

Chapter 16

An Accidental Biographer? On Encountering, Yet Again, the Ideas and Actions of J.W. Burton

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I have never set out to write a biography. I'm not sure that I know how to. But early in work on my thesis—on race, work and Christian humanitarianism in the southwest Pacific—I encountered the writing and activism of John Wear Burton (1875-1971), Methodist missionary to the Indians in Fiji, 1902-1911, and mission administrator in Sydney from the 1920s to the 1940s. My first encounter was with the Burton written about by other Pacific historians such as Ken Gillion, Brij Lal, Andrew Thornley and John Garrett: Burton the social campaigner, the whistleblower on Indian indenture in Fiji.¹ The story is well known. In 1901, the Australian Methodists upgraded their mission to the Indians, originally conducted by two lay people, John Williams and Hannah Dudley, by sending ordained European missionaries: Cyril Bavin to Lautoka and John Burton to Nausori. Initially they did not concern themselves with the indenture system; Bavin never did. Burton was rather more interested, but in 1903/4, with as yet limited experience of the conditions of indenture, he was moderately approving of the system, following the usual official and mission line:

The whole system of Indenture is under Government control, and every effort is made to eliminate anything like abuse. On the whole the Indians are well cared for and their life here must be very much more tolerable than what they have been accustomed to in their own country.²

Burton's assumption that the *girmityas* were low-caste and from sordid, probably criminal, backgrounds tallied with the views of other Methodists.

However by 1909 Burton's neutral observation of indenture had turned to condemnation. There were earlier hints of a change of opinion in Mrs Deane's account of a visit to Burton's station in 1907. She went with Burton to the indentured labourers' 'lines', which she described as 'simply dreadful', to attend a service. 'I was much interested in the women', she added, 'for though they seemed happy I am told that they lead most wretched lives'. Presumably it was Burton who was doing the 'telling'.³ By 1909 his views were clear. In a small

booklet circulated within the mission in Fiji and Australia, *Our Indian Work in Fiji*, he began his chapter on indentured labourers in forthright tone:

The life on the plantation as an indentured labourer is not of a very inviting character. The difference between this state and absolute slavery is merely in the name and the term of years. The coolies themselves ... frankly call it (*narak*) hell. The wages are low and the cost of living is comparatively high ... The accommodation appears to us very wretched ... there are some (lines) where the coolies are herded together like so many penned cattle amid the most insanitary conditions and indescribable filth.⁴

This was the most forthright condemnation of indenture ever to have come from the Methodists. Moreover, it was not a complaint that the regulations were being disregarded but a challenge to the system itself, as dehumanising and degrading.

Interestingly, there was very little adverse criticism from within church circles to the publication of the 1909 booklet. Indeed, Small, as Chairman of the Fiji District, thought it 'should do much good'⁵ and the Methodist Missionary Society sent a copy of the book to every Methodist minister in Australia, recommending it for reading by study groups within churches.⁶ Burton repeated his opinion in his 1910 book *Fiji of Today*, a handsome volume selling for seven shillings and sixpence. Now others recognised the criticism for what it was. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company complained to the colonial government, which in turn complained to the Methodist mission—putting the Chairman of the mission A.J. Small in a position of some embarrassment since he had written a glowing forward to Burton's book. In July 1910 Governor May wrote formally to Small, rebutting Burton's claims about the evils of the indenture system.⁷ Small tried to deny involvement.⁸ But Burton was impenitent and defensive, claiming that he had 'given the government credit for improvements' but that 'there is the CSR Co to contend against'.⁹ Burton was passionate. The regulations introduced to ameliorate the system were not being observed, but they could not mitigate the evils of the system in any case.

Burton's criticism of the indenture system was influential in other quarters. *The Fiji of Today* was read in India and formed part of the growing call there to abolish the system. Burton's role was acknowledged by others. Before leaving India for Fiji in 1915, Gandhi's emissary, the English Anglican clergyman C.F. Andrews had read and been impressed by the book. Once it was clear that indenture was to be abolished, he wrote to Burton:

I know what an intense joy to you it will be that the indenture system is to be utterly abolished ... I do feel very strongly that your book (the 'Fiji of Today') was the pioneer and did the pioneer work, and it is due

to that book perhaps more than to any other single cause that the whole indenture system was shown up in its proper light.¹⁰

In his unofficial 1916 report to the Indian government, Andrews praised the actions of Burton and Hannah Dudley, who ‘saved the whole Indian community from falling to the lowest level of ignorance and vice’.¹¹ Pandit Totaram Sanadhya, who wrote in his memoir of his time in Fiji, also acknowledged this:

Rev. Burton did a lot for our people. They used to flock to him and tell him their tale of woe. He would plead on their behalf to their master ... (He) was the first person in Fiji to raise his voice against the indenture system.¹²

This then is the relatively well-known heroic story: the writer who started, or at least substantially contributed to, an international campaign against a specific injustice. This is what Burton is remembered for, not his long years as mission theorist and administrator. J.W. Burton does not figure otherwise in histories of Fiji, and there is only one very short street named after him in Suva. He has no biography. His entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* was written by Andrew Thornley, who has concentrated his biographical efforts on earlier missionaries within the Fiji Methodist mission.¹³ As I continued with my doctoral research, however, I encountered Burton’s name and opinions again and again; his role as campaigner against indenture was only the beginning of a long and interesting career. He was also a missionary (though of limited evangelistic success), photographer, writer, advocate for the League of Nations, mission administrator for nearly 30 years, newspaper columnist (mainly in the *Sydney Morning Herald*), preacher and member of the embryonic South Pacific Commission. So his was indeed a ‘Pacific Life’: while he lived in Fiji for only 10 years he was involved with mission and general policy in the Pacific for the rest of his life. His opinions and writings increasingly became a thread running though my own writing—yet I have never, till now, attempted to pull it all together.

With his campaign against Indian indenture, Burton seems a very suitable subject for a historian of Fiji, with an interest in missions, of liberal Christian tendencies—like myself. It seems clear that to write an effective biography one needs to have some sort of affinity with your subject. As Neil Gunson put it (this volume), the biographer should have inhabited some of the same thought world as the subject, but also have moved outside it. But of course Burton was more complex than just a social reformer and campaigner against indenture. Human beings always are. And while social justice is comprehensible and attractive to a 21st century biographer, some of Burton’s attitudes are more problematic. To illustrate this, let us look more closely at *Fiji of Today*. Most of the book is actually about Fijians, and it was what he said about them rather

than the comments about indenture which infuriated Burton's colleagues. There is in his comments a deeply evolutionist strand. Other missionaries, who worked with Fijians, had a deep knowledge of Fijian customs, social structures and ways of life. They identified with their Fijian converts. Burton did not—'his' people were the Indian labourers. He recognised the profound sincerity of some of the older Fijian preachers and he acknowledged that much 'progress' had been made from the pre-Christian times. But he believed that much Fijian Christianity was 'superficial'. He did not believe that Fijians 'had been changed, as if by the waving of a magic wand, from horrible blood-thirsty cannibals to saintly Christians'.¹⁴ The early mass conversions, he thought, had led to a religious state of 'paganism tintured with Christianity'. Burton was not enthusiastic either about the Fijian chiefly system, or the adoption by missionaries of de facto positions within it.¹⁵ He criticised the communal system as understood and protected by Gordon, seeing it as hidebound and restrictive.

Much of Burton's analysis was based on the commonly-held belief in an evolutionary hierarchy of human groups, grounded in the assumption that modern Western European society epitomised the pinnacle of human achievement. Such assumptions ranked human societies on the rationalist criteria of the sophistication of technology, the complexity of law, and the shift from 'error' or 'superstition' to science. These assumptions Burton shared, allocating Fijians to a fairly low rung in the hierarchy. The group which interested him, his responsibility, was the Indian community, whom he saw as more advanced than Fijians. In an early *Missionary Review* article, he described revealingly an encounter between the two groups. Burton described a rather hair-raising boat trip from Suva to Navua, accompanied by an Indian catechist and young Fijian boys more enthusiastic than skilful. Eventually they made it into the calm of the Navua River:

'Sahib!' exclaims the hitherto terrified Catechist; 'our lives are snatched back from death. See how great dangers we meet by trusting ourselves to these dwellers in the jungle, whose minds have never been exercised by thought.'

The Catechist evidently thinks that this is the proper place to retaliate upon the Fijians, who have been taunting him with being unable to swim.

'I would rather trust myself to one of these children of nature on a journey such as this,' replies the missionary, 'than to all the Persian and Sanskrit scholars of Hindustan.'¹⁶

The Fijians have practical skills, the Indians intellectual ones; Burton appreciated both, in their place, but the 'children of nature' comment shows where he thought the Fijians' place was.

