Memorial Cathedral. Lee Bryce's fellow churchwarden at the cathedral was J. W. Bleakley, later Queensland's Chief Protector of Aborigines (1913–1942) and author of a well-known

account of Aboriginal life in Australia as he saw it.[41] In addition, the military garrison that had been set up on Thursday Island in 1895 used the cathedral for church parades. Subsequent directors of native affairs were Roman Catholics, notably Cornelius ("Con") O'Leary (1942–1963) and Patrick Killoran (1963–1985), and sympathetic to the Anglicans. Another official, Judge Macnaughtan, was chancellor of the diocese (1901–1929). The idea of Christianity and civilization being two sides of the same coin and of officers and missionaries fighting a common battle was strong in the Torres Strait. An Anglican missionary, Florence Buchanan, after her death in 1913 known as the "Apostle of Moa," used to write on her school blackboards: "One King One Flag One Fleet One Empire."[42]

In the Torres Strait, the mission accepted government schooling for its children, and Queensland government teachers worked in close contact with mission authorities. In 1920, for example, two islands—Boigu and Dauan—too small for government schools, were provided with church schools by the diocese. The schools were under Island deacons assisted by Island teachers. As these schools became firmly rooted, they were handed over by the church to the government, to be operated along the same lines as other schools.[43] One Queensland state schoolteacher, W. J. A. Daniels, was later ordained a priest. The idea that officers and missionaries were on the same side was dimmed in Papua by virulent conflicts between English missionaries and Australian officers in Milne Bay (1902–1904) and in Tufi in the late 1930s. It is difficult to imagine the New Guinea Anglican Mission handing over any of its schools to the Papuan government.

On Thursday Island there was a strong sense of the Anglican Church's civic role; in a commercial-and-official community, the church fulfilled many social functions through its organizations, such as the Harbour Lights Guild for visiting seamen, the Mothers' Union, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and the Japanese Seamen's and South Sea Islanders' Home. The white community was well represented on the Carpentaria diocesan council. On Thursday Island the cathedral was bedecked with naval and military memorials while weekday communions were held in the "John Douglas Memorial Chapel"; the leading business firms such as T. C. Hodels and E. J. Hennessys had close links with the church. This closeness was illustrated in the marriage of both daughters of the former collector of customs E. J. Hennessy to clergymen, one being J. A. G. Housden, chaplain of Mitchell River Mission (1930–1933), later Bishop of Rockhampton (1947–1958) and Newcastle, New South Wales (1958–1972). The three leading citizens in the Strait were the bishop, the protector, and the mayor of Thursday Island. "A close and happy community" was Bishop Davies's description of prewar Thursday Island. In Papua the mission headquarters at Dogura

stood in complete geographical and psychological isolation from the commercial community of Samarai, a day's sail away. St. Paul's parish church on Samarai was attended by Papuans and European residents; but apart from Arthur Bunting, founder of a leading merchandising business on Samarai, whose wife had been an Anglican teacher and son a lay canon of Dogura Cathedral,[44] the links between the business community and the mission were not close.

The economic contrast between the two missions was also striking: the comparative financial wealth of the Strait congregations from pearling and shell fishing made for relative comfort and occasional affluence, compared with the privation of northeast Papua, where wages from indentured laborers returning from Milne Bay plantations provided the only cash in circulation. Asked whether New Guinea would ever be a self-supporting diocese, Gerald Sharp, second bishop (1910–1921), said no, except in places where there was a settled white population, "for what can the natives give in support of their church?" The village people had nothing to offer except curios and vegetables.[45] In New Guinea the faithful could contribute tobacco in a box at the church door. In the Torres Strait the people gave money as well as food, and often lavishly, in the Polynesian manner, after thirty years of Samoan tutelage. Sometimes the New Guinea indigenous teacher or priest appealing for contributions was told, "You are a *dimdim* (European), so you must pay for everything."[46] Some government reports were unvarnished in their criticism of the mercenary tendencies of northeast coastal Papuan people: one officer said that persuading the Wamira people near Dogura to give their tax money was like getting blood out of a stone; another, writing from Baniara in Collingwood Bay, said of northeast coastal Papuans: "They are out for all they can get, do as little as they can without getting prosecuted and give nothing or very little in return."[47] The wretchedly built Anglican churches in New Guinea compared badly with the splendidly finished chapels of the Torres Strait. The first coral and lime church in Papua, All Saints' Church, Boianai, was erected in 1929 under the direction of C. W. Light, a priest from Carpentaria. It was the first large Anglican church structure in New Guinea, seating four hundred, and anticipated the even larger Dogura Cathedral consecrated ten years later. One reason for the success of the Dogura project was that by 1935 the supply of building materials for the cathedral had become a matter of rivalry between ethnic and language groups along the 350-kilometer mission coastline.

