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Mission and the Margins

A *margin* is the blank border of a printed page. To be *marginal* is to be *of the edge*, neither central nor significant. Some 150 million human beings officially qualified as “migrants,” of which an estimated 20 million were refugees, according to United Nations figures for 2002. Such ciphers mask the angst of social dislocation—with its attendant miseries, humiliations, and dangers—endured by specific individuals, each with a name, a story, and modest hopes. Refugees are on the margins of the marginalized, significant only to the extent that they constitute an inconvenience or a security threat to their comfortably incumbent host populations.

In his lead article, Jehu Hanciles explores the impact of migration on church and mission, arguing that the Christian faith depends for its survival upon cross-cultural diffusion—one of the inevitable side effects of population dislocation. Lalsangkima Pachuau’s wonderfully informative study takes a close look at some of the most vital churches in the world, whose combined membership represents nearly a quarter of India’s Christian population. Inhabiting the disdained edges of mainstream Hindu society, the peoples of Northeast India have affirmed and grounded their indigenous identities by embracing an extraordinarily missional Christianity.

In Great Britain, as elsewhere in Christendom’s traditional heartlands, a once confident establishment church, having atrophied into a spiritually enfeebled, demographically decimated, and missiologically tentative vestige of its former self, now struggles to survive. Although it has paid scant official attention to its missionary fringes in the past, its renewal—if there is renewal—may spring from these now vital margins, according to Kenneth Ross in his article “Blessed Reflex.”

The essays in this issue remind us that the universe is not like a two-dimensional sheet of paper. Seeing merely the surface of things, we humans necessarily invent and employ terms that reflect this limitation. But the mysterious verity embedded in our moral universe is that those on the outer edges of human cognitive maps are at the center of God’s *modus operandi*. God’s multidimensional perspective places human margins—even religious ones, as Jacques Dupuis suggests—at the center of divine significance. The One whose memory “Christianity” evokes was

himself profoundly dispossessed. Born into the ethnic fringes of a powerful empire, he found himself on *its* margins. He annoyed, provoked, and was finally dispatched by custodians of the status quo. His coterie comprised mostly people with neither pedigree nor the capacity to make a mark on human history. The humble, his mother had sung, would be exalted; the meek, he had claimed, would inherit the earth.

And truly, it was and is such men and women who, acutely conscious that “here we have no lasting city,” have turned the world upside down. This issue of the *IBMR* reflects that reality.

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of Missionary Research

The Legacy of Robert Henry Codrington

Allan K. Davidson

In the preface to his book *The Melanesians: Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-Lore* (1891), Robert Codrington wrote, "One of the first duties of a missionary is to try to understand the people among whom he works." He himself reflected a deep commitment to this value. Over his many years with the Melanesian people, he gained a deep knowledge of their society, languages, and customs through a close association with them. Codrington was careful, however, in making claims about his understanding, quoting with approval the words of the Methodist missionary Lorimer Fison: "When a European has been living for two or three years among savages he is sure to be fully convinced that he knows all about them; when he has been ten years or so amongst them, if he be an observant man, he finds that he knows very little about them, and so begins to learn."¹

Codrington and the Melanesian Mission

Codrington was born in 1830 in Wroughton, Wiltshire, England; both his father and his paternal grandfather were Anglican clergymen.² Codrington attended Charterhouse from 1845 to 1848 and then Wadham College, Oxford, graduating with a B.A. in 1852 and an M.A. in 1856. He was elected to a fellowship at Wadham, which he held from 1855 to 1893. Ordained a deacon in

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1855 and priest in 1857, he served as a curate to Edmund Hobhouse in Oxford. Hobhouse became the first bishop of Nelson (New Zealand), and Codrington followed him out to New Zealand, serving at Collingwood for eighteen months from 1860 to 1861 and then at Waimea. Codrington was a moderate High Churchman. He was not impressed with colonial society and found himself very much at home working in the Melanesian Mission. Codrington was not an ambitious man, declining both the post of first bishop of Dunedin and the missionary bishopric of Melanesia after Patteson's death.