There is considerable evidence that Burton's evolutionist beliefs changed after World War 1, during which he served as a YMCA chaplain in London. While Burton is not explicit about his own reactions, the experience, even at one remove, of the horrors of the trenches led many of his contemporaries to question the supposed superiority of European civilisation. In articles and writings from the 1920s, Burton's attitude to Fijian preachers becomes considerably more approving. In my thesis I explained his shift in attitude as caused primarily by increased personal knowledge; as Methodist General Secretary on regular visits to Papua and New Britain he saw Fijian teachers and ministers working effectively and came to know them personally. In 1926 he described the 'real winning of souls' achieved by Fijian, Tongan and Samoan pastors and teachers in Papua. There were now congregations of 300 where five years previously all had been heathen: 'it is simply marvellous to see what has been done by some of the South Sea Island teachers'.¹⁷ But while this explanation is certainly plausible, I cannot be certain it is right, and it may very well be incomplete.

And here we encounter another problem of writing biography. How can another person be sure about a subject's motivations, changes of mind and outside influences? In Burton's case I have surprisingly little insight into some aspects of his character and motivation. This may seem an odd thing to say, for a great deal of Burton's writing exists. This consists both of published material: books on Fijian and wider Pacific mission history, study guides for congregations, sermons, numerous articles in the Methodist mission journal *Missionary Review* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*; and also unpublished letters and reports from his 30-plus years in mission administration, especially as the General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society. But most of this material is quite impersonal, and if biography is a balance between the individual and their context, then I feel I have much more context than individual, more letters than life.

And Burton himself encouraged this. Some time around 1956 he wrote a 200-page autobiography entitled 'The Weaver's Shuttle: memories and reflections of an octogenarian', which was never published.¹⁸ This, he says, was 'written for my own delectation, for I have no great concern whether or not these scribblings find their way into print'. On completing it, Burton, irritatingly for any potential biographer, destroyed all his personal papers.¹⁹ Bearing in mind Niel Gunson's reservations about autobiography (this volume), nonetheless, 'The Weaver's Shuttle' is obviously a crucial document. It also sets the terms about what Burton was, and was not, prepared to discuss in public. There is very little about his parents, marriage, children or personal relationships. We learn he migrated from Yorkshire to New Zealand with his family at the age of nine, married Florence Hadfield in 1902, had three children, the first two born in Fiji. He left Fiji in 1911 because of the ill-health of his two small daughters; Burton has little comment on how he felt about this, although one imagines it must have

been a huge disappointment. I know, but not from him, that the youngest, a son also named John Wear Burton (born 1915) became famous as the head of Foreign Affairs under 'Doc' Evatt. The relationship between the two is not discussed by either. Burton tells us little more about family and friends. It is clear from other peoples' accounts that Burton was respected by his colleagues and that he had many friends. Others in the mission environment bear testimony to his influence; Robert Green, who spent 20 years as a Methodist missionary in Fiji in the 1920s and 1930s claimed Burton had inspired his interest during his visitation trips to rural Victoria in 1917.²⁰ But little of this personal background comes from Burton himself—and if that's how he wanted it, perhaps that's how it should be left. Any biography of Burton could only be fundamentally an intellectual biography, an examination of the public man, the administrator, campaigner and theologian.

How did Burton see his own life? His autobiography sets out his priorities. 'The major interest in my life', he wrote, 'has been Christian missions and the welfare of native races'.²¹ The constant interests he saw as running through his life concern wider changes within the broader missionary movement: from exclusive denominational concern with small groups who must be converted at the peril of their souls, to an interdenominational effort which gave due consideration to indigenous perspectives—particularly the growth of the self-governing church. His other great concern was with the growing linkage, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, between Christianity and secular endeavours for the social advancement and a willingness to consider political change for colonised people. His own representation of his life remains, as I have suggested, primarily an intellectual examination.

Burton was what we might call a theological liberal—and it is in expounding his theological ideas that he reveals most about himself. In middle age he retold the story of his 1901 commissioning as an overseas missionary. It so happened that John Paton, Presbyterian missionary for many years in the New Hebrides, attended the service in Auckland. In his sermon Burton explained his motivation for going to Fiji:

it was not the belief that the heathen were falling into an endless hell which had impelled me to go forth, but rather the unhappy condition of people who, ignorant of the good news, were living without the happiness that Christ alone could give ... The grand old warrior [Paton] rose, shook his leonine head and ... hurled his burning indignation at the views I had expressed. "Young man," he almost roared, "do you think I would have risked my life amongst the savages and cannibals of the New Hebrides if I had not believed that every man, woman and child I met was going to hell?" The audience broke into a thunder of applause and left me feeling utterly undone.²²

This account also gives an idea of Burton's style, and his sense of humour; he remained a noted pricker of pomposity, including his own.