Financially far ahead in giving than their counterparts in New Guinea, the Torres Strait Islanders in Carpentaria's offshore mission were by the 1920s beginning to fulfill the principle embodied in Henry Venn's nineteenth-century vision of a self-supporting and self-propagating church. By the late 1920s it seemed to Davies that Islanders should take counsel in a

self-governing Carpentaria diocesan synod. In 1931 seventeen European and Island delegates (twelve clerical, five lay) met on Thursday Island as the first Carpentaria synod. The synods were examples of Islander-European decision making in action. Like the diocese of Carpentaria itself, they were without equal in other Anglican missionary enterprises in the South Pacific before 1939. The Anglicans in New Guinea held their first diocesan synod forty years later, in August 1971.[48]

The synods held at Thursday Island provided occasions for reappraisals of church, and sometimes government, policy. Concerned to preserve harmony between church and state, Carpentaria's diocesan synod and the annual New Guinea conference of missionaries rarely criticized publicly the performance of governments. On at least two occasions there were criticisms by Anglican bishops of the actions of individual government officers. These remained unpublished. But Stephen Davies used the 1935 Carpentaria synod to make a trenchant attack on the "Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts Amendment Act" that had been passed by the Queensland parliament the previous year. He called it "an infringement of the rights of citizenship possessed by some of the coloured people of Queensland." This led to a synod motion urging the federal government to strip Queensland and other states of power over Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders and to assume control of all Aboriginal people within the Commonwealth.[49]

Though Carpentaria had a synod and New Guinea had none, both were dominated by their bishops. One reason why Davies remained monarch of his diocese was the declining European population of northeastern Australia. By contrast with New Guinea, Carpentaria had originally been created as a diocese whose income was expected to come largely from white settlement; but steadily and inexorably, such settlements were beginning to become ghost towns, and Carpentaria was becoming more Melanesian and Aboriginal in character. Between 1910 and 1930, for example, the European population of Cooktown and of Croydon-Normanton in the Gulf country declined from 900 to 250 and from 2,200 to 450 respectively. Where Gilbert White had confirmed five times the number of Europeans as Aboriginals and Islanders, Davies's confirmations showed an opposite trend: of 375 persons admitted by Davies to full membership in 1935, for example, only 17 were of European descent.[50] Such a reverse was to be expected when the settled ministry once existing in Cooktown and the Gulf towns had shrunk with the European population. In 1927 Davies had taken away the service registers from Christ Church, Cooktown, after the last resident rector, Henry Matthews, was accepted by the Bishop of New Guinea as rector of Port Moresby. Davies was "convinced that church life was finished there."[51]

While the European part of the Carpentaria diocese atrophied, life in the

Melanesian churches of the Strait prospered on its mixed subsistence-and-trochus economy. Voluntary labor, enhanced by pearl shell earnings accumulated during the 1920s, enabled building programs to continue during the Depression. The size of such newly built churches at Moa (1931) and Badu (1933) also reflected interisland rivalry, the same phenomenon that had swollen contributions to the Mei meetings of the earlier Samoan regime. When Moa's new church was begun, to seat several hundred people, the five hundred Badu villagers, traditional enemies of the nearby Moa people, insisted in the early 1930s that the length of their new church must outstrip that of Moa's. The church at Badu was of cathedral-like proportions. Graced by cool arches, it was built in two years by Islanders under a European overseer, whose salary they paid. (By contrast, E. J. Taffs in the European town of Mossman had to wait twenty-five years before rebuilding his church, demolished by a cyclone in 1911.)[52]

The general prosperity of church life in the Strait was not confined to church building. There were flourishing branches of the Australian Board of Missions youth groups (later known as Comrades of St. George) and the Boy Scout movement, with annual camps under priestly leadership. The liturgy was more elaborate than earlier, with the use of incense, stations of the cross, and processions through village lanes in the islands, often led by young trepang fishermen wearing vestments. Nor did this enthusiasm abate during wartime. Some 830 Island men, from a total population of 3,500, enlisted in the Torres Strait Defence Force; and by the peak of enlistment, in most families "every male of military age was serving, fathers often side by side with their sons." Of the first company recruited in 1941, the Army fortress commander wrote: "Camp life suits these men. They are all Christians and take their religious observances very seriously. They are allowed to have their daily prayers conducted by certified 'lay readers' who are members of the unit." It was an echo of Bishop Gilbert White's words in 1917 about Islanders being Christian not only in name.[53] During the war some Islanders on Kubin Island said they saw in the sky the arms of Christ outstretched over the Torres Strait, which they took as a portent that their island homes would always be protected from invasion. The "vision of Kubin" was later captured in a mural painted over the cathedral altar on Thursday Island by the Australian artist Colin Tress.