The Melanesian Mission, inaugurated in 1849 by the Anglican bishop of New Zealand, George Augustus Selwyn, was unique in its missionary approach. The mission "was a mixture of pragmatism, given . . . [Selwyn's] inadequate financial and human resources, and romantic idealism associated with his vision," which was "'to make my diocese the great missionary centre of the Southern Ocean'."³ Working in the Solomon Islands and the northern islands of what is now known as Vanuatu, Selwyn recruited young men and later young women to come back to New Zealand for training, with the hope that when they returned home, they would become evangelists among their own people. From the outset the mission took a positive approach to Melanesians and their society. Selwyn rejected the evangelical language and attitude of his age, which condemned people as "vile," "poor heathen," or "perishing savages."⁴ John Coleridge Patteson, who was consecrated as the first missionary bishop of Melanesia in 1861, built on this approach, writing that "every single man, because he is a man, is a partaker of that

nature which is common to all, and that is the nature which at the right hand of God is united to the Divine Nature in the Person of Christ.”⁵ The mission was noted for its egalitarian ideals and emphasis on the common humanity shared by all people. There was from the outset a strong desire to create a “native church” under Melanesian leadership.⁶

While the Melanesian Mission represented a creative and innovative approach to mission, it had its limitations. Faced with the huge diversity of languages in Melanesia, it opted to use Mota, a language used in the Banks Group, as a common language. For many Melanesian students, Christianity was thus conveyed through the medium of a second language. The use of the Book of Common Prayer and the adoption of Anglican patterns of ministry brought their own impositions. The model of schooling adopted, first in Auckland, and then from 1867 at Norfolk Island, introduced Melanesians to a formal approach to education, which contrasted with their own informal methods.⁷ Codrington served as headmaster of the Melanesian Mission school on Norfolk Island from 1867 to 1887.

The transfer of the mission headquarters to Norfolk Island in 1867 was undertaken in order to reduce the distance between the Melanesian islands and the mission base, as well as to escape the colder Auckland climate. Initially Codrington thought of his removal as going into exile, reporting, “I feel that this place is uncomfortably remote from the world.”⁸ He likened the community at Norfolk to “those ancient monasteries in the N. of England or in Germany you may read of where there is a good deal of education going on side by side of labour, and two kinds of education viz. the Christian civilizing of savages & the learning of divinity by advanced students.”⁹ (The “advanced students” were John Palmer and Joseph Atkin, missionaries preparing for ordination.)

Codrington took his fair share in the running of the institution. “Somehow,” he wrote in 1869, “I never have time for anything now being chief cook, having 23 pupils, and a pupil teacher to coach up, and the younger clergy also twice a week.” He frequently complained of not being able to find time to read.

Codrington’s letters helped fuel public outrage over the labor traffic.

Although he had been offered a parish in England in 1869, he had no desire to leave Norfolk Island, as “one certainly gets attached to the people[,] a little to the place but not much.” On top of his teaching responsibilities Codrington designed the dining hall, which seated 140,¹⁰ acquainted himself with printing,¹¹ taught some students to play the harmonium,¹² and made wedding rings for the Melanesian brides and plum puddings for the community wedding breakfasts!¹³ In addition he experimented with photography, sketched when he could, and enjoyed gardening.

When Bishop Patteson was killed in 1871, Codrington became head of the mission, a post he held until J. R. Selwyn was consecrated in 1877. This position added considerably to Codrington’s administrative responsibilities. In one letter he mentioned having received seventy letters and written thirty-five in reply, along with a report.¹⁴ Another burden was the oversight of the building of St. Barnabas’s Chapel, which well-wishers in England saw as a fitting memorial to Bishop Patteson. Codrington entered into a lengthy correspondence over the

inappropriateness of the first plans sent from England and the problems with hiring stonemasons and carpenters on Norfolk Island. With no one available to carve the caps and bases for the marble shafts, Codrington set about the task himself, writing, “I never tried to carve stone & am afraid. Besides I have so little time.”¹⁵ He was not impressed that Patteson’s cousin and biographer, the novelist Charlotte Yonge, decided to donate a pipe organ for the chapel, “which we don’t want & which will ruin us to get here & make a place for it, and after all will be but seldom used at the best, and probably never really used up to its capabilities.”¹⁶