Yet he maintained the rightness of this theological position, which he summarised in 1917:

We have come to believe that there is a wideness in God's mercy like the wideness of the sea, and we have turned from the grim negative to the warm positive, from the post-mortem fortunes to the immediate needs of the human race.²³

This he thought a 'more compelling and sustaining' motive for missionary activity than fear of hellfire—and it lasted. He was influenced by Biblical criticism and was by no means a literalist. In a radio talk in 1932 he recommended that concerns about miracles, theories and creeds be made subordinate to experiencing the love of Christ. 'I have always refused to be drawn into mere academic and theological discussion about Jesus, just as I would refuse to subject my love or those of my family circle to public analysis', he wrote—incidentally restating his view concerning personal reticence—but told young people to accept what they could of the gospels and live by that; the rest would follow.²⁴ His own experience of converting others was not encouraging; few Fiji Indians became Christian from his teaching even though, by his own account, he preached on street corners and in the marketplace rather than just in church.²⁵

Occasionally, his words resonated: in a 1909 *Missionary Review* article entitled 'Nicodemus' he describes Gobind Das, guru to the plantation workers, who conducts an evening prayer gathering during which he follows recitations from the *Ramayana* with readings of the Beatitudes and the parable of the Prodigal Son from an old Hindi New Testament. On this occasion the guru visits the missionary by night and converts to Christianity, taking the name Nicodemus.²⁶ A Nicodemus appears in the Methodist preaching lists for the Nausori area in the 1910s. But such an outcome was rare; Burton's conversations with the Pandit Totaram Sanadhya in Nausori were more typical. They seem to have been good friends, regularly discussing life and death and everything in between—and both determined not to be converted by the other. Such conversations, along with a visit to India in 1906, sparked an interest in Hinduism which remained. In a 1914 sermon he encouraged new missionaries bound for India to cultivate an attitude of 'balanced sympathy' towards Hinduism and Islam, to use their religious and philosophical tenets to 'redirect the spiritual instinct of the people into new channels', towards 'a better Saviour, a better Sanctuary'.²⁷ At around the same time, Burton wrote articles on the Hindu revival and the Arya Samaj, and especially the poet Rabindranath Tagore, whom he saw as proto-Christian 'a forerunner—a John the Baptist, heralding the coming One'.²⁸ The strength of the writing got it published—but some Australian parishioners must have wondered at such topics. Certainly some others within the Methodist mission

regarded him as too close to C.F. Andrews, who was in turn seen as tainted by syncretism and too influenced by Gandhi and Hinduism.²⁹

Burton's tolerant and accepting attitude was also evident in his relations with other Christians. His writing is noticeably free of the anti-Catholicism common in Protestant writing of the time. His 1912 *Call of the Pacific* is unusually generous about Catholic missionary efforts in Fiji, in spite of being written only a few years after the 'Bible-burning' controversies in the Rewa delta.³⁰ Influenced by the Student Christian Movement from his own student days, he frequently attended and spoke at Australian and New Zealand SCM conferences, often accompanied by Presbyterian leader Frank Paton (son of his old critic).³¹ His chaplaincy at the end of the First World War was under the auspices of the YMCA, membership of which led to useful links with Christian leaders all over the world. He knew and corresponded with the American ecumenist John Mott, took great interest in the growth and activities of the World Missionary Conference movement from its first meeting at Edinburgh in 1910, attended the 1921 inaugural meeting in America of the International Missionary Council, and watched these develop into the World Council of Churches.

With this view of a worldwide and inclusive Christianity necessarily involved in world affairs, Burton was not a pious figure of personal sanctity and Christian orthodoxy. Rather he tended to be criticised by more conventional colleagues for being too secular; William Slade complained to Chairman A.J. Small in 1909 that Burton advised a mission visitor to 'bring a ball dress to Fiji'. 'Our missionaries', Slade fulminated, 'lose spirituality when they mix with the irreligious spirit of parties'.³² In many ways Burton's trajectory was typical of the more liberal wing of Christianity in the 20th century. For a biographer this raises questions of potential publisher and audience: Christian publishing outlets are usually interested in more orthodox and conservative figures, secular publishers tend to be suspicious of the 'Christian' label.