Christian Socialism

A strand common to both missions and a by-product of their Anglo-Catholic convictions was a sympathy for the cause of Christian Socialism. Through F. W. Walker's Papuan Industries Company based from 1904 on Badu Island

in the Strait, marine produce was bought from Islanders, who purchased consumer goods in exchange: this was a socialist venture run by liberal Evangelicals of LMS background. A primary objective of Papuan Industries was assisting groups of Islanders to build or buy their own pearling luggers.[54] Inspired by Papuan Industries, the Moa Fishing Company was formed by the resident Anglican priest-director of the Strait Mission in 1925. The company was financed by worker-shareholders in a venture described approvingly in Carpentaria publications as "communistic." Bishop Stephen Davies himself was described by his own family in England as "a socialist."[55]

The short-lived Moa Fishing Company anticipated a more explicitly socialistic center on the Australian mainland region of the diocese of Carpentaria during the episcopate of John Hudson, fourth bishop (1950–1960). The Lockhart River Co-operative owed its origins to Alf Clint. Coming from a working-class background in Balmain, Sydney, Clint was a "Marxist romantic," in the words of the author Kylie Tennant, possessing an "old fashioned view . . . of monopoly capitalism and the capitalist class . . . oppressing the poor workers."[56] Ordained during the Depression and appointed to the coalmining town of Weston in the Hunter River Valley, Father Clint quickly became identified with the unionists and the Unemployed Workers' Movement. With E. H. Burgmann, warden of St. John's College Morpeth (1926–1934) and thereafter Bishop of Goulburn, Clint built up a strong Christian Socialist presence in the Hunter River Valley. He introduced a startling new element in May Day processions, marching with other clergy wearing cassocks behind a banner that was emblazoned with hammer and sickle superimposed by a cross, their slogans calling for peace, full employment, and social equality. As the Miners' Federation secretary Jim Comerford said, "On those May Days, Alf was radiant."[57] Clint corresponded with the socialist priest in New Guinea, James Benson, before joining the mission in Papua and establishing the Gona Co-operative with Benson in 1946.

Clint moved to form a similar cooperative at Lockhart River Mission in Carpentaria after being invalided out of Papua four years later. The aim of the Lockhart River Co-operative was to encourage Aborigines to earn a cash income through trochus shell and bêche-de-mer for pearl buttons. John Warby, a businessman, was Lockhart's manager. Father Clint provided Gona's Papuans and Lockhart's Aborigines with a link with the world, making them "feel they were part of a valuable movement, not just a little lost-and-forgotten mission on the edge of the sea."[58] Gona fell a casualty of Clint's withdrawal in 1950; Lockhart followed Gona into extinction ten years later, a victim of the worldwide recession in the pearling industry, as the wartime discovery of synthetic resins spelled doom for the world price of pearl shell for buttons and ornaments.

Divergence

In postwar times the paths of the two missions diverged sharply. More than anything else, this was a reflection of political geography. Any lingering expectation that the Territory of Papua and New Guinea might join northern Australia to become an integral part of the Australian Commonwealth was dispelled by the events of the early 1960s. Carpentaria's territory, spanning northern mainland and island Australia, was part of the Commonwealth. During the two decades following the ending of the Pacific War, Carpentaria's major concern was the decaying state of the church-run Aboriginal missions at Mitchell River, Lockhart River, and Edward River. From the sixties the Carpentaria Anglicans were caught up in the momentum of the worldwide movement for civil rights, in the form of racial equality and better living conditions for Aboriginal and Island people.

During the colonial period, before the question of independence arose for Papua New Guinea, the two missions behaved differently in their relations with governments. While the New Guinea Anglican Mission had stood aloof from Papuan government influence and avoided leaning on the administration as far as possible, Carpentaria was in partnership with the Queensland government from the start. In practice the Queensland government delegated responsibility for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders to the churches. A coherent Aboriginal policy had not been worked out, and the Australian state governments thrust most educational and administrative responsibility onto the missions. In return for having the churches shoulder nearly all responsibility, the Queensland government provided much more support for missions than any other Australian state.[59]

In Papua New Guinea the Anglican Mission experienced strain with government departments over a division of responsibility following the Pacific War. The conflict concerned the postwar expansion of the government into education, a field that the church felt was properly its own. Anglican resistance to the "encroachment" of government schools reached its apogee in the 1950s, during the closing years of Bishop Philip Strong's episcopate, when there was steady resistance to the founding of government schools, particularly in the Northern (Oro) District of Papua. Bishop Strong, in the words of the historian of Anglican education D. J. Dickson, appeared "belligerently defensive" in his stance over government schools.[60] Needless to say, the church was forced to capitulate from the late 1950s, while retaining some influence over its leading secondary-level boarding schools—Holy Name (Milne Bay Province), Martyrs' Memorial (Oro Province), and, later, Aiome Secondary (Madang Province).