There are few reflections in Codrington’s letters about the underlying purpose of the mission, apart from vague references to people being “Christianized.” Conversion for Codrington was seen in terms of changes in people’s way of life. After two weeks’ residence at Mota, where George Sarawia, the first Melanesian deacon, worked, Codrington reflected that “the great fact is that there is now a native missionary among his own countrymen, who can well be trusted to teach them sensibly and according to native ideas.” He did not expect the island to “be Christian yet awhile,” although it might be “nominally so in a very short time.” Christianity was understood on Mota in terms of “peace & quietness,” with Sunday being “kept without work.” But Codrington concluded, with a touch of gentle humor, that “the most wonderful thing about heathen savages is that they are so extremely like other people. When one gets used to the colour, which is certainly the best wear for the climate[,] it is absurd to see the exact likeness of people you see in everyday England. My particular old friend, if white, would keep a general shop in the village and be Church warden . . . others are the exact counterparts of a country parson.”¹⁷

Codrington was very critical of the impact of labor recruiters for Queensland and Fijian sugar plantations in the Melanesian islands, referring to their activity as “the slave trade.” He was appalled at the deception the traffickers used and the depopulation and destabilization that their activities were causing.¹⁸ In his view the laborers who returned to their islands “come back much worse than they went.” Reflecting his prejudices against the worst aspects of colonial society, he complained that “the low kind of Europeans are a worse lot in every way almost than the ordinary savages—what the real value of their civilization is[,] is a very difficult question to determine.”¹⁹ Codrington believed that Patteson’s death at Nukapu was a Melanesian payback or revenge killing because of the activity of what he called slavers, who had forcibly taken away five young men from the island.²⁰ While Patteson sought to regulate labor recruitment, he was not totally opposed to it. Codrington’s was the most radical voice in the mission on the issue. The outrage at Patteson’s death, which Codrington’s letters helped to fuel, contributed to the imperial legislation regulating the labor traffic.²¹

Pioneering Linguistic Research in Melanesia

Codrington made five voyages to the islands, including several lengthy stays at Mota, and wrote up and illustrated journals of his experiences there. He loathed sea travel and disliked island food, although he confessed, “A fortnight at Mota is worth a fortnight’s sea sickness.”²² The expertise he developed in the Mota language was considerable. He was involved in translating portions of the Bible for liturgical and teaching purposes. The mission did not place a high priority on completing the translation of the whole Bible, and Codrington did not finish it until 1912. In 1875 he wrote that he had translated the historical parts of the Old Testament, and “when that is in print I shall not see it

necessary to do any more translation into Mota," preferring to begin work in one of the Solomon Island languages.²³ In 1898, while he was translating the Prophets, he complained, "I am not altogether in favor of translating obscure passages & parts of the scripture until a fair number of natives can make something out of them. . . . In a mission with a great number of tongues, I shd think it better to get the New Test. complete in ten of them, before getting the Old Test. complete in one."²⁴

While Mota was the common language, students were grouped with missionaries, who were encouraged to learn languages from different areas in Melanesia. Codrington endorsed Patteson's approach, believing that Melanesians "must teach their countrymen in their own tongue, and by their own tongue they must be taught." In the same way the layperson "must be preached to in his own language, and in his own language he ought to pray."²⁵

Patteson gained a reputation as a prodigious linguist and shared some of his early work on Melanesian languages with Friedrich Max Müller, the noted Oxford Sanskrit scholar and linguist. In 1865 Müller encouraged Patteson to make a systematic study of Melanesian languages, arguing that "savage languages alone can show how far languages can change." He sent to Patteson, via Codrington, who was visiting England, Edward Tylor's recently published *Researches into the early history of mankind and the development of civilization* (1865), along with his own review of it. Müller suggested, "It will show you how valuable accurate, trustworthy observations of the habits of savages are for many important inquiries."²⁶

Patteson, who was too preoccupied with the demands of overseeing the mission to undertake detailed philological studies, encouraged Codrington to engage in linguistic work.