But Burton's belief that Christianity must be worked out in the world, that the Gospel was good news for human social and economic as well as spiritual wellbeing, was no mere theoretical stance. It led to his involvement not only in the campaign against indenture in Fiji in the 1910s but also his advocacy of the ideals of the League of Nations in the 1920s, his espousal of the Atlantic Charter in the 1940s and his membership of the new South Pacific Commission in the 1950s. The vocabulary used shifted with local preoccupations but the message remained the same—Christians should support political and secular attempts to improve human social conditions.

In Burton's view the greatest threat to such an improvement lay in untrammelled Western commercialism, whether by the CSR in Rewa in 1909, or plans to use indentured labour in the plantations of Mandated (former German)

New Guinea in 1921, or fears that ANGAU would overuse Papuan indentured labour for non-essential purposes in 1943. As he stated on Sydney radio in 1943:

One of the greatest, if not the greatest, obstacles to the welfare and progress of native peoples in the past has been commercialism. Too often the commercial point of view has been that the natives are, or should be, cheap and docile labour to create profits for a superior race.³³

But Burton had moved beyond talk of 'superior races', even if his vocabulary retained elements of paternalism. Indeed paternalism, familial imagery, are exactly how Burton did represent relationships between human groups; in 1921 he praised the Covenant of the League of Nations as:

A daring scheme for corporate living, which transcends every other attempt in human history to provide an enduring and practical basis for human society. In looking out upon the nations of the earth it sees them as one great human family and has for its objective the promotion of true family feeling.³⁴

Some members of the human family might be stronger and more capable than others, but mutual obligation and responsibility—not exploitation—should guide their relations. The exploitative relationships he feared returning in post-war PNG were rooted in 'the failure to recognize the brotherhood of man, the denial of the intrinsic value of every human being'—in other words it was a 'moral and spiritual' problem.³⁵

Burton's belief in the brotherhood of man, his humanitarian impulse, was rooted in his Christianity, but interestingly he did not see such beliefs as the prerogative of Christians. He believed that missions and governments could be natural partners in 'native development', especially in education. What education existed in many Pacific countries was almost entirely provided by Christian missions, but any attempt to extend education to whole populations and establish teacher training and widespread technical training was beyond the missions' scope; only government possessed the necessary resources. While many missionaries resisted this simple truth and attempted to forestall any government move into 'their' domain, during the debates between various colonial governments and mission education bodies in the 1930s and 1940s Burton consistently welcomed greater government investment and interest. In a developed statement of his view of government's proper role in indigenous development in the Pacific, Burton wrote:

There is a shallow view, sometimes encouraged even by missionaries, that governments are always wrong ... The truth is that, by and large, the administrative heads have been men of ability and of probity, and under them are many exceedingly well-trained and devoted officers ... though they do not take the 'spiritual' view, and often are frankly

utilitarian and realistic in their attitude, they usually have well-founded reasons for their activities, and their policy is a well-considered one.³⁶

In Burton's view Christians had a right and duty to be involved in secular politics—and one of their main roles was to remind and if necessary pressure governments to take their responsibilities towards the weaker, particularly in colonial situations, seriously. In an era when the relationship between religion and politics is again under debate, Burton's views on the matter hold a new relevance.

John Burton saw the main themes of his own life as 'Christian missions and the welfare of native races'.³⁷ In spite of warnings about the dangers of taking a subject's judgement about what was important about a life at face value, I see little purpose in attempting to move beyond Burton's own judgement. Considering his reticence about family and personal matters, but also the nature of his public life, there seems little alternative to an intellectual biography. There are clearly elements of this life which a critical biographer would examine further, such as the evolutionism of his early years and the way it melded into a paternalism he never quite shook off. There are some major issues that need further discussion: a careful examination of his relationship with the Methodist missions in Northern Australia, his professional relationships with a number of public figures in the missions and in Australian public life with whom he had major disagreements. If I write Burton's biography, and it's a big 'if', it would be a study in the relationship between faith and action, religion and politics—which is I think the way he would have wanted it.

ENDNOTES

¹ K.L. Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants: a history to the end of indenture in 1920* (Melbourne 1962); Brij V. Lal, *Broken Waves: a history of the Fiji Islands in the twentieth century* (Honolulu 1992); Andrew Thornley, 'The Methodist Mission and Fiji's Indians: 1879-1920', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 8:2 (1974); John Garrett, *To Live among the Stars: Christian origins in Oceania* (Geneva/Suva 1982).

² *Missionary Review*, November 1903, 6.

³ *Missionary Review*, August 1907, 3.