From the 1960s the future of the New Guinea Mission was inescapably

bound up with the recognition that Papua and New Guinea would not be a state of Australia but would become a self-governing nation. Pressure for constitutional change had been building up for fifteen years, although there was little demand for it from within the territory. The leader of a United Nations visiting mission in 1962, Sir Hugh Foot, had warned Australia that it was heading for a crisis at the United Nations unless its attitude toward decolonization changed. Colonialism elsewhere was dying and, independently of the Foot mission, Australia was committed to political change in Papua New Guinea: even the conservative Australian government of Sir Robert Menzies in the sixties accepted that it was better to go earlier than later; a peaceful transfer of power and future good relations would be better assured by keeping ahead of nationalist demands.[61]

The parallel for Anglican and other churches was self-evident. Formal debate on complete Anglican localization began at the first diocesan synod in Port Moresby in 1971. While European clergy argued for a stepping down from the top positions in the church, the senior Papuan cleric, Bishop George Ambo, prayed that "self government and independence would not come in his lifetime."[62] Early in 1977, eighteen months after national independence, the New Guinea Mission was divided into five dioceses and ceased to be part of the ecclesiastical Province of Queensland under the nominal authority of the Archbishop of Brisbane.[63] Much of the legal preparation for this change had been the work of the chancellor of the diocese, Sir Donald Cleland. As former Australian Administrator of Papua and New Guinea (1952–1967), Cleland had presided over the early stages of the national decolonization process. At Dogura on February 27, in the presence of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, the Province of Papua New Guinea was formally inaugurated as a self-governing national church within the Anglican Communion.[64]

For Carpentaria the question must be asked, why were the Anglicans so tardy in pursuing a similar program of political evolution, with Aboriginal rights as the primary focus? The answer seems clear in retrospect. The Anglican Church in Carpentaria had evolved policy over the preceding sixty years, when neither "citizenship" nor "land rights" were seen as practical issues. The eventual extinction of the Aboriginal people was awaited as a certainty. Bishop George Frodsham of North Queensland had cried out in 1906: "The Aborigines are disappearing. In the course of a generation or two the last Australian blackfellow will have turned his face to warm mother earth. . . . Missionary work then may be only smoothing the pillow of a dying race."[65] But it was realized in church circles twenty years later, before being accepted in government policy, that Aborigines were not dying out as Frodsham had predicted; and, as Bishop Stephen Davies of Carpentaria was

prominent in saying, it was chiefly on mission stations that the decline in Aboriginal population had been reversed.[66]

The major issue facing Carpentaria, with its Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island majority, was Aboriginal standards of living, not fending off a government education system, far less dealing with the consequences of political rights or national independence. In the matter of living standards, the church in Carpentaria partly set the pace, leading the criticism of previous neglect of Aborigines and collaborating in the transfer of all administrative and financial responsibility for Aboriginal missions to governments. The most acute mission difficulties, however, were beyond the diocese of Carpentaria. The squalid conditions of Forrest River mission in Western Australia and Yarrabah in the diocese of North Queensland drew the mission board's attention from the early 1950s.

When the Queensland Health and Home Affairs Minister Dr. H. W. Noble, with Directors of Native Affairs Cornelius O'Leary and Patrick Killoran, visited Yarrabah in North Queensland in 1959, they were shocked at its condition. Moving farther north, they told John Warby at Lockhart River that Yarrabah was "a headache," confiding to Warby that they needed to spend $500,000 on improvements and would not commit such a large outlay on a nongovernment settlement.[67] By this time the diocese of North Queensland was receiving $100,000 per year in government funds for Yarrabah's upkeep, but it was not enough, as the superintendent reported in words that applied equally to Carpentaria's three Aboriginal missions: "The Church at Yarrabah is no longer running a mission but a large Social Service project beyond the financial and manpower resources of the Church."[68] From July 1960 the diocese of North Queensland handed over Yarrabah's financial and administrative responsibilities to the Queensland government.

The takeover of Yarrabah had a domino effect farther north. Seering John Matthews, the newly appointed Bishop of Carpentaria (1960–1968), had been priest-director of the Torres Strait Mission and after his election as bishop had toured the diocese. According to Noel Loos, the new bishop was "appalled" at the state of the missions, writing that Lockhart, Mitchell (Kowanyama), and Edward River Missions were "almost at the point of disintegating" because of lack of staff. Kowanyama and Edward River Missions in particular were in a ruinous condition; on Kowanyama there were only three drinking taps for five hundred people.[69] The squalor of Aboriginal missions run by the diocese of Carpentaria was itself testimony to the government's seventy-year practice of using the religious organizations to delegate responsibility while itself avoiding expenditure. As Bishop Ian Shevill pointed out in the neighboring North Queensland diocese, each year the church's requests for aid at Yarrabah had been "cut to the bone by the Government of Queensland."[70]

Bishop Matthews participated in increasing criticism of the Queensland government's record on Aboriginal and Island affairs. Matthews, unlike Stephen Davies, tended to express his views in combative terms. He appointed a church committee to examine the Aboriginal Preservation and Protection Acts of 1939 to 1946 and the Torres Strait Islander Act of 1939, which entrusted the five thousand Melanesians to a Protector of Islanders, an appointee of Queensland's Department of Native Affairs. "When circumlocutions are unravelled," Matthews's 1961 committee reported, the acts denied Islanders freedom to control their own property or to travel; and it was "misleading" of the government "to pretend the restrictions are not there."[71] At the same time Matthews's committee made its report, Frank W. Coaldrake, chairman of the Australian Board of Missions (ABM) (1957–1970), published a booklet urging ABM supporters to support the struggle for Aboriginal citizenship rights. Coaldrake criticized the denial of full citizenship to Islanders, describing them as "Anglicans in poverty—Anglicans in bondage," from which, he asserted, "it might well be our duty to free them."[72]