Conversion for Codrington could be seen in changes in people's way of life.

Codrington's researches culminated in *The Melanesian Languages*, published in 1885. In the same year he was awarded an honorary D.D. from Oxford. Codrington included in his book a comparative examination of seventy words in forty Melanesian languages and the study of the grammar of thirty-five different languages. Most of his research was carried out among the students at Norfolk Island "by the medium generally of the Mota language" and reflected the contacts they provided him with the central Melanesia societies.²⁷ It was a notable achievement, given the heavy demands placed on him

Codrington was faced with trying to understand both the bewildering multiplicity of languages in Melanesia and the physical and cultural diversity among the peoples. In a lengthy letter in 1874 to the German anthropologist Georg Gerland, he identified what he called "possibly [a] modern Polynesian element" or "pure Polynesians" living at places like Bellona, Tikopia, and Nukapu within the Melanesian area. He noted considerable difference between "the Banks' islanders and New Hebrides people" when compared with those living in the Solomon Islands. In distinguishing people, he referred to practices prevalent in some areas such as head-hunting and "native art and industry." Codrington distinguished between Melanesians in the Solomon and Santa Cruz's groups who chewed betel nut and those to the east who drank kava. He identified two major

language groups, the Melanesian tongues, which were marked by considerable differentiation but with "a general unity of language at bottom," and the Polynesian languages, which were "characterized by unchangeableness" or similarity.²⁸ The recognition of two major language families in Melanesia—what are now called the Austronesian (the Polynesian languages) and the non-Austronesian (or the older Melanesian languages)—fits in well with later philological understanding.²⁹

George W. Stocking has indicated that although Codrington was in touch with "evolutionary anthropology" through his contacts with Edward Tylor, whose lectures he attended in Oxford in 1883, Codrington "never really became a convert to evolutionism."³⁰ Codrington was no armchair theorist like Müller, Tylor, and Gerland, with whom he corresponded. Before field-based anthropology and its development as a professional academic discipline, missionaries were among the best informants regarding other peoples, their cultures, and their languages. Missionaries' long-term residence and their commitment to learning people's languages made them participant-observers in societies and cultures that they were seeking to modify. Codrington was among the most accomplished of the nineteenth-century missionary scholars who contributed significantly to the early growth of anthropology through their ethnographic and philological researches.³¹

Pioneering Anthropological Insights

In *The Melanesians*, which was his major contribution to anthropology, Codrington indicated that his approach was "as far as possible to give the natives' account of themselves by giving what I took down from their lips and translating what they wrote themselves."³² The adoption of an evolutionary framework and use of social Darwinism by anthropologists led them to see gradations among people from savagery to civilization, with inherently racist overtones. Codrington avoided these conclusions, retaining a positive approach to Melanesians. Referring to a book by Edward Tylor, Codrington noted that he "gives credit most deservedly as most people don't, to savages for having plenty of brains. He quite confirms what I always have said that savages are wonderfully like other people."³³ Following his reading of John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man* (1870), Codrington concluded that "the savages of the scientific man recede [sic] farther and farther from my experience, and my belief is that if you could get the evidence of people who really know and live with those savages who are considered the lowest[,] you would find that the savages of the very low type does not exist in the world."³⁴