⁴ John W. Burton, *Our Indian Work in Fiji* (Suva 1909), 15-16. Many passages from the 1909 pamphlet are reprinted in almost identical form in John W. Burton, *The Fiji of Today* (London 1910), and the text of the pamphlet is reprinted in Brij V. Lal (ed.), *Crossing the Kali Pani: a documentary history of Indian indenture in Fiji* (Canberra/Suva 1998), 121-140.

⁵ Small to Wheen, 12 May 1909, Methodist Overseas Mission archive (hereafter MOM, MMSA), box 106, Mitchell Library, Sydney. I thank the Uniting Church of Australia for permission to access and cite this material.

⁶ *Missionary Review*, January 1909, 14; October 1909, 7.

⁷ Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants*, 167

⁸ Small to Colonial Secretary, 13 August 1911, MOM 108, MMSA.

⁹ Small to Danks, 28 August 1912, reporting Burton's response to Government criticism, MOM 107.

¹⁰ *Missionary Review*, September 1916, 10; also quoted in Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants*, 178.

¹¹ Charles Freer Andrews and William Winstanley Pearson, *Report on Indentured Labour in Fiji: an independent enquiry* (Calcutta 1916), 45.

- ¹² Brij V. Lal and Yogendra Yadav, 'Hinduism under indenture: Totaram Sanadhya's account of Fiji', *Journal of Pacific History*, 30: 1 (1995), 111. Totaram wrote that he planned to translate *The Fiji of Today* into Hindi (Totaram Sanadhya, *My Twenty-one Years in Fiji Islands*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Durham Kelly and Uttra Kumair Singh (Suva 1991), 78). As far as I know he did not do so.
- ¹³ Andrew Thornley, *The Inheritance of Hope: John Hunt, apostle of Fiji* (Suva 2000); Andrew Thornley, *A Shaking of the Land: William Cross and the origins of Christianity (Na Yavalati Ni Vanua: Ko Wiliame Korosi kei na i tekitekikivu ni Lotu Vakarisito e Viti)* (Suva 2005).
- ¹⁴ John W. Burton, 'The Weaver's Shuttle: memories and reflections of an octogenarian' (n.d.) 69.
- ¹⁵ Burton, 'Weaver's Shuttle', 56.
- ¹⁶ *Missionary Review*, August 1904, 5.
- ¹⁷ John W. Burton, *Our Task in Papua* (London 1926), 78.
- ¹⁸ A typescript of this memoir is lodged in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (MLMs 2899)—separately from the mission archive.
- ¹⁹ Burton, 'Weaver's Shuttle', 3.
- ²⁰ Robert Green, *My Story: a record of the life and work of Robert H. Green* (Melbourne 1978), 39, 108.
- ²¹ Burton, 'Weaver's Shuttle', 2.
- ²² John W. Burton, *Modern Missions in the South Pacific* (London 1949), 12.
- ²³ John W. Burton, *Laymen's Missionary Lecture: some modern problems of the missionary enterprise* (Melbourne 1917), 11. Burton begins by citing a popular hymn by Frederick Edgar Faber (1862).
- ²⁴ John W. Burton, *Why I Believe in Christ* (Sydney 1932), 23.
- ²⁵ Burton, *Our Indian Work*, 23-4.
- ²⁶ This is in reference to the Jewish leader who came to talk with Jesus at night (John 3: 1-9).
- ²⁷ *Missionary Review*, September 1914, 10.
- ²⁸ *Missionary Review*, October 1915, 12. Other articles on Tagore appeared in August and September 1915.
- ²⁹ Thornley, 'The Methodist Mission and Fiji's Indians: 1879-1920'.
- ³⁰ Andrew Thornley, "'Heretics" and "Papists": Wesleyan- Roman Catholic rivalry in Fiji, 1844-1903', *Journal of Religious History*, 10 (1979).
- ³¹ Burton, 'Weaver's Shuttle', 31-33, 90.
- ³² William Slade to A.J. Small, 25-9-1909, MMSA F/3/(e), Fiji National Archives, Suva. Slade had a history of objecting to all things Indian.
- ³³ Broadcast address on radio 2BL, 24 October 1943, reprinted in *Missionary Review*, November 1943, 1-3.
- ³⁴ John W. Burton, *The Australian Mandate in Relation to Our Duty to Native Races* (Melbourne 1921), 3.
- ³⁵ *Missionary Review*, November 1943, 2.
- ³⁶ John W. Burton, *The Atlantic Charter and the Pacific Races* (Sydney n.d.).
- ³⁷ Burton, 'Weaver's Shuttle', 2.