The ABM criticisms over Torres Strait and Aboriginal policy were part of a wider movement toward the assertion of citizenship rights and better conditions for Aboriginal people in terms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[73] Like other churches conducting Aboriginal missions, the Anglicans found themselves caught up in an exploration of what legal right Aborigines and Islanders had to their land, an investigation that resulted in the Australian Council of Churches' support for compensation for the loss of land.[74]

With an Aboriginal population moderately rising in postwar northern Australia, Matthews, as Carpentaria's newly enthroned bishop in 1960, was faced with appalling living conditions on Aboriginal missions run by his own church. Not surprisingly, Matthews regarded solutions as urgent. He sought greatly increased government subsidies to Carpentaria's three Aboriginal missions; in addition, he suggested that the people of all three missions be given better food rations and housing as well as educational and medical facilities and better employment prospects than the church could provide. They would then have to move and become the government's administrative and financial responsibility. Such a move had already occurred at the Presbyterian mission at Mapoon, when it had been closed in 1963 and the people moved to Bamaga near the tip of Cape York. Similarly, numbers of people from Lockhart River were persuaded to move to a village at Bamaga near Iron Range aerodrome, which was given the Lockhart River name Umagico. The rest of the community made it clear that they did not wish to move. The decision was then made to relocate the village in the mission reserve near Portland Roads wharf.[75]

In 1962 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders participated in a federal election for the first time, and in two Carpentaria missions this election was followed by the popular election of councillors to replace the outworn mission-nominated councillor system. The cyclone Dora in February 1964 presented Matthews with an opportunity by demolishing wholesale the decaying Kowanyama and Edward River Missions. The government had by then accepted responsibility for rebuilding the two missions at standards comparable to government settlements, and the Australian Board of Missions raised $84,000 through an ecumenical appeal.[76] Within two years of cyclone Dora the settlements were being rebuilt, and Matthews decided to transfer all the Aboriginal missions in Cape York Peninsula to Queensland government administration. The takeover of Lockhart River, Mitchell River, and Edward River Missions took place on 1 May 1967. As Loos puts it crisply, "By 1967 the Government's cheap ride at the expense of the Anglican Church and to the cruel detriment of the Aboriginal people was over."[77]

Summary

The Anglican churches in New Guinea and Carpentaria began in the 1890s with markedly different goals, one as a mission to "pagans" and the other a church for settlers; but LMS withdrawal and the European depopulation of the Gulf country before World War II meant that Carpentaria gradually became more and more a "missionary" diocese, continuing to inherit educational and other humanitarian responsibility for Aborigines and Islanders from the Queensland government through the agency of the Department of Native Affairs. As a government policy was worked out in the 1960s, the church placed its missions under government control. In the same period the Papua New Guinea Anglican Church evolved into an autonomous province, retaining its secondary schools and aid posts. From the 1960s, with the destiny of the territory of Papua New Guinea determined as that of a future independent state, the New Guinea diocese began appointing indigenous bishops and cut its legal ties with the Anglican Church in Australia.

Carpentaria weakened gradually as a diocese in the same period. It was absorbed into the parent North Queensland diocese in 1995. By then its work was over. Beginning in the opening years of John Matthews's reign during the early 1960s, Carpentaria had shed its administrative and financial commitment to Aboriginal missions in favor of government supervision. Aboriginal missions were moved to towns and became Aboriginal settlements. More broadly, the Anglican Church in Carpentaria responded to and hastened in its own area the impulse in Australia toward an improvement in

Aboriginal and Island living conditions, an ethnic Aboriginal identity in place of assimilation, citizenship, and land rights.

The Mabo decision by the High Court of Australia in 1992 and the Wik judgment that followed it four years later were something of a watershed. In the 1992 judgment the High Court ruled that, putting to one side "land leased to the Trustees of the Australian Board of Missions (Anglican)," the Meriam people were "entitled as against the whole world to possession, occupation and enjoyment of the lands of the Murray Islands."[78] The judgment ended forever the legal concept of terra nullius in Australia—the idea that the continent was unoccupied before European settlement.

One of the two surviving Murray Island litigants before the High Court in 1992 was the Anglican priest Dave Passi, great-grandson of the last *zogo-le* of Mer. Passi advanced the argument that God had not been absent from Meriam society before the coming of missionaries. Traditional religion, he said, had an integral relationship with mission Christianity in the same way the theology of the Old Testament had with that of the New Testament.[79] The Queensland judge who heard this interpretation described Passi's stand as idiosyncratic.[80] But Passi continued to argue, as he had argued earlier, that the traditional Meriam religion of the Murray Islands was fulfilled by the Christian faith. In their own way, Passi's words echoed the writing of the Anglo-Catholic pioneers in the Torres Strait and New Guinea who had trained and ordained his grandfather. While cherishing the memory of their LMS predecessors, these Anglo-Catholics in practice departed from their Christian iconoclasm. Like the earlier Melanesian Mission Anglicans in the western Pacific, the Torres Strait and New Guinea Anglicans "respected the traditions of Melanesian villagers because they revered their own."[81]