Codrington was critical of the armchair theorists, complaining that "scientific men fit their evidence to preconceived ideas of what savages ought to be."³⁵ While he thought Julius Brenchley's "general views are good" in his travelogue about the Pacific, Codrington described it as "one other example . . . of what I find everywhere that a traveller puts his own notions into the actions or work of savages and then the philosophers at home quote him as an authority."³⁶ Codrington was open to acknowledging his own biases and was conscious of the difficulties an outsider had in trying to understand a society and people different from himself, describing how "every one, missionary and visitor, carries with him some preconceived ideas; he expects to see idols, and he sees them. . . . It is extremely difficult for any one to begin enquiries without some prepossessions, which, even if he can communicate with the natives in their own language, affect his conception of the meaning of the answers he receives. The

questions he puts guide the native to the answer he thinks he ought to give."³⁷

The Melanesians was a considerable achievement of scholarship. Codrington describes in great detail, with multiple examples from the different areas familiar to him, Melanesian social regulations and behavior, religious and spiritual dimensions, the stages of life and rites of passage, material aspects, dances, music, and games. The significance of Codrington's work lay both in his descriptions and in his development of his own theoretical framework.

The most influential contribution Codrington made to anthropology was in his identifying "the belief in a supernatural power or influence, called almost universally *mana*." In a footnote Codrington refers to a quotation that Müller makes in his 1878 Hibbert Lectures drawn from one of Codrington's letters, in which Codrington described *mana*: "There is a belief in a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which it is of the greatest advantage to possess or control. This is Mana."³⁸ *Mana* for Codrington was "that invisible power which is believed by the natives to cause all such effects as transcend their conception of the regular course of nature, and to reside in spiritual beings." This power could be used negatively or positively, making "rain or sunshine, wind or calm, to cause sickness or remove it, to know what is far off in time and space, to bring good luck and prosperity, or to blast and curse." *Mana* is something a person has; it can be gained, increased, or lost.³⁹ The effect of *mana*, Codrington wrote, lay in people's belief in the efficacy of the prayers, offerings, charms, and rituals used to convey and acquire it, shrewdly observing that "it is not only in Melanesian islands that whatever confirms a belief is accepted and whatever makes against it is not weighed."⁴⁰

What Codrington does not explore is how far Christianity was seen as offering access to a new form of *mana*. Certainly the confusion between the Christian Gospel (i.e., the message) and the cultures brought by the missionaries (the medium, particularly their material possessions) created considerable confusion as Melanesians sought the *mana* of the new teaching in order to acquire the *mana* of the material goods that would give them increased status in their own society. Melanesian cargo cults must be understood within the conceptual framework of the Melanesian world, which Codrington began in his work to reveal. Darrell Whiteman, making a "crude paraphrase" of Codrington, indicated that "'without *mana* there is no salvation; salvation, of course, being an abundance and success in all the possibilities of human life."⁴¹

The lasting value of Codrington's work was in drawing from firsthand informants and from his own experience in the islands insights into Melanesian life and customs and placing them in a coherent interpretative framework. As Whiteman observed, however, "Western scholars, including Codrington, have made far more of it [*mana*] philosophically and intellectually than would Melanesians," to whom "*mana* is related to results obtained, and not to an abstract concept upon which is hung a philosophical argument."⁴²

The Missionary Approach to Melanesia

Building on the foundations of Selwyn and Patteson, Codrington developed an approach to Melanesian society and missionary work that others were to extend. Walter Ivens and Charles Fox stood in the Codrington missionary/scholar tradition. Fox wrote of Codrington that he had "a great reputation as a philologist and

anthropologist far beyond Melanesia. . . . In deep insight, sound judgment and at the same time originality of ideas he stands very high."⁴³ The Selwyn-Patteson-Codrington approach encouraged a form of "inculturation" of Christianity in the Melanesian Mission before the word was coined, although that inculturation had distinctive Anglican characteristics.⁴⁴ The missionary strategy of bringing young people to Norfolk Island, however, did not result in the rapid evangelization of their home islands.⁴⁵

Sara Sohmer has identified the intellectual background and missionary approach of the Melanesian Mission that contributed to its nonjudgmental approach to Melanesian society in the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ Codrington can be identified as sharing these factors. He was not only open to the "new developments in philology, ethnology and comparative mythology" but engaged in the "careful examination of sources," was willing "to utilize different types of evidence," and had "an enlarged sense of historical time and a strong preference for the comparative." For Codrington, "the universality of Christianity formed both its greatest innovation and the theological basis of mission."⁴⁷