Postscript

Since this article was written, a considerable number of the people resident in the Torres Strait have seceded from the Anglican Church of Australia. The causes may be described as threefold. The first was the abolition of the Carpentaria diocese in 1995 and its absorption within an enlarged North Queensland diocese under Bishop Clyde Wood. For the Torres Strait, this development entailed a loss of the significance that had previously been attached to the Islands. The center of the diocese was no longer Thursday Island but Townsville, one thousand kilometers farther south. The second cause was the ordination of women in mainland Australia, which met opposition from most Torres Strait clergy. However, neither the closure of the diocese of Carpentaria nor the ordination of women seems adequate

to explain the severity of the rupture. But when Bishop Wood chose Father Ted Mosby as the future Bishop of the Torres Strait in mid-1997 without the approval of the clergy, the Torres Strait Regional Council unanimously passed a motion of "no further confidence" in the bishop. The motion was seconded by Father Dave Passi, one of the three plaintiffs in the Mabo land case. Undeterred, Bishop Wood proceeded to the consecration of Father Mosby, and eighteen Torres Strait clergy then submitted their resignations.

The dissident clergy sought links with the Traditional Anglican Communion, a worldwide body formed during the international debate over the question of women's ordination. In April 1998 the Traditional Anglican Communion provided three bishops from Canada and Australia to consecrate Canon Gayai Hankin as Bishop of the Torres Strait in the presence of twenty-five hundred people. At the same time Father Dave Passi was consecrated assistant bishop. The attendance of half the resident population of the Strait was taken by supporters as an indication that the majority endorsed secession and supported the new "Traditional" Islands church.

NOTES

I wish to thank the Right Reverends Dave Passi and John Hepworth for supplying information used in this article. Acknowledgment is also made of the Right Reverend Anthony Hall-Matthews for criticism of an earlier draft, and to the Reverend Peter Bennie for additional comments. A more comprehensive study of the Carpentaria church is found in John Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria: Being a History of the Church of England in Northern Australia from 1865–1965* (Brisbane: Diocese of Carpentaria, 1965). See also David Wetherell, "From Samuel McFarlane to Stephen Davies: Continuity and Change in the Torres Strait Island Churches 1871–1949" (*Pacific Studies* 16, no.1 [March 1993], 1–32). Works published on Papuan missions include Diane Langmore, *Missionary Lives Papua, 1874–1914,* Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 6 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989); Georges Delbos, *The Mustard Seed: From a French Mission to a Papuan Church, 1885–1985* (Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1985); and David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea, 1891–1942* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977).

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

2. *The Carpentarian,* Thursday Island (hereafter *TC*), May 1930.

3. Church of England, *Proceedings of the General Synod,* session 1886, Res. 14.

4. In addition, 100 to 150 European miners were concentrated in the Yodda and Gira Rivers in northern Papua for brief periods between 1899 and 1909. See Hank Nelson, *Black, White and Gold: Goldmining in Papua New Guinea, 1878–1930* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1976), 121.

5. J. O. Feetham and W. V. Rymer, eds., *North Queensland Jubilee Book, 1878–1928* (Townsville: Diocese of North Queensland, 1929), 13.

6. J. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria: Being a History of the Church of England in Northern Australia from 1865–1965* (Brisbane: Diocese of Carpentaria, 1965), 41–59. The small Anglican mission at St. Paul's on Moa Island was created as a settlement for a small number of Queensland Melanesian laborers after the repatriation of the Melanesians in 1901–1906.

7. J. Beckett, E. Bani, et al., *Modern Music of Torres Strait* (Canberra: Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1981), 2.

8. G. White, *Round About the Torres Straits: A Record of Australian Missions* (London: Central Board of Missions and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917), 41.

9. J. Douglas to J. Chalmers, Thursday Island, 27 November 1898, LMS Papua Letters, Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London, microfilm in the National Library of Australia (NLA) (hereafter cited as PL); A. C. Haddon, *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition* (Cambridge, 1908), 6:178–179; see also David Wetherell, "From McFarlane to Davies."

10. S. Tomlinson, Diary, 1 January 1892, Mitchell Library, Sydney; see also W. MacGregor, Diary, 13 June and 4 September 1891, NLA.

11. H. Mark to M. J. Stone-Wigg, New Guinea, n.d., Anglican Archives, University of Papua New Guinea (hereafter AA).

12. Lee Bryce to A. C. Haddon, Thursday Island, 30 September 1914, Haddon Papers, Cambridge University Library, envelope 24.

13. Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), 94–95.

14. Ibid.

15. Gilbert White, *Thirty Years in Tropical Australia* (London: SPCK, 1924), 214.

16. The fifty-seven workers in Carpentaria include European clergy ordained by the bishops of Carpentaria (1901–1942). The total also includes the vicars of Thursday Island (1890–1901). I have not included the forty Church Missionary Society missionaries in the Northern Territory within the diocese of Carpentaria (1908–1942). In that period, no CMS missionary worked in the Torres Strait, the region under study. Staff numbers in Carpentaria computed from lists in *TC;* Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* especially pp. 216–219.

17. David Wetherell, " 'The Bridegroom Cometh': The Lives and Deaths of Queensland Melanesians in New Guinea, 1893–1956," *Pacific Studies* 12, no. 3 (July 1989): 53–89.

18. *Sunday Mercury* (Shrewsbury, Shropshire), 23 June 1968; David Wetherell, ed., *The New Guinea Diaries of Philip Strong, 1936–1945* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1981), preface;

Who Was Who, 1951–1960, vol. 5 (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964), 280–281. Stephen Davies was, like his admiral brother, a good seaman who spent a large proportion of the year on mission boats. There is a reference to General Pinney in Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That,* first published in 1929.

19. Albert Haley was first bishop of the Anglican Catholic Church of Australia, founded in 1987 during the conflict over the proposal to ordain women. See postscript.

20. M. Stone-Wigg, Diary, 19 May 1899, AA.

21. E. Meduedue, *Address by Edgar Meduedue with Theodore Lodi's Story* (Sydney: Australian Board of Missions, 1906); C. Cribb to R. W. Thompson, Cooktown, 25 May 1893, PL.

22. For a discussion on length of service in four Papuan missions, see Diane Langmore, *Missionary Lives Papua, 1874–1914* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 250–255.

23. W. J. A. Daniels to H. T. U. Jamieson, Clontarf, Queensland, 25 June 1977, in Bishop's House Thursday Island archives. The woman who left Papua was the pregnant wife of a staff member. The priest who fled was Godfrey Gilbert; Bishop Davies was stranded in Townsville by the proclamation of a military district over the Islands. A recent discussion of the New Guinea Anglicans during the Pacific War is Rachel Moriarty, "Vivian Redlich, 1905–1942: A Martyr in the Tradition," in *Studies in Church History Martyrs and Martyrologies,* vol. 30, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society and Blackwell, 1992), 453–463.

24. David Wetherell, "Pioneers and Patriarchs: Samoans in a Nonconformist Mission District in Papua, 1890–1917," *Journal of Pacific History* 15, no. 3 (July 1980): 136–137. Loyalty Islanders in the Strait came from chiefly societies in Mare, Lifu, and Uvea; the leading Loyalty Islands teacher Mataika and possibly some others were of Tongan descent.

25. Wetherell, " 'The Bridegroom Cometh,' " 53–89.

26. Beckett, Bani, et al., *Modern Music,* 2.

27. W. H. MacFarlane to LMS Directors, Darnley Island, 9 March 1919, United Church Archives, University of Papua New Guinea.

28. W. H. MacFarlane, "Amongst the Islands of the Torres Straits: Half a Century's Retrospect," in *The East and the West* (London), May 1918.

29. *Occasional Paper,* English Association, New Guinea Mission, 57/2, 1918.

30. Henry Newton, *In Far New Guinea: A Stirring Record of Work and Observation amongst the People of New Guinea, with a Description of Their Manners, Customs and Religions* (London: Seeley Service, 1914), 25.

31. *Argus* (Melbourne), 10 December 1923.

32. For a study of Holmes's attitudes, with a note on Brown, see R. E. Reid, "John Henry Holmes in Papua," *Journal of Pacific History* 13, nos. 3–4 (1978): 173–187.

33. Gilbert White, *The Church and Modern Life* (Townsville, 1892), 11.

34. See, for example, *Occasional Paper* 44/6 (1915), 53/15 (1916), 60/5 (1919). It is noteworthy that some of these extracts from Papua were those of Gertrude Robson, who had formerly worked among Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. Interview, W. Houghton, Boroko, May 1991.

35. David Wetherell, *Charles Abel and the Kwato Mission of Papua New Guinea, 1891–1975* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 59–60.

36. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 93–99.

37. Fly River District Report, 1924, LMS Papua Reports, NLA.

38. The Australian Board of Missions established missions to Aborigines at Mitchell River, now Kowanyama (established 1906); Lockhart River (1924); and Edward River, now Pormpuraaw (1938). For CMS missions, see Keith Cole, *From Mission to Church: The CMS Mission to the Aborigines of Arnhem Land, 1908–1985* (Bendigo: Keith Cole Publications, 1985); Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 150; S. Davies, Notes on Clergy, 1949, Bishop's House Thursday Island archives. Cole notes that the diversity of churchmanship "sometimes meant friction" between bishop and CMS missionaries in the 1940s. See p. 44.

39. G. Sharp to C. E. Herbert, Dogura, 11 March 1918, AA.

40. Maclaren's attempt to gain status for the Church of England as the "National Church" was rebutted on one occasion by MacGregor. See S. B. Fellows, Diary, 29 July 1892, Fellows Collection, Australian National Gallery, Canberra.

41. White, *Thirty Years in Tropical Australia,* 218–219; Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 98; J. W. Bleakley, *The Aborigines of Australia: Their History—Their Habits—Their Assimilation* (Brisbane: Jacaranda, 1961).