In 1887 Codrington retired from the mission, returning for a brief period in 1892, when he worked with John Palmer in producing a Mota dictionary. He was a vicar of Wadhurst in the Diocese of Chichester from 1887 to 1893, a prebendary of Chichester Cathedral from 1888 to 1895, and served for twenty-five years as a lecturer at Chichester Theological College.⁴⁸ In 1902 he delivered the Wittering Lectures at the cathedral on the presentation of Christianity to "savage" peoples. His last major publication was his entry "Melanesians" in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.⁴⁹

Codrington was reluctant to write about his own life and work. He was "rather horrified" to find that a journal of an island voyage he had sent to his brother was published.⁵⁰ He objected to the idea of writing an autobiography on the grounds that he had no wish to obtrude himself on the public, that he would "say so much about other people," including Melanesians, who could not read what he said, and because "it would be always doubtful whether what I was writing was true." He regarded his translation work as "decent" but was aware "that there are not ten people in the world who know whether it is good or bad, not 100 white men who know that it has been done. This knowledge does not puff one up much."⁵¹

Codrington died on September 11, 1922, a few days short of his ninety-second birthday. The *Times* in its obituary said of him that "his name will be remembered as the Apostle of the Pacific, soundest of scholars, kindest of teachers, most practical of friends. There was among us no better theologian, no profounder philologist. A truly wonderful personality, a great man, a saint and a gentleman. . . . Never was master more loved, venerated, and obeyed. Sons of chiefs thronged his school, and he was like the venerable Bede in his power of teaching and learning."⁵²

An anonymous manuscript containing a tribute to Codrington says of him that "it was his personality which made him wonderful, far more than his mastery of theology and every other branch of knowledge. . . . He was one of that great and inspiring community the Society of great people[,] adopting from choice an active career, as a missionary, a universal scholar and a philanthropist, he was distinguished for his place among these unselfish apostles of civilization and Christianity. . . . He was the most remarkable man I ever saw."⁵³

In his description of Robert Henry Codrington, missionary scholar Fox said, "If Patteson was the Apostle of Melanesia, Codrington was its Teacher. Saint and Doctor are titles that rightly belong to him."⁵⁴