42. E. Jones, *Florence Buchanan* (London: Central Board of Missions and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921), contains a photograph of Florence Buchanan with a blackboard containing the words referred to in the text. The title "director of native affairs" was later amended to "director of Aboriginal and Islander affairs."

43. Keith Rayner, "The History of the Church of England in Queensland" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Queensland, 1962), 480.

44. *Occasional Papers* 131/21 (1953).

45. *Australian Board of Missions Review* (Sydney), 1 July 1912.

46. I. M. Percy to H. Newton, Didiwaga, 6 August 1922, AA.

47. Resident Magistrate Eastern Division, patrol report 10 March 1922; Baniara Station Journal, 19 June 1941, Australian Archives, Canberra, CRS G91.

48. *Occasional Papers* 151/3–7 (1971).

49. *TC* 31, no. 123 (1931); 37, no. 148 (1937); 25, no. 140 (1935); 25, no. 141 (1936).

50. Wetherell, "From McFarlane to Davies," 20.

51. S. Davies, Diary, 13 August 1927, Oxley Library, Brisbane; Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 159.

52. *TC* 35, no. 140 (1935); 36, no. 143 (1936); 34, no. 140 (1935); 34, no. 137 (1935); Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 112, 162.

53. Quoted in Robert A. Hall, *The Black Diggers* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989), 35. White's words are cited in note 8.

54. F. W. Walker, *The Appeal of the Backward Races to the Business Man* (London: Papuan Industries, 1907).

55. *Sunday Mercury* (Shrewsbury, Shropshire), 23 June 1968.

56. Kylie Tennant, *Speak You So Gently* (London: Gollancz, 1959), 124. For a study of the rise and fall of Christian Socialist ventures at Gona in Papua and the Lockhart River, see Noel Loos and Robyn Keast, "The Radical Promise: The Aboriginal Christian Cooperative Movement," *Australian Historical Studies* 25, no. 99 (October 1992): 286–301.

57. Jim Comerford, "Alf Clint in Weston," in *Salute to Alf Clint,* ed. Leo Kelly (Sydney: Co-operative for Aborigines, Glebe, 1981).

58. Tennant, *Speak You So Gently,* 81.

59. Noel Loos, "From Church to State: The Queensland Government Take-Over of Anglican Missions in North Queensland," *Aboriginal History* (Canberra) 15, nos. 1–2: 73.

60. D. J. Dickson, "Government and Missions in Education in Papua and New Guinea with Special Reference to the New Guinea Anglican Mission 1891 to 1970" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Papua New Guinea, 1971), see especially pp. 259–270.

61. For references to Menzies, see Ian Downs, *The Australian Trusteeship Papua New Guinea, 1945–75* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1980), 72–73, 215–239; James Griffin, Hank Nelson, and Stewart Firth, *Papua New Guinea: A Political History* (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1979), 138.

62. *Occasional Paper* 151/4, 7 (1971) and 159/2–8, 13–14 (1977).

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Quoted in Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Australians* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994), 101.

66. *TC* 34, no. 137 (1935).

67. Loos, "From Church to State," 79.

68. Ibid.

69. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 196.

70. Loos, "From Church to State," 84.

71. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 195.

72. F. W. Coaldrake, *Flood Tide in the Pacific* (Sydney: ABM, 1963); see also ABM Board minutes, "Chairman's Report," 3–5 May 1966, p. 10, and ibid., 27–29 September 1960, cited in Loos, "From Church to State," 75.

73. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 196.

74. Loos, "From Church to State," 75.

75. Ibid., 80.

76. Ibid., 81.

77. Ibid., 84.

78. *Eddie Mabo and others, plaintiffs, and The State of Queensland, defendant: Order I High Court of Australia,* Canberra, High Court of Australia, F.C. 92/014. See Noel Loos and Koiki Mabo, *Edward Koiki Mabo: His Life and Struggle for Land Rights* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1996), 163–165.

79. Sharon Connolly (producer) and Trevor Graham (director), *Land bilong islanders,* video (Melbourne: Yarra Bank Films, 1990); Dave Passi, interview with E. E. Hawkey, transcribed by David Wetherell, Brisbane, December 1983; Dave Passi, pers. com., May 1991. In the Wik judgment of December 1996, the High Court partially accepted an appeal by the Cape York Wik and Thayorre peoples that native title coexists with pastoral leases and that Aboriginal people can claim native-title rights for fishing, camping, and hunting depending on the terms of individual pastoral leases. The ambiguity of the judgment has created uncertainty in Australia over security of pastoral leaseholds.

80. Mr. Justice Moynihan of the Queensland Supreme Court said of Father Passi: "I accept him as an essentially honest witness although he has a somewhat idiosyncratic view of some issues, not the least being the Malo story and Christianity, and a propensity for selective reconstruction—although no doubt he is persuaded by the truth of his vision." *Age* (Melbourne), 4 June 1992.

81. David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849–1942* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978), 294.