Notes

1. R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians: Studies in their Anthropology and Folk-Lore* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), p. vii. I am grateful to David Hilliard for his comments and suggestions on this article.
2. Michael Blain, comp., *Clergy in the Diocese of Auckland, 1814–1869* (Auckland: Diocese of Auckland, 1999), p. 31.
3. Allan K. Davidson, "An 'Interesting Experiment'—the Founding of the Melanesian Mission," in *The Church of Melanesia, 1849–1999*, ed. Allan K. Davidson (Auckland: College of St John the Evangelist, 2000), p. 21.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.
5. [J. C. Patteson], *Lecture on the Melanesian Mission, Delivered at Sydney by the Right Reverend Bishop Patteson, Together with the Reports and Accounts of the Mission, from July 1, 1862, to December 31, 1863* (n.p., n.d.), p. 7.
6. Davidson, "An 'Interesting Experiment,'" pp. 38–39.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.
8. Codrington to his aunt, Norfolk Island (NI), May 9, 1867, Univ. of Oxford, Rhodes House, Codrington Papers (hereafter RHCP), MSS Pac. s. 4, fol. 5.
9. *Ibid.*, August 1867, RHCP, fol. 12.
10. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1869, RHCP, fols. 42, 43.
11. *Ibid.*, NI, February 12, 1875, RHCP, fol. 145.
12. Codrington to T. Codrington, September 1, 1879, London School of Oriental and African Studies, Melanesian Mission Papers (hereafter MMP), l. 95.
13. Codrington to his aunt, NI, November 29, 1870, RHCP, fol. 57; January 17, 1873, fol. 107.
14. *Ibid.*, "Southern Cross," October 1, 1872, RHCP, fol. 102.
15. Codrington to T. Codrington, NI, May 8, 1878, MMP, l. 82.
16. Codrington to his aunt, NI, July 24, 1875, RHCP, fol. 160.
17. Codrington to his aunt, at sea, October 27, 1870, RHCP, fol. 53.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Codrington to T. Codrington, NI, August 7, 1871, MMP, l. 31.
20. *Ibid.*, NI, November 8, 1871, MMP, l. 33.
21. David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849–1942* (St Lucia: Univ. of Queensland Press, 1978), pp. 62–75; David Hilliard, "The Making of an Anglican Martyr: Bishop John Coleridge Patteson of Melanesia," in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 333–45.
22. Codrington to his aunt, at sea, October 27, 1870, RHCP, fol. 52.
23. *Ibid.*, fol. 166.
24. Codrington to ?, November 27, 1898, RHCP, MSS. Pac. s. 28, fol. 10.
25. Codrington to C. H. Brooke, Chichester, October 12, 1917, RHCP, MSS Pac. s. 28, fols. 65, 66.
26. Max Müller to J. C. Patteson, Oxford, April 16, 1865, RHCP, MSS Pac. s. 29, fol. 3.
27. R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesian Languages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), pp. v, vi.
28. Codrington to Dr. Gerland, NI, December 31, 1874, RHCP, fols. 134–44.
29. Peter Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific: The Prehistory of Southeast Asia and Oceania* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), pp. 116–34.
30. George W. Stocking, *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888–1951* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1995), p. 39.
31. John M. Hitchen, "Relations Between Missiology and Anthropology Then and Now—Insights from the Contribution to Ethnography and Anthropology by Nineteenth-Century Missionaries," *Missiology: An International Review* 30 (October 2002): 455–78.
32. Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. vii.
33. Codrington to T. Codrington, "Southern Cross," September 30, 1872, MMP, l. 40. The book by Edward Tylor is not identified but is either *Researches into the early history of mankind and the development of civilization* (London: J. Murray, 1865; 2d ed., 1870) or *Primitive culture: Researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art, and custom*, 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1871; 2d ed., 1873).
34. Codrington to T. Codrington, off Torres Islands, August 20, 1873, MMP, l. 48. See John Lubbock, *The origin of civilisation and the primitive condition of man: Mental and social conditions of savages*, 2d ed. (London: Longman, Green, 1870).
35. Codrington to T. Codrington, off Torres Islands, August 20, 1873, MMP, l. 48.
36. *Ibid.*, "Southern Cross," October 21, 1874, MMP, l. 56. See Julius L. Brenchley, *Jottings during the cruise of HMS "Curaçoa" among the South Sea Islands in 1865* (London: Longmans, Green, 1873).
37. Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 118.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 118–19.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
41. Darrell Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries: An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific* (Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1983), p. 74.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Charles Elliot Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles: Being the Story of the Anglican Mission in Melanesia, 1849–1949* (London: Mowbray, 1958), p. 220.
44. See the discussion in Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries*, pp. 171–451.
45. See Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, pp. 79–120.
46. Sara Harrison Sohmer, "'A Selection of Fundamentals': The Intellectual Background of the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England, 1850–1914" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Hawaii, 1998); Sohmer, "Christianity Without Civilization: Anglican Sources for an Alternative Nineteenth-Century Mission Methodology," *Journal of Religious History* 18 (December 1994): 174–97.
47. Sohmer, "Christianity Without Civilization," pp. 180, 182.
48. Blain, *Clergy in the Diocese of Auckland*, p. 31.
49. R. H. Codrington, "Melanesians," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1915), 8:529–38.
50. Codrington to T. Codrington, NI, August 7, 1871, MMP, l. 31.
51. Codrington to Appleton, Chichester, June 18, 1903, RHCP, MSS. Pac. s. 28, fol. 30.
52. "R. H. Codrington," *Times*, n.d., RHCP, MSS. Pac. s. 33, fol. 21.
53. Anonymous manuscript, RHCP, MSS. Pac. s. 7.
54. Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles*, p. 220.